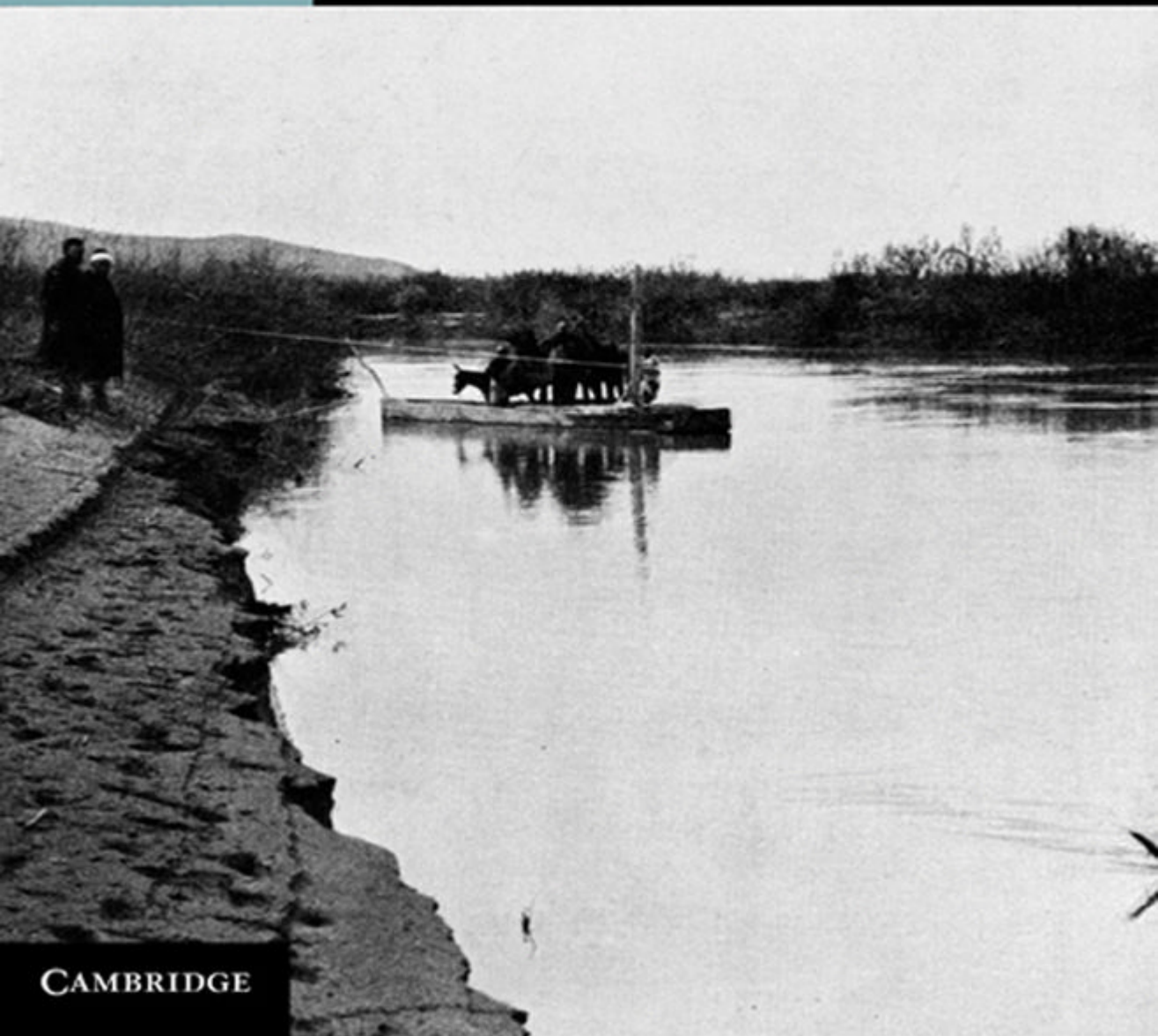


Peter Thonemann

The Maeander Valley

A Historical Geography from
Antiquity to Byzantium

GREEK
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The Maeander Valley

This is a study of the long-term historical geography of Asia Minor, from the fourth century BC to the thirteenth century AD. Using an astonishing breadth of sources, ranging from Byzantine monastic archives to Latin poetic texts, ancient land records to hagiographic biographies, Peter Thonemann reveals the complex and fascinating interplay between the natural environment and human activities in the Maeander valley. Both a large-scale regional history and a profound meditation on the role played by geography in human history, this book is an essential contribution to the history of the Eastern Mediterranean in Graeco-Roman antiquity and the Byzantine Middle Ages.

PETER THONEMANN teaches ancient history at Wadham College, Oxford University. He is co-author of the widely acclaimed first volume of the Penguin History of Europe, *The Birth of Classical Europe: A History From Troy to Augustine* (with Simon Price). *The Maeander Valley* was awarded the Hellenic Foundation's 2006 Award for the best ancient/classical thesis in Hellenic Studies, and Oxford University's Conington Prize for 2009.

GREEK CULTURE IN THE ROMAN WORLD

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Antiquity to Byzantium

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Preface

Men and women make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please. They make it not under circumstances that they have chosen themselves, but under conditions inherited from the past and imposed on them by the material world. The most fundamental of these conditions is the physical environment in which people live. Geology, botany and climate offer possibilities, and impose limits; how people respond to those possibilities depends on a wide range of social factors, including the personalities and choices of individuals. Uncovering this dialectical relationship between men and women and their environment over time is the proper task of historical geography.

This book is a study of the historical geography of the valley of the river Maeander in western Asia Minor. Its main contention is that the economic relationships, social structures, cultural identities, and ritual behaviour of the human communities of the Maeander valley in Graeco-Roman antiquity and the Byzantine middle ages were specifically and contingently affected by the fact that those communities were situated in a particular physical space, a valley fringed by mountains on either side, with a major perennial river running down the middle of it to the sea. After describing the physical space itself (Chapter 1), I focus on six separate aspects of the relationship between the peoples of the Maeander and their local environments: sacred geography (Chapter 2), markets and mobility (Chapter 3), mental maps and conceptual boundaries (Chapter 4), pastoral dynamics (Chapter 5), elite behaviour and interaction (Chapter 6) and the productive rural landscape (Chapter 7). In the course of these six chapters, we shall also travel slowly down the course of the river, from its source at Apamea-Celaenae (Chapters 2–3), through the upper Maeander valley (Chapter 4) to the Çal highlands and the plain of Denizli (Chapters 5–6), and into the lower Maeander floodplain (Chapter 7). The final chapter (Chapter 8) is an extended description of dynamic interaction between men and women and their landscape, focused on the changing responses of the inhabitants of the lower Maeander valley to the advance of the delta front (itself the result of human activity), from the Hellenistic period to the present day.

Simultaneously, I aim to present the human geography of the valley from three different spatial viewpoints. From a vertical perspective, I shall argue that the Maeander valley is a *broad flat* thing: a floodplain enabling maximal internal mobility, which has historically been characterised by highly intensive and socially fragmented agricultural exploitation. This agricultural economy was at all times closely integrated with higher-altitude pastoral zones in the mountain ranges flanking the valley to north and south (Chapters 1, 5, 6 and 7). Second, from a latitudinal (north–south) perspective, I shall argue that the Maeander valley is a *long thin* thing: a space which has historically been characterised by intense horizontal communication and interaction, in which certain distinctive social and economic structures were shared by several different places along the riverine strip (Chapters 2 and 3). Third, from a longitudinal (east–west) perspective, I shall argue that the Maeander valley is a thing *with clearly defined ends*: at its eastern end, it served historically as a boundary point defining the limits of two distinct ecological zones (western Asia Minor and inner Anatolia), and at its western end, it acted as a funnel of transition and exchange between the Asia Minor peninsula and the wider Mediterranean world (Chapters 4, 7 and 8).

This approach, which takes perceived and material space seriously as a field of natural contingency, should not be confused with environmental determinism. Under imposed and inherited circumstances, men and women make their own history; human events within any given environment are not merely surface agitation, froth raised up by deep and determinate natural currents. Just as the behaviour of human communities is necessarily shaped and limited by environment, so the environment itself has been constantly and repeatedly reshaped by human behaviour, most visibly in the case of the malleable and unstable wetlands of the Maeander delta zone (Chapter 8). I shall argue throughout this book that the Maeander valley of antiquity and the middle ages can usefully be treated as a geographic, social and conceptual unit (a ‘region’); but this ‘regionality’ is itself a human construct, not an essential and inherent quality of the landscape, patiently waiting to be mediated through human activity (Chapter 1).

The action of nature on societies, wrote Vidal de la Blache, is best regarded as a kind of imperceptible and complex interference, the results of which accumulate slowly over time. Roughly speaking, the chronological span of this study extends from the Macedonian conquest of Asia in the late fourth century BC to the twilight of Byzantine rule in Asia Minor in the late thirteenth century AD. These chronological boundaries reflect the limits of my historical competence, rather than any informed conviction that the Turkish conquest of western Asia Minor brought such radical structural

changes to the human geography of the Maeander valley that it would no longer be helpful to make systematic comparisons with earlier periods. The adoption of a long time-frame, combined with a synchronic rather than narrative mode of presentation, brings with it the risk (as will already be clear from the summary description of the book's contents) of reducing a highly fluid and contingent environmental dialectic to an unchanging web of geological and social constants. It is all too easy to slip from the dynamic temporality of 'long duration' into the frozen inertia of 'non-time', from which data can then be indiscriminately cherry-picked across the millennia to illustrate the innate characteristics of a hypostasised ecological 'base' (Jameson 2009: 532–45). I regret that the inadequacy of the evidence often makes such cherry-picking unavoidable; in such cases, I have tried to make the procedure explicit.

Needless to say, throughout the period covered by this book, the human communities of the Maeander valley were to a greater or lesser degree integrated into larger productive, ideological and political systems. Their history was not a purely local history. Indeed, in many respects the material and social circumstances of the people of the Maeander were effectively indistinguishable from those of any other part of the ancient and mediaeval east Mediterranean world. The cities of the Maeander valley possessed theatres, public buildings, magistrates and a water-supply, and were conquered from time to time by Hellenistic kings; the rural population cultivated wheat, vines and olives, and concealed as much of their livestock as they could from tax-assessors. The problem is particularly acute during the first three centuries AD, when the Roman empire constituted and perpetuated itself through a normative pan-Mediterranean homogeneity of material culture and cultural artefacts: a 'first globalization', which saw a universal flattening of local distinctions across the whole of western Eurasia. As a result, the greater part of the surviving documentary and archaeological material for the human communities of the ancient and mediaeval Maeander valley, while often of potential cumulative or comparative value to historians of the wider Graeco-Roman or Byzantine world, does little to illuminate the particular spatial dynamics that I have tried to describe in this book.

Endogenous social analysis is necessarily incomplete. But in describing the workings of (say) the Roman empire, we can and should aspire to go beyond the universal terms and categories licensed by the ruling power itself. Historical geography has the potential to offer subaltern perspectives on the history of pre-modern imperial states, asserting as it does the primacy of the lived experiences of particular people in actual places. A meaningful

dialectical historical geography of any given region must, therefore, primarily be driven by internal, not external problematics. Since there is no way of judging *a priori* how the dialectic between environment and culture was played out in a specific geographical space in a particular historical period, the historical geographer necessarily begins by following his or her nose, and proceeds by describing and analysing things that look interesting. This is not to suggest that we should return to a naive historical inductivism. As David Harvey has warned, the geographer's intense concentration on actual spaces and places can all too easily lead to a depoliticised and antiquarian particularism: 'the temptation then exists to abandon theory, retreat into the supposed particularities of place and moment, resort to naive empiricism, and produce as many ad hoc theories as there are instances' (Harvey 2001: 118). The formation of simplifying and generalising models, whether of global economic systems, institutional conditions, or state ideologies, is always a necessary condition for understanding the particular. But the converse is also true. The intensive description and critical analysis of small regions, valleys, plateaux or coastal plains, with the aim of uncovering and mapping the distinctive reciprocal influences of their human communities and their particular environments, is the only possible way of integrating a spatial dimension into the essentially – necessarily – undifferentiated models of the pan-Mediterranean historian. I hope that this study will therefore be of some use as a contribution to the wider historical ecology of western Eurasia during the sixteen centuries covered by this book. The ancient or mediaeval world is said to work like *this*: but what does it look like from *here*?

Peter Thonemann

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Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AE	<i>Année épigraphique</i>
AvH	C. Humann <i>et al.</i> , <i>Altertümer von Hierapolis</i> ; Berlin, 1898
<i>Bank Leu</i>	<i>Bank Leu</i> (auction catalogues)
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , annually in REG
BM	British Museum: post-BMC accessions
BMC	<i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum</i> . London, 1873–; individual volumes identified by region, e.g. <i>BMC Phrygia</i>
BMFA Suppl.	<i>Greek Coins, 1950–1963</i> ; supplement to <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i> ; Boston, 1964
BMFD	<i>Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents</i> , ed. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (5 vols.); Washington, 2000
<i>Cat. W. de Molthein</i>	V. Renner, <i>Catalogue de la collection des médailles grecques de M. Walcher de Molthein</i> ; Paris, 1895
CID	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CNG	<i>Classical Numismatic Group</i> (auction catalogues)
<i>Coll. Wadd.</i>	E. Babelon, <i>Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington</i> ; Paris, 1898
<i>Coll. Weber</i>	L. Forrer, <i>The Weber Collection: Greek Coins</i> (3 vols. in 4); London, 1922–9
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
Dölger, <i>Regesten</i>	F. Dölger, <i>Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453</i> (5 vols.); Munich and Berlin, 1924–65
DOSeals	N. Oikonomides and J. Nesbitt (eds.), <i>Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art</i> ; Washington, 1991–
FGrHist	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
GM Winterthur	<i>Griechische Münzen in Winterthur</i>

- Helios* *Helios Numismatik* (auction catalogues)
- Holleaux, *Études* M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* (6 vols.); Paris, 1938–68
- I.Alexandria Troas* M. Ricl, *Die Inschriften von Alexandria Troas*; IGSK 43; Bonn, 1997
- I.Asklepieion* Chr. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions. Altertümer von Pergamon VIII.3*; Berlin, 1969
- I.Assos* R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Assos*; IGSK 4; Bonn, 1976
- I.Délos* *Inscriptions de Délos*
- I.Denizli* E. Miranda and F. Guizzi, *Museo Archaeologico di Denizli-Hierapolis. Catalogo delle iscrizioni greche e latine: Distretto di Denizli*; Naples, 2008
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- I.Heraclea* L. Jonnes, *The Inscriptions of Heraclea Pontica*; IGSK 47; Bonn, 1994
- I.Ilion* P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion*; IGSK 3; Bonn, 1975
- I.Isole Miliesie* G. Manganaro, 'Le iscrizioni delle isole milesie', *ASAA* n.s. 25–6, 1963–4: 293–349
- I.Kibyra* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kibyra. I*; IGSK 60; Bonn, 2002
- I.Laodikeia* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos. I*; IGSK 49; Bonn, 1997
- I.Magnesia* O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*; Berlin, 1900
- I.Metropolis* B. Dreyer and H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Metropolis. I: Die Dekrete für Apollonios*; IGSK 63; Bonn, 2003
- I.Milet* *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahr 1899; Band 6: Inschriften von Milet* (3 vols.), ed. P. Herrmann *et al.*; Berlin, 1997–2006
- I.Mylasa* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* (2 vols.); IGSK 34–5; Bonn, 1987–8
- I.Oropos* B. Petrakos, *Οἱ Ἐπιγραφεῖς τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ*; Athens, 1997

<i>I.Priene</i>	F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, <i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> ; Berlin, 1906
<i>I.Sestos</i>	J. Krauss, <i>Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones</i> ; IGSK 19; Bonn, 1980
<i>I.Smyrna</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> (2 vols. in 3); IGSK 23–4; Bonn, 1982–90
<i>I.Strat.</i>	M. Ç. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> (2 vols. in 3); IGSK 21–2; Bonn, 1981–90
<i>I.Sultan Dağı</i>	L. Jonnes, <i>The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı. I</i> ; IGSK 62; Bonn, 2002
<i>I.Thr. Aeg.</i>	L. Loukopoulou et al., <i>Inscriptiones antiquae partis Thraciae quae ad ora maris Aegaei sita est</i> ; Athens, 2005
<i>I.Trall.</i>	F. B. Poljakov, <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa. I</i> ; IGSK 36.1; Bonn, 1989
<i>I.Varsovie</i>	A. Lajtar and A. Twardecki, <i>Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie</i> ; Warsaw, 2003
<i>I.Aph2007</i>	J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> (2007); http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGBulg.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i>
<i>IGCAM</i>	H. Grégoire, <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure</i> ; Paris, 1922
<i>IGCH</i>	M. Thompson, O. Mørholm and C. M. Kraay, <i>An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards</i> ; New York, 1973
<i>IGLS</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i>
<i>IGR</i>	R. Cagnat, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> (3 vols.); Paris, 1906–27
<i>IGUR</i>	L. Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (4 vols.); Rome, 1968–90
<i>IJO</i>	D. Noy et al., <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis</i> (3 vols.); Tübingen, 2004
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (3 vols. in 5); Berlin, 1892–1916
Imhoof-Blumer, <i>GM</i>	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Griechische Münzen. Neue Beiträge und Untersuchungen</i> ; Munich, 1890
Imhoof-Blumer, <i>KM</i>	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Kleinasiatische Münzen</i> (2 vols.); Vienna, 1901–2
Imhoof-Blumer, <i>LS</i>	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Lydische Stadtmünzen</i> ; Genf and Leipzig, 1897
Imhoof-Blumer, <i>MG</i>	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Monnaies grecques</i> ; Paris, 1883

ISE	<i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i>
Künker	Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. (auction catalogues)
<i>La Carie II</i>	L. Robert and J. Robert, <i>La Carie. Histoire et géographie antique</i> . II. <i>Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs</i> ; Paris, 1954
Lanz	<i>Numismatik Lanz München</i> (auction catalogues)
Laurent, <i>Corpus</i>	V. Laurent, <i>Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin</i> (2 vols. in 5); Paris, 1963–81
LBG	<i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität</i>
LGPN	<i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> ; Paris, 1955
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> , revised by H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
Masson, OGS	O. Masson, <i>Onomastica Graeca Selecta</i> (3 vols.); I–II: Paris, 1990; III: Geneva, 2000
Michel, <i>Recueil</i>	Ch. Michel, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions grecques</i> ; Brussels, 1900
<i>Milet</i>	<i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahr 1899</i> ; Berlin, 1906–
MM	F. Miklosich and J. Müller, <i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana</i> (6 vols.); Vienna, 1860–90
<i>Münzen und Medaillen</i>	<i>Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland</i> (auction catalogues)
<i>Neue Pauly</i>	<i>Der Neue Pauly</i>
<i>Nouveau Choix</i>	<i>Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques</i> ; Paris, 1971
NZ	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i>
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i> (2 vols.); Leipzig, 1903–5
Patmos	<i>Βυζαντινὰ Ἐγγράφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου</i> (2 vols.); Athens, 1980; A' – <i>Αὐτοκρατορικά</i> , ed. E. Vranousi; B' – <i>Δημοσίων Λειτουργῶν</i> , ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou
PIR ²	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , 2nd edn
PLRE	<i>A Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>
PME	<i>Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum</i>

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- RC C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*; New Haven, 1934
- RDGE R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*; Baltimore, 1969
- RE *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC*; Oxford, 2003
- RIB *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*
- RMD *Roman Military Diplomas*
- Robert, *Coll. Froehner* L. Robert, *Collection Froehner I. Inscriptions grecques*; Paris, 1936.
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- Robert, *OMS* L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta. Epigraphie et antiquités grecques* (7 vols.); Amsterdam, 1969–90
- RPC A. Burnett and M. Amandry (eds.), *Roman Provincial Coinage*; London and Paris, 1992–; I: *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*; II: *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)*; VII: *De Gordien Ier à Gordien III (238–244 après J.-C.) I. Province d'Asie*
- Sardis VII 1* W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis VII, Part 1: Greek and Latin Inscriptions*; Leiden, 1932
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- SGDI F. Bechtel, H. Collitz et al., *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (4 vols.); Göttingen, 1884–1915
- SNG *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*
- Steinepigramme* R. Merkelbach and F. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* (5 vols.); Munich and Leipzig, 1998–2004
- Syll.*³ W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn (4 vols.); Leipzig, 1915–24
- Syme, *RP* R. Syme, *Roman Papers* (7 vols.); Oxford, 1979–91

TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>
TGF	R. Kannicht, S. Radt and B. Snell, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (5 vols.); Göttingen, 1971–2004
TIB Galatien	K. Belke, <i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4. Galatien und Lykaonien</i> ; Vienna, 1984
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TIB Phrygien	K. Belke and N. Mersich, <i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7. Phrygien und Pisidien</i> ; Vienna, 1990
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
TT	G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, <i>Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig</i> (3 vols.); Vienna, 1856–7
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Wilhelm, <i>Inscribenkunde</i>	A. Wilhelm, <i>Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde</i> (5 vols.); I–II: Leipzig, 1984; III–V: Vienna, 2000–3
Xénophon	D. Papachryssanthou, <i>Archives de l'Athos</i> XV. <i>Actes de Xénophon</i> ; Paris, 1986
ZfN	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i>



Map 1. The Maeander valley



1 | The valley

Cratylus used to criticise Heraclitus for saying that it was impossible to step into the same river twice. He thought that it was impossible to step into the same river once.¹

The fall of Tralles, AD 1284

In the spring of the year AD 1280, the young future emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus led an army south from Constantinople into Asia Minor. Twenty years of Palaeologan rule had not been kind to the old Byzantine heartlands. After the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, the emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus had kept his attention firmly trained on the European west. The Anatolian borderlands, the fertile coastal valleys of the Hermos, Cayster and Maeander, had largely been abandoned to their fate at the hands of the nascent Turkish warrior *beyliks*. Only at the very end of his life, between 1280 and 1282, did Michael make any concerted attempt to restore Byzantine authority in western Asia Minor, and by then, as would rapidly become apparent, it was far too late.²

Arriving in the valley of the river Maeander, and travelling eastwards along the north bank of the river, Andronicus passed the ruins of the ancient city of Tralles. Struck by the charms of the place, and the natural defensibility of the plateau on which the city stood, Andronicus decided to restore the ruined town as a place of refuge for the local Greek rural population (Fig. 1.1). The new city was to carry his own name: Andronicopolis or Palaeologopolis.³ Work proceeded at speed, and the city was soon ringed with strong fortifications. Worn down by the constant assaults of the Turks, and all too ready to believe that the arrival of the young emperor-in-waiting marked a new dawn for the embattled Greeks of Asia Minor, as many as 36,000 men, women and children came to settle in the new city. The hopes

¹ Aristotle, *Met.* 1010a12–15. ² Laiou 1972: 21–6; see also Foss 1979b: 141–4; Ragia 2005: 221–4.

³ Restoration and fall of Tralles: Pachymeres 6.20–1 (ed. Failler 1984–2000: II 591–9); Gregoras 5.5.8–9 (ed. Schopen 1829–30: I 142–4). Chronology: Failler 1984.



Figure 1.1 The gorge of the Tabakhane Deresi (the ancient river Eudon), looking north towards the plateau of Tralles-Andronicopolis, at top right

of the new settlers were raised still higher by the discovery of a marble stele buried in the ruins of the ancient town, discovered by Andronicus' workmen, on which was inscribed an ancient oracle in hexameter verse.⁴

The beauty of this city of Tralles shall be dimmed in time,
 And in the last days, those few that remain
 Shall live in fear of a leaderless barbarian tribe;
 But the city will never fall.⁵

⁴ *I.Tralleis* 2. The oracle survives in four versions: (1) as quoted by Gregoras 5.5.9 (ed. Schopen 1829–30: I 143); (2) as inserted in a marginal note in a single manuscript of Pachymeres (ed. Failler 1984–2000: II 593, *app.crit.*); (3) a copy in a Hamburg manuscript containing inscriptions copied by Cyriac of Ancona (Wegehaupt and Brinkmann 1903); (4) a fragmentary copy in a Laurentine manuscript (Lampros 1904: 266–7, 406–8).

⁵ The themes are common in other thirteenth-century inscriptions recording fortification works. For the first two lines of the Tralles oracle, compare e.g. the building inscription of David Comnenus at Heraclea Pontica (1206/7): συνεγείρει καταβληθεῖσαν χρο[ν]οῦ τὴν Ποντοηρακλείαν ἐντέχνως ὄλην (*I.Heraclea* 38; *TIB Paphlagonien*, s.v. Herakleia), or the building inscription of John Vatatzes at Smyrna (1222/3): τήνδε πόλιν πάροιθεν ἀγκαλυτὴν περ ἑοῦσαν, κτλ. (*I.Smyrna* 854). See further Trombley 1998: 118–33.



Figure 1.2 The Maeander river near Tralles, in flood

A nobleman, whose name is Victory, shall restore her.
 He shall live for seventy-two years in splendour,
 And at the age of twenty-one, he will glorify this city of Attalus.⁶
 To him, the cities of the west will bow their heads,
 And the proud, like children, shall bend their knee to him.

This talismanic invocation of the city's ancient past was, says the historian George Pachymeres, 'no more than a dream.'⁷ The new inhabitants of Tralles failed to build effective cisterns, and there was no underground water which

⁶ At this point, copies (2) and (3) add an extra clause 'and the neighbouring fortress (*polichnion*) of Heraclius'. The identification of the *polichnion* of Heraclius is uncertain. The nearby city of Nysa was also captured by the Turks between 1280 and 1284 (Pachymeres 6.21, ed. Failler 1984–2000: II 599), but we have no evidence either that it was restored by Andronicus, or that it had any connection with Heraclius. A more plausible candidate is Magnesia on the Maeander, whose Byzantine circuit wall is probably to be attributed to Heraclius (Foss 1977: 483). Building inscriptions show that Heraclius repaired the walls of Smyrna at an unknown date after AD 629 (*I.Smyrna* 851, 851A); similar building inscriptions could still have been visible at Magnesia in the thirteenth century.

⁷ For the fortuitous rediscovery of prophetic inscriptions, compare (1) a sarcophagus discovered at the land-walls of Constantinople in 781, predicting the resurrection of Christ during the reign of Constantine VI and Irene: Theophanes (ed. de Boor 1883–5) 455, with Reinach 1900 and (independently) Mango 1963; (2) a Delphic oracle of the early fifth century BC, discovered at the Isthmus between 1423 and 1436, predicting the destruction of Manuel II Palaeologus' Hexamilion by the Turks and urging its reconstruction: Bodnar 1960.

they could tap for wells. The cause of this, in Pachymeres' view, was the proximity of the Maeander river. In the humid and sweltering plain of the Maeander, the river was constantly spreading its waters through the porous top-soil. Since this surface moisture rapidly evaporated in the heat of the sun, the water was prevented from sinking deep into the earth to form underground reservoirs. At any rate, in the height of summer the new city was entirely dependent on access to the Maeander for water. Four years later, in 1284, the city was besieged by a huge Turkish force under the emir *Menteşe*. Driven to desperation by the lack of water, the inhabitants were reduced to drinking the blood of their own horses. The end, when it came, was brutal and swift. And so it was that the city of *Tralles* was emptied of its inhabitants.

Winter in the land of Rûm

İndik Rûm'a kışladuk	We wintered in the land of Rûm
Çok hayr ü ser işledük	Both well and ill we laboured there
Uş bahâr oldı girü	Then came the Spring, and to our lands
Göçdük elhâmdü lillâh	We turned again, praise be to God.
	(Yunus Emre, AD c. 1300) ⁸

The refoundation of *Tralles* in AD 1280 was the last serious attempt by the Byzantine imperial state to reassert its authority over the middle and lower Maeander valley (the region extending from *Laodicea*, near modern *Denizli*, to the delta plain south-west of modern *Söke*).⁹ Since the mid-1070s, the Greek inhabitants of the lowland Aegean valleys had become accustomed to the annual influx of ever-increasing numbers of transhumant Turkmen pastoralists, who – like the Sufi poet Yunus Emre, at the turn of the fourteenth century – ‘wintered in the land of the Romans (Rûm)’, before returning in the spring to their summer pastures in the Phrygian and Pisidian highlands, on the fringe of the Anatolian plateau.¹⁰ The status of the Maeander valley as a border marchland (Gk *akrai*, Tk *uç*) between Greek and Turkish zones of settlement, won and lost season by season with the annual east–west migrations of the Turkmen borderers, had received institutional recognition from the Byzantine state some time in the late twelfth century AD, when

⁸ De Planhol 1968: 224; Bryer 1993: 101.

⁹ For the campaign of Alexios Philanthropenos in the Maeander delta region in AD 1294/5, see below, Chapter 7, pp. 277–8.

¹⁰ On the seasonal nature of the Turkish presence in the Aegean lowlands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Hendy 1985: 114–17, 129–30 (correcting Vryonis 1971: 184–94; Vryonis 1975).

a separate administrative district (*thema*) of ‘Maeander’ was carved out of the old *thema* of Thrakesion (the successor of the late Roman province of Asia).¹¹ The Maeander *thema* is first attested in 1198, in the chrysobull of Alexius III Angelus granting the Venetians commercial rights throughout the Byzantine empire; its original capital was apparently at Laodicea, if we may judge from the *partitio Romaniaae* of 1204, which records a province of ‘Laodicea and Maeander’.¹² With the cession of Laodicea and Chonae to the rebel Manuel Maurozomes in 1205, the capital of the Maeander *thema* shifted downstream to Antioch on the Maeander.¹³ The Maeander *thema* probably continued to exist as a Byzantine military circumscription until the 1250s or early 1260s, under the overall authority of the *doux* of Thrakesion.¹⁴

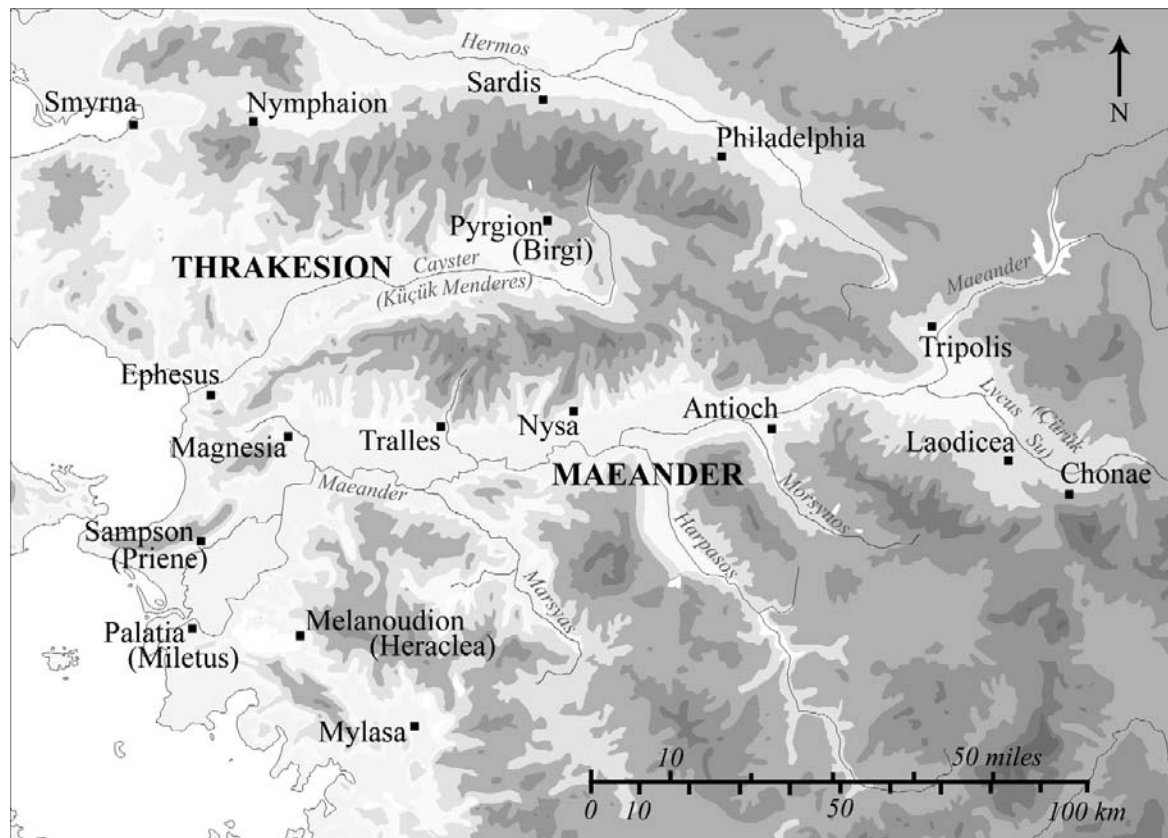
To the best of my knowledge, this is the only period in history in which a state has chosen to demarcate the Maeander river valley as an administrative unit in its own right. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the open alluvial plains between Laodicea-Denizli and the sea posed highly localised and unusual problems of military administration for the Byzantine state; the lower Maeander valley was correctly perceived, both by its inhabitants and by outside observers, as possessing its own distinctive regional character. A contemporary Arabic source, the *Geography* of Ibn Sa‘id (mid-thirteenth century), gives a vivid picture of this fluid frontier zone between the Turkish and Byzantine realms:

¹¹ For the *thema* system, see Haldon 1993; Vlysidou *et al.* 1998; Brandes 2002: 118–36, 153–65.

¹² Chrysobull of 1198: TT 1 271. *Partitio Romaniaae*: Carile 1965: 218. Lascarids: Angold 1975: 100, 248. See further *TIB Phrygien* 333, *s.v.* Maiandros. There is no direct evidence for the status of Laodicea in the 1198 chrysobull. The *prouincia Attalie, Seleukie, Antiochia, Laudikie, et usque ipsam Antiochiam* (TT 1 271–2) consists of Antalya, Silifke, Antioch ad Cragum, Latakia, and the territory as far as Antakya. Oikonomides (1976: 20–1) glosses this *Laudikia* as Denizli, thereby importing great confusion.

¹³ Laodicea and Chonae: *TIB Phrygien* 325, *s.v.* Laodikeia. Maurozomes: Métivier 2009. Antioch: Savvides 1981: 91–111. The ancient settlement of Laodicea, on a low hill on the southern fringe of the Lycus plain, seems to have been abandoned at some point in the twelfth century in favour of a smaller, fortified centre further up in the foothills of Mt Cadmus (perhaps the fortified site of Hisar, near modern Bereketli): de Planhol 1969a: 403–8; *TIB Phrygien* 273–4, *s.v.* Hisar; Arthur 2006: 169–78. For a plan of Hisar, see Şimşek 2007: 70.

¹⁴ Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 13–14 doc.1 (AD 1213: *doux* of Thrakesion *thema* protects properties lying in Maeander *thema*). In the *partitio Romaniaae*, the *thema* of Laodicea and Maeander explicitly includes a series of estates in the Maeander delta region: *prouintia Laodikie et Meandri, cum pertinentia Sampson et Samakii, cum Contostephanitis, cum Camiçatis et ceteris atque Chio* (Carile 1965: 218, 245–7). For Sampson and Samakion, see below, Chapter 7, p. 275, Chapter 8, p. 304; the estates of the Kontostephanoi and Kamytzai were also located in the delta region. In 1262, however, these delta estates form part of the *thema* of Mylasa and Melanoudion (Patmos II 67), strongly implying that the Maeander *thema* had ceased to exist by that point.



Map 2 The lower Maeander valley in the thirteenth century AD

To the east of this region [the Aegean coastlands] extend the mountains of the Turkmen and their country. They are a numerous people, descended from the Turks who conquered the land of Rûm at the time of the Seljuqs. They are perpetually raiding the coastal populations of *akritai*, whose children they carry off to sell to the Muslims . . . North of Antalya are located the mountains of Tughurla, which are said to contain around 200,000 Turkmen tents; this is the region called the *uç*. In this district is the town of Tunghuzlu (Denizli), two parasangs from the fortress of Khunās (Chonae) . . . The mountains of the Turkmen run continuously from the gate of Denizli to the frontiers of the kingdom of Lascaris, ruler of Constantinople.¹⁵

In Ibn Sa‘īd’s view, the *uç* was not a fixed political unit with linear borders, but a distinctive cultural zone (‘the mountains of the Turkmen and their country’) characterised by certain kinds of social and economic behaviour.¹⁶ This is an insight to which we shall return.

In certain seasons, the extent of Turkmen dominance over the Maeander borderlands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could horrify those who were not natives to the region. In the winter of AD 1147–8, at the turn of the year, Louis VII and the French army of the Second Crusade marched east along the ancient highway from Ephesus towards Laodicea.¹⁷ The Maeander was swollen with winter rains, and the army’s cumbersome passage along the exposed north bank of the river laid them open to constant Turkish assault. One group of Turks had occupied the foothills of the Messogis range to the north; a second band of mobile horse-archers harrassed the Crusaders at close range as they proceeded slowly along the valley floor; and a third group shadowed the Crusaders along the south bank of the Maeander, to prevent them from fording the river. Finally, on New Year’s Day 1148, the French forced their way across the river under a hail of arrows, ‘sowing the fields with corpses as far as the Turks’ mountain hide-outs’. The chronicler Odo of Deuil, an eyewitness to the campaign, records that the river-crossing lay close to a small Byzantine town by the name of Antioch, which received the fleeing Turks (Fig. 1.3).¹⁸ ‘Thus’, says Odo, ‘the emperor

¹⁵ Wittek 1934: 1–14; Cahen 1968: 42–3.

¹⁶ It is telling that when the Turks wished to express the idea of a linear frontier, they were reduced to using a transliterated Greek term, *smir* = σύνορον; Balivet 1994: 43 n. 84. On the artificial creation of a linear frontier in the upper Maeander region by the Roman state, see Chapter 4 below.

¹⁷ Odo of Deuil (ed. Waquet 1949) 64–6; see also William of Tyre 16.24; Nicetas Choniates (ed. van Dieten 1975) 67–71 (conflating the campaigns of Louis and Konrad). On Odo’s account of the Second Crusade, see Phillips 2003.

¹⁸ *Antiochia nomen habens diminutivum*, i.e. Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μικρά, to distinguish it from Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μεγάλη, Syrian Antioch (cf. Const. Porph. *de them.* 14.26). For the situation of Antioch, on a



Figure 1.3 The site of Antioch on the Maeander from the south, with the Dandalas river (the ancient Morsynos) in the foreground; beyond the site, the Maeander valley and the Messogis mountain range

[Manuel I Comnenus] showed himself not merely a deceitful traitor, but an acknowledged enemy.¹⁹ Louis would have stormed the city, were he not so short of supplies, and were the town not so visibly impoverished that no spoils could be expected. So the Crusaders proceeded eastwards towards Laodicea, through a region where ‘the Turks had fixed territorial boundaries with the Greeks, and we could see that both peoples were equally hostile towards us’²⁰

In the Crusaders’ eyes, the Maeander valley in the mid-twelfth century appeared to lie entirely in the hands of the Turks, abetted by a miserable residue of Greek collaborators. However, things were not quite as they

low hill at the south flank of the Maeander plain, commanding the confluence of the Dandalas river (the ancient Morsynos) with the Maeander, see Smith and Ratté 1996: 21–4; Barnes and Whittow 1998.

¹⁹ Similar claims are made by Nicetas (ed. van Dieten 1975) 66–7. However, whether Manuel actually had any authority over the Greek population of the Maeander valley at this point is very doubtful: Magdalino 1993: 51–2.

²⁰ Odo (ed. Waquet 1949) 66; compare 54, ‘where the Greeks still hold fortresses [in western Asia Minor], they divide their revenues with the Turks’.

seemed. In the depths of winter, the lower Maeander valley floor was indeed largely occupied by transhumant Turkmen pastoralists. But along the flanks of the Maeander valley, Greek fortified towns such as Antioch on the Maeander survived, and even, despite the scorn of Louis VII, flourished. It is evident from Odo's narrative that their relationship with the Turkish pastoralists was not hostile, but symbiotic. The Aegean lowlands were Turkish territory for the winter alone; in summer, the Turks returned upcountry to the plateau, and the Greeks of Antioch tended their figs and cucumbers, just as they had done every year since the third century BC.²¹ In AD 1161, a treaty between Manuel and Kılıç Arslan determined that Turks pasturing their flocks in the lowland valleys were to pay for their pasturage; whatever Manuel's panegyrists may have claimed, this clause was little more than a belated recognition of a stable and – within limits – beneficial ecological status quo.²²

We do not know the exact nature of the deal that had been struck between the Greeks of Antioch and the Turkish pastoralists wintering in the Maeander floodplain, but similar seasonal arrangements between town-dwelling Greek farmers and transhumant Turks are attested elsewhere in the lowland Aegean valleys of western Asia Minor at a slightly later date. In AD 1303, the citadel of Sardis in the Hermos valley was under siege by a Turkish raiding-band under a certain Alaïs. After unsuccessful attempts to storm the town, Alaïs offered the inhabitants of Sardis a very remarkable deal. He and his men would move in and occupy half of the citadel of Sardis, with a wall separating the Turkish raiders from the Greek inhabitants of the city. 'The defenders could then go out from the citadel freely to their own [agricultural] work, by which they could maintain themselves; the Turks would carry on their own affairs, not, of course, bothering the defenders, but continuing their lucrative raids against others, according to their normal piratical habits.' The defenders of Sardis accepted the offer, 'in order to have access to water and to be able to sow their fields.'²³ Likewise, in the early fourteenth century, the inhabitants of the city of Tripolis in the middle Maeander valley, overlooking the confluence of the Maeander and Lycus rivers, struck a deal with the local Turkish population of the valley floor,

²¹ Figs: Strabo 13.4.15, with Robert 1937: 416 n. 7. Cucumbers: Diocles of Carystus (ed. van der Eijk 2000) F201. Diocles' cucumbers are evidently from Antioch on the Maeander, not Antioch in Syria; the Maeander valley is still one of the main areas of production for Turkish cucumbers.

²² Eustathius, *Or.* 13 (ed. Wirth 2000) 205.22–3: ὅσοι τὰς ἐκ τῶν πεδισαδῶν ὠνοῦνται νομὰς τοῖς ζῴοις ὑπόσπονδοι, 'those who are bound by the treaty to buy pasturage for their animals from the plain-dwellers'. See Magdalino 1993: 126; Stone 2004: 137–8.

²³ Pachymeres 11.16 (ed. Failler 1984–2000, iv 441–3); Foss 1976: 81–3; Failler 1994: 81.

according to which the Turks would keep the city's Greek defenders supplied with grain.²⁴ Arrangements of this kind were not merely a matter of mutual benefit; they were a reflection of the unequal human division of the valley into two altitudinal zones, each dependent on the resources of the other.

Altitude, sediment and status

The twelfth- and thirteenth-century negotiations between urban Greeks and pastoral Turkmen along the middle and lower course of the Maeander river illustrate in a vivid manner some of the permanent conditions of human settlement in the Maeander valley. As one travels down the lower Maeander valley in daylight, one cannot fail to be struck by the chromatic contrast between the valley floor and the hills to north and south. While the plain itself is a deep and luscious green, studded in spring with the pale pink of almond trees in blossom, the hillsides are a sullen brown, and the only green to be seen comes from occasional patches of dark maquis. But as the sun sets and the hills turn from brown to purple, the valley presents a different face to the traveller. After dark, only the lights of the villages are visible, forming two glittering strings running east to west, strung across the waist of the hills on either side of the valley. Here and there, one can make out the lights of a rare village high up in the hills; a few seem to lie almost at the very foot of the slope. But the valley floor itself is impenetrably black. Permanent settlement in the Maeander valley has always been 'perched' settlement, on spurs, hillocks and narrow plateaux overlooking the plain, even on fantastic man-made platforms raised on stilts above a gorge, such as at the ancient city of Nysa (Fig. 1.4).²⁵ For all the apparent fertility of the valley floor, no one has ever chosen to live in the Maeander plain.

The natural resources of any drainage basin are organised with a certain predictability.²⁶ For sedentary agrarian societies, the most important natural resource is *sediment*, the alluvial soil deposited by a river as its flow velocity

²⁴ Pachymeres 11.25 (ed. Failler 1984–2000, iv 475–9). Tripolis had been refounded in the mid-thirteenth century by the emperor John III Vatatzes on the summit of a steep hill overlooking the ancient settlement: Foss 1979a: 299–302.

²⁵ On Mediterranean 'perched' settlement, see Flatrès and de Planhol 1983; Kaplan 1992: 106–10. Nysa was a 'double city' (Strabo 14.1.43), built over the gorge of the Tekkecik deresi: von Diest 1913: 30–3. For the persistence of this settlement pattern in the post-Byzantine Maeander, see de Planhol 1969b: 259–61.

²⁶ Hence, in part, its appeal to the historical geographer: Baker 2003: 80–1.



Figure 1.4 The site of ancient Nysa (near modern Sultanhisar), looking south across the Maeander plain towards the Carian plateau; the deep valley in the foreground was spanned by several bridges and a stadium suspended over the gorge

drops. In most river-systems, sediment is essentially deposited in two zones (excluding the exceptional case of the river-delta, discussed in [Chapter 8](#)): on the river's floodplain, the valley floor itself, and in cone-shaped alluvial fans, at the fringe of the floodplain at the point where seasonal or perennial streams emerge into the valley from steeper terrain, the 'piedmont'.²⁷ The floodplain possesses the finest alluvial deposits, but also brings the most dangers for human settlement, through the winter inundations of the river. Hence, under most circumstances, the most desirable site for human settlement is in the piedmont, where a community can be free from the fear of flooding, while still being perfectly situated to exploit both the fine alluvium of the floodplain and the coarser soil of the alluvial fans. Crudely, then, one could characterise the Maeander valley as being divided into three altitudinal zones: the floodplain itself, ideally suited to agriculture, but drastically unsuitable for human settlement; the piedmont and alluvial 'apron', less helpful for arable cultivation, but still suitable for vines, olives and fruit-trees, and the prime location for permanent settlement; and the mountain front, primarily a pastoral zone, with a thin scattering of small herding villages.²⁸ It is this middle zone, the piedmont, which has always

²⁷ Knighton 1998: 141–50. ²⁸ Compare Hamilton 1842: I 534; Robert 1937: 417.



Figure 1.5 The Maeander valley, looking south from Sultanhisar. Three different ‘zones’ are visible: in the foreground, the town and fruit gardens of Sultanhisar; beyond, an intensively cultivated zone of arable fields and orchards, with rows of trees acting as field-dividers; beyond that, the floodplain proper, extending as far as the Carian massif to the south. The small modern village of Yenipazar (on the south flank of the valley) is just visible at the far left of the photo, some eight miles as the crow flies from the spot where the photograph was taken

supported the largest and most prosperous settlements in the Maeander valley, including both Andronicopolis-Tralles and its modern successor, the city of Aydın.

As dark falls across the Maeander, the pools of light in the piedmont are markedly denser on the north side of the valley. People today, as in antiquity, choose to live on the right bank of the Maeander: with the single exception of Antioch on the Maeander, the great cities of the middle Maeander valley (Magnesia, Tralles and Nysa; modern Aydın and Nazilli) are all located in the foothills of the Messogis range to the north. Once again, there are geographical factors to encourage this pattern of settlement. On the south flank of the valley, the granite mass of the Carian massif rises sheer out of the Maeander floodplain. Crucially, the Carian uplands do not drain directly into the Maeander valley, but into three major southern tributaries of the Maeander: the Dandalas, Akçay and Çine çay (the ancient



Figure 1.6 The south flank of the Maeander plain, near modern Koçarlı (April 2009); in the foreground, waterlogged cotton fields; at the far left, the foothills of Mt Latmos, covered in maquis

Morsynos, Harpasos and Marsyas rivers respectively). As a result, there is very little alluvial deposition along the north face of the Carian massif itself, rendering the south flank of the Maeander valley unattractive for all but the smallest of village settlements. By contrast, on the north side of the Maeander floodplain, the heights of the Messogis mountain range drain directly into the Maeander, with no major perennial tributaries. This long-term drainage activity has fringed the whole lower part of the Messogis mountain front from Kuyucak in the east to Germencik in the west with a deep apron of alluvial fans, reddish clays and dense gravel. Today, the whole north flank of the Maeander plain is a forest of fig-trees, oranges and other fruits, overlooking the arable fields stretching out into the plain.²⁹ Perhaps as a consequence of this disparity in drainage, the Maeander floodplain is slightly tilted, from north to south. As a result, the winter flooding of the Maeander is much more serious on the south side of the valley, where as late as April or May the floodplain is still covered with water right up to the foothills of the Carian mountains (Fig. 1.6). By contrast, the slight elevation of the northern part of the floodplain causes it to drain considerably earlier in spring; some winters it does not flood at all. It is no coincidence that the

²⁹ Rayet and Thomas 1877–85: 1 9–11; Russell 1954: 367–70.



Figure 1.7 The site of Priene, looking south over the Maeander delta plain

main Roman road across Asia Minor, the Southern Highway, ran along the north bank of the Maeander, not the south.³⁰

In the Maeander valley of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries AD, altitude was to all intents and purposes a marker of ethnicity. During the winter months, the valley floor was occupied by transhumant Turkmen pastoralists, while the urban Greek population occupied the foothills and lower slopes of the mountain ranges to north and south. Similarly, in the mid-first millennium BC, there was a clear status distinction between the inhabitants of the valley floor and the piedmont: higher altitude was a mark of higher status. In the early third century BC, the urban Greeks of Priene (perched on a rocky outcrop high above the northern flank of the Maeander delta plain) referred indiscriminately to all inhabitants of the plain, Greek or non-Greek, simply as *Pedieis*, ‘Plain-dwellers’ (Fig. 1.7).³¹ In 296/5 BC, the Prieneans granted a benefactor from Ephesus the right of purchasing land on Prienean territory, with the proviso that ‘he is not to purchase land which is owned by the *Pedieis*’; the term here apparently refers to an indigenous population-group living on Prienean territory in the Maeander plain.³² In

³⁰ Strabo 14.2.29; Magie 1950: II 789–93; Robert, *OMS* VI 679; Mitchell 1999: 17–21.

³¹ Thonemann forthcoming 2.

³² *I.Priene* 3: see below, Chapter 7, p. 247. Why their land was specifically protected from purchase is not clear. Heisserer 1980: 156, restores a reference to the *Pedieis* in Alexander’s edict

an early third-century Prienean decree honouring King Lysimachus, then exercising a fragile dominance over western Asia Minor (302–281 BC), the king is praised for ‘having sent a force against the Magnesians and the other Pedieis’, who had been ravaging Prienean territory.³³ As is clear from the phrase ‘and the *other* Pedieis’, the inhabitants of the city of Magnesia on the Maeander could, from a Prienean perspective, also be included in the wider category of Pedieis, ‘Plain-dwellers’; the Prieneans here chose to distinguish them from the rest of the Pedieis only as the most egregious culprits on this particular occasion. To all appearances, the term ‘Pedieus’ carried a precisely comparable force to, say, the modern word ‘hill-billy’: an evaluative, usually derogatory term for all those non-Prieneans who lived (or could be represented as the kind of person who would tend to live) on the valley floor.³⁴ From a Prienean perspective, whether such people were Greek or non-Greek, and whether they lived on the territory of Priene, royal land, or the territory of a neighbouring *polis* like Magnesia, was of relatively minor significance. The crucial point – and this is where the evaluative aspect of the term comes in – is that the Pedieis were people *not like us*: no self-respecting Greek could possibly choose to live in the Maeander plain itself.³⁵ The Prieneans’ evaluative terminology here reflects the spatial dimension (hillside/plain) of the broader status-distinctions which characterised the Hellenistic Maeander.

No doubt this altitudinal status-distinction reflected real economic disparities. During his excavations at Miletus and Heraclea under Latmos in 1872 and 1873, Olivier Rayet was struck by the contrast between the prosperous farming villages in the foothills of the Messogis mountain range and the miserable hamlets out in the plain itself:

to Priene (Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* 86B); but see Schuler 1998: 170 n. 42, and Thonemann forthcoming 2.

³³ *I.Priene* 14.5–6: ἀποστ[τεί]λας δύναμ[ιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μάγνητας] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πεδιείς. The ethnic [Μάγνητας] is plausibly restored on the basis of *I.Priene* 15.14 (where, as Welles rightly notes, [καὶ Πεδιέων] is certainly too long for the lacuna: *RC* 6, pp. 41–2, with Pl. 1) and 16.10–19.

³⁴ There is a large modern literature on the ethnicity and legal status of the Pedieis: e.g. Schuler 1998: 204–7; Debord 1999: 439–41; Bertrand 2005; Mileta 2008: 124–6. See, however, Herz (2001: 419): the term Pedieis *in itself* carries no ethnic connotations, but is purely descriptive and evaluative.

³⁵ In *I.Priene* 17, the Prienean Sotas is honoured for having resisted a Galatian incursion with the help of a scratch force, consisting of a group of Prienean citizens and ‘those from the (Prienean) territory who were willing to endanger themselves along with the Prieneans’ (τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοὺς [ἐπι]θυ[μῆσ]αντας αὐτοῖς συγκινδυνεύειν). I see no reason for distinguishing this group from the Pedieis. Since the non-Prienean plain-dwellers are here regarded in a positive light, they are designated by the neutral phrase οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας.

The road which leads from Aydın to Söke, the centre of the *kaza* in which the lower Maeander valley is comprised, follows the foot of the Mesogis for some time, passing between the gardens of orange-, apple- and fig-growers. One remains thus among trees and running waters as far as Kara-bounar [near modern Erbeyli], where one crosses the railway line to turn slightly to the left, towards the middle of the valley. The hamlet is shadowed by plane-trees, and surrounded with fields of reeds. But hardly has one passed the last houses when the plain is suddenly denuded of trees: hereafter the earth is sandy, sprinkled here and there with tufts of rushes, stripped short by the teeth of grazing animals and resembling great balls of needles. The soil, covered by a thin layer of heather, is blackish in colour, and in places is coated with a light efflorescence of salt. Horses' hooves sink in without a sound. In the deep ditches where the mountain streams end their descent, finding no further slope down which to run, buffaloes, sunk in the mud up to their nostrils, watch passing travellers with an air of alarm. The smart villages in the vicinity of Aydın, with their tall trees, sharp minarets and comfortable houses, are replaced by squalid hamlets whose ragged inhabitants, shivering with fever, wallow in misery. The hamlets of Pekali and Bokle, to the left and right of the road, consist of low hovels, some of wattle and heather, others of sun-baked mud mixed with straw.³⁶

What the Prieneans' disdain for the unfortunate inhabitants of the valley floor conceals is the fact that the piedmont and the floodplain necessarily formed part of a single, interdependent ecological system. The two regions were always symbiotic; the prosperity of the perched settlements of the north flank of the Maeander valley in both antiquity and the Byzantine middle ages was entirely reliant on the exploitation of the resources of the alluvial valley floor. The city of Tralles, as Andronicus Palaeologus recognised, occupied a magnificently defensible site, situated on a long elevated terrace overlooking the Maeander valley, some 140 m above the floodplain; the site was protected by steep cliffs at the south, and deep gorges to east and west (Fig. 1.8).³⁷ Nonetheless, in 1284, the new settlement of Andronicopolis-Tralles fell to the Turks with remarkable ease once it had been cut off from its territory in the Maeander plain. The failure of Andronicus' settlement had nothing to do with any flaws in the city's defences; the city's fatal weakness was simply the essential interdependence of piedmont and floodplain. Once Andronicus' city was cut off from its territory on the Maeander valley floor, its hilltop position proved a disastrous liability.

³⁶ Rayet and Thomas 1877–85: I 19.

³⁷ Philippson 1910–15: II 79–80; Chaput 1936: 214–18. To the east of the site of Tralles, there is a sharp drop of 80–85 m down to the gorge of the torrential Tabakhane Deresi (the ancient river Eudon); the Ottoman city of Aydın was later built on the alluvial cones left by this river.



Figure 1.8 The gorge of the Tabakhane Deresi (the ancient river Eudon), looking south from the plateau of Tralles towards the modern city of Aydın

The historical geography of the Maeander valley: two interim hypotheses

The circumstances of the fall of Andronicopolis-Tralles to the emir Menteşe in AD 1284 invite two preliminary general hypotheses on the historical geography of the Maeander valley.

First, the history and character of the cities of the Maeander valley were profoundly influenced by their location on the fringe of the Maeander floodplain. For the inhabitants of Antioch on the Maeander in the mid-twelfth century, or the short-lived settlers at Tralles in the late thirteenth century, the valley was not merely a picturesque backdrop to their activities, an inert ‘natural setting’ or ‘geographical context’; it was the determining factor in their survival or failure as human communities. Every day, every year, the inhabitants of the towns of the Maeander valley were painfully brought up against the limits of the possible: limited access to fresh water, the need to secure a regular supply of grain, and the delicate waltz of economic engagement and negotiation with the pastoral peoples of the floodplain.

The experience of living in a river valley, and of living in *this particular* river valley, shaped the historical development of the human communities of Priene, Tralles, Antioch, Laodicea and the rest.

Second, and more importantly, the ‘natural setting’ of the Maeander valley was not in fact ‘natural’ in any meaningful sense at all. As we have seen, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the middle Maeander valley underwent a ‘pastoral turn’, drastically altering the patterns of settlement along the flanks of the valley and the seasonal exploitation of the resources of the valley floor.³⁸ The landscape was, to a very great extent, culturally constructed; it could be, and often has been, radically reshaped by its inhabitants, depending on their particular cultural needs and priorities. For much of the Ottoman era, the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, thickly sown with prosperous cities throughout antiquity (Ephesus, Miletus and others), was an underpopulated and malaria-plagued backwater; it was only in the twentieth century, with the emergence of mass sand-tourism, that the Aegean coast was resettled. The great cities of Ottoman Asia Minor lay in the highlands of Phrygia and the central Anatolian plateau, regions which were home to the merest scatter of population in antiquity. The environmental conditions and natural geography of Asia Minor have barely changed; the soil, climate, flora and fauna of the great plains of Inner Anatolia are more or less as they were two thousand years ago, and despite some changes to the river deltas, the rugged Aegean coast presents the same profile today as it did in antiquity. The resources of the landscape are constant, but they are also socially contingent; so much so that it is helpful to think of natural resources primarily as cultural and economic *appraisals* by particular human groups.³⁹

Many studies of places in the past, from the Mediterranean sea to individual villages, are built on a common structural model, beginning with a description of ‘deep’ climatic conditions, rainfall and sedimentology, before turning to human institutions and, at length, the passing business of individual men and women. The structure carries built into it an implicit (or sometimes explicit) causal dynamic and hierarchisation of problems: an essentially static ecological framework is assumed as the starting point, if not the ultimate cause, for all that follows. This implication

³⁸ Pachymeres, writing in the early fourteenth century, describes the Maeander as ‘well-suited for the increase of herds of cattle and flocks of sheep’ (4.27, ed. Failler 1984–2000: II 403); this description reflects the specific local conditions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In fact, by the end of the thirteenth century the Turks were already cultivating wheat in the lowland valleys of western Asia Minor: Zachariadou 1983: 163.

³⁹ Harvey 2010: 188.

is historically disreputable in the extreme. At a certain defined historical moment, the mineral springs at Hierapolis-Pamukkale were mobilised as the basis of the most important textile industry in the eastern Mediterranean; at another, the inhabitants of Hierapolis chose to conceptualise the white travertines created by the springs as the milk of Endymion's flocks.⁴⁰ We can, if we wish, reduce these contingent facts about the past to a materialist base – the chemical composition of the Hierapolis travertines – but at that precise moment we cease to be historians. In this book, I am, instead, primarily concerned with the dialectical relationship between the human communities of the Maeander valley and their physical environment: the ways in which men and women chose to appraise and exploit the material resources of their surroundings, and the transformative changes undergone by both society and environment as a result of the encounter.⁴¹

Before turning to the actual forms of that encounter, however, the critical issue of spatial definition needs to be addressed. In choosing to study the whole of the Maeander from source to delta, we commit ourselves to a physical space which has at no point in history even vaguely corresponded to a single political, ethnic or cultural unit. Is the Maeander valley, in fact, an appropriate regional unit of analysis? Did its inhabitants ever perceive the Maeander valley to be a clearly defined 'region' in its own right? Why the Maeander?

Defining the Maeander

'Rivers' are not geological facts, like drainage basins or watersheds. Rather, the identification and classification of a particular stream within a river-system as a 'river', the act of naming one particular course from source to delta, and categorising other streams as its affluents, is a human project, and reflects social concerns as well as geological realities. There has never been a single 'true' Maeander, objectively determined by geography. The question 'What is a (particular) river?' can only be answered demonstratively, in the form '*That is*', repeated at various different points along the watercourse; and the reasoning behind this answer is essentially 'Because that is what people choose to call it'.⁴² The Maeander *was*, then, the longest river in western Asia Minor (around 329 miles, with a drainage basin of some 10,000

⁴⁰ See below, [Chapter 2](#), pp. 75–7; [Chapter 5](#), pp. 186–90.

⁴¹ For the usefulness of dialectics in understanding this process, see Harvey 2009: 230–3.

⁴² Quine 1950, and see [Chapter 8](#) below, pp. 302–14.

square miles); it rose in the plain of Aulutrene east of Apamea-Celaenae; on its route westwards to the Aegean, it flowed past the cities of Eumeneia, Dionysopolis, Apollonia-Tripolis, Antioch on the Maeander, Nysa, Tralles and Magnesia; between the coastal cities of Miletus and Priene, it crossed a vast delta plain and entered the sea. In the second century AD, the orator Dio of Prusa, congratulating the inhabitants of Apamea-Celaenae on their city's geographical situation, praised the Maeander as 'by far the most divine and wisest of all rivers, which, turning through a myriad bends, visits, as it were, the best part of Asia'.⁴³

This definition is chronologically contingent. Any given river is, in part, the product of a specific social organisation, which exists at a specific point in time. The modern Büyük Menderes river need not coincide with any given historical Maeander. As it happens, the Büyük Menderes is today believed to rise at roughly the same point as the ancient Maeander, in the vicinity of Dinar, the ancient Apamea-Celaenae. This was not always the case. In the last years of the nineteenth century the Maeander was generally supposed to rise among the marshes and rivulets to the south of modern Gümüşsu, along the foot of the range of the Ak Dağ.⁴⁴ Upon making inquiries in the vicinity of Çardak in the course of his journey of 1826, the Rev. Francis Arundell received the unanimous report that the source was at Işıklı, and in March 1800, General Köhler, the travelling companion of Colonel Leake, discovered that the river which rises to the east of Sandıklı, in antiquity an affluent of the Maeander known as the Cludrus, had arrogated to itself the name of Menderes.⁴⁵ For what it's worth, if the Maeander 'is' the longest course from source to delta, then Köhler's Menderes, with its source in the Küçüksincanlı ovası, is the true Maeander, and the stream which rises at Dinar/Apamea an affluent.⁴⁶

The shifting source of the Maeander reflects changes in the human geography of the region. In antiquity, Apamea was the most significant city in the upper Maeander region, and hence the Maeander was considered to rise at Apamea. But by the later Byzantine period, Apamea had dwindled to a mere village. In the Ottoman period, the main caravan road to the east had shifted northwards from Apamea to Işıklı and the gorge of the Kûfû Çayı

⁴³ Dio 35.13.

⁴⁴ Ramsay, *Phrygia* 1 228. *pace* Ramsay (II 454), Cinnamus 2.9 (ed. Meineke 1836: 59–63) does not express this opinion: he is describing the source at Aulutrene (Christol and Drew-Bear 1987: 32).

⁴⁵ Arundell 1828: 155; but contrast *ib.* 101 (source at Dinar); 111 (source four hours from Dinar); Leake 1824: 139, 153–4.

⁴⁶ *TIB Phrygien* s.v. Maiandros.

(the ancient Cludrus), and hence the Maeander too shifted north to follow the Kûfû Çayı. With the coming of the Ottoman Railway in the late nineteenth century, Dinar/Apamea regained its position as the central gateway to the east, and the Maeander was once again understood to rise at Dinar.⁴⁷ The course of the river itself – like Herodotus' Danube, with its source far to the west in the foothills of the Pyrenees – can be dragged north or south by changes in the dominant channels of communication.⁴⁸

It should be clear, then, that although their actual courses happen (for the time being) to look identical, the ancient Maeander should not simply be equated with today's Büyük Menderes. The modern name is suggestive: the 'Greater' Menderes, as opposed to a 'Lesser' Menderes. In antiquity, the Maeander was firmly distinguished from its affluent the Lycus, and from the river Cayster to the north. But both rivers have in more recent times been conceptualised as parts of the Maeander river-system. It appears, although the evidence is not entirely clear, that the Lycus, now known as the Çürük Su, could be designated the 'Lesser Maeander' in the Byzantine period.⁴⁹ In 1904, the upper course of the Çürük Su, in the Türkmen ovası north of Honaz, was known as the Küçük ('Lesser') Menderes.⁵⁰ The name Küçük Menderes is today attached to the ancient river Cayster, making a single river-system out of the Maeander and Cayster.

The historical significance of these changes should not be underestimated. There is no intrinsic *geological* reason why the Cayster should be considered as part of the Maeander river-system, rather than as part of the Kogamos-Hermos river-system or – most accurately – as a separate river altogether.⁵¹ What the modern nomenclature reflects is above all an *idea* of regional topography, specific to post-Byzantine Turkey, and differing from that of antiquity. Like the itinerant source of the Maeander, the Turkish bi-partite Menderes (Büyük and Küçük) is a product of a particular social organisation at a particular point in time. In this case, the nomenclature probably reflects the territorial claims of the first Turkish emirate in the region, the house of Aydınöğlu. The fourteenth-century emirate of Aydın, with its capital in the upper Cayster region at Birgi, encompassed the whole of the Cayster valley

⁴⁷ See further Chapter 4 below, pp. 134–43. ⁴⁸ For Herodotus' Danube, see Dion 1968.

⁴⁹ (*Maeander*) *minor*: TIB *Phrygien* s.v. Lykos. The suggestion of Ramsay, *Phrygia* I 219, that Frederick Barbarossa confused the sources of the Lycus and the Maeander derives from a defective manuscript of the *Epistola de morte Friderici*, which omits a crucial clause: compare Chroust 1928: 174.

⁵⁰ Philippon 1910–15: IV 96.

⁵¹ Dion 1968: 10–13 (Cydnus in Cilicia = Choaspes in Susiana). Dion 1977: 237–45, discusses the ways in which conceptions of the Danube-Ister in the late Republican and early Imperial period changed to reflect political developments; also RE IV s.v. *Danuvius*, cols. 2103–32.

and the right bank of the Maeander river. To the south, the authority of the Aydınoğulları extended beyond the Maeander river only into the lower valleys of the Dandalas (Morsynus) and Akçay (Harpasus) rivers; to the north, the southern flank of the Gediz (Hermos) plain marked the limit of their control. The territory controlled by the emirate was thus defined to the south and north by the Maeander and Cayster, the ‘big’ and the ‘small’ river.⁵²

Perceived space and regional association

The spatial boundaries of regions in the past can be defined in various different ways. Historians have generally favoured defining regions by ‘polity’ (city-states, empires, nation-states) or by ‘ethnicity’ (whether self-ascribed or not); archaeologists, particularly but not only those working on prehistoric periods, have preferred to define regions by ‘culture’, a concept which incorporates both material culture and patterns of human behaviour.⁵³

The Maeander valley does not constitute a ‘region’ in any of these senses. Culturally speaking, there was never a single homogeneous ‘Mäandervolk’, archaeologically distinct from the peoples of the Cayster and Hermos valleys. In the early first millennium BC, the interior of the Anatolian peninsula had been home to several linguistically and culturally distinctive population-groups: Lydians, Carians, Phrygians, Cappadocians and others. As late as the Augustan period, the geographer Strabo chose to structure his account of the peninsula around the territories associated with these various cultural groups.⁵⁴ But as Strabo himself recognised, the region of the Messogis mountain range and the Maeander valley could not be neatly fitted into any cultural schema. The Messogis range, he says, ‘is inhabited by Phrygians in the region of Celaenae and Apamea, elsewhere by Mysians and Lydians, elsewhere by Carians and Ionians. Similarly, the rivers, and above all the Maeander, in some cases form the boundary between tribes (Gk *ethnē*), but in others flow through the midst of them, making it

⁵² Territory of the Aydınoğulları: Akın 1946: 90–103; Lemerle 1957: 19–39. The Cayster is still called the Cayster by Pachymeres in the early fourteenth century (3.21, 4.27, ed. Failler 1984–2000: I 291, II 405), but the Turkish name seems always to have been the Küçük Menderes.

⁵³ Baker 2003: 159–80; compare Reger 2007.

⁵⁴ These geographical expressions (Lydia, Caria, Phrygia, etc.) continued to have an intense cultural significance in the Roman imperial period: Spawforth 2001; Howgego 2005: 11. For Roman Phrygia, see Chapter 3 below, pp. 109–17.

difficult to determine their boundaries precisely; and the same is also true of the plains that lie on both sides of the mountainous and fluvial land.⁵⁵ Our earliest literary source to mention the Maeander river by name, the poet of the *Iliad*, describes it as part of the land of the harsh-tongued Carians, ‘who dwell in Miletus, and on thickly-wooded Mt Phthires [i.e. Mt Latmos]; by the streams of the Maeander, and the steep crags of Mycale’; but the poet is clearly only referring to the area around the mouth of the Maeander valley, which happened in his day to be largely occupied by Carians.⁵⁶

Nor, apart from a short period in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see above), has the Maeander valley ever constituted a single political or administrative district. Indeed, in more than one period the river itself served as the boundary between two or more different territorial states. As we have seen, in the fourteenth century AD, the south bank of the Maeander formed part of the emirate of Menteşe, while the land to the north of the river was controlled by the emirs of Aydın; meanwhile, the inland regions, east of Denizli, were under the suzerainty of the emirate of Germiyan. Similarly, for a brief period from 188 to 167 BC, the course of the Maeander formally divided the Attalid kingdom to the north from a zone of Rhodian influence to the south (see below).

As we have seen, a river valley is not so much a ‘natural’ space, like a drainage basin, as a *perceived* space, constructed by the inhabitants of a region as a means of organising their physical surroundings into a coherent conceptual framework.⁵⁷ Defining the boundaries of the historical Maeander ‘region’ ought not, then, primarily to be a question of geology, still less of ethnicity or political structures, but rather of contemporary perception and usage. I would therefore like to suggest that the Maeander region is best defined as a product of its inhabitants’ own sense of *regional*

⁵⁵ Strabo 13.4.12. Compare 14.1.42: the lower Maeander plain ‘is inhabited by Lydians and Carians and Ionians, namely the Milesians and Myesians, and also by the Aeolians of Magnesia; and the same kind of topographical [i.e. ethnographic] account applies inland as far as Nysa and Antioch’. Likewise at *Hell. Oxy.* 7.4 *ad fin.*, we appear to be told that [τὸ πεδίων τὸ Μαιάν]δρου κατοούμενον is inhabited by Λυδ[οῖ] κ[αὶ] . . .].

⁵⁶ *H. Il.* 2.867–9. For the identification with Mt Latmos, Herda 2006b: 73 n. 170. The linguistic origin of the name *Maiandros* is disputed: Tischler 1977: 93–4; Thonemann 2006: 36–7. No river-name from the Hittite texts can firmly be attached to the river later known as the Maeander: Easton *et al.* 2002: 94–101. The attempt by Woudhuizen 2003 to revive the old identification of the Maeander with the Hittite river Seha fails to engage fully with the powerful counter-arguments adduced by Hawkins 1998.

⁵⁷ Harvey 2009: 166–201. Compare de Planhol 1994: 197–206, who successfully avoids the Braudelian trap (Anderson 1992: 251–78) of reifying this spatial construction in terms of regional or national ‘personality’.

association.⁵⁸ By this I mean their perception of ‘being from the Maeander’, a perception which assumes the existence of the Maeander valley as a coherent spatial unit with its own distinctive and characteristic ways of life and patterns of social relations. Whether or not that spatial unit happens to overlap with an archaeologically visible ‘culture zone’ is of no great importance; the important point is the region’s reality in social consciousness, its inhabitants’ awareness of living in, and *belonging to*, a particular region.

Regional association is a category of identity, just like those aspects of identity which come from living in a particular village, city-state, peninsula or continent. Group loyalties and affiliations overlap, and people chose to associate themselves with different groups in different contexts. So, for example, a Spartan in the sixth or fifth century BC could distinguish himself politically as a Spartan, ethnically as a Dorian, and regionally as a Peloponnesian or Achaean. His regional or ‘Peloponnesian’ association only came to the fore very occasionally, particularly on those rare but dramatic occasions when he wished to emphasise his inheritance (through the Heraclid conquest of the Peloponnese) of the peninsula-wide kingdom of Pelops.⁵⁹ Similarly, the inhabitants of Tralles or Antioch need not often have consciously thought of themselves as ‘being from the Maeander’. The crucial point from my perspective is that, if pressed to express her origin in regional, rather than political terms, a citizen of Tralles or Antioch would instinctively have elected to describe herself as ‘from the Maeander’, rather than ‘from Asia Minor’ or ‘from Caria’.

An obvious indication of this sense of regional association comes from the names which the inhabitants of the Maeander valley gave to their settlements. The Greeks had always used geographical or descriptive ‘tags’ to distinguish between homonymous cities: Heraclea in Trachis, Heraclea under Latmos, Heraclea Pontica. The problem became particularly acute in the Hellenistic period, as ever more cities in western Asia were named or renamed after the reigning monarch or members of his family: dozens of cities in the Seleucid kingdom carried the dynastic names of Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea or Laodicea (hence ‘Antioch in Persis’, ‘Antioch by Pisidia’ and so forth). We should emphasise that these geographical designations represent a positive choice, a conscious decision to categorise a city in one way rather than another.⁶⁰ Alexandria ‘by Egypt’ could have been called Alexandria ‘in Egypt’ or Alexandria ‘by the sea’; the fact that it was *by* rather than *in* Egypt tells us something significant about the way in which the

⁵⁸ I regret having to coin a new phrase: none of the existing ones seemed quite to fit the bill.

⁵⁹ Boedeker 1993. ⁶⁰ Meyer 2001: 507.

inhabitants of Alexandria conceptualised their geographical situation and relations with the rest of the Ptolemaic kingdom.⁶¹ Similarly, the inhabitants of Magnesia on the Maeander could, like the inhabitants of Magnesia under Sipylus, have chosen to call their city ‘Magnesia under Mycale’ or ‘Magnesia under Thorax’;⁶² Antioch on the Maeander could have been called Antioch by Caria.⁶³ Instead, both communities chose to take their names from the river Maeander.

The case of Antioch is a particularly interesting one, since we happen to know that the city officially carried the name of Antioch ‘by the Maeander’ right from the time of its foundation. An inscription from Nagidos in Cilicia records the participation of Nagidos and Mallos in the foundation of the city of ‘Antioch by the Maeander’ in the 270s BC; since Nagidos was believed to have been founded by settlers from the island of Samos, the Samians could later describe themselves as ‘kinsmen’ of the citizens of Antioch.⁶⁴ The Maeander continued to be a central element in the local identity of the city’s inhabitants. In the third century AD, many of the city’s coins depict the famous bridge over the Maeander at Antioch (Fig. 1.9). A graffito scratched into the stucco wall of a house on Delos in the late Republican period offers a crude depiction of the Antioch bridge, complete with ships sailing down the river. In the scrawled inscription alongside, the artist (apparently a slave) declares that ‘this is the land of Antioch, rich in figs and water; saviour Maeander, save me and give me water’.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Fraser 1972: 1 107–9; on the other cities carrying the name of Alexandria, Fraser 1996.

⁶² The fictional oracle in *I.Magnesia* 17.46–51 (with the corrections of Ebert 1985) instructs Leucippus, the mythological founder of Magnesia, to travel to ‘the peak of Thorax, the plunging stream of Manthius and the steep heights of Mycale, lying opposite Endymion (=Mt Latmos)’. The Manthius (also in *IG* xiv 933) is more likely to be an alternative name for the Lethaeus than for the Maeander (*pace* Ebert 1985). It is possible that the toponym ‘Thorax’ is *interpretatio graeca* of an indigenous name for the settlement at Magnesia (Thonemann 2009a: 178). An oracle of the third century BC addressed the Magnesians as ‘you who were allotted the holy city by the waters of the Maeander’: *I.Magnesia* 215a. Cf. also Ebert 1972, no. 53.

⁶³ In *MAMA* vi 224 (Eumeneia: III AD), a native of Antioch on the Maeander is (highly exceptionally) described as Ἀντιόχου τῆς Ἀσίας (Robert 1963: 358 n. 2). But this form of the ethnic cannot antedate the creation of the Roman province.

⁶⁴ *SEG* 43, 998; in lines 2–3, I would restore [Ἀντιόχ]ειαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ [Ἰ] Μαιάνδρῳ, on the basis of the kinship between Samos and Antioch on the Maeander attested in *IG* xii 6, 1 6.19 (shortly after 167 BC). Nagidos as colony of Samos: Pomponius Mela 1.13.77. Antioch on the Maeander was founded by Antiochus I (Cohen 1995: 250–2); the Nagidos inscription antedates the loss of Cilicia to Ptolemy II Philadelphus in c. 270 BC. Hence the foundation of Antioch should be placed between 281 and c. 270 BC. Curty (1995: 61–3) offers a different explanation of the kinship between Samos and Antioch.

⁶⁵ Severyns 1927: 234–8; Robert 1937: 416 n. 7; Bruneau 1978: 147–50. Compare *IG* xii 5, 677 (Syros: late Imperial period), ‘Antioch . . . by the level banks of the fair-flowing Maeander river’.



Figure 1.9 Antioch, Gallienus (Æ); the bridge over the Maeander at Antioch, with stork and reclining river-god

It is worth noting, too, that even those cities in the region which did not possess homonyms elsewhere in the Greek world could still be named and defined in terms of their relation to the Maeander river. In the first part of the Ephesian customs law, which probably dates to the first years of the Roman province of Asia (the 120s BC), we have a list of almost fifty maritime customs stations along the coastal fringe of the province of Asia, including the city of Priene, here described as ‘Priene by the mouth of the Maeander’. The designation ‘by the mouth of the Maeander’ is entirely redundant: there was only one city called Priene in Asia.⁶⁶ Perhaps more remarkable still, in the thirteenth century AD, Michael Choniates chose to define the location of his native city, Colossae-Chonae, in relation to the Maeander river: ‘Colossae is a city of Phrygia, and it is virtually a neighbour to the river Maeander, located as it is only around a day’s journey to the east.’ His local river, the Lycus, was evidently not well known enough; Chonae was best situated in relation to the only topographical feature that really mattered in this region, the river Maeander.⁶⁷

In the remainder of this chapter, we shall look in more detail at two of the ways in which the inhabitants of the Maeander valley chose to express their sense of regional association in the first millennium BC: first, a class of personal names characteristic of the Maeander delta region in the archaic and classical periods, and second, the iconography of the cities’ local coinages from the fourth to the first century BC.

⁶⁶ Cottier *et al.* 2008: line 25. For the date of this part of the customs law, see Mitchell 2008: 198–201. Nollé 1991: 336–8, understands the text to refer to an extra-urban harbour in Prienean territory at the mouth of the Maeander. See further below, pp. 332–4.

⁶⁷ Michael Choniates (ed. Lampros 1879–80) I 35–6, and cf. below, Chapter 2 p. 64, n. 35 (Pamukkale-Hierapolis ‘by the Maeander’).

Maeander-warriors

One of the earliest surviving inscriptions from Miletus is carved on the stone base of a statue group on the Sacred Way near Didyma, ‘dedicated by the sons of Anaximandros, son of Mandromachos; Terpsikles was the sculptor’.⁶⁸ Nothing speaks to us so clearly of the value-system of archaic Ionia as the magnificent, sonorous personal names of the Milesian aristocratic class: Aristolochos, Astykrates, Themistagores, Timesianax, and here, Anaximandros, ‘prince of the Maeander’, son of Mandromachos, ‘Maeander-warrior’. Moral and martial qualities are prominently advertised. Names compounded on *anax* (‘prince, ruler’) are unusually common; names compounded on *dēmos* are distinctly rare. Nonetheless, and somewhat unexpectedly, the most popular of all the nominal elements in the archaic onomastics of Miletus was the name of the river Maeander, present in the form Mandr- or -mandros in around a seventh of *all* personal names attested at Miletus before 500 BC.⁶⁹ These ‘Maeander-names’ at archaic Miletus and its Pontic colonies celebrate justice and oratory, horsemanship and the hoplite phalanx: Themistomandros, Mandrodikos, Mandragores; Mandrippos, Mandrostratos. The Maeander could be compounded with the names of gods (Pythomandros, Diomandros, Athenomandros), and even, very rarely, with the names of other rivers (Hermomandros, Neilomandros).

The extraordinary prominence of the Maeander in archaic Milesian onomastics demands explanation, especially since Miletus itself was not even physically connected to the Maeander valley proper until the Roman imperial period (see [Chapter 8](#) below). Why did archaic Milesian aristocrats feel such a close connection with the river Maeander, at a time when the urban centre of Miletus lay on a peninsula perhaps ten or fifteen miles west of the mouth of the river, and very little of the Maeander delta plain can possibly have been included within Milesian territory?

I suggest that the Maeander may have held a central position in the Milesian naming-system precisely *because* the lower Maeander flood plain was marginal and disputed territory for Miletus. The Maeander delta region was the scene of the greater part of Miletus’ land warfare with her neighbours, and hence served as the major theatre of military display of the local aristocratic class. Herodotus tells us how, for eleven consecutive years in the late seventh century BC, the armies of the kings of Lydia invaded the territory of Miletus. Each year, when the crops were ripening, the Lydians marched

⁶⁸ *I.Didyma 2*: first half of the sixth century BC. ⁶⁹ So I have argued: Thonemann 2006.

in to the sound of pipes and oboes, and ravaged the countryside. The city of Miletus itself was never assaulted, and houses on Milesian territory were left intact. The aim, Herodotus explains, was that the farmers would continue to cultivate their land, so that the Lydians would find something to destroy the following year. From time to time the Milesians came out to meet the Lydians in battle, and suffered two great defeats, one at a place called Limeneion, the other in the plain of the Maeander. The annual invasions only ended when the Lydians accidentally set fire to a temple of Athena at Assessos.⁷⁰

The Maeander delta plain continued to be a fertile arena for conflict between the cities of the lower Maeander well into the Hellenistic period. In the fourth century BC, a squabble between the neighbouring cities of Miletus and Myus over land in the Maeander delta was only resolved by the intervention of the Persian satrap, who appointed a large panel of judges from the cities of the Ionian *koinon* in an (unsuccessful) attempt to settle the dispute once and for all.⁷¹ As we have seen, in the early third century BC, the citizens of Magnesia on the Maeander allied themselves with the non-citizen inhabitants of the lower Maeander flood plain (the ‘Pedieis’) in a short and nasty war of territorial acquisition against Priene; the early second century BC saw a more extended period of hostilities, involving the cities of Priene, Magnesia, Miletus and Heraclea under Latmos, over their various territorial boundaries in the delta region.⁷²

The island of Samos, too, lying off the Asiatic coast north of Mt Mycale, had long-standing claims to territory in or overlooking the Maeander delta plain. One particular dispute between Samos and Priene over a stretch of land on Mt Mycale seems to have been particularly bitter. The conflict concerned territorially underdefined but economically precious marginal resources, the regions known as the Batinetis (‘brambles’) and Dryoussa (‘oak-woods’) on Mt Mycale (see Fig. 7.10). Both states agreed that this land had originally formed part of the territory of Melia, destroyed in the late eighth or early seventh century BC; the dispute seems to have run more or less continuously from the seventh to the late second century BC.⁷³ One

⁷⁰ Hdt. 1.17–22. The location of Limeneion is unknown; for Assessos, Kalaitzoglou 2008: 5–15. On the potential impact of agricultural ravaging, see Foxhall 1993; Thorne 2001.

⁷¹ Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* 16 (c. 391–388 BC).

⁷² *I.Priene* 26–8; *Milet* (1 3) 148, 150; *I.Magnesia* 93; Herrmann 2001; Wörrle 2004.

⁷³ Aristotle fr. 576 (Rose); *IG XII* 6.1, 155; *I.Priene* 37–8, 40–1; *I.Priene* 37 is re-edited with commentary by Magnetto 2008. On the dispute, see further Carusi 2003: 127–36, 146–54; Heller 2006: 38–42. For territorial disputes over ‘marginal’ land, see further Sartre 1979; Ma 2000: 349–51; van Wees 2004: 19–33, esp. 28–30.

of the many peaks in this long-lived conflict came in 441/0 BC, when we find the Milesians at war with Samos over the territory of Priene. It is possible that this particular bout of warfare between the three states was sufficiently acrimonious as to require the relocation of the Panionion from its old location on Mt Mycale to the vicinity of Ephesus.⁷⁴ But the emphasis should lie on the *normality* of warfare between Priene and Samos over the territory on Mt Mycale: ‘for young Samian hoplites, it may have been almost a *rite de passage* to fight in defence of the Peraia’.⁷⁵ It should come as no surprise to find that Maeander-names are almost as common at Samos as they are at Miletus.

In the first millennium BC, the Maeander delta was an essentially contested political space.⁷⁶ The function of the lower Maeander plain as an agreed *locus* of ritualised military display for the cities of Miletus, Priene, Magnesia, Samos and even for the seventh-century Lydian kingdom itself, is reminiscent of the role played by the region of Thyreia-Cynouria in the fractious history of Spartan-Argive relations.⁷⁷ This small coastal plain lay on the borders between Argive and Spartan territory on the east coast of the Peloponnese. Periodic bouts of controlled violence over the territory were governed by strict conventions to prevent escalation: in a treaty of 420 BC, the Spartans and Argives agreed that clashes over Thyreia were not to spill over into civic territory proper. Thyreia thus provided both Sparta and Argos with a regular, reliable and, crucially, not especially dangerous forum for ritualised warfare and aristocratic display.⁷⁸ We are told that at the Spartan festival of the Gymnopaediae, the leaders of the choruses wore crowns called *Thyreiatikoi* in memory of their (disputed) victory at Thyreia at the battle of the Champions in 546 BC – a nice example of the same process of cultural internalisation of ritual warfare which we have seen operating in Maeander-names at Miletus.⁷⁹

We ought not to overstate the significance of Maeander-names among the Milesians and their neighbours. In different contexts, a Milesian living in Teichioussa could consider herself to be an Ionian, a Greek, a Greek living in Asia, a Milesian, or a Teichioussan; she did not, I suspect, often

⁷⁴ Thuc. 1.115.2. Relocation of the Panionion: Hornblower 1982b; *contra*, Stylianou 1983; see further Hornblower 1991: 527–9; Herda 2006b.

⁷⁵ Shipley 1987: 35. ⁷⁶ The reasons for this are explored further in Chapter 8.

⁷⁷ Brelich 1961: 22–34; Sartre 1979. For the history and archaeology of Thyreia, see also Phaklaris 1990: 33–129.

⁷⁸ Hdt. 1.82 (battle of the champions); Thuc. 5.41 (treaty of 420); 6.95 (Argive raid of 414); 2.27 (granted to Aeginetans).

⁷⁹ Sosibius, *FGrHist* 595F5, with Brelich 1961: 30–1.

think of herself as a 'Maeandrian'. However, in the particular context of name-giving, male members of the aristocratic class at Miletus, Magnesia and Samos did choose to represent themselves as 'Maeander-men'. For a Milesian of the sixth century BC, when it came to naming his baby son, the river Maeander was the chief focus of his aspirations. Every summer, as the grain was ripening, the Milesian cavalry rode out east across the marshy flatlands of the delta plain, to stain the Maeander red with Lydian blood; it is hardly surprising that the cavalymen chose to name their sons 'Maeander-prince', 'Maeander-warrior', 'Maeander-horse'. What is surprising is that this particular onomastic habit seems to be peculiar to two regions, and two regions only: the areas around the gulfs of the Maeander and Hermos rivers in western Asia Minor. At Mytilene, Phocaea and her colonies and the cities of the Erythraean peninsula, clustered around the mouth of the river Hermos, names compounded on the Hermos are hardly less common than Maeander-names at Miletus. But we find nothing of the kind in contemporary mainland Greece. However materially important the Axios river may have been for the inhabitants of Pella, or the Eurotas river for the inhabitants of Sparta, the Axios and the Eurotas seem not to have played a significant role in the construction of a regional identity for the Macedonians and the Spartans. It was only at the mouths of the two great river-valleys of western Asia Minor that the aristocratic class chose to represent themselves as 'rivermen'.

Maeander-names declined rapidly at Miletus in the course of the fifth century BC, and more or less disappeared by the early Hellenistic period. At Magnesia, where very little evidence is available before the late fourth century, the onomastic habit persisted longer, but here, too, hardly survived the second century BC. Nonetheless, it would be perilous to argue that there was a change in the way in which the Magnesians or Milesians thought about their relationship with the Maeander; it is simply that this particular onomastic fashion happened to change. We should not draw any inferences from the absence of personal names derived from the Maeander river in regions further upstream than Magnesia. The fashion for Maeander-names was restricted to the Maeander delta region (and to neighbouring parts of Ionia, including Samos) because this was, until the third century BC, the only part of the Maeander region settled by Greeks; the onomastic practices of the indigenous Phrygian and Carian inhabitants of the inland districts were different. By the time of the first Greek settlers in the inland districts in the third and second centuries BC, regional naming-habits had changed. One would not expect to find men named Dionysomandros or Mandronax at the second-century foundations of Dionysopolis or Eumeneia, since no

one was being given names of this kind anywhere by the second century.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, the Maeander river continued to play an important role in individual and group identity throughout the Hellenistic period, as emerges from a very different category of evidence: the silver and bronze coinages of the cities of the Maeander valley, to which we now turn.

Maeanders

The word ‘maeander’ can be used, in Greek and Latin, as in a number of modern languages, to refer to a key-pattern, in English also known as a ‘Greek fret’, and in French, a ‘grecque’. The patterns so designated, in antiquity as in the present day, are characterised by rectilinear strokes, intersecting at right-angles, so as to form either a single crenellated line –



Or labyrinthine patterns –



Or more complicated systems of connected swastikas –



This use of the term ‘maeander’ to refer to certain abstract patterns evidently derives from the name of the Maeander river. Since the Maeander was proverbially winding, slow-moving and indirect, its name came to be used metaphorically of a formal winding pattern (and, more generally, of any winding course, graphic, fluvial or otherwise).⁸¹

⁸⁰ At Tralles, Mandron (*I.Trall.* 225, 261: dates uncertain), Maeandria (*I.Trall.* 209: date uncertain) and Maeandrius (Cic. *Flacc.* 52–7: I BC); at Nysa, Maeandrius (*Syll.*³ 781.7: I BC), the last two conceivably the same man.

⁸¹ Thus, correctly, Festus (Paul. 136M): ‘this type of design takes its name from its similarity to the bends of the river called the Maeander’; Isidore, *Orig.* 13.21.23, perversely takes the opposite view. Strabo (12.8.15) rightly limits the geographical parallel to the lower Maeander: ‘[The Maeander] divides Caria and Lydia in the region of the so-called ‘Maeander Plain’, where it is so exceptionally winding that all winding courses are called maeanders after it’. The windings of the Maeander were proverbial already in Herodotus’s day (2.29), and later provided a *locus* for the less imaginative Latin poets (Sen., *Ep.* 104.15): e.g. Prop. 2.34.35–6; Ov. *Her.* 9.55–6; *Met.*

As a consequence, the maeander pattern could, under certain circumstances, be used to *represent* the river Maeander. Comparison of two Hellenistic epigrams will make the point.

τῆς πέζης τὰ μὲν ἄκρα τὰ δεξιὰ μέχρι παλαιστῆς
καὶ σπιθαμῆς οὖλης Βίττιον εἰργάσατο,
θάτερα δ' Ἀντιάνειρα προσήρμοσε, τὸν δὲ μεταξύ
μαίανδρον καὶ τὰς παρθενικὰς Βιτίη.
5 κουρᾶν καλλίστη Διὸς Ἄρτεμι, τοῦτο τὸ νῆμα
πρὸς ψυχῆς θείης, τὴν τριπόνητον ἔριν.

The right-hand end of the border, to the length of a palm and a whole span, was embroidered by Bittion; Antianeira added the other end; and Bitie wove the maeander and the maidens in the middle. Artemis, most beautiful of the daughters of Zeus, accept this garment woven with pious heart, the work of threefold rivalry (Leonidas of Tarentum, *Anth. Pal.* vi 286)

Ἄρτεμι, σοὶ ταύταν, εὐπάρθενε, πότνα γυναικῶν,
τὰν μίαν αἰ τρισσαὶ πέζαν ὑφηνάμεθα,
καὶ Βιτίη μὲν τάσδε χοροῖθαλέας κάμε κούρας
λοξὰ τε Μαιάνδρου ρεῖθρα πολυπλανέος,
5 ξανθὰ δ' Ἀντιάνειρα τὸν ἀγχόθι μήσατο κόσμον
πρὸς λαιᾶ ποταμοῦ κεκλιμένον λαγόνι,
τὸν δὲ νυ δεξιτερῶν νασμῶν πέλας ἰσοπάλαιστον
τοῦτον ἐπὶ σπιθαμῆ Βίττιον ἠνύσατο.

Artemis, fair virgin, sovereign of women, it was for you that we three wove this single border. And Bitie worked these dancing girls and the curving stream of the much-wandering Maeander; golden Antianeira devised the nearby decoration lying on the left bank of the river, and Bittion wrought this decoration near the right side of the stream, to the length of a palm and a span (Antipater of Sidon, *Anth. Pal.* vi 287)

Here, Antipater of Sidon, a minor epigrammatist of the later Hellenistic period, offers a variation on a theme by Leonidas of Tarentum. Leonidas professes to describe a real garment: its border is woven by three girls, each taking a third part of the work, Bittion the plain right-hand end, Antianeira the similarly plain section to the left, and Bitie the more

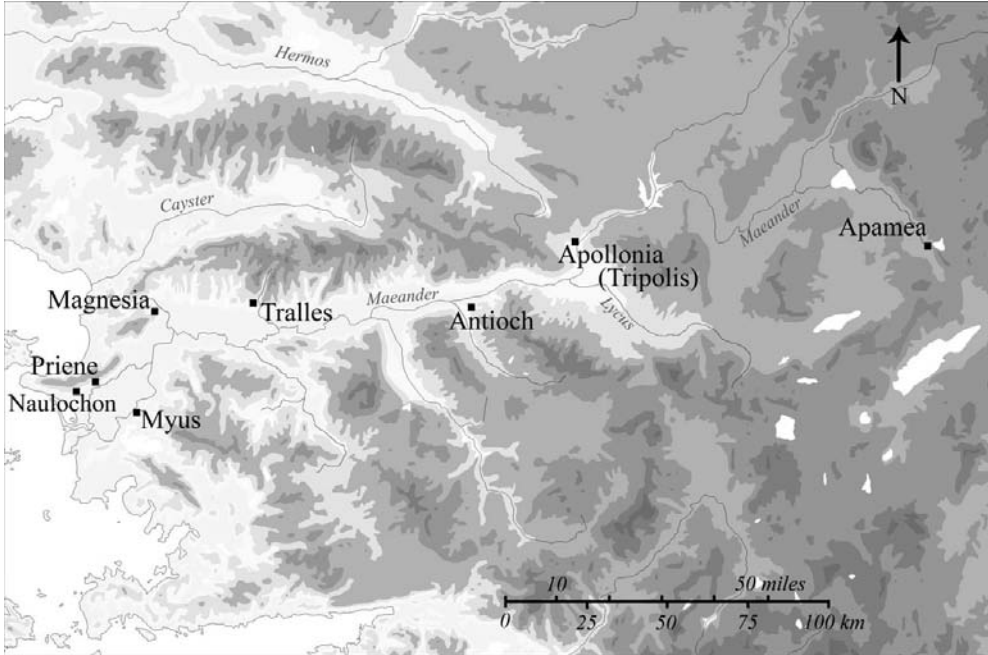
2.246; 8.162–6; 9.451; Sen. *Phoen.* 605–6; *HF* 683–5; etc. For the metaphorical use of 'maeanders' to refer to 'circumvagations' in general, see e.g. Cic. *Pis.* 22.53; Gell. *NA* 16.8.17; Philostr. *Imag.* 1.9.1; Amm. Marc. 30.1.12; Prudent. *Cathem.* 6.142; 7.124. The English verb 'to meander' has no ancient equivalent from this root.

complex maeander key-pattern and little embroidered maidens in the centre. Antipater has spotted the opportunity to add a grain of salt. He begins as if intending to describe a real object, as Leonidas had done. Starting at the centre (rather than at the right-hand side), he tells us that Bitie worked the tiny maidens and maeander of Leonidas' epigram – but Antipater's 'Maeander' is not, as for Leonidas, an abstract maeander pattern, but the 'stream of the Maeander', the river Maeander itself. Antipater takes the dead metaphor of Leonidas' poem *au pied de la lettre*: by describing the maeander design as a 'stream', he exploits and plays upon the double meaning of the Greek word *maiandros*. Thus his description of the garment, after feinting towards realism, shifts to paradoxical fantasy. Naturally, if Bitie is literally weaving 'the river Maeander', the others cannot merely work on the sections to right and left, but must be embroidering the fields which lie on either bank of the river. The point of Antipater's epigram is precisely this deliberate, playful confusion between the pattern and the stream of water.⁸²

Clearly, not every patterned object from antiquity which features what we or they would have called a 'maeander pattern' is relevant to the historical geography of the Maeander valley. Nonetheless, Antipater's epigram raises the possibility of the metaphor being reversed: just as the river could be used as a terminological metaphor for the pattern, so the pattern could also be used as an iconographical metaphor for the river. In the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, several cities located in the Maeander valley minted local coinages featuring a prominent maeander line or pattern as part of their reverse type. That the maeander pattern on these coinages signifies the Maeander river can hardly be doubted; the pattern is extremely rare on coinage from other parts of the Greek world.⁸³ The use of the visual metaphor of the maeander in this context is telling. As a way of indicating exactly which city is minting the coinage – Antioch on the *Maeander*, rather than Pisidian or Syrian Antioch – the use of an abstract symbol of this kind would be remarkable enough. But the maeander pattern is also found, as we shall see, on the Hellenistic coinage of cities where no such confusion could persist, such as Priene and Tralles.

⁸² Both epigrams are misunderstood by Gow and Page 1965: II 76–7, 349–50. For the use of maeander patterns on luxurious garments, compare Tertullian, *Pall.* 4.8; Verg. *Aen.* 5.250–1. For Antipater's variations on Leonidas, see Tarán 1979: 150–61.

⁸³ Regling 1927: 152–3 and *passim*; Robert, *La Carie II*, 238–40. Note also Boardman 1976: 47: a 'weight-stamp' seal, with a griffin standing on a maeander line (provenance unknown; probably from western Asia Minor). The maeander pattern appears on a few coinages of western Greece in the late Archaic and Classical periods as an exergual line (Croton, Catana, Panormus) and on nymphs' headbands (Nola, Syracuse, Terina).



Map 3 Cities minting coins with maeander patterns (fourth century BC to first century AD)

This kind of shared regional iconography on coinage has, I think, no real parallels elsewhere in the Greek world. Certainly, symbolic word-play on cities' names, where the toponym recalls another Greek word, is familiar enough: the Phocaean seal (*Phokaia/phokē*), the pomegranate of Side (*Sidē/sidē*), and the Rhodian rosebud (*Rhodos/rhodon*) are only three among dozens of instances.⁸⁴ But the case of the maeander pattern is really quite different. In all other cases the visual pun refers only to the individual city; to the illiterate coin-user, the Rhodian rose helps to distinguish the coinage of Rhodes from that of her neighbours. The same is true of other abstract patterns superficially similar to the 'Maeandrian' maeander, as for instance the Cnossian labyrinth, unique to Cnossus. The maeander pattern, by contrast, is not confined to a single city, but is used by cities up and down the Maeander valley. The use of the maeander pattern on these cities' coinage is not an indication of civic identity, nor of political or ethnic

⁸⁴ Eckhel 1792–8: iv 341–2. Compare the use of red trachyte in the early Hellenistic fortification walls of Erythrae: McNicoll 1997: 66.



Figure 1.10 Naulochoon, c. 370–350 BC (Æ); helmeted Athena/dolphin in maeander circle

affiliation, but simply of the fact that they are located within a particular region.⁸⁵

The earliest certain occurrence of the maeander pattern on coinage is found on two small bronze issues of Priene and its port Naulochoon, which carry the image of a helmeted Athena on the obverse and a dolphin encircled by a maeander pattern on the reverse (Fig. 1.10). Although not precisely datable, these appear to be the very earliest coinage of Priene, and might cautiously be dated to around 370–350 BC.⁸⁶ The first bronze coinage of Myus (c. 360–350 BC), Priene's neighbour to the south-east, is clearly influenced by the Priene–Naulochoon types. Apollo is depicted on the obverse, and on the reverse, in place of the Prienian dolphin, a goose in a 'polygonal' maeander ring.⁸⁷

In the same period, 360–350 BC, Priene began minting her first silver issues, with Athena on the obverse and a trident in a maeander circle on the reverse, types which would remain standard at Priene for the next two centuries (Fig. 1.11). Simultaneously, Magnesia on the Maeander, Priene's immediate neighbour to the east, also produced a small silver issue featuring the same types as those introduced at Priene during this period,

⁸⁵ The closest parallel is perhaps the emergent use of the *triskeles* on Sicilian coinage during the reign of Agathocles as a way of representing the three corner points of the island: Borba Florenzano 2007.

⁸⁶ Naulochoon: *BMC Ionia* 202, nos. 1–2; *Coll. Wadd.* 1885–6; *CNG* 67 (2004) 690. Priene: Regling 1927: no. 47 (Berlin). Regling 1927: nos. 45–6, with corn-ear on the reverse, ought also to antedate the first silver types. For the beginning of bronze coinage in this region in the early fourth century, see Ashton 2006. A unique silver hemiobol of Magnesia carrying the maeander pattern has recently emerged, which may antedate these issues by as much as a century: *CNG Triton XIII* (2010) 185.

⁸⁷ Myus: Imhoof-Blumer, *KM* 1 90, nos. 1–2; *SNG Kayhan* 507; *Künker* 133 (2007) 7587. For the date, see Kinns 1980: 299 and 408, adducing stylistic similarities to Milesian and Colophonian bronze types of the 350s; for the dating of this Milesian bronze group (Deppert-Lippitz 1984: nos. 304–20, 322–3), see further Kinns 1986: 249–51; Ashton and Kinns 2003: 5–8.



Figure 1.11 Priene, c. 350–340 BC (AR); helmeted Athena/trident in maeander circle



Figure 1.12 Magnesia, c. 360–350 BC (AR); helmeted Athena/trident in maeander circle

Athena/trident in maeander circle (Fig. 1.12). The use of these ‘Prienean’ types at Magnesia was short-lived: within a few years they had moved over to their own standard Hellenistic silver and bronze types (c. 350–145 BC), with a horseman on the obverse, and on the reverse, a butting zebu or humped bull (*bos indicus*), usually within a maeander circle or, less frequently, standing on a maeander line (Fig. 1.13). It appears that for a decade or so in the mid-fourth century the two cities were minting in tandem, not merely using the same types, but also minting on the Rhodian weight-standard, which is otherwise hardly attested in Ionia.⁸⁸

The precise historical context of these fourth-century bronze and silver issues escapes us, although it is likely enough that some, at least, are to be connected with the mid-fourth-century refoundation of Priene.⁸⁹ What should be emphasised is the more general point that the earliest known

⁸⁸ Kinns 1989a: 190–1; Kinns 1989b: 137 n. 4, 142–3. For the ‘Priene-style’ trihemiohols of Magnesia, see *BMC Ionia* 160, nos. 15–16; *SNG Von Aulock* 2032; *SNG Cop.* (Ionia) 810; *SNG München* (Ionien) 591; *SNG Tübingen* 2923; *GM Winterthur* 3451. For the earliest of the new horseman/butting zebu bronzes (c. 350 BC), see now Ashton and Kinns 2004: 76, with an unusual multi-segmented maeander circle.

⁸⁹ Kinns 1989a: 191. The date and nature of the refoundation remain controversial; for a date c. 350 BC, see Schipporeit 1998; Debord 1999: 388–91 (misrepresenting the numismatic evidence).



Figure 1.13 Magnesia, c. 210–200 BC (AR); mounted warrior/butting zebu in maeander circle



Figure 1.14 Priene, perhaps second century BC (AR); helmeted Athena facing/Nike crowning Athenopolis in maeander circle. For the date, see below, [Chapter 3](#), p. 121

instances of the maeander pattern on bronze and silver coinage both occur in the context of *collaborative activity* in the Maeander delta: Priene and Nauchochon, Priene and Magnesia. From the outset, the use of the maeander pattern was not confined to a single civic body. It was precisely in cases of civic interaction that the maeander pattern was first employed to signify the Maeander river; it expressed something which the cities had in common, not something in which they differed.⁹⁰

At Priene, the maeander pattern remains prominent on virtually all coin issues down to the mid-second century BC (Fig. 1.14), when the city switched over to types modelled on the Athenian ‘new style’ coinage, without the maeander. The maeander is also found on a very small number of Priene’s Hellenistic issues of tetradrachms in the name of Alexander the Great; most of Priene’s Alexander tetradrachms were marked with the other characteristic Prienean civic symbol, the trident.⁹¹ At Magnesia, too, the maeander pattern is almost universal on the city’s coinage from its inception down to the mid-second century BC. On the earliest series of the city’s standard Hellenistic type (a horseman at the gallop, facing right; a zebu butting to

⁹⁰ Compare Mackil and van Alfen 2006. ⁹¹ Price 1991: i 292–3.



Figure 1.15 Magnesia, c. 188–170 BC (AR); Heracles/seated Zeus, maeander pattern below

the left), introduced in around 350 BC, the maeander pattern appears on the reverse as a circle around the zebu on the larger denominations, and as a line below the zebu on the smaller (Fig. 1.13).⁹² These basic types continue to be employed on the city's silver and bronze coinage down to the mid-second century BC. The maeander is consistently used as a civic blazon on Magnesia's Alexander tetradrachms, from the early third century down to the termination of the coinage shortly after the treaty of Apamea (Fig. 1.15).⁹³ Around 160 BC, the Magnesians, along with a number of other free cities of western Asia Minor, introduced a new series of beautiful Attic-weight wreathed tetradrachms, minted in formidable quantities over a fifteen- or twenty-year period.⁹⁴ The Magnesian wreathed tetradrachms carry a depiction of the local goddess Artemis Leucophryene on the obverse, and, on the reverse, Apollo resting his elbow on a tripod and standing on a maeander pattern, all surrounded by a laurel wreath (Fig. 1.17).⁹⁵

Both of these Magnesian silver issues, the horseman/bull types and the wreathed tetradrachms, came to an end around 145–140 BC. Probably the last Magnesian coin-types with the maeander pattern are two issues of silver didrachms and bronze trihemiochms dating to the early first century BC. The obverse of both types carries the draped Artemis familiar from

⁹² Kinns 1989b, with Ashton and Kinns 2004: 71–83.

⁹³ Price 1991: 1 264–74, types 2004–60. The maeander pattern is also commonly found on Magnesian tetradrachms in the name of Lysimachus (Thompson 1968: 174; here, Fig. 1.16). For a unique Magnesian gold Philip with maeander pattern (after 300 BC?), see *IGCH* 1294. On the Seleucid royal coinage minted at Magnesia, the maeander appears only on the bronze coinage of Seleucus I, Antiochus I and Seleucus II (Newell 1941: 283–90; Houghton and Lorber 2002: types 8, 329, 670).

⁹⁴ Also Myrina, Aegae, Cyme, Smyrna, Lebedos, Heraclea under Latmos; for Antioch on the Maeander, see below. Some very small issues are known from a single die each: Colophon (*SNG Turkey I* 386), Myndos (*ZfN* 3 [1876], 326, no. 1), the artists of Dionysus at Teos (Lorber and Hoover 2003). The historical context of these issues (c. 160–40 BC) remains controversial: see Hoover and Macdonald 1999–2000: 113–16; Le Rider 2001; Psoma 2008: 234–7.

⁹⁵ Jones 1979; for a drachm with the same types, *Coll. Weber* 6004 (apparently unique).



Figure 1.16 Magnesia, c. 297–281 BC (AR); Alexander the Great/seated Athena, maeander pattern to l.



Figure 1.17 Magnesia, c. 160–140 BC (AR); Artemis/Apollo in wreath, maeander pattern below



Figure 1.18 Magnesia, 88–85 BC (AE); Artemis/stag drinking from maeander line

the wreathed tetradrachms, but the reverse offers an odd and remarkable image: a stag standing on a maeander line, with its head lowered as if grazing or drinking (Fig. 1.18). The image of the stag is familiar from the silver coinage of Mithradates VI, and the type should be understood as proclaiming Magnesia's allegiance to the Mithradatic cause in 88–85 BC. On the bronze issue, the maeander line is broken by the forelegs of the stag, extending over the top of the pattern; the tip of the animal's nose just touches the maeander line. It is hard not to take this as a representation of Mithradates' stag standing in, and drinking from, the Maeander river.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Kinns 2006.

The earliest coinage of Tralles, Magnesia's neighbour to the east, dates to the late third or very early second century BC, at a period when Tralles still carried the Seleucid dynastic name of Seleucea (rapidly abandoned by the Trallians after the end of Seleucid rule in Asia Minor in 190 BC).⁹⁷ A small issue of bronze coinage, probably dating to the final years of Seleucid rule (c. 200–190 BC), depicts a right-facing laureate bust of Zeus on the obverse, and on the reverse, a left-facing zebu at the centre of a maeander circle.⁹⁸ The same types of laureate Zeus and zebu in a maeander circle are found on another bronze issue of Seleucea-Tralles, with no city-ethnic and minted solely in the name of the city's major deity Zeus Larasius.⁹⁹ It is very striking how similar the Seleucean reverse type is to the standard Magnesian reverse type at this period, which depicts a zebu butting to the left, also enclosed in a maeander circle; to all appearances the Trallians based their earliest bronze types on the coinage of their western neighbour.¹⁰⁰

Shortly after Tralles' incorporation into the Attalid kingdom in 188 BC, the city became a major mint for the new Attalid cistophoric silver coinage, produced at a number of decentralised mints in cities under Attalid control.¹⁰¹ On a number of the Trallian cistophoric issues a simple horizontal maeander line is found as a civic device (Fig. 1.19); on others, we find the image of a zebu standing right on a maeander line.¹⁰² This last motif is also found

⁹⁷ Cohen 1995: 265–8.

⁹⁸ Five magistrates are known: Artemidorus (Imhoof-Blumer, *LS* 169, no. 1; *SNG München* (Lydien) 695); Charinus (Imhoof-Blumer, *LS* 169, no. 2); Apollonius (Imhoof-Blumer 1908a: 134, no. 1; *Künker* 133 (2007) 7659); Athenodorus (?) (*Künker* 133 (2007) 7660); Dion(?-ysius) (*SNG München* (Lydien) 696; perhaps also Imhoof-Blumer, *LS* 169, commentary to no. 3, magistrate Dio[–]).

⁹⁹ Διὸς Λα(ρασίου): Imhoof-Blumer, *LS* 169, no. 3; *SNG München* (Lydien) 700; *SNG Cop.* (Lydia) 666; *Künker* 133 (2007) 7658; perhaps *Coll. Wadd.* 5393 (no maeander?). Similarities of types and fabric with the issues in the name of Seleucea suggest that this issue also ought to antedate 190 BC. For coins minted in the name of deities, see below, Chapter 3, pp. 117–20.

¹⁰⁰ The small bronze coinage of Tralles continued without the maeander pattern after 190 BC; as previously, issues in the name of the city and in the name of Zeus Larasius were minted in tandem. Two main bronze types are known. Type a: laureate Zeus/zebu standing or walking l. (1) Τραλλιανῶν: e.g. *SNG München* (Lydien) 702–6; *SNG Cop.* (Lydia) 667–9; *SNG Von Aulock* 3271–2; (2) Διὸς Λαρασίου καὶ Διὸς Εὐμένου: Imhoof-Blumer, *LS* 169, no. 4; *SNG München* (Lydien) 697–9. Type b: full-length seated Zeus to l./zebu butting l. (1) Τραλλιανῶν: *BMC Lydia* 336, no. 59; *GM Winterthur* 3572–3; (2) Διὸς Λαρασίου καὶ Διὸς Εὐμένου: *NC* (1921), 22, no. 32; *SNG München* (Lydien) 701. It is possible that the cult *epiklesis* 'Eumenes' reflects Attalid suzerainty: Robert, *OMS II* 1186–90. The laureate Zeus/standing zebu type was still being employed in the early imperial period: *RPC I* 2645 (Καισαρέων Διὸς Λαρασίου).

¹⁰¹ On the cistophoric coinage (introduced by 181 BC at the latest), see below, Chapter 4, pp. 170–3.

¹⁰² Kleiner and Noe 1977: 61–4, series 5 and 15. The humped bull on maeander line also appears on proconsular cistophori of the mid-first century, e.g. Stumpf 1991: 26, no. 32; *GM Winterthur* 3569.



Figure 1.19 Tralles, c. 170–160 BC (AR); *cista mystica* in ivy wreath/bow-case and coiled serpents, maeander pattern to r.

on a highly unusual Trallian gold stater on the Attic weight standard, with a laureate bust of Zeus on the obverse, and on the reverse, a zebu standing on a maeander line. This gold issue appears to have been minted in the mid-second century BC, while Tralles was still under Attalid control.¹⁰³ That this remarkable ‘autonomous’ gold coinage could have been minted under Attalid hegemony is startling enough. But more important still is the relationship of this issue with types found on the Hellenistic silver and bronze coinages of Tralles’ near neighbour to the East, Antioch on the Maeander.

The late Hellenistic silver coinage of Antioch is very imperfectly known.¹⁰⁴ I have located only eleven tetradrachms, minted by at least seven different magistrates (on one coin the name is illegible), and nine drachms, minted by five different magistrates. In only two instances are magistrates known to have minted both tetradrachms and drachms; nothing can be concluded from this, given the low survival-rate of the coinage. The drachms all offer the same types: on the obverse, a laureate Apollo facing to the right, and on the reverse, a zebu, lying recumbent to the left on a maeander line, the whole encircled by a laurel wreath, or, in one instance, an ivy wreath (Fig. 1.20).¹⁰⁵ The tetradrachm designs are more varied. The closest to the drachm type carries the same laureate Apollo on the obverse, and on the reverse, the zebu, now standing with its nose to the left on the maeander line, with no

¹⁰³ *Coll. Wadd.* 5392; *ZfN* 35 (1925), 265–7. For the date, Jenkins 1980; de Callatay 1997: 289–90.

¹⁰⁴ On distinguishing Antioch on the Maeander from Antioch-Alabanda, see Babelon 1892; Robert 1973: 446–58.

¹⁰⁵ Drachms: (1) Μενέφρων: *BMC Caria* 14, no. 2 (here, Fig. 1.20); *Coll. Wadd.* 2140. Control mark: cornucopia to l. (2) Διοτρέφης: *ZfN* 12 (1885) 322, no. 5. Διοτρέφης τὸ τέταρτον: *BMFA Suppl.* 189. (3) Ἀρι(στ-?) *SNG Cop.* (Caria) 28; perhaps also Babelon 1892: 17–18 (Paris: magistrate illegible). (4) Μελέ(αγρος): *GM Winterthur* 3297; *BMC Caria* 14, no. 3. (5) Εὐνι(κος): *GM Winterthur* 3298 (with encircling ivy wreath).



Figure 1.20 Antioch, c. 167–133 BC (AR); Apollo/zebu reclining l. on maeander line

encircling wreath.¹⁰⁶ A second type, known only from a single example, carries a vine-wreathed bust of Dionysus on the obverse, combined with, once again, the standing zebu on maeander line, this time encircled by an ivy wreath.¹⁰⁷ A third variety carries the laureate Apollo and standing zebu, as on the first tetradrachm type, but now with a maeander circle surrounding the whole reverse type, in place of the laurel wreath of the drachms (Fig. 1.21).¹⁰⁸ A fourth type features on the obverse a laureate Zeus facing to the right, and on the reverse, an eagle on a thunderbolt facing left, once again ringed by a maeander circle (Figs. 1.22 and 1.23).¹⁰⁹

It is hard to establish the size of Antioch's bronze coinage in the second and first centuries BC, since its issues cannot always be distinguished from those of Pisidian Antioch. Only four issues can confidently be attributed to Antioch on the Maeander, thanks to the presence of the maeander motif. Two of these carry types very similar to those of the silver coinage of Antioch: in the one case, the laureate Zeus, and a zebu recumbent to left on a maeander

¹⁰⁶ Διοτρέφης: Robert 1973: 447 n. 75 and fig. 1 (Paris); *Bank Leu* 54 (1992) 140 (same dies). The zebu is depicted recumbent on all the drachm issues, and standing on all the tetradrachm issues. Similarly, at Eretria, second-century wreathed tetradrachms depict a standing bull, while on smaller-denomination issues the bull is recumbent: Robert 1951: 158–9.

¹⁰⁷ Ἄδραστος Πυθίου: *BMFA Suppl.* 188. Control mark: bust of Tyche in l. field. The portrait of Dionysus is a close imitation of the second-century tetradrachms of Thasos, minted from c. 180–170 BC onwards.

¹⁰⁸ (1) Μοσχῶς Ξάνθου: *GM Winterthur* 3296. Control mark: palm in l. field. (2) Αἰνέας: *BMC Caria* 14, no. 1. (3) Διοτρέφης τὸ τρίτον: *Lanz* 125 (2005) 382 (here, Fig. 1.21). On the basis of the lettering (lunate epsilon and sigma) this ought to be one of the later issues (late II BC?). The legend signifies 'Diotrephes, acting as mint-magistrate for the third time' (cf. n. 105 above: drachm minted by Διοτρέφης τὸ τέταρτον); it cannot mean 'Diotrephes, the third of that name' (Koerner 1961: 58–60). There is, therefore, no reason to identify this Diotrephes with the honorand of *SEG* 31, 899: he is presumably the latter's father or grandfather.

¹⁰⁹ (1) Μενέφρων: *SNG Von Aulock* 2417 (=BM 1976–9–22–2: here, Fig. 1.22). Control mark: cornucopia in r. field (as on Menephron's drachm issue). (2) Σόλ(ων): *Babelon* 1892: 16–17 (Paris), phot. Robert 1973: 447 fig. 1; BM 1987–6–8–1 (15.97g: here, Fig. 1.23) (3) [-]λῶς: *Coll. Wadd.* 2141. Control mark: caduceus. (4) [-]: Robert 1973: 447 n. 75 (magistrate illegible).



Figure 1.21 Antioch, c. 167–133 BC (AR); Apollo/zebu standing l. in maeander circle



Figure 1.22 Antioch, c. 167–133 BC (AR); Zeus/eagle in maeander circle



Figure 1.23 Antioch, c. 167–133 BC (AR); Zeus/eagle in maeander circle

line; in the other, laureate Apollo, and an eagle with spread wings perched on the maeander (Fig. 1.24).¹¹⁰ The other types are new, and are probably of a slightly later date. One offers a laureate Apollo on the obverse, with a tripod standing on maeander line on the reverse, alongside a head-dress of Isis; the other depicts an unidentified female bust on the obverse, and a bipennis on maeander line on the reverse.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Zeus/zebu on maeander: *BMC Caria* 14, no. 4; *SNG Cop. (Caria)* 29; *GM Winterthur* 3299; *BMFA Suppl.* 189a; *Coll. Weber* 6360; *Coll. Wadd.* 2151–2 (no magistrate). Apollo/eagle on maeander: *BMC Caria* 15, no. 9 (here, Fig. 1.24); *Imhoof-Blumer, KM* 108, no. 1; *Coll. Wadd.* 2153 (no magistrate).

¹¹¹ Apollo/tripod on maeander: *Imhoof-Blumer KM* 109, no. 7; *Coll. Wadd.* 2150 (magistrate Σωσίππο(λῆς)). Female bust/bipennis on maeander: *NZ* 45 (1912) 195, no. 11 (no magistrate).



Figure 1.24 Antioch, second-first century BC (Æ); Apollo/eagle on maeander

The silver and associated bronze coinage of Antioch on the Maeander ought to date to the mid-second century BC, probably after the liberation of Caria from Rhodian domination in 167 BC. The most important large-denomination silver coinages being minted in western Asia Minor outside the Attalid kingdom at this point were the Attic-weight wreathed tetradrachms discussed above, which were produced at Magnesia and other autonomous cities on the fringe of the Attalid kingdom between 160 and 140 BC.¹¹² It seems best to classify the Antioch tetradrachms and drachms as a local variant on these autonomous wreathed coinages, with the place of the wreath taken, on the tetradrachm issues, by the maeander pattern.¹¹³ With only eight known obverse dies for the tetradrachms, and only six known for the drachms, the series was clearly a relatively small one, comparable to the wreathed tetradrachm issues of Smyrna (nine obverse dies), Lebedos (eight) and Aegae (four), and in contrast to the much larger issues of Myrina (97), Cyme (78), Magnesia (36) and Heraclea under Latmos (30).¹¹⁴

A second iconographic correspondence is even more important. One of the Antioch tetradrachms, minted by Diotrephes, carries the maeander pattern not as an encircling ring, but as a base line for the standing zebu. This type is remarkably close to that of the anomalous gold staters of Tralles: at Antioch, a zebu standing left on a maeander line, at Tralles, the zebu standing right on the maeander. Both issues were minted in roughly

¹¹² Contrast the practice of other major Carian cities after 167: Alabanda and Stratonicea also introduced an Attic-weight wreathed coinage, but with a peculiar denominational structure (tridrachms and drachms; also didrachms at Alabanda), perhaps for the sake of compatibility with the Attalid cistophoric coinage: Meadows 2002: 98–101, and compare Ashton 2005: 73 (Oinoanda).

¹¹³ Robert, *OMS* vi 203.

¹¹⁴ Le Rider 2001: 46. The relative abundance of drachms at Antioch is a little surprising; none of the other cities which struck Attic-weight wreathed coinages in this period produced more than a very few drachm issues (Sacks 1985: 8 n. 37, 43).



Figure 1.25 Magnesia, c. 300 BC (Æ); mounted warrior/zebu walking r. on meander line

the same period, c. 160–140 BC. The type is most similar to that of a small series of bronze coins minted at Magnesia c. 300 BC, which depict a zebu standing right on a meander line, a type not otherwise found at Magnesia (Fig. 1.25).¹¹⁵ The interest of this connection between the ‘prestige’ coinages of Tralles and Antioch lies in the radically different political status of the two cities. Tralles was one of the main provincial capitals of the Attalid kingdom, seat of a large Attalid garrison, and under the authority of a royal governor. It was one of the largest mints of the Attalid cistophoric coinage, the overvalued silver coinage designed to create a closed-currency system within the Attalid kingdom. Antioch, although a close neighbour of Tralles, lay outside this system: after 167, Antioch was a free city, minting her own Attic-weight silver coinage, inadmissible for circulation within the Attalid zone of control. Yet, nonetheless, we find Tralles and Antioch minting coins as close iconographically as the collaborative issues of Priene and Nauchoch or Priene and Magnesia in the mid-fourth century BC, influenced, to all appearances, by the coinage of their free neighbour Magnesia, and once again prominently featuring the meander pattern.

An unexpected and striking conclusion results. In 188 BC the lower Maeander valley had undergone a radical partitioning between different powers. Under the new order laid down for western Asia Minor at the treaty of Apamea, the Maeander was chosen as the dividing line between Attalid and Rhodian territory in the west of the peninsula.¹¹⁶ The choice of the Maeander river as a territorial boundary between the Attalid kingdom and the zone under Rhodian control could be interpreted as the work of a lazy Roman looking at a map; certainly no native of Asia Minor would have come

¹¹⁵ *BMC Ionia* 163, no. 40 (c. 300 BC: here, Fig. 1.25); Ashton and Kinns 2004: 77.

¹¹⁶ Polybius 21.46.8 (whence Livy 38.39.13); Livy 37.56.2–6. Under the terms of the treaty of Apamea, the Tanais river was set as the northern limit of the Seleucid kingdom: Livy 38.38.4–5, with Giovannini 1982.

up with such an arbitrary boundary.¹¹⁷ Nonetheless, the Maeander frontier did undoubtedly serve a practical function in keeping the peace between Rhodes and the Attalids. Defining the limit between Rhodian and Attalid rule in cultural terms ('Caria/Lydia') would have caused interminable disputes over the status of the several ethnically mixed communities in the region; it was far easier simply to impose a clear line on the ground. To the north of the river, Tralles and Nysa were absorbed into the Attalid kingdom, a body which practised a severely interventionist fiscal policy based on a closed-currency system. In the delta region, a zone of free cities was created, including Magnesia, Tralles' immediate neighbour to the west. The land to the south of the river lay under Rhodian hegemony until 167 BC, when these cities, too, including Antioch on the Maeander, Tralles' near neighbour to the east, were granted free status.

However, in this same period of imperialist territorial partitioning, we see a sudden and unexpected convergence in the iconography of the coinages of Magnesia, Tralles and Antioch. It is precisely in the period between 188 and 133 BC that we first find cities of radically different political and economic status in the lower and middle Maeander valley minting fine and distinctive coins that explicitly proclaim local solidarities, asserting a regional consciousness against the violent and deracinating political fragmentation imposed at Apamea in 188. Local identities, as we saw earlier in the chapter, can take several different forms simultaneously: Tralles could, in various different contexts, conceptualise itself as a Carian city, a Greek city, a city in Asia, an Attalid city, or a hillside city. But it was also a city *in the Maeander valley*; in the short period during the second century BC when transient political circumstances fragmented the valley into three different political and economic spheres, the Trallians and their non-Attalid neighbours ostentatiously chose to privilege the Maeander as a mode of regional association.

After the end of Attalid rule in western Asia Minor, a few cities further inland in the middle and upper Maeander valley also adopted the maeander pattern on their bronze coinage. At Apollonia on the Maeander, renamed Tripolis in the Augustan period, all three of the known autonomous coin-types feature the maeander pattern; it is, indeed, primarily the maeander pattern which permits us to distinguish Apollonia's coinage from that of the

¹¹⁷ The use of rivers as arbitrary territorial boundaries is characteristic of imperialist geography at all periods, from the Persian empire (Hdt. 5.52.3, and compare the satrapy of 'Beyond the River') through the Roman empire (Caes. *B Gall.* 1.1) to the twentieth century (Jordan river as boundary between Palestine and Jordan). On Roman frontier-geography, see further Whittaker 2004: 63–87; on the fluvial eastern 'frontier' of France, de Planhol 1994: 108–16.

other homonymous cities of Asia Minor.¹¹⁸ Unusually, the habit persists into the Roman imperial period: under Augustus, all Apollonia's bronze coinage continues to show the maeander pattern, either as a base-line on the reverse, in the manner of the earlier types, or, uniquely, on the obverse to the left of the imperial portrait.¹¹⁹ Finally, at Apamea-Celaena, at the source of the Maeander, a major base-metal coinage in four denominations was introduced some time in the first decade of the first century BC. This was not the first autonomous coinage to have been minted by Apamea: a small issue had been produced some time in the later second century BC.¹²⁰ However, the new coinage was on a different scale altogether. The first-century Apamean base-metal coinage was minted in such vast quantities as to make it one of the most abundant small-denomination coinages of western Asia Minor during this period, a rather surprising economic fact, the consequences of which will be further explored in [Chapter 3](#). Of the four denominations, three incorporate the maeander pattern into their reverse types. The largest, a fine brass coinage – very rare at this period – depicts an eagle alighting on a maeander line, flanked by the pilei of the Dioscuri ([Fig. 1.26](#)); the two smallest bronze denominations offer respectively Marsyas with his pipes ([Fig. 1.27](#)), and a crested helmet, both resting on a maeander pattern. As at Apollonia, the habit persists briefly into the imperial period, with the maeander line making an appearance on coinage under both Augustus and, uniquely, Tiberius.¹²¹

The maeander pattern finally disappears from the coinages of the cities of the Maeander valley in the early first century AD. Nonetheless, as with

¹¹⁸ Methodology: Robert, *La Carie II* 237–42, 256. (1) Zeus bust r./rider r. with double axe on maeander: *Coll. Weber* 6418; *Cat. W. de Molthein* 2380; Imhoof-Blumer, *GM* 143, no. 425 = *LS* 38, no. 1; *SNG Cop.* (Lydia) 712; *BMC Lydia* 363, nos. 4–5; *GM Winterthur* 3978; Waddington 1853: 140, no. 1. (2) Female bust r./Apollo standing l. on maeander: Imhoof-Blumer, *GM* 143, no. 424. (3) Dionysiac bust r./lion leaping r. on maeander: Scholz 1901: 37, no. 62; Imhoof-Blumer, *GM* 143, no. 423. The three types appear to represent three different denominations; their date is uncertain.

¹¹⁹ *RPC I* 3047–52. ¹²⁰ Ashton and Kinns 2003: 46–7.

¹²¹ For the four types, see *BMC Phrygia* 74–88, nos. 33–109. The magistrate responsible for the coinage was the *eklogistes*: Fröhlich 2004: 211–19. Magistrates attested on the base-metal coinage also appear on Apamean cistophori of the early first century BC (Kleiner 1979) and on the proconsular cistophori of the 50s BC (Stumpf 1991, esp. 46–50). A full catalogue of the base-metal series is promised by R. Ashton and M. A. Byrne, who will show from cistophoric hoard evidence that the series ought to begin in or shortly before 90/89 BC (Ashton and Kinns 2004: 106 n. 129). Around fifty magistrates are attested (Ashton, *pers. comm.*); there is, however, no particular reason to suppose that the magistracy was annual. On the use of brass for the largest denomination, see Smekalova 2009. Early provincial bronze: *RPC I* 3125, 3127 (Augustus) 3132, 3134 (Tiberius).



Figure 1.26 Apamea, first century BC (Æ); Athena/eagle on maeander, pilei of Dioscuri to l. and r.



Figure 1.27 Apamea, first century BC (Æ); city-goddess/Marsyas on maeander

personal names derived from the name of the river Maeander, the fact that this particular numismatic habit ended when it did should not be taken to imply that the Maeander river had suddenly ceased to be important to the region's inhabitants. Iconographic fashions, like onomastic fashions, come and go. Similarly, it would be perilous to argue from the presence or absence of the maeander pattern on the Hellenistic coinage of particular cities in the valley that the local identity of those cities must therefore have differed from that of their neighbours: the absence of the maeander pattern on the Hellenistic coinage of Miletus can hardly be taken to show that the Milesians did not feel themselves to be part of the world of the Maeander.¹²² Fashions changed; the important thing is not the fashions themselves, but the affective relationships which those fashions represented.

¹²² The river-god Maeander is seldom if ever depicted on the imperial bronze coinage of Miletus; see however below, [Chapter 8](#), n. 49. It is a little surprising that the maeander pattern does not appear on the small late-Hellenistic bronze coinage of Eumeneia, in the upper Maeander valley; note, moreover, that on their Roman provincial coinage, the Eumeneans chose to depict, not the Maeander, but the Glaucus river (see below, [Chapter 4](#), pp. 143–5): Imhoof-Blumer 1923: 319–20; *BMC Phrygia* 214, nos. 26–8; *SNG Cop.* (Phrygia) 386–7; *SNG Von A.* 3587 (here, [Fig. 4.8](#)); *GM Winterthur* 4098; *Helios* 3 (2009) 549–52.

Possibilism

‘There is a risk of imbuing the environment with a power that it does not possess. Men must be aware of their environment, learn to exploit it and master it; the patterns which they give to space are limited by natural constraints, but they are never fixed.’¹²³ In other words, what looks like a river valley on a map may not be *primarily conceptualised* as a river valley by its inhabitants.¹²⁴ In this chapter, I have argued that the inhabitants of the Maeander river valley did indeed see themselves as inhabitants of a river valley, and that in certain contexts – by no means all – the river valley was a key element in their perception and organisation of their surrounding environment. The physical geography of the Maeander valley is closely comparable to that of the Cayster and Hermos valleys to the north. However, by comparison with the Maeander, the Hermos and Cayster rivers played a far less significant role in the valley-dwellers’ sense of local solidarity or organisation of their conceptual space. The Maeander was not merely a hydrological fact; it was the affective bond through which the inhabitants of the Maeander valley, from Miletus to Apamea, chose to express their sense of regional association.

In the following chapters, I shall be exploring the distinctive and characteristic ways of life and patterns of social relations of the people of the Maeander valley in antiquity and the Byzantine middle ages. Few, if any, of the features that I will highlight are unique to this particular river valley; it would be very surprising if they were. But the regional consciousness which has emerged from this first chapter provides a decisive justification for the selection of the Maeander valley as a unit of regional analysis. To contend that the historical development of the communities of the Maeander valley was affected, sometimes decisively, by the fact that they were located in the Maeander valley, is neither tautologous nor self-evident. But I do not think it is a claim which would have surprised any of the valley’s inhabitants themselves.

¹²³ Claval 1984: 231. The classic statement of the ‘possibilist’ theory of relations between man and his environment is Febvre 1924: 68–77, 171–81; see further Claval 1974: 53–62; Harvey 2006: 87.

¹²⁴ Dion 1934: 13–23.

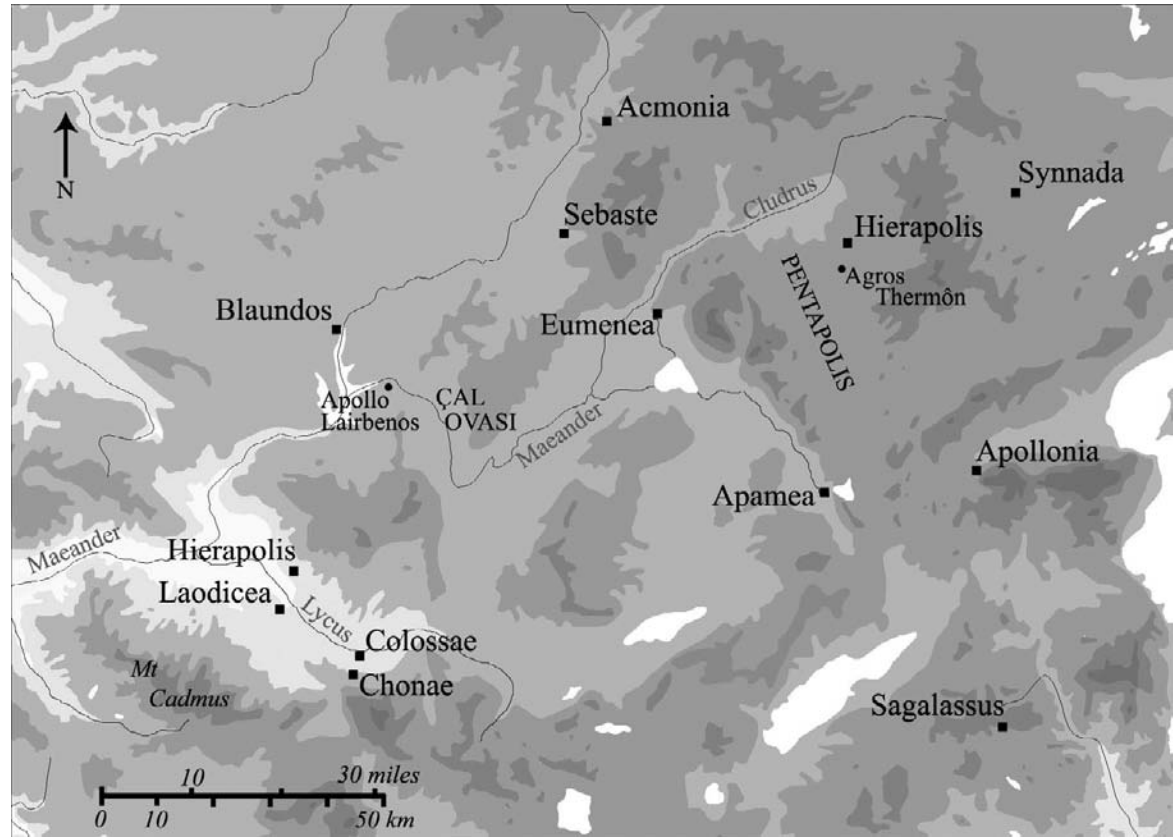
2 | Hydrographic heroes

The shepherd-poet of Smyrna, after mentioning a cave in Phrygia sacred to the Nymphs, relates, that there Luna had once descended from the sky to Endymion, while he was sleeping by his herds; that marks of their bed were then extant under the oaks; and that in the thickets around it the milk of cows had been spilt, which men beheld still with admiration; for, such was the appearance, if you saw it very far off; but, that from thence flowed clear or warm water, which in a little while concreted round about the channels, and formed a stone pavement. The writer describes the cliff of Hierapolis, if I mistake not, as in his time; and has added a local story, current when he lived. It was the genius of the people to unite fiction with truth; and, as in this and other instances, to dignify the tales of their mythology with fabulous evidence, taken from the natural wonders, in which their country abounded.¹

Setting the scene: Claudian's Phrygia

In the spring of AD 399, the highlands of Phrygia saw a sudden and violent uprising by Gothic settlers in the region, under the leadership of a certain Tribigild. These were the survivors of the great Gothic army brought across the Danube by Odotheus thirteen years earlier, whom the emperor Theodosius I, after a decisive victory at the Danube, had settled in Phrygia in dispersed units as *laeti*, barbarian settlers tied to the soil and liable for military service. With Tribigild's rebellion began the dramatic sequence of events which would lead to the fall of the eunuch Eutropius and the short-lived coup of Gainas at Constantinople in AD 400.²

The poet Claudian dedicates the greater part of his second invective against Eutropius to a spectacular and overwrought narrative of the Gothic uprising. The Gothic settlement in Phrygia serves as the occasion for a long geographical excursus on the Phrygians, including a beautiful thumbnail sketch of the topography and mythology of Phrygia. Claudian begins by marking out the cultural boundaries of the Phrygians: to the north lies



Map 4 Southern Phrygia

Bithynia, to the west Ionia, and to the east the Galatians. The Lydians, not fitting neatly into this *schema*, are located, vaguely, ‘on both sides’; to the south live the ferocious warriors of Pisidia. Claudian then turns to the mythological and natural riches of Phrygia.

*hic cecidit †Libycis*³ *iactata paludibus olim* 255
tibia, foedatam cum reddidit unda Mineruam,
hic et Apollinea uictus testudine pastor
suspensa memores inlustrat pelle Celaenas.
*quattuor hic*⁴ *magnis procedunt fontibus amnes*
*auriferi;*⁵ *nec miror aquas radiare metallo,* 260
quae totiens lauare Midan. diuersus ad Austrum
cursus et Arctoum fluuiis mare. Dindyma fundunt
Sangarium, uitrei puro qui gurgite Galli
auctus Amazonii defertur ad ostia Ponti.
Icarium pelagus Mycalaeaque litora iuncti 265
Marsya Maeanderque petunt; sed Marsya uelox,
dum suus est, flexuque carens iam flumine mixtus
mollitur, Maeandre, tuo, contraria passus
quam Rhodano stimulatus Arar. quos inter aprica
planities Cererique fauet densisque ligatur 270
uitibus et glaucae fructus attolit oliuae,
diues equis, felix pecoris pretiosaque picto
marmore purpureis caedunt quod Synnada uenis.

Here, when she saw her reflection distorted in the waters, Minerva cast away her pipes, and they fell into the clear marshes; and here the shepherd, defeated by Apollo’s lyre, still brings honour to Celaenae – the city remembers him well –

³ The indefensible *Libycis*, offered by all surviving manuscripts, may have been induced by the *rex Aegyptius* three lines earlier (252), or influenced by the variant tradition which locates the story at lake Tritonis in Libya: Fulg. *Myth.* 3.9, cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.384. In his Teubner text, starting from the variant *liciis* (read by Claverius in a lost MS), Hall prints *Lyciis*, commenting that ‘the Lycus is a river in Phrygia, cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.273’. The Lycus is a long way off (despite Curtius 3.1.5, an egregious blunder), nor is Jeep’s conjecture *Lydis* topographically plausible. However, we may have an echo of the correct word in the nonsensical *liciis*, itself later ‘corrected’ to *Libycis*. I conjecture *liquidis*: ‘clear’. The word *liquidus* is used in the same mythological context by Ovid in *Fasti* 6.699–700 (Athena speaking): *uox placuit: faciem liquidis referentibus undis | uidi uirgineas intumuisse genas*. The phrase *liquidis . . . paludibus* appears in the same metrical positions at *Met.* 1.324: *Iuppiter, ut liquidis stagnare paludibus orbem*.

⁴ Thus, correctly, Hall. The alternative reading *hinc* would necessarily mean ‘from Celaenae’; but, as Claudian is well aware, two of the four rivers rise far to the north of Celaenae.

⁵ Compare Nonnus 13.516–17, where Chuvin 1991: 125 attractively emends Κελαϊνῶς χρυσοχόρους (‘Celaenae of golden choruses’) to Κελαϊνῶς χρυσοχόους (‘Celaenae, where the gold streams’), after Alexander Polyhistor on the Marsyas: *FGrHist* 273F76.

with his stripped hide suspended on high. Here also four gold-bearing rivers flow forth from mighty fountains; nor do I wonder that those waters, in which Midas bathed so often, should still gleam with gold. The rivers' courses are various, some flowing to the south, others to the northern sea. The Dindyma mountains pour forth the river Sangarius, who, increased by the pure waters of the glittering Gallus, is carried down to the harbours of Pontus, home of Amazons. But the Marsyas and the Maeander seek the Icarian sea and the shores of Mycale, flowing in a single course – although Marsyas, swift and straight-flowing so long as his course is his own, becomes languid when mixed with your waters, slow Maeander. (Not so the Arar, spurred on faster by its confluence with the Rhodanus.) Between these rivers, there stretches a sun-drenched plain, favourable to the grain of Ceres; it is thick with vine-rows, and bears, too, the fruit of the grey olive. There are horses in great number, and the plain is blessed with flocks: her wealth is the precious marble which Synnada carves, patterned with crimson tracery. (*In Eutropium II*, 255–73)

'Such', concludes Claudian, 'was Phrygia, when the gods abandoned it to the fire of the Goths.' The poet's encomium of the 'plain' of Phrygia (a loosely defined culture-zone which in fact forms a patchwork of discontinuous valleys and plains) follows a common literary pattern.⁶ First comes praise of the universal Mediterranean agricultural triad, cereals, vines and olives, followed by the district's characteristic livestock, horses and sheep. To these he then adds a touch of local detail, with a brief but accurate evocation of the marble quarries of Synnada. The praise of vines and olives is, of course, generic – which is far from the same thing as saying that it is materially false. The Çal ovası, the ancient Hyrgalean plain, is still today largely given over to vine-cultivation, and it is abundantly clear that in antiquity the vine was grown across the greater part of southern Phrygia.⁷

Claudian's olives raise a more complex problem. The olive is a stranger to modern Phrygia. To the west, it is cultivated up the Maeander valley only

⁶ Much of the passage is a patchwork of allusions to earlier Latin poets. Line 258 is a close imitation of Statius, *Theb.* 4.186: *illustres Satyro pendente Celaenas*. For the theme of lines 266–8, compare Ovid's geographically misleading description at *Met.* 6.399: *inde petens rapidum ripis decliuibus aequor* (the sea is some way off), pointedly corrected by Lucan, *Phars.* 3.207–8: *qua celer et rectis descendens Marsya ripis | errantem Maeandron adit mixtusque refertur* (where *refertur* ought to mean 'be retarded', as Claudian's *mollitur*). Line 269 recalls Lucan, *Phars.* 6.475–6; in line 273, Claudian recalls the substance and syntax of Martial 9.75.7–8: *marmore omni, quod Carystos inuenit, | quod Phrygia Synnas, Afra quod Nomas misit*. For commentary on 273, see Robert, *OMS* vii 76–121.

⁷ For the vineyards of the Çal ovası, ancient and modern, see [Chapter 5](#) below, pp. 193–5. The wine of Celaenae-Apamea itself was thought to be especially suitable for blending with honey: Plin. *HN* 14.75. This strongly implies a certain roughness in the local grape, which is hardly surprising at this distance inland; however, vines were successfully cultivated throughout Phrygia, as far east as the fringe of the Anatolian plateau (Waelkens 1977: 278–83; Mitchell 1993: I 146–7).

as far inland as Denizli (Laodicea); to the north, the olive line lies between Bilecik and Söğüd, on the borders between ancient Bithynia and Phrygia Epictetus.⁸ Yet the Augustan geographer Strabo clearly states that the small plain of Synnada in central Phrygia, more than 1100 m above sea-level at the edge of the Anatolian plateau, was given over to the cultivation of olive trees. The passage has caused great embarrassment: is it really possible that this bare highland valley, a hundred miles inland from the modern olive line, could in Strabo's day have been covered with olive groves? Scepticism is increased by the unambiguous testimony of Leo, bishop of Synnada in the tenth century, that in his day the olive was not cultivated in the Synnadan plain.⁹ There is some evidence that in the tenth century, at any rate, the climate of southern Phrygia was wholly incompatible with olive cultivation; certainly, olives could never have survived such winters as the 120-day frost which gripped much of Anatolia, including Phrygia, in, most probably, AD 933–4.¹⁰

We are left, therefore, with a fairly unpalatable series of options: to reject Strabo's testimony outright; to assume some slight botanical confusion (*eleagnus*, oleaster, rather than *olea europaea*, the olive tree); or to posit large-scale climatic change between the first and tenth centuries AD.¹¹ New evidence has shed welcome light on the problem. Paleobotanic research in the territory of Sagalassus, 100 km due south of Synnada, and at a comparable altitude, has shown that olive cultivation in upland Pisidia was far more extensive in antiquity than could hitherto have been supposed. It is possible that climatic conditions may have been slightly more favourable to upland olive cultivation than today – Anatolian winters in antiquity may have been as much as 2–3 °C milder on average – but it is unlikely that this was the most significant factor. In the Gravgaz marsh, southwest of Sagalassus, 1,215 m above sea level (50–100 m higher than the plain of Synnada), heavy olive cultivation begins in the early Hellenistic period (400–260 BC), and continues down to the sixth or seventh century AD, when it ceases very abruptly.¹² The determining factor here, as the

⁸ The ecological boundary between Bilecik and Söğüd, and its historical significance, is brilliantly sketched by Lindner 2007: 35–53.

⁹ Strabo 12.8.14. Leo of Synnada (ed. Vinson 1985), *Ep.* 43, with Robert, *OMS* VII 41–70: 'we do not farm the olive . . . our territory does not yield wine, due to the high altitude and short growing season'. For what follows, see Mitchell 2005: 88–98; Mitchell 2009.

¹⁰ The dating of the 'long winter' is problematic. The *Life of Luke the Stylite* (ed. Delehaye 1923, ch. 10) clearly implies 933–4, but most scholars have preferred to connect it with the famine of 927–8; Morris 1976: 9–10; Kaplan 1992: 13, 421, 461 n. 104.

¹¹ Notably de Planhol 1954, criticised by Robert, *OMS* VII 45–52; see further Casabonne 2004: 41.

¹² Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 18, 28–30, 53–5; Vermoere 2004: 239–76.

chronology suggests, was surely cultural rather than climatic. One of the defining cultural markers of Hellenization in the third and second centuries BC was the institution of the gymnasium; with gymnastic culture came the need for oil. The consequent significance of the olive plant for the Hellenic identity of the cities of inner Anatolia is especially clear in the correspondence of Eumenes II with the inhabitants of Toriaion in Phrygia Paroreius (shortly after 188 BC), in which he grants the community the status of a *polis*. The most urgent practical requirement associated with the upgrade to civic status was the securing of a regular supply of oil for the gymnasium; for the Toriaitai, this particular commodity was synonymous with cultural respectability.¹³

A millennium later, with the sudden and permanent collapse of Graeco-Roman civic culture in the east between the mid-sixth and the mid-seventh century, the social impetus which had led to extensive upland olive cultivation along the western fringes of the Anatolian plateau abruptly vanished. Rural settlement in Sagalassian territory declines rapidly; the urban centre of Sagalassos itself appears to have been abandoned by the mid-seventh century AD, and with it the Gravgaz olive groves. The disappearance of the institutions of the Graeco-Roman city in Anatolia by the later seventh century appears to have been universal. The fact that the inhabitants of Synnada were no longer cultivating the olive by the tenth century AD ought not, therefore, to be projected back into earlier periods as an 'environmental constant' or 'climatic fact'. As we saw in [Chapter 1](#), environmental conditions are seldom fully determinate: far more important are the dominant social conditions at any given time.¹⁴ So long as it was culturally desirable to grow olives, the Synnadans grew olives; when the use of olive oil ceased to be a significant element in civic self-definition, they stopped.¹⁵ The coinage of Synnada in the late Hellenistic and early imperial period provides neat confirmation. On the reverse of her bronze and silver 'cistophoric' coinage, we often find the image of an owl, token of the city's mythological kinship with Athens, perched on an amphora of olive oil ([Figs. 2.1 and 2.2](#)). The oil-amphora is best understood as a proud monument to the Synnadans'

¹³ For the Hellenization of Sagalassus, see Vandorpe 2000 (institutionally clearest in the late third and early second centuries BC); for Toriaion, *SEG* 47, 1745 (*I.Sultan Dağ*: 393); Thonemann 2008b: 43–53. Gymnasia and olive oil as prominent indices of Hellenicity: 2 Macc. 4:9–12 (Jerusalem); Rapin 1992: 108 (Ai Khanoum).

¹⁴ Above, pp. 18–19.

¹⁵ The plain of Synnada (modern Şuhut) now mostly produces potatoes and sugar beet. But modern agricultural conditions are no more relevant than those of the tenth century, since the geographical limits of olive cultivation in modern Turkey are still essentially cultural rather than climatic: de Planhol 1958: 158–9.



Figure 2.1 Synnada, first century BC (Æ); helmeted bust/owl on amphora



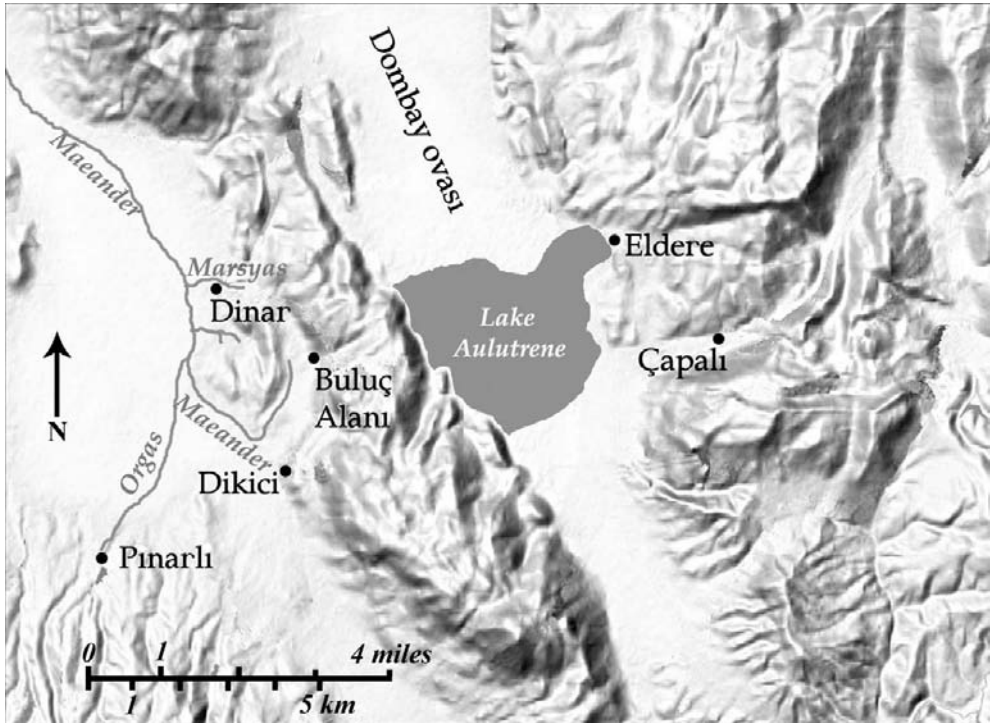
Figure 2.2 Synnada, first century BC (AR); *cista mystica* in ivy wreath/bow-case and coiled serpents, owl on amphora to r.

victory over their harsh climate and unpromising soil, the Phrygian miracle of upland olive cultivation.¹⁶

So much for the agricultural wealth of Phrygia. Returning to Claudian, it is striking that his geography of Phrygia is, essentially, a fluvial geography. He begins by describing the two great river-systems of Phrygia, the Sangarius and Gallus in the far north, and the Maeander and Marsyas in the far south of the region. In lines 269–73 he describes the plain of Phrygia itself, that is to say, the land that lies between these two river-systems (*quos inter*, 269).¹⁷ This conception need not surprise us too much. The limits of the Roman empire were traditionally marked by rivers – Rhine, Danube, Euphrates –

¹⁶ The earliest probably BM 1920–5–16–92 (here, Fig. 2.1) = *SNG Cop.* (Phrygia) 709 (1 bc: for the magistrate, *BMC Phrygia* 392, no. 2). Imperial: *RPC* 1 3180 (Germanicus), 3182, 3184 (?Tiberius), 3186, 3189 (Claudius). Numerous undatable types (ethnic only). Cistophori (post-133): e.g. *BMC Phrygia* 392, no. 1 (here, Fig. 2.2); *SNG Von Aulock* 3972. A hint towards this interpretation in Ramsay 1941: 244–5.

¹⁷ Hamilton (1842: 1 500–1) notes that the ambiguity of the relative pronoun led Gibbon into error. In the thirty-second chapter of the *Decline and Fall*, taking the antecedents of *quos* to be the Maeander and Marsyas (rather than the Sangarius/Gallus and Maeander/Marsyas), Gibbon wrote that ‘The vineyards and fruitful fields, between the rapid Marsyas and the winding Maeander, were consumed with fire’; the same misinterpretation of the Latin at Robert, *OMS* vii 66: ‘Claudian la place entre le Marsyas et le Méandre’.



Map 5 Dinar and the Dombay ovası

and it was natural for a Roman poet to choose to define a district within the empire in the same way. More striking is the way in which Claudian chooses also to articulate his mythography of Phrygia around these two river-systems. Marsyas and Midas, the two characteristic figures of Phrygian myth, have left their mark on the Phrygian landscape in the form and nature of its water-courses. This conception of the region's mythology offers us a starting point for an exploration of the religious identity of the cities of the Maeander. This is a world, or could be understood as a world, where the rivers serve as visible signs of the legendary past: the mythological history of the river-valleys is, in large part, a history of the rivers themselves.

Marsyas and the plain of buffaloes

Above the springs of the Maeander river, in the heart of southern Phrygia, stretches a broad highland plain, today known as the Dombay ovası, plain of



Figure 2.3 The Dombay ovası, looking south-east from the ridge of Ay Doğmuş towards the peaks of the Kızılkuyu Dağı; in the foreground, the Ottoman railway

buffaloes (Fig. 2.3).¹⁸ To the east and south, the Dombay ovası is dominated by the grand foothills of the Kızılkuyu Dağı, the westernmost extension of the mighty Karakuş Dağı mountain range, which marked the southern boundary of ancient Phrygia. At its northern edge, a shallow range of hills marks the southern limit of the modern Sandıklı ovası, the ancient Phrygian Pentapolis. To the west, the plain is overlooked by the ridge of Ay Doğmuş, the Mountain of the Rising Moon, separating the Dombay ovası from the modern town of Dinar and the upper Maeander valley proper. Eastwards from Dinar, after climbing switchback across the shallowest part of the Ay Doğmuş ridge, the old Ottoman Railway winds its way slowly across the plain, on its way south towards Burdur, Isparta and the lakes. Only two trains pass along this stretch of the railway each day, and the railway

¹⁸ For the extensive practice of buffalo-pasturage in central and southern Anatolia in the last century, de Planhol 1958: 163–4, and for the Dombay ovası in particular, Arundell 1834: 1 187, 230. The buffalo was introduced to Anatolia only in late antiquity: Robert 1963: 25–9, 607. See further [Chapter 5](#) below, pp. 182–3.



Figure 2.4 Reeds in lake Aulutrene; in the background, the ridge of Ay Doğmuş

embankment makes a convenient pedestrian route across the plain from north-west to south-east. Little by little the farmland gives way to clumps of golden rushes, until, in perfect silence and solitude, one finds oneself walking on a causeway across the middle of a vast, shallow lake, extending across the whole southernmost part of the plain, and choked from bank to bank with tall, whispering reeds (Fig. 2.4). The lake is fed by copious springs at the eastern edge of the plain, in the first foothills of the Kızılkuyu Dağı, at the tiny hamlet of Eldere (Fig. 2.5). The water is only a few feet deep, and wonderfully cold and clear. This is the lake known in antiquity as Aulutrene.¹⁹

Although a few small modern farming villages cluster along the northern and eastern flanks of the plain, the Dombay ovası has always been primarily

¹⁹ The name of the lake is given by Plin. *HN* 5.113, *lacu in monte Aulotrene*; for the orthography, Christol and Drew-Bear 1987: 43–6. There is some evidence that the water-level is higher today than it was in the nineteenth century (Christol and Drew-Bear 1987: 27 n. 43); the size of the lake in antiquity is unknown.



Figure 2.5 The springs at Eldere, looking north-west

a place of animal pasturage. In September 1826, the Rev. Francis Arundell, British chaplain at Smyrna, saw the Eldere springs choked with ‘thousands of goats and sheep’.²⁰ In the third century AD, St Tryphon of Apamea made a modest living as a gooseherd at the village of Sampados Kome, probably situated on the shore of Lake Aulutrene.²¹ In 1146, on his way back from an abortive raid on the Seljuk capital at Konya, the emperor Manuel I Comnenus pitched camp by the springs at Eldere, ‘where the water flows out in immeasurable abundance from the rocks at the foot of the mountain, as though sent forth by ten thousand mouths; it inundates the surrounding plain, and forms itself at first into a lake, before carving a deep bed as it proceeds and turning into a river’. While engaged in hunting in the reed-thickets around Eldere, the emperor was startled to come upon a band of nomadic Turks, pasturing their horses on the shore of the lake.²²

²⁰ Arundell 1834: i 188.

²¹ *Martyrium S. Tryphonis* (ed. Franchi de’ Cavalieri 1908: 45–74), 46–8.

²² Cinnamus 2.9 (ed. Meineke 1836: 59–63).

In antiquity, lake Aulutrene was correctly believed to be the ultimate source of both the Maeander and Marsyas rivers. Strabo informs us that above the city of Apamea-Celaenae lies a lake, ‘which produces the kind of reed which is suitable for the mouthpieces of pipes; from this lake, it is said, flow down the waters which feed the springs of both Marsyas and Maeander’. At the westernmost edge of the Dombay ovası (1020 m above sea level), the waters of the lake drain through a number of swallow-holes at the foot of the Ay Doğmuş ridge, before rising again, divided between the two springs of Marsyas and Maeander, on the west flank of the ridge (950 m).²³ The Marsyas rises on the outskirts of the modern town of Dinar, close to the centre of the ancient city of Apamea-Celaenae, while the springs of the Maeander lie a little to the south, in the small valley of Buluç Alanı (formerly Sheikh Arab Sultan). Arundell was reliably informed by a yürük ‘carrying reeds in two or three well-constructed waggons with iron wheels, and drawn by buffaloes’ that the Sheikh Arab river (the ancient Maeander) drew its waters from the lake in the Dombay ovası before passing under the mountain.²⁴ The subterranean courses of the two rivers under Ay Doğmuş suggest that the hydrography and orography of the district are, in geological terms, very young.²⁵

According to the second-century AD orator Maximus of Tyre, a local cult grew up around the wondrous passage of the rivers under the mountain.

The Phrygians who dwell in the region of Celaenae honour two rivers, the Marsyas and the Maeander. I have seen the rivers myself. A single spring is their source; the stream proceeds as far as the mountain which lies behind the city, and then disappears. It reappears in the city itself, but with its waters divided into two rivers with two different names. . . . The Phrygians offer sacrifices to the rivers, some to both, some to the Maeander alone, others to the Marsyas. They cast thigh-bones into the springs, speaking the name of whichever of the two rivers they wish to sacrifice to. The offerings are carried as far as the mountain, and then disappear underneath it along with the stream. And offerings to the Maeander never re-emerge in the river Marsyas, nor offerings to Marsyas in the Maeander; if the offering is to both of them, the gift is divided between the two.²⁶

A rather different kind of description of the subterranean course of the Maeander is found in the eleventh book of Nonnus’ epic *Dionysiaca* (fifth century AD). Much of the later part of the book is occupied by an account of

²³ Strabo 12.8.15. A slightly confused version of this same tradition at Plin. *HN* 5.106: *Marsyas ibi redditur ortus ac paulo mox conditur*; perhaps also Ov. *Met.* 6.396–8. For the swallow-holes at the foot of the Sultan Dağı, see Arundell 1834: I 186–7; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 410–11.

²⁴ Arundell 1834: I 187. ²⁵ Chaput 1936: 220–3. ²⁶ Max. Tyr. 2.8.

the myth of Karpos, son of the Zephyr, and Kalamos, son of the Maeander river, personifications of the vine and the reed; the story ends with their metamorphosis into the plants which now bear their names. The myth represents a particularly close, symbiotic relationship between the vine and the reed: ‘born from the boy Kalamos, the straight-backed reed which bends in the breeze will grow to maturity, slender scion of the fruitful earth, and tutor of the vine.’ The story of Karpos and Kalamos ought therefore to be understood as a mythological aetiology for the husbandry and training of the vine.²⁷ In antiquity, as in much of the eastern Mediterranean today, the poles on which vines were trained were generally cut from river- and marsh-reeds. ‘In Italy’, Pliny the Elder informs us, ‘the chief use of the reed is as a vine-prop.’²⁸ Later in Nonnus’ *Dionysiaca*, the river Hydaspes begs Dionysus not to destroy the *kalamoi* which grow along his banks – they will grow up to support the vine which he loves, and his fruit will hang from their struts.²⁹ One particularly strong and thick variety of reed was known to Theophrastus as the ‘stake-reed’. These reeds, he notes, tend to grow in the rich soil of reed-beds wherever there is a dense mass of plants with their roots tangled together; the weaker reeds (‘weaving-reed’) tend to grow on floating islands.³⁰

In the course of Nonnus’ account of the legendary origins of vine-husbandry, we find an oddly specific description of Kalamos’ father, the river Maeander: ‘the Maeander, who draws his waters unseen through the earth’s womb, swelling in the deeps; traveller on a crooked path below the earth, who crawls in the darkness, dragging his twisted stream towards the light, until of a sudden he leaps up sharply and lifts his neck above

²⁷ Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 11.370–481, with 12.98–102. See especially Vian 1995: 19–25; also Fauth 1981: 147–8. The same story is recounted by Servius on *Ecl.* 5.48, who states that Karpos was transformed into the *fructus rerum omnium*; this cannot be right, since most of the earth’s fruits have no association whatever with the reed. Used alone, the Greek word καρπός usually designates the fruit of staple crops, or of the vine.

²⁸ Plin. *HN* 16.173: *harundinis Italiae usus ad uineas maxime*; see also *TLL* s.v. *calamus*, *canna*, *harundo*.

²⁹ Nonnus 24.31–4; similarly Ach. *Tat.* 1.15.4: vine-tendrils creep along the reed-stems, and the bunches of grapes (καρπός) hang from their joints.

³⁰ Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.11, a long passage on the reeds of lake Copais, incorporating a digression on the making of reed-pipes at 11.4–7. The floating islands of the weaving-reed (φύεσθαι τὸν μὲν πλόκιμον ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων, τὸν δὲ χαρακίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κόμυσι, 4.11.1) were an object of worship to the communities around lake Coloe, north of Sardis, where once a year they danced to the music of the reed-pipe (Robert 1987: 334–59, 341–2). Artificially maintained reed-beds formed integral parts of agricultural properties, in Anatolia and elsewhere: see Drew-Bear 1980: 517–19, commenting on *I.Ephesos* 3803 d5 (cf. 3221), from the Cayster valley; leases at Olymos, *I.Mylasa* 803, 814, 843. See further Robert, *OMS* 1 382–3, 389–90; Schuler 1998: 125–6; below, Chapter 7, p. 272.

the soil.³¹ The Maeander was, indeed, proverbially winding, but no other author refers to a subterranean course; nor is it easy to find any part of the lower stretches of the Maeander which fits this description. Nonnus can, I think, only be describing the passage of the Maeander under the ridge of Ay Doğmuş, from lake Aulutrene to the Maeander springs at Buluç Alanı.

Whatever Nonnus' source for the story of Karpos and Kalamos might have been, its association with this particular spot, where the Maeander first lifts its head above the earth, is strikingly appropriate. No plant was more prominent in the local mythology of Apamea-Celaenae than the reed. As we have seen, Strabo considered the reeds from lake Aulutrene to be particularly suitable for the mouthpieces of pipes. It was, after all, from the reeds of lake Aulutrene that the goddess Athena fashioned the first pair of pipes; but as she blew into them, she caught sight of her reflection in the water, and threw the reed away, amazed at the sight of her bulging cheeks. Nonetheless, the goddess had not gone unnoticed. The satyr Marsyas had seen her, and when she was gone, he picked up the pipes himself, and began to play.³² This story received visible confirmation from the botanical realities of the Dombay ovası. The claim of the inhabitants of Apamea-Celaenae to be the home of the reed-pipe was based on the astonishing reed-nursery of lake Aulutrene, the source of the Marsyas and Maeander rivers. The slight, charming myth of Karpos and Kalamos, the vines of the plain and the reeds of the stream, is yet a further abstraction from this botanical fact. No better site for the metamorphosis of Kalamos into the reed could be conceived than the banks of the river Maeander at Celaenae.

The discovery of the reed-pipe by Athena, and the subsequent contest between Marsyas and Apollo, was the central episode in the mythological history of the city of Apamea-Celaenae. The scene is beautifully depicted on a series of Apamean bronze coin types of the second and third centuries AD. Athena sits on a rock in the centre, her legs resting to the left, but with her upper body turned to the right. She is blowing into a pair of reeds; below her, at the far bottom right of the picture, lie the waters of the lake, in which she will shortly catch sight of her reflection. Behind her, in the top left of the picture, the upper body of Marsyas appears behind a rocky crag, with his arms spread wide in astonishment at the unfamiliar sight (Fig. 2.6).³³

³¹ Nonnus 11.379–83.

³² Plin. *HN* 5.106: *ubi certauit [Marsyas] tibiarum cantu cum Apolline, Aulotrene est.*

³³ *BMC Phrygia* 97, no. 164 (here, Fig. 2.6); *SNG Von Aulock* 3497, 8344; Imhoof-Blumer, *KM* 1 212, no. 23a (Septimius Severus, mint magistrate Artemas *agonothetes*). A very similar type under Gordian III: *RPC* VII.1 700 (mint magistrate Bacchius son of Callicles). The



Figure 2.6 Apamea, Septimius Severus (Æ); Athena with pipes, looking r. into the waters of lake Aulutrene; Marsyas behind rocks at l.

Presumably this coin type reproduces a full-size original painting or sculpture at Apamea. This putative original may also have been the source for a very similar, contemporary representation on the theatre frieze at Hierapolis (modern Pamukkale), a near neighbour of Apamea to the west. On the Hieropolitan theatre frieze, Athena is depicted in the same pose as on the Apamean coins, and the upper body of Marsyas is again visible behind a rock, this time to her right (Fig. 2.7).³⁴ However, one particular variant in the Hieropolitan version is of unusual interest. Below the pipes of Athena, at bottom left, instead of the smooth surface of lake Aulutrene, we find a reclining river-god, his left arm resting on an urn from which water flows, and holding in his right hand a large and prominent reed. This can only be the river-god Maeander, the river which drew its waters from lake Aulutrene. This minor alteration to the myth is revealing. By locating the story of Athena and Marsyas on the banks of the Maeander, rather than by lake Aulutrene, the Hierapolis theatre frieze delicately strengthens the story's connection with the city of Hierapolis, a long way from lake Aulutrene, but through whose territory the river Maeander flowed.³⁵ It is pointless to argue which of the two versions (Aulutrene or Maeander) is the

Athena/Aulutrene type is found already under Commodus, but without the concealed Marsyas: Imhoof-Blumer, *GM* 206, no. 654.

³⁴ D'Andria and Ritti 1985: 49–52, with Tav. 16.1: the frieze dates to the reign of Septimius Severus. For the connection between the Hieropolitan relief and the Apamean coin type, see Chuvin 1987: 103–5. Another possible representation of Marsyas at Apamea was postulated by Weis 1992: 107–12 (the 'white' Marsyas statue group).

³⁵ That Hieropolitan territory extended westwards as far as the Maeander may be inferred from a funerary inscription from Rome, *IGUR* 784, in which a certain Menander is described as a native of 'Hierapolis on the Maeander' (Ἱεραπολίτης πρὸς Μάενδρον ποταμόν). A comparable 'annexation' of part of the Marsyas myth may be preserved in Diod. Sic. 3.59.1–6, where the contest between Marsyas and Apollo takes place at Nysa, with the Nysaeans as judges; but this is more likely to be Indian Nysa, not Nysa in the Maeander valley.



Figure 2.7 Hierapolis theatre frieze. Apollo with lyre; Athena with pipes, looking r. towards a personification of the Maeander

‘correct’ one. The Apameans chose to privilege Aulutrene, so as to emphasise the uniqueness of their connection with Marsyas; the Hieropolitans chose to privilege the Maeander, to bring the story into a closer connection with Hierapolis.

Nor was this the least plausible attempt by a foreign city to naturalise the myth of Marsyas. According to Pausanias, the Phliasians and Sicyonians believe that the waters of the Peloponnesian river Asopus ‘are foreign and not native to the place; for the Maeander, descending from Celaenae through Phrygia and Caria, and emptying itself into the sea at Miletus, travels to the Peloponnese and forms the Asopus’. Thanks to this connection, the Sicyonians were able to claim that the flutes of Marsyas had ended up as a dedication at the temple of Apollo in the agora of Sicyon: ‘For when the Silenus met with disaster, the river Marsyas carried the flutes to the Maeander; reappearing in the Asopus they were cast ashore in the

territory of Sicyon and were given to Apollo by the shepherd who found them.³⁶

It is hard to say what the precise origins of this curious mythological link between Marsyas and the Peloponnesian Asopus might have been. However, there is some evidence that one of the small seasonal affluents of the lower Maeander river, on the south flank of Mt Mycale, carried the name of Asopus.³⁷ Numerous sites and natural features in the Maeander delta region carried Boeotian place-names, no doubt reflecting historical Boeotian settlement in southern Ionia in the early first millennium BC.³⁸ Hence the original transplantation of the river-name Asopus to the lower Maeander region was probably due to Boeotian settlers, in imitation of the Boeotian river Asopus. The Sicyonians' claim to the waters of the Maeander would, in that case, be a secondary annexation of this toponymic connection. The Asopus on Mycale took its name, so the Sicyonians claimed, from the Achaean, not the Boeotian river Asopus; it was only a small further step to claim that the Achaean Asopus actually shared its waters with the Maeander river.³⁹

In the Greek cities of the eastern Mediterranean in the Roman imperial period, above all in Roman Asia Minor, myths showed a certain tendency to geographical mobility. The great panhellenic mythological episodes could freely be annexed to one's own city; this or that event, it was contended, happened right here, rather than anywhere else.⁴⁰ But attention should be paid to the geographical patterns of mythological naturalisation, and its limits. The crucial point, it seems to me, about the mobility of the Marsyas story is that even once it had migrated so far away as the northern Peloponnese, it remained firmly associated with the Maeander river, such that the Sicyonians were only prepared to claim a secondary connection, through

³⁶ Pausanias 2.5.3; 2.7.9. The personal name Marsyas is attested at Sicyon, one of only two instances from the Peloponnese: *LGPNI* IIIA, s.v. Ancient rivers were often believed to flow long distances under the sea, as an expression of real economic or political connections between two distant places: Eur. *Bacch.* 406–8, with Dodds and Diggle *ad loc.* See further [Chapter 7](#) below, pp. 290–1.

³⁷ Fifth-century Milesian tribe Asopis originating from a toponym Asopus at Thebes on Mycale: Rehm, *Milet* 1 3, 283 n. 1; Herda 2006b: 78 n. 198.

³⁸ For Boeotian toponyms on Mt Mycale, see Herda 2006b: 72–9 (Mycale/Mycalessos; Thebes; Priene/Kadme; Melia; Poseidon Helikonios).

³⁹ A similar re-interpretation of the toponymy of Mt Mycale can be seen in the case of Poseidon Helikonios, the presiding deity of the archaic Ionian league: although in fact derived from Poseidon of Mt Helikon in Boeotia, the cult *epiklesis* was reinterpreted in the seventh century BC as an echo of Achaean Helike on the north coast of the Peloponnese: Herda 2006b: 67–72.

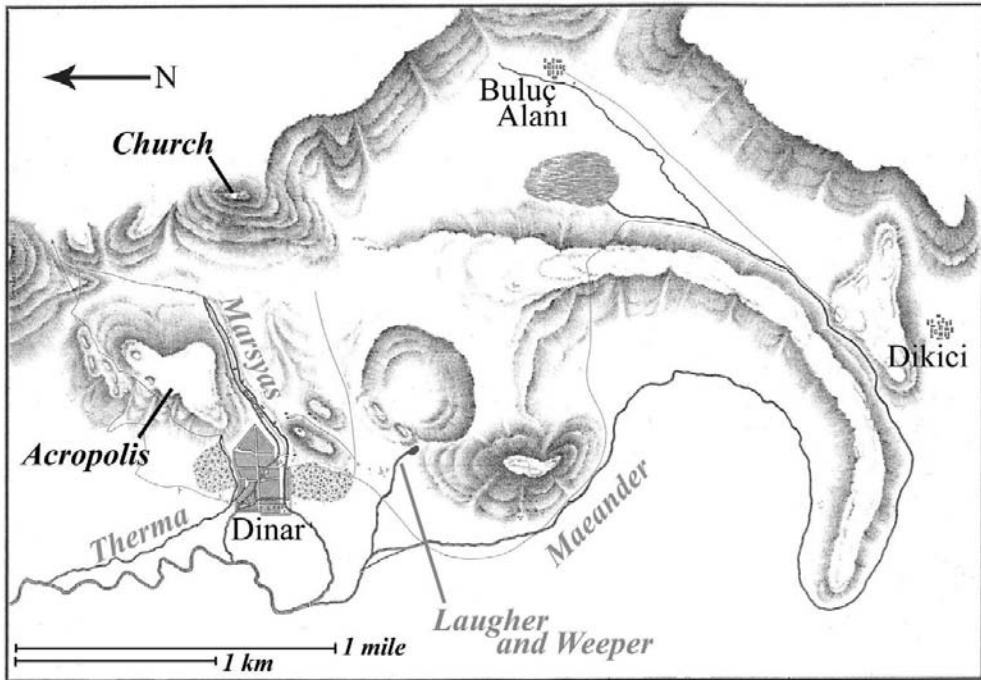
⁴⁰ Price 2005: 115–20. An extraordinary number of cities in western Asia Minor claimed to be the real birthplace of Zeus: Robert 1987: 265–70.

the alleged underwater course of the Maeander from Asia Minor to the Peloponnese. Although its particular associations with Apamea-Celaenae could be ignored or downplayed (as on the theatre frieze at Hierapolis), the myth of Marsyas could not be dissociated from the Maeander river altogether. Of course, reeds of various inferior varieties could be found on river-banks all over the Graeco-Roman world; but in the zero-sum game of mythological one-upmanship, the inhabitants of the Maeander river valley were remarkably successful in claiming that *their* reeds were the original ones. And the strongest possible proof of this claim lay in the silent lake of Aulutrene, with its forest of stake-reeds rising miraculously from the arid plains of southern Phrygia.

The rivers of Apamea-Celaenae

The Dombay ovası and lake Aulutrene formed the eastern part of the territory of Apamea-Celaenae, the great Phrygian caravan city which lay at the western foot of the ridge of Ay Doğmuş. The town had a long history. It is first mentioned in the late fifth century BC by the Greek historian Herodotus, to whom the city was known simply as Kelainai (Celaenae). In the reign of the Seleucid monarch Antiochus I (281–261 BC), the city was officially renamed Apamea after the king's mother Apame, but poetic and other archaising literary sources continued to call the city Celaenae down to the thirteenth century AD.⁴¹ The name Celaenae ('Black Town') is presumably a Greek interpretation of an original indigenous name. This indigenous name is nowhere directly attested, but a tentative hypothesis might be floated. After the conquests of Mursili II in the late fourteenth century BC, the Maeander river-system formed one of the main axes of the Hittite vassal-kingdom of Mira. This kingdom was bordered on the east by the rivers Astarpa and Siyanta, perhaps the inland Cayster (Akar Çay) and Parthenius or Tembris respectively. Part of the eastern marches of Mursili's kingdom went under the suggestive name Kuwaliya, recently identified with the upper Maeander district, perhaps with its major urban centre at Beycesultan; it is possible

⁴¹ Hdt. 7.26 (for whom the Marsyas story is already associated with the city). For the refoundation, Cohen 1995: 281–5. Strabo 12.8.15 and Livy 38.13.5–8 imply a physical relocation. This is puzzling, since the descriptions of 'old' Celaenae in Herodotus and Xenophon perfectly suit the new city of Apamea, in the eastern part of the modern town of Dinar. The problem was solved by Syme 1995: 335–9: Polybius, the common source of Strabo and Livy, confused the Marsyas and the Maeander. On the literary persistence of the name Celaenae, Robert, *Hellenica* II 75–6. See further below, Chapter 4, p. 163.



Map 6 Apamea-Celaenae and the sources of the Maeander. The urban centre of Apamea-Celaenae was located on and around the acropolis hill, overlooking the north bank of the Marsyas river

that the Greek name *Kelainai* represents a survival of the indigenous name *Kuwaliya*. However, the existence or absence of a settlement at *Celaenae* in the second millennium BC is currently a matter of pure speculation.⁴²

The central position held by the water-courses of *Celaenae*-*Apamea* in the city's religious identity is vividly illustrated by two coin types of the third century AD. On a large bronze type minted in the reign of Philip the Arab (AD 244–9), the two great rivers of *Apamea*, the *Maeander* and the *Marsyas*, are depicted reclining and facing one another; both river-gods rest on urns from which water flows, forming a single stream beneath them. The rivers are identified both by inscriptions, and by their characteristic attributes: *Marsyas* holds his flute, the *Maeander* a cornucopia and a reed.⁴³

⁴² Hawkins 1998; *Neue Pauly* 8: 250–5, s.v. *Mira*; Hawkins *ap. Easton et al.* 2002: 94–101. Casabonne 2004: 66–7, suggests that the Greek name *Kilikia* ultimately derives from the same Luwian nominal element *kuwa-*.

⁴³ *SNG Fitzwilliam* 4940; *Helios* 3 (2009) 546; already in Vaillant 1698: 195–6, 468. The mint magistrate, M. Aur. Alexander, also minted 'Noah' types: see below.



Figure 2.8 Apamea, Gordian (Æ); Artemis Ephesia, surrounded by personifications of the four rivers of Apamea

However, types of this kind, on which two rivers of local significance are depicted side by side on a city's coinage, are not uncommon in the Greek east.⁴⁴ Far more remarkable is a coin-issue from the reign of Gordian III (AD 238–44), on which a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia is surrounded by tiny personifications of all four of the major water-courses of Apamea.⁴⁵ At top left is seen the nymph of the hot spring Therma, carrying the branch of an unidentifiable plant; at top right, the river Orgas, carrying a shepherd's crook; at bottom right, Marsyas with his pipes; and at bottom left, the Maeander, wielding a prodigiously large reed (Fig. 2.8).⁴⁶ The reed is, of course, a characteristic attribute of river-deities everywhere. However, on the 'four rivers' coin, where the attributes help to identify the four streams, it is difficult to deny the iconography any local significance: the reed was felt

⁴⁴ To confine ourselves to instances where the two rivers are labelled, as on the Apamean Marsyas-Maeander types: e.g. Laodicea (Lycus and Caprus: Huttner 1997); Tios (Billaeus and Sardo: *SNG Von Aulock* 943), Pergamon (Selinus and Cetius: *SNG Cop. (Mysia)* 486), Ephesus (Cayster and Cenchrus: *BMC Ionia* 236, no. 78). Types where the rivers are not explicitly identified are numerous: instances are collected by Imhoof-Blumer 1923.

⁴⁵ *RPC* VII.1 699. The type is apparently based on the Magnesian issue Schultz 1975, no. 110 (Marcus Aurelius), on which a cult statue of Artemis is crowned by two flying Nikai to left and right, with two river-gods (presumably the Maeander and Lethaeus) reclining at her feet. The cult of the Ephesian Artemis at Celaenae is attested already in the fifth century BC: Timotheus, *Persae* 160–1.

⁴⁶ Plin. *HN* 5.106 says that Apamea is 'surrounded by the rivers Marsyas, Obrimas, and Orgas, which fall into the Maeander'. The river Obrimas does not appear on Apamean coins. The only other author to mention the Obrimas (Nonnus 13.514–15), although describing it as an affluent of the Maeander, emphatically does *not* place it at Celaenae; sandwiched between the Obrimas and Celaenae is the plain of Doias, far to the north in the vicinity of Acmonia (Robert, *OMS* VII 214–19). Hence Pliny cannot be relied upon; the Obrimas may well be an affluent of the Maeander further downstream.

to be unusually, *specifically* characteristic of the Maeander.⁴⁷ The coin type accords an extraordinary prominence to the complex hydrography of the city's territory: to all appearances, this complexity was something in which the Apameans took particular pride.⁴⁸

The first and greatest of the four rivers of Apamea was, of course, the Maeander itself.⁴⁹ The river rises amidst banks of reeds in a sheltered valley to the south-east of Dinar, named after the hamlet of Buluç Alanı, lying just to the east of the springs (Fig. 2.9). This little valley is dominated to the east by the heights of Ay Doğmuş; to the west and north, the valley is enclosed by a broad hook-shaped spur projecting out from Ay Doğmuş into the plain. The river loops south around the tip of this spur, before flowing back northwards through the suburbs of modern Dinar. Shortly before the Maeander enters Dinar, near the southern necropolis of Apamea, another small stream joins the river from the east, fed by two neighbouring sources under the foot of the spur (Fig. 2.10). These are, no doubt, the twin springs known to ancient authors as the 'Laughter' and the 'Weeper'. (In the late nineteenth century, William Ramsay claimed to have heard both sobbing and laughter; in 2004, I heard nothing.) The Laughter feeds a small and tranquil lake, this too half-choked with reeds; the Weeper provides the ornamental centrepiece for a pleasant tea-garden, and both springs are home to noisy families of mallards.⁵⁰

The pipe held by Marsyas on the coinage of Apamea recalls, of course, his mythical homonym, the master-musician, whose flayed hide was suspended by Apollo in the cave at the source of the Marsyas river. The identification of the river itself occasions no difficulty: this must be the swift, bubbling torrent that bursts out from the foot of the ridge overlooking the Afyon

⁴⁷ Several early third-century AD bronze coins from Apamea carry the image of a reclining river-god, labelled Μάινδρος, and holding a reed: *BMC Phrygia* 89, no. 116; *GM Winterthur* 4055; Imhoof-Blumer 1923: 314, no. 351. Were it not for the 'four rivers' type, there would be no reason to suppose that the reed on these issues had any particular significance. On fluvial attributes, see further Robert 1980: 86–104.

⁴⁸ The closest parallels for this kind of fluvial exuberance on a city's coinage derive from Magnesia on the Maeander. Apart from the Maeander-Lethaeus coins mentioned above, note the Κόλποι ('valleys') type, which appears to depict a river-god (the Lethaeus?) surrounded by personifications of three springs, presumably located in the narrow mountain vales to the north and west of Magnesia: Schultz 1975, nos. 339 (Maximus), 474 (Philip I).

⁴⁹ For the ancient and modern hydrography of Apamea, see Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 397–412, 451–7, with the corrections of Chuvin 1991: 112–25.

⁵⁰ Plin. *HN* 31.19; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 407–8. For the south necropolis, see Topbaş 1987, esp. 362: numerous Roman tombs, two large sarcophagi and funerary epitaphs, excavated a few hundred yards north of the tea-garden. The Laughter and the Weeper lay only a few hundred metres outside the city limits.



Figure 2.9 The sources of the Maeander, looking south-west from the village of Buluç Alanı

highway, chasing its way westward past a succession of abandoned water-mills, through the eastern part of the modern town of Dinar (Fig. 2.11). This fierce little river, running through the centre of the ancient site of Apamea-Celaenae, is no more than a mile in length; it falls into the Maeander just west of the modern town centre of Dinar.⁵¹

The Therma was the smallest of the four streams: uniquely, its personification on the Apamean coinage is not a river-god, but a spring-nymph. Installed on the platform of the old Dinar railway station on the western edge of the modern town stands a large inscription in honour of Ti. Claudius Piso Mithridatianus and his son, Ti. Claudius Granianus; the statues were set up by the shopkeepers of the *Thermaia plateia* ('Therma street'), the

⁵¹ For the ancient public buildings (stadium and apsidal building) on the central stretch of the Marsyas river, Ballance 1995: 187. Dio's oration in praise of Celaenae was delivered within sight of the Marsyas (Dio 35.13: ὁ Μαρσύας οὖτος).



Figure 2.10 The Laugher and the Weeper

street which leads to the source of the river Therma.⁵² One would expect the spring to have been located near the centre of the Roman city. Walking north along the old market street of Dinar, below the west face of the acropolis rock, and shortly before reaching the impressive ruins of the Hellenistic theatre of Apamea, one comes to the hot springs of the Ilıca, a large and malodorous pool, surely the source of the Therma stream.⁵³ Its slender course runs no more than two or three hundred metres, before being engulfed in the cold waters of the Maeander.

The name of the river Orgas was long preserved in that of the little village of Norgas, at the far south of the Apamean plain, renamed Pınarlı in the mid-twentieth century.⁵⁴ The Orgas springs lie three kilometres further to

⁵² *MAMA* vi 180; cf. *JGR* iv 791, with Robert 1969: 310 (honours for P. Manneius Ruso).

⁵³ Theatre: Topbaş 1990. This road was previously the main route east out of Dinar, as is clear from the town plan provided by Weber 1892; it has now been superseded by the Afyon highway, further to the east, which follows the Marsyas valley.

⁵⁴ Pınarlı (pop. 400) lies some 7 km SSE of Dinar. Its agricultural land extends only 500 m into the plain, most of the southern part of the plain belonging to the larger village of Dikici. The



Figure 2.11 The source of the river Marsyas

the south, in a secluded mountain glade, framed by magnificent pine trees; the stream flows down through the village of Pınarlı, and thence crosses the plain of Dinar to join the Maeander (Fig. 2.12). ‘The glen through which the stream flows varies from 50 to 100 ft in width, and is somewhat swampy in several places. It is bounded on either side by low alluvial and chalky hills, frequently intersected by pretty clefts and well-wooded with fine and tall fir and pine trees for a mile or so from the springs.’⁵⁵ This cheerful, shady region stands in startling contrast to the bleak, treeless hill-country that otherwise surrounds Apamea and lake Aulutrene. In the summer months, the upper valley of the Orgas must have been the main area of upland pasture for the shepherds and herders of the region, the Apamean *yayla*. The Milesian poet

river was dammed just above Pınarlı in the early 1980s; the village’s four water-mills, just below the dam, are now private houses.

⁵⁵ Unpublished part of Watkins’ letter to Ramsay of 4 July 1895, on the Orgas valley (see Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 404–5); the letter is bound into Ramsay’s own interleaved copy of *Cities and Bishoprics*, now in Oxford’s Sackler Library. The pine-trees of Celaenae are mentioned by Nic. *Alex.* 301–4.



Figure 2.12 The yayla at the Orgas springs

Timotheus, in his *Persae*, evokes Celaenae with the epithet ‘rich in flocks’, an appropriate description of the home of the shepherd Marsyas. Likewise, on the ‘four rivers’ coin of Apamea, the Orgas carries a shepherd’s crook: a grateful tribute to the cool perennial springs and rich pasturage of the valley of the Orgas.⁵⁶

As we have seen, the Marsyas and Maeander rivers had their own specific local myths and cults attached to them, and it is likely enough that similar stories, unknown to us, were associated with the Orgas and Therma. But the Apameans’ hydrographic claims add up to considerably more than the sum of the individual myths and cults of her water-courses. Collectively, the large, beautiful and prestigious coin types minted by the Apameans in the third century AD form a kind of image-gallery of the principal elements

⁵⁶ Timotheus, *Persae* 141. Imhoof-Blumer 1923: 315, no. 353, illustrates some small Apamean bronzes, with an unidentified river-god holding a crook: it seems likely that the Orgas is intended. The Orgas is mentioned as an affluent of the Maeander at Celaenae in Strabo 12.8.15 and Plin. *HN* 5.106.

of Apamea's mythological identity. What is striking is that this identity was based almost entirely on the complex, watery landscape around the city: the lake, the reeds, the underwater channels of Ay Doğmuş, the capillary network of hot and cold streams, weeping and laughing springs.⁵⁷ The complexity of the river-system at Apamea-Celaenae came to be seen as a source of civic pride in its own right, marking the city out from its neighbours and shaping the ways in which the community thought about its legendary past. Similarly, as we shall see shortly, it continued to be the unique hydrography of the Apamean district which formed the basis of the city's Christian identity in the later Roman period.

Controlling the hydrographic landscape

For all the prominence accorded to the local river-system in the civic mythology of Celaenae-Apamea, the Apameans were not the only inhabitants of the upper Maeander region to possess their own fluvial wonders. No less impressive were the petrifying hot springs of the Lycus valley to the southwest of Apamea, with their bizarre calcareous deposits and famous healing properties.⁵⁸

The third-century AD epic poet Quintus of Smyrna, in the tenth book of his *Posthomerica*, records how Teucer slew Zelys, the son of Medon,

who used to dwell at the foot of Phrygia, rich in flocks, below the holy cave of the fair-tressed Nymphs, where once, as Endymion slept alongside his herds, divine Selene caught sight of him from on high and descended from heaven; piercing love for the boy drew her on, immortal though she was, and a virgin. Even now, the mark of the place where she lay with him can still be seen there, under the oaks. Around her, the milk of cattle was poured out in the thickets, and men still marvel at the sight. Looking from afar, you might truly say that it was white milk; but in fact the water which flows from the spot is clear. When, though, it has proceeded a little way in its course, it solidifies in its bed, and forms a pavement of stone.⁵⁹

Earlier poets agree that the setting of the myth of Selene and Endymion was at Heraclea under Latmos, where, in Strabo's day, Endymion's cave was still

⁵⁷ For the historical context of the large third-century issues, see [Chapter 3](#) below.

⁵⁸ For the influence exercised by local natural wonders on mythological claims, compare Robert 1962: 287–313 (Homeric land of the Arimoi located in Lydia Katakekaumene); Lane Fox 2008: 175–332.

⁵⁹ Quint. Smyrn. 10.125–37.



Figure 2.13 The milk of Endymion: the travertines at Hierapolis

pointed out to travellers.⁶⁰ Quintus knew better: the cave of the Nymphs where Endymion slept was not in Caria, but further inland, at ‘the foot of Phrygia’.⁶¹ For Quintus, the cascades of milk-white stone below Endymion’s cave, created by the petrification of spring water, are the visible sign proving that this Phrygian site, not Heraclea, must mark the true location of Selene’s passion. In more recent times, only Richard Chandler has recognised the site concerned: Quintus is describing, with accuracy and elegance, the strange and beautiful crystalline travertines of Phrygian Hierapolis, at the foot of the mountain ridge that marks the south-western rim of the Phrygian plateau proper (Fig. 2.13).⁶² There appears, as it happens, to be no other evidence for the naturalisation of this particular myth at Hierapolis. But the

⁶⁰ Strabo 14.1.8; Robert 1987: 173–86; for poetic references, *RE* v s.v. Endymion, col. 2559; *I.Magnesia* 17.49.

⁶¹ Line 126: ὑπὸ Φρυγίαν πολύμηλον. The explanation of Vian 1959: 133–4 is unsatisfactory. Quintus knew the difference between Phrygia and Caria: at lines 282–6, the Maeander flows down from the high Phrygian pastures to lowland Caria, rich in vines. The fact that Lydian Sipylus is occasionally located in Phrygia does not, *pace* Vian, constitute a valid parallel, since that had firm literary precedents (Jones 1994: 207 n. 15).

⁶² Chandler 1775: 232. Robert 1987: 180–2, unsuccessfully attempts to match Quintus’ account to the topography of Heraclea under Latmos. Quintus’ description should be added to the *testimonia* for the travertines assembled by Ritti 1985: 16–22.

extraordinary hydrography of Hierapolis was too visibly the result of some ancient epiphany or amour not to attract a mythological *aition* of this kind.

Quintus' interpretation of the travertines of Hierapolis provides the essential background for a much longer and more complex text on the fluvial wonders of the Lycus valley, which displays important and suggestive parallels with the Endymion myth. This is the *Miracle of St Michael*, a lengthy account, surviving in a number of different recensions, of the miraculous intervention of the archangel Michael to save a small Christian chapel near the ancient city of Colossae in the upper Lycus valley. The earliest surviving version of the text does not antedate the late eighth century; indeed, the *Miracle* simultaneously serves as a fictionalised account of the origins of the great pilgrimage church of St Michael near Colossae, and as a foundation-myth for the Byzantine city of Chonae, a strong fortress in the foothills of the Honaz Dağı which superseded the defenceless site of Colossae in the course of the eighth century.⁶³

The tale begins in the apostolic era, with the visit of the apostles John and Philip, after their victory over a giant serpent at Hierapolis, to a place called Chairetopa.⁶⁴ Here they predicted to the people a future epiphany of the archangel Michael; on their departure, a healing spring miraculously burst forth from the ground. The medicinal powers of the spring became famous, and led to the conversion of a great number of pagans. Indeed, it was a former pagan of Laodicea, whose daughter had been cured of her muteness, who was responsible for building a small chapel at the site of the spring. Ninety years after the construction of the chapel, a boy by the name of Archippus, a native of Hierapolis, took up residence as a monk.

Trouble soon developed with the neighbouring pagans of the district. The local villagers first attempted to divert the river Chryses, which flowed down to the left of the chapel, in order to flood and pollute the spring, but of its own volition the river veered away from the holy site and split into two; the new courses flowed away far to the right and left of the chapel. There were, however, at that time two other rivers which flowed down from the east, passing about three miles away from the spring, one named the

⁶³ Nau 1907; later versions catalogued by Halkin 1957: II 118–19, nos. 1282–4. See further Ramsay 1893: 465–80; Peers 2001: 143–93; Xyngopoulos 1959 (iconography). The Byzantine town of Chonae is first attested in AD 787: *TIB Phrygien* 223, s.v. Chonai. One of the main functions of the *Miracle* is to furnish an aetiological explanation of the name Chonae ('funnels'): see Peers 2001: 163–5, and further below, n. 65.

⁶⁴ The redactor is confused (Robert 1962: 105–21, 318–38). The precise location of Chairetopa-Keretapa, apparently a neighbour of Colossae/Chonae to the south, is uncertain: *TIB Phrygien* 221, s.v. Chairetopa.

Lykokapros, the other the Kouphos. These rivers, says the redactor, ‘were mingled together at the peak of a high mountain, and turning off to the right travelled off (as a single stream) into the region of Lycia.’ The chapel was on low-lying ground, and the rivers descended from a great height. Accordingly, the local pagans were encouraged by the devil to divert the course of these two rivers so as to overwhelm the chapel and spring. A new channel for the rivers was constructed from the mountain down to a spot immediately above the chapel, and then the two rivers were dammed for ten days, with the result that a vast head of water built up behind the dam.

In the middle of the night, the floodgates were opened. It was at this moment, as the rivers raged down towards the chapel, that the Archangel appeared, in response to the fervent prayers of Archippus. Striking his rod against a rock, Michael tore open a deep gorge in the earth, into which the waters were redirected harmlessly, thereby saving the holy spring. ‘May you be plunged into this tunnel (*chonē*)’, ordered the Archangel, ‘and be funnelled through this chasm and roar there until the end of time, in return for what you have plotted against me.’⁶⁵

The task of identifying all the localities involved is certainly a hopeless one. The redactor is wildly misinformed about the region. Thus Chairetopa-Keretapa has migrated north over the Honaz Dağı; the Lycus (Çürük Su), which does indeed flow past the northern foot of Colossae, has been conflated with the Caprus (Başlı Çay or Çukur Su), which flows past the east flank of Laodicea, ten miles to the north-west of Colossae. The course of the Lycus can never have been as far as three miles distant from Colossae, and it most certainly does not flow towards Lycia. The Chryses and Kouphos rivers are unattested elsewhere. It is possible that the Chryses was the ancient name for the Honaz Çayı, the small stream which flows steeply down from Honaz past the eastern flank of Colossae, but given the desperate confusion elsewhere in the text, it is best to assume nothing.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ ἀκοντίσατε ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ χώνῃ ταύτῃ καὶ ἔστε χωνευόμενοι ἐν τῷ χάσματι τούτῳ καὶ βρυχώμενοι ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἀνθ' ὧν κατ' ἐμοῦ ἠτοιμάσθητε: *Mir. Mich.* (ed. Nau 1907) 561–2, cf. Michael Choniates (ed. Lampros 1879–80) I 36.

⁶⁶ For the rivers around Laodicea, Anderson 1897: 404–8; Weber 1898a (with Weber 1898b, Taf. 3). There is reasonable consensus as to the identification of the Asopus (Gümüş Çayı, flowing past the west foot of Laodicea), but the Caprus might either be the small Başlı Çay, immediately to the east of Laodicea, or the larger Çukur Su (Weber's Gökburun Su), which flows past the Ak Han, a mile and a half to the east of the ancient city. The latter identification is well defended by Anderson. There is no clear evidence for the river Cadmus: we know only that it flowed down from Mt Cadmus, not that it was anywhere near Laodicea, or indeed Colossae. For the Honaz çayı, Hamilton's Bunarbaşı su, see Anderson 1897: 406–7 (identifying it as the Cadmus, for no particularly good reason).



Figure 2.14 The petrifying stream of the Ak Su

However, the healing spring which is said to have appeared after the visit of John and Philip to Chairitopa can be identified with some plausibility. This is surely identical with the petrifying spring of the Ak Su, rising almost a mile to the north of Colossae, and flowing south into the Lycus (Fig. 2.14). The junction of the two streams lies very close to the site of the church of St Michael. This spring was famous enough to attract the attention of Pliny the Elder. ‘At Colossae’, he says, ‘there is a river, and bricks that are thrown into it are found, when removed, to have turned to stone.’ Emile le Camus, who has left an interesting description of his visit to Colossae in April 1894, describes how the paddles of the watermill located just to the west of the church of St Michael ‘are daily covered by the petrifying waters of the Ak Su with a calcarious deposit, which must be removed before it hardens, if the moving parts are to be prevented from turning entirely to stone in a very brief period.’⁶⁷

The emergence of a Christian aetiology for the creation of this petrifying spring is precisely parallel to the pagan adoption of the myth of Endymion

⁶⁷ Plin. *HN* 31.29; le Camus, *Dictionnaire de la Bible* 11, cols. 860–6, s.v. Colosses. The best description of the Ak Su is that of Hamilton 1842: 1 509–13.

as an aetiology for the petrifying springs at nearby Hierapolis. The wondrous hydrography of the Lycus valley was, for pagans and Christians alike, the visible sign of divine presence at some point in the mythical past. The precise interpretation of these signs at any given time is, of course, an accident of social practice; what matters for our purposes is the persistence of the basic structures of explanation. The social contingency of the particular stories people chose to tell about the region's hydrography is neatly illustrated by the account of the attempted flood at Chonae offered by Michael Choniates, in his encomium for Nicetas, the deceased metropolitan bishop of Chonae, composed around AD 1173. After recounting broadly the same story of the pagan attempt to flood the church – though Choniates, being a native of the region, is at least aware that the Lycus and Caprus are different rivers – he adds an extraordinary episode unknown to his predecessors.

In addition, the white soil around the sources of the rivers is also worthy of wonder. The soil is not this colour by nature. But there was a certain impious shepherdess, mistress of many flocks, whose heart, too, was evilly disposed towards the church. Drawing on all her reserves of milk, she milked every goat and every cow in her flock, and then, emptying all her pails at once, this lion's whelp poured forth a river of milk, which joined with the Lycus and Caprus and augmented their stream. That the passage of time might not erase this deed from the memories of men, the place where the river rises is still stained with milk-white soil, and its name still recalls that ancient wonder: *Graos Gala*, Old Woman's Milk [Fig. 2.15].⁶⁸

Once again, it is clearly the petrifying spring of the Ak Su which is in question. The old story of the healing spring at the church had evidently been forgotten; by the late twelfth century AD, its medicinal powers were no longer called upon. Instead, the inhabitants of late Byzantine Chonae brought the white waters of the Ak Su into a new relation with the miracle of the Archangel: no longer the work of heavenly powers, it was now the visible stain left by the impiety of the pagan inhabitants of the region. The story is remarkable in all respects. Quite apart from the correspondence with the old pagan myth of Endymion's flocks at Hierapolis – and it is hard to believe that one has directly influenced the other – the tale of the wicked shepherdess is morally incompatible with the aetiology for the holy river found in the earlier miracle-text. The river can be the agent of miraculous healing, or a reminder of evil and its punishment. What remains constant

⁶⁸ Michael Choniates (ed. Lampros 1879–80) 1 36, 56–7. For the date of the encomium, Stadtmüller 1934: 240.



Figure 2.15 Old Woman's Milk: the travertines of Kaklık cave, at the source of the Ak Su; possibly the mediaeval Graos Gala

is the conceptual structuring of the relationship between men and their environment.

One of the primary functions of all versions of the legend of St Michael is to provide a Christian *aition* for the dramatic gorge of the river Lycus in the vicinity of the great church of St Michael at Colossae. Immediately to the north-west of Colossae, the modern Çürük Su descends into a narrow gorge, 15–20 m deep, through which it flows for a little over a mile before re-emerging near the modern village of Koyunaliler (Fig. 2.16). Herodotus informs us that in his own day, 'at the city of Colossae, the river Lycus enters a chasm in the earth and disappears from sight; around five stades further on, it reappears, and flows into the river Maeander'.⁶⁹ Although no such subterranean course is now visible, there is no real reason to doubt that the Lycus gorge could have been wholly or partly covered in the fifth century BC. The stories which the Byzantine inhabitants of the region chose to tell about this gorge serve, once again, to bring the natural wonders of the district into an acceptable relationship with the Christian faith. As

⁶⁹ Hdt. 7.30. For the Lycus gorge, see Weber 1891; Müller 1997: 171–5.



Figure 2.16 The site of the church of St Michael at Colossae; in the foreground, the gorge of the Çürük Su; the tumulus marks the site of ancient Colossae; at the top right, modern Honaz (mediaeval Chonae), at the foot of the Honaz Dağı

we have seen, even the name of the town of Chonae is so interpreted as to relate it to the hydrographic miracle of St Michael: the name is said to derive from the *chonai*, ‘funnels’, into which the archangel redirected the rivers.⁷⁰

The story of the planned inundation of the chapel and spring in the *Miracle of St Michael* is, one need hardly say, a pious fiction, intended to provide a specific historical context for the opening of the gorge. However, even this part of the story could well ultimately derive from the visible realities of the region. Immediately to the north of Colossae, on the rim of the Lycus gorge, lies a substantial complex of ancient watermills, very close to the site of the church of St Michael. A part of the river Lycus must at some point have been diverted to feed these mills: it is possible that the disused

⁷⁰ See above, n. 63. ‘The tale takes place in a plausible geography . . . which in the course of the story is miraculously altered to a form more or less familiar to contemporaries. At the end of the miracle story, the rivers ran their proper course, the places had the right names, the crevices spewed their healing water – in other words, the actions of the Archangel completely transformed and purified the area.’ (Peers 2001: 161–2, 179.)

mill-race was understood in the Byzantine period to be the remains of an earlier attempt to dam the local rivers and flood the church.⁷¹

As with the petrifying stream of the Ak Su, so the supernatural qualities even of the Lycus gorge, eponym of the city of Chonae itself, were fluid and contingent. In AD 1070, when the city and great church of Chonae were captured and sacked by the Turks, the local inhabitants had fled for safety into the Lycus ravine, where they hoped to conceal themselves until the enemy's departure. The river, though, suddenly rose in flood, and engulfed the Christians where they lay hidden. For the emperor Romanos Diogenes, according to his historian Attaliates, the unprecedented swelling of the river was a more ominous event even than the sack of the church of St Michael. Attaliates' judgement, though clearly retrospectively influenced by the military cataclysm at Manzikert in 1071, nonetheless offers an insight into the conceptual relationship between the Greeks of the late eleventh-century Anatolian marches and their natural surroundings. As the defences of the Anatolian marches against the Turks crumbled, so the landscape itself, hitherto carrying the marks of earlier divine presence and favour, was understood to have turned decisively against the Greeks.⁷²

The cult of St Michael at Colossae was part of a wider religious milieu of angel-worship in the Lycus valley and the mountainous district to the north, already attested in Paul's epistle to the Colossians.⁷³ However, it is suggestive that the archangel Michael seems to have had a particularly close association with sacred springs and fish-pools. At Germia in Galatia, for example, a large church of the archangel Michael was constructed in the mid-fifth century AD at the site of a holy fish-pool, through the agency of which the archangel had performed a number of healing miracles.⁷⁴ The stories which the inhabitants of Colossae and Chonae chose to tell about their local 'water-saint' should be seen in the light of the perceived origins of other hydrographic wonders in the region: hot springs, petrifying streams,

⁷¹ The mills have not been properly published, and their date is wholly uncertain. For a preliminary report, Şimşek 2002: 10; see also Wikander 2008: 150. An association of water-millers is attested at nearby Hierapolis in the second or third century AD: see below, Chapter 5, n. 55.

⁷² Attaliates (ed. Pérez Martín 2002) 105 (= Bekker 140–1).

⁷³ Col. 2:18; Lightfoot 1875: 1–113 is still valuable, but the major study is now Peers 2001, esp. 8–10, 143–93. For the cult of Michael in the district north of Hierapolis, note Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 541, no. 404 (Gözler/Thiounta); *MAMA* IV 307 (Sazak/Mossyna); *MAMA* IV 325 (Üçkuyu/vicinity of Dionysopolis).

⁷⁴ Mango 1984; *TIB Galatien* 166–8, s.v. Germia; Mitchell 1993: II 129 n. 48. For the healing cults of St Michael in late antiquity, see Rohland 1977: 75–104. Mango (1984: 57–8) discusses the association of Michael with a spring near Constantinople; see also Mango 1991 (Alahan).

the vast floodlands of Aulutrene. I have already suggested that the structure of the two opposed aetiologies for the Ak Su at Colossae can be illuminated by looking at them in relation to the pagan myth of Endymion at Hierapolis. The fact that the legendary narratives of Endymion at Hierapolis and St Michael at Colossae take essentially the same form should not be taken as evidence for banal religious or ritual continuities. Rather, both of these narratives should be seen as independent manifestations of a characteristic local style of interpreting, and *domesticating*, the hydrographic landscape of the Lycus valley.

The early Christian communities of southern Phrygia had a particularly acute need to explain (and thus to control) their natural surroundings. The petrifying streams, hot springs and supernatural gorges of southern Phrygia were undeniable geological facts; in many cases, they were the focus of unacceptable pagan myths and dangerous pagan cults. Natural wonders of this kind urgently required an alternative, Christian explanation. This process of Christian landscape-formation can be seen at work in the curious legends which attached themselves in late antiquity to the hot springs near Koçhisar (ancient Hierapolis, not to be confused with Hierapolis-Pamukkale), in the Pentapolitan plain north-east of Apamea-Celaenae.

One of the leading figures in the Christian community of southern Phrygia in the later second century AD was the great bishop Abercius Marcellus of Hierapolis. Abercius holds a prominent place in the early history of the church in Phrygia, thanks to his funerary inscription (of which a substantial fragment is extant) and a partly apocryphal *Life of Abercius*, incorporating the full text of the epitaph, compiled in the later fourth century or early fifth century AD.⁷⁵ The *Life* describes how the bishop, on making a circuit of the villages and farms in the immediate vicinity of Hierapolis, was horrified by the lamentable health of the villagers of the Pentapolitan plain, due, in his opinion, to the absence of a salubrious place to bathe. Coming to a place called Agros, near one of the affluents of the river Cludrus, he knelt and prayed for the creation of a thermal spring; with a clap of thunder a hot-water spring burst out of the ground at the very spot where he had been kneeling. The locals were then instructed to build deep pools which might serve as a bathing-place. Some years later, according to the *Life*, Abercius was summoned to Rome by the emperor Marcus Aurelius to exorcise a demon who had occupied Lucilla, the emperor's sixteen-year-old daughter.

⁷⁵ Abercius' funerary inscription: Dölger 1922: 454–507; Wischmeyer 1980. Prominence in Phrygian church: Eusebius, *HE* 5.16.3 (addressee of an anti-Montanist tract, c. AD 193). On the *Vita Abercii* (ed. Nissen 1912), see Thonemann forthcoming 1.

In gratitude for Abercius' successful treatment of her daughter, the empress Faustina promised to send an architect to build a bath-house over Abercius' hot springs at Agros. On the construction of these baths, the site, previously known as 'Agros by the river', was renamed Agros Thermōn, 'Agros of the hot springs'.⁷⁶

The *Life of Abercius* is, beyond doubt, a product of the later fourth or early fifth century AD, two centuries or more after the death of the historical bishop Abercius.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, the text is not pure hagiographical fantasy. The biographer had at least one authentic source for the bishop's career, namely Abercius' tombstone, still visible at the south gate of Hierapolis at the time of the composition of the *Life*. The *Life* also includes a letter of Marcus Aurelius to a certain Euxeinianus Pollio of Hierapolis, 'the leading man in the city', thanking him for his assistance in providing relief for the inhabitants of Smyrna after the catastrophic earthquake of AD 177, and asking him to send the local bishop Abercius to Rome to treat Lucilla.⁷⁸

Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus, to Euxeinianus Pollio, greetings. Having practical experience of the sagacity with which you recently acted on our behalf at the city of Smyrna, so as to lighten for the city's inhabitants the disaster which had befallen them through the earthquake, we marvelled at your vigilance and care, especially when our *procurator* Caecilius, through whom you had sent us the report of the things which you had seen at Smyrna, provided us with a clear report of the circumstances. Because of this, we acknowledge the greatest possible debt of gratitude to you. As to the present time, a certain Abercius, bishop of the Christian faith in your city of Hierapolis, has become known to us, a pious man with the ability both to drive out demons and perform other acts of healing. Since we require this man with the greatest urgency, we order Your Fortitude to instruct the man to attend us. For this reason we have also sent to you Valerius and Basianus, *magistriani sacrorum officiorum*, with instructions to bring the man safely at any cost. At all events, you will perform this duty in the knowledge that we shall owe you no small debt of gratitude on this account. Farewell, our Euxeinianus.

As I have argued elsewhere, this curious letter is full of circumstantial details (Marcus' titulature; the Hieropolitan dynast Euxeinianus Pollio; Marcus' procurator Caecilius) which can only be explained on the hypothesis that Marcus' letter in the *Life* is an interpolated version of a genuine

⁷⁶ *Vita Abercii* 39–40, 65–6.

⁷⁷ Most obviously, Faustina's *frumentatio* at Hierapolis is said (ch. 66) to have continued 'until the time of Julian the apostate' (AD 363).

⁷⁸ *Vita Abercii* 48–9.

imperial epistle of AD 177–8.⁷⁹ No doubt an inscribed copy of this letter was still visible at Hierapolis to be transcribed by the hagiographer in the late fourth or early fifth century AD. The latter part of the letter, in which Marcus openly acknowledges Abercius as a Christian and asks Pollio to send the bishop to Rome to treat his daughter, must be an imaginative supplement by the author of the *Life*, stitched on to the genuine imperial document. That the historical Abercius had made a journey to Rome was known to the author of the *Life* from Abercius' epitaph: 'He (the holy shepherd) sent me to Rome, to see the queen of cities, and to see a Queen with golden robes and golden shoes.' The letter of Marcus has been inserted into the *Life* in order to provide a plausible context for Abercius' visit to Rome; indeed, it is likely enough that the whole story of Lucilla's demon-possession originated in attempts to explain the mysterious reference in Abercius' funerary inscription to a 'Queen with golden robes and golden shoes'.⁸⁰

The author of the *Life of Abercius* seems to have employed a similar methodology to explain the donation of the baths at Agros Thermōn by the empress Faustina. The hot springs are still today the most notable natural wonder of the Pentapolitan plain; they lie some four kilometres to the south of the village of Koçhisar, the site of Hierapolis, and today support a luxurious health spa, the Hüdai Kaplıcası.⁸¹ Richard Pococke, travelling eastwards across the plain of Sandıklı in March 1740, remarks that 'a league before we came to this town [Sandıklı] we passed by springs of hot waters, and three baths built at them. . . the hot waters have a strong chalybeat taste, seem to be very good, and are greedily drank by the people of the caravan who pass by'.⁸² Understandably, the Christian inhabitants of late antique Hierapolis wished to continue using the hot springs and bath-house at Agros Thermōn. However, it was all too obvious that the bath-house was the product of a pre-Christian era; there was, most probably, a large inscription on the façade proclaiming it to be a gift of the empress Faustina.⁸³ One of the functions of the *Life of Abercius* was to provide a Christian aetiology for this ideologically problematic monument. And so the hot springs themselves were interpreted as the result of a miracle performed by the great bishop

⁷⁹ Thonemann *forthcoming* 1, building on arguments adduced by Merkelbach 1997 and Franco 2005: 500–3.

⁸⁰ Epitaph of Abercius, lines 7–8 (as emended by Thonemann *forthcoming* 1): εἰς Πρώμη[ν ὃς ἔπεμψεν] ἐμὲν βασιλ[η] [ἡ] ἰδ' ἄθροῆσαι] καὶ βασιλισσ[αν] ἰδεῖν χρυσό]στολον χρυ[σοπέδιλον]. In fact, Abercius' *basilissa* was surely intended as a metaphor for the ecumenical Church: Dölger 1922: 473–6; Guarducci 1971: 182–5.

⁸¹ *TIB Phrygien* 172–3, s.v. Agros Thermōn. ⁸² Pococke 1745: 81–2.

⁸³ Faustina is known to have dedicated a bath-house at Miletus: *I.Didyma* 84; *I.Milet* (v1 1) 339–40, 343; Kleiner 1970: 125–33.

Abercius; the ‘baths of Faustina’, too, were rendered acceptable through being interpreted as a gift to the Hieropolitans in return for Abercius’ exorcism of Lucilla.

The author of the *Life of Abercius* is engaged in the same project as the author of the *Miracle of St Michael*. Of Abercius himself, the author knew no more than could be inferred from the text of his tombstone. His inferences about the early Christian history of Hierapolis are drawn not solely from the physical geography of the region, but also from a series of buildings and inscriptions of the second century AD still visible in and around the town, which are all, however spuriously, brought into relation with the life of the great bishop Abercius.⁸⁴ The bishop’s touch elevates these texts and monuments to the status of church documents and pilgrimage sites. The chief interest of the *Life* for our purposes is the way in which the author uses his multifaceted ‘Abercius’ to infer Christian origins for the one indisputably miraculous natural wonder in the vicinity of the city, the thermal springs near the river Cludrus; the dedicatory inscription of Faustina on the façade of the baths above the springs can then be invoked to prove the historicity of the saint’s intercession.

Needless to say, there is not the least reason to think that either the hot springs at Agros Thermōn or the petrifying stream near Colossae first started to flow in the early Christian era. But for religious veneration to attach to such places after the victory of the church, it was necessary to argue that these natural wonders were Christian in origin. The church did not, on the whole, have the good fortune of Graeco-Roman paganism to be able to set its aetiological stories in the distant past. By the late fourth and fifth centuries AD, this was less of a problem: the church had developed a history of its own, and the heroic age of persecution and martyrdom in the second and third centuries was far enough in the past to provide a plausible context even for geological miracles such as the creation of the springs of Agros Thermōn or the opening up of the gorge at Colossae. This option was not open to the Christians of an earlier epoch. However, at least one early Christian community in the upper Maeander region found an enterprising solution to this problem, which sheds a sharp and unexpected light on the local dialectics of geographical thought in the late second and early third centuries AD.

⁸⁴ The stone on which the epitaph itself was inscribed was understood to be evidence of Abercius’ supernatural powers: the block had been carried through the air from Rome to Hierapolis by the devil, on the orders of Abercius (*Vita Abercii* 63). Compare Hasluck 1929: 1 202–20, on miraculous inscriptions in folk-Christianity and Islam.



Figure 2.17 Apamea, Severus Alexander (Æ); ark of Noah, dove above, Noah and wife to l.

The ark at Celaenae

In the first half of the third century AD, the Apameans minted an extraordinary series of coins with a design depicting two scenes from the Biblical story of Noah. On the right of the design, the ark is shown floating on the waters, with a male and a female figure standing inside; the ark is rectilinear and box-shaped, with a raised lid, and carries on its side the legend ‘Noah’ in Greek. Two birds can be seen in the upper field, one perching on the ‘lid’ of the ark, the other flying in from top left, carrying an olive branch in its beak. To the left of the ark, a later scene is depicted: the man and woman (Noah and his wife, no doubt) are now standing on dry land, with their right hands raised in a gesture of thanks (Fig. 2.17).⁸⁵

Coins with this type are known to have been minted under at least six emperors: Septimius Severus,⁸⁶ Macrinus,⁸⁷ Severus Alexander,⁸⁸ Gordian

⁸⁵ The bibliography is large and inconclusive. The three crucial studies are Falconieri 1668: 165–230; Eckhel 1792–8: III 132–9; Madden 1866. The hypothesis of a pictorial model for these and the other large third-century Apamean coin types – attractive, if unprovable – was developed by Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 431–4.

⁸⁶ Septimius Severus: Vaillant 1698: 91 = Madden 1866: 198 (Paris), minted ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτου Ἀρτεμᾶ γ’. During his period of office as agonothete, Artemas also minted coins with Athena and Marsyas at Aulutrene (above, n. 33).

⁸⁷ Macrinus: Eckhel 1779: I 196, no. 8 = Madden 1866: 198 (Vienna); *Coll. Wadd.* 5723. No mint magistrate is named.

⁸⁸ Severus Alexander: *SNG Von Aulock* 3506 (here, Fig. 2.17; cf. *Coll. Wadd.* 5730), minted ἐπὶ Πο. Αἰλ. Τρύφωνος ἱππι(κοῦ) ἀσιάρχ(χου); for pagan types minted by Tryphon, see e.g. *SNG Von Aulock* 3507 (Zeus); *BMC Phrygia* 101, nos. 179–80 (Athena). Tryphon was a land-owner in the region of Apamea: see the funerary inscription of a certain Auxanon, also known as Helladius, from Apamea, *MAMA* VI 222 (AD 247/8), who describes himself as the estates-manager (*pragmateutes*) of Aelius Tryphon, three times asiarch, clearly identical with the mint-magistrate. Auxanon may have been a Christian, if the editors are right to restore a Christogram in line 18; however, the curse-formula with κεχολωμένον ἔξει (18–19) is almost

III,⁸⁹ Philip I⁹⁰ and Trebonianus Gallus.⁹¹ Five mint magistrates are known, all of whom also minted coins with pagan types; all have good Greek names, and four are known to have held local or provincial office. There is not the least reason to suppose that any were Jews, or indeed Christians.

As has long been recognised, the local tradition represented by the ‘Noah’ coins of Apamea closely echoes the version of the story preserved in the first Sibylline oracle. According to the Sibyl, Mount Ararat and the final resting place of the ark are located not in Armenia, but at the source of the river Marsyas in Phrygia. The city of Apamea is not specified, but it is clear which town the Sibyl has in mind. The ark is referred to periphrastically throughout, until it comes to rest on Ararat: here the term *kibotos* is used, the word used of the ark in the Septuagint, and the by-name of the city of Apamea.⁹² That the Sibyl intends an allusion to the name Apamea ‘Kibotos’ seems certain; other Christian authors in this tradition name the city explicitly.⁹³

Apamea was an *emporion*, a trading city, ‘a common entrepot for all the goods from Italy and Greece’, second only to Ephesus in all the province of

invariably pagan (Strubbe 1997: 296–8). Ramsay’s stemma of Tryphon’s family (*Phrygia* II 467–8, no. 304) is impossible: see below, Chapter 3, n. 1.

⁸⁹ Gordian: *RPC* VII.1 701, minted παρ(ᾶ) Βακχίου παν(ηγυριάρχου). Bacchius also minted an Athena and Marsyas type (above n. 33), and the ‘four rivers’ type (above n. 45).

⁹⁰ Philip: *SNG Hunterian I* 2030; *BMC Phrygia* 101, no. 182; *Coll. Wadd.* 5731; *SNG Von Aulock* 3510, 8348, minted ἐπ(ι) Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀλεξάνδρου β’ ἄρχι(ερέως). For pagan types minted by Alexander, see e.g. *BMC Phrygia* 102, nos. 183–5 (Dionysus; perhaps the hero Kelainos), and the Marsyas and Maeander type (above n. 43).

⁹¹ Trebonianus Gallus: *SNG Von Aulock* 3513, minted παρ(ᾶ) Κλ. Ἀπολιναρίου (*sic*); for pagan types minted by Apollinarius, see e.g. *BMC Phrygia* 104, no. 193 (Mên); *homonoia* issues with Ephesus and Kibyra, Franke and Nollé 1997, nos. 55–62. The image on the reverse of his ‘Noah’ coins is a mirror image of the earlier issues, with the ark at l. and standing figures facing r.

⁹² Apamea ‘Kibotos’: Strabo, 12.8.13; Plin. *HN* 5.106, *Apameam* . . . *ante appellatum Celaenas, dein Ciboton*. On the problematic ethnic Ἀπαμείς ἐπὶ Κειβωτοῦ in *I.Ephesos* 13 II.18, see Habicht 1975: 81 and further below. The name persisted into the Byzantine period: in the *Notitiae* Apamea is invariably designated as Ἀπαμείας τῆς Κιβωτοῦ. As a toponym, Kibotos is also attested as the name of a harbour at Alexandria (Strabo 17.1.10); Bithynian Kibotos does not appear before the twelfth century (Anna Comnena 11.1.1, 14.5.2, 15.1.3).

⁹³ *Or. Sib.* 1.261–7; Lightfoot 2007: 98–103, 364–70, 406–7. A similar tradition lies behind Georg. Sync. 1.38 (quoting Julius Africanus): ‘When the waters receded, the ark [κιβωτός] settled on Mt Ararat, which we know to be in Parthia, although some people say it is located at Phrygian Celaenae; I have visited both places’; thus also Georg. Cedr. 1.20. Bar Hebraeus claims that the ark lands at ‘Apamea, the metropolis of Pisidia’ (Budge 1932: 6); the ninth-century Syriac commentary on Genesis by Iso’dad of Merv (on Gen. 7.16, allegedly from Josephus, but contrast *AJ* 1.92–3) states that ‘the planks from the ark are preserved at Apamea in Pisidia’ (van den Eynde 1955: 131). Apamea was part of the province of Pisidia at least by the reign of Galerius (*ILS* 8932; Drew-Bear 1978: 27).



Figure 2.18 Apamea, Hadrian (Æ); Marsyas seated in cave, with flute in left hand and cornucopia in right hand; beneath, a vessel from which water flows; around him, five *kibotoi*



Figure 2.19 Apamea, Hadrian (Æ); Marsyas seated in cave, with flute in left hand and cornucopia in right hand; beneath, a vessel from which water flows; around him, five *kibotoi*

Asia.⁹⁴ The nickname *Kibotos*, ‘the Chest’, is most easily taken to derive from this role; more importantly, this was how the Apameans themselves understood the term. In the early second century AD, with the city at the peak of her material prosperity, they minted a series of bronze coins depicting the river-god Marsyas, reclining in his cave, surrounded by packing-cases; the legend identifies them as *kibotoi*, ‘chests’ (Figs. 2.18–19).⁹⁵ The Christianising or Judaising reinterpretation of Apamea ‘the Chest’ as Apamea ‘the Ark’, first seen in the ‘Noah’ coins of the early third century, was no doubt facilitated by the trend in contemporary Christian and Jewish art to depict the Ark as a box or packing-case.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Strabo 12.8.15, further discussed in [Chapter 3](#) below.

⁹⁵ *BMC Phrygia* 96, nos. 155–8; *Coll. Wadd.* 5710; *SNG Cop.* (Phrygia) 211–12; *SNG Von Aulock* 3492–3, 8343; *SNG München* (Phrygien) 155.

⁹⁶ For a Jewish example from Anatolia, compare the mosaic from the fifth-century synagogue at Cilician Mopsuhestia, in which the Ark appears in the form of a decorated chest standing on four legs, labelled in Greek ‘the *kibotos* of Noah’ (Budde 1969: 38–55).

Thanks to her status as a trading post, a consequence of her position on the great Southern Highway, the population of Apamea was always ethnically diverse. A small Greek element already existed in the fourth century BC; in the course of the third century, Galatians also began to settle here. From the late Hellenistic period onward, Cappadocian traders were drawn westward in great numbers to the city's markets.⁹⁷ The slave trade flourished, as in all the cities that lay on the Southern Highway, to such an extent that specific fiscal dues on slave-brokering were imposed on the Apameans.⁹⁸ From the late Republican period onward, the Cappadocian slave-dealers were joined by a large population of resident Romans, an independent corporate body permanently settled in Apamea, who formed a regular part of the city executive from the first century AD onwards (see Chapter 3 below).

The annexation of the Noah story by the citizens of Apamea in the early third century AD has usually been put down to the influence of the city's Jewish population. Apamea certainly possessed a Jewish community, although its importance ought not to be overstated. Only a single Jewish inscription is known from the city; there are no instances of Jewish names, and the literary sources provide only the barest of circumstantial evidence.⁹⁹ Perhaps more importantly, Christianity took a firm hold at Apamea, as elsewhere in Phrygia, at a very early date. A significant Christian community already existed at Apamea in the late second century AD.¹⁰⁰ Christian epitaphs of the third century are numerous, many of them concluding with the 'Eumenean formula', informing any unfortunate soul who chooses to disturb the tomb that 'he will have to reckon with God'.¹⁰¹ The well-preserved small stone basilica, whose ruins lie high above the modern town in the hills to the east, has occasionally been considered to be pre-Constantinian (Fig. 2.20);

⁹⁷ Greeks: *IG* II² 9009, with Robert, *Hellenica* II 75–6; Robert 1963: 337–51. Galatians: *I.Thr. Aeg.* 215, with *BE* 1971, 415. Cappadocians: see Chapter 3 below, pp. 106–8.

⁹⁸ *I.Ephesos* 13 II.18: Ἀποαμίς ἀπὸ Κεῖβωτοῦ προξενητ, with Gschnitzer 1989. The dues are specific to Apamea, and levied on no other city of the province.

⁹⁹ Trebilco 1991: 85–103. The inscription is now *IJO* II 179. Cic. *Flacc.* 68 does not, as has sometimes been supposed, prove the existence of a large Jewish community at Apamea: the gold collected at Apamea comes from the whole diocese, which contained numerous large Jewish communities (notably Acmonia). Antiochus III settled 2,000 Jewish families in Lydia and Phrygia (Jos. *AJ* 12.147–53); it is argued that the prominence of Apamea would have ensured it a particularly large contingent of these new settlers, but this is a *petitio principii*.

¹⁰⁰ Euseb. *HE* 5.16.17, 22. The Julianus of Apamea mentioned at 5.16.17 may be identical to the author of a funerary epigram for a certain Antonia, which appears to be Christian: *MAMA* VI 186 (*Steinepigramme* III 16/04/02).

¹⁰¹ Only three dated Christian inscriptions of the third century: *MAMA* VI 226 (AD 250); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 533, no. 385 (AD 253/4); 534, no. 388 (AD 259). But another fifteen or more Christian texts must date to this period or earlier.



Figure 2.20 The fourth- or fifth-century basilica above the source of the Marsyas

however, parallels from other parts of inland Anatolia suggest a date in the late fourth or fifth century AD at the earliest.¹⁰²

It is preferable to suppose that the introduction of the Noah myth to the Apameans, some time in the course of the second century AD, was due, not to the city's Jews, but to its Christians. The adoption of the Noah story as part of the civic mythology of Apamea, at a time when that mythology was still predominantly pagan, is best interpreted as the result of a highly subtle and effective act of proselytism. Given the intensively competitive nature of local pagan mythologies in Roman Asia Minor, the claim that the city of Apamea held a uniquely important position in the religious geography of Christianity would have been a well-chosen piece of self-publicity by the advocates of the new religion.¹⁰³ Over the following centuries, the growing Christian community of Apamea energetically pursued the association

¹⁰² For early Christian Apamea, see above all *DACL* 1/2, cols. 2500–23, s.v. Apamée, with excellent bibliography at 2521–3; the church is described at 2504–7 (third century AD). See further *TIB Phrygien* 188–9, s.v. Apameia; Ballance 1995: 187–8; Niewöhner 2006: 413 n. 37. A Christian inscription on the outer north wall of the church (no longer visible) was dated by Ramsay to the fourth century at the latest (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 538, no. 397). *pace* Weber and others, the church does not stand on the acropolis of the old city of Celaenae: there are no other traces of buildings on this hill, and it lacks natural defences.

¹⁰³ For Jewish and Christian proselytism in the early first millennium AD, Goodman 1994.

with Noah and the Ark. The city's special relationship with God, through Noah, informs the funerary epigram of a Christian traveller, deceased at Celaenae (third or fourth century AD): 'All Anatolia I have seen, and the lands of the West; now I have come to this city of Celaenae, the city honoured by God as the first land cultivated (after the flood), a city which he has made overflowing with faith.'¹⁰⁴

Be that as it may, it remains astonishing that the pagan citizenship of Apamea were prepared publicly to adopt the myth of Noah and the flood as part of their mythological history. There is no clear evidence for an earlier flood-myth attached specifically to Apamea-Celaenae.¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere, the flood could be considered a matter of theological controversy, as at Smyrna in AD 250, when the martyr Pionius preached on a great flood 'which according to you [the pagans of Smyrna] occurred in the time of Deucalion, according to us in the time of Noah'.¹⁰⁶ How the Noah-myth first came to be attached to the city of Apamea, and why it was so successfully naturalised, has never been properly explained. The mere presence of a large Judaeo-Christian community provides the conditions, but not the motive; nor, one feels, would the city's by-name *Kibotos* alone have provided sufficient ground for the legend to strike root. We might prefer to seek an explanation connected to the specific hydrographic and geological conditions at Apamea. As such, a parallel case from a different part of the Eastern Mediterranean is of great interest.

In the ninth book of his *Historia plantarum*, in the course of a discussion of aromatic plants, Theophrastus refers to a lake in the southern Bīqā', the Litani valley south of Baalbek, most probably a little to the north of the modern Merj el-Kebir. 'Aromatic reeds and rushes grow in the small plain (*aulōniskos*) beyond Mt Libanus, between Libanus itself and another mountain of no great size . . . Here there is a large lake, and they grow in

¹⁰⁴ BE 2002, 619: Ἀντολίην πᾶσαν καὶ δυσμὴν ἔσιδ[ών], | ἦλθον εἰς τὰσδε Κελαινάς, πρῶτό|γυον ἦν τεῖμησ' ὁ Θεός, | πλήθυσε δὲ πίστει. Autopsy of the stone (April 2011) confirms the reading πρῶτό|γυον, and sadly rules out John Ma's brilliant restoration (*per litt.*) πρῶτέ[γ]|γυον, referring to the covenant made by God with Noah.

¹⁰⁵ The myth of Anchurus son of Midas and the whirlpool at Celaenae, retailed by ps.-Callisthenes, *FGrHist* 124F56, is of very dubious authenticity. The association between Midas and Celaenae (as in Claudian, quoted above) dates back at least as far as the third century BC (Callim. F75.47 Pf.; Sosithus, *TGrF* I 99F2, with Brommer 1984: 32), but appears to be purely literary: Midas never appears on the city's coinage.

¹⁰⁶ *Vit. Pion.* 4.23. Robert 1994 shows that the text accurately represents a speech delivered in the agora at Smyrna in AD 250. On Deucalion, Caduff 1986: for contamination between the Classical and Septuagint traditions, see West 2003; Lightfoot 2003: 338–47.

the dried-up marshland nearby, covering an area of more than 30 stades. When green, they have no scent, but only when dried; and in appearance they do not differ from other reeds and rushes. Nonetheless, the sweet smell strikes you as soon as you enter the region.¹⁰⁷ This swamp, still choked with reeds and osieries, persisted until the early fourteenth century, before being drained for the purposes of cultivation. Abu al-Fidâ, who completed his *Geography* in 1321, says that ‘it is a sheet of stagnant water, full of thickets and reeds, lying at the distance of a day’s journey to the west of Baalbek’. In the Paris manuscript of Abu al-Fidâ, the following interesting marginal note is added: ‘The lake of the Biqua’ was a lowland, covered with reeds and osiers, which they used for making mats. It lay in the middle of the Biqua’ plain of Baalbek, between Karak Nûh and ’Ain al Jarr. The Amir Saif ad Din Dunkuz [governor of Syria from 1320 to 1339] bought it for himself from the public treasury, and cleared the land of water by digging a number of channels, which drew off its waters into the Litani river. He then established here over twenty villages. Their crops were richer than can be estimated or described, of such products as melons and cucumbers.’¹⁰⁸ The extent of this shallow lake can be determined with reasonable certainty: no more than three or four metres deep at most, although its surface area may have approached forty square miles, stretching from one side of the Litani valley to the other.¹⁰⁹

The interest of the Biqua’ wetlands is that in Arab tradition, the vanished marshes, closely comparable in size and flora to the reed-choked lake of Aulutrene, marked the spot where the Ark of Noah came to rest. Precisely when this mythological *rapprochement* was first made is unclear. The earliest clear attempt to link the flood-myth to the Biqua’ region dates to the mid-ninth century AD, when Ibn Khurdadbih expresses the opinion that it was from Mt Libanon that Noah set forth in the Ark.¹¹⁰ At least since the twelfth century, Noah’s tomb has been located and worshipped at Kirak Nûh, an ancient village-site a little way to the north-west of the wetlands; the Ark itself was supposed to have landed on the east side of the lake, at Madjdal ’Andjar, the ancient Gerra.¹¹¹ Ludolph of Suchem visited the Biqua’ around 1340,

¹⁰⁷ Theophr. *HP* 9.7.1; clearly identical to the Syrian lake where papyrus grows alongside ‘the sweet-smelling reed’ (κάλαμος ὁ εὐώδης), *HP* 4.8.4; similarly Polybius 5.45.10. See Rey-Coquais 1964, esp. 296–301; Amigues 2002: 129–31.

¹⁰⁸ Le Strange 1890: 69; Dussaud 1927: 401–2.

¹⁰⁹ Hachmann 1970: 83–5, with hypothetical map at 82; Marfoe 1998, esp. 32–44.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Khuradâdhbih (c. AD 864): Le Strange 1890: 232.

¹¹¹ Kirak Nûh: Sourdél-Thomine 1957: 22–3 (before AD 1215). Madjdal ’Andjar: Dussaud 1927: 402.

perhaps only a couple of years after the draining of the marsh. ‘Once one has passed by on the right hand the cities of Armathia and Tripolis, one comes to a valley named Bokar, which even today is called “the plain of Noah”: for Noah lived there after the flood. This plain is exceedingly beautiful, rich and fertile, abounding with meadows, pasture, trees, fountains, flocks, fish and corn; it is shut in between mountain ranges and is inhabited by Saracen farmers.’¹¹²

It is worth noting the fluidity of the traditions relating to Noah and the Biqua’ in the Arab geographers. We have seen that Kirak Nûh was believed to be the resting place of Noah; we also hear that ‘near Karak Nûh is a place where the water rises up bubbling from the ground; it is called the Cataract of the Deluge’ (Dimashqî, *c.* AD 1300). Similarly, Madjdal ‘Andjar, where there were also abundant springs, was considered by some to be the spot at which Noah first embarked (Yâqût, AD 1225); the same author records that Noah’s dwelling-place was near Hims, at a village called Sahr, ‘and it is also said that the Flood began to pour out here’.¹¹³

The interest of the comparison between the Noah-myths of Apamea and the Biqua’ plain lies in the similar hydrographic conditions in the two regions. The local mythology of Celaenae-Apamea was, as I argued earlier in this chapter, particularly closely connected with the region’s bizarre and complex hydrography. The stories which constituted the mythological identity of Apamea were almost all focused around the city’s four rivers and their source in lake Aulutrene. As we have seen, the Christians of southern Phrygia felt a similar need to explain their surrounding landscape in religious terms: the natural fluvial wonders of the Lycus valley and the Pentapolitan plain were the marks left behind by divine interventions and saintly miracles. The marshy highland lake of Aulutrene, fed (like the stagnant swamplands of the Biqua’ plain) from invisible underground sources, was a startling geological oddity, which cried out for some explanation of this kind.

Celaenae-Apamea lies in one of the most geologically volatile regions of the whole Mediterranean world. On 1 October 1995, the modern town of Dinar, the town which today occupies most of the ancient site of Apamea, was shaken by a devastating earthquake in which ninety-six people lost their lives; almost four and a half thousand houses in the town were destroyed, and a further ten thousand damaged. The earthquake occurred on the NW–SE-trending Dinar fault, one of a group of active normal faults cutting across the two major tectonic groups in Western Anatolia. The seismicity of the

¹¹² Deycks 1851: 102. Ludolph resided in the Holy Land for five years, from 1336 to 1341.

¹¹³ Le Strange 1890: 480; 422; 386; 77.

region is dominated by the E–W grabens which form the great river valleys of the Maeander, Cayster and Hermos, and a series of NE–SW faults, the most important of these being the Fethiye-Burdur fault zone (in which lie, for example, the three parallel depressions which contain Burdur Gölü, the Acı Tüz Gölü, and the Baklan ovası). Against the grain of this major NE–SW fault line run a small number of NW–SE faults, the most important being the Dinar and Pamukkale faults. Both have been violently active throughout the historical period.¹¹⁴

In 88 BC, an even more serious earthquake hit the ancient city of Apamea. The effects of this seismic event are described by Nicolaus of Damascus, writing around the end of the first century BC. ‘Marshes appeared in the territory of Apamea, where there had been none before, and also rivers and other springs, which had been opened up by the movement of the earth; many also disappeared. There also welled up from the earth a great quantity of brackish water, particularly remarkable given the distance from the sea, with the result that the whole region became full of shellfish and other sea-fishes.’¹¹⁵ The mountain ranges around Apamea, too, could well have changed their profile at this point. Pliny the Elder, in a difficult passage of his *Natural History*, refers to a Mt Cibotus, along with a town of the same name, being swallowed up by the earth; he gives no date or context, but it is not impossible that he is referring to the effects of this same Apamean earthquake of 88 BC.¹¹⁶

To judge by Nicolaus’ account, the entire hydrography of the Apamean district was altered by the massive earthquake of 88 BC. His account could even be taken to imply that it was this earthquake which first caused the swamping of the central part of the Dombay ovası; there is no particular reason to think that lake Aulutrene was of any great antiquity. Most interesting of all is his mention of the appearance of a large number of ‘shellfish and other sea-fishes’ at Apamea. Evidently Nicolaus is here referring not to living creatures, but to fossilised shells and seafish, pushed up to the surface by the tectonic movement. These fossils could quite naturally (and correctly) have been understood by the Christian population of Apamea as

¹¹⁴ Dinar fault: Altunel, Barka and Akyüz 1999 (with geophysical evidence for the great earthquake of 88 BC). Pamukkale fault: Altunel 2000. In AD 53, earthquake damage at Apamea resulted in a five-year tax remission (Tac. *Ann.* 12.58.2).

¹¹⁵ Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90F74; Strabo 12.8.18.

¹¹⁶ Plin. *HN* 2.205: *ipsa se comest terra: deuorauit Cibotum altissimum montem cum oppido †Carice*. It seems likely that Pliny is thinking of Apamea: at *HN* 5.106 he appears to understand *Cibotus* to have been an earlier name for Apamea. Mt Kibotos may also be attested in the odd ethnic at *I.Ephesos* 13 ll.18, Ἀπαμείς ἀπὸ Κειβωτοῦ (as e.g. Ἡρακλεῶται ἀπὸ Σαλβάκης). The incomprehensible *Carice* is a problem; *HN* 5.113 provides no assistance.

proof that the plains of southern Phrygia had once lain under the surface of the sea. Similarly, in the early fourth century AD, Eusebius used the existence of fossilised salt-water fish on the peaks of Mt Libanus as evidence for the historicity of the Biblical flood:

And as to the floodwaters' cresting above the highest of the mountains, we who are writing after the fact also have confirmation for its veracity from some people in our time who have personally examined fish discovered high up on the tallest peaks of Mount Libanus. For as some were cutting away stones there out of the mountains for their homes, they discovered various species of sea fish, which, it turned out, were congealed in mud in cavities in the mountains and remained up to this day in a kind of embalmed state. Therefore, the witness of the ancient tradition is confirmed by us, and with our own eyes at that.¹¹⁷

It is not hard to see how the local Christians of Apamea could have come to explain the brackish waters, fossilised shellfish and unstable hydrography of the Apamean district as the visible aftermath of the Biblical deluge.

An explanation of this kind would have seemed entirely familiar and natural to the pagan population of Apamea: as a way of explaining the origins of visible hydrographic wonders, the Noah story takes exactly the same form as the ancient Apamean myth of Marsyas and the reed-pipe, or the Hieropolitan myth of Endymion and the milk of his flocks. The story of Noah and the Ark owes both its evolution among the Christians of Apamea, and its ready acceptance by the city's pagans, to the pre-existing patterns of topographical thought which we have seen to be characteristic of this region. Best of all, the Biblical story of Noah's ark could even be presented as the origin of their own city's nickname, *Kibotos*, 'the Chest': that is, the 'Ark' of Noah.¹¹⁸ As the flood-waters receded, it was Apamea-Celaenae, *this very city*, which lay at the centre of the world.

The upper Maeander region did not have a Mediterranean monopoly on fluvial wonders. But the communal identity of the inhabitants of Celaenae-Apamea and their neighbours was defined to a quite extraordinary degree by the strange and inexplicable hydrography of the Dinar graben and the Lycus valley, their paradoxical highland marshes, hot springs and calciferous streams. In the first century AD, Strabo, after describing (not very accurately) the underground course of the Lycus, says that it indicates 'that this region is

¹¹⁷ Syncellus, trans. Adler and Tuffin 2002: 120 (Dindorf 159).

¹¹⁸ In the Sandıklı ovası, north of Aulutrene, there is a village named Nuhköy, 'Noah-village', with a church of uncertain date in the near vicinity: *TIB Phrygien* 349, s.v. However, the antiquity of the name is unknown. A local flood-myth recorded at Dinar in the early twentieth century appears to be entirely independent from the ancient tradition: Hasluck 1929: 1 369.

full of holes, and subject to earthquakes. And indeed the Laodicean district is unusually prone to earthquakes . . . as is the whole region around the Maeander, which rests on a subterranean bed of fire and water, as far as the interior of the country.’¹¹⁹ The landscape of southern Phrygia was a threatening and unpredictable thing, all too visibly prone to violent and cataclysmic changes. The stories of St Michael at Colossae and Noah at Apamea reflect, in their different ways, intense hydrographic anxiety. At Colossae, the dramatic fluvial landscape around the church of St Michael – the Lycus gorge, the alarming proximity of several rivers (including the strange, calciferous waters of the Ak Su) to the church, the steep course of the Honaz Çayı, perhaps the abandoned mill-races – was interpreted as bearing the marks of a narrow escape from fluvial catastrophe.

Most telling of all, perhaps, is the fact that this awestruck and propitiatory relationship with the micro-regional fluvial landscape was common to both the pagan and early Christian communities of southern Phrygia. Both pagans and Christians created locally specific aetiological stories about their ferocious natural surroundings, stories which, as sublimates of their material life process, served to explain, to domesticate and ultimately to control those surroundings. For all the differences in beliefs and practices between the last pagans and the first Christians of the upper Maeander region, the stories which they chose to tell about the Maeander valley were remarkably similar. Ultimately, it was through their pantheon of hydrographic heroes that both pagans and Christians structured their relations with their natural environment.

¹¹⁹ Strabo 12.8.16–17: hot springs in this region are another sign of its tendency to earthquakes. Strabo’s interpretation of seismic activity derives from Aristotle, *Mete. 2.8*, esp. 366a23–b1. Byzantine thinkers were compelled by Ps. 103:32 to reject this theory in favour of moral explanations: Dagron 1981; Congourdeau 2009.

‘A great *emporion* of Asia’

Imperial Apamea, a city of deep antiquity and high renown, is in many respects a puzzling place. The civic elite of Apamea was undistinguished. No senators are known, and only a single individual of equestrian rank; holders of provincial office are few.¹ Civic affairs appear to have been dominated to an unusual extent by the community of resident Romans. Already in the late Republican period, Apamea had been one of the most important centres for Roman and Italian businessmen in inland Asia Minor. One of the earliest surviving inscriptions from Apamea is a lavish *ex testamento* dedication set up for a freedman, C. Vennonius Eros, by his *heredes*. This man is clearly Cicero’s friend C. Vennonius, a *negotiator* operating in Asia between 50 and 46 BC.² Vennonius was a man of means; his will gave rise to a dispute between his heirs, settled only by means of a *senatus consultum*. A generation later, under Augustus and Tiberius, two Italians, probably also resident businessmen, were responsible for the minting of bronze coinage at Apamea.³ In AD 45/6 all five of the posts in the *archon*-college at Apamea were filled by Roman citizens, who proudly declared that this was the first time this had been the case.⁴ Four of the five appear to have been Italians, for each

¹ Asiarchs: Ti. Claudius Mithridates, c. AD 123/4 (*IGR* IV 787; *MAMA* VI 182); P. Aelius Tryphon, asiarch and equestrian under Severus Alexander (*BMC Phrygia* 89, no. 118; 101, nos. 179–80; *SNG Von Aulock* 3506–7), three times asiarch by AD 247–8 (*MAMA* VI 222); Proclianus Tryphon and Aeliana Regina (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 467–8, no. 304, with an impossible stemma: apparently under Gallienus, if identical to the Proclianus Tryphon of *Coll. Wadd.* 5734).

² *MAMA* VI 202; Cic. *Att.* 6.1.25, 6.3.5; *Fam.* 13.72.2; see Hatzfeld 1919: 121–2. For freedmen engaged in business on their own account in Asia at this period, compare Pompey’s freedman Vindillus (Laodicea: *Att.* 6.1.25); C. Curtius Mithres (Ephesus, with interests at Colophon: *Fam.* 13.69); Philotimus (Ephesus: *Att.* 11.24.4). Roman *negotiatores* in late Republican Asia: Kirbihler 2007: 23–8.

³ C. Masonius Rufus (*RPC* I 3129–30), M. Manneius (3131–2); the relatively unusual gentilicians render it all but certain that they are Italians. One of Manneius’ descendants, P. Manneius Ruso, was honoured at Apamea in the late first century AD: *IGR* IV 791, with Robert 1969: 310. Two Italian *negotiatores*, C. Manneius C.f. and L. Manneius C.f., had been granted *proxenia* at Delphi in the late second century BC: Daux 1936: 588.

⁴ *IGR* IV 792. Mommsen 1912: 540, supposes these *archontes* to be *curatores ciuium Romanorum*, but this is based on an untenable interpretation of the *curatores* abolished by *MAMA* VI 180



Figure 3.1 The acropolis of Apamea, seen from the late-antique basilica above the source of the Marsyas, looking north-west along the Maeander valley towards Eumeneia

of whom descendants at Apamea or, in one instance, the neighbouring city of Sebaste, are attested, indicating that the men were permanently resident at Apamea.⁵ It comes as no surprise to find that this large expatriate Italian community was prominent in the city's decision-making process; Apamean honorific decrees and statue-bases are almost invariably set up in the name of 'the council, the people, and the resident Romans'.⁶ By contrast, for a place often described in modern works as 'the most considerable city of the interior' and suchlike, the native population of Apamea, and their activities, are oddly elusive.

11.15–18, who must be municipal commissioners attached specifically to the gymnasium; for the abolition of financial officers by private benefaction, cf. *I.Assos* 28 (*praktōres*). An *archon*-college of five is also found at Synnada: *IGR* iv 704 = Ramsay 1941: 271–2, no. 266.

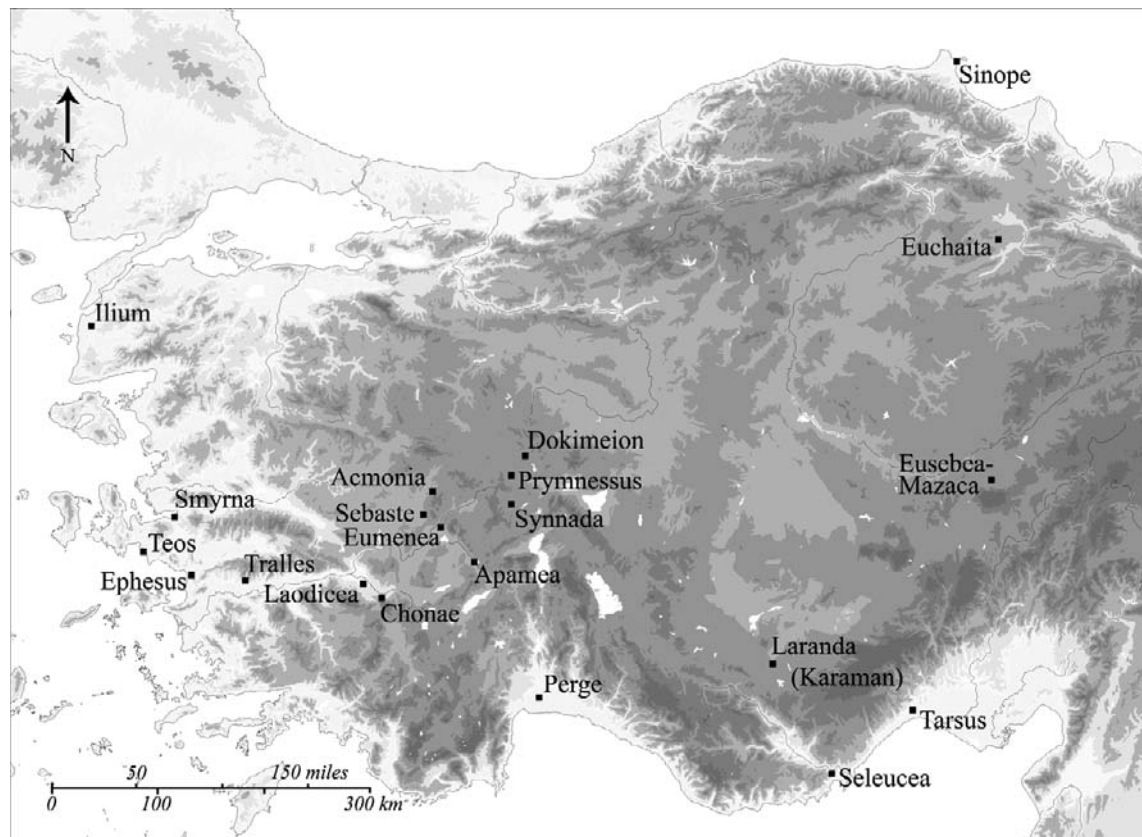
⁵ Italians: L. Munatius L.f. Camilia Tertius, L. Atilius L.f. Palatina Proclus, P. Carvilius M.f. Collina Pollio, M. Viccius M.f. Terentina Rufus; the exception is the Asiatic M. Porcius Onesimion, who lacks filiation and *tribus*. Descendants at Apamea: for the Munatii, L. Munatius Anthus, *IGR* iv 790 (c. AD 160); for the Atilii, L. Atilius L.f. Proclus *neoterus*, *IGR* iv 783 (late II AD, Hatzfeld 1919: 167 n. 6); for the Viccii, M. Viccius M.f., *MAMA* vi 180 (c. AD 160). For the Carvili, perhaps C. Carvilius C.f. Fabia Mithridates of Sebaste, Paris 1883: 452–6, with Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 602–3, no. 475 (AD 99), the only one of the seventy-odd members of the *gerousia* at Sebaste to be given the full Roman nomenclature with *tribus*; note, however, that his *tribus* differs from that of the Apamean Carvilius. No relevant Porcii fall to hand.

⁶ Thonemann 2010.

Strabo provides some illumination. He introduces the city of Apamea as follows: ‘Apamea is a great *emporion* of what is properly known as Asia, second only to Ephesus; for it serves as a common entrepot for merchandise from both Italy and Greece.’ For Strabo, Apamea’s claims as a city were secondary to its importance as an *emporion*, a marketplace. The comparison with Ephesus, since it is framed in purely commercial terms, implies nothing about the size or population of urban Apamea. Apamea’s significance, for Strabo, lay primarily in its status as the main commercial hub in inland Asia Minor for the sale and distribution of goods from the west. Ephesus and Apamea stood as gateways at opposite ends of the Roman province of Asia, acting as points of exchange, *emporion*, between the province and the outside world.⁷ As we saw in the previous chapter, Apamea’s geographical position was well suited for serving this function: the city stands astride the main historical channel of communication through the Phrygian mountains between the lowland Aegean valleys to the west and the great Anatolian plains to the east. It was Apamea which connected the two regions.

Dio Chrysostom, in an oration delivered at Apamea-Celaenae around AD 100, offers more details. He praises the city’s situation, between plains and mountains of great beauty, the fertility of her soil and the size of her flocks and herds; he dwells on the splendour and abundance of the Apamean springs and rivers. At the very end of the surviving part of the oration, the Apameans are favourably compared to the people of Byzantium, who also occupy a fertile district, but do not exploit their land as effectively (it is implied) as do the Apameans. The theme of the eulogy of a city’s territory is standard enough. Here, however, it is accompanied by a very peculiar description of the city of Apamea itself. Her status as a market- and meeting-place draws Phrygians, Lydians and Carians, and, from even further afield, Cappadocians, Pamphylians and Pisidians in great numbers. Apamea’s eminence resides, says Dio, not in her great men, her public buildings or her cultural achievements, but simply in the size of her tax contributions. Every year, the assizes come to Apamea; these attract a large number of visitors to the city, not only litigants, judges, orators and Roman officials, but also servants and slaves, pimps, muleteers, small traders, prostitutes and artisans. This annual influx of economically inclined visitors contributes in no small degree to the prosperity of Apamea. The embarrassing fact that the

⁷ Strabo 12.8.15. ‘What is properly known as Asia’: cf. 14.1.24, Ephesus the largest *emporion* in ‘Asia this side of the Taurus’, and see further [Chapter 4](#) below, pp. 130–1. For *emporion* in Strabo, see Bresson and Rouillard 1993: 23–57. See also Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 470–1, no. 309 (*IGR* IV 796), the tombstone of an *emporionarch*, the official in charge of the Apamean *emporion*.



Map 7 Apamea and the commerce of western Asia Minor

Apameans were unable to claim the status of *neokoroi*, temple-wardens of the imperial cult, is mitigated by the fact that they pay just as much as other cities for the cost of the provincial sanctuaries.⁸ This is a very odd list of claims to repute. Dio’s point seems to be that Apamea is *better than it looks*: despite the fact that the city has a relatively small permanent population, and lacks the opulent public buildings of Smyrna or even Laodicea, the sheer scale of the economic activity that takes place at Apamea is proof of her eminence and felicity.⁹

People got rich at Roman Apamea. What they got rich from is less obvious. There is no particular reason to assign Apamea an important place in the textile trade. The woollen goods of Lycaonia and Galatia may well have passed through the Apamean *emporion*, but the major centres of textile production lay further to the west, in the Lycus valley.¹⁰ Marble from the Dokimeian quarries was certainly hauled through Apamea, on heavy ox-carts known as *protela* (Fig. 3.2), on the long overland journey to Ephesus, but there is no reason to think that Apamea had any particularly significant role in the distribution of marble.¹¹

⁸ Dio 35.13–17, 25; Jones 1978: 65–70. On the theme of the eulogy of a city’s territory, see Robert *OMS* VII 55–70; Robert 1987: 87–90. What is so striking here is Dio’s unusual spin on the eulogy of the city itself. ‘Every year’: ‘the first cities of the province take their turn to host assizes in a fixed cycle year by year’ (ἐν μέρει παρ’ ἔτος, Dio 35.17). Jones (1978: 68) follows Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 428 n. 5 (against Burton 1975: 98; Desideri 1978: 181), in arguing that παρ’ ἔτος signifies biennial rotation. However, the usual sense of παρ’ ἔτος = ‘every second year’ cannot be pressed; note e.g. *SEG* 41, 1106 (Amastris, AD 147), where παρὰ ἔτος = ‘annually’. More importantly, there is no other evidence for rotation of assizes between different cities. A summary of a letter of Antoninus Pius to the city of Cyrene (Oliver 1989: no. 123) records that the city of Berenice had proposed setting up such a system; Antoninus was unwilling. See further Heller 2006: 138.

⁹ For Zambrini 1994, the speech is an ironic exploration of what makes a city *eudaimon*. The first part of the speech, on the potential deceptiveness of appearances, is an implicit criticism of the immorality and self-satisfied materialism of the Apameans; the hyperbolic comparison with the fortunate Indians is meant to point out the difference between material and spiritual prosperity. I find this unconvincing.

¹⁰ Lycaonian wool: Strabo 12.6.1, and for a maker of *gausape*, woollen frieze, at Iconium, see Thonemann 2003: 92. Lycus textiles: see below, Chapter 5, *passim*.

¹¹ *BE* 1984, 457; Robert, *OMS* VII 92; Christol and Drew-Bear 2005: 199 n. 35. A Christian funerary *stèle* of the late third century from the vicinity of Dokimeion depicts a cart bearing two blocks of marble being drawn by a yoke of oxen: Mitchell 1993: I 170–1, and compare the heavy ox-carts depicted on an Ephesian relief sculpture, Rostovtzeff 1957, pl. XLVI. Presumably the marble was transported by ox-carts along the southern highway from Apamea to the confluence of the Maeander and the Lycus, before being floated down the Maeander as far as Magnesia. In the late nineteenth century, the products of the Tabai plateau and surrounding forests were floated down the Dandalas and Maeander to Aydın (Cuinet 1891–1900: III 367), and in 1873, transporting marbles from Miletus and Heraclea to the coast, Olivier Rayet had them floated down the lower Maeander (Rayet 1888: 140–1; Russell 2008). The last stage of the journey, along the steep road over Mt Thorax between Magnesia and Ephesus, was described



Figure 3.2 An ox-cart, near Afyon Karahisar, c. 1900

Far more important, we might suppose, was the slave-trade. Literary sources are not eloquent on the mechanisms of slave-brokerage in antiquity. In the Hellenistic world, the traffic in slaves seems in large part to have been concentrated around large periodic religious festivals. This is as we should expect: slaves for personal use were an occasional need, and only the great *emporía*, Delos or Rhodes, needed to process slaves on a daily basis.¹² The Roman annexation of Asia Minor, and the sudden influx of Italian businessmen and their agents, demanded a more regular flow of merchandise.

briefly by Keil (1908: 166–7); more than a mile in length, carved out of the solid rock, the switchback Roman road which climbs north-west from Magnesia (just north of Naipli köyü) is one of the most impressive engineering works in western Anatolia. Working marble on the quays at Ephesus was forbidden by the proconsul L. Antonius Albus, who complained that the quays were entirely blocked by wood and marble: *I.Ephesos* 23.13–21 (mid-II AD), with Robert, *OMS VII* 100–2; Robert 1980: 339–42 (emery), and see now Ritti, Grewe and Kessener 2007 (marble sawing).

¹² *IG IX 1*² 2, 583.31–4 (late III BC: revenues deriving from sale of slaves at *panegyris* of Apollo Actius in Acarnania to be divided between city and league); *IGLS VII* 4028.37–9 (late I BC: tax exemption on sale of slaves at biweekly *panegyris* of Zeus at Baetocaece). For the Imperial period, compare Paus. 10.32.15 (mid-II AD): ‘on the third day [of the festival of Isis at Tithorea] they hold a *panegyris*, selling slaves and all kinds of animals, also clothing and gold and silver; after mid-day, they turn to the sacrifice’. See Chandezon 2000: 92–4.

Permanent slave-markets are known to have been established at Magnesia on the Maeander and Phrygian Acmonia during the early first century BC. In the latter case, at least, direct Roman involvement is clear enough: the construction of the slave-market was paid for by C. Sornatius Barba, Lucullus’ legate in Asia Minor during his campaigns against Mithradates.¹³ Within a couple of generations, the Anatolian network of slaving-stations had become proverbial. In the opening episode of the fictional *Life of Aesop*, the eponymous hero, an agricultural slave in the vicinity of Phrygian Amorium, is sold to an anonymous slave-dealer. Having failed to sell Aesop at Amorium, the slave-dealer ‘crosses into Asia’ with his stock, and eventually arrives at Ephesus. The story reflects the natural geographical dynamics of the west-Asiatic slave trade in the high Imperial period: slaves purchased in the uplands of Phrygia and Galatia must regularly have been channelled along the great highway from Apamea to Ephesus, in this case presumably *via* Prynnessus (near modern Afyon) and Synnada.¹⁴ In the Flavian period, the slave-trade at Apamea was sufficiently profitable to attract special fiscal dues associated with the brokering of slaves, apparently levied on no other city of the province.¹⁵

Apamea had long been a place of significance. Under its old name of Celaenae, the city had been the Achaemenid satrapal capital of Greater Phrygia, and it had retained that status in the years after the Macedonian conquest, under Antigonus the One-Eyed.¹⁶ There is, however, little indication before the first century BC that Apamea enjoyed anything like the economic importance in the western Anatolian peninsula attributed to it by Strabo and Dio. The argument from silence is not to be pressed too hard. Nonetheless, it is a striking fact that no coinage was minted in the name of Apamea before it was chosen as one of the provincial mints of the Attalid cistophoric silver coinage in the late 180s BC. Certainly nothing in Apamea’s mint activity at earlier periods prepares us for the vast quantities of low-denomination bronze coins which begin to be struck at Apamea in the early first century BC (Fig. 3.3; Chapter 1, Figs. 1.26–7). To judge from the number of magistrates’ names to appear on the coinage, at least one

¹³ Magnesia: *I.Magnesia* 240. Acmonia: *MAMA* VI 260, with Syme, *RP* II 601–2, and Guidobaldi 1996; *AE* 2006, 1426. The nature of Sornatius’ connection with Acmonia is unknown. The suggestion of Bosworth (2002: 354–5) that the slave-market was built to dispose of slaves captured at Prusa and Nicaea in 72 BC is geographically very implausible; see further Thonemann 2010. On the Asia Minor slave-trade, see also Bussi 2001: 25–34; for a Milesian slave-trader of the second century AD at Ravenna, see Adams 2003: 53–63.

¹⁴ *Vita Aesopi* (ed. Perry), ch. 1 (*Vit. W.*), 16–20. ¹⁵ *I.Ephesos* 13 II.18, with Gschnitzer 1989.

¹⁶ Briant 1973: 47–53, 101–18.



Figure 3.3 Apamea, first century BC (Æ); Zeus/Artemis Anaitis; Maiphernes eglogistes

new coin-issue was struck every year, making it one of the most abundant small-denomination coinages to have been produced anywhere in the eastern Mediterranean during this period.¹⁷ The first-century Apamean bronze coinage had an extremely wide circulation; the earliest bronze coins of Eusebea-Mazaca (Kayseri) in Cappadocia, minted perhaps from the 70s or 60s BC, not only imitated the types of the contemporary Apamean bronze coinage, but were frequently overstruck on Apamean coins.¹⁸ In general, the small-denomination bronze coinages of Greek cities in the Hellenistic period were struck for local use, and hence usually travelled only short distances from their mint. This large-scale eastwards movement of Apamean bronze coins and types must represent a highly uncharacteristic pattern of economic activity.

To all appearances, Apamea experienced a sudden and dramatic economic upturn over the course of the late second and early first centuries BC. The reasons for this acceleration cannot be established with any certainty. However, there is some evidence that this period saw a shift in the dominant axes of long-distance trade in central Anatolia. Strabo is again our main literary source. Following Theophrastus, he informs us that ‘Sinopic’ red ochre was in fact mined in Cappadocia, ‘but it was called Sinopic, because the traders used to export it to Sinope, before the reach of the *emporion* of Ephesus extended as far as the men in those parts’.¹⁹ What little we know of the economic and cultural connections of pre-Hellenistic central Anatolia tends to

¹⁷ See [Chapter 1](#), n. 121 above.

¹⁸ Imhoof-Blumer 1898: 1–9. Herrli 1985 places the inception of this coinage under Ariarathes IX; the relationship with the Apamean bronzes suggests that this is too early. It is notable, too, that several other cities in southern Phrygia (Eumeneia, Dionysopolis, Philomelium, Acmonia) minted small bronze and brass coinages in the late first century BC on the same denominational pattern (Smekalova 2009: 238, whose date for these issues is considerably too early); for the date of the Acmonian issues, see Thonemann 2010.

¹⁹ Strabo 12.2.10, after Theophr. *Lap.* 52; see further Barat 2009.

support this picture of a dominant north–south trading axis between Cappadocia and the Black Sea. An important land-route through Cappadocia between the Cilician gates and Sinope was already known to Herodotus.²⁰ Coin hoards of the late fifth and early fourth century BC from the northern and southern coasts of Anatolia clearly attest strong economic links between Cilicia and the Pontic region, particularly Sinope and the Propontis. Despite being on different weight-standards, large quantities of silver coinage were transferred between the two regions; by contrast, relatively little coinage from the west coast of Asia Minor is found in either district. Particularly noteworthy are the contents of a large hoard of c. 370 BC from Karaman in Lycaonia, close to the western marches of Achaemenid Cappadocia. The overwhelming majority of the coins in this hoard were Pamphylian and Cilician, with a small number of Athenian coins; the remainder of the hoard was made up entirely of drachms from Pontic Sinope.²¹

It would certainly be rash to assume that Cappadocian commodities were, in the Achaemenid period, uniformly carried along this north–south axis rather than westwards to the Aegean. Nonetheless, there is no reason not to accept Strabo’s basic picture of a westward shift in the dominant trading axes of Cappadocia in the course of the Hellenistic period. Strabo does not date this change, but it is most likely to reflect the vertiginous rise of Ephesus as the major economic motor of western Asia Minor in the late second and first centuries BC.²²

The movement of Apamean bronze into Cappadocia, and its imitation at Mazaca, is a highly important, albeit secondary indication of this economic relationship. ‘Secondary’, because the denominations of the Apamean coinage are small; one would not use Apamean bronze to purchase a Cappadocian slave or a sack of red ochre. But a Cappadocian slave-dealer in the mid-first century BC would have returned to Mazaca with his purse full of small coins received as change from the Apamean hoteliers, fish-sellers and prostitutes. Some Cappadocians may have settled permanently at Apamea: the personal name Maiphernes, which appears on Apamean bronze coins of this period (Fig. 3.3), is probably best taken as Cappadocian.²³

²⁰ Hdt. 1.72, 2.34.2, with Magie 1950: II 1076–7; Debord 1999: 83–5. Herodotus badly underestimated the distance across the peninsula at this point, but this is characteristic: Curtius 3.1.13; Strabo 12.2.7 (the view from Mt Argaeus). For the conceptualisation of Cappadocia as part of Cilicia, see Casabonne 2004: 24–9.

²¹ Cilician coinage in Pontus (Sinope?): Kraay and Moorey 1981; Pfisterer 2000. Pontic and Propontic coinage in Cilicia: *IGCH* 1259. Karaman hoard: *IGCH* 1244.

²² It is suggestive that the sole known example of an Ephesian gold stater minted in 122/1 BC was discovered in a burial at Eusebea-Mazaca: French 1991.

²³ Sekunda 1991: 123, correcting Robert 1963: 348–9 (Iranian residue). Cappadocians also resided at Priene and Magnesia in the lower Maeander valley: Robert 1963: 440–1.

The eastward movement of Apamean bronze coinage in the first century BC is a rare indication of one of the dominant patterns of economic interaction in late Hellenistic Asia Minor. The movement of bronze coinage matters, since it is the best index we have of the aggregate movement of individuals engaged in economic activity. The flow of Apamean bronze coinage eastwards into Cappadocia is qualitatively different from, for instance, the large-scale transferral of west-Anatolian wreathed tetradrachms into Seleucid Syria in the mid-second century BC. The mobility of the wreathed silver may reflect large commodity-trade, mercenary pay, or a host of other things; what it does not necessarily reflect is the actual movement of people.²⁴

There is no way of telling what the periodic rhythms of the Apamean overland trade in the first century BC might have been. Perhaps a regular, fortnightly market was held, as at Syrian Baetocaece; perhaps eastern traders were attracted by a large annual fair. By the second century AD at the latest, economic activity at Apamea was concentrated around a single, annual event, the holding of the proconsular assizes. Dio considered the assizes to be the major event of the Apamean year. Two lengthy inscriptions of the early second century AD honour Ti. Claudius Piso Mithridatianus and his son Ti. Claudius Granianus for having served as gymnasiarch and (in the father's case) *agoranomos* 'during the assizes'. The inscriptions were set up at the expense of two associations of artisans, those working in the 'street of cobblers' and those of 'Therma street', the street which led to the springs of the river Therma, near the Hellenistic theatre of Apamea. The period of the assizes constituted the major period of expense during the year for the gymnasiarch or *agoranomos*: Mithridatianus is specifically praised for having provided oil for the gymnasium 'during the first six months of the year, in which the assizes were held'.²⁵

No other local festival challenged the prominence of the assizes in the Apamean year. Despite the extraordinarily rich and eloquent local mythology of Apamea, discussed in the previous chapter, neither Zeus, Poseidon, nor Marsyas had a festival of sufficient prestige to draw visitors to the city – at least, not until the city's connection with Noah began to attract the first Christian pilgrims in the third and fourth centuries. As we have seen, Apamea was never considered worthy of housing a provincial temple of the imperial cult. The only other event which might have competed with the assizes was the periodic assembly of the *koinon* of Phrygia, an

²⁴ Howgego 1985: 32–51. For the wreathed tetradrachms, see Chapter 1, n. 94 above.

²⁵ MAMA VI 180; IGR IV 790. For Piso's father, see above, n. 1.



Figure 3.4 Apamea, AD c. 54–9 (Æ); Nero and Agrippina/eagle; Marius Cordus, *koinon Phrygias*



Figure 3.5 Apamea, AD c. 60 (Æ); Nero/Marsyas; Vettius Niger, *koinon Phrygias*

obscure organisation which deserves more attention than it has hitherto received.

The *koinon* of Phrygia: geographies of appropriation

Under Nero and the Flavian emperors, Apamea minted issues of bronze coinage on only three occasions, in the names of three Roman citizens: Marius Cordus (c. AD 54–9: Fig. 3.4), M. Vettius Niger (c. AD 60: Fig. 3.5) and Plancius Varus (c. AD 69–74).²⁶ On all three occasions, the coinage was also distinguished with the name of a regional association or federation, the *koinon Phrygias*. This federation, if so it was, is surprisingly ill-attested; as we shall see, the only other references to it occur on Apamean coinage of the early third century AD. A hint as to the nature of the *koinon* of Phrygia may be provided by the three individuals in whose names the first-century coinage was minted. Marius Cordus and Vettius Niger are otherwise

²⁶ *RPC* I 3136 (Cordus), 3137–8 (Niger); *RPC* II 1389 (Varus). The four types appear to be of four different denominations; *RPC* I 3138 does not name the *koinon*.

unknown, although a member of the *gens Vettia* is known at Apamea in the third century AD, which might suggest that Niger was an Italian resident at Apamea. Plancius Varus, however, is a well-known figure: evidently this is the senator M. Plancius Varus, proprætorian legate of the province of Asia in the early years of the reign of Vespasian, later to serve as proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia. Varus, an Italian resident at Perge, is not otherwise known to have had any particular connections with Apamea. It seems most likely that he is named on the Apamean coinage in his capacity as legate.²⁷ This is highly anomalous, not to say unique. Whatever the offices of Cordus and Niger might have been, Varus' position as *legatus pro prætore* rules out the possibility that the names simply serve as an indication of date: this would be possible for a proconsul, but is highly unlikely for a legate. Plancius Varus' involvement in the production of coinage at Apamea, therefore, suggests that the business of the *koinon* of Phrygia was something in which the Roman provincial administration had an interest.

The *koinon* of Phrygia is not heard of again until the early third century AD. A certain Artemas, the third of that name, minted a large issue of Apamean bronze at some point between AD 202 and 209. On several of his coin-issues Artemas is designated as agonothete ('master of games'), and on one type the words *koinon Phrygias* are also added (Fig. 3.6).²⁸ Forty years later, under Philip I, one Pelagon was responsible for the minting of an equally large issue. Most of his types simply describe him as panegyriarch ('master of the *panegyris*', a 'gathering' or festival assembly: Fig. 3.7), but on a single 'pseudo-autonomous' type his office is not mentioned, and instead the *koinon* of Phrygia is named once again.²⁹ It is worth noting that the reverse types which are accompanied by the name of the *koinon* do not seem to have any special significance: in both cases the type is the

²⁷ Dräger 1993: 70–7, rightly cautioning against a persistent tendency (e.g. Syme, *RP* iv 360–1) to see Cordus and Niger as proconsuls. Vettius: *MAMA* vi 181, first noted by Dräger; Mitchell (1974: 29) had reasonably suggested that all three might be legates. Plancius Varus: *PIR*² P 443. The specific historical context for the issues proposed by Dräger 76–7 is implausible.

²⁸ Artemas agonothete: e.g. *BMC Phrygia* 97, no. 164 = *SNG Von Aulock* 3497, 8344 (Septimius Severus/Aulutrene); *BMC Phrygia* 98, no. 168 (Caracalla/Zeus); *Coll. Wadd.* 5721–2 = *BMC Phrygia* 99–100, nos. 173–4 (Geta/Tyche, Athena). Artemas *koinon Phrygias*: *Coll. Weber* 7037 (Caracalla and Plautilla/eagle); *Coll. Wadd.* 5720 = *BMC Phrygia* 99, no. 172 (types similar, legend lacks 'agonothete'; here, Fig. 3.6).

²⁹ Pelagon panegyriarch: *GM Winterthur* 4068 (Philip/Tyche); *SNG Von Aulock* 3512 = *SNG Schweiz II* 1152 (Otacilia Severa/Zeus); *BMC Phrygia* 102, no. 186 (Otacilia/Tyche); Franke and Nollé 1997: 51–3 (Philip I/*homonoia* with Ephesus); *BMC Phrygia* 90, no. 123 (*Demos*/Tyche: here, Fig. 3.7). Pelagon *koinon Phrygias*: *Coll. Wadd.* 5690 = *GM Winterthur* 4057 = *BMC Phrygia* 90, no. 122 (*Boule*/eagle).



Figure 3.6 Apamea, AD 202–9 (Æ); Caracalla and Plautilla/eagle; Artemas, *koinon Phrygias*



Figure 3.7 Apamea, Philip I (Æ); Demos/Tyche; Pelagon, panegyriarch

banal image of an eagle with spread wings facing right, a motif often found elsewhere on Apamean coinage. The legend *koinon Phrygias*, therefore, is not a gloss on the coins' iconography. Instead, like the designation of office (agonothete or panegyriarch), it indicates something about the coinage's functional context.

Pelagon was not the only panegyriarch to mint coinage at Apamea. Four other large issues were produced under the auspices of panegyriarchs of the 240s and 250s AD, making up the greater part of the vast quantity of bronze coinage struck at Apamea in this period: the individuals responsible are Bacchius son of Callicles under Gordian III,³⁰ Stratonicianus under Decius,³¹ Cl. Apollinarius under Gallienus,³² and Aurelius Hermos under Valerian.³³ It is worth emphasising that these five Apamean issues are the only instances anywhere in the Greek world of panegyriarchs minting coinage. This is significant because a panegyriarch is a magistrate appointed not for a yearly term, but for a specific event, a specific *panegyris*. The evidence of Pelagon's

³⁰ *RPC* VII.1 700 (Gordian/rivers); 701 (Gordian/Noah).

³¹ *SNG Von Aulock* 8349 = *GM Winterthur* 4069 = *BMC Phrygia* 103, no. 191 (Decius/Tyche); Imhoof-Blumer, *KM* 1 213, no. 27 (Decius/Zeus); *BMC Phrygia* 103, no. 190 (Decius/hero Celaenus); *BMC Phrygia* 103, no. 192 (Herennius Etruscus [AD 250–1]/Athena); *Coll. Wadd.* 5689 (*Boule*/eagle).

³² *ZfN* 12 (1885), 341 (Gallienus/Zeus).

³³ Imhoof-Blumer 1908b: 138–9 (Valerian/Adrasteia with Corybantes).

coinage strongly suggests, therefore, that the *koinon* of Phrygia was, or incorporated, a *panegyris*, large and significant enough that its leading magistrate, the panegyriarch, minted coinage specifically for the purposes of the periodic celebration of the *koinon*. If we are to judge by the quantity and quality of the bronze minted by these panegyriarchs in the mid-third century, the *koinon* was a major event at Apamea: as we saw in [Chapter 2](#), the reverse types of the large third-century issues constitute a kind of display-case of Apamean civic mythology, exhibiting and promoting the city's various claims to prestige, Christian, pagan and fluvial.

The appointment of federal panegyriarchs by a regional *koinon* would not in itself be surprising. At least in the third century AD, the great festivals of the imperial cult organised by the Asiatic *koinon* were directed by panegyriarchs, appointed in a similar manner to the imperial high-priests.³⁴ The difficulty lies in establishing the nature of the Phrygian *koinon*, and the nature of the Apamean *panegyris* at which it assembled. As we have seen, the legate Plancius Varus (c. AD 69–74), a man with no special connections to Apamea, took an interest in the activities of the *koinon* of Phrygia, implying that the *koinon* was not a purely symbolic, cultural organisation, but played some specific role within the administration of the Roman province, on the model of the larger Asiatic *koinon*.

The corporate identity of Phrygia under the Roman empire seems to have been unusually highly developed. From the very first years of Roman rule in Asia Minor, the three Phrygian dioceses (Apamea, Kibyra, Synnada), along with the diocese of Lycaonia (Philomelium), had held something of a special status within the province of Asia. At the time of the organisation of the province by Manius Aquillius in the early 120s BC, Phrygia and Lycaonia had been detached from the former kingdom of Attalus III, and handed over to Mithradates V of Pontus and the sons of Ariarathes VI of Cappadocia respectively. The dates at which Phrygia and Lycaonia were finally incorporated into the Roman province remain unclear.³⁵ In 56 BC, Phrygia and Lycaonia were again detached from the province of Asia and attached to Cilicia; the Phrygian jurisdictions continued, however, to be referred to as the 'three Asiatic dioceses'. All four districts were restored to the

³⁴ TAM v 2, 1192: Lydian Apollonis honours Aur. Auxanon, 'panegyriarch of the imperial temples at Pergamon' (III AD). TAM v 3, 1421.6: petition of the city of Philadelphia to Valerian and Gallienus, requesting exemption from contributions to the *metropoleis* in support of the offices of high-priest of Asia and panegyriarch (January 255).

³⁵ Ferrary 2001: 101–2. For the date of the annexation of Phrygia (122–116 BC), see, most recently, Ramsey 1999; Ryan 2001.

province of Asia in 50 BC.³⁶ Pliny, relying on a source of the Augustan period, can group the Phrygian dioceses under the simple name of the ‘inland jurisdictions’.³⁷ It need not surprise us, therefore, that Phrygia continued to possess a more distinct administrative identity than any of the other ‘ethnic’ districts of the province of Asia.

The evidence for the circumscription of Phrygia as a separate administrative district within the province in the imperial period derives almost entirely from the titlature of Roman magistrates. From the reign of Hadrian to the early third century AD, the imperial possessions in Phrygia (including, but not restricted to, the marble quarries at Dokimeion) were administered by an imperial freedman based at Synnada with the title *procurator Augusti prouvinciae Phrygiae*.³⁸ In the titlature of these magistrates, Phrygia is described as a *prouincia*, a term regularly used of a separate ethnic *regio* within a province, placed under procuratorial administration for various fiscal purposes.³⁹ It is, moreover, quite clear that *prouincia Phrygia* existed for purposes other than the administration of imperial estates. At the turn of the third century AD we find an equestrian *procurator Augustorum* responsible for the collection of the *vicesima hereditatum* in Asia, Lycia, Phrygia, Galatia and the Cyclades. The list of districts is a remarkable one, reminding us of the extent to which the organisation of indirect taxation could cut across provincial boundaries. For our purposes the crucial point is to show that Phrygia was, for the purposes of indirect taxation as well as for the management of the *patrimonium*, conceived as a separate body from the rest of the province of Asia.⁴⁰ Furthermore, we know that there were, in the

³⁶ Stumpf 1991: 48–50; Syme, *RP* I 120–48. τρεῖς διοικήσεις *Asiaticae*: Cic. *Fam.* 13.67; cf. *Att.* 5.21.7 (*Asiae nostrae dioeceses*); 5.21.8 (*haec mea Asia*).

³⁷ *mediterraneae iurisdictiones*: Plin. *HN* 5.105–6.

³⁸ Christol and Drew-Bear 2005; Drew-Bear and Sacco 2006–7: 270–3. The title *procurator Phrygiae* is attested for four individuals: T. Aelius Aug. lib. Quintianus, *proc. provinc. Phrygiae* (unpublished [Synnada]; mid-II AD); M. Aur. Aug. liber. Marcio, *proc. prov. Fryg.* (*ILS* 1477 [*Trokna]; cf. *IGR* IV 704 [Synnada]; *MAMA* IV 4 [Afyon]: late II AD); M. Aur. Augg. lib. Crescens, ἐπίτροπον Φρυγίας (*ILS* 8856 = Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 55–6, no. 173 [Stectorium-Hierapolis]; late II AD); Aur. Aristaenetus, τῆς Φρυγίας ἐπίτροπον (*MAMA* IV 63 [Synnada]; late II/early III AD). Freedman procurators: Strubbe 1975: 244 n. 60, 250; Weaver 1972: 276–81.

³⁹ Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1974–7. Mitchell 1999: 28–9, wishes to identify these *prouvinciae* with the *conuentus* districts. This can only confuse matters. It is true that in the case of *prouincia Lycaonia* the *conuentus* happens to coincide with the fiscal *prouincia*, but the same is not true of *prouincia Phrygia*, which incorporated the dioceses of Apamea, Synnada and Cibyra.

⁴⁰ M. Cosconius M.f. Fronto, *proc. Augg. ad vectig. XX her. per Asiam Lyciam Phrygiam Galatiam insulas Cycladas* (*ILS* 1359, Septimius Severus and Caracalla); similarly Q. Petronius C.f. Novatus, *proc. Aug. XX her. per Asiam Phrygiam Lyciam Galatiam* (*AE* 1967, 644, late II AD). Unreality of eastern provincial boundaries in fiscal sphere: Syme, *RP* I 125, and for the

mid-second century AD, separate fisca for Asia and Phrygia. The Phrygian fisc appears to have been located at Hierapolis in the lower Lycus valley. It is, quite probably, the Phrygian fisc which is in question in an important new inscription from Hierapolis, in which the emperor Antoninus Pius confirms the Hieropolitans' right to the 'tribute bank': this was well worth recording on stone, since it would have been a major privilege for Hierapolis to be chosen as the seat of the Phrygian treasury, in preference to (say) Synnada or Apamea.⁴¹ It is of course possible that the Phrygian fisc was only concerned with revenues from the imperial domains.⁴² But given the evidence for the organisation of indirect taxation by *prouincia*, this would not be a safe assumption.

It has sometimes been supposed that the emergence of an administrative district of 'Phrygia' is an innovation of the Antonine period, specifically of the reign of Marcus Aurelius.⁴³ This is certainly not correct. The earliest known freedman procurator of the imperial possessions in Phrygia, Hesperus, held office under Hadrian; as early as the reign of Vespasian, the future consul C. Iulius Quadratus acted as *legatus Augusti* in the *prouvinciae* of Pontus and Bithynia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Paphlagonia and Armenia Minor.⁴⁴ In AD 79, we find a freedman of Vespasian, T. Fl. Helius, acting as *eirenophylax*, guardian of the peace, for an unnamed *prouvincia*. The relevant inscriptions come from Appia, in the *conuentus* of Synnada; the relevant *prouvincia* can hardly be any other than Phrygia, and there is no particular reason to suppose that Helius' sphere of authority was restricted to the imperial estates.⁴⁵

expanding role of procurators in the fiscal administration of the public provinces in the first and second centuries AD, Burton 1993: 16–20. Note also *IEphesos* 647, Tib. Cl. Serenus, [*procurator*] *rationalis p[ri]uatae p[ro]uincia[rum] Asi[ae] et Phrygi[ae] et Cariae*, with Pflaum 1960–1: II 743 (early third century AD); *ILS* 1372 (C. Titius Similis, *praepositus vexill. e[xp]editionis p[er] Asiam Liciam Pamphiliam et Phrygiam*: AD 214–17).

⁴¹ *IGR* IV 819 (Hierapolis): P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Aristus Zeno serves as *aduocatus fisci* both in Phrygia and in Asia. This is the only clear evidence for separate fisca. We might suppose that Ulpius Lycinus and Iulius Lycinus of Synnada, both *aduocati fisci*, were attached to the Phrygian office (*MAMA* VI 373: late II AD). For the Asiatic office, see perhaps *IEphesos* 632; 3053. 'Tribute bank' (τράπεζα τῶν φόρων) at Hierapolis: *SEG* 49, 1813. This possibility is not considered by Ritti 1999. Heller (2006: 145–6) prefers to see the Hieropolitan 'tribute bank' as pertaining to the Laodicean *conuentus*, but clear evidence for tax-collection through the *conuentus*-districts is lacking.

⁴² Thus Pflaum 1960–1: I 550–1.

⁴³ Bowersock 1995: 85–98; Potter 1998. Bowersock curiously interprets the evidence for fiscal *prouvinciae* as 'the expression of regional autonomies that had been forcibly suppressed in the old traditional province of Asia'. See rather Pleket, *SEG* 45, 2353.

⁴⁴ Hesperus: Christol and Drew-Bear 2005. Quadratus: *PIR*² I 507.

⁴⁵ εἰρηνοφύλαξ τῆς ἐπαρχείας: *SEG* 40, 1232–3; Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1967–81.

Whether any of this is directly relevant to the Phrygian *koinon* is not clear. The salient point is that, in the context of the provincial administration, from the Flavian period (if not before), Phrygia was regularly treated as a territorial unit distinct from the rest of the province of Asia. This makes practical sense. Forms of settlement, civic organisation, and land-tenure in Phrygia differed significantly from the western parts of the province. Large tracts of land, particularly in central and northern Phrygia, were occupied by imperial estates; village life retained a vitality and an independence from the larger urban centres quite uncharacteristic of the highly urbanised lowland valleys to the west. ‘You have subject to you’, observes Dio to the Apameans, ‘many obscure cities, many prosperous villages.’⁴⁶ I understand Dio to mean that Apamea held the dominant position in an unusually bottom-heavy settlement hierarchy: the population of southern Phrygia was still essentially pre-urban, and places which formally held the status of city – Sanaos, Sibia and others – were in practice dependent on the market-town of Apamea for civic and administrative amenities.

The right of holding the proconsular assizes was undoubtedly a source of prestige for the city concerned, quite apart from the material wealth which flowed in as a consequence. But the assizes remained deeply culturally problematic. The inhabitants of one of the assize-centres of Roman Anatolia could have found little to be proud of in their (externally imposed) centrality in the system of Roman provincial administration. Cities boasted of being ‘the first and greatest mother-city of Asia’, ‘the ornament of Ionia’, ‘three times temple-warden of the *Augusti*’ and so forth; they did not boast of being ‘the seat of the proconsul’ or ‘the centre of a *conuentus*’, despite the material benefits which thereby accrued.⁴⁷ The way in which the Apameans chose to respond to this difficulty was by the ethno-nationalist appropriation and naturalisation of the Roman assizes, re-imagining the event as a local festival assembly.⁴⁸ The *koinon* of Phrygia, I suggest, was simply *a way of conceptualising the Apamean assizes*. The two ‘festivals’, one with its gymnasiarch and festival *agoranomos*, the other with its agonothete and *panegyris*, were one and the same event. Re-imagining the vast human gathering at the Roman proconsular assizes as the meeting of a regional ethno-nationalist association served to naturalise the imperial institution;

⁴⁶ Dio 35.14.

⁴⁷ De Ligt 1993: 225–9 emphasises that while the assizes, like other festivals, brought both prestige and economic benefits to the cities, the cities were far more concerned with the former than the latter. This is surely right: but in relation to the assizes, the notion of ‘prestige’ needs nuancing. See further Heller 2006: 125–62; Chapter 4 below, pp. 130–1.

⁴⁸ I have here drawn heavily on Anderson 1991: 47–66.

the Apameans could publicly proclaim their city to be the centre not of an arbitrary, externally imposed Roman juridical unit, but of a free and natural Phrygian ethnic confederation. An administrative fact was, as it were, *translated* into the terms of regional identity, and thereby given an entirely new ideological meaning.⁴⁹

This is, if correct, remarkably revealing. The *koinon* of Phrygia thus emerges as a local gesture of appropriation, through which an actually existing set of geographical connections (the assize group), created for the convenience of the Roman imperial state, was re-imagined as an affective bond. The Phrygian *koinon* was an attempt by the Apameans to brand the great annual market associated with the assizes as a sacred and patriotic coming together of all the peoples of Phrygia. This gesture was enabled by the Roman state's prior institutionalisation of 'Phrygia' as a fiscal and administrative unit, overseen by dedicated procuratorial governors. One could, perhaps, think of the Phrygian *koinon* as lying at the confluence of three different currents: an ideologically neutral periodic *panegyris*, dating back at least to the first century BC, which drew a widely dispersed community of traders from across provincial boundaries; an ideologically charged Roman administrative system, the *conuentus*-district and the annual assizes at Apamea, which partially coincided with this periodic market event; and an ideologically enabling system of local governance, which encouraged the inhabitants of the region to imagine themselves as inhabitants of 'Phrygia', rather than merely of 'Asia' or 'the Roman empire'. The human gatherings at the assizes were, so to speak, usefully ambiguous events. It was not, after all, primarily the assizes which brought the great festal assemblies to Apamea (Dio is here instructively mistaken); rather, it was the persistence of the late-Hellenistic dynamics of the periodic Apamean market economy which made the Apamean assizes such a great occasion.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Philostratus, *V S* 524 conceptualises the *conuentus*-district of Sardis as 'Lydia': Spawforth 2001: 383. Similarly, I shall argue elsewhere that the Late Republican '*koinon* of Asia' (Mitchell 2008: 184–5) is best understood as a local appropriation and re-imagining of the Roman province of Asia as a free territorial/cultural alliance.

⁵⁰ Modern scholars have ascribed an extraordinary range of aspects of social organisation in the province of Asia to the influence of the assize-districts: Habicht 1975: 91; Robert and Robert 1983: 32 (corvée labour); Engelmann and Knibbe 1989: 108–9. The tendency is rightly criticised by Haensch 1997: 307 n. 27. For an instructive example, see Robert 1967: 93–105 (die-sharing), with Mitchell 1993: I 242 n. 4; disproved by Kraft 1972, and withdrawn by Robert 1980: 432 n. 1. The misunderstanding results from the general (and deliberate) interpenetration of the assize-districts with pre-existing systems of inter-communal relations. Compare de Planhol 1994: 186–97.

The actual character taken by the assembly of the *koinon* of Phrygia is obscure; the titlature of Artemas the agonothete implies the existence of an athletic contest associated with the *koinon*, but more than that we cannot say. As we saw in [Chapter 2](#), Apamea had no single dominant civic cult which could have served as the primary focus of such a festival: the local figures of Zeus, Marsyas and Noah happily co-exist on the third-century coinage minted by panegyriarchs. Indeed, one of the things which makes the Apamean case so unusual and interesting is precisely the fact that the city had no great religious festival to serve as a limiting focus for economic activity. The festival of the *koinon* of Phrygia was an autonomous local reaction to the fact of Roman rule: not merely a geography of appropriation, but (at least potentially) a geography of resistance.

Financing the *panegyris*

As we have seen, the actual evidence for the *koinon* of Phrygia is effectively limited to the coin-issues of Apamea in the first and third centuries AD. The nature and rhythms of coin-production at Apamea in the late Republican and Imperial periods differed dramatically. The economic functions served by the massive, probably annual issues of small-denomination bronze coinage in the first century BC must have been very different from those served by the very irregular, 'prestige' panegyriarch-issues of the third century AD. If the financial needs of the festival market had been a major factor motivating Apamean coin-production in the second and third centuries AD, one would have expected issues to have been far more regular than they in fact were.⁵¹ It is reasonable to suppose that the large and regular issues of the first century BC, with their exceptionally wide circulation, were minted for the needs of participants at the annual *panegyris*; the same cannot be said of the occasional issues of the first or third century AD. As we shall see, this change reflects the very different functions performed by Hellenistic bronze coinage and the later Roman provincial coinage within the local economies of the cities of western Asia Minor.

Large Hellenistic *panegyreis* attracted participants from countless different cities, all bringing their own local coinages with them, with different types and different weight-standards. Money-changers were sometimes employed by the festival administrators for exactly this reason: at the end of the second century BC, the Delphic amphictyony, in determining the rate

⁵¹ Howgego 1985: 89.

of exchange of the Attic new-style tetradrachm, made specific provision for 'the money-changers in the cities and at the *panegyreis*'. The great annual fair of St Gilles in the French Midi in the late twelfth century, at which both local and international merchandise was exchanged, required the services of no fewer than 109 money-changers.⁵² But given the complexities arising from the exchange of a myriad different local coinages, it is no surprise that some of the bodies responsible for the administration of the great religious festivals chose instead to mint their own 'festival' coinages, specifically for the facilitation of financial transactions at the *panegyris*.⁵³

The best-attested case is that of the confederation of Athena Ilias, a group of cities collectively responsible for the administration of the great annual festival of Athena Ilias in the Troad. First attested at the end of the fourth century BC, this confederation appointed a college of administrative officers for the greater and lesser Panathenaea at Ilium: five agonothetes, a gymnasiarch and one or more *agoranomoi*, this last also responsible for hiring the services of a doctor. The *panegyris* of the greater Panathenaea lasted at least sixteen days; the officers may have been appointed for a cycle of several years.⁵⁴ This enormous festival brought into being what was effectively a periodic city, in existence for a few days a year, with its own magistrates, doctors, fiscal administration and executive body, which levied taxes, passed honorific decrees, and sent out embassies in its own right. At some point in the late 170s BC, the confederation began striking a series of handsome silver tetradrachms in the name of Athena Ilias, minted specifically for the financial needs of the Panathenaeon *panegyris*. This festival coinage is of a much larger denomination, and was minted in far greater quantities, than the civic coinage of Ilium itself: a remarkable indication of the scale of the monetary transactions at this particular festival, as compared to the ordinary commercial business of a small Greek city of western Asia Minor in the second and first centuries BC.

A number of comparable coinages are known or may be inferred from other parts of the Greek world in the Hellenistic period. The closest parallel case appears to be at Perge in Pamphylia, where the greater part of the city's

⁵² CID iv 127; for the fair of St Gilles, Horden and Purcell 2000: 432. Compare Vryonis 1981: 223, for the baffling variety of coinage circulating at the *panegyris* of St Anthony at Aghia in Thessaly in the late nineteenth century. The great Anatolian fairs of the early nineteenth century (Balıkesir, Zile, Yapraklı), which at their height attracted more than 50,000 people – an unscientific but suggestive parallel for the *panegyris* of Roman Apamea – operated with the help of money-changers rather than barter: Augustinos 1992: 81–2.

⁵³ Psoma 2008.

⁵⁴ Holleaux, *Études* 1 289–300; Robert 1966: 18–46. Sixteen days: SEG 53, 1373.6. Cycle (?): *Iliion* 12.

large Hellenistic bronze and silver coinage was minted solely in the name of Artemis Pergaea, initially in the Pamphylian dialect, later in Greek. This coinage is best understood not as a civic coinage of Perge at all, but rather as having been struck for the purposes of exchange at the large annual *panegyris* of Artemis Pergaea, conceivably (although evidence is lacking) a more or less formal confederation of Pamphylian cities similar to that of Athena Ilias in the Troad.⁵⁵

More instructive still is the curious case of the coinage of the Dionysiac artists at Teos. The artists' guild, physically resident at Teos in the early second century BC, was nonetheless independent of its host city in most administrative and legal particulars, and tensions between the two bodies arose. An informative inscription from Pergamon, probably dating to the latter years of the reign of Eumenes II, records an attempt by the king to resolve a complex dispute between the artists of Dionysus and their host city of Teos over the management of the Dionysiac *panegyris*.⁵⁶ The Teans had agreed that the *panegyris* was to be, as a rule, under the sole administration of the artists of Dionysus, while stipulating that the city should retain an interest in all matters affecting the city's revenues. However, the officers appointed by the artists for the secular administration of the *panegyris*, the panegyriarchs, had been infringing this arrangement in some way, and the king is compelled to provide a clearer definition of their sphere of authority. The panegyriarchs are instructed 'not to cause trouble in the nearby harbours where those arriving for the festival put in, nor in the surrounding countryside'; these areas are, instead, to remain under the authority of the city magistrates.⁵⁷ The issue appears to be a fiscal one: which party has the right to levy harbour dues and taxes from festival participants? It is in a context of this kind that we ought to place the fine silver tetradrachms minted in the name of the artists of Dionysus in the 150s or 140s BC.⁵⁸ This coinage, perhaps produced at the Tean mint, should be understood as part of the continued attempts of the Dionysiac artists – energetically resisted by the Teans – to control as much as possible of the economic activity surrounding the Dionysiac *panegyris* at Teos. At the time

⁵⁵ Strabo 14.4.2 (*panegyris*), with Robert 1966: 45–6; for the coinage, Colin 1996, esp. 39, 85–93 (chronology); Psoma 2008: 235.

⁵⁶ RC 53, esp. paragraphs II B–C; the text is reprinted by Le Guen 2001: I 243–50, no. 47, with II 100–2, and by Aneziri 2003: 387–91, doc. D12.

⁵⁷ II C 9–15. Earlier restorations of this difficult passage assume an impossible sense for πολυπραγμανεῖν, which ought to mean 'cause trouble, meddle'. I take the structure of the central clause to be [μήτε ἐν τοῖς περικειμένοις λιμέσιν . . . μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐκτός χώρῃ πολυπραγμο[νοῦντος] *vel sim.*

⁵⁸ Lorber and Hoover 2003; Psoma 2007.

of the Dionysia, the artists of Dionysus tried to create what was effectively a separate polity within the city of Teos, with its own taxes and ruling magistrates; minting their own coinage was a natural extension of this.

More examples could be cited.⁵⁹ However, it was not only large-denomination silver coinages which were minted in festival contexts. Already in the late fourth and early third centuries BC, the Athenians had minted a separate bronze coinage with distinctively Eleusinian types in the name of Eleusi(s) or, equally likely, the Eleusi(nia), presumably struck for the purposes of small commerce at the penteteric festival of the greater Eleusinia in north-west Attica.⁶⁰ As we saw in [Chapter 1](#), the earliest bronze coinage of Tralles, minted in the first decade of the second century BC, falls into two groups: those minted in the name of the Trallians, and those minted in the name of Zeus Larasius.⁶¹ The types are otherwise identical, and there is evidently only a single minting authority involved. It is likely enough that the bronze coinage in the name of Zeus Larasius was struck specifically for the purpose of facilitating exchange at a periodic festival of Zeus at Tralles.

Precisely how these various coinages entered circulation at the festivals is unclear. It has sometimes been supposed, on scant evidence, that the larger silver coinages were handed out as donatives or prizes. It is equally likely that participants at the *panegyris* were compelled or encouraged to use a single coinage for the duration of the festival, exchanging their various local coinages for the Eleusinian bronzes or the silver of Athena Ilias on arrival. At any rate, the Apamean bronze coinage of the first century BC, although not of course minted in the name of a deity, is likely to have been primarily intended to serve this function. The explosion of mint-activity at Apamea in the first century BC is a reflection of the increasing geographical reach and economic complexity of the Apamean *panegyris* in the early years of the Roman province of Asia.

Under the principate, with the introduction of a uniform denominational system based on the silver *denarius* and the provincial bronze coinage, things changed. Money-changers were still required at festivals – we find them being accused of levying extortionate rates of exchange from the tradesmen – but now only for the purposes of conversion between provincial bronze and imperial silver.⁶² The minting of coinage in cities outside the main provincial capitals, including ‘festival’ coinage, ceased to be a matter primarily of

⁵⁹ Psoma 2008. Coinage of the Nikephoria at Pergamon: Fritze 1906; Fritze 1910: 26–35; Le Rider 1973. Coinage ‘of the Pessinean Mother of the Gods’: Devreker 1984: 173–4, with Strabo 12.5.3. Apollo Iatros at Pontic Apollonia: Robert 1966: 46, with *IGBulg* 1² 353–6.

⁶⁰ Thompson 1942; Psoma 2008: 229. ⁶¹ [Chapter 1](#), n. 100. ⁶² Oliver 1989: no. 84.30–1.

economic need. Civic prestige was now the determining factor.⁶³ This was not entirely a new phenomenon. No doubt prestige had played a major part in the decision of the artists of Dionysus to mint their own wreathed tetradrachms in the mid-second century BC. What was different about coin-production in the imperial period was that local coinages increasingly became a theatre for the display of *individual* munificence.⁶⁴ This helps to explain the irregularity of the Apamean imperial issues. Since the minting of coinage was dependent on the voluntary financial intervention of the panegyriarch appointed in a particular year, issues were produced far less frequently, but those coins which were struck took on increasingly lavish designs.⁶⁵

It seems very likely that the coinage of the third-century panegyriarchs at Apamea was minted for the purpose of cash handouts, *sportulae*, at the *panegyris* of the Phrygian *koinon*. Indeed, this was probably the context of many of the coin-issues of smaller provincial cities in the high Imperial period. A clear instance comes from the territory of the Hyrgalean *koinon* in the upper Maeander valley. A statue-base from Kavaklar, a small village on the right bank of the Maeander east of Süller, informs us that ‘Apollodotus son of Diodorus, *strategos* of his native land along with his father, set up (this statue of) Emperor Caesar Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius at his own expense, through his piety towards the emperor and ambition towards his native land, striking also coinage.’ The very first issue of the Hyrgalean mint, produced in the first three years of Pius’ reign, was minted in the name of ‘Apollodotus, *strategos* and *archon*’, evidently identical with the benefactor of the Kavaklar inscription.⁶⁶ The mention of Apollodotus’ coin-minting on the statue-base strongly implies that the provision of coinage was in some

⁶³ Howgego 1985: 83–91.

⁶⁴ It is possible that the small, highly anomalous silver coinage of Athenopolis at Priene (Regling 1927: 30–1 no. 27; here, Fig. 1.14), with a reverse design depicting his name being crowned by a winged Nike, is an early example of an individual benefactor minting coinage for the sake of personal prestige. It seems highly likely that Athenopolis is to be identified with Athenopolis son of Pythotimus, victorious wrestler at the Epidaurian Asclepieia and the Pythia in the early second century BC (Ebert 1972: 218–21 no. 73); the Prienean victory epigrams in honour of Athenopolis lay particular emphasis on the crowns which he won. Likewise, in the first decade of the first century BC, Chalcis minted a bronze coinage with the name of the victorious athlete Theocles son of Pausanias encircled by an agonistic crown: Knoepfler 1979, with van Bremen 2007: 355–6. Unfortunately, the date of the Athenopolis coinage is unclear: Le Rider (1999: 1 349) favours a date in the third century BC.

⁶⁵ The mint-behaviour of Roman Apamea was not unusual; the argument presented here applies to the provincial bronze coinages more generally, particularly those of the third century AD. Space forbids extended discussion: see further Weiss 2000a; Weiss 2005.

⁶⁶ Statue: Ramsay, *Phrygia* I 246, no. 86. Coinage (ἐπι Ἀπολλοδότου στρα(τη.) or ἀρχ.): von Aulock 1980, nos. 329–30, 358–61 (AD 138–41).

way connected to the act of paying for and setting up the statue of the new emperor; many instances are known of cash distributions on the occasion of the unveiling of statues, and most probably that is also the case here.⁶⁷ It is likely enough that the statue and coin-issue were timed to celebrate the accession of the new emperor in AD 138; such was certainly the case with the largest coin-issue of the Hyrgaleis, minted in AD 222 on the accession of Severus Alexander.⁶⁸ After Apollodotus' issue, the Hyrgalean *koinon* did not mint again until the reign of Caracalla. That is not to say, of course, that the Hyrgaleis did not use bronze coins most of the time, only that they were happy to use coinage minted by their larger neighbours (Hierapolis, Laodicea, Ephesus and others). Apollodotus' issue was a one-off for the Hyrgaleis: he chose the occasion of the accession of a new emperor to mint coins for a community which had never had its own coinage before, marking his benefaction with a *dianome* at the unveiling of the emperor's statue.

What has been sketched in the preceding pages is the outline of a particular kind of regional economic system, geographically and chronologically specific. Naturally, the system which I have described could not have constituted the entirety of market exchange at Apamea. Alongside the large, periodic fair, there must have existed small, regular market-circuits, transferring goods on a weekly or monthly basis between the local centre and its periphery. By way of example, in the early third century AD, the inhabitants of a small village on the territory of Magnesia on the Maeander delivered a petition to the provincial governor concerning the market cycle in the villages around Magnesia. The village of Attoukleis held market days on the eighth, eighteenth and twenty-ninth days of each month; the merchants then passed through the village of Mandragoreis on their way to Magnesia, where they held *nundinae* two days later. The Mandragoreis ask that they be permitted to hold *nundinae* on the intervening days, the ninth, nineteenth and thirtieth, since the days are 'free' and the traders have to pass through the village anyway.⁶⁹ This is an entirely different level of economic activity from the large-scale, periodic markets associated with the Ilian Panathenaea or the Apamean assizes. The two are not incompatible, since different kinds of goods were sold at local and regional markets. The *nundinae* in the territory of Magnesia were an opportunity to sell figs, olives and perhaps small livestock, rather than slaves, marble and sacks of red ochre.

⁶⁷ As *I.Magnesia* 179.28–30, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναστάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος δόντα διανομὴν τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ βουλῇ; Wilhelm, *Inscripfenkunde* I 272–3; Erxleben 1970: 91.

⁶⁸ von Aulock 1980, nos. 341–56, 372–84; Leschhorn 1993: 282–7. ⁶⁹ SEG 32, 1149.

No doubt the sort of rural markets attested in the territory of early third-century Magnesia continued throughout the Byzantine period, although direct evidence from the Maeander region is lacking. The legislators of the late tenth and eleventh century were concerned that merchants should be free to hold markets wherever they wished, and not to be tied to the locations where markets had customarily been held. The issue here is that many such *panegyreis* were traditionally held on private domanial land, and that local magnates (*dynatoi*) had an interest in keeping them there; the wealthy were presumably in the habit of annexing the market-dues of these fairs, legally or otherwise.⁷⁰ More complex is the question of the persistence of the large-scale urban *panegyris* after antiquity.

The Byzantine *panegyris* has usually been studied in relation to the wider question of the nature and vitality of the Byzantine provincial cities. This is unhelpful, since the health of a fair does not necessarily imply anything one way or the other about the prosperity of the host city at other times of year. The important point for our purposes is the unambiguous survival of the institution of the large-scale commercial festival (whether urban or extra-urban), under the auspices of the feast-days of local saints. A particularly lively evocation of the saint's *panegyris* in the early Byzantine period is provided by the anonymous author of the late-fifth-century *Miracles of Saint Thecla*. The annual fair at Seleucea on the Calycadnus, held over about a week to coincide with the feast-day on 24 September, attracted a vast concourse of pilgrims and salesmen from far and wide, above all from the great cities of Cilicia to the east, but also from the island of Cyprus and the hill-country of Isauria to the north. The miracle stories draw one into the world of the early Byzantine festival: the press of the crowds, the stifling heat, people shouting, arguing, jostling or fighting one another; the cash handouts distributed on the saint's behalf as reciprocal gifts for the participants' offerings; the rough Isaurian hillsmen eyeing up the city girls in church (although that could have unfortunate consequences); for some, the night-long vigils, conducted by dazzling torchlight; for others, the long climb to the peak of the mountain above Seleucea, where the night-watchers watched for Thecla's ascent on a blazing winged chariot on her way to the festival of tiny, inland Dalisandos.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Novel of Basil II (AD 996), ch. 7 (Svoronos 1994: 216–17); *Peira* 57a περὶ πανηγύρεων (*Zepos* iv 228), with Laiou 1990: 54–8. Contrast the domanial markets of the Roman and Late Roman periods, from which landlords do not seem to have had the right to exact market-dues: de Ligt 1993: 155–98.

⁷¹ Dagron 1978, esp. 78–9. Geography of pilgrimage: *Mir.* 29; 15; 33. Descriptions of *panegyris*: *Mir.* 33; 26.

In the fifth century AD, the annual festival of St Thecla was evidently the defining aspect of the civic identity of Seleucea. The relationship between Seleucea and the nearby city of Tarsus in the miracle texts is instructive. Interaction between the two cities was simultaneously reciprocal and oppositional: at Tarsus, Paul served as *proxenos* for the people of Seleucea, as Thecla was *proxenos* for the Tarsiots. The inhabitants of the two cities travelled between them at the time of their respective festivals: ‘and a great rivalry has arisen among all of us concerning this matter, thoroughly admirable and befitting the children and cities of Christians’. This rivalry, cheerful and healthy though it was, could get out of control. When Marianus, bishop of Tarsus, attempted to prevent the citizens of Tarsus from attending the festival at Seleucea, he was punished by Thecla with sudden death on the night of the vigil at the *panegyris*.⁷²

As it happens, there is little evidence in the miracle texts for commercial exchange at the *panegyris* of St Thecla, but the absence is surely a matter of literary priorities rather than historical fact. The economy of early Byzantine Seleucea must have been largely dependent on the flow of pilgrims through the great shrine. The *panegyris* of St Thecla should be understood as the main periodic marketplace of coastal Rough Cilicia, playing a role in inter-regional exchange between Cyprus, smooth Cilicia and inland Isauria comparable to the role of Roman Apamea as a hub of exchange between inner Anatolia and the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, some three centuries earlier. Evidence, as usual, is lacking for the centuries that follow. Chance references tend to suggest that the large regional fairs continued in a healthy state through the later first millennium AD: at the end of the eighth century the market taxes at the May *panegyris* of St John the Theologian at Ephesus are said to have come to 100 lb of gold (implying a total ‘revenue’ of 1,000 lb).⁷³ Meanwhile, however, Apamea itself was experiencing a slow decline. By the late first millennium AD, its place as the main economic motor of the upper Maeander region had been usurped by the church of St Michael at Chonae.

⁷² *Mir.* 4; 29, with Dagron 1978: 25. The twenty-ninth miracle text, like the thirty-third, is a normative parable for a local audience, with the aim of encouraging acceptable behaviour at the festival. We are still in the world of Robert, *OMS* vi 211–49 (cf. *OMS* vii 58); see Whittow 1990: 21–3.

⁷³ Theophanes, *Chron.*, 469–70; Antoniadis-Bibicou 1963: 107–8. According to Foss (1979b: 110–11) the success of the fair of St John is evidence of the *decline* of Ephesus as an urban centre, since fairs are characteristic of the countryside: a curious argument. For the Ephesian *panegyris* in the tenth century, Foss 1979b: 126–7.



Figure 3.8 The site of Chonae, at the foot of the Honaz Dağı

The *panegyris* of St Michael

The early development of the great church of Chonae as a pilgrimage centre is obscure. The first datable instance of pilgrimage to Chonae appears to be the visit of St Peter of Atroa shortly after 815, at the height of the second iconoclast persecution.⁷⁴ At any rate, to judge by the abundance of references in hagiographical texts, both historical and apocryphal, by the turn of the millennium Chonae had become the most important pilgrimage site in inland Asia Minor.⁷⁵ At the end of the tenth century, Chonae was the first objective of the young St Lazarus of Galesion on his journey from the Aegean coast of Asia Minor to the Holy Land. From his native town of Magnesia on the Maeander, Lazarus took the old Southern Highway up the Maeander valley, now conceptualised as ‘the road that leads to Chonae’, to the great pilgrimage centre and market-town. To Lazarus’ horror, on his arrival at Chonae, a woman in monastic dress promptly took the opportunity to offer

⁷⁴ Laurent 1956: 101 ch. 13.

⁷⁵ References in *TIB Phrygien* 222–5; for the pilgrimage to Chonae, see Kaplan 2002; Foss 2002; Cadwallader 2008.

herself to him while he was praying in the church. The story may hint at the normality of prostitution around the church, just one of the complex of associated local economies dependent on the itinerant population of the shrine. Lazarus himself did not have far to travel from Magnesia to Chonae, but the cult of the archangel drew pilgrims from far more distant parts: on the road to Chonae, and at the church itself, Lazarus came across Cappadocians and Paphlagonians.⁷⁶ An apocryphal miracle of St George, dating perhaps to the ninth or tenth century AD, describes the annual pilgrimage of a young Paphlagonian from a village near Gangra, deputed to convey the first-fruits from the agricultural produce of his village to the church of St Michael, to the value of a *litra* of gold.⁷⁷ Pilgrims came from even further afield than this: in the late eleventh century, St Cyril of Phileae travelled to Chonae, at some personal danger, from as far away as Thrace, probably taking the overland route *via* Dorylaion.⁷⁸ Chonae did well for itself. It has even been suggested that the rapidly increasing popularity of Michael as a Byzantine personal name in the tenth and eleventh centuries may reflect the increasing popularity of the cult of the archangel, and the notion is not unappealing.⁷⁹

We have seen that the Cappadocians who contributed to the prosperity of late Hellenistic and Imperial Apamea had no concern with the ostensible juridical and cultural business of the *panegyris*: they were simply there to buy and sell. Similarly, in late mediaeval Anatolia, religious differences did not hinder commercial interaction at the festivals of the saints. In the mid-twelfth century AD, at the *panegyris* at Chonae which coincided with the archangel's feast-day on 6 September, Turkish tradesmen from the western fringe of the Anatolian plateau happily rode down to exchange their goods. 'It is,' says Michael Choniates, 'the wonders which have occurred at the church of Colossae which have given rise to so populous a *panegyris*. For these wonders draw people not only from all the neighbouring cities, but also those from lands beyond the mountains, Lydians, Ionians, Carians, Pamphylia and Lycians, and what is more, even the barbarians of Iconium, for the sake of buying and selling.' We are not meant to suppose that it was the religious aspect of the *panegyris* which drew the Turks of Konya to Chonae. Michael promptly goes on to describe a riot which broke out at the *panegyris* between the Christians and Turks, in the course of which the unarmed mass of pilgrims were driven in terror into the church by the barbarians. The Turks evidently had little respect for the religious element of the fair. The

⁷⁶ *Vita Lazari*, AASS Nov. III, 511 chs. 6–8.

⁷⁷ *Miracula S. Georgii* (ed. Aufhauser 1913) 107–13 no. 11.

⁷⁸ Sargologos 1964: 94–8, ch. 18, with 317 n. 42. ⁷⁹ Cheynet 1996: 286.



Figure 3.9 Maeander decoration on the outer gate of the Ak Han near Denizli, 1250s AD

interest of Michael's description of the participants at the *panegyris* is that it shows that the economically symbiotic relationship between Muslim and Christian which characterised the early Ottoman state was already a normal aspect of life in the Phrygian marches in the mid-twelfth century AD.⁸⁰ Even after the final loss of the Lycus valley to the Turks at the end of the twelfth century, the relationship persisted. As early as the 1250s AD, at a time when Laodicea still marked in theory the westernmost point of Seljuq authority, a large and impressive *han* was constructed just to the east of the city (Fig. 3.9); it is hard to fathom why this would have been needed, unless Turkish merchants were still regularly doing business with the Greeks of the lower Maeander valley.⁸¹

It is not clear whether the eclipse of the old *emporion* of Apamea in late antiquity was a consequence of the rise of Chonae, or whether Apamea

⁸⁰ Michael Choniates (ed. Lampros 1879–80) I 56–9. On the ethnic diversity of the late Byzantine *panegyris*, see Vryonis 1981: 214–16. Compare Nicetas (ed. van Dieten 1975) 37–8, on the commercial relations between the Greeks of Lake Pusguse (Beyşehir gölü) and Konya; but circumstances here were somewhat different, since the Greeks of the Pusguse islands no longer recognised Byzantine authority. For economic interaction in the early Ottoman state, see e.g. Aşıkpaşazade 14–15 (trans. Zachariadou 1991: 146–9), with Kafadar 1995: 126; for Islamo-Christian symbiosis in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, see now Lowry 2003: 55–94.

⁸¹ For the two thirteenth-century hans of the Lycus valley, Çardak Han (1230) and Ak Han (1254), see Erdmann 1961–76: I 59–61, 67–72; II 161–2. Note the use of the 'swastika'-Maeander pattern on the outer gate of the Ak Han, unique in Seljuq architecture (here, Fig. 3.9): was the architect imitating a Roman imperial building at Laodicea? For the motif in Roman Anatolia, Pülz 1989: 20–1.

was already in decline by the time that the first pilgrims were visiting the church of St Michael. At any rate, by the late first millennium AD, Chonae had taken the place of Apamea as the main centre of commercial exchange between the coastal and inland districts of western Asia Minor. As a central meeting-place of the peoples of western Anatolia, its geographical position was not greatly inferior to that of Apamea: to the north of Chonae, an easy pass over the eastern foothills of the Çökelez Dağı led into the Baklan ovası, the great plain controlled at its north-eastern tip by the fortress of Eumeneia; to the south, the Acıpayam plain carried the main road southward to Kibyra and northern Lycia. Like Apamea, the importance of Chonae as a periodic *emporion* appears to have been out of proportion to its relative unimportance as a city for the rest of the year.⁸² Similarly, in the third quarter of the eleventh century, the *panegyris* of St Theodore at the small town of Euchaita on the northern fringe of the Anatolian plateau attracted huge crowds of pilgrims.⁸³ In a sermon preached during the annual festival of St Theodore, the bishop of Euchaita, John Mauropous, describes the festival participants as residing in tents and bivouacs; however, Euchaita may have been busier than usual on this occasion, since many of the ‘pilgrims’ seem in fact to have been refugees from the Turks.⁸⁴

The saint’s festival in the later Byzantine world is, no doubt, the linear descendant of the religio-commercial *panegyris* of antiquity. But what ought to interest us is not so much the continuity of the institution, but rather the continuing role of periodic urban – or perhaps rather, pseudo-urban – marketplaces as a basic structural element of the economy of inland Anatolia. The great mercantile networks of Byzantine Anatolia differed significantly from those of the Balkan peninsula in the same period, in that they were, without exception, still tied to cities (Ephesus, Chonae, Euchaita,

⁸² It has been suggested that Chonae, rather than Ephesus, was the capital of the thema of Thrakesion (Foss 1979b: 195–6), but the evidence for this is minimal, and I find it unlikely. On the theme-system, see above, Chapter 1 n. 11.

⁸³ For the origins of the *panegyris* of St Theodore at Euchaita, Mango and Sevckenko 1972: 379–84. The chief sources for the eleventh-century festival are John Mauropous (ed. Lagarde 1882), *Or.* 180 and 189. Mauropous claims that the saint himself was responsible for the foundation of the city of Euchaita (*Or.* 180, p. 132, cf. *Or.* 179, pp. 122–3), and ‘it is thanks to his miracles that you now see all the city’s streets, stoas, agoras and walkways filled with visitors, who have assembled from far and wide . . . and who throng this holy church, giving it [the church] the appearance of a populous city’ (*Or.* 189, pp. 207–8). Both passages are badly mistranslated by Vryonis (1971: 40, and 1981: 202), leading to great confusion in Haldon 1997: 117, and thence in Horden and Purcell 2000: 95 and 434.

⁸⁴ *Or.* 180, pp. 130–7. Refugees: p. 137. Tents and bivouacs: p. 131.

Trebizond, Sinope), rather than to more or less marginal places.⁸⁵ The economic geography of the upper Maeander region, in both the Roman Imperial and Byzantine periods, was articulated around a single, central place, through which commerce flowed, and at which the locally articulated and constructed corporate identity of the region could be periodically affirmed. In the high Imperial period, according to Philostratus, the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries temporarily made Athens the most populous city in Greece.⁸⁶ But Athens was a populous city for the rest of the year too. Apamea and Chonae, whose respective fairs were, at different periods, the most important in inland western Anatolia, were not. If the main argument of this chapter is correct, Roman Apamea and Byzantine Chonae were, strictly speaking, *periodic cities*.⁸⁷

At Chonae, as at Euchaita in northern Anatolia, careful management of a local cult transformed what had been a quiet country town in the Imperial period into a major pilgrimage centre and economic motor for the surrounding district. The networks of commercial interaction in western Asia Minor accordingly reconfigured themselves around Chonae rather than Apamea, which had never succeeded in attaining the spiritual prestige which would have allowed it to continue as the hub of exchange between the coastal valleys and the plateau, Noah notwithstanding. This physical shift could be taken to reflect a fundamental change in the nature and functions of the Anatolian city. My instinct is that this would be unwise. Once one clears away the epiphenomenal superstructure of elite behaviour in the cities of the high Roman empire, the geographical dynamics of commercial activity in the ancient and Byzantine cities of inland Anatolia show strikingly close functional similarities.⁸⁸ The imagined community of the Phrygian *koinon* and the pilgrimage network of St Michael should both be understood as contingent cultural projections, in very different political and religious contexts, of a persistent pattern of economic activity in the upper Maeander region, structured around the periodic *panegyris*-city. Nor was this the most important constant in the historical ecology of the upper Maeander region, as we shall see in the next chapter.

⁸⁵ Vryonis 1971: 39–41. The geographical homogeneity of the picture offered by Horden and Purcell 2000: 432–4, is misleading.

⁸⁶ Philostr. VA 4.17.

⁸⁷ ‘Some communities . . . create an architectural façade for their shared activities which can look like that of a town even though it reflects no lasting social life or economic function: except on a few special occasions the population lives elsewhere’ (Horden and Purcell 2000: 95).

⁸⁸ The literature is enormous: see most recently Niewohner 2007, with the earlier bibliography.

The edge of Asia

‘Like the word *caelum*,’ notes the Latin lexicographer Varro, ‘the word *Asia* is used in two senses. For it is used both for that “Asia” which is not Europe, which includes even Syria; and also for the nearer part of this aforementioned Asia, in which lie Ionia, and our province.’¹ Since the fifth century BC, the Greeks had employed a totalising hierarchical division of the world into two unequal parts, Europe and Asia. Africa, which did not fit neatly into this schema, was sometimes added as a third distinct portion of the globe. After Attalus III’s bequest of his kingdom in western Asia Minor to the Roman people in 133 BC, the term ‘Asia’ also came to be used by the ruling power in a far more restricted sense, as the proper name for the new Roman province in western Asia Minor, *prouincia Asia*. In the mid-second century AD, this ambiguity was exploited by the orator Aelius Aristides in his second Smyrnaean oration. Having dignified Smyrna with the title ‘the ornament of Asia’, he adds further, ‘and by *Asia* I do not mean only that which extends as far as the springs of the Maeander, nor that which is defined by the sortition of your proconsuls, but that which the Greeks have always called Asia, as one of the three continents distinct from the others.’²

This fascinating little passage invites analysis from a number of perspectives. Aristides implicitly dismisses the division of the Roman provinces in Asia as a purely Roman spatial conception, meaningful only in terms of the administrative convenience of the external ruling power (‘defined by

¹ Varro, *Ling.* 5.16: *ut Asia sic caelum dicitur modis duobus. nam et Asia, quae non Europa, in qua etiam Syria, et Asia dicitur prioris pars Asiae, in qua est Ionia ac prouincia nostra.* Cf. *TLL* II.4, col. 782.

² Aelius Aristides 21.7: καθαρώς ἐξεφάνη ὅσος τις ὁ παρ’ αὐτῆς [sc. τῆς Σμύρνης] τῆ Ἀσίας κόσμος ἦν, λέγω δὲ οὐχὶ τὴν μέχρι Μαιάνδρου πηγῶν, οὐδ’ ὅσην ὁ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὑμῶν κλῆρος ὀρίζεται, ἀλλ’ ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἕλληνας προσεῖπον Ἀσίαν, προσηγόρευον δὲ καὶ ἡπειρον διαφερόντως αὐτὴν τῶν τριῶν. A similar point is made by Aristides at 23.8–11 (a small part of ‘Greek’ Asia detached to form the province of Asia). For the development in Greek thought from a bipartite to a tripartite division of the world, see Zimmermann 1999: 36–73. On proconsular sortition, see Chapter 6, p. 216 below.

proconsular sortition').³ Simultaneously, Aristides sets up a strategic contrast between the Roman *provincia Asia* and 'that which the Greeks have always called Asia'. Cultural anxiety in the face of actually existing Roman rule is a familiar theme of elite Greek literary production in this period.⁴ Aristides reminds us that, for the Greeks of western Asia Minor in the second and third centuries AD, the compatibility of 'being Greek' with 'being Roman' was not the only problem; no less urgent was the need to reconcile 'being Greek' with 'being Asiatic'.

All this we may leave to one side. What I am primarily interested in here is the spatial issue: Aristides' instinctive, almost casual, choice of 'the springs of the Maeander' as the natural point at which to mark the limit of the Roman province of Asia.⁵ Whether we take this to refer to the ultimate source of the Maeander in the plain of Aulutrene, or to the springs near Apamea, Aristides' choice is unexpected and curiously specific. It is true that the headwaters of the Maeander at Aulutrene did indeed mark a Roman provincial boundary, with the province of Galatia (which included at this period the whole of Pisidia, south-east of lake Aulutrene). However, it is hard to suppose that this was really the busiest point on the land boundary of the province of Asia. The steep pass leading from Aulutrene into northern Pisidia (see below) can hardly have seen more traffic than the two major roads leading south from the Kibyris into Lycia and Pamphylia, or the northern road into Galatia which connected Amorium and Ancyra; most important of all, no doubt, was the great Southern Highway running north-east from Aulutrene towards the Anatolian plateau, which left the province of Asia a full day's journey further to the east, after crossing the Metropolitan plain and the southern part of the territory of Synnada.⁶ Nonetheless, for Aristides and his audience, it was the headwaters of the river Maeander which marked the most obtrusive extension point of the Roman provincial space. The reasons for this are well worth exploring.

At the spot where the springs of the Maeander and Marsyas rise, on the eastern flank of the Dombay ovası by the modern hamlet of Eldere, lay a small Roman military establishment, the *castellum* of Aulutrene. The date of the

³ For the question of how far Roman administrative subdivisions affected real human interaction across provincial boundaries, see [Chapter 3](#) above.

⁴ Woolf 1994 is fundamental; on Aristides, Swain 1996: 254–97.

⁵ By contrast, the tradition in Martianus Capella 6.684 and Solinus 40.1, according to which *provincia Asia* 'begins' at Telmessus, need have no particular spatial or conceptual significance, since it derives directly from Plin. *HN* 5.102, who simply happens to be describing the southern coastline at this point.

⁶ Provincial boundary south of Kibyris: *I.Kibyris* 107. Road between Amorium and Ancyra: Mitchell 2008: 177–8.



Figure 4.1 The pass at Çapalı, looking west into the southern part of the Dombay ovası

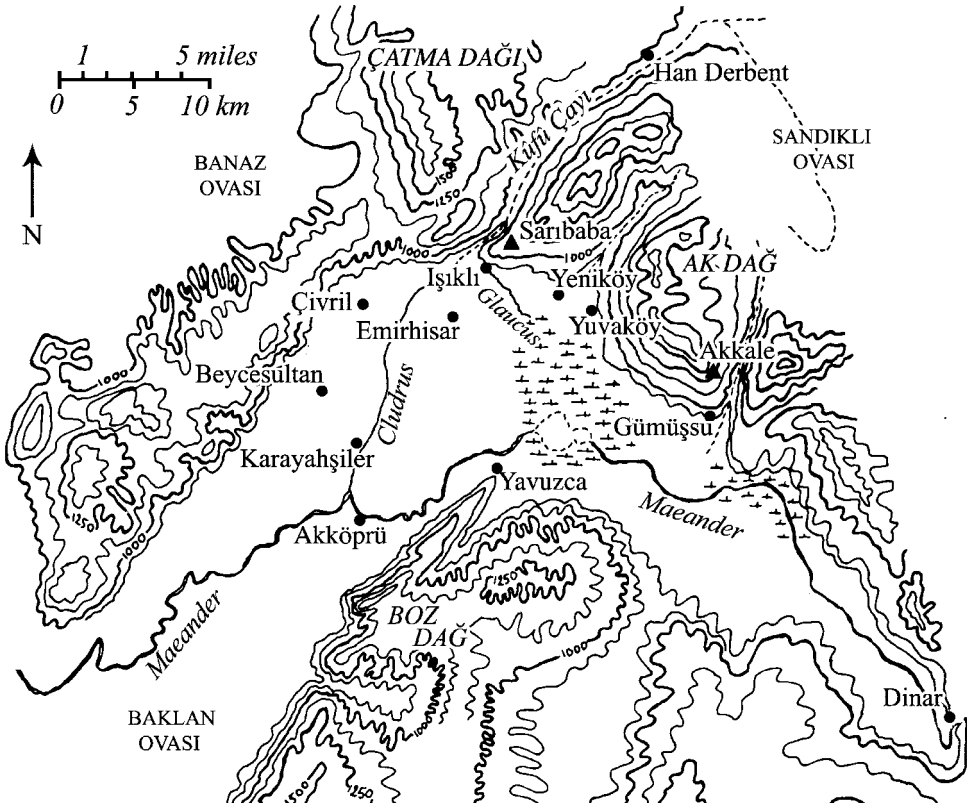
construction of this garrison-post is unclear. There is no direct evidence for its existence before the Severan period, but persuasive arguments have been adduced in support of the hypothesis that it dates back at least to the reign of Hadrian. Just to the south-east of Eldere, above the modern village of Çapalı, a Roman road of ingenious construction ascends in a series of switchbacks from the plain of Aulutrene into the mountains which divide the territory of Apamea from that of her neighbour, Pisidian Apollonia (Fig. 4.1). At the point where this road begins its descent from the mountains into the valley of Aulutrene, stood a huge rectangular column, fixed on a stone pedestal, carrying a dedication by the people of Apollonia on behalf of the emperor Hadrian and his house, to the ‘Gods of the frontier’. The dedication, dated to AD 134–5, thus served to mark the boundary between the two cities’ territories, which also served as the frontier between the Roman provinces of Asia and Galatia. If, as seems likely, the monument was set up at the same time as the construction of the road itself, it is tempting to suppose that the establishment of the *castellum* at the Maeander springs, the primary function of which was undoubtedly to protect the pass into Pisidia, was also contemporary with and connected to this major work of engineering.⁷

⁷ Christol and Drew-Bear 1987, esp. 16–18 (dedication), 33–42 (*castellum*), 58–9 (date). A toll-station is attested at Apollonia: *I.Laodikeia* 102; *MAMA* iv 113.

As we shall see, there are some indications that the military presence at Apamea/Aulutrene might date back even earlier than this, to the reign of Vespasian.

This Roman *vexillatio* at Aulutrene, if it was indeed already in place by the mid-second century AD, furnishes a possible explanation for Aristides' curious take on the Roman imperial geography of Asia Minor. It was, for Aristides, the 'springs of the Maeander' which marked the most important extension point of the province of Asia, because it was at the springs of the Maeander that the province's single frontier garrison (or at least, the only such garrison known to us) was located. Elsewhere in western Asia Minor, the limits of the Roman provincial space were either ill-defined, or corresponded closely with other, pre-Roman social and spatial divisions. However, in the Roman *castellum* at Aulutrene, with its foreign, Latin-speaking military detachment, one of the liminal points of the space of Roman territorial domination took an unusually conspicuous and tangible form. This particular provincial boundary, one might say, openly drew attention to itself.

Throughout antiquity and the middle ages, the upper Maeander valley consistently served as the main gateway between the Aegean river valleys and the Anatolian plateau. In [Chapter 3](#), we examined some aspects of the role played by ancient Apamea-Celaenae as a hub of communication and exchange between the two regions. In this chapter, however, I wish to develop the idea of the upper Maeander as marking a conceptual and ecological frontier, especially, but not exclusively, from the perspective of external imperial powers: something which separates and distinguishes, rather than unites. The focus of my discussion will be the great fortress of Eumeneia in the upper Maeander valley. For almost a millennium and a half, from its foundation in the mid-second century BC to the collapse of the central Anatolian frontier in the late twelfth century, the stronghold of Eumeneia dominated a vast stretch of southern Phrygia, from the market-town of Apameia in the south-east to the Çal ovası in the west. From the late first century AD onwards, Eumeneia was home to a substantial Roman auxiliary garrison, many times the size of the tiny detachment at Aulutrene. The reasons why Eumeneia, and the upper Maeander region in general, were so visibly militarised by the Roman imperial state – in stark contrast to the rest of the province of Asia – are by no means obvious. I shall suggest that this militarisation has little to do with any real or perceived regional instability in the first to fourth centuries AD. Founded at a time of intermittent warfare with the Galatian peoples of the Anatolian plateau, Eumeneia was intended by the Attalid monarchs as a visible embodiment of their protection of



Map 8 Eumeneia and the upper Maeander valley

western Asia Minor against a specific and contingent threat from the East. Its perpetuation as a garrison town even under the Imperial peace, and its re-emergence as one of the central points in the defence of Byzantine Asia Minor in the twelfth century AD, reflect not so much strategic ‘constants’, as the appropriation and reification by later powers of a temporary Hellenistic strategic dynamic. In theoretical terms, a historically contingent relational space was perpetuated through a (conscious or unconscious) *misinterpretation* of it as absolute space.⁸

Mountain and plain: the upper Maeander valley

From the plain of Dinar-Apamea, the Maeander river flows north-west into a broad valley, dominated to the east by the white peaks of the Ak Dağ, the

⁸ On absolute and relational space, Harvey 1973: 13–14, 27–36; Harvey 2006: 119–48.



Figure 4.2 The Ak Dağ and Işıklı Göl, looking south-east from Sarıbaba tepesi; at far right, the river Glaucus

formidable range of mountains which divides the upper Maeander from the cities of the Phrygian Pentapolis (modern Sandıklı ovası). The Ak Dağ rises almost sheer from the right bank of the river, its peaks looming 1,600 m above the level of the valley floor. Countless rivulets flow down from the mountain in winter. In the nineteenth century, the whole of this valley north of Dinar was uncultivated marshland, covered in reeds and the lotus and home to ducks and wild boar; today, the Maeander feeds into a deep artificial lake some 20 km north-west of Dinar, stretching across the entire breadth of the valley (Fig. 4.2).⁹

These wetlands have been a feature of this part of the Maeander valley since at least the ninth century AD. The Mamlûk author Al-‘Umarî, writing most probably in the 1330s, offers the following account of the upper Maeander region in the course of his description of the emirate of Germiyân.

⁹ Arundell 1834: I 175–6: ‘As we proceeded, the marsh resembled a marshy lake full of reeds; the surface of the water in some parts covered with the lotus. Here were wild-ducks, and a quantity of cattle, bullocks, and horses, feeding; we were told it was full of wild boars. . . .’ See also Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, map facing p. 353, indicating a single large stretch of marshland between Işıklı and Sundurlu; according to Deveciyan 1915 [2006], Tablo D 42 (Işıklıgöl and Sundurlu gölü), the surface area of the lakes in the early twentieth century was 27 km², depth 8–15 m.

‘The river called the *Manderous* has its source in the mountains to the west. When its waters are low, it is of a similar size to the Nile, but when in spate, it gives the appearance of a vast sea without beginning or end. In mid-course, it forms a large and highly productive lake, where many fish are to be caught; this serves as a place of recreation for the inhabitants of these cantons’.¹⁰ Several Byzantine sources of the ninth to the twelfth centuries attest the existence of a town and military district (*bandon*) of Lampe in the upper Maeander region.¹¹ The word *lampe* means a lake, more particularly a fishery;¹² the likelihood is that the Byzantine town and *bandon* of Lampe took their name from this great lake north-west of Apamea.

At the northernmost point of the Maeander plain, a little more than 40 km north-west of Apamea, the Ak Dağ descends sharply to the narrow gorge of the Kûfû Çayı river, the ancient river Cludrus, before rising again into the first foothills of the Çatma Dağı (Fig. 4.3). Together, the Ak Dağ and Çatma Dağı ranges form a 90 km barrier stretching from Apamea in the south to Acmonia in the north, dividing the relatively low-lying valleys of south-western Phrygia from the higher plains to the east. The mountain range today marks the provincial boundary (*il sınırı*) between the provinces of Denizli and Uşak in the west and Afyon in the east. The modern ecological divide between the two regions instantly strikes a traveller crossing over the mountains from the apple-gardens and strawberry plots of the upper Maeander valley and the Banaz ovası (the ancient plain of Sebaste), up to the dry, treeless steppe of the Pentapolis. East of the Ak Dağ and Çatma Dağı ranges, the very air is different; here, for the first time, one can feel the hot, dusty breath of the Anatolian plateau.¹³

Controlling the entrance to the Kûfû Boğazı, and dominating the whole northern part of the Maeander valley, stands the rock of Sarıbaba, rising some 470 m above the valley floor (Fig. 4.4). Seen far off from the Maeander plain, this rock can appear almost conical, resembling a sleeping volcano; in fact, what one sees is the southern tip of a sharp ridge extending out from the hills behind.¹⁴ The peak of this ridge commands magnificent views over the

¹⁰ Quatremère 1838: 353.

¹¹ Grégoire 1948: 78–90; *TIB Phrygien* 321–2, s.v. Lampe; Whittow 1987: 197–200, 213–16. An imperial *episkepsis* at Lampe is attested in the eleventh century (Cheynet 2002b: 107–8).

¹² Ostrogorskij 1954: 95 n. 2; Gounaridis 1998: 266; *LBG*, s.v. The imperial property called Lampe, donated along with its pasture land to the monastery of Hiera Xerochoraphion under John III Vatatzes (Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 35), was probably a fishery in the Maeander delta region.

¹³ For a comparable ecological ‘frontier’ in north-west Asia Minor, between Söğüd and the plain of Eskişehir, see Lindner 2007: 35–53. As we saw at the beginning of Chapter 2, however, these ecological divides are to a large extent social constructs.

¹⁴ Philippson 1910–15: iv 73: marble with interlayers of gneiss (biotite with feldspar eyes).



Figure 4.3 The north-east flank of the Maeander plain, seen from the minaret of Dedeköy camii (Emirhisar); at right, the Ak Dağ; at centre left, the rock of Sarıbaba; at far left, the foothills of the Çatma Dağı



Figure 4.4 Sarıbaba tepesi



Figure 4.5 Işıklı and the Maeander plain

whole of the upper Maeander valley. To the south-east, upstream towards Apamea, stretches the crystal-blue lake of Lampe, dotted with clusters of tiny white fishing boats. To the west, a low ridge of hills projects out from the Çatma Dağı, separating the valley of the Maeander from the slightly more elevated plain of Bria and Sebaste; at their foot, clearly visible at the northern edge of the plain, rises the mound of Beycesultan. To the south-west, stretching away endlessly into shimmering nothingness, lies the vast, fertile depression of the Baklan ovası, 55 km long, ten to fifteen km broad. The Maeander snakes away south-westward across this valley, as if making directly for Colossae and the Lycus valley; on a clear day, the peaks of the mountains behind Colossae, the Honaz Dağı, are just visible from this spot, 80 km to the south-west. In fact, some 40 km south-west of Sarıbaba, before reaching the Lycus valley, the river veers away again to the north into the Çal ovası, the ancient Hyrgalean plain.

At the foot of Sarıbaba lies the little village of Işıklı, the site of the Roman city of Eumeneia (Fig. 4.5).¹⁵ Now a quiet farming community of

¹⁵ The town's original Turkish name appears to have been Şeyhli/Şeyhlü, 'town with Sheikh'; so it is recorded in the land records of the Kütahya livası for 1530 (Özkılınç 1993), and in the narrative of the 1522–3 campaign of Süleyman I (Yerasimos 1991: 152). The process by which

2,000 inhabitants, little more than a century ago Işıklı was the largest town in the upper Maeander valley, and a major caravan station on the routes running from the Aegean lowlands into Anatolia. Its position has since been usurped by Çivril, a leafy and prosperous provincial town nine kilometres to the west.¹⁶ The rise of Çivril at its neighbour's expense was due in the first instance to the choice of Çivril rather than Işıklı as the terminal for a branch line of the Smyrna-Dinar railway, and, more recently, to the modern asphalt highway which passes through Çivril on its way north to Sivash and Uşak.¹⁷

A glimpse of the importance of Işıklı at the time of the coming of the railway (main line to Dinar, 1889; Çivril branch line, 1890) is provided by Vital Cuinet, writing in 1894. The branch line is, he tells us, still regularly called by the locals the 'Dinar-Işıklı' line; he himself once makes the same mistake, speaking of 'the station of Işıklı, the present terminus of a branch line of the railway'. The prominence of Işıklı in the upper Maeander region was not merely, however, a question of its size and population. 'Dinar', Cuinet comments, 'is at the present date the terminus of the Smyrna-Aydın railway and its short Sutlaç/Çivril branch line, in the sancak of [Afyon] Karahisar; but neither this station, nor any of the others situated in this sancak, are linked to the centres of production or consumption by any road suitable for vehicles. However, the Çivril station is no more than ten kilometres west of the centre of the administrative district of Işıklı.'¹⁸ This is a revealing point. As Cuinet mentions elsewhere, in 1894 there were still no roads of any kind north from Dinar towards Afyon, the administrative centre of the region; the only town remotely well connected for road traffic in the region was Işıklı.

The route on which Işıklı's prosperity depended was the great Ottoman caravan road along the valley of the Kûfû Çayı, the ancient river

the name changed to Işıklı was already underway in the seventeenth century: Kâtip Çelebi, writing in 1648, informs us that both names were current in his day (trans. Armain, *ap. Saint-Martin 1852*: II 690). Compare the process by which Denizli evolved from Donuzlu: Gökçe 2000: 15–20.

¹⁶ 13,750 inhabitants in 2000: the population has doubled since 1970.

¹⁷ Philippson passed through Işıklı in 1902, twelve years after the construction of the Çivril branch line: '[Işıklı] was previously a market centre and chief town of a nâhiye. Both roles have now passed to Çivril, which lies in the plain at the end of a branch-line of the Smyrna-Dinar railway; Işıklı, the ancient Eumenea, is almost completely derelict.' (Philippson 1910–15: IV 73.)

¹⁸ Cuinet 1891–1900: III 632; IV 233, 245–6: I have normalised his spelling of Turkish place-names. Işıklı, we are told, was the centre of a nâhiye of fifty-six villages, with a total population of 17,223. The nâhiye contained sixty mosques, two hans, two hamams, forty-five shops and 2,850 houses. Both hamams were evidently at Işıklı (where they can still be seen, both in ruins), the hans presumably likewise.

Cludrus.¹⁹ This stream rises in the Sandıklı ovası, the ancient plain of the Pentapolis, and, after passing through a narrow gorge between the Ak Dağ and Çatma Dağı mountain ranges, enters the Maeander valley just to the north-west of Işıklı. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the main route from Denizli and the lower Maeander valley to Afyon and the Anatolian plateau passed up through this bottleneck between the two plains. Already in the summer of 1522, the land forces of Süleyman I, travelling south across Asia Minor from Üsküdar to Marmaris for the siege of Rhodes, used this pass to cross from Sandıklı to Işıklı.²⁰ For a detailed description of the pass itself, we can turn to the traveller William Hamilton, who crossed from Işıklı to the Sandıklı ovası on 22 June 1837.

At half-past six we started for Sandukli, nine hours. Quitting the valley of the Maeander, we proceeded N. and N. by E. for several miles, having the pointed rock above the town called Ishekli Dagh close on our right hand. After crossing a low range of hills, which consisted of alternating beds of red and white calcareous conglomerate, resting horizontally against highly-inclined beds of talcose schist and crystalline limestone, we descended into a deep and wooded valley between high hills, at the bottom of which a small stream, now almost dry, flowed to the south on our left hand. It enters the plain of Ishekli a few miles to the west of that place, and is in winter a considerable torrent . . . After following the valley for five or six miles it separated into two branches, one descending from E.N.E. from the plain of Sandukli, the other from the N.W., which, although apparently a large valley, cannot be of any length. We descended into the bottom of the Sandukli branch, and for some distance followed the torrent-bed, now almost dry. As we advanced the ravine became more wild and narrow; the rocky sides, out of which fir-trees spring from every spot where their roots can hold, rise abruptly from the sandy bottom, which serves for both road and river, and which, in winter or in rainy seasons, is impassable. Travellers are then obliged to take a mountain-track over the hills more to the east, and descend into the plain of Sandukli near the village of Sorkoum. Higher up we found more water in the bed of the river, and springs occurred occasionally, the water not yet being absorbed by a sandy soil. Here the peasants were busily employed collecting opium . . . Two miles further we reached the site of a ruined town, probably Turkish, a few hundred yards to the left of the road. Foundations and heaps of building-stones were lying about in all directions; a large building on a low rising ground, extending from east to west, had perhaps been a church, but of rude and rough construction, and the circular bema at the eastern end was gone: at a short distance from it was a low tumulus, round which

¹⁹ The exploitation of this stream for irrigation in the Sandıklı ovası has now reduced it to a mere trickle in its lower course. For the identification with the ancient Cludrus, see Weiser 1989.

²⁰ Yerasimos 1991: 152.

were the foundations and remains of a wall and ditch; it was apparently formed of the ruins of fallen buildings, and near it were a few blocks of white marble. Three miles further we quitted the river on our right, and reached the summit of a range of hills, from whence we descended into the plain of Sandukli.²¹

The geology of the valley is described in more detail by Alfred Philippson, who ascended it on 13 and 14 July 1902, passing the intervening night at a caravansaray on the north-east side of the pass.

This valley is a broad depression, edged by gentle mountain slopes on both sides, mostly of marble. On the eastern side, between the river and the mountain, a horizontal band of earthy (tertiary?) conglomerate forms a terrace, cut through by numerous gullies, around 150 m above the river, covered with pasturage and thin scrub. At first the river cuts its path through the marble lying below this terrace, with a ravine some 30 m deep. Further on, the terrace is cultivated in places; there then follows a sparse patch of tall juniper trees, a widespread and characteristic form of vegetation in these inner parts of Asia Minor. The trees are around 10m high, with a thick and broad conical crown above a short and strong trunk. Pine trees are often mixed in among the junipers. We pass Osmanköy, and in the vicinity of Çapak the conglomerate appears also on the west side of the river, and here forms a gentle cultivated valley. At the end of the strips of conglomerate we descend to the dry river bed. This now forms a winding bottleneck, more than two kilometres long, with flanks of thick folded marble. The floor of the pass is so completely occupied by the river bed that at high water it must be impassable; the juniper trees climb up the steep cliffs. At the upper opening of the bottleneck, there is a karakol (guard-post) lying by a spring, and next to it Han Derbent (941 m), where I passed the night. The valley here becomes broad and gentle, and is of mica-schist. Its boundary with the marble is perpendicular, and runs NNW; the schist itself runs due west, with small veins of marble in it. Juniper-woods continue to occupy the higher mountains, while Walloon oaks grow in the valley. The valley broadens out more and more, and merges into the plain of Sandıklı; this plain is seamed by a low tertiary plateau, overlooked to the East by a long high serrated mountain range. We, however, travelled on north to Giovrek, the site of a tumulus.²²

Both Hamilton and Philippson were struck by the narrow pass through the ravine (the Kûfû Boğazı), more than two kilometres in length, and impassable in winter. This pass is clearly marked on Philippson's geological map of the region at 1:300,000; here the caravan road, which had hitherto

²¹ Hamilton 1842: II 167–8. The same route had been taken by Richard Pococke a century earlier: 'On the twentieth [March 1740] we set out with the [Afyon] caravan from Ishecleh, crossed over the mountains to the north, and came into a large plain; towards the north east corner of it is Sandacleh' (Pococke 1745: 81).

²² Philippson 1910–15: IV 73–4. 'Tschapraklar' is the modern Çapak.



Figure 4.6 The Kûfû Boğazı ravine

run NNE up the Kûfû Vadisi, turns eastward, drops into the river-bed, and follows the river through seven tight loops before rising from the gorge into the vale of Han Derbent, which gradually broadens into the plain of Sandıklı proper (Fig. 4.6). A couple of miles beyond the old caravansaray, shortly before entering the plain, the road passes the site of an ancient settlement, first described by Hamilton, and later by Ramsay and others: this is Philippon's 'Giovrek', now Yanıkören, perhaps the ancient Lysias.²³

By contrast with Işıklı, the town of Dinar, the ancient Apamea-Celaenae, was of little significance in the Ottoman period. No major route passed nearby, and the place appears to have been no more than a village until the late nineteenth century. The modern prosperity of Dinar, today a flourishing town of 35,500 inhabitants, dates back only as far as the coming

²³ The tumuli mentioned by Hamilton and Philippon are identical. The site is briefly described by Hamilton; also Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 623 n. 1; *TIB Phrygien* 414–15, s.v. Yanıkören. In the second century AD, there appear to have been large private estates in this district (Hauken 1998: 191).

of the railway in 1889 – a fine illustration of the dangers of argument by natural determinism in the study of the pre-modern human geography of the region.²⁴ Nor is it only the road-network which has changed over time. When one of the companions of Col. Leake passed northward across the Sandıklı ovası in the spring of 1800, he found that the gravitational pull of the caravan route had been such as to change the course of the greatest river of the region, the Maeander: the river that flowed from the Sandıklı ovası through the Kûfû Vadisi (the ancient river Cludrus) was at that date known as the Méndere.²⁵ The fluvial geography of the region has historically been no less culturally contingent than the road-system.

The settlement and garrison of Eumeneia

The remains of the ancient settlement of Eumeneia lie near the modern village of Işıklı, at the south foot of Sarıbaba tepesi on the northern flank of the Maeander plain. Just to the east of the village rises the spring of Ak Göz, source of the ancient river Glaucus; all the visible remains of the Roman city of Eumeneia lie around this spring (Fig. 4.7). It was this small river, rather than the Maeander or the Cludrus, which was depicted on the bronze coinage of Roman Eumeneia. The choice is at first sight a surprising one, since the Glaucus is by far the smallest of the three streams. But it was the clear waters of the Glaucus which were home to one of the great glories of both ancient Eumeneia and modern Işıklı: the huge carp fish, proudly depicted on Eumeneian coinage, swimming upstream from the rich fisheries of lake Lampe (Fig. 4.8).²⁶ Travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were amazed by the size and quality of the fish from this river; an excellent fish restaurant today overlooks the Ak Göz springs.²⁷

²⁴ Weber 1892: 37. In 1826, Dinar was said to have had only 100 houses and one mosque (Arundell 1828: 111). The choice of this insignificant, ill-connected village as the new terminus of the Ottoman railway is only surprising until one recalls the intimacy of the connections between the British railway engineers and archaeologists working in Turkey in the 1870s and 1880s. Dinar's ancient role as the great *emporion* of inland Anatolia, due to its nodal position on the east–west land route, was well known to the directors of the railway company. The return of Dinar to prominence in the west Anatolian route-network is hence owed primarily to the influence of antiquarian research, rather than to the natural superiority of its geographical position.

²⁵ See Chapter 1, n. 45 above.

²⁶ Imhoof-Blumer 1923: 319–20; *BMC Phrygia* 214, nos. 26–7; *SNG Cop.* (Phrygia) 386; *SNG Von Aulock* 3587 (here, Fig. 4.8); *GM Winterthur* 4098; *Helios* 3 (2009) 549–51.

²⁷ ‘This river [Glaucus] produces great plenty of large cray fish and fine carp of an extraordinary size, both of which are sold at such low prices, that the common people eat them as the



Figure 4.7 The Ak Göz springs, looking towards the Ak Dağ; the modern fish restaurant at far left



Figure 4.8 Eumeneia, second–third century AD (Æ); Demos/river-god Glaucus, three carp fish below

At the bottom of the shallow pools around the source of the Glaucus, the foundations of numerous private buildings are visible; on the floor

cheapest food' (Pococke 1745: 80). 'Our dinner, capital fish from the Akkius, cooked *à merveille* by Mr. Dethier, being got rid of. . . ' (Arundell 1834: I 151). See also Deveciyan 1915 [2006], Tablo D 42 (carp, barbel, pike).

of one of these, some 75 m from the spring, can be made out the remains of a Roman mosaic. At the foot of Sarıbaba, immediately above the Ak Göz springs, a short stretch of rather crude ancient wall may be seen, its lower courses largely constructed of architectural spolia, and above and behind it two large vaults cut into the rock-face, these last already remarked by Arundell and Hamilton.²⁸ Conceivably the rough wall beneath the vaults was a terrace supporting a major, vaulted public building above the spring.²⁹ The oldest buildings of Ottoman Işıklı are also on this side of the village, notably a ruined hamam and minaret, the latter largely constructed of ancient and Byzantine spolia. About 200 m to the south-west of the spring, on the very outskirts of the modern village, stands the west wall of a substantial ancient building, ninety metres square, which, as we shall see, has plausibly been identified as a cohort fort of the first or second century AD.³⁰

The land to the south-east of the Glaucus springs is today largely marshland, which explains why the modern village has tended to expand along the foot of Sarıbaba to the west, rather than out into the plain to the south. A little over a kilometre to the south-east of Işıklı, amidst waterlogged fields, there rises a small artificial mound (*höyük*) of around 40,000 m², with a number of large architectural blocks lying in the vicinity; a number of the decorative stones in the village are said to come from this location. The mound was once ringed by a substantial fortification wall, perhaps two metres thick, consisting of a curtain wall with seven or eight towers, but this has now been almost entirely stripped down for building materials.³¹

However, the most impressive remains of ancient Eumeneia lie not in the plain itself, but high on the east slope of Sarıbaba. Here, a large abandoned settlement lies on a broad terrace, sustained by a series of sharp outcrops forming a natural terrace wall to the east, supplemented in places by stretches of well-built field wall. The stone foundations of a number of buildings are visible, including a small rectilinear building which has been interpreted as a temple. The masonry, so far as one can judge from the limited sample

²⁸ Arundell 1834: I 168–9, ‘two arched excavations in the rock’; Hamilton 1842: II 165, ‘curious caves or excavations in the limestone cliff . . . a row of square holes above, for the insertion of beams, to form a building or portico in front’.

²⁹ Epigraphically the only public building attested at Eumeneia is a basilica, constructed in AD 66/67: *MAMA* IV 334 (in lines 6–7, I would restore [τῆς στοᾶς τῆς | βᾶ]σιλικῆς). The vaults above the springs could be interpreted as monumental tombs; but in that case their location, near the centre of the Roman settlement, is surprising.

³⁰ Ballance 1995: 188–90.

³¹ Ballance 1995: 190–1. Seen by Hamilton 1842: II 166, and also, so it appears, by Arundell (1828: 238, cf. 1834: I 150): a low mound was pointed out to him, half a mile into the plain from Işıklı, on which were supposed to be the ruins of a castle.



Figure 4.9 The Hellenistic fortification wall on the peak of Sarıbaba tepesi (probably second century BC)

on display, appears to be Hellenistic rather than Roman.³² On the further, west-facing side of the ridge of Sarıbaba, overlooking the lower valley of the Kûfû Çayı, a strong Hellenistic fortification wall runs NE-SW for some 200 m, following the line of the ridge above the settlement on the east slope, before turning off to the SE some way short of the south peak of Sarıbaba. The wall is constructed of massive rectangular and trapezoidal blocks, to a thickness of 3.30 m, preserved in places to 2 m or more in height (Fig. 4.9).³³ A second, much later wall of rough fieldstone, intersecting with the Hellenistic wall at two points, encloses a large area to the north-west.

To summarise: the original Hellenistic settlement at Eumeneia was a heavily fortified one, located high up on the ridge of Sarıbaba. The city itself occupied a terrace on the east slope, overlooking the Maeander plain; on the ridge itself, a strong defensive wall protected the site against attack from the Kûfû Vadisi. In the Imperial period the main settlement moved down to the plain, with its centre at the Glaucus springs which rise from the foot of the hill; the site appears to have been unwalled, with the exception of a substantial military camp on the outskirts of the town. At some later date the site was re-militarised, with the fortification of the *höyük* in the plain

³² Söğüt and Şimşek 2002b: 308–12; the terrace was first described by A. J. B. Wace, *ap. Tod* 1904–5: 28.

³³ Pococke 1745: 80: ‘Over the town is a very high steep hill, on which are some little remains of the ancient fortress’. The fortifications seem not to have been described since.

to the south-east of the town, and perhaps a system of field-defences on Saribaba.

The abiding military character of the site at Eumenea is striking and unusual. As we shall see, it is thoroughly borne out by the literary and epigraphical sources. The reasons why the city's history should have followed this pattern are by no means self-evident. As I have already insisted, it would be historically disreputable in the extreme to imagine that the physical geography of the upper Maeander valley carried a strategic human geography mysteriously latent within it; the ancient and mediaeval mental maps of the upper Maeander region were actively created by actual people, not simply read off from topographical constants. It would, of course, be particularly interesting to know whether the Attalid strategic geography of the upper Maeander was created *ex nihilo* with the foundation of Eumenea. The evidence hardly permits this. Particularly frustrating is the near-total obscurity of the city of Peltae, Eumenea's much older Phrygian neighbour. The site of Peltae is fairly securely located, 14 km due south of Çivril on the north bank of the Maeander, near the southern limit of the plain.³⁴ On the imperial coinage of Peltae a reclining river-god is portrayed, identified on one type as the river Maeander.³⁵ The only surviving monument of note is a fine four-arched bridge over the Maeander (Akköprü), with good Ottoman stonework resting on ancient piles (Fig. 4.10); the fields to the north are strewn with coarse pottery, and the small mound of Karacahöyük, 500 m to the east of the modern road to Çivril, may mark the site of the ancient town. The pleasant village of Karayahşiler, four kilometres north of Akköprü on the road to Çivril, preserves a few ancient marbles, of no great interest (two fluted columns; a reused, anepigraphic stele outside the *lokanta*).

The long history of Peltae was undistinguished. A solitary Peltene is found abroad, a deceased wife in the *axylon* of northern Lycaonia, west of lake Tatta, in the region of Gdanmaua. A late Hellenistic decree of Peltae for a foreign judge from Antandros survives, attesting a *boule* and a temple of Zeus Peltenos.³⁶ The rise of Eumenea, a mere eighteen kilometres across the plain to the north-east, no doubt impeded the civic development of her older neighbour. Nonetheless, Peltae survived as an independent city, not least because it was around Peltae that the road-network of the valley

³⁴ Ramsay, *Phrygia* 1 239–40 (identification); Habicht (1975: 84 n. 174) confuses Peltae with Keramon agora. In general, see Ruge, *RE* xix s.v. Peltai, cols. 401–3.

³⁵ *Coll. Wadd.* 6378; without river name, Imhoof-Blumer 1923: 328–9; *id.*, *KM* 1 284, no. 13; *BMC Phrygia* 349, nos. 17–18; *SNG Cop.* (Phrygia) 637.

³⁶ *MAMA* vii 554 = *Steinepigramme* III 14/02/02; Michel, *Recueil* 542 (probably post-dating the foundation of Eumenea).



Figure 4.10 Akköprü and the Maeander

was originally conceived: it was Eumeneia which lay, as it were, slightly off the beaten track. Before the foundation of Eumeneia, there could have been no reason for the road from Celaenae to Peltae to take the much longer, more circuitous route northward along the right bank of the Maeander. The earliest road down the Maeander valley from Celaenae, that taken in 401 BC by Cyrus and the Ten Thousand, must certainly have followed the most direct route to Peltae, along the left bank of the Maeander, on the line of the modern railway from Dinar to Çivril. From Peltae, the road to Keramon agora (and the later cities of Sebaste and Acmonia) would then have run on due north, along the line of the modern road north to Çivril, and over a low ridge into the southern Banaz ovası.³⁷

³⁷ Arundell twice took this route between Çivril and the Banaz ovası, in September 1826 and again (in a torrential thunderstorm) in November 1833 (Arundell 1834: I 143–6). For two somewhat different interpretations of the road-system in this part of the Maeander valley, see *TIB Phrygien*, 157–9 (Routes D 4 and 5); Map 62 (Phrygia) of the *Barrington Atlas*.

A possible trace of the old Achaemenid-era highway from Celaenae to Peltae may be mentioned briefly. At the point where the road from Celaenae would have turned west towards Peltae, at the north-east apex of the low range of the Boz Dağ, lies the hamlet of Yavuzca, 15 km due south of Saribaba.³⁸ Here an isolated spur runs out north-east into the plain; the ancient road, like the modern, must have clung close to the foot of this spur. On the north side of the spur, several metres up from ground level, a large relief panel of the Achaemenid period is carved into the rock face, now badly damaged.³⁹ Earlier sketches and photographs show two horsemen flanking a charioteer in a one-horse car, the three riding westwards (as it were) towards Peltae. On the spur above, two large artificial tumuli rise up immediately behind the relief; no pottery is to be seen on the mounds. The relief and tumuli may well mark the site of the tomb of an Achaemenid noble, perhaps a resident landowner in the Peltene valley. Half a kilometre west along the foot of the cliffs towards Akköprü, a rock-cut tomb of the Imperial period is cut high into the face of the hill; 5 km further on, on a narrow elevated plateau above the plain, an impressive chamber-tomb, perhaps Hellenistic, has recently been uncovered.⁴⁰ Both of these latter tombs are so placed as to overlook a road running westward along the southern edge of the plain – perhaps the original course of the road from Yavuzca to Peltae (unless this crossed the river by a bridge further to the east, north of Yavuzca, near the modern railway bridge).

The foundation of Eumeneia in the mid-second century BC necessitated the construction of a branch road running north-east from the main royal road north from Peltae. A milestone of the third century AD from this road, marking the fourth mile from Eumeneia, was discovered at the village of Balçıkhisar, south-west of Işıklı; from this we may suppose that the branch road left the main highway in the vicinity of the modern village of Çöplü, 9 km north of Peltae.⁴¹ Balçıkhisar and the neighbouring village of Emircik have now been amalgamated into the single village of Emirhisar: on its western outskirts stand a fine fifteenth-century mosque (Dedeköy camii) and *türbe*, with numerous inscriptions and other stones built into the walls and minaret. Around the mosque, a great number of ancient columns and

³⁸ At Yavuzca, an unpublished tombstone of the Roman Imperial period, built into a ruined Ottoman fountain at the roadside: [Ξ]νοφῶν | καὶ Ἑορτῆ | Ἀμμία τῆ | μητρὶ μνή|μης χάριν.

³⁹ Chamonard 1893; Fıratlı 1970: 121–2 with Res. 80–5. The site is misplaced on the *Barrington Atlas*.

⁴⁰ For the rock-cut tomb (and the site at Yavuzca), Söğüt and Şimşek 2002a: 282–3. The chamber tomb is unpublished.

⁴¹ Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 64, no. 184.



Figure 4.11 Stretch of Roman road near Yeniköy; in the background, Sarıbaba tepesi

stelae are to be seen, as also at Emirhisar itself and the village of Yeşilyaka (formerly Aydan), 2 km north-west of the mosque. That there was an ancient site in the vicinity, separate from but dependent upon the city of Eumeneia, there can be no doubt, although no name can be attached to it with certainty.⁴²

Just outside the quiet village of Yeniköy, 3 km ESE of Işıklı, a short stretch of ancient paved roadway is preserved, 3.50 m broad and perhaps 20 m in length (Fig. 4.11). This marks the beginning of a different route, running directly from Eumeneia to Apameia, along the right bank of the Maeander at the foot of the Ak Dağ. The construction of this more direct

⁴² Ramsay's identification of the Dedeköy site with Attanassos (Ramsay, *Phrygia* 1 241–2) is founded on air: see Honigmann 1935: 646–7. Restoration of the mosque and neighbouring buildings has turned up a number of unpublished inscriptions, the most interesting of them on a small column, only the first three lines preserved: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι | Διῖ Ἡλίω Σερα[πι]ῶ | Κλαύδιος Οὐαλερία[νός - -]. The dedicator is a member of a prominent family at Eumeneia, which produced at least three asiarchs in the first and second centuries AD (Weiss 2000a: 236–7; Miranda 2002).



Figure 4.12 Yuvaköy milestone, built into the wall of the village cemetery

road would have cut some 25 km from the journey between the two cities. A milestone from this road still stands more or less *in situ*, just south of the village of Yuvaköy, 3 km to the east of Yeniköy (Fig. 4.12). The milestone is, however, of no ordinary type: *leg(io) XII Fulm(inata) | ab Apam(ea) XXIIIX*. The absence of any mention of the emperor or provincial governor is remarkable; moreover, in the province of Asia no other instance is known of a legion (or *vexillatio*) taking responsibility for the construction or repair of a road.⁴³ The explanation may well lie in the peculiar character of this stretch of road. The main route through the upper Maeander valley continued to be the old Achaemenid road to Peltae and the north, on the far side of the river. This new road on the right bank of the Maeander, directly linking Apamea and Eumeneia, was constructed (or, at least, paved) under the Empire for military convenience, to facilitate communications between the Roman garrison at Eumeneia and the administrative centre of Apamea – perhaps also, if it already existed at the time of the construction of this road, the auxiliary post at Aulutrene, at the easternmost limit of Apamean territory.

The evidence for the Roman military presence at Eumeneia in the first three centuries AD is rather complicated. The milestone at Yuvaköy serves as a convenient starting point, since the laying of the military road is presumably contemporary with (or at least not earlier than) the construction of the cohort fort and arrival of the first garrison at Eumeneia. The *legio XII Fulminata* can hardly have had a *vexillatio* at work in Asia before their

⁴³ Drew-Bear and Eck 1976: 294–6.

transfer from Syria to Melitene in or around AD 71.⁴⁴ The fort ought then to be Vespasianic at the earliest. The earliest evidence for a permanent military presence in this region is an unpublished inscription from Payamalan (ancient Eibeos) honouring a decurion of the *ala I Bosporanorum*, a unit firmly attested in Syria in AD 54 and almost certainly not transferred until after the Judean war; by AD 113 they were stationed in Pannonia.⁴⁵ A Flavian or, at the latest, Trajanic date thus seems likely for the establishment of the garrison and military road. Within this period a number of contexts are possible; the project may (but need not) be connected with one of the two major Flavian road-building exercises in the province of Asia, in AD 75 and 92.⁴⁶ Moreover, a date in the first half of the reign of Vespasian is plausible on other grounds. The eastern perturbations appear to have led to a period of turbulence, even crisis, in the province of Asia, which were met with a series of emergency measures by the new emperor. The proconsul of AD 70/71, T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus, was retained for a *triennium*; the Rhodians, Samians, and Lycians were stripped of their free status. In the Lycus valley, the Laodiceans and Hieropolitans minted coins bearing the name of the proconsul and proclaiming concord (*homonoia*), following perhaps upon a period of civil strife; Sardis also appears to have suffered.⁴⁷ This obscure period of disorder provides a possible context for the introduction of a garrison in the far east of the province.

The next auxiliary unit known to have been posted to Eumeneia is the *cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum ueterana equitata*, transferred from Moesia Inferior to Asia during the reign of Hadrian; the Syrian *praefectus cohortis*

⁴⁴ For the movements of *XII Fulminata*, Bertrand and Rémy 2000. Other traces of their activities in Asia: *CIL* III 353 (*vexillatio* stationed at Amorium); *CIL* III 414 (unknown provenance: see *I.Smyrna* II, 1, p. x).

⁴⁵ The inscription is mentioned by Ballance 1995: 188–9, and will be published shortly in *MAMA* XI. It is highly likely that the unit was stationed at Eumeneia. *Ala I Bosporanorum* in Syria in AD 54: *PME* L 16 (M. Licinius Rufus); Judean war: *PIR*² R 261 (*praef.* T. Rutilius Varus, adlected into the senate by Vespasian). In Pannonia by 113: *RMD* II 86. There is no other evidence for a period of cantonment in Asia.

⁴⁶ AD 75: five milestones of uniform type, concluding with the formula *vias faciendas* (or *reficiendas*) *curavit*: *IGR* IV 267 (Elaea); *TAM* v 2, 869 (Thyatira); *SEG* 47, 1612 (Tralles, lacking distance numeral); *I.Smyrna* 823–4 (both lacking distance numeral). AD 92: co-ordinated repair of the Lydian road-system by *corvée* labour: *SEG* 45, 1597 I (Metropolis); *TAM* v 2, 870 (Thyatira); *SEG* 49, 1568 I (Hierocaesarea); compare also *I.Smyrna* 826, dated a few months later (AD 92–3).

⁴⁷ For the crisis in Asia and the Vespasianic response, see Dräger 1993: 39–65 (suggesting, *inter alia*, that the vicious civil war at Sardis between Pardal and Tyrrhenus, put down by Roman arms, is to be dated to the early years of Vespasian's reign: *ib.*, 49–50). Coinage: *RPC* II 1271 (Laodicea), 1301 (Hierapolis), arguably the earliest instances of 'true' *homonoia*-coinages (*RPC* II, pp. 34–5); for *homonoia* issues in general, Klose 1987: 44–9; Franke and Nollé 1997.

commemorated the successful completion of the journey to Eumeneia with a dedication to Jupiter, found at Işıklı.⁴⁸ It has generally been supposed that their arrival dates to the final years of Hadrian's reign, without good reason.⁴⁹ The evidence from Moesia inferior shows only that the cohort was there in AD 111, 134 and 145: their cantonment at Eumeneia could date to either of the intervening periods, between 116–34 or 134–45.⁵⁰ It is notable that Eumeneia, otherwise a relatively undistinguished place, was one of the few Asiatic cities to mint cistophori in the latter part of Hadrian's reign. Two different reverse types are known, one with the Eumenean Apollo Propylaios, the other with a legionary eagle between two standards with *vexilla*. It is possible that the second, military type reflects the importance of the Eumenean garrison, although it is true that this reverse type is not unknown elsewhere in the province.⁵¹

The longest-standing garrison at Eumeneia was the *cohors I Raetorum equitata*, moved here at a date between 135 and 148, and remaining until at least the mid-third century. The early history of this cohort raises problems too complex to deal with here, since it seems all but certain that there were at least two, probably three homonymous units.⁵² At the very least, it is likely that the cohort stationed in Cappadocia in 135 is the same as that later moved to the province of Asia.⁵³ The earliest evidence for the cohort's presence in the province of Asia comes from a diploma of AD 148 for a certain Lualis son of Mamas, a native of Isaura Nova in the far south of the province of Galatia.⁵⁴ Assuming that Lualis had served for twenty-five

⁴⁸ Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 74–8, no. 201 (*I.Denizli* 35).

⁴⁹ Thus, most recently, Christol and Drew-Bear 1995: 63, tentatively connecting the arrival of the cohort with the 're-establishment' of the frontier between Asia and Galatia in AD 134/5.

⁵⁰ In Moesia inferior: *RMD* IV 222 (AD 111); *CIL* XVI 78 (AD 134); *RMD* III 165 (AD 145, cf. *RMD* IV 270, of AD 146). Pisonianus' description of his home town, Tyre, as *metropolis Phoenices et Coeles Syriae* led Atkinson (*ap.* Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 76) to date their arrival after AD 129; compare, however, *I.Didyma* 151, which shows Tyre already using precisely these titles in 102: μητροπόλεως Φοινείκης καὶ τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων.

⁵¹ Metcalf 1980: 62–3, with Weiss 2000b: 624; for the legionary type, note however Metcalf 1980: 9–10. On the cult of Apollo Propylaios at Eumeneia, see Labarre 2007.

⁵² Two units already proposed by Cichorius, *RE* IV s.v. *cohors*, col. 326; Overbeck (1981: 273–5) makes a strong case for three cohorts (*cohors I Raetorum* in Raetia; *cohors I Raetorum equitata civium Romanorum* in Germania Inferior; *cohors I Raetorum (equitata)* in Moesia, Cappadocia and Asia). Spaul (2000: 276–8) argues unpersuasively for a single unit.

⁵³ Arrian, *Acies contra Alanos* 1: οἱ (sc. ἱππεῖς) ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ραιτικῆς.

⁵⁴ Overbeck 1981 = *RMD* 100 (expanding *Isaur(a)* rather than *Isaur(o)*). The diploma mentions only infantry (*peditibus*), but this need not imply that the cohort was *peditata*. Christol and Drew-Bear (1995: 66–8) compare the bilingual epitaph of Ilus Gemelus *eq. armorum custos* at Eumeneia (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 381, no. 214), and attribute him to the *cohors I Raetorum* on the basis of his indigenous Isaurian name (Ἰλος = Ἰλλος): but note the doubts expressed by Masson, *OGS* III 321–2.

years, a phase of recruitment in Anatolia around AD 123 may be inferred, suggesting that the cohort was already stationed in Cappadocia at that date. The cohort is named on four inscriptions from Eumeneia: three cannot be closely dated, but the fourth, an unpublished honorific inscription for a tribune of *cohors I Raetorum Gordiana*, shows that the unit was still stationed at Eumeneia in 238.⁵⁵ In AD 196, the cohort fort (*castra*) was badly damaged by an earthquake; the inscription recording the repair of the fort has been attractively supplemented to refer to the *cohors I Raetorum*, certainly stationed at Eumeneia at the time.⁵⁶

If the identification of the large building south-west of Ak Göz as a cohort fort is correct, then it seems too small to accommodate the whole unit: it has been estimated that it could have held only half of an ordinary *cohors equitata*.⁵⁷ But part of the cohort was certainly stationed at Ephesus. An Ephesian inscription dating to the reign of Caracalla informs us that members of the *cohors I Raetorum* at that time formed part of the *officium* of the *procurator Augusti prouvinciae Asiae*.⁵⁸ An epitaph dating to AD 223/4, from the territory of Maeonia in Lydia, commemorates a cavalryman named Aurelius Nicias, 'deprived of the good company of my messmates at Ephesus': no doubt he was one of the cavalrymen of the *cohors I Raetorum* deputed to the procurator.⁵⁹ The number of auxiliaries permanently stationed at Ephesus is unknown, although the dimensions of the cohort fort at Eumeneia might suggest that the cohort was simply divided into two halves, with around 250 men at each location.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 380–1, nos. 211 (*equus armorum custos*), 215, 216. The honorific inscription for a tribune of the *cohors I Raetorum Gordiana*, which must postdate the accession of Gordian III in AD 238, is mentioned at *PME* v (suppl. II) A23bis, and will be published shortly in *MAMA* XI.

⁵⁶ *MAMA* IV 328 (*I. Denizli* 21), as supplemented by Christol and Drew-Bear 1995: 64: *castra [coh(ortis) I Raeto]rum terrae motu [conlapsa]*. Cf. Pococke 1745: 80: 'This place has often been destroyed by earthquakes, and I felt one there which continued a considerable time.' Pococke passed in March 1740; Işıklı may have suffered from the devastating earthquake of 4 April 1739, which destroyed Foça and part of the European quarter of Izmir (Ambraseys and Finkel 1995: 114–16).

⁵⁷ Ballance 1995: 189; Hauken 1998: 194–5.

⁵⁸ *AE* 1988, 1023, *stratura militum c(o)hor(tis) I Raet(orum) qui in officio eius deputantur*; cf. *AE* 1988, 1018, *equites et principales eorum qui deputantur in stratura* (same unit?). See in general Eck 1986.

⁵⁹ *TAM* v 1, 474, corr. *AE* 1984, 841; Christol and Drew-Bear 1995: 65.

⁶⁰ Aelius Aristides, 26.67: 'Cohorts and cavalry units suffice to guard entire provinces, and only a few of them are quartered in the cities of each province; compared to the size of the population, they are thinly scattered throughout the countryside, and many provinces do not even know where their garrison is situated.'

The reasons for this large auxiliary presence at Eumeneia are not immediately obvious. As we have seen, the city lies at a major road junction, with important routes running north into the Banaz ovası to Sebaste and Acmonia, south up the Maeander to Apamea (directly or *via Peltae*), north-east up the Kûfû Vadisi to the Phrygian Pentapolis, and west along the right bank of the Maeander to the villages of the Hyrgalean plain, the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, and ultimately Blaundos and Philadelphia. No doubt the garrison at Eumeneia guaranteed the protection of these roads against *latrones*, by providing manpower for *stationes* on the more important routes. This function is well illustrated by a number of documents from the region around the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, 50 km west of Eumeneia, high above the Çal ovası on the south side of the Maeander gorge. Probably the earliest in date is a short bilingual inscription, discovered a little to the west of the modern village of Ortaköy (about 7 km south of the sanctuary of Apollo), recording the presence of one M. Iulius Capito, *beneficiari(u)s Galli pra(e)fecti mile(s)*. Capito was certainly serving as a *stationarius*, installed at a *statio* on the east–west road through this region, which seems to have passed not far to the south of Ortaköy.⁶¹ In an inscription discovered on the north bank of the river, at Bekilli, a certain Quintus Plautius Venustus is honoured by the *demoi* of Hierapolis, Dionysopolis, Blaundos and the *koinon* of the Hyrgalean plain; again, Venustus may well be a *stationarius* on the main road through this region, although its precise course north of the river is unclear.⁶²

Epigraphical evidence from the Pentapolitan plain appears to show that this district, too, was manned by Roman auxiliaries, most probably from the *castra* at Eumeneia. Built into the wall of the modern cemetery at Koçhisar, ancient Hierapolis, is the unpublished tombstone of a cavalryman by the name of Aurelius Menander, set up by Nicanor, his decurion. Menander was presumably a member of the cohort stationed at Eumeneia, temporarily deputed to the Pentapolitan plain to the east. A letter from the tribune of a

⁶¹ *CIL* III 7051. I presume that Gallus is the *praefectus cohortis* at Eumeneia. For *beneficiarii* posted at *stationes*, see Ott 1995: 85–113.

⁶² *MAMA* IV 315. The Roman road-network in this region is not well understood. There is no evidence that the old Ottoman caravan bridge near Hançalar had an ancient predecessor. More promising is the disused bridge at Dayılar, further to the east, near the southernmost point of the Maeander loop, which appears to be of significantly greater antiquity. A high concentration of Hellenistic and Roman architectural masonry in the vicinity of Dayılar (personal observation, 2001–4) suggests that a significant site, quite probably Dionysopolis, lies in the vicinity of this bridge; the only published site in the vicinity is a substantial Roman cemetery a few kilometres to the south, 2 km west of İcikli (Yılmaz, Sevinç and Kök 2000). But the historical geography of the whole area north of the river is very obscure.

military unit, presumably that at Eumeneia, to the slave bailiff of a group of private estates in the Pentapolis, guarantees that the estates will be protected from requisitioning by the soldiers under his command who have occasion to pass through it. The text is short on detail, but again suggests that there was a regular Roman military presence in the Pentapolitan plain; no doubt the manpower was provided by the garrison at Eumeneia.⁶³

Particularly interesting, and providing us with a glimpse of the role played by these foreign soldiers in the local rural communities, is a short confession inscription from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, recording the outcome of a bitter village feud. An anonymous woman from Motella, a small town not far from the temple, just to the north of the river, set up a stele on which she confessed to having brought soldiers into the sanctuary ‘through my wish to be revenged on my enemy; I was punished, and saved, by the god.’⁶⁴ The Motellene woman appears to have persuaded the detachment at a nearby *statio* – perhaps the very one at which M. Iulius Capito was billeted, near Ortaköy – to accompany her to the sanctuary to settle a private dispute. The *stationarii* can here be seen taking the place of a rural police force, a function which can be paralleled in several different parts of the empire.⁶⁵ In Anatolia, the larger cities could provide their own forces of territorial guards, *paraphylakes* and wardens of the peace, but there is no reason to suppose that small independent villages such as those in the vicinity of Apollo Lairbenos possessed regular *gendarmes* of this kind. For minor perturbations, recourse to the local *stationarii* may well have been the regular procedure.⁶⁶

Nonetheless, the activity of the *stationarii* was also constrained by clear social and cultural boundaries. The implication of the confession stele is that for these soldiers to enter the local sanctuary, on whatever pretext, constituted a grave breach of religious norms. Certainly, the urban *paraphylakes* were by no means always popular with the villagers either; accusations of extortion and bullying were commonplace. As it happens, the clearest documentary evidence for such rural resentment of civic militias comes from

⁶³ Letter to bailiff: Hauken 1998: 188–202 (SEG 48, 1514), now (2006) in the garden of the Belediye at the Hüdai Kaplıcası.

⁶⁴ Petzl 1994: no. 114, apparently of the third century AD.

⁶⁵ *stationarii* serving as local police forces: Ott 1995: 113–29; Wolff 2003: 199–210. The evidence from southern and central Anatolia is briefly discussed by Mitchell 1993: I 122; for *stationarii* in the provinces, see Petraccia Lucernoni 2001. See further Christol and Drew-Bear 2001: 138–42.

⁶⁶ The Anosseni, in eastern Phrygia, spontaneously asked for a *stationarius* to be stationed in their village for their own protection: Frensdorf 1956, esp. 52–3. The inhabitants of Takina may have made a similar request in AD 212/13 (Hauken 1998: 217–43, no. 6): Christol and Drew-Bear 2001: 141 n. 23.

precisely this region: an inscription from nearby Thiounta, a few miles further south along the Maeander gorge, details complaints registered against a troop of *paraphylakes* from Hierapolis.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, it is hard to imagine that the entry of Hieropolitan militiamen, however uncouth, into the sanctuary, would have been regarded as a sin against the god. Hieropolitans are among the most frequent visitors to the temple, and in the third century AD the sanctuary may even have formed part of the territory of Hierapolis.⁶⁸ The soldiers at the *stationes* were in a different category altogether: the temple of Apollo Lairbenos was, under normal circumstances, off limits.

The manning of these *stationes* was doubtless one of the primary functions of the garrison at Eumeneia during the Imperial period. This does not, however, constitute a sufficient explanation for the choice of Eumeneia rather than, say, the far more important city of Apameia as the location of the *castra*, nor for the size of the detachment stationed there. This choice reflects the broader ecological dynamics at work. To understand these dynamics, we must broaden our chronological range to examine the role played by the site at periods of more serious perceived regional instability. We shall see that the various activities of the Eumenean garrison in peacetime result from a fossilised appraisal of the site as performing certain ‘permanent’ strategic functions. The fortress at Eumeneia, I shall suggest, embodies the enduring importance of a reified upper Maeander frontier within the imperial geography of western Anatolia, even at periods (as in the first three centuries AD) when this ‘frontier’ was a purely potential one.

From Eumeneia to Choma

The history of the upper Maeander valley in the latter half of the first millennium AD is obscure. The plains of western and southern Phrygia must certainly have suffered in the destructive Persian invasions of the early seventh century, in the course of which Sardis was sacked, and in the repeated Arab incursions of the late seventh and early eighth centuries.⁶⁹ Specific evidence for the area around Eumeneia is, however,

⁶⁷ OGIS 527. Motella and the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos were presumably beyond Hieropolitan jurisdiction; and in any event the *stationarii* may well have been a safer bet than the Hieropolitan *paraphylakes*. It is not certain whether the *paraphylakes* empowered to punish grazers at Develler were Hieropolitans (*MAMA* iv 297: see below, Chapter 5).

⁶⁸ Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız 2000: 51–5. ⁶⁹ Foss 1976: 53–62.

lacking.⁷⁰ It is possible that by this point the urban centre of Eumeneia no longer existed in any meaningful sense: it is an attractive suggestion that the Phrygian ‘city of Christians’ burned to the ground in the course of the early fourth-century Diocletianic persecutions is to be identified with Eumeneia.⁷¹ Castles at the western end of the salt lake Sanaos (modern Acıgöl) and in the Baklan ovası, in the vicinity of Blaundos, appear to have been built in the eighth or ninth centuries, after the first phase of the Byzantine-Arab struggle for the Aegean lowlands.⁷² More important is the emergence of a small fortified settlement very close to Eumeneia, at the mound of Beycesultan, five kilometres south-west of Çivril. A fortified *kastron*, 150 metres square, was constructed on the western part of the mound in the tenth or eleventh century AD, with a main wall up to three metres thick, and a stone-faced scarp extending outwards a further two to three metres. Unfortunately, the precise chronology of the remains at Beycesultan is unclear; there are indications that there may have been an unfortified settlement of some kind at Beycesultan as early as the sixth century AD.⁷³ The chronological relationship between this fortification and the fortified *höyük* at Eumeneia (see above, p. 145) is wholly unknown.

With the collapse of Byzantine authority in Anatolia in the later eleventh century, the upper Maeander valley suddenly returned to prominence as a major zone of hostilities, as it would continue to be throughout the twelfth century. The military geography of the region in this period appears to have been centred around the fortified town of Choma. In AD 1077–8, a new military force made its appearance in Phrygia: the *Chōmatenoi* (‘men of Choma’), who accompanied Nicephorus Botaniates on his successful march on Constantinople, and formed an important part of the Imperial army over the following decade.⁷⁴ The fortress of Choma continues to

⁷⁰ The theory of an assault on Phrygian Sebaste in AD 712 is unproven, and to my mind unlikely (pace Brandes 1989: 65). However, Theophanes’ statement that after their defeat at Akroinos in 740 the Arabs *withdrew* to Synnada is more than a little puzzling: Lilie 1976: 152–4.

⁷¹ Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 505–9, on Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.11. The argument remains plausible.

⁷² For preliminary reports, see Whittow 1987: 234–42; Barnes and Whittow 1994: 190–1; Whittow 1995b.

⁷³ Wright 1997; Wright 2000; Wright 2007.

⁷⁴ οἱ Χωματηνοί, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Χώματος. First mentioned by Bryennius 4.4: τοὺς Χωματηνοὺς λεγομένους, οἱ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐληλύθεισαν τοῦ Βοτανειάτου (‘the so-called Chomatenoι, who came with the emperor Botaniates’). The revolt of Botaniates, himself a native of the Synnada district, involved the mobilisation of the whole of southern Phrygia, including Synnada (the Synadenoι family) and the Pentapolis (Straboromanos) (Cheynet 1990: 217–18, 351–7). For the Chomatenoι, see also Anna Comnena 1.4.4; 1.5.3, and frequently. Χωματηνός as ethnic is discussed by Prinzing 2002: 43–5. It is likely enough that the ‘Phrygians’ under Botaniates’ command already in 1072–3 are the Chomatenoι: Bryennius 2.14.

be mentioned in military itineraries of the twelfth century; in 1192, it was rebuilt by Isaac II Angelus, and renamed Angelokastron.⁷⁵ Choma was evidently regarded as a nodal point on the Byzantine south-eastern frontier, and appears to have given its name to the whole region under its protection.

Until recently, Choma has been thought to be one of the few fixed points in the Byzantine topography of the region. The modern village of Gümüşsu, at the foot of the Ak Dağ on the road between Dinar and Işıklı, only received its nondescript name ('Silver-water') in the mid-twentieth century. Previously it had carried the name of Homa, self-evidently a survival of the ancient toponym. The Byzantine fortress of Choma has accordingly been identified with Akkale, a ruined castle perched high on a crag in the Ak Dağ, immediately above the village of Gümüşsu, and visible far across the plain of the Maeander (Fig. 4.13).⁷⁶

The crag on which Akkale stands is a stiff two hours' walk from Gümüşsu, above the level of the *yayla* to the north, a full 1,500 m above the valley floor. The crag itself rises almost sheer from the surrounding gorges, dominating a high and difficult pass across the Ak Dağ mountain range; the peak of the crag consists of a series of sharp and rocky outcrops, and, between them, a complex of small natural terraces, on which the Byzantine fort was located. The scanty vestiges of a brick cistern aside (surviving to four or five courses), the walls are all of small, crudely mortared field-stones. Defensive walls are slight or non-existent. This harsh, isolated outpost, situated far too far above the plain to provide any kind of effective defence for its farms and villagers, with cramped and difficult living quarters for perhaps ten or fifteen soldiers at most, is not, it is clear, the great fortress of Choma.⁷⁷ The importance of this site lies not in the defence it could have provided for the plainsmen, but in the magnificent panorama visible from the highest point of the fortress: up the Maeander valley as far as the plain of Dinar, across the river into the hills north of the salt lake Sanaos – and, most importantly, downstream as far as the hill of Sarıbaba, whose peak is just visible from Akkale, over the ridges of the Ak Dağ to the north-west. Akkale makes most sense as a watchpost dependent on

⁷⁵ Anna Comnena 11.5.6: διὰ τοῦ Χώματος διελθών; Nicetas Choniates 178: εἰς τὸ Χώμα ἐλθών. See Whittow 1987: 230–4; for Angelokastron, Ahrweiler 1966.

⁷⁶ *TIB Phrygien* 222, s.v. Choma. Few visitors have made the ascent: one traveller reached it alone, his companions having fainted on the way (Anderson 1898: 94).

⁷⁷ Thus already Whittow 1987: 232–4, who suggests that the fortress was located at Gümüşsu itself. But since the name Choma referred to a region as well as a fort, the name could easily have migrated some miles within the valley: compare J. and L. Robert, *OMS* vi 473.



Figure 4.13 The crag of Akkale (centre right), seen from the Maeander plain near Gümüşsu

Sarıbaba, greatly increasing the expanse of countryside under the control of a fortress at or near Işıklı: the two sites together command clear lines of sight across the whole vast stretch of cultivated territory from Dinar to the Banaz ovası.⁷⁸

The name '*Chōma*', literally 'mound, bank, tumulus', is the precise Greek equivalent of the Turkish '*höyük*'. George Tornikes, describing the site of Choma at the time of its refoundation as Angelokastron (c. AD 1192), says that the fortress was located 'on a mound rising to a moderate height, crowned with a kind of hillock; the site derives its name among the locals from its position on a *chōma*'.⁷⁹ In the light of this description, it seems very likely that mediaeval Choma is to be identified with one or other of the

⁷⁸ Communication between watch-towers by fire-beacons is well attested for an earlier period: see Pattenden 1983; Dennis 1985: 26–7.

⁷⁹ George Tornikes (ed. Regel 1892–1917) II 261; Ahrweiler 1966: 282. Similarly, Lycian Choma probably took its name from a large prehistoric *höyük* in the Elmalı plain (Bean and Harrison 1967); the derivation from luwian *koma*- suggested by Lebrun (1979: 131) is fanciful.

two fortified mounds in the vicinity of the ancient Roman garrison town of Eumeneia: either the *höyük* in the plain east of Işıklı, or the fortification at Beycesultan. There is some evidence that the former should be preferred. An unpublished inscription, discovered in a field near the fortified *höyük* east of Işıklı, refers to the reconstruction of a fort (*kastron*) in AD 1070 by Romanos Diogenes, who also built or repaired the fortifications of Sozopolis (Pisidian Apollonia) in the same year.⁸⁰ It is notable that the re-fortification of the *kastron* antedates by only a few years the first appearance of the corps of Chomatenoi on the political scene, in AD 1077–8.⁸¹

The district of Choma was central to what would prove to be the last major Byzantine push to regain control over the western marches of the Anatolian plateau. In AD 1176, Manuel Comnenus, having assembled a huge army, marched on the Seljuq capital of Konya. The aims of the 1176 campaign are disputed. Certainly Manuel had good reasons to be concerned over the increasing power of Kılıç Arslan, who had annexed many of the former Danişmendid principalities of Cappadocia over the years 1174–5. Moreover, victory at Konya could have served to re-open the land route across Anatolia to the Crusader states in the Levant, potentially crucial allies to Manuel in the face of a worsening political situation in the West. There were certainly diplomatic benefits in presenting the expedition to the Latin world as a crusade on behalf of Christendom against the sultan.⁸² However, the ideological pretexts put forward for the benefit of his Latin neighbours need not have reflected Manuel's real objectives. There were also more significant, structural pressures at work. The Seljuq sultanate itself was only an incidental target of the expedition; Manuel was seeking a re-establishment of the political *status quo*, not the reconquest of Kılıç Arslan's territories, which would have been far beyond Byzantium's powers at this date. The root cause of the campaign of 1176 was, rather, the cumulative impact of ever-increasing Turkmen nomadic penetration into the upper Maeander region and the rest of southern Phrygia.⁸³

⁸⁰ [ἀνεκ]ενήσθη ἐκ βάρω(ν) τῶ θε(ε)ωφύλακτ(ον) κάστρον ('the *kastron*, defended by God, was rebuilt from its foundations'). 'Die Inschrift befindet sich – wohl nahe dem Seidlungshügel [Hamilton] – in einem Feld ö. von Işıklı, umgeben von grossen Quaderblöcken, einer Säule u. Fragmenten von Kirchenarchitektur' (*TIB Phrygien* 252, s.v. Eumeneia). Sozopolis: *MAMA* iv 149, with Foss 1982: 153–7. For the meaning of κάστρον in the Byzantine period, see Müller-Wiener 1986, esp. 465–8.

⁸¹ The continued existence of the bishopric of Eumeneia into the twelfth century AD (Darrouzès 1981: Not. xiii 336) need cause us no embarrassment, so long as we assume that Eumeneia was the name of the civilian settlement, Choma the nearby fortress at the *höyük*. The survival of a bishopric of Eumeneia need not imply anything about the size of the urban settlement: Foss 1977: 470.

⁸² Lilie 1977; Magdalino 1993: 95–8. ⁸³ Lilie 1991.

In the course of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the human geography of southern Phrygia had undergone a dramatic transformation. Repeated seasonal incursions from the fringes of the plateau by Turkmen tribal groups, in search of winter pasture and plunder, had led to a large-scale collapse in Byzantine rural settlement: the Greek rural population of Phrygia, driven from the plains of the Maeander and Lycus, retreated to the major fortified centres, Laodicea, Hypsele, Chonae, Choma and Sozopolis. The surrounding countryside was almost entirely abandoned to the nomads. Repeated Byzantine campaigns against the Turkmen nomads in this region, from the end of the eleventh century onwards, had had little lasting impact. By the 1170s, Greek settlement in southern Phrygia was more or less confined to this isolated handful of fortresses.⁸⁴

There are some indications that in the mid-1170s Manuel resolved on a concerted effort to resettle the Phrygian countryside. The refortification of two significant Phrygian fortresses in 1175, Dorylaion and Soublaion, is best understood not so much as tactical preparation for a grand crusade against the Seljuq sultanate, but rather as a first move towards reclaiming the Phrygian uplands for sedentary agriculture. All our sources for the recolonisation of Dorylaion emphasise the significance of the expulsion of the nomadic encampments from the surrounding plains. Already in 1147, at the time of the passage of the Second Crusade in late autumn, the area around Dorylaion appeared to be occupied solely by nomads and their huge flocks of sheep.⁸⁵ In 1175, according to Cinnamus, Manuel found 2,000 nomadic Turks encamped 'as usual' around Dorylaion. Nicetas Choniates informs us that Turks were accustomed to pass the summer in the plains of Dorylaion with their herds of goats and cattle.⁸⁶ It is significant that Eustathius, in his Epiphany oration of 1176, chooses to describe the refortification of Anatolia with a series of agricultural metaphors: 'We must sow Roman fortresses and cities of armed men throughout the land of our enemies . . . [our fortresses] are fixed like salt-pits in the barbarians' land, for it is on account of them that they are unable to reap the accustomed fruit from the land.'⁸⁷ It was this desire to reclaim the fertile agricultural plains of southern and central Phrygia from the Turkmen pastoralists which was the primary motive force behind the campaign of 1176. A major successful

⁸⁴ Vryonis 1971: 184–94; Vryonis 1975: 44–57. ⁸⁵ Phillips 2007: 178.

⁸⁶ Cinnamus 7.2 (ed. Meineke 1836: 294–5); Nicetas (ed. van Dieten 1975) 176.

⁸⁷ Eustathius, *Or.* 13 (ed. Wirth 2000) 208.23–4. For this interpretation of the refortification of Dorylaion and Soublaion, see Vryonis 1975: 52–3; for the rhetorical sources, see Stone 2003. On the topography and tactical significance of the plain of Dorylaion, see Foss 1996a: 45–50; Lindner 2007: 57–80.

engagement against combined Seljuq and Turkmen forces could have served as a prelude to the reconquest and resettlement of the valleys of southern Phrygia. In this objective, as in all others, the campaign was a catastrophic failure.

The narratives of the 1176 campaign, although problematic and often mutually contradictory, shed much light on the wider ecological pressures on the upper Maeander region at this period. The longest and most detailed surviving description of the campaign and battle of Myriokephalon is that of Nicetas Choniates. Nicetas' narrative may be briefly summarised as follows. Manuel set out from Constantinople in the summer of 1176, marching south through imperial territory as far as Laodicea on the Lycus river, where he turned eastward. Having travelled up the old Southern Highway through Chonae (modern Honaz), the successor to Colossae in the upper Lycus plain, he passed through Lampe and reached the ancient city of Celaenae. Nicetas' use of the name 'Celaenae' is learned and anachronistic; he even takes the opportunity to display his classical learning with a brief digression on the flaying of Marsyas. From Apamea, the easiest route up towards the Seljuq capital at Konya lay to the north-east, across the plain of Tatarlı (ancient Metropolis) to Çay, around the northern tip of the Sultan Dağı, and past Akşehir gölü (the Byzantine Lake of the Forty Martyrs) to Philomelium and Laodicea Combusta (modern Lâdik). But, according to Nicetas' account, Manuel instead turned north, and took the road north-west along the Maeander valley to Choma, whence he arrived at the abandoned fortress of Myriokephalon: and here he paused.⁸⁸

Nicetas' wording leaves no room for doubt as to how he understood Manuel's route. 'Passing through Phrygia and Laodicea, he arrives at Chonae, a large and prosperous city... setting out from here he came to Lampe and the city of Celaenae... and from here coming to Choma he stops at Myriokephalon, an old abandoned fortress.'⁸⁹ Just as Laodicea and Chonae are described as lying in the district of Phrygia, and ancient Celaenae, little now remaining of its former splendour, is helpfully located in the *bandon* of Lampe, so the location of Myriokephalon is indicated by its placement in the district of Choma. Nicetas' readers are evidently not expected to have heard of this obscure ruined castle where Manuel made camp. Indeed, its obscurity was such that, in Nicetas' opinion, even its real

⁸⁸ Nicetas 175–8. For the Celaenae digression, Ramsay, *Phrygia* 1 227–8.

⁸⁹ Nicetas 178: Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Λαοδικεῖαν διελθὼν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Χώνας, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην . . . ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελάσας εἰς Λάμπην ἴκετο καὶ πόλιν Κελαινᾶς . . . κάκειθεν εἰς τὸ Χῶμα ἔλθων τῷ Μυριοκεφάλῳ ἐπίσταται· φρούριον δὲ τοῦτο παλαιὸν καὶ ἀσίκητον.

name had been forgotten, and it was now remembered only for the bleak events beneath its walls: ‘the place of ten thousand deaths’. The mention of Choma serves specifically to locate the site of Myriokephalon for the benefit of Nicetas’ audience, in the upper Maeander valley near Işıklı.⁹⁰ This supposed detour to the north is not necessarily a matter for concern. There is nothing intrinsically difficult about this choice of route onto the plateau: it was, after all, more or less the route taken by Cyrus in 401 BC, and Manuel may well have had good tactical reasons for avoiding the plain of Metropolis and wishing to access the plateau by a more northerly route, via the Sandıklı ovası and Afyon.⁹¹

Nicetas’ description of the defiles of Tzibritze, through which the Byzantine army had to pass after leaving Myriokephalon, is long and detailed, albeit highly rhetorically coloured. Some specifics emerge. While Manuel was still stationed at Myriokephalon, the Turks destroyed the grass along the road ahead, in order that the Byzantine cavalry would lack forage, and poisoned the waters in order to deprive the Byzantines of pure drinking water. The Byzantine army at Myriokephalon was promptly struck down with violent dysentery. Hence the Turks must have been stationed upstream from Myriokephalon, along the river which served as the fortress’ main water supply; the pass of Tzibritze ought to lie further up this stream.⁹² Nicetas goes on to describe the defiles themselves in two stages. The first, broader part of the Tzibritze pass, ‘is a far-stretching defile offering a passage through the mountains. On the northern side it descends from the steeply gently, so as to form hillocks, and is hollowed into wide ravines; while on the other (i.e. south) side it looms forward in scarps of rock, and is entirely broken into precipitous cliffs.’⁹³ A few pages later, the Byzantine army enters

⁹⁰ For Byzantine Apamea-Celaenae, see *TIB Phrygien* 188–9, s.v. Apameia; for the *bandon* of Lampe, see above, pp. 136–8. Eickhoff (1977: 176–7) recognises that Nicetas’ Myriokephalon must lie within the district of Choma: but his solution, to assume that ‘Choma’ could be used to refer to the whole area (‘Gebeit’) of the Phrygian-Pisidian frontier, including Sozopolis and extending as far as Kırkbaşı, seems ruled out by Anna Comnena 11.5.6, where John Doukas passes through Choma on his way to Lampe, itself west of Dinar. Nicetas’ suggestion that the name of Myriokephalon is a memorial of the battle in the defiles (προκληθέν ὃ ἐγένετο ἡ γέγονος δὲ προεκήθη: περὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ πολλάκις μυρίαῖς κεφαλαῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐβλήθη θάνατος) is a characteristic Byzantine *post hoc* etymology: cf. e.g. Digenes Akrites, GRO vi 117–19 (Trósis). The name Myriokephalon was also held by a major monastery on Crete (Malamut 1988: 1 209).

⁹¹ Xen. *An.* 1.2.7–11. From Celaenae, Cyrus looped to the north *via* Peltae, presumably passing through the plain of Afyon Karahisar and rejoining the main road to the east at Çay. The reasons for this northern detour are obscure and the route after Peltae controversial: see Manfredi 1986: 38–56 (placing Keramon agora, in my view, too far to the west).

⁹² Nicetas 179.

⁹³ Nicetas 180: ἔστι δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἐπιμήκης αὐλῶν ἔχων ὄρων ὑπερβολάς, κατὰ μὲν τὸ βόρειον κλίμα ὑποκαταβαίνων τοῦ ἀνάντους ἡμέρα εἰς γήλοφα καὶ πρὸς εὐρείας κοιλανόμενος



Figure 4.14 Ruined wooden bridge near Han Derbent, at the eastern end of the Kûfû Vadisi (the western fringe of the plain of Sandıklı)

the pass proper: ‘This pass is cleft into seven hollows, all of them trench-like and following closely one upon the other, broadening for a short distance, and then closing again to a narrow defile.’⁹⁴

There can be not the least doubt that Nicetas is describing the defiles of the Kûfû Çayı (Fig. 4.14).⁹⁵ The narrative stages are clear and unambiguous, and the concluding description of the Ottoman caravan road from Işıklı to the Sandıklı ovası is precisely accurate. The lower section of the ‘far-stretching defile’ corresponds to the valley between Işıklı and Çapak: the steep southern flank of this valley rises directly up to the heights of Sarıbaba and the

φάραγγας, κατὰ δὲ θάτερον μέρος εἰς προτομὰς προνεύων πετρῶν καὶ εἰς κρημινώδεις σύμπας ἀναστάσεις παρερρωγῶς. The translations of this passage offered by Magoulias (1984: 101) and Henty (1985: 153) are very inaccurate; for the sense of ὄρων ὑπερβολάς, cf. LSJ s.v., II 2.

⁹⁴ Nicetas 183: εἰς γὰρ κοιλάδας ἑπτὰ ταφρώδεις πάσας καὶ ἀγχιτέρμονας ἢ πάροδος ἐκείνη διέσχιστο, εὐρυνομένη βραχὺ καὶ συμπτυσσομένη πάλιν πρὸς τὸ στενόπορον.

⁹⁵ Turfan 1991 (conference paper from 1986); Umar 1990.

Ak Dağ, while the Çatma Dağı to the north is broken into a series of gentle, well-wooded vales, the largest of them that in which Çapak itself is situated. In the upper part of the pass, the ‘seven hollows’ of Nicetas’ account admirably describe the seven sharp loops taken by the river through the gorge of the Kûfû Boğazı between Han Derbent to the north east and the vale of Çapak at the south west. As we have seen, these narrow defiles had impressed themselves forcefully on the attention of both Hamilton and Philippson. An army trapped in this gorge, enclosed on both sides by steep cliffs, would have literally no way out; the narrowest part of the defiles is today locally known, not inappropriately, as *Cehennem*: ‘Hell’.

However, there is no escaping the fact that the rest of the literary tradition concerning the campaign of 1176 points to a very different location for the decisive engagement. Michael the Syrian places the battle of Myriokephalon at no more than a day’s march from Iconium; Cinnamus, in his lengthy narrative of Manuel’s campaign of 1146, locates the pass of ‘Tzibrelitzemani’ – evidently identical to the site of the battle of 1176 – between Iconium and lake Skleros, the modern Beyşehir gölü.⁹⁶ Furthermore, Ansbert, in his history of the crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, notes that, when Frederick had already passed Sozopolis (ancient Apollonia, modern Uluborlu), he was dissuaded from crossing to Konya *via* a particular mountain pass, since this was where the great army of Manuel, emperor of the Greeks, had been destroyed; variants on this are preserved elsewhere among the crusader historians.⁹⁷

The sources are flatly irreconcilable. The unanimity of Michael the Syrian, Cinnamus (perhaps an eyewitness of the 1176 campaign), and the Latin

⁹⁶ Cinnamus 2.7 (ed. Meineke 1836: 47), cf. 2.8 (Meineke 58). Cinnamus’ Τζιβρηλιτζημανί and Nicetas’ Τζιβρίτζη are surely identical (despite Mersich 1984: 246); in Manuel’s letter to Henry II of England, the name is transliterated as *Cybrilcymani* (Roger of Hovenden, ed. Stubbs 1868–71: II 103). The Turkish name would have been *Çivrilçimeni*. Umar (1990: 106) suggests that the modern town of Çivril, 10 km west of Işıklı in the Maeander plain, and close to the right bank of the Kûfû Çayı after its exit from the valley, might preserve the medieval name of the Kûfû Vadisi (thus already Ahrweiler 1966: 281); however, the toponym Çivril is not especially unusual. A neglected source offers what may be an earlier name for the defiles: the chronographer Bar Hebraeus speaks in this context of ‘the deep passes of Bêth Thômâ’ (Budge 1932: 306). One wonders whether the unusual Turkish toponym Ay Doğmuş, attached to the mountain range extending south from Dinar to Keçiborlu (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 448), might be an adaptation of an original Greek name ‘Ayios Thomas’, as the modern village of Aydoğdu, west of Güney in the middle Maeander valley, preserves the ancient name of Aetos. In that case, the name Ayios Thomas/Bêth Thômâ would have referred, in the Byzantine period, to the whole mountain range from Keçiborlu to Işıklı. But this is pure speculation.

⁹⁷ For Barbarossa’s route from Tripolis to Sozopolis and the notorious pass to Iconium, see Eickhoff 1977: 97–118. The three Latin narratives are quoted by Mersich 1984: 244; only Ansbert explicitly mentions the catastrophe of 1176.

sources, is, I think, decisive. That such an egregious topographical error could have been made by so many different writers independently of one another is impossible to believe. The necessary conclusion is that Nicetas – writing a full generation after the campaign of 1176 – is simply mistaken about the location of the fortress and decisive battle of Myriokephalon.⁹⁸ His description of the defiles of Tzibritze is an accurate description of the gorge of the Kûfû Çayı, but it is not a description of the location of the battle of Myriokephalon. The various ingenious attempts which have been made to reconcile Nicetas' detailed description of the gorge of 'Tzibritze' with the various passes from Pisidia over the Sultan Dağı mountain range towards Konya are, therefore, misguided; Nicetas is describing a different part of inner Anatolia altogether.⁹⁹

The true location of the Çivrilçimeni pass and the battle of Myriokephalon must lie considerably further to the south-east. The most popular modern candidate for Myriokephalon has been the small village of Kırkbaş, 'many heads', at the south-eastern foot of the Karakuş Dağı, at the southernmost end of a pass over the mountain leading to the Çay river valley and the plain of Akşehir. The name *Kırkbaş* has often been taken to be an echo of the name *Myriokephalon*, 'ten thousand heads': an attractive, if not in itself decisive argument.¹⁰⁰ The fact that no Byzantine fortress is known anywhere near Kırkbaş is not necessarily a problem for this view. The ruined castle of Myriokephalon is only attested in Nicetas' version, and, as I have argued, his account is contaminated by what he knew of the topography of the Kûfû Çayı pass: he could easily have added a ruined fortress to his account of the Myriokephalon campaign, in the knowledge that such a fortress did indeed exist at the head of the Kûfû Çayı, on Sarıbaba tepesi. However, the

⁹⁸ On Nicetas' 'blurred vision of factual details' relating to Manuel's reign, see Magdalino 1993: 19.

⁹⁹ The sources cannot be reconciled, as some have attempted to do, by combining Manuel's northern detour through Choma (Nicetas) with a subsequent crossing into Pisidia (Cinnamus etc.), a march of several days being inserted between Choma and Myriokephalon. To reach Sozopolis (say) from Choma, Manuel would have needed to veer sharply back southward to the Dombay ovası, immediately to the east of Apamea, to reach the Çapalı pass into Pisidia: a vast detour for no discernible profit. For the Çapalı pass (presumably taken by Manuel in both 1146 and 1176), Christol and Drew-Bear 1987: 13–27, and above, pp. 131–3.

¹⁰⁰ Literally 'forty heads': the number forty frequently serves as an indefinitely large number in Turkish. Compare the common toponyms Kırkpınar, Kırkgöz, Kırkkavak, etc. The identification of Myriokephalon with Kırkbaş, first proposed by Tomaschek (1891: 101) has met with near-universal acceptance among Western scholars; for the argument in detail, see Mersich 1984. The semantic equation *kırk baş* = *myriokephalon* is rejected by Turfan (1991: 1129) who argues that *kırk baş* signifies not 'çok baş' ('many heads') but 'kırk haneli bir köy' ('village of forty houses'); however, the toponym Kırkbaş appears to be unparalleled in Turkey.

pass above Kırkbaş is ruled out by two considerations: it lies considerably more than a day's march from Iconium, and, more importantly, an army retreating from Iconium *via* Çay and Kırkbaş would pass nowhere near Beyşehir gölü (mentioned by Cinnamus in his account of the campaign of 1146). Hence the Kırkbaş identification should be rejected, and the pass of Çivrilçimeni should be located much further to the south, probably south of the Sultan Dağı mountain range, east of Beyşehir gölü. The Bağırsakdere Boğazı, along which ran the eastern extension of the ancient *Via Sebaste* from Pappa to Iconium, has recently been suggested, and the proposal seems to me a plausible one.¹⁰¹

We have seen that Nicetas' account is valueless as a source for the topography of the 1176 campaign. That is not to say that his narrative is valueless in all respects: far from it. Nicetas was a native of the region – specifically, of Chonae, in the upper Lycus valley – and can be presumed to have known something of the physical and tactical geography of southern Phrygia. His topographical error is not a mere slip of the pen: his account of the campaign, although based on a fundamental misconception, is internally quite consistent. If my analysis of the sources is correct, Nicetas' narrative is in fact a crucial piece of evidence for the conceptual geography of the Byzantine frontier in the later twelfth and early thirteenth century. Nicetas, aware that Manuel's final destination was Konya, and knowing that the imperial army had travelled north-east from Chonae, *naturally assumed* that Manuel must have taken the pass through the Kûfû Vadisi. For Nicetas, an army travelling from the upper Maeander valley to the Anatolian plateau could only have taken one route: the pass from Choma to the Pentapolitan plain. Hence he has simply attached the two unknown toponyms, Myriokephalon and Tzibritze, to well-known locations on this route, Saribaba tepesi and the defiles behind it to the north-east.

The letter of Manuel to Henry II of England provides some illumination. Manuel's own narrative, while very vague on the topography of the campaign, contains many of the same motifs as are to be found in Nicetas' account: in particular, he emphasises the debilitating effects of dysentery (although this is not attributed to poisoning), and the separation of the van from the main body of the Imperial army as they passed through the defiles. More interesting from our perspective is the distinction drawn between the long march through 'our country' (*propriam regionem*) and the crossing into the 'country of the Turks' (*fines Turcorum invasimus*) shortly before the

¹⁰¹ Hendy 1985: 146–54, a neat suggestion; the pass is described at *TIB Galatien* 101–3, cf. *TIB Phrygien* 154, with Abb. 152.

decisive engagement: the battle is said to have taken place just beyond the frontier dividing Byzantine and Seljuq territory.¹⁰² Nicetas' displacement of the defiles reflects the movement north-westwards of this conceptual boundary in the late twelfth century. Manuel clearly conceives the liminal point to be the Sultan Dağı mountain range: he still lays claim, realistically or not, to the whole of northern Pisidia, presumably by dint of the survival of the fortress of Sozopolis. For Nicetas, writing in the early thirteenth century after the total abandonment of Pisidia, the natural frontier is formed by the Ak Dağ and Çatma Dağı ranges.

Nicetas' error reveals how totally the great ancient highway through Apamea, Aulutrene and the plain of Metropolis had fallen into disuse by the end of the twelfth century. This is hardly surprising. Apamea itself had finally been abandoned in the later eleventh century, and the whole of Pisidia to the south-east (with the single exception of the great fortress of Sozopolis, which did not finally fall until 1180) was a desert. The high plains of eastern Phrygia – Synnada, the Metropolitan plain and the Phrygian Pentapolis – play little part in Byzantine strategy in the twelfth century, suggesting that they also had by this period wholly been given over to the Turks. In the course of his retreat from Iconium in 1146, as we saw in [Chapter 2](#), Manuel had been astonished by the appearance of Turkmen tents in the Dombay ovası, where he had paused for a day's hunting around the springs of the Maeander. Although this was theoretically well inside Byzantine territory, as ambitiously defined in the mid-twelfth century, there was clearly no longer any actual Greek population still living in the Apamean district.¹⁰³

The conceptual geography of the upper Maeander region implicit in Nicetas' narrative of the Myriokephalon campaign corresponds to a significant extent with the real human geography of western Asia Minor in this period. In the late twelfth century AD, the Çatma Dağı and Ak Dağ mountain ranges really did mark the limit of Byzantine 'civilisation'. On this side of the fortress of Choma was sedentary agriculture and rural settlement, under the protection of a faltering imperial state; on the far side of the Kûfû Çayı pass was the Turkmen pastoralist, answerable to no higher authority, understood to be determined on the destruction of the entire Byzantine agricultural and social order. Of course, the bottleneck of Choma was not the only route by which one could penetrate the Aegean lowlands from the upper Phrygian plains; even across the formidable Ak Dağ mountain range between Işıklı and Dinar there are at least two passes traversable on horseback. But the

¹⁰² Roger of Hovenden, ed. Stubbs 1868–71: II 102–4.

¹⁰³ Cheynet 2002a: 453; Cinnamus 2.9 (ed. Meineke 1836: 59–63); above, [Chapter 2](#), p. 60.

defiles of the Kûfû Boğazı formed a liminal point of unique psychological importance. Their significance in Nicetas' eyes is precisely comparable to Aelius Aristides' choice of the *castellum* at Aulutrene to mark the furthest point of the Roman province of Asia: some boundaries, as we have seen, are more self-evident than others. The ancient fortress at Choma *visibly* stood at the edge of the world. Here, if anywhere, was the furthestmost bulwark of Byzantine authority against the barbarian.

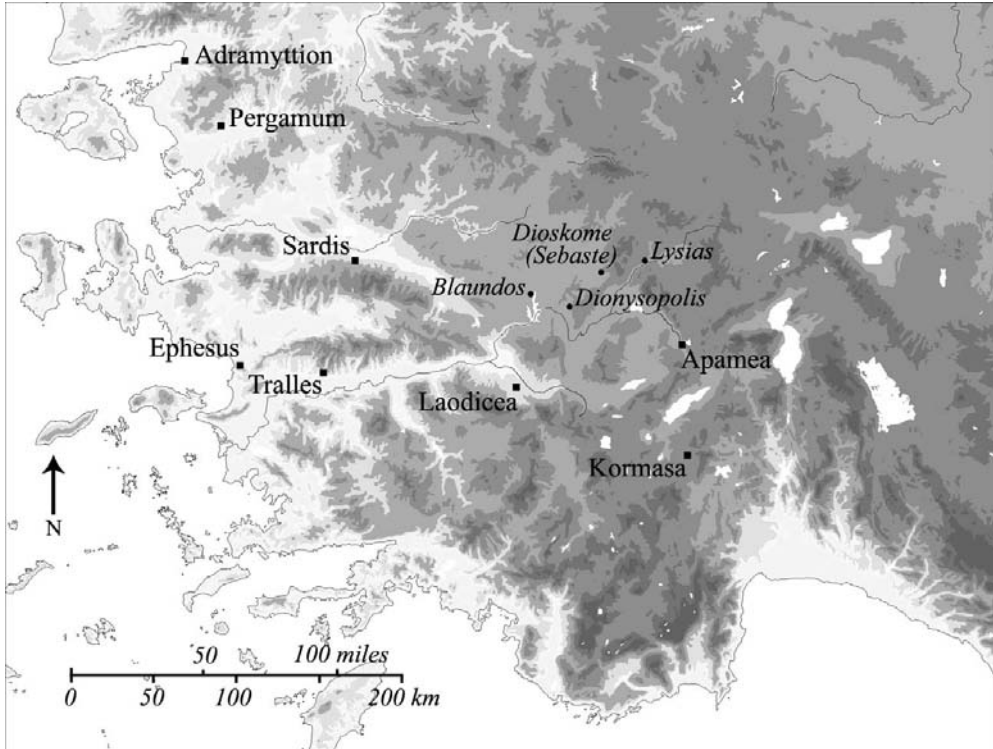
Eumenes II and the Galatians: the creation of an Anatolian frontier

In the years immediately following the vast expansion of the Attalid kingdom of Pergamon under the terms of the treaty of Apamea (188 BC), Eumenes II of Pergamon introduced a closed currency system within Attalid territory, based on the new 'cistophoric' silver coinage. The precise date at which the new coinage was introduced is still unclear, although it was certainly well established by 181 BC.¹⁰⁴ The cistophoric drachm was 25 per cent lighter than its Attic counterpart, and was correspondingly overvalued for internal circulation; that the cistophori did not normally circulate outside the kingdom is confirmed by their near-total absence from provenanced coin hoards outside Attalid territory.¹⁰⁵ The types are static. Tetradrachms carry on the obverse a *cista mystica*, lid half-open to right, with a serpent emerging to the left, all within an ivy wreath; on the reverse, two erect serpents with raised heads, coiling to left and right of an ornamented bow case, with abbreviated city ethnic to the left (see Fig. 1.19). Didrachms and drachms carry on the obverse a club draped with a lionskin, all within an ivy wreath; on the reverse, a bunch of grapes on an ivy wreath, again with ethnic at left.

The cistophori were produced at a number of decentralised mints; their production, however, was closely directed from the centre. The

¹⁰⁴ The literature is extensive: for a survey of opinion 1977–89, see Le Rider 1989: 164–9. Ashton 1994 has shown that the cistophori must have been in circulation by 181 BC. Bauslaugh (1990: 61–4) offers historical considerations favouring the late 180s; however, his argument that the cistophoric countermarks (certainly post-188) antedate the introduction of the cistophorus is not persuasive. A date before the treaty of Apamea (upheld by Harl 1991) seems unlikely. Livy's references to cistophori in Roman triumphs of 190–187 BC are surely anachronistic: for a comparable anachronism, see 34.52.6, with Briscoe's commentary *ad loc.* Apart from anything else, coinage plundered in the wars of 190–188 would not have been that of Rome's ally. Harl's attempt to answer this point (Harl 1991: 291) is incoherent. See further Thonemann 2008b.

¹⁰⁵ Harl 1991: 270 n. 9. For the undesirability of the overvalued cistophori to temporary residents in Asia, Cic. *Att.* 2.6.



Map 9 Cistophoric mints, c. 181–133 BC

overwhelming bulk of the small-denomination coinage was produced at Tralles, strongly suggesting that the distribution and scale of the mints did not necessarily reflect the coinage's actual circulation.¹⁰⁶ In the period between 181 and 133 BC, cistophori were regularly struck in the names of six cities, Pergamum, Sardis, Ephesus, Tralles, Laodicea and Apamea.¹⁰⁷ However, the coinage in the name of Sardis and Apamea was minted at Pergamum, or at least used Pergamene dies; Ephesus and Tralles had independent workshops, as perhaps did Laodicea. There may thus have been as few as three or four actual mint workshops serving the needs of the entire Pergamene kingdom.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Kleiner and Noe 1977: 122.

¹⁰⁷ For Apamea, see Le Rider and Drew-Bear 1991: 361–5. Adramyttion should be added as an occasional seventh 'mint', although the coins themselves appear to have been produced at Pergamum (Bauslaugh 1990: 48 with pl. 6, 4).

¹⁰⁸ Kleiner and Noe 1977: 120–2, with Table 1; the Laodicean issues may have been produced at Tralles (98–9).



Figure 4.15 Dionysopolis (?), c. 168–166 BC (AR); *cista mystica* in ivy wreath/bow-case and coiled serpents

The distribution of the regular minting authorities occasions no surprise: all six were major cities in the second century BC, and all went on to become the centres of juridical districts after the creation of the Roman province of Asia. More interesting, and far less easy to explain, is a small group of cistophoric tetradrachms carrying four further mint-monograms, extensively die-linked with one another, and apparently representing a separate group of occasional minting authorities (Fig. 4.15). The coins were all minted at around the same time, most probably in the 160s or early 150s. It has recently been argued, with some plausibility, that the four monograms might be resolved to give the names of four neighbouring south-Phrygian cities: Blaundos, Dionysopolis, either Lysias or Synnada (of which Lysias is certainly preferable, as we shall see in a moment), and a community called Dioskome or Diospolis on the site of the later city of Sebaste.¹⁰⁹ The hypothesis is an attractive one, offering as it does a compact, geographically coherent group of mint-authorities.

We might consider whether an appropriate historical context in the 160s or 150s BC can be found for this sudden burst of co-ordinated coin-production in the name of these small Phrygian towns. It is very tempting to suppose that these coin-issues are connected with the major event in Phrygian history during this period, the Galatian war of 168–166. In 168 BC, the Galatians suddenly invaded the eastern part of the Attalid kingdom, overrunning Lycaonia, southern Pisidia, and much of Phrygia. Installing themselves at Synnada, they pushed inland as far as the plain of Sardis, where the suburbs of the city were torched; it may have been in the course of this invasion that, according to local tradition, Apamea was protected

¹⁰⁹ Le Rider 1990. I omit two further mint-marks, not part of this die-linked group, which Le Rider and Drew-Bear 1991 attribute to two obscure communities in central Phrygia, Praipennisos and the Corpeni. In fact, the first of these mint-marks is to be assigned to Apamea-Celaenae (Ashton and Kinns 2004: 103–4); I have argued that the second should be attributed to Kormasa in the Milyas (Thonemann 2008b: 53–8).

against a Galatian assault by the intervention of the satyr and river-god Marsyas.¹¹⁰ Snubbed by the Roman senate, Eumenes was forced to deal with the Galatians himself; in 166, the Attalid army won a major victory somewhere in Eastern Phrygia, securing the Galatians' withdrawal from Phrygia and Pisidia. In any case, it is clear that the major arena of hostilities during those three years was precisely the plains of southern Phrygia west of Synnada: the Phrygian Pentapolis, immediately west of the Synnadan mountains, in which (most probably) lay the small city of Lysias;¹¹¹ the plain of Sebaste, west of the Çatma Dağı, with the small settlement of Dioskome/Diospolis; and the Banaz ovası, on the main route towards Sardis from southern Phrygia, with Blaundos at the north-west, and Dionysopolis at its southernmost point.¹¹² The four small south-Phrygian civic issues could thus be interpreted as an extraordinary wartime measure in response to the Galatian crisis. At the very least, an association of some kind between the Galatian invasion of 168 and the 'emergency' cistophoric issues seems highly likely.

The precise nature of the Galatian threat in the mid-160s BC, and the motives which impelled them to undertake such an ambitious campaign deep into Attalid territory, are not at all clear. It is possible that they were responding to Pergamene attempts to increase their influence over the western part of the plateau, although the evidence for Attalid machinations in this region postdates the war of 168–166.¹¹³ They may even have envisaged the permanent annexation and settlement of southern Phrygia; the lengthy occupation of Synnada suggests that the campaign was rather more than a

¹¹⁰ Sardis: Herrmann and Malay 2007: 53–4, no. 32. Apamea: Paus. 10.30.9: οἱ δὲ ἐν Κελαιναῖς Φρύγες . . . φασὶ ὡς καὶ τὴν Γαλατῶν ἀπώσαιντο στρατείαν τοῦ Μαρσίου σφίσι ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕδατι τε ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ μέλει τῶν αὐλῶν ἀμύναντος. Apamea apparently served as Eumenes' headquarters during the campaign (Mitchell 1993: 125). It was presumably in the context of this war that Cephisodorus donated 3,000 silver drachmae for the upkeep of a detachment of soldiers at Apamea: *MAMA* VI 173.

¹¹¹ For the location of Lysias, see *TIB Phrygien* 331, s.v. Lysias; 414–15 s.v. Yanıkören. The third of the cistophoric monograms should be resolved to give Lysias rather than Synnada, since Synnada was not under Attalid control during the Galatian war. Synnada seems not to have minted cistophori before 133 BC. A cistophoric countermark ΣΥΝ is found (Bauslaugh 1990: 44), but not all the cities for which countermarks are known went on to serve as cistophoric mints (Sala, Toriaion; Thonemann 2008b: 50–3).

¹¹² For the early history of Blaundos, a strong fortified site on the Lydo-Phrygian border, in the upper Hippourios valley, see Filges 2003: 37–42 (Seleucid foundation?); for the orthography of the name, Drew-Bear 1978: 56–9; Le Rider 1990: 697–8. It is possible that Blaundos already existed in the Achaemenid period: Hornblower 1982a: 218 n. 2; Sekunda 1991: 125–8; Debord 1999: 95 n. 102.

¹¹³ *OGIS* 315 (correspondence between Eumenes and Attalus and the priest of Cybele at Pessinous).

mere retaliatory raid. What is certain is that the successful expulsion of the Galatians from Phrygia led to an unorchestrated outpouring of relief on the part of the Greek cities, and a confirmation (enthusiastically exploited by Eumenes and his successor Attalus II) of the Attalids' self-appointed role as the protectors and saviours of Hellenic civilisation against the barbarian.¹¹⁴

The invasion of 168 led to a major rethink of the defence of the eastern marches of Attalid Anatolia. While the old garrison town of Apamea sufficed to protect the main highway to the east, the vulnerability of the south-Phrygian uplands was evident. The urbanisation of this region had not progressed far under Seleucid rule. The Seleucid power in western Asia Minor should be understood as essentially arterial: the Seleucids were primarily interested in the preservation and defence of the network of military roads across the peninsula. New Seleucid settlements in inland Anatolia were almost all situated on these great military highways, and above all along the crucial route from the Cilician gates to the lower Maeander.¹¹⁵ So long as tax revenues continued to flow in regularly, the Seleucid state was content to leave the inhabitants of the deep Phrygian, Pisidian and Lydian hill-country to their own devices. The Hellenisation of this indigenous hinterland was, instead, the work of the Attalid kings of Pergamon. The 'short' Attalid century (188–133 BC) saw a large-scale programme of imperial urbanisation across rural Lydia and Phrygia.¹¹⁶ In particular, it was the Attalids who rolled the urban fabric northwards from the Laodicea–Apamea highway into the plains and valleys of southern Phrygia, with a string of new royal cities and garrison towns running eastward from the upper Kogamos valley to the Ak Dağ mountain range: Philadelphia, Dionsopolis, Eumenea.

Furthest west was the city of Philadelphia, in the Kogamos valley south-east of Sardis, founded by Attalus II in the mid-second century BC, although it is not clear whether this was during his brother's reign or his own.¹¹⁷ The city seems all but certain to have been a military colony: its first bronze coinage, perhaps dating back as far as the second century BC,

¹¹⁴ Strobel 1994; for responses to the victory of 166, *OGIS* 305 (Sardis); *OGIS* 763 (Ionian *koinon*).

¹¹⁵ Seleucid foundations on the Southern highway: Laodicea Combusta, Toriaion (military *katoikia*: Thonemann 2008b), perhaps Philomelium (since it now seems that the Philomelids were quasi-autonomous Seleucid governors: Malay 2004), conceivably Metropolis (Livy 38.15.13: already a city in 189 BC?), Apamea/Celaenae (refoundation), Laodicea on the Lycus (and probably its neighbour Hierapolis), Antioch on the Maeander, Nysa, and Seleucea/Tralles. Few inland Seleucid settlements lay off this main route: Apollonia and Antioch by Pisidia are the most notable exceptions.

¹¹⁶ Robert 1934: 89–92; Debord 1985: 347–8.

¹¹⁷ Cohen 1995: 227–8. Attalus seems to have undertaken the foundation of Lydian Apollonis while Eumenes II was still on the throne: *TAM* v 2, 1187, with Robert 1962: 258 n. 1.



Figure 4.16 The Çal ovası, near the site of ancient Dionysopolis

carries the image of a Macedonian shield.¹¹⁸ Further to the east, the new city of Dionysopolis, explicitly described as a joint foundation of Eumenes and Attalus, was established on the right bank of the Maeander, in the heart of the vine-growing country of the Çal ovası (Fig 4.16). As we have seen, Dionysopolis was one of the four cities for which the south-Phrygian cistophori were minted, perhaps suggesting that it was already in existence at the time of the Galatian war of 168–166 BC. It is unknown whether Dionysopolis was a military settlement; evidence is entirely lacking, and even the location of the site is uncertain.¹¹⁹

The most easterly of these new Attalid foundations was the frontier fortress of Eumeneia. Stephanus of Byzantium simply records that the city was founded by Attalus II, and named after his brother Eumenes II, leaving

¹¹⁸ *BE* 1958, 436; for the Macedonian shield, Liampi 1998: 152–3.

¹¹⁹ The key study is still Robert 1962: 127–49. Strobel (1980: 39–42) suggests a location south of Bekilli and close to Çal on the right bank of the Maeander; see also n. 62 above. The city's name was presumably intended to recall the Attalid cult of Dionysus Kathegemon (Müller 1989).

it unclear whether Eumenes was still alive at this point; there are some reasons to favour a foundation-date after Eumenes' death (159 BC).¹²⁰ The site of the Hellenistic settlement at Eumeneia is, as we have seen, a powerful one, commanding a vast stretch of the Maeander plain to the south and west. Documentary evidence for the city in the second and first centuries BC is entirely lacking.¹²¹ The town was already significant enough in the mid-second century BC to have its own bronze coinage (probably minted at the neighbouring city of Apamea).¹²² It was once thought that the ambitious soubriquet 'Achaean' adopted by the Eumeneans in the Hadrianic period reflected an initial Attalid settlement of Achaean mercenaries in the city, but this notion has now been decisively rejected.¹²³

The most important evidence for the character of the new city lies in the massive Hellenistic fortifications on Saribaba, commanding the Cludrus pass from the Pentapolis, and the position of the town itself, high on the terraced hillside, dominating a vast stretch of the Maeander valley from Apamea to Dionysopolis. Eumeneia was a frontier fortress, intended to be seen as protecting the Attalid space in western Asia Minor from the Galatians of the central Anatolian plateau. Of course, the real effectiveness of the fortress as a barrier to Galatian incursions was limited; although

¹²⁰ Ἀττάλου καλέσαντος ἀπὸ Εὐμένους τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου (Stephanus, s.v. Εὐμένεια); Eutr. *Brev.* 4.4 is a muddle. The attribution is supported by the existence of a festival at Eumeneia called the *Eumeneia Philadelpheia*, directly attested only in the third century AD, but presumably a survival from the Attalid period (Robert 1937: 164–5; Weiss 2000b: 626). The epithet *Philadelphos* appears to be attached specifically to Eumenes only once elsewhere, in OGIS 302, a posthumous dedication (as the designation θεός clearly shows); the cult of the *Theoi Philadelphoi* (Eumenes and Attalus) is also posthumous. It is conceivable that the epithet *Philadelphos* was bestowed on Eumenes only after his death, in order to help legitimise Attalus' position; in that case, 'Philadelphian' Eumeneia would postdate 159 BC. But I have no great faith in this argument.

¹²¹ The reconstruction of the 'character' of Hellenistic Eumeneia in Hansen 1971: 178 is pure fantasy.

¹²² *BMC Phrygia* 211, nos. 1–5. This issue is apparently contemporary with the earliest civic coinage of Apamea (Ashton and Kinns 2003: 46–7: mid-second century BC?), as Eumeneia's next pair of issues (*BMC Phrygia* 211–12, nos. 6–19) are evidently contemporary with the enormous post-133 bronze coinage of Apamea (*BMC Phrygia* 74–88, nos. 33–109, discussed in Chapter 1 above); close similarity of types and style render it likely that the early Eumeneian issues were produced at the Apamean mint.

¹²³ For the 'Achaean Eumeneans' (Εὐμενέων Ἀχαιῶν), known from coinage and an inscription honouring τὸν εὐγενῆ καὶ φιλοσέβαστον Εὐμενέων Ἀχαιῶν δῆμιον ('the well-born and emperor-loving *demos* of the Achaean Eumeneans', Drew-Bear 1978: 67–8, iv 2), see Weiss 2000b, esp. 630–7, showing that the epithet 'Achaean' reflects a claim to mythological kinship with Argos through Hyllus, son of Heracles. The epithet was attached to the city's ethnic as part of a claim to membership of the Panhellenion in the 130s AD. In fact, the cultic links between Eumeneia and Argos – the tribes Heraïs and Argeias, and a festival named the *Hera Argeia* – derived from the city's foundation by a member of the Attalid house.

the Cludrus gorge was the only significant pass across a ninety kilometre stretch of the south-Phrygian mountain barrier, invading Galatian bands could have found plenty of other routes into southern Phrygia. However, as with Manuel's new fortresses at Dorylaion and Soublaion in AD 1175, neither the real strategic significance of the site, nor its symbolic importance, should be underestimated. Symbolically, the new Attalid cities of southern Phrygia were a project of great ideological force: they encapsulated and embodied the hegemonic persona adopted by the Attalid monarchs as the protectors of the Greek cities of western Asia Minor against the Galatians. Strategically, by responding in this way to the specific Galatian threat of the mid-second century BC, Eumenes and Attalus prefigured the tactics of aggressive fortification and deep defence employed by Manuel in response to a very similar threat from the Anatolian plateau over a millennium later.

As we saw in [Chapter 2](#), the character of the agricultural exploitation of southern Phrygia over time is to a large extent culturally determined. In this chapter, I have argued that the spatial and conceptual geography of southern Phrygia, in which Eumeneia consistently held a central position as the boundary point between two ecological zones, ought to be understood in a similar way. The role played by Eumeneia as a Roman garrison post in the first three centuries AD did not reflect real strategic concerns so much as the perpetuation of a historically contingent late Hellenistic territorial dynamic, even in a period of minimal social insecurity. That the inhabitants of Synnada actually happened to be sedentary, olive-growing Greeks, within the borders of the civilised and prosperous Roman province of Asia, did not significantly alter perceptions of the differences between the worlds on the near and far sides of the Ak Dağ mountain range. The mental map of territorial domination was perpetuated unchanged from one empire to another; whatever the actual political status of the plains of south-eastern Phrygia on the eastern side of the Cludrus pass, the upper Maeander valley was still conceptualised by the imperial power as forming the crucial territorial boundary. None of that is to downplay the real strategic considerations which weighed with, at least, the Attalid and Byzantine states; the point is the way in which contingent strategic imperatives were translated into a permanent imperialist geography. At Pergamon, Rome and Constantinople, from the second century BC to the twelfth century AD, western Asia Minor always ended with the Maeander.



Figure 5.1 The site of Philadelphia, modern Alaşehir; in the foreground, the Byzantine city-walls of Philadelphia; in the background, Mt Kissos

born soon afterwards. His wife and daughter died young. Leaving his baby son to be nursed by his grandmother, Gregory ascended again into the mountain, and built his chapel, a place to retreat into the wilderness and the past. Soon, other members of Gregory's family followed: his father, both brothers and, in time, his son Maximus. A generation passed, and under Maximus' careful financial management the little oratory had grown into the large and wealthy monastery of Boreine, home to up to twenty monks. In 1247, Maximus, approaching old age, drew up a testament, providing a brief history of the foundation, and laying down regulations for the conduct of the monks. A later copy of this testament, dating a little after 1258, with an updated register of the now very substantial real property of the monastic foundation, is today preserved in the archive of the Vatopedi monastery on Mt Athos.⁴

⁴ Diplomatic history: Vatopédi i, pp. 141–2.

Maximus was a man of business. In his description of the monastery's estates, he seldom specifies the size or nature of the individual plots of land; Maximus is more interested in the price he paid for them and from whom he purchased them.⁵ The most important plots of land came through donations. The largest individual estate owned by the monastery, a stable and farm of 2,000 *modioi* (c. 464 acres), was left to the monastery by the late *sebastos* Mytas; a certain Irene, widow of the *allagator* Phokas, was the monastery's most lavish benefactor, donating, apart from significant amounts of land, movable property and cash.⁶ But Maximus also pursued an independent policy of building up and rationalising the monastery's possessions through purchase and exchange. It is a shame that we are unable to quantify the proportion of arable to other agricultural land. A couple of fruit-gardens are mentioned, and more than a hundred olive trees.⁷ The hill-country around Boreine itself, at the foot of Mt Kissos, was a patchwork of vineyards and mountain pasture. Many of the vineyards, like Gregory's original plantation, were planted by the monastery itself: the monastic community seems to have taken a conscious decision to specialise in this particular crop.⁸

The largest concentration of arable land lay north-west of Philadelphia, on both sides of the river Kogamos, at and around the *metochion* of Aulax.⁹ Apart from two vineyards, one planted by Maximus, the other donated by Irene,¹⁰ the monastery's possessions at Aulax seem to have consisted almost entirely of arable fields. One field carries the name 'the threshing-floors'. Watermills are very numerous: Maximus himself built a complex of three mills with workshops (bakeries?) on the river, and Irene paid for

⁵ Size and price are given for only two of the arable plots bought by Maximus: the field of Lentianus at Aulax, around 20 *modioi* in extent, for which he paid 4 *hyperpera* (lines 197–8), and some irrigated fields at Epizyga, around 100 *modioi*, for 20 *hyperpera* (lines 214–15). For ten more fields, the price alone is given: assuming that the price of land was roughly constant, we obtain an average of 36 *modioi* (8.4 acres) for arable plots obtained by purchase, with minimal and maximal figures of 9 and 100 *modioi* (c. 2 and 23 acres respectively).

⁶ On Phokas, see Ahrweiler 1965: 141.

⁷ κηπωροτόπια, line 238; olives (97 listed), lines 241–6.

⁸ Lines 263–79. In the 1152 *typikon* of Isaac Comnenus for Kosmosoteira, wine is to be purchased until such time as vineyards are planted on the monastery's grounds to fulfil their needs: ed. Petit, p. 50 (= *BMFD* no. 29, p. 826). The vine was cultivated at Philadelphia in antiquity: an Aramaic inscription of the late fifth or fourth century BC already refers to vineyards in this region (Kwasman and Lemaire 2002), and an association of *philanpeloi*, 'lovers of the vine', is attested at Philadelphia in the mid-second century AD (*TAM* v 3, 1556). Today the plain of Alaşehir is entirely given over to vineyards.

⁹ Aulax is already attested as a *chorion* in the fifth-century conciliar acts (Feissel 1996: 108 n. 12; Schreiner 1969: 386 n. 4).

¹⁰ Lines 275–6; 296.

the construction of another.¹¹ The hydrographic landscape was carefully managed. The estates seem to have been criss-crossed with a system of canals and irrigation works, and one large plot of land on the river, donated by Irene, had an artificially maintained salt-marsh associated with it.¹²

The process by which Maximus built up his estates is well illustrated by the monastery's properties around the village of Epizyga, apparently a little way above Aulax on one flank of the valley.¹³ Here the monastery had gained possession of much of the patrimonial land of two monks at the time of their entrance into the monastery. Maximus then spent a significant sum on purchasing several more plots of land in the village, including a 100-*modioi* plot of irrigated land, the largest single farm known to have been bought by the monastery. Finally, a number of irrigated and unirrigated fields near Epizyga are obtained in exchange for an isolated vineyard in the vicinity of Tazanoi, where the monastery had no other interests – a clear example of rationalisation of real property.¹⁴ Simple barter appears to have been a standard way of transferring land at this period: two plots at Aulax were acquired in return for thirteen and ten sheep respectively.¹⁵

The Aulax and Epizyga estates give a very striking impression of the rural landscape around Philadelphia in the mid-thirteenth century. The patchwork of small, discontinuous plots obtained piecemeal by the monastery from private individuals ought to reflect a highly fragmented pattern of land-tenure. The land was intensively exploited, to a large extent by small independent proprietors.¹⁶

One of the most interesting parts of Maximus' testament is the comprehensive register of livestock owned by the monastery. The working animals consisted of eighteen yoke-pairs of oxen and female buffaloes, eight grazing mares, fifteen donkeys and jennies, two saddle-horses and five mules. Animals reared for food products and hides included three hundred swine, seventy head of cattle, fifty female buffaloes, 1,500 sheep along with a dedicated team of shepherds and around two hundred beehives 'in various places'.¹⁷ These last were presumably located in the high pastures dedicated to stock-rearing. The valley of Philadelphia itself has been famous for its honey since the fifth century BC.¹⁸ In the more mountainous districts of

¹¹ Threshing floors: line 207. Mills: lines 228, 295–6. ¹² Line 252: ἄλυκόν.

¹³ The fields above Epizyga are 'waterless': lines 229–30.

¹⁴ Lines 88–91, 213–19. The village of Tazanoi, apparently located in the Castollian plain, some way north-east of the Kogamos, is already attested in the early third century AD: TAM v 1, 231; Petzl 2002: 176.

¹⁵ Lines 194–6; for parallels, Angold 1975: 107. ¹⁶ Nasturel 1984: 85–91; Vatopédi I, pp. 149–50.

¹⁷ Lines 287–93. ¹⁸ Hdt 7.31; Cuinet 1891–1900: III 574 (helva).

western Asia Minor, bee-keeping has been a significant part of the exploitation of marginal lands since antiquity: in the Hellenistic period, we have evidence for a tax on honey production in the territory of several towns in the west of the peninsula.¹⁹ Honey was a significant product of the farms donated by the Planetae brothers to the Lembos monastery near Smyrna in AD 1242.²⁰ In the eighth century, even after he had lost all the rest of his vast herds of livestock, St Philaretos the Merciful still retained 250 beehives on his estates at Amnia in Paphlagonia.²¹ Assuming that an ordinary Byzantine beehive could provide around a kilo of honey a year, the Boreine estates would have produced around 200 kilos annually. However, it is clear from Athonite documents that honey was a surprisingly large component of the monastic diet, and it is unlikely that Boreine produced a surplus.²²

For the purposes of arable cultivation, the monastery of Boreine kept a mixture of ox- and buffalo-teams, eighteen in total. The buffalo was a relatively recent arrival to Anatolia; the animal was effectively unknown in antiquity (Fig. 5.2).²³ From at least the eleventh century onwards, it seems to have been standard practice in western Asia Minor to use a combination of oxen and buffaloes for arable cultivation. Of the three yoke-pairs donated by Irene to Boreine, one was of buffaloes and two of oxen. Likewise, in 1252, the monastery of Lembos near Smyrna received a donation of 300 *modioi* of arable land along with two yoke-pairs, one of oxen, one of buffaloes; in 1073, the domanial farm of the Manor of Parsakoutenos in the Maeander delta employed two teams of buffaloes and one of oxen.²⁴

Buffaloes also made up almost half the dairy stock of Boreine (fifty female buffaloes to seventy head of cattle). A similar proportion of buffaloes to cattle is found among the livestock of the monastery of Xenophon on Mt Athos in the late eleventh century. The monastery's estates in central and eastern Chalkidike – in particular, it appears, two large estates on the Kassandra peninsula, totalling 1,700 *modioi* – were home in 1089 to 14 yokes of oxen, 100 draft horses, mares and donkeys, 130 buffaloes, 150 cows and 2,000 goats

¹⁹ Aegae: SEG 33, 1034, with Chandezon 2003a: 201–5; Teos: L. Robert, OMS VII 330–1; Pidasas: *Milet* (1 3) 149.20–5, with Robert 1987: 189–90; Theangela: Robert, *Coll. Froehner* 78–9; Heraclea under Latmos: SEG 37, 859. For honey production on Mt Latmos in the early twentieth century, see Wiegand 1913: 10–11.

²⁰ MM IV 67, line 31. For taxes and concessions pertaining to honey production around Smyrna in the late fifteenth century, Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1981: 50–1.

²¹ *Life of Philaretos* (ed. Rydén 2002) lines 259, 352.

²² Evert-Kappesowa 1963: 36–7 (productivity); Kaplan 1992: 26–7, 38 (monastic diet).

²³ The precise chronology remains unclear (VI–VII AD?): see Robert 1963: 25–9, 607.

²⁴ Vatopédi I 15, line 293; MM IV 266–7; Patmos II 50, line 121. On the Manor of Parsakoutenos, see further below, Chapter 7, pp. 259–70.



Figure 5.2 A buffalo-cart on the Çine Çayı (the ancient river Marsyas)

and sheep.²⁵ In both cases, the quantity of dairy stock, sheep and goats was large enough that we can reasonably assume that the monasteries were producing a significant surplus of dairy products for sale at nearby urban centres, Philadelphia and Thessalonica respectively. Similarly, in AD 987, the monastery of Stylos on Mt Latros planned to spend 100 *nomismata* on the purchase of thirty-three female buffaloes, ‘as being a profitable investment for the monastery’, presumably to be pastured around Lake Bafa.²⁶ Evidently the monastery had decided to specialise (in a small way) in milch buffaloes, presumably in order to create a surplus for sale at Miletus.²⁷

²⁵ Xénophon, no. 1, p. 73, lines 154–5 (AD 1089), with p. 17; Lefort 2002: 264. By way of contrast, in 1083, Gregory Pakourianos’ Thracian estates had only half a dozen milch buffaloes and calves, compared to 238 ewes and 72 cows and bulls: here buffaloes formed a very minor part of the dairy stock (Gautier 1984: 124–5). See further Harvey 1989: 148–57.

²⁶ MM IV 310, lines 8–12 (εὐπροσόδων).

²⁷ Deliberate creation of a surplus for a nearby urban market is seldom attested in monastic documents (Smyrlis 2002: 255–6). For an example in the vicinity of Priene, see Chapter 7 below, p. 269. At the monastery of Kosmosoteira near Ainos in Thrace, it is envisaged that from



Figure 5.3 Colossae: funerary relief of a swine-merchant (around AD 200)

It is possible that the monastery's 300 pigs were also kept for commercial purposes. The wooded hills of the Phrygo-Lyidian borderlands were well suited to large-scale pig-rearing: a pig-seller from Saittae is attested at Sardis in the third century AD, and a funerary banquet-relief from Colossae of around AD 200, presumably of a swine-merchant, is decorated with a file of three curly-tailed pigs (Fig. 5.3).²⁸ In the early second century AD, a dispute arose on the territory of Kula, north-east of Philadelphia, between swineherds and cattle-owners from neighbouring villages. Three pigs owned by Demainetos and Papias, from the village of Azita, had strayed into the cattle-herd of Hermogenes and Apollonios, from the village of Syrou Mandrai, which was being pastured by a five-year-old boy. The precise grounds and nature of the feud which subsequently arose are not clear, but it seems evident that the two parties specialised in different kinds of animal-husbandry.²⁹ In the 920s AD, Luke the Stylite spent two years in the collective employment of the villagers of Lagaina near Kotyaion looking after their pigs; there is no suggestion that these were reared for commercial purposes, but the village evidently possessed enough animals to make it

time to time the catch of fish in the nearby rivers will be sufficient to allow a surplus to be sold at Ainos: ed. Petit, pp. 50–1 (= *CMFD* no. 29, p. 827).

²⁸ *Sardis* VII 1, 159; *MAMA* VI 50 (Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–9: II 286, no. 1165; *I.Denizli* 80).

Pig-rearing is seldom attested in the Classical and Hellenistic periods: Chandezon 2003a: 412–13.

²⁹ *TAM* V 1, 317 = Petzl 1994: no. 68.

worth employing a permanent swineherd.³⁰ We ought not to imagine that Lydian pigs were kept in sties directly attached to farmsteads or villages; rather we are dealing with half-wild herds, roaming in the hills for months on end, only very occasionally herded down to a central place for slaughter and sale.³¹

Relative to the size of the monastery, the quantity of livestock owned by Boreine was remarkably large.³² The estates of Andronikos Doukas in the Maeander delta and the Lembos estates around Smyrna do not appear to have possessed animal wealth on anything like this scale.³³ Nonetheless, Boreine was not a ranch. By way of contrast, the Paphlagonian estates of Philaretos in the eighth century were said to possess 600 cows, 100 pairs of oxen, 800 grazing mares, 80 saddle horses and mules and 12,000 sheep.³⁴ This is animal husbandry on a different scale altogether, comparable to the 300 flocks of Amyntas on the Lycaonian plain in the late first century BC.³⁵ The Boreine estates thus stood halfway between the largely agricultural estates of the coastal regions of western Asia Minor, and the great stock-raising estates of inner Anatolia in the middle Byzantine period. Stock-rearing played a far larger part in the local economy of the region around Philadelphia than it did in the coastal districts, but the economy was not wholly dependent on livestock, as had long been the case on the Anatolian plateau proper. The region of Philadelphia in the thirteenth century seems to have enjoyed a healthily mixed agrarian-pastoralist economy: subsistence arable farming, small-scale investment in vineyards, with the greater part of surplus resources being directed towards large-scale animal husbandry.

The textile industry

As we have seen, the major animal wealth of Boreine lay in its sheep (1,500 sheep to 120 dairy animals), which were comparable in number to the great flocks of the Xenophon monastery on the Chalkidike peninsula (2,000 sheep

³⁰ *Life of Luke the Stylite* (ed. Delehay 1923) ch. 9, p. 204: ἔν τινι χωρίῳ καλουμένῳ Λαγαίνῃ μετὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐπὶ μισθώματι τινι βόσκειν χοίρους συνεφώνησεν. In 1073, five peasants in the Maeander delta possessed (or at least were prepared to declare for tax purposes) thirty-nine pigs between them: Patmos II 50, lines 145–69; Harvey 1998: 77; see further below, pp. 280–4.

³¹ I know of no evidence for large-scale pig transhumance in Asia Minor, but for long-distance transport of pigs elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, compare *BE* 1970, 363 (pigs interrupting traffic in Macedonia).

³² Smyrlis 2006: 124–6. ³³ Harvey 1989: 151; Harvey 1998; Smyrlis 2006: 125.

³⁴ *Life of Philaretos* (ed. Rydén 2002) lines 4–11. ³⁵ Strabo 12.6.1; Mitchell 1993: I 146.

and goats to 280 dairy).³⁶ The flocks of Boreine provided the raw material for what must have been the main source of income for the monastery: wool production. The Byzantine imperial state seems to have had direct interests in the textile workshops of the mountainous districts of eastern Lydia: an imperial estate (*kouratoreia*) in Lydia was responsible for the production of woollen horse-cloths for the Byzantine cavalry.³⁷ It is possible that wool production at Boreine was combined with silk-weaving on a minor scale. The nun Athanasia Mangaphaina, a member of one of the most prominent families at Philadelphia, donated to the monastery a small vineyard at a place called Kovená, ‘along with the mulberry bushes’.³⁸ Ottoman tax documents of the late fifteenth century confirm that silk production continued to be a significant industry in the area of Philadelphia after the Ottoman conquest.³⁹

By the Roman imperial period at the latest, the neighbouring cities of Philadelphia, Hierapolis and Laodicea collectively formed the most important centre of textile production in Asia Minor, if not the whole eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁰ Indeed, Hierapolis and Laodicea have been pointed to as our best examples of true ‘export cities’ under the Roman empire, whose urban elites built up their wealth not from land but from the specialised production of luxury goods.⁴¹ The key enabling factor which lay behind the local elite’s choice to specialise in textile production was, once again, the calciferous mineral waters of the lower Lycus and upper Kogamos valleys, which served as excellent mordants for dyes.⁴² According to Strabo, the hot springs at Hierapolis were so good for fixing dyes that fabrics dyed with madder here were of equal quality to garments dyed elsewhere with kermes or murex purple.⁴³ There is some evidence to suggest that, at least in the later mediaeval period, the three cities specialised in different varieties of coloured textiles. In 1381, Süleyman Şah, emir of Germiyan, engaged in

³⁶ Flocks reared for profit in the Hellenistic period may have been of a similar size: Zeno of Kaunos possessed 1,863 sheep and 122 goats, and Eubolos of Elatea around 1,000 sheep and goats, 220 cows or horses (Chandezon 2003a: 402, both III BC).

³⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caer.* 462 Reiske = Haldon 1990: (C) 118–19.

³⁸ Lines 84, 271–2; for the Maggaphas family, Cheynet 1984: 45–51.

³⁹ Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984: 31–2. For industrial silk production in the Byzantine provinces, Jacoby 1991–2. Laiou (2002: 320) unnecessarily questions the use of the Philadelphian mulberries for silk.

⁴⁰ Broughton 1938: 618–19, 817–22; Labarre and Le Dinahet 1996: 97–108. The direct evidence for ancient Philadelphia as a centre of textile production is not abundant, but associations of wool-artisans and cobblers existed here in the third century AD (*TAM* v 3, 1490–2), and individuals engaged in linen-working, textile-selling and dyeing are also attested (*TAM* v 3, 1747; 1773; 1790).

⁴¹ Pleket 1988: 33–5.

⁴² For the Sarisu mineral springs, see Chandler 1775: 249–51; Philippon 1910–15: iv 32.

⁴³ Strabo 13.4.14. For the translation ‘madder’, see Herz 1985: 98–9.

negotiations for the marriage of one of his daughters to the future sultan Beyazid I, sent as a gift to the Ottoman court a set of robes of white cloth from Denizli bordered with red *ivladi* from Alaşehir-Philadelphia. The two cities presumably each furnished their finest luxury cloth. The Turkish name for Philadelphia, Alaşehir ('red city'), which dates back at least as far as the late thirteenth century, ought to reflect the city's reputation as a centre for the fabrication of red textiles in particular.⁴⁴

The textile industry of Philadelphia, Hierapolis and Laodicea was a classic instance of an agglomeration economy, in which the spatial proximity of the material resources necessary for textile production encouraged an intense concentration of specialised industrial activity in a small district.⁴⁵ Foremost among these resources were the vast flocks of the Lycus and Kogamos valleys. Strabo tells us that 'the territory around Laodicea supports flocks of the highest quality, not only for the softness of their wool, which is superior even to the Milesian variety, but also for its raven-black colour, with the result that the Laodiceans gain large revenues from them.'⁴⁶ The extraordinary raven-black flocks of the Lycus valley, remnants of which were still to be seen in the mid-eighteenth century, were one of the most distinctive features of the district in antiquity. Vitruvius states that the sheep near Laodicea are naturally white, but that around the time of lambing, they are taken daily to drink from one of the numerous miraculous springs of the Lycus valley, with the result that they bring forth black young.⁴⁷

In the Roman imperial period, the fine woollen garments of Laodicea were proverbial.⁴⁸ Laodicean fabrics were exported to the furthest parts of the empire: a Laodicean *negotiator* is found at Lyons, and Laodicean fabrics are also attested in Gaetulia and Armorica.⁴⁹ It is likely enough that the advice given to the angel of the church of the Laodiceans in the Apocalypse of John of Patmos is a reflection of the textile wealth of the city: 'I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white

⁴⁴ Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984: 29–30; 33. The importance of Alaşehir as a centre for the red-dyeing and tanning industries is noted by Evliya Çelebi (ed. Zillioğlu 1985) 26–7.

⁴⁵ Harvey 2010: 162–3. ⁴⁶ Strabo 12.8.16.

⁴⁷ Vitruvius 8.3.14 (*coracino colore*). For the survival of these flocks, see Pococke 1745: 74, 'Strabo also takes notice that the sheep around Laodicea are exceedingly black, which is very true, three parts of them being black in all the country from Nazlee [Nazilli] to this place, and some of them are black and white like the Ethiopian sheep'. Cf. Arundell (1828: 91) on the aqueduct at Laodicea, 'before which were Turcoman black tents, and thousands of goats and sheep of the same colour'.

⁴⁸ Ramsay, *Phrygia* 1 40–2; Broughton 1938: 819–20. Several varieties of expensive dyed woollen goods are designated as 'Laodicean' in Diocletian's price edict (Laufer 1971: 19.25–7, 37–40, with pp. 264–5).

⁴⁹ Rougé 1977.

raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear' (Revelation 3:18).

In all likelihood, the term 'Laodicean' as applied to textiles in antiquity was a catch-all term for the fabrics of the lower Lycus valley as a whole.⁵⁰ The relatively small epigraphical corpus of Laodicea has furnished only a handful of references to textile production: the city appears to have had an *emporion* for fullers and specialist dyers, and a fragmentary inscription may attest the existence of an association of shepherds.⁵¹ A *topos*-inscription from the mercantile district in the urban centre of Laodicea marks a 'place of the dyers', and recent excavations have uncovered a small dyeing workshop in the far north of the city dating to approximately the fifth century AD.⁵² To judge from the epigraphical record, the real centre of the textile industry of the lower Lycus valley was the neighbouring city of Hierapolis. This is hardly surprising: unlike at Laodicea and Philadelphia, the calciferous hot springs of Hierapolis rose within the urban centre itself, keeping the infra-structural costs of textile-production to a minimum. The civic economy of Roman Hierapolis seems to have been entirely based on textiles. The guilds of the various groups involved in textile production appear again and again as stakeholders in the funerary monuments of the civic aristocracy. A characteristic example is provided by the sarcophagus-inscription of a certain M. Aurelius Diodorus Corescus (early third century AD), who bequeathed 3000 *denarii* to the council of the association of purple-dyers, so that poppies should be burned on his tomb on the customary day from the interest on his endowment; if they neglected to do this, the remainder of the capital was to go to the association of shepherds.⁵³ To these two associations we may add urban guilds of ordinary dyers, wool-washers, linen-workers, fullers, felt-makers and *akairodapistai* (apparently carpet-weavers of some kind).⁵⁴ It has been suggested that one of the primary activities of a Hieropolitan guild of water-mill workers was to provide water for the city's fullers.⁵⁵ Wool, and particularly wool-dyeing, was clearly the dominant industry at

⁵⁰ Pleket (1988: 33) describes Hierapolis and Laodicea as 'two growth-poles in one territory'. The epigraphy tends to suggest that Hierapolis was a more heavily specialised industrial centre than Laodicea.

⁵¹ *I.Laodikeia* 50; 59.11. For the textile-seller of *I.Laodikeia* 51, see Chapter 6 below.

⁵² τόπος βαφέων, Şimşek 2007: 123; workshop, *ib.* 294–9.

⁵³ *AvH* 227, with pp. 50–1; Ritti 1992–3: 47.

⁵⁴ Cichorius, *AvH* pp. 47–55; Pennacchietti 1966–7: 293; *SEG* 46, 1656; Labarre and Le Dinahet 1996: 98–108; Zimmermann 2002: 152–4. Several of the associations are known only from unpublished texts: *SEG* 45, 1747.

⁵⁵ Pennacchietti 1966–7: 297–8, no.7, with *BE* 1971, 643; Pleket 1988: 28; Ritti, Grewe and Kessener 2007: 143–6.



Figure 5.4 The mausoleum of Flavius Zeuxis; the inscription above the door records his seventy-two trading journeys to Italy

Hierapolis.⁵⁶ There is some evidence that the guilds included members of the large Jewish community at Hierapolis.⁵⁷ Jews continued to play a role in textile production in the area during later periods; a community of Jewish dyers and leather-workers is still attested at Chonae in the mid-twelfth century AD.⁵⁸

No less striking as an indicator of the importance of the Hieropolitan textile industry is the pride with which wealthy citizens advertised their involvement in manufacture and commerce. A certain M. Aurelius Alexander Moschianus was happy to designate himself on his tomb as ‘decursion and purple-seller’.⁵⁹ The two most prominently situated tombs at Hierapolis, immediately next to the city’s north gate, are a heröon ‘garlanded by the association of dyers’, and the mausoleum of an international trader who sailed round Cape Malea to Italy seventy-two times (Fig. 5.4).⁶⁰ Given the effort which civic elites under the Roman empire usually dedicated to concealing the origins of their wealth, this is a very striking local peculiarity.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Linen production was apparently of secondary importance; the major centre for linen in western Asia Minor seems to have been Saittae (Zimmermann 2002: 150–2).

⁵⁷ Miranda 1999: 142–4; *IJO* II pp. 419–20.

⁵⁸ Michael Choniates (ed. Lampros 1879–80) I 53. ⁵⁹ *AnH* 156.

⁶⁰ *AnH* 50: τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώων στεφανοῖ ἡ ἐργασία τῶν βαφέων; *AnH* 51: Φλαοῦιος Ζεῦξις ἐργαστῆς πλεύσας ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πλόας ἑβδομήκοντα δύο.

⁶¹ According to Strabo 14.2.24, the orator Hybreas of Mylasa used to claim that his inheritance consisted solely of a mule-driver and a mule for carrying wood. Presumably Hybreas was a large-scale timber-merchant (Delrieux and Ferrière 2004: 55–6).

The textile-barons of Hierapolis, unlike those of Laodicea, were an ostentatious lot. This, too, ought to be taken as an indication of the highly specialised nature of the local economy: at Hierapolis, industry, not land-ownership, was the route to wealth and prestige.

The importance of this region as a centre of textile-production and dyeing survived the Turkish conquest. In AD 1331, Ibn Battuta admired the bazaars of Lâdhiq, ‘in which are manufactured cotton fabrics edged with gold embroidery, unequalled in their kind, and long-lived on account of the excellence of their cotton and strength of their spun thread. These fabrics are known from the name of the city [as *lâdhiqî*]. Most of the artisans there are Greek women.’ The history of Laodicea-Denizli as a centre of textile-production continued through the Ottoman period down to the present day.⁶²

Pastoralists and the city

The men on whose shoulders the entire textile industry ultimately rested, the shepherds, form a shadowy, almost invisible stratum of ancient society. Many, though by no means all, were probably slaves.⁶³ Our richest body of evidence for the pastoralists of Asia Minor in antiquity comes from the north-Phrygian highlands. A rural sanctuary near Amorium has produced hundreds of small stone dedications to Zeus Petarenos and Zeus Alsenos, dating to the second century AD, mostly set up by shepherds and ox-herders. As one might expect, very few are Roman citizens; most are depicted cloaked in thick sheepskin capes with pointed caps, the typical clothing of the Anatolian shepherd down to the very recent past. This remarkable body of epigraphical material is virtually unique in the ancient world. Elsewhere, the pastoralist lies far below the ‘epigraphic class’; his visibility in northern Phrygia is only thanks to the ready availability of cheap marble offcuts from the marble quarries at Dokimeion.⁶⁴

In the middle Maeander region, where the pastoral class was sufficiently organised to have their own guilds at Hierapolis and Laodicea, shepherds seem (on the basis of very limited evidence) to have been of a higher social status than those of the Phrygian highlands. A fine tombstone of the high

⁶² Gibb 1958–2000: II 425. For the later history of textile production at Denizli, see de Planhol 1969a: 401–2.

⁶³ Chandezon 2003a: 416–17.

⁶⁴ Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızturnan 1999: 45–9, 374–81; Robert, *Hellenica* 7, 152–60; *Hellenica* 10, 28–33.



Figure 5.5 Funerary stele from Sarayköy (Attouda?): banquet-relief, with sheep and sheepdog under the table (late Imperial period)

imperial period from Laodicea was set up by ‘Papias Klexos, shepherd’; a funerary banquet-relief from Sarayköy, in the western part of the territory of Laodicea, carries a depiction of a sheep and sheepdog along with the deceased and his family (Fig. 5.5). These two tombstones, both of relatively high-quality craftsmanship, make a striking contrast with the crude north-Phrygian dedications. A single grave stele is known from Aphrodisias, on the far side of Mt Cadmus: this is rather more characteristic of shepherds’ monuments, featuring a crude depiction of the deceased in short tunic and cape, staff in hand, with his two sheepdogs at his feet (Fig. 5.6).⁶⁵

The social status of the group of shepherds designated to look after the Boreine flocks in the mid-thirteenth century is unknown. Many of the individuals mentioned as former owners of parts of the Boreine estates have Turkish names (Amoirasanes, Kazanes, Pasinales), suggesting fairly heavy Turkish settlement in the plain of Philadelphia; it is possible that the Boreine shepherds were Turks.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Laodicea: *I.Laodikeia* 112 (*I.Denizli* 174). Sarayköy: Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–9: II 473, no. 1973; for a similar funerary relief with two sheep, of uncertain provenance, see *I.Denizli* 77. Aphrodisias: Robert, *OMS* VI 7–8; *I.Aph2007* 13.204. Pleket 1988: 31–2, regards Aphrodisias as a relatively low-level centre of textile production.

⁶⁶ Nasturel 1984: 95–6. For Turkish settlement in the hills south of Philadelphia in the mid-twelfth century, see Michael Choniates (ed. Lampros 1879–80) I 50, with Magdalino 1993: 129–32: a Turkish band attacks Nicetas, bishop of Chonae, on the road between Chonae and Philadelphia.



Figure 5.6 Funerary stele from Aphrodisias: the shepherd Epagathos, with his two sheepdogs

The shepherds of the middle Maeander, like all ancient pastoral groups, held a marginal and ambiguous position within Philadelphian, Hieropolitan and Laodicean society. According to ancient ideas about civilisation and its relationship to the means of production, the pastoralist and the agriculturalist lie at opposite ends of a moral spectrum: settled agriculture is the best and most highly civilised mode of production, nomadic pastoralism the worst and most barbaric. Shepherds were *a priori* the most primitive and uncivilised stratum of society, inferior even to the bandit.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, this conceptual separation between agriculturalist and pastoralist conceals, or rather reflects, a necessarily intimate *physical* interweaving of pastoral and agricultural production. For large parts of the year, the sheep and dairy-stock of Boreine would certainly have been physically incorporated

⁶⁷ Shaw 1982–3; Briant 1982b: 9–56; Wickham 1994: 121–3.

into the monastery's agricultural estates.⁶⁸ In the so-called Farmer's Law, probably of the eighth or ninth century AD, it is envisaged that animals will normally be brought onto arable land and into vineyards after the harvest.⁶⁹ This seasonal incorporation of livestock is, in theory, good for the farmer, whose fields are thus weeded and manured in anticipation of the next growing season: 'The region where most flocks are stabled is the best for farmers, because of the dung, and many farmers ask shepherds to stable their flocks on their land.'⁷⁰ But, in practice, the interdependence of cultivable land and livestock could result in violent conflicts of interest between farmer and shepherd.

The case of Hierapolis is once again revealing. Textiles aside, it seems that the main agricultural product of Hieropolitan territory was the vine. Vitruvius describes how the hot waters of Hierapolis were conducted through ditches around the 'gardens and vineyards' of the Lycus plain; the petrified incrustations which form on the sides of the ditches were hacked off annually to be used in wall-building.⁷¹ The greater part of the territory of Hierapolis lay further to the north of the city, in the highlands of the Çökelez Dağı, enclosed to the north by the great loop of the Maeander gorge. The dark red soil of this district is exceptionally well suited to viticulture (Fig. 5.7). Entering the plain of Sazak, the ancient village of Mossyna, on 10 September 1826, Arundell remarks 'we were completely in the territories of Bacchus; nothing to be seen on all sides but vineyards, the fruit black, and of delicious flavour; quantities were drying for the markets.'⁷² Today, the economy of the region is entirely dependent on the production of sultanas, raisins and sweet red wine.⁷³

However, the Çökelez Dağı also provided ideal summer pasture for the great Hieropolitan flocks. At certain times of year, the interests of shepherds and vineyard-owners clashed. An inscription from the village of Kagyetteia, modern Develler, a vine-growing village in the remotest part of Hieropolitan

⁶⁸ Two cattlefolds are mentioned, presumably for the beasts of labour: the first at Modios, with 2,000 *modioi* of arable land attached, a gift of the late *sebastos* Mytas, the second attached to a vineyard, donated by Irene: lines 284, 300–1.

⁶⁹ Ashburner 1910–12, chs. 78–9; Kaplan 1992: 130–1. ⁷⁰ Dio 35.16.

⁷¹ Vitruvius 8.3.14: *circum hortos et uineas fossis ductis immittitur*. For the gardens of Hierapolis, tended by another of the city's associations (κηπουργοί), see BE 1971, 648.

⁷² Arundell 1828: 233; Ramsay, *Phrygia* I 127. The ethnic *Motellokepeites* (from a putative toponym *Motellokepos*, 'Vineyard of Motella') appears in two dedications from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos: Öztürk and Tanrıver 2008: 105 no. 19; Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız 2000: D11.

⁷³ In the Çökelez Dağı and Çal ovası, red wine and raisins are the main products; Alaşehir and the upper Kogamos valley today specialise in table grapes of good quality.



Figure 5.7 Vineyard in the Çal ovası, near Mahmutgazi

territory, not far from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, gives us an idea of the problem.⁷⁴

from all the vineyards, [it being permitted] to the owners alone to cut them down or, on the pretext of lack of sustenance, to engage in any [...]. If anyone acts contrary to this, [it is permitted] to the owners of the vineyards, and likewise to [any one of their household] to whom they have entrusted their affairs, [to seize] all of the cattle or sheep in their vineyards, to carry them off and keep them in recompense for the harm, [doing with them] whatever they wish. (The vineyard-owner) may have the shepherds whipped, if they are slaves, once they have been reported to those appointed as *paraphylakes* for the year, in order that they may refrain from persistent [theft?]. As for the masters of the flocks, and free shepherds, and [headmen?] of the villages who do not prevent shepherds from herding their sheep into vineyards and breaking off vine-branches, (the vineyard-owner) is permitted to make exactions from their other property, and to take sureties from them . . . exacting from them . . . [Apollo] *archegetes* . . . any inhabitant of the place . . . slave or shepherd.

⁷⁴ *MAMA* iv 297; Robert 1962: 356 n. 5 (decree of Hierapolis, not a proconsular edict). The text is reprinted by Brélaz (2005: 396–8), with a very inaccurate translation. In line 1, given the absence of a connective, I would prefer [ἐξόν], and in line 14 the interpunct should be removed. A second copy of the same text is now known from Dağmarmara, near the ancient village of Thiounta: *I.Denizli* 15.

The precise legal status of the regulations in the Develler inscription is, unfortunately, not quite clear. The regulations are likely to have applied to all the dependent villages on Hieropolitan territory; a second copy of the regulations has recently emerged near the ancient village of Thiounta, at the far western edge of the territory of Hierapolis. On the most plausible interpretation, this is a decree of the city of Hierapolis, intended to protect the interests of rural vintners against the city's shepherds (who were, as we have seen, a well-organised interest group). The inscription regulates against two different kinds of damage to a vine-owner's property: theft or deliberate damage to the vines,⁷⁵ and negligence or deliberate malice in permitting sheep or cattle to graze in a vineyard. The punishments for the latter offence are severe. The owners of the vineyards are permitted to seize any animals which enter their property; if the shepherd is a slave, he may be whipped, once it has been reported to the local *paraphylakes* (presumably those of the city of Hierapolis); the slave's owner, free shepherds, and even village chiefs who fail to take steps to prevent trespass will find themselves liable for financial reparations. Similar prescriptions are found in other regions which enjoyed a mixed economy of this kind. On Delos in the second century BC, the fine for allowing sheep into a vineyard was 200 *drachmae*.⁷⁶ A Byzantine inscription from Ayazviran in north-east Lydia stipulates that 'if anyone is found [...] vineyards or doing [...], he will pay a fine of [...] to the victim; and again, if anyone is found stealing or setting foot (i.e. inside the vineyard?), he will pay him a fine of half a *nomisma* and will receive ten lashes.'⁷⁷

Much though the urban elites of the Lycus valley would have liked to see their shepherds as a class apart, slipping through the interstices of an essentially sedentary, agricultural society, it is clear that the reality was more complex and antagonistic. The pastoralists of the ancient and mediaeval

⁷⁵ The Farmers' Law distinguishes between those who enter another man's vineyard in order to eat (he goes unpunished) and those who do so in order to steal (he is whipped and stripped of his shirt): Ashburner 1910–12, ch. 61. Plato would distinguish between different kinds of grapes (*Laws* VII 844d–845d). For the institution of vine-guards (*oporophylakes*) in antiquity, and the extraordinary punishments occasionally laid down for theft of grapes, see Morris and Papadopoulos 2005: 179; the *oporophylax* is also attested in the Farmer's Law (Ashburner 1910–12, ch. 33), and, for that matter, in Theoc. 1.45–54.

⁷⁶ *I.Délos* 1416B, I 45–6, μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ πρόβατα εἰς τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐμβαλεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποτεισάτω δραχμᾶς ΗΗ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.

⁷⁷ *TAM* v 1, 485, with Robert, *Hellenica* 7, 153 n.7: εἴ τις εὐρεθ[ῆ] – c. 7 -] εἰς τὰς ἀμπέλους ἢ [- c. 6 -] οὐ ποιήσι, ζημίαν δώσει [...]. τῶ παθόντι· κὲ πάλιν εἴ [τις] εὐρεθῆ κλέπτων ἤτε ἴσε[νεγ]χῆ ποῦν, δώσει [αὐτῶ?] ζημί[αν] νομίσματος ἡμισυ κὲ λάβι βούνευρα δέκα. For more concise ancient 'Keep Out' signs, see e.g. *I.Trall.* 245: 'Let no-one pass through the olive grove; if not, he'll regret it'; Chandezon 2003a:161–2, no. 40 (Rhodes): 'Entry forbidden for cattle and flocks.'

Lycus plain were not as marginal as they looked. As we have seen, the exploitation of animal products was, from at least the early Roman imperial period, the dominant element in the urban economies of the middle Maeander region. Shepherds were uncultured and inconvenient, and had an irritating habit of damaging vineyards, but ultimately the city could do without its vines; it could not do without its sheep.

This symbiotic relationship between pastoralists and the city is nicely illustrated by the relations of the ancient shepherds of Mt Mycale with their urban neighbours. A sacrificial calendar of the mid-fourth century BC from the small town of Thebes on the south slopes of Mycale describes the offerings to be made by goatherds and shepherds to a group of local deities, apparently all worshipped at a single shrine at or near Thebes.

and hand over to the *hieropoioi*, swearing an oath to Mycale; and on the thirteenth of the month Taureon, make an offering to the Nymphs, just as also to Mycale; and at the Thargelia, on the eighth of the month, make an offering of cheese to Hermes *Ktenites* ['Hermes of the flocks'], just as also to Mycale; and on the following day make an offering of cheese to the Maeander, just as also to the other (deities), swearing an oath. Let a kid at its first shearing be offered in sacrifice to Hermes by each goatherd from his own herd; it is not permitted for it to be bought. Let them also offer half-*choenix* cakes and two *hemitesseria* of wine as a libation. Let those who pasture sheep offer a lamb from their flock, if they have given birth to five; and let them make the other offerings similarly to those who pasture goats. And let those who make offerings receive the hide of the kid and the leg and the kidney and the intestines; the *hieropoioi*, once they have received the meat of the kids and the things which they sacrifice, let them distribute portions of this man by man to all of the Thebans and to the citizens, as many as . . .⁷⁸

The text regulates the offerings required from two different groups of pastoralists, goatherds and shepherds. The goatherds of the mountain are to provide offerings of goat's cheese to various different deities, and at the time of the first shearing of the young kids, they are to sacrifice a kid from their own herd. Shepherds make the same offerings as the goatherds, with the exception that they are to offer a lamb instead of a kid, so long as they have at least five newborn lambs that year. The pastoral deities to whom the offerings are made are self-explanatory: Mycale and Maeander, the mountain and the river; the Nymphs, goddesses of the mountain streams; Hermes, protector of the flocks.

⁷⁸ *I.Priene* 362 (LSAM 39).

What is particularly interesting here is the way in which cult activity explicitly serves as a point of contact between the pastoral and sedentary worlds. In the final line of the inscription, we find that the meat from the animal offerings of the shepherds and goatherds of Mt Mycale is to be shared between ‘the Thebans’ and ‘the citizens, as many as . . .’; presumably the sense is ‘as many as are resident at Thebes’. The distinction between ‘Thebans’ and ‘citizens’ makes it clear that Thebes is at this point politically dependent on another city, almost certainly Miletus.⁷⁹ The distribution of the shepherds’ and goatherds’ offerings among the urban populations of Thebes and Miletus serves as a way of integrating the pastoral class into the conceptual framework of the city.

This religious assimilation of the pastoralists of Mt Mycale reflects economic realities. As has been powerfully argued in the context of southern mediaeval Europe, pastoralism seldom takes place in a vacuum. Specialised animal husbandry is only possible in the context of a relatively sophisticated market economy, which is able to support a distinct and dedicated pastoral class. Far from being a relic of a primitive, pre-agricultural mode of production, specialised pastoralism is in fact most often an offshoot of an agricultural economy at an advanced stage of development.⁸⁰ It is probably no coincidence that the sole regional economy in the ancient Mediterranean world in which large-scale transhumant stock-rearing had a place was that of the Italian peninsula between the late Republic and high Empire: here, the existence of a highly sophisticated and centralised urban economy permitted the emergence of a specialised pastoral sector.⁸¹

The problem of transhumance

Large-scale stock-rearing necessarily involves the movement of animals. This raises questions both of geography and of politics. Long-distance pastoral transhumance depends on a flexible and accommodating mode of territorial organisation. When flocks move beyond the territory of an individual city, political consequences follow.

The case of Classical and Hellenistic Greece is revealing. The absence of long-distance transhumance in mainland Greece and the islands before the Roman conquest was a consequence of extreme political fragmentation: the social and political mechanisms which would have enabled flocks to move

⁷⁹ Theopompus *FGrHist* 115F23, with Ehrhardt 1983: 14–15, 276–8.

⁸⁰ Wickham 1994. ⁸¹ Frayn 1984; Corbier 1991.

long distances through the territories of a number of independent city-states hardly existed.⁸² On the Greek mainland, therefore, the characteristic mode of animal husbandry involved a short-range vertical movement of relatively small groups of animals from plain to mountain, within the bounds of an individual city's territory. This seasonal movement is best understood as little more than an 'infield-outfield shift' to remove livestock from the plains during the growing season.⁸³

The only significant exception to this pattern is found in a treaty of *isopoliteia* between the Cretan cities of Hierapytna and Priansos, dating to the early second century BC. The treaty establishes a reciprocal pasturage arrangement, according to which the flocks of each city may be grazed on the other's territory free from pasture dues.⁸⁴ The interest of this agreement lies in the fact that Hierapytna and Priansos are non-contiguous: their urban centres are more than thirty miles apart, and are separated from one another by the territories of Biannos and Malla. It has, however, plausibly been argued that these reciprocal arrangements were an exceptional response to a major economic crisis at Hierapytna, due to rapid demographic growth and a consequent inability to sustain its population solely from its own territory.⁸⁵ Transhumance on this scale was so unusual in Hellenistic Crete that extraordinary measures had to be taken to facilitate it.

To the best of my knowledge the only evidence for long-distance transhumance in the Maeander region in antiquity is a brief reference in the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* of 39 BC. After declaring the inhabitants of Plarasa-Aphrodisias to be free, autonomous and immune from taxation, the senate further decrees that 'whatever (livestock) the Plarasans and Aphrodisians may bring from the boundaries of the Trallians within the boundaries of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, all this is to be exempt from taxation and from pasture dues at the boundaries of the Trallians.'⁸⁶

⁸² Chandezon 2003a: 391–7, criticising Georgoudi 1974: 172–80.

⁸³ Hodkinson 1988: 51–8. Chandezon (2003a: 394–5) argues that this practice, sometimes categorised as 'vertical transhumance' or *inalpage*, ought really to be distinguished from transhumance altogether.

⁸⁴ Chaniotis 1996: no. 28, with pp. 114–20; Chandezon 2003a: 169–81. ⁸⁵ Chaniotis 1995.

⁸⁶ Reynolds 1982: no. 8, lines 62–5: [- - -]νται τε ἅτε τινὰ καὶ [οἶ ἄ]ν Πλαρασεῖς |[καὶ Ἀφροδισιεῖς - - c. 38 - -]α ἐκ τῶν [Τραλ]λιανῶν ὄρων εἴσω τῶν [ὄρων τῶ]ν Πλαρασεῖ|[ων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων - - c. 31 - - -όγ]ωσιν, ταῦτα πάντα ἅτελῆ καὶ ἀννενομίω[τα ἐ]ξάγειν ἐκ |[τῶν ὄρων τῶν ?Τραλλιανῶν, κτλ.]. Reynolds hesitates between articulating ὄρων (boundaries) or ὄρων (pastures); *per lapsum*, she prints ὄρων (meaningless). Although it is clearly the Aphrodisians' 'pastures' (ὄρων) which are being guaranteed in line 59 (cf. *RDGE* 2.18 [Thisbe]), 'boundaries' must be the sense required here. For a similar ambiguity over ὄροφύλακες, see below, Chapter 7, n. 70.

The word 'livestock' is not present in the text, but the reference to pasture dues payable on Trallian territory makes it clear that it is pastoral transhumance between Tralles and Plarasa-Aphrodisias which is at issue. Strictly speaking, the text only concerns the movement of livestock in one direction, from Tralles to Plarasa-Aphrodisias, since the senate is concerned with fiscal benefits to the latter party only. However, it seems likely that the pastoral relationship, if not the financial benefit, was reciprocal: as the Plarasans and Aphrodisians pastured their flocks in Trallian territory during winter, so the Trallians pastured theirs at Plarasa-Aphrodisias during the summer.⁸⁷

The territories of Plarasa-Aphrodisias and Tralles were far from being contiguous. The route of the drove-road from Plarasa-Aphrodisias can be traced with reasonable certainty: from the highlands north of Plarasa (modern Bingeç), the Karıncalı Dağı, the flocks wound their way across the plateau of Plarasa down past Görle into the upper Harpasus valley; then northwards from the small and fertile plain of Kemer, through the lonely defiles of the Harpasus into the lower valley of Bozdoğan, past the small Carian towns of Neapolis and Harpasa; thence out into the broad Maeander plain, and westwards along the left bank of the river, through the territories of Orthosia and the little village of Euhippe, before entering the Trallian pastures, the Koçak ovası, in the vicinity of the modern village of Gölhisar.⁸⁸ The drovers' journey from the bounds of Plarasa-Aphrodisias to the limits of Trallian territory was of the order of fifty or sixty miles, a descent of more than three thousand feet. This is clearly not a case of simple intra-territorial *inalpage*: the movement of flocks from Plarasa-Aphrodisias to Tralles is closer in scale, for example, to the twentieth-century seasonal migrations of Yürük pastoralists between the Eşler Dağları, the mountains which separate the plains of Acıpayam and Tefenni, to the Maeander plain west of Denizli (Fig. 5.8).⁸⁹

Medium-distance movements of this kind are interesting precisely because they are unique and uncharacteristic: they allow us to glimpse

⁸⁷ As pointed out in 1499 by the inhabitants of the Venetian outpost of Coron on the coast of the Morea, when instructed to cease pasturing their flocks on Ottoman territory: 'if our flocks come onto your territory in summer, so yours come onto ours in winter' (Braudel 1966: 178).

⁸⁸ Plarasa-Bingeç: Smith and Ratté 1995: 40–2. Harpasus valley: Robert 1980: 355–75.

⁸⁹ de Planhol 1958: 196 n. 1. The plain of Denizli had served as winter pasturage for Yürüks throughout the Ottoman period: de Planhol 1969a: 394–7. A tax register of 1476 records a group of Yürüks who wintered in Dazkırı and spent the summer at Badınca, just south of Alaşehir: Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984: 32.



Figure 5.8 Yürüks seen by Freya Stark near Aphrodisias in 1952, 'descending from summer pastures above Karacasu . . . to winter round Milas, a fortnight away' (Stark 1954: 214)

the specific pastoral network of a particular region, the connections operating at a particular place and time. More importantly from our perspective, they are also essentially interactive, as vertical transhumance, occurring as it does within, rather than between, communities, is not. Transhumant shepherds were necessarily dependent on local urban authorities for access to pasturage and city markets. ‘Transhumants always exist in an “artificial” state in the Mediterranean . . . always subject to a government which seeks to control their movements.’⁹⁰ Pastoral relations such as that linking Plarasa–Aphrodisias and Tralles must necessarily reflect social networks; in fact, they *are* social networks.

The earlier history of this drove-road from the Karıncalı Dağı to the winter pastures of Tralles is unknown. As always, the evidence offers only a momentary glimpse of a pastoral system which may have been of deep antiquity, or may not. Certainly, the long-distance seasonal migrations of Ottoman Anatolia, between the fringe of the plateau and the low-lying Aegean valleys, cannot simply be retrojected back into Graeco-Roman antiquity.⁹¹ It could be argued that the transhumant relationship attested in 39 BC is a consequence of political unification; only with the Roman conquest do reciprocal arrangements of this kind between non-neighbouring states become possible: ‘Like aqueducts, the routes of transhumance could now extend beyond civic frontiers.’⁹² It is my instinct that this would be an unwise assumption. Inland Anatolia broadly lacked the institutional barriers to long-distance movement of livestock characteristic of the Greek mainland, permitting a wider range of pastoral practices than was possible in Greece. On the plateau proper, which remained largely pre-urban down to the first century AD, there was nothing to restrict the free, semi-nomadic movement of the vast Cappadocian and Galatian flocks in search of pasture.⁹³ For the Maeander valley, evidence is lacking for the Hellenistic and earlier periods. By the end of the third century BC, the lower Maeander valley was fairly densely urbanised, but, as we have seen, the cities of the Maeander enjoyed a far greater degree of social and economic co-operation than was ever the case in pre-Roman Greece. It seems to me, then, that the political unification provided by Roman rule was not a necessary condition for transhumance

⁹⁰ Davis 1977: 20–8.

⁹¹ Horden and Purcell 2000: 63–4, 86. Modern nomadic practices in Asia Minor are still often retrojected into antiquity, on the most exiguous of evidence: see e.g. Robert 1987: 31; Casabonne 2004: 52–8; Bru 2009: 279.

⁹² Chandezon 2003a: 407.

⁹³ Strabo 12.6.1; Mitchell 1993: 1 148–9. For Achaemenid Cappadocia, Briant 1982a: 331–56, esp. 335–6.

across relatively long distances, and specifically between city-territories, in western Asia Minor. But in the absence of corroborating evidence this is no more than speculation.

Pastoral economies, unlike agrarian economies, are necessarily characterised by mobility and exchange. Pastoralism thus offers a way of thinking about connectivity and regional networks in a non-hierarchical polycentric space like the Maeander valley. The deep life of the valley, the slow passage of shepherds from pasture to pasture, the intimate patterns linking one city's territory with another, necessarily reflect broader patterns of social interaction. They can also influence those patterns profoundly, as we shall see in the next chapter.

6 | The nobility of Mt Cadmus

Many traces of the city wall may be seen, with broken columns and pieces of marble used in its later repairs. Within, the whole surface is strewn with pedestals and fragments. The luxury of the citizens may be inferred from their sumptuous buildings, and from two capacious theatres in the side of the hill, fronting northward and westward; each with its seats, rising in numerous rows one above another. The travellers in 1705 found a maimed statue at the entrance of the former, and on one of the seats the word ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ, *Of Zeno*.¹

Virtuous people

The wealth and fame of Laodicea on the Lycus had their origins in the last days of the Roman Republic. Founded by the Seleucid king Antiochus II in the middle years of the third century BC, it was only after the Mithradatic wars that the city rose to her celebrated state of prosperity. In this respect, the town's development followed a similar course to that of her near neighbour Aphrodisias: in both cases, the conspicuous loyalty of the local propertied class in the face of the mass uprisings of 89–85 BC was rewarded with large incentivising benefits from the Roman senate.²

As to the origins of the city's wealth, Strabo was in no doubt. 'Laodicea, although formerly small, was augmented in our time and in that of our fathers; and it was through the richness of her territory and the good fortune of certain of her citizens that she rose to greatness.'³ Strabo often emphasises the influence of particular families and their wealth on the historical development of the cities of Asia. 'And if there is a city in all of Asia well-populated by men of wealth, then that city is Tralles; and citizens of

¹ Chandler 1775: 227.

² In the institutional sphere, although the local assize-district was named after the town of Kibyra, by the 50s BC the actual conduct of judicial business had been entirely transferred to Laodicea. See Cic. *Att.* 5.21.9; Plin. *HN* 5.105; Ameling 1988: 18–24; on the assize districts, [Chapter 3](#) above, pp. 108–17.

³ Strabo 12.8.16.



Map 10 The cities of Mt Cadmus

Tralles are always among the first men in the province, known as asiarchs.²⁴ Implicit in Strabo's comments is the belief that the advance of the local propertied class was not a consequence, but rather a precondition of the augmentation of a city as a whole, and this idea, unpleasant though it is, deserves to be taken seriously.

We are not short of evidence for the development of the Asiatic provincial elite in the first three centuries of Roman rule. Thanks to thousands of honorific inscriptions, detailing names and careers, we can draw up extensive family trees, connecting fathers and sons, husbands and wives, all of them 'kind and moderate and generous in matters concerning their fatherland', 'people of virtue who achieved esteem and note for their manner of life', 'who always acted in a manner appropriate to the honour of their family' – that is to say, shadowy figures at best.⁵ The propertied families of the province of Asia would be particularly delighted for us to believe that their self-affirming benefactions and mediating relations with the ruling

⁴ Strabo 14.1.42.

⁵ On the deliberate homogeneity of the honorific epigraphy of Roman Asia, see Fernoux 2007.

power provided the essential social, political and economic foundations for their cities' continued prosperity in the Roman imperial period; they would have enjoyed reading this chapter.⁶ It is certainly the case that the divergent fortunes of the civic communities of the province of Asia were directly connected with the specific political acts and personal connections of their local nobility. Nonetheless, we should try not to forget that the smooth, homogeneous prose of the honorific epigraphy is a trap deliberately set for us by the propertied class itself. The language of morals both explained and legitimised the sharp social inequalities of the cities of the eastern Roman provinces; it was, we are insistently told, ethics, not property, which underlay the political power of the provincial elite. In fact, the self-satisfied moral façade of polite provincial society conceals widely divergent family origins, varying sources of wealth and limiting geographical factors. Much though the propertied families themselves would have wished to deny it, the patterns of activity of the top families of Laodicea, Heraclea under Salbake, Attouda and Aphrodisias (the cities examined in this chapter) obeyed a locally specific environmental logic, structured and constrained by mountains, plain and valley.

The Antonii of Laodicea

In the summer of 40 BC, the Parthian army, led by the renegade Roman general Labienus, burst through the Cilician Gates and overran the southern part of the Roman province of Asia, plundering temples and ravaging the territory of the defenceless cities. With the Roman reconquest of Asia Minor the following year, those cities that had chosen to resist the Parthians were rewarded with satisfying privileges from the triumvirs; the Aphrodisians and Stratoniceans, having preserved their ancestral loyalty towards the ruling power, regained their status as free cities. For the Laodiceans, the benefits were less tangible, but no less significant. The defence of the city against Labienus – whether successful or otherwise is not recorded – was undertaken by an orator by the name of Zeno, and his son Polemo. Marcus Antonius was impressed by the energy, talents and pro-Roman disposition of the family. As part of the reorganisation of Rome's eastern territories in 39 BC, Polemo was established as tetrarch over a large stretch of territory in Lycaonia and Rough Cilicia. His rule was of short duration; in 37 or 36 BC

⁶ Less so the cautionary study of Zuiderhoek 2005.

he was transferred to the kingship of Pontus, a region which he was to rule until his death in the last years of the century.⁷

A marriage was arranged for Polemo, connecting him to one of the wealthiest and most influential pro-Roman families in the province. The woman concerned was Pythodorus of Tralles, granddaughter of Chaeremon of Nysa, a loyal collaborator with Rome during an earlier crisis. In retreat before the advance of Mithradates in late 89 BC, the proconsul C. Cassius had withdrawn to the stronghold of Apamea, where he received 60,000 *modii* of wheat-flour from the great landowner Chaeremon to see his forces through the winter. When Mithradates made his triumphal entrance into the province early in the following year, Chaeremon was compelled to flee for his life. His sons, Pythodorus and Pythion, were sent to Rhodes along with Cassius, and Chaeremon himself took refuge in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. After the re-establishment of Roman control in the province, the Nysaeans demonstrated their loyalty to the Roman cause by inscribing and setting up on stone two dramatic letters written by Mithradates to his satrap Leonippus, in which the king places a large price on the heads of Chaeremon and his sons, and commands that they be brought before him dead or alive.⁸

Chaeremon himself seems to have survived the crisis. An eponymous magistrate by the name of Chae() appears on the coinage of Nysa at an uncertain date between 84/3 and 61/60 BC, implying that Chaeremon returned safely to his native city after the defeat of the Mithradatic uprising.⁹ His two young sons prospered, no doubt thanks to the family's conspicuous loyalty towards the ruling power. The younger son, Pythion, remained at Nysa; he appears as eponymous magistrate on a cistophoric coin-issue of 70/69 BC, the sixteenth year of the new era inaugurated by Nysa (and many of her neighbours) after the Sullan reconquest.¹⁰ The elder son, Pythodorus,

⁷ For the Laodicean resistance: Strabo 14.2.24; 12.8.16. Polemo tetrarch in Lycaonia/Cilicia: App. *B Civ.* 5.75 (319); Strabo 12.6.1. Syme, *RP* v 661–7, recognised that certain peculiarities in Pliny's descriptions of Isauria and Lycaonia (*HN* 5.94–5) ought to reflect the territory briefly controlled by Polemo.

⁸ *Syll.*³ 741; *RC* 73–4 (Mithradates' letters). It seems to have been around this time that Chaeremon's relative Callinoe served as priestess of Artemis at Ephesus: *I. Trall.* 87 (for the date of this document – early first century BC – see Drew-Bear 1972: 460–1).

⁹ Cistophoric drachms: Imhoof-Blumer, *GM* 194, no. 596; *SNG Cop.* (Lydia) 303 (magistrate XA); *SNG Delepierre* 2796 (magistrate XAI). For the date, see the next note.

¹⁰ *SNG Von Aulock* 3042 = *Münzen und Medaillen* 13 (2003) 329 (Pythion son of Chaere(mon), year 16), apparently unique. Regling (*apud* von Diest 1913: 71–6) – who was of course unaware of this particular coin – took the dates found on cistophori and local issues of Nysa (from year 1 to year 25) to represent a provincial era, starting in 134/3. (The issue dated to year 1 has only recently emerged: *CNG Triton VI* [2003] 396.) Leschhorn (1993: 208–14) showed from hoard

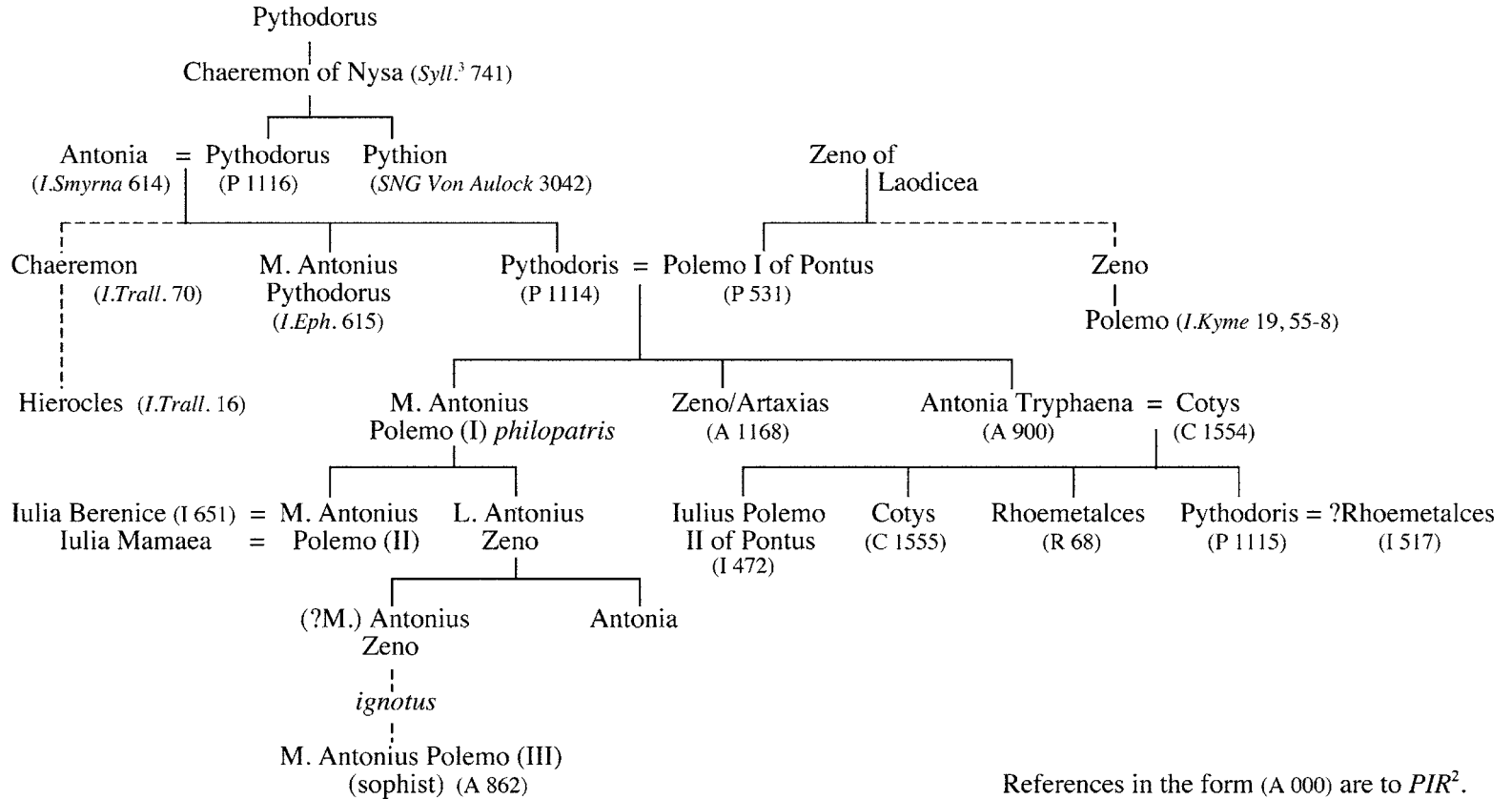


Figure 6.1 The Antonii of Laodicea

relocated to the neighbouring city of Tralles. He retained the vast landholdings of his father: his private fortune was valued by Strabo at two thousand talents. Friendship with Pompeius led to the confiscation of his property by Caesar, but the loss was repaired and his children came into the possession of an undiminished patrimony.¹¹ The wealth and influence of one of Pythodorus' own sons, Chaeremon, owner of an estate named Siderous in the vicinity of Tralles, was exercised to his city's benefit in the aftermath of the terrible earthquake of 26 BC, which devastated a number of cities in the Maeander valley. A personal embassy to Augustus resulted in the reconstruction of the ruined city of Tralles and the introduction of a small Italian colonial settlement, commemorated with the addition of 'Caesarea' to the city's name.¹²

Pythodorus' wife emerges from a Smyrnaean inscription, which names her by gentilician only: Antonia. Some have wished to see in her a daughter of the triumvir, without good reason; instead, she was almost certainly a native of Smyrna, the coastal city which (as we will see) was to be a second home for many of Pythodorus' descendants. Antonia's Roman *nomen*, and the citizenship possessed and exploited by her descendants, must have derived from a citizenship grant by Antonius, no doubt extended to the family of Pythodorus as a whole. The end of the Parthian war provides an appropriate context for the grant; by the *lex Fonteia*, perhaps of 39 BC, Roman citizenship appears to have been bestowed on a number of Antonius' supporters at Cos.¹³ It was the daughter of Antonia and Pythodorus, Pythodoris, sister of Chaeremon of Siderous, who was to become queen of Pontus as wife of Polemo of Laodicea.

The marriage of Pythodoris and Polemo was intended to unite two of the leading pro-Roman families of the province: the descendants of Chaeremon of Nysa and the Zenonids of Laodicea. Two of the three children of Polemo would come to rule kingdoms in their own right: Zeno Artaxias,

evidence that the era must be that of Sulla (85/4); the issues of Chae() and Pythion (not noted by Leschhorn, or indeed any other modern scholar) confirm this. The Chaeremon attested at Nysa under Claudius is presumably a descendant (*RPC* 1 2665).

¹¹ Strabo 14.1.42. A mistranslation in the Loeb: his property was sold *because of* his friendship with Pompeius. Cicero, unsurprisingly, considered Pythodorus to be one of the better sort at Tralles: *Flacc.* 52.

¹² Agathias 2.17. For the Italian settlement (although Tralles Caesarea was not a true colony), *RPC* 1 2649. Chaeremon's family continued to be prominent at Tralles: the Hierocles son of Chaeremon, honoured with a statue at Nysa, who served the Trallians as eponymous priest, may well be his son (*I.Trall.* 16, whence the restoration in *CIG* 2945).

¹³ Antonia: *I.Smyrna* 614 (describing her as εὐεργέτις). Cos: Crawford 1996: 1 36 (date not certain).

king of Armenia, and Antonia Tryphaena, bride of King Cotys of Thrace. Neither they, nor the offspring of Tryphaena, the childhood friends of the future emperor Gaius, need concern us. Rather it is to the third child of Polemo and Pythodoris, the shadowy M. Antonius Polemo, that we now turn.¹⁴

Three names stand out on the coinage of Laodicea in the age of Zeno and Polemo: an individual by the name of Sitalcas, whose name and portrait appear on bronze and silver types of the 50s BC;¹⁵ a famous doctor, Zeuxis *philaethes*, founder of a medical school at the shrine of Men Carus in the western marches of Laodicean territory, who minted a small bronze issue under Augustus;¹⁶ and a certain Antonius Polemo *philopatris*, responsible for the production of a bronze issue around 5 BC.¹⁷ This Polemo was the only one of the three children of Polemo and Pythodoris not to end his career ruling a kingdom; in Strabo's day, by which time he must have been a middle-aged man, his talents were employed in assisting his mother in the administration of her realm.¹⁸ It comes as no surprise that it was Antonius Polemo, rather than his more celebrated siblings, who continued to exert himself in the service of his father's native city of Laodicea.

Antonius Polemo *philopatris* had at least two sons, of different qualities. The elder of the two (we may suppose), another homonym, M. Antonius Polemo (II), began his career as dynast and high-priest at Cilician Olba, before being promoted by the emperor Gaius to the rule of his 'ancestral domain', a large territory in Rough Cilicia. There followed a brief marriage to the notorious Julia Berenice, and the throne of Armenia late in life; he is last heard of in the first years of the Flavian dynasty. His younger brother, L. Antonius Zeno, although formally inferior in rank and distinction, is of quite another order of interest. Like his father, M. Antonius Polemo (I) *philopatris*, Zeno had no hopes of a kingdom falling to his care. Instead, he took the momentous step – one of the very first Greeks to do so – of entering the equestrian order and taking up a military tribunate, of *legio XII Fulminata*

¹⁴ For the reconstruction of this branch of the family, see Thonemann 2004.

¹⁵ His portrait appears on *RPC* I 2892, there wrongly dated to the Augustan period; his name also appears on a proconsular cistophorus of C. Fabius M.f. (57 BC), *SNG Von Aulock* 3802. The name is Thracian (Detschew 1957: 450–2), perhaps a trace of the original Macedonian settlers at Laodicea. For such Macedonian remnants, note also Amyntas, the grandfather of a certain Zeuxis found on the cistophoric issue *SNG Von Aulock* 3798 (probably to be distinguished from the medical Zeuxis).

¹⁶ *RPC* I 2893–5; for the school, Strabo 12.8.20. His successor, Alexander of Laodicea (*Neue Pauly*, s.v. Alexandros (31)), is given by Strabo the same epithet, *philaethes*, as Zeuxis had adopted on his coinage. For a Jewish doctor educated here, see *IJO* II 443 n. 252.

¹⁷ *RPC* I 2898–900. ¹⁸ Strabo 12.3.29, with Thonemann 2004: 146.

in Syria.¹⁹ The single *militia* is the only one known; Zeno subsequently returned to Asia, to take up the high-priesthood of Asia, an office which he appears to have occupied early in the reign of Tiberius. A long retirement at Laodicea followed, where his fourth tenure of the eponymous priesthood of the city, in the last years of Claudius, was celebrated with a striking issue of bronze coinage. The obverse face offers the legend ‘*demos* of the Laodiceans and Smyrnaeans’, illustrated with facing busts of the personified *demoi* of the two towns.²⁰ The issue prefigures the ‘*homonoia*’ types which were to become widespread in the Flavian period and afterwards, advertising (or at least professing) concord between the great cities of the Asiatic provinces. Here, however, the connection between Laodicea and Smyrna seems to be a personal one: Antonius Zeno wished to express his particular attachment to Smyrna – presumably through his great-grandmother, if we are right to regard her as Smyrnanian by birth – even while minting an issue of coinage nominally intended for his native town of Laodicea. His son, a junior Zeno, followed the same course, producing a large coinage at Laodicea around a decade later on which he boldly declared himself ‘son of the Laodiceans and Smyrnaeans’.²¹ Evidently this branch of the family already possessed the property at Smyrna which was to be inherited by the cosmopolitan sophist M. Antonius Polemo two generations later.

The career pursued by Zeno, the single equestrian *militia* followed by a provincial high-priesthood and miscellaneous local civic offices, was a startling novelty for its day; as we have seen, he is the first Greek known to have held the office of military tribune. Others were soon to follow in his path. A closely comparable career can be inferred for a younger contemporary of Zeno from the upper Maeander region, C. Iulius Cleon of Eumeneia. He was born into an old family at Eumeneia; his father and mother, Epigonus and Castoris, had taken responsibility for a small coinage under Augustus, from whom the family had presumably obtained Roman citizenship.²² Cleon, having served as military tribune of *legio VI Ferrata* in

¹⁹ For Greeks entering the *ordo equester* under the early principate, Demougin 1988: 534–9, 549–51; Demougin 1999. If the stages of Zeno’s career in *SEG* 37, 855 are listed in chronological order (which is by no means certain), he would have served as *tribunus militum* under Augustus. This would make him the earliest Greek known to have held this post.

²⁰ *RPC* I 2912; Franke and Nollé 1997: 1198–212.

²¹ *RPC* I 2928; Franke and Nollé 1997: 1162–97. The reverse legend reads in full Ἀντώ(νιος) Ζήνωνος Ζήνων, υἱὸς Λαοδικέων Ζμυρναίων ὄμηρος. The meaning of the final word, which ought to be a title or description of Zeno, is not clear to me: see Klose 1987: 53 (‘Sicherheit, Pfand’).

²² Epigonus *philopatris* (*RPC* I 3142) and Castoris *sôteira* (*RPC* I 3143), with Thonemann 2010. These titles also appear on an honorific inscription at Eumeneia for Epigonus: Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 377, no. 199, ‘Epigonus *philopatris* son of Menecrates, priest of Roma, *sôter* (saviour) and ancestral benefactor’.

Syria, held the high-priesthood of Asia along with his wife in the early years of Nero's reign. A bronze coin-issue at Eumeneia, once more in the names of both husband and wife, celebrated the event.²³

The progress of the Pontic royal house of Polemo was unaffected by the eclipse of Antonius. It served no one's interest that Antonius' dynastic appointments be disturbed. Men of Zeno's class and disposition, wealthy and compliant, would ensure the smooth running of the cities of the eastern territories. The Roman citizenship was the least that could be expected in return. Zeno demanded a further distinction, over and above his anomalous equestrian rank. He was, after all, grandson of a tetrarch and king, nephew to the monarchs of Thrace and Armenia. At Zeno's request, Augustus granted the former *tribunus militum* the right of wearing the royal purple 'throughout the civilised world'. This is unusual; indeed, nothing quite like it is known for any other Roman citizen at this period. L. Antonius Zeno was evidently an influential character. Inscribed honours for Zeno are known not only in the neighbouring towns of the Tabai plateau, Apollonia and Heraclea under Salbake, but also in the Pontic city of Amisus (prefaced, in this case, by a lengthy enumeration of his ancestors' titles and offices). His activity is recorded even beyond the Bosphorus, at Pontic Apollonia, where he established a dedication for the health and safety of his cousin Pythodoris, and her husband King Rhoemetalces.²⁴ The family seems to have retained the privilege of the royal purple: a century and a half later, a remote descendant of Zeno was still boasting his possession of this right.²⁵

Little is known of Zeno's children and grandchildren. As we have seen, his son, a younger Zeno, is known only from his coinage; a daughter by the name of Antonia seems to have died young, although not before service as provincial high-priestess.²⁶ The Antonii then drop from sight for a generation. A husband and wife, C. Iulius Cotys and Claudia Zenonis, were

²³ Iulius Cleon (*RPC* 1 3149–50) and Bassa daughter of Cleon (*RPC* 1 3151–2); Weiss 2000a: 236–9. His full name is known from *I.Ephesos* 688: C. Iulius Epigoni f. Fabia Cleon, *tribunus legionis* and subsequently (as the definite article in line 3, τὸν ἀρχιερέα makes clear) high-priest of Asia. Fifty years later, M. Ulpius Trypho Antonianus of Themisonium progressed as far as *praefectus cohortis* before returning to hold the high-priesthood of Asia: *IGR* 1v 882 (*I.Denizli* 53).

²⁴ Apollonia: *SEG* 37, 855 (*I.Denizli* 51). Heraclea: *La Carie II* no. 54. Amisus: *IGR* 111 1436, as restored by Saprykin 1992: 25–6 (except that the nomenclature of Zeno in lines 4–5 should read 'son of M. Antonius Polemo, grandson of Polemo': Thonemann 2004). Pontic Apollonia: *IGBulg.* 1² 399, as supplemented by Saprykin 1992: 33.

²⁵ So I understand the item πορφύρεον in the list of privileges claimed by Hermocrates to have been passed down to him from his great-grandfather Polemo. Evidently not 'consular purple'; Polemo was never consul.

²⁶ *ILaodikeia* 53 (*I.Denizli* 52), with the corrections of Thonemann 2004. The attempt of Miranda (2005: 382–5) to connect L. Antonius Zeno with M. Ulpius Trypho of Themisonium (*IGR* 1v 882; *I.Denizli* 53) is based on a misunderstanding of the epithet *mezas*.

responsible for a large coinage under Titus, celebrating the construction of the stadium at Laodicea; both must have been relatives of the Zenonid house, although clearly not in the direct line.²⁷ Only with the spectacular career of M. Antonius Polemo, the great-grandson of L. Antonius Zeno, does the family re-emerge in all its splendour.

M. Antonius Polemo was perhaps the most remarkable representative of the self-proclaimed elite Greek cultural renaissance of the second century AD.²⁸ The weapons of birth, money and insolence, in the hands of an orator of unusual ability, brought Polemo to a position (as Philostratus fondly relates) from which he could treat cities as his inferiors, emperors not as superiors, and the gods themselves as his equals. His home town of Laodicea was, no doubt, a little too provincial; instead, he occupied a spacious house and gardens at Smyrna. When the mood took him to pay a visit to his native city, he rode through the province in a silver-bridled Phrygian or Galatian chariot, followed by a train of pack-animals, horses, slaves and hunting-dogs. On his motion, the people of Smyrna set up in their agora a statue of the personified *demos* of Laodicea, honoured as ‘brothers’ of the Smyrnaeans.²⁹ His grandfather Zeno had proclaimed himself son of the Laodiceans and Smyrnaeans; his son would go on to dedicate an ostentatious coinage ‘to my two native cities, Smyrna and Laodicea’. After his death, men would dispute which city Polemo had chosen as his resting place. Some Smyrnaeans claimed that he lay in a small temple near the sea, where there stood a statue of Polemo in his priestly robes, guiding the holy trireme of Dionysus as it moved at full sail through the city of Smyrna. The Laodiceans claimed to know better: Polemo had returned to the tombs of his ancestors, by the Syrian gate of Laodicea, face turned to the east and the ancient Cilician kingdom of the Zenonids.

The sophist was friend to three emperors, Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus, but his closest ties were with Hadrian. Through him, spectacular (if largely pointless) material benefits accrued to the city of Smyrna – a second temple-wardenship of the imperial cult, the sacred contest of the Hadrianic Olympia, immunity, numerous temples and public

²⁷ *RPC* II 1272–80. A certain Iulia Zenonis had minted with her husband, Iulius Andronicus, around the same time as the younger Zeno: *RPC* I 2920–5. For the stadium, constructed in 79/80 by the benefaction of another prominent Laodicean family, *I.Laodikeia* 15 (cf. 9); Traversari 2000: 63–73.

²⁸ Philostratus, *V S* 1.25 (530–44); *PIR*² A 862; for the facts, Stegemann, *RE* xxI, cols. 1320–57, s.v. Polemon 10; Quet 2003. Polemo’s *Physiognomy* survives only in an Arabic translation, now available in the superb edition of Swain 2007.

²⁹ So I would restore lines 4–5 of *I.Smyrna* 676, [τῶν ἀ]δελφῶν [Λαο|δικέ]ων. Puech (2002: 401–6) prefers [Περ|γαμη]ῶν.

buildings – and perhaps also to Pergamon, another city with which Polemo cultivated links, for the sake of its healing cult of Asclepius.³⁰ As for Laodicea, the picture is less clear. No coins of Polemo were minted at Laodicea: no building-works or specific privileges are associated with him. Inference can take us a little further. Hadrian made two journeys by land through the province of Asia, in 124 and 129. On the first occasion, when Hadrian passed through the Troad, Mysia and Lydia, Polemo certainly accompanied the emperor on his journey; he may have come along on the second occasion as well.³¹ In the summer of 129, Hadrian travelled east from Ephesus on the Southern Highway, along the right bank of the Maeander river. The cities themselves had their petitions carefully prepared: Ephesus and Tralles both independently won permission to import Egyptian grain, the great arable harvests of the Maeander long since having given way to more speculative and profitable crops.³² The emperor had reached Laodicea by 27 June, when we see him installed at the town replying to an embassy from the Astypalaeans; thence he proceeded east to Colossae and Apamea.³³ The visit of Hadrian left its mark on the city. A building inscription informs us that the vast bath/gymnasium complex, at the south of the city between the agora and the stadium, was dedicated in the proconsulate of Gargilius Antiquus (AD 134/5) to Hadrian and Sabina.³⁴ The edifice ought clearly to be associated with the imperial visit, and was perhaps promised by a wealthy citizen in AD 129: the construction of so large a building could well have taken five years. That Polemo was responsible is no more than a guess, although it would be hard to find a more appropriate candidate.

³⁰ For the benefits won by Polemo for Smyrna, *I.Smyrna* 697, lines 33–42. Polemo dedicated two large coinages to Smyrna in the 130s, one of them a commemorative issue for the deceased Antinous (Klose 1987: 248–54). At Pergamon, apart from the statue of Demosthenes established by Polemo in the shrine of Asclepius (*I.Asklepieion* 33), he is mentioned in an unrestorable context in an epistle of Hadrian (Oliver 1989: no. 59).

³¹ For the first journey, Halfmann 1986: 200–2. It is unlikely, despite Ramsay, *Phrygia* 1 47–8, that Hadrian passed Laodicea on that occasion.

³² Ephesus: *I.Ephesos* 274, with Wörrle 1971; Kirbihler 2006: 631–5. Tralles: *I.Trall.* 80 (60,000 *modii*), cf. 19. Tralles appears to have been routinely dependent on Egyptian grain in the first and second centuries AD: *I.Trall.* 77.12; 145.5. Given the massive potential agricultural wealth of the Maeander valley, the explanation given in the text seems to me more likely than endemic hoarding or profiteering by the great landowners of the region: see further Strubbe 1989; Kirbihler 2006: 616–19.

³³ The date is given by *IG XII* 3, 177 = Oliver 1989: no. 68: see Halfmann 1986: 204. Oliver mistranslates 11–12: the embassy met him ‘while I was visiting Caria recently’, whence he has just crossed to Phrygia.

³⁴ Building inscription: *ILaodikeia* 14. Gargilius: *AE* 1978, 62 (*suff.* 119). For the archaeological remains, Traversari 2000: 54–62; Schorndorfer 1997: 186–7 and *passim*.

The memory of Hadrian's gifts to the Laodiceans endured. Almost a century later, with the arrival of another peregrine emperor, Caracalla, a prestigious temple-wardenship was decreed for the Laodiceans, and another great municipal building, the Nymphaeum, was initiated. The following year, Laodicea struck a large and handsome issue of bronze to commemorate Caracalla's visit and benefactions, with a significant reminder of imperial precedent: Year 88. The new era commemorates the arrival of Hadrian in AD 129, evidently considered to be no less than a second foundation of the city of Laodicea.³⁵

After the death of M. Antonius Polemo, the fortunes of the Antonii become harder to trace: their names multiply, and familial relations are frequently obscure or doubtful. Whether Polemo's son Attalus cultivated any connections with Laodicea is uncertain. He is unlikely to be the homonymous M. Antonius Attalus of Laodicea whose young daughters sang at Claros early in the last decade of Hadrian's rule.³⁶ He certainly is not the Attalus whose benefaction as local high-priest funded an impressive issue of bronze coins at Laodicea in the first years of the reign of Pius: this was a young man of recent citizenship and repute, one of the Laodicean *nouveaux riches*, a banker or textile baron.³⁷ The son of Polemo preferred to lead an easy life at Smyrna, boasting the title of 'sophist' – so he styles himself on one of his coinages (AD 169–75), dedicated at Smyrna 'to my two native cities, Smyrna and Laodicea'.³⁸ A second coinage, minted in the same period, was

³⁵ For the era, and this interpretation of the coins dated Year 88 (AD 215/16), Leschhorn 1993: 382–5; for Caracalla's visit (probably summer 214), Halfmann 1986: 229, to be revised in accordance with Scheid 1998. The era is presumably an invention of the Caracallan period, to bring out the significance of the second imperial visit. The first stage of the Nymphaeum was dated tentatively by Ginouvès to the reign of Caracalla: des Gagniers 1969: 123–4, and cf. *I.Laodikeia* 16.

³⁶ Macridy 1905: 165, II 3: this seems to be too early to refer to the son of Polemo. A certain L. Antonius Zeno Aurelianus was 'prophet' at Laodicea in 141/2: *I.Laodikeia* 67 (*I.Denizli* 37).

³⁷ P. Claudius Attalus, minting at Laodicea AD 139–45. Jones (1980: 374–7) realised that he could not be the Attalus son of Polemo mentioned by Philostratus (*PIR*² C 797 is erroneous); I presume that he is the P. Claudius Attalus Philadelphus, son of P. Claudius Dionysius Aelianus, who went as a boy to Claros in the 60th prytany of Apollo (*SEG* 37, 961), perhaps precisely in 128/9, since the 61st prytany appears to have fallen in 129/30 (Macridy 1905: 167, no. 1, dated by *procos.* P. Iuuentius Celsus). Macdonald 1996 is a muddle: Claudius Attalus of Synnada, *prytanis* and *logistes* at Synnada, is a different man altogether. Native *logistai* are not uncommon.

³⁸ Klose 1987: 328–31, Ἀτταλὸς σοφιστῆς ταῖς πατρίσι Σμύρ(νη) Λαο(δικεία), minted AD 169–75. Note a contemporary (reciprocal?) *homonoia* issue at Laodicea (Franke and Nollé 1997: 123–4, nos. 1216–27), with reverse types very similar to part of the Smyrna issue (compare Smyrna Gruppe a, 2–4, Zeus Laodicenus between the two Nemeseis of Smyrna).

a benefaction to the Phocaeans, inhabitants of a small Ionian town at the mouth of the gulf of Smyrna.³⁹ Attalus had recently contracted a familial link with the local aristocracy of Phocaea, through the marriage of his daughter Callisto to a Phocaean consular by the name of Flavius Rufinianus.⁴⁰ The marriage produced a son by the name of L. Flavius Hermocrates, with a short but memorable career as an orator. Thus the ancestral right to the royal purple passed in the end to a Phocaeon; the meteoric career of Hermocrates was spent far from Laodicea, and he was the last of his line.⁴¹

The career of Attalus, son of Polemo, is otherwise a blank. Philostratus damns him with silence: ‘the line of Polemo ended with Polemo, for his descendants, although relatives of his, are not worthy of comparison with his virtue, with the exception of Hermocrates.’⁴² A single episode in the life of M. Antonius Attalus has been inferred. During his governorship of Asia in the late 180s, the proconsul C. Arrius Antoninus condemned a certain Attalus for an unknown crime. But this Attalus was a man of influence: through the agency of Commodus’ chamberlain, the Phrygian M. Aurelius Cleander, he had the proconsul put to death on false charges. Not many provincials possessed the personal influence to bring down a proconsul. Attalus, son of Polemo, has been suspected. The chronology fits, and the behaviour might be regarded as characteristic of the family.⁴³

So much for the descendants of the sophist M. Antonius Polemo. As Attalus slowly ate his way through his father’s reputation and millions at Smyrna, another branch of the family was proceeding smoothly to eminence in a quite different sphere. A certain M. Antonius Zenon is found occupying

³⁹ *BMC Ionia* 222–3, nos. 139 and 141; *Coll. Wadd.* 1902, with pl. IV 7, Ἀτταλὸς Φωκαεῦσιν ἀνέθηκε.

⁴⁰ Callisto: Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: I 210–11 (no. 229); for (Claudia), read (Antonia). Rufinianus: the name is corrupt in Philostratus, *V S* 2.25 (609): Ρουσινιανός (*sic*). See *PIR*² R 137, arguing for Rufinianus (rather than Rusonianus) on the basis of Aristides’ friend Rufus of Phocaea. Note also *I.Asklepieion* 34.14–15: the *cognomen* of the individual (presumably a relation) who set up the inscription for Flavius Hermocrates (Rufinianus’ son) seems likely to have been Ρού[φ]ο[υ]. ‘Rusonianus’ is defended, for bad reasons, by Puech 2002: 306–7.

⁴¹ Hermocrates: Philostratus, *V S* 2.25 (608–12); *I.Asklepieion* pp. 76–9. J. and L. Robert (*BE* 1973, 375) doubted the identification of Philostratus’ orator with the philosopher Hermocrates of *I.Asklepieion* 34 and *IG II*² 3797, without good reason. He may have had a sister named Polla, if Hermocrates is to be identified with the honorand of *L.Erythrai* 43; but the Roberts’ arguments (*ib.*) in favour of the identification are weak. For a different analysis, see Puech 2002: 297–307, with stemma at 527–30.

⁴² *V S* 1.25 (544). He is named at 2.25 (609), but only in the context of Hermocrates’ ancestry.

⁴³ *HA Comm.* 7.1–3. For the whole affair, see Pflaum 1972: 212–17; for the identification of Attalus, Barnes 1969; *contra*, less plausibly, Müller 1980: 482–4 (Ti. Claudius Attalus). The date of Antoninus’ proconsulship is uncertain (Leunissen 1989: 221, ?AD 188/9).

the suffect consulate in AD 148.⁴⁴ His exact relationship with Polemo is uncertain; he may have been a brother, but their connection could equally well lie further up the family tree. Perhaps Zeno was a descendant of M. Antonius Polemo of Olba and Armenia; in that case, he would be a second cousin of the sophist. A homonymous son of Zeno must have held the consulship some ten to fifteen years after his father, on the basis of a proconsulship in Africa in AD 183/4 or 184/5.⁴⁵ This is a significant posting, and one that marks out the younger Zeno as a consular of no ordinary distinction. Zeno was one of the very first native Greeks to become proconsul of Africa, hitherto a province conventionally reserved for Italians and Westerners; the eastern consulars tended to receive Asia.⁴⁶ His wife, one Antia Marcellina, is of uncertain origin, but there is some reason to think that she might have been a native of Ephesus.⁴⁷ Their son, M. Antonius Antius Lupus, made an excellent marriage to Claudia Regilla, granddaughter of the great Herodes Atticus.⁴⁸ Lupus proceeded no further than the praetorship, before being executed by Commodus around AD 191. Politically Lupus was a nonentity; it must have been his lineage and wealth that attracted the emperor's attentions.⁴⁹

For the second time, then, we can see a significant divergence in the kinds of careers followed by two contemporary branches of the family. The

⁴⁴ M. Antonius Zeno (I) (*suff.* 148): *PIR*² A 883 (note that *t.* (3) and the proconsulate of Africa in fact belong to his son); Halfmann 1979: 162–3.

⁴⁵ M. Antonius Zeno (II) (*suff.* c. 168–70): Halfmann 1979: 183; *AE* 1966, 511. Thomasson (1996: 72) questions the date, but it is guaranteed by the imperial titulature (*Britannicus* but not yet *Felix*; cf. *ILS* 393).

⁴⁶ For ethnic considerations in the sortition of eligible candidates to the great proconsular provinces of Africa and Asia, see Alföldy 1977: 119–24 (countered, indecisively, by Badel 2004: 85). Sex. Iulius Maior of Nysa (*suff.* ?126), proconsul of either Asia or Africa in c. 141/2, has generally (and plausibly) been assigned to Asia on precisely this principle. Three earlier cases of Greeks in Africa are proposed by Thomasson 1996: 13. (1) L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus (*suff.* 110, *II ord.* 120), *origo* not clear, despite Halfmann 1979: 133–5; (2) M. Pompeius Macrinus (*suff.* 115), a descendant of Theophanes of Mytilene, but of a long-naturalised and indeed ‘Latinised’ family, see White 1992; (3) P. Vigellius Saturninus (*procos. Africae* 180), Rhodian ancestry suggested by Stiglitz, *RE* VIII A cols. 2569–70, s.v. Vigellius (3). Zeno is a more clearly exceptional case than any of these.

⁴⁷ Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: I 87–8 (no. 70); presumably attached to the younger Zeno rather than his father. My suggestion of Ephesian origin for Antia Marcellina is based on *I.Eph.* 893, where a certain Marcellina, ‘grandmother of senators’, is honoured by the Ephesians and by her son, Marcellinus. Marcellinus had a short gentilician (5–6 letters) beginning with the letter A. The lacunae could be neatly filled with (lines 5–6) [Αντία]ν Μαρ[κελλεῖ]νον and (lines 10–11) Ἀ[ντίος] | Μαρ[κελλεῖ]νος]. These could well be the mother and brother of Zeno’s wife.

⁴⁸ Lupus: *PIR*² A 812; for his nomenclature, Salomies 1992: 65. Regilla: Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: I 225–6 (no. 248), with stemma xxxii. Perhaps a daughter of Ti. Claudius Appius Atilius Bradua Regillus Atticus (*cos.* 185), *PIR*² C 785.

⁴⁹ On the death and rehabilitation of Lupus, Pflaum 1972: 218–19.

elder and younger M. Antonius Zeno abandoned the province of Asia for senatorial careers of distinction. Their marriage alliances confirm their rank and perceived quality: the younger Zeno married an Ephesian noble, his son Lupus married a granddaughter of Herodes Atticus. By contrast, the direct descendants of Polemo held no office of any kind, but dedicated themselves to rhetoric and indolence at Smyrna. It would be pleasant to think that these two branches of the family represent the descendants of the two contrasting sons of the Augustan mint-magistrate M. Antonius Polemo *philopatris*: the efficient Cilician king M. Antonius Polemo (II) would have been proud to have fathered a line of consulars, and the Smyrnaean orators in their royal purple are worthy successors to the presumptuous L. Antonius Zeno.

In the third century, the family lapses into obscurity. Brief glimpses of two members of the family reveal continued tenure of high office: L. Antonius Hyacinthus, asiarch and *strategos* (at Laodicea or Smyrna), deceased at Rome; M. Antonius Polemo, prophet at Didyma and archon at Miletus.⁵⁰ For the sake of completeness, a remote branch of the family still domiciled at Nysa in the Antonine period deserves a brief mention. Iulia Antonia Eurydice, a distant descendant of Pythodorus and Antonia, was wife to the senator and consul Sex. Iulius Maior, a man of unknown origin and ancestry, who held the suffect consulate around AD 126. Maior's *praenomen* and gentilician are striking; if he was indeed a native of the province of Asia, an ancestor might have won the citizenship through Sex. Iulius Frontinus, proconsul of Asia in AD 85/6. A proconsulate of Asia has been inferred for Maior in the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁵¹ His son, the senator Sex. Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus, advanced at least as far as the praetorship. The *agnomen* Pythodorus proclaims his royal descent on his mother's side: among his many benefactions to the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, he repaired the stoa of his royal ancestor Cotys (king of Thrace, and husband to Antonia Tryphaena). At Nysa, the *gerontikon* of the city was ornamented with an array of statues of the imperial house and of the family of the Iulii, provided for in the testament of Pythodorus' mother Eurydice. As priest of Pluto and Kore, Pythodorus also minted a small issue of bronze

⁵⁰ Hyacinthus: *IGUR* 352 (the lettering suggests a third-century date). Polemo: *Milet* v1 1, p. 159.

⁵¹ Eurydice: Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: 1 368 (no. 428). Maior: *PIR*² I 397; Halfmann 1979: 143–5 (with important corrections to the text of *IG* iv 1² 454, abolishing Numidia). His career: *leg. Aug. pr. pr. leg. III Augustae*, 123–6 (Thomasson 1996: 144–5); *suff.* ?126; *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* successively in Moesia inferior and Syria; finally a proconsulate (c. 141/2) in Asia or Africa. If Maior is an Asiatic by origin, more likely the former: Alföldy 1977: 211. Frontinus: Eck 1982: 310–11.

coinage for the city.⁵² A son is known, also carrying the name Antoninus, friend of Aelius Aristides – and with him, the line finally drops from view.

The Statilii of Heraclea

The Antonii were not the only family of equestrian rank at Laodicea. In the latter half of the second century AD, a certain Aelia Larcia was honoured at Laodicea for her benefactions towards her homeland. Larcia's husband was one Statilius Critonianus, who pursued an equestrian career, holding the office of *procurator Augusti* in Thrace at an uncertain date in the second century.⁵³ A second member of Critonianus' family has recently emerged at Laodicea, a Hadrianic *procurator Augusti* by the name of Statilius Marcianus.⁵⁴ A third Statilius with, at least, Laodicean connections, is known at Rome, T. Statilius Craterus Maximianus, one of the *heredes* of the deceased L. Sedatius Celsus Artemas '*Laudicenus ex Asia*'.⁵⁵ The ultimate origin of all three Statilii is not in doubt. The gentilician clearly points to the neighbouring city of Heraclea under Salbake, a small town nestling in the southern foothills of Mt Cadmus, at the far northern end of the Tabai plateau, and home to a remarkable and instructive provincial family.

The name of Statilius Critonianus shows him to be a descendant of one of the most successful members of the Asiatic provincial elite, T. Statilius Crito of Heraclea.⁵⁶ Imperial favour towards a provincial city could be won in a number of ways; not the least effective, as in the notorious case of C. Stertinius Xenophon of Cos (court doctor and alleged murderer of Claudius), was through medical practice.⁵⁷ As early as AD 96, Crito's reputation was

⁵² Pythodorus: *PIR*² I 398; Halfmann 1979: 171–2; *I.Asklepieion* 27, pp. 63–6 (cf. 23, p. 59). Stoa of Cotys: Pausanias 2.27.6–7. Coinage: Robert, *OMS* II 1028–9.

⁵³ *I.Laodikeia* 51a (*I.Denizli* 56); Sayar 1998 (Perinthus), no. 24. Statilius Critonianus: *PIR*² S 824. Critonianus' office in Thrace is sometimes dated to the joint reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, but it is unclear whether the Perinthus inscription read ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ or ἐπίτροπον τῶν Σεβαστῶν. Larcii are also known at nearby Colossae: *MAMA* VI 39.

⁵⁴ *I.Laodikeia* 43. Corsten's admirable supplement of the gentilician is based on *La Carie II* no. 75.

⁵⁵ Manacorda 1980: 140–4 (cf. *I.Laodikeia* 44 with comm.); Craterus is also attested in *CIL* VI 26769, the funerary inscription of his *alumnus* T. Statilius Magnus. Whether they bear any relation to the brothers T. Statilius Maximus and T. Statilius Magnus of *CIL* XI 7355 (Volsinii) is unclear. See further n. 83 below.

⁵⁶ *PIR*² s 823 (incomplete). The relation between Crito and Critonianus is unknown: the suggestion of *PIR*² s 824 that the latter was Crito's grandson is no more than a guess.

⁵⁷ Quass 1993: 151–64.



Figure 6.2 The site of Heraclea under Salbake (modern Vakıf köyü), at the foot of Mt Cadmus

sufficient to win him a mention by the Latin poet Martial as a generic representative of the medical profession.⁵⁸ Crito may already have been employed at the imperial court under Nerva, but the greater part of his career was performed under Trajan, for whom he acted as court doctor. Several medical and historical publications are known, including a panegyric narrative of Trajan's Dacian campaign.⁵⁹ Two surviving fragments are worth quoting: 'I was in his company, both while he was at war, and when he was restoring affairs throughout his *imperium*'; 'and Caesar came to Asia, to restore at one and the same time the affairs of his subjects, and those of the Parthians'.⁶⁰ Since Crito mentioned the beginning of the Parthian campaign in his history, he must still have been writing, presumably in Trajan's company, in

⁵⁸ Mart. 11.60, published December AD 96.

⁵⁹ For the facts, *RE Suppl.* XIV, cols. 216–20, s.v. Kriton.

⁶⁰ *FGrHist* 200F8. I see no reason to doubt that both fragments belong to the same work.

113–14. His work may well have been left incomplete, since he was dead by AD 115.⁶¹

In late 113, on his way to the war in the East, Trajan crossed the province of Asia by land from Ephesus to Pamphylia, passing along the Southern Highway as far as Antioch on the Maeander, then turning south along the Morsynos valley, and on to the Kibyratid and Lycia *via* the Tabai plateau. An emperor passing through Heraclea under Salbake was a rare event, and Crito seems to have played his part well. He had already procured imperial benefactions for his medical colleagues at Ephesus, perhaps earlier that same year. We do not know exactly what privileges the Heracleans received from Trajan, but their gratitude towards the emperor was marked by a new name for the city in his honour: Ulpia Heraclea.⁶² Crito himself received honours as a new ‘city-founder’, and a position of enduring prestige for his descendants.

This may not have been the first time that the Heracleans had used Crito’s privileged position to their advantage. Two years earlier, in AD 110/11 (if the relevant proconsul is rightly dated), two villages in the neighbourhood of Heraclea had been restored to her on Trajan’s orders through the proconsul L. Baebius Tullus.⁶³ Another Heracleian notable seems to have assisted in the town’s petition on this occasion: an equestrian officer by the name of Aburnius, who represented Heraclea ‘concerning the re-establishment of her borders’.⁶⁴ However, some filial piety on the part of the emperor might have played its part here too. The villages had first been assigned to Heraclea by T. Pomponius Bassus, *legatus pro praetore* of Trajan’s father, M. Ulpius Traianus, proconsul of Asia in AD 79/80.⁶⁵ The Heracleans can hardly have been unaware that an appeal to this earlier ruling had a better than usual prospect of a favourable response.

T. Statilius Crito, benefactor of Heraclea, died in AD 114 or early 115. Heraclea had had reason to be grateful for his medical and diplomatic expertise. One of his final acts, characteristically, was a provision in his will that the Heracleans should set up a statue of Trajan in his name. His reputation endured. The emperor Marcus Aurelius, reflecting on the transience of human life, bids himself compare men now prominent with distinguished

⁶¹ *La Carie II* no. 49: inferred from the titulature of Trajan (*trib. pot. XIX*).

⁶² Robert, *Hellenica* 3, 5–31; the conclusions reprised in *La Carie II* 222–5.

⁶³ Haensch 1999 (*AE* 1999, 1592); in general on such cases, Burton 2000 (at 200 n. 22, for ‘Alabanda’ read ‘Heraclea’); Heller 2006: 86–92; Fernoux 2009.

⁶⁴ *La Carie II* no. 78 (*I. Varsovie* 23). For the Aburnii of Heraclea, see further below.

⁶⁵ Pomponius Bassus: *PIR*² P 705. We might recall that Trajan’s father had favoured Laodicea in his day (*I. Laodikeia* 15); conceivably he had already made contact with the Statilii of Heraclea.

figures departed: ‘when you look at yourself, picture one of the former Caesars; and for each one of them, picture a parallel’. Similarly, ‘when you look at Severus, picture Crito or Xenophon’. The phrase has been thought by some to refer to the Platonic Crito and Xenophon the historian; more likely Marcus had in mind the two most notable doctors in imperial memory, C. Stertinius Xenophon and T. Statilius Crito.⁶⁶ For Marcus Aurelius, as for Martial, Crito remained the epitome of his profession.

Succeeding generations of Statilii followed less glamorous, but no less distinguished careers. T. Statilius Marcianus, Crito’s son, has been mentioned once already in this chapter, honoured at Laodicea as *procurator Augusti*. Marcianus is also known from an inscription at Heraclea, in which he honours his father Crito, in company with his mother Statilia Critonis.⁶⁷ His *floruit* can be placed a generation after that of Crito, in the Hadrianic period. The name Marcianus is an eloquent one, recalling his father’s chief claim to distinction: we can assume that he was born after Crito’s arrival at the court of Trajan, and named in honour of the emperor’s sister, Ulpia Marciana Augusta.

Certain details may be added to Marcianus’ career. A statue base for Hadrian, from the region of Heraclea, precisely dated to AD 129–30, was set up by a certain T. Statilius T.f. Pollia [- -]nus, *praefectus cohortis I Ulpia Galatarum*, and apparently *tribunus legionis IV Scythicae*.⁶⁸ It has been suggested that the name ought to be restored [Frontonia]nus, in which case this man could be identified with T. Cl. Statilius Frontonianus Pollia Lycidas, honoured at Heraclea as (apparently) ‘first high-priest after the foundation of the city’ (i.e. AD 113).⁶⁹ But the incomplete form of the name is unlikely, and the restoration seems too long for the *lacuna*. Hence I suggest that the individual concerned is none other than T. Statilius T.f. Pollia [Marcia]nus. We should then be left with a single coherent equestrian *cursus* for Marcianus: *praefectus cohortis* (Syria Palaestina), *tribunus legionis* (Syria), an unattested period as *praefectus alae*, and finally *procurator Augusti* (Asia).

⁶⁶ *Meditations* 10.31, accepting Leopold’s simple transposition (καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἰδῶν Κρίτωνα ἢ Σευήρον φαντάζου *codd.*). This identification of Crito and Xenophon seems first to have been proposed by Orth 1954: 406. The putative medical Severus would be Marcus’ son-in-law, Cn. Claudius Severus (*cos.* 1173, *PIR*² C 1024), a student of Galen, and son of the deceased Severus mentioned in *Med.* 1.14 (*cos.* 146, *PIR*² C 1027).

⁶⁷ *La Carie II* no. 75. No doubt the Statilia Marciana Tate of *La Carie II* no. 68 was a close relation of his. Marcianus: *PIR*² S 828 (incomplete). Critonis: *PIR*² S 861.

⁶⁸ *La Carie II* no. 151; 151 *bis* is apparently part of the same *cursus*.

⁶⁹ Holtheide 1980, after *La Carie II* no. 55, honouring him as ἀρχιεῖρεα πρώτου ἀφ’ οὗ ἡ πόλις ?ἐκτίσθη] (disposition of final two words uncertain).

Several other descendants of T. Statilius Crito are known at Heraclea. A certain T. Statilius Apollinarius enjoyed a successful equestrian career, culminating with a procuratorship over Lycia-Pamphylia-Cyprus under Antoninus Pius; his elder son, T. Statilius Solon, pursued a military career, attaining the rank of *praefectus castrorum*.⁷⁰ Apollinarius claimed to be descended from men who had ‘jointly founded the city’ through the munificence of Trajan. He died in AD 170, at an advanced age (his son Solon was around ten years old in AD 120); it seems likely that Apollinarius was a son or nephew of Crito. An even stronger claim to direct descent from Crito is asserted by the *archiatros* Statilius Artemidorus, honoured at Heraclea by his great-nephew Statilius Attalus. Since Attalus acted as *archiatros* of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 161–9), Artemidorus’ *floruit* may hence tentatively be placed under Trajan or Hadrian.⁷¹ The doctor Artemidorus should probably be identified with the T. Statilius [- -]os f. Pollia Artemidorus who was jointly responsible for the construction of an undatable funerary monument at Heraclea. Given that Artemidorus would have been roughly contemporary with Statilius Marcianus and Statilius Apollinarius, it is attractive to suppose that his father’s name, which in the genitive ended -os, should be restored as [*Kriton*]os, which would make him a third son of T. Statilius Crito.⁷² Since both his father and great-nephew were *archiatroi* of emperors, it would be nice to believe that Artemidorus had a successful career himself; it is just conceivable that he is the doctor Artemidorus Capito whose works were said to have impressed the emperor Hadrian.⁷³

It is clear that the Statilii of Heraclea were an unusually distinguished provincial family. The family had produced four equestrian procurators

⁷⁰ Robert, *Hellenica* 3, 5–31; Pflaum 1960–1: I 298–303. Apollinarius: *PIR*² S 816; Solon: *PIR*² S 849 (incomplete). Solon saw the world: as a boy chorister, Claros in c. AD 120 (*La Carie II* no. 132, with pp. 382–3); as centurion, Hadrian’s Wall (*RIB* I 1439: the identification is likely); as *primus pilus*, Brigetio on the Pannonian *limes* (*CIL* III 11034, with Adams 1999: 131). The other son of Apollinarius has not been identified. We might give a thought to Statilius Glyconianus Apollinarius, who had three young sons in AD 144–5, and hence could have been born c. AD 115 (*La Carie II* no. 145.3–4). The name Glycon had been held by prominent men at Heraclea: a priest of Heracles and moneyer early in the reign of Nero (*RPC* I 2858–62, there identified with the Glycon of *La Carie II* no. 67), and a *ktistes* (*La Carie II* no. 63).

⁷¹ *La Carie II* no. 77; note also no. 76, in which Attalus honours his mother, Statilia Ammiana. For Attalus, see *PIR*² S 817, and further below.

⁷² *La Carie II* no. 72, restoring [Κρίτων]ος in line 2. T. Statilius Attalus would then be a grandson of T. Statilius Marcianus (or Apollinarius, if I am right to see him as a son of Crito), or might issue from a female line. Artemidorus can hardly be of Crito’s generation, given that he lived to see Attalus as *archiatros*.

⁷³ *Neue Pauly*, s.v. Artemidoros (8): Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Καπίτων ἔκδοσιν ἐποίησατο τῶν Ἱπποκράτους βιβλίων, εὐδοκιμήσασαν . . . παρὰ Ἀδριανῶ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι (*Galen*, xv 21).



Figure 6.3 Heraclea, Antoninus Pius (Æ); Heracles standing



Figure 6.4 Heraclea, Marcus Aurelius Caesar (Æ); Asclepius, seated to l.

over three generations, and at least two, perhaps three, imperial *archiatroi* over four generations (Crito, Attalus and perhaps Artemidorus). Concerning one of these medical men there is a little more to add: Statilius Attalus, the court doctor to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Attalus was a student of Soranus of Ephesus, himself a younger contemporary of Crito; the greater part of his career was evidently spent at Rome, where he was known to Galen.⁷⁴ One aspect of his activity in his native city of Heraclea deserves particular attention. Under Antoninus Pius, perhaps before departing for Rome, or perhaps (a more interesting possibility, but impossible to verify) *in absentia*, Attalus was responsible for the minting of one of Heraclea's rare issues of bronze coinage. Three types were produced, one bearing the image of Antoninus, another that of M. Aurelius Caesar, and the third 'pseudo-autonomous'. All bear the same legend: 'Statilius Attalus the *archiatros*, (coinage) of the Heracleans, for the *neoi* (young men)' (Figs. 6.3 and 6.4).⁷⁵ The coinage declares itself as intended for distribution to a sub-division of

⁷⁴ For the facts, *RE Suppl.* xiv, cols. 63–6, s.v. Attalos 18.

⁷⁵ *La Carie II* 220. The rev. legends on the imperial types read ΣΤ. Ἀτταλος ἀρχίατρος Ἡρακλεωτῶν νέοις; the same legend on the pseudo-autonomous issue, but with (remarkably) the final two words appearing on the obverse.

the civic body, the *neoi*.⁷⁶ On two of the three issues, the reverse types are evidently specific to, perhaps chosen by, Attalus himself: the god Asclepius, indicating his medical expertise, and the Ephesian Artemis, recalling his place of education. The first of these types takes on, for us, a particular significance. A generation later, when Laodicea came to strike coins proclaiming *homonoia* with her neighbour Heraclea, the divine representative of the Heracleian *demos* was not, strange to say, her patron deity, Heracles. Rather we find Heraclea personified by Asclepius, god of medicine.⁷⁷ This personification is a quite startling indication of the extent to which the fortunes and interests of a single family had come to be identified with those of the city as a whole. By the reign of Commodus, this single wealthy line of doctors *was* the city of Heraclea.

The origins of the Statilii of Heraclea are clearly relevant to the family's second-century prominence. Their antecedents have been little discussed, but the gentilician is not a common one. The earliest clearly attested Heracleian Statilius seems to be T. Statilius Crito, although he certainly was not the first to gain the citizenship.⁷⁸ No doubt an ancestor of Crito had received Roman citizenship through a member of the great Roman family of the Statilii Tauri.⁷⁹ It is worth considering whether any suitable Taurus may be found in the East on administrative or military duty.⁸⁰ Provincial T. Statilii elsewhere in the Greek world are not particularly common; indeed, only three other parts of the eastern Mediterranean seem to have had significant concentrations of individuals carrying the name. Several Statilii are found at Thessalonica in Macedonia, whose Roman citizenship could well go back

⁷⁶ A close parallel at Aezani under Marcus Aurelius: Αἰζαν(ειτῶν) Εὐρυκλῆς τῆ γερουσίᾳ (*BMC Phrygia* 39, no. 112).

⁷⁷ Franke and Nollé 1997: 1143–4. All earlier and later *homonoia* issues (under Marcus Aurelius and Philip II) offer the image of Heracles.

⁷⁸ Indeed, the Roberts suggest that an anonymous gymnasiarch, son of Trypho, deceased in AD 73–4, was a Statilius (*La Carie II* no. 56); this is not implausible, given that we have a M. Statilius Trypho, still alive in 124–5 towards the end of a distinguished career (including a single equestrian *militia*, the *tribunatus legionis*), and hence perhaps only slightly junior to Crito (*La Carie II* no. 94; *I.Denizli* 175). Moreover, note that in *La Carie II* no. 126 we have at least one other Statilius contemporary with Crito as *ktistes* of Heraclea in 113: [- - Στατιλ]ῶν Κρίτωνος [καὶ τοῦ δεινός τῶν τῆς πα]τρίδος κτιστ[ῶν - -], clearly implying that Crito was not the first Heracleian Statilius. The structure of this particular document is obscure: lines 5–7 appear to refer to the benefits won by the city *from* the emperor *through* the agency of the Statilii, hence restore e.g. τῶν κομισ]θέντων παρὰ τ[οῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ διὰ Στατιλ]ῶν κτλ. (cf. *I.Smyrna* 697.33–6).

⁷⁹ Pflaum 1960–1: I 303. For the Statilii Tauri, see *RE III A*, cols. 2195–210; Caldelli and Ricci 1999, esp. 43–8, with genealogical table at 44.

⁸⁰ For the rationale, compare the arguments in favour of an Asian proconsulate for C. Stertinius Maximus (*suff.* 23), whose gentilician recurs at Cos and Ephesus: Syme, *RP IV* 357–9.

to the Augustan *nouus homo* T. Statilius T. f. Taurus (*suff.* 37, *cos.* II 26), probably proconsul of Macedonia in 29 BC.⁸¹ Second, a prominent family of T. Statilii was resident at Epidaurus in the first century AD. This family seems to have advanced to the citizenship c. AD 35–44, perhaps thanks to a younger T. Statilius Taurus (*cos.* 44), although no part of his career is yet known to have been passed in Greece.⁸² Third, a Syrian family of Statilii boasted no fewer than three consuls in the second century AD; their origins are, however, unknown.⁸³

None of this is of much help in determining the origins of the Statilii of Heraclea. Only a single Statilius of senatorial rank is known to have had links with the province of Asia in the late Republican or early Imperial period: Augustus' general T. Statilius T. f. Taurus, honoured at Cos as *euergetes* and patron.⁸⁴ Exactly what Taurus had to do with Cos is not clear, but he may well have been sent to Asia in the aftermath of the earthquake of 26 BC. The cities of the Maeander region, among them Heraclea's near neighbour, Laodicea, suffered from this earthquake; this could have provided an appropriate occasion for contact between Taurus and the local nobility of Heraclea.⁸⁵ With all due caution, Taurus looks for the time being like our most promising candidate.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Tatakis 2006: 401–2; Syme 1939: 302. On T. Statilius T. f. Taurus, Augustus' marshal, commander of the Caesarian legions at Actium, see *RE* IIIA, cols. 2199–203, s.v. Statilius 34; *PIR*² S 853; Kajava 1989.

⁸² Spawforth 1985: 248–58. T. Statilius Taurus (*PIR*² S 856) was proconsul in Africa, AD 52–3: see further Vogel-Weidemann 1982: 154–60.

⁸³ Halfmann 1979: 211–12; most recently, Settiani 2000: 149–50. The earliest securely known family member is roughly coeval with T. Statilius Crito: T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus (*suff.* c. 117; *PIR*² S 836), one of the major brickyard-owners at Rome in the Hadrianic period (Setälä 1977: 186–9). On the basis of the *agnomen* Maximianus, Manacorda 1980: 142–3, suggested that T. Statilius Craterus Maximianus might be a *libertus* of this man or his son (T. Statilius Maximus, *cos.* 144). While superficially attractive, this would appear to necessitate dissociation of Craterus from the Statilii of Heraclea, which, given the known Laodicean connections of Craterus, is perilous. Hence Manacorda's suggestion ought, regrettably, to be rejected. I have nothing to add to the bibliography on the origins of T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus: note only that an unidentified (T.) Statilius appears to have been procurator in Syria in AD 18–19 (Matthews 1984: 179 n. 30: his freedman, *SEG* 48, 1865).

⁸⁴ *SEG* 43, 558–9; Eilers 2002: c42. Taurus' daughter Statilia married the later Asiatic proconsul L. Calpurnius Piso (*cos.* I BC): see *PIR*² S 858; *IG* XII 6 (Samos), I 364, with references.

⁸⁵ There is no reason to think that Taurus held the proconsulship of Asia: on the governors of Asia in this period, see Eilers 1999. Earthquake: Suet. *Tib.* 8.

⁸⁶ Salomies 1993 has emphasised the relative rarity of provincials receiving the citizenship and using *nomina* derived directly and solely from Roman magistrates (though contrast Syme, *RP* II 678–9). From the Augustan period, compare the equestrian Vedius Pollio and the Vedii of Ephesus (*RP* II 526); for the early Imperial period, compare the Lucretii and Ummidii at Hierapolis Castabala, after the Tiberian proconsuls of Cyprus C. Lucretius Rufus and C.

If this argument is correct, then something else falls into place. In the *post mortem* honorific decree for T. Statilius Apollinarius, his ancestors are praised for two particularly notable acts of benefaction: joint foundation of the city, and improving the community's status through intervention with the emperor Trajan. The intervention with Trajan is evidently to be attributed to the generation of T. Statilius Crito, who, as I have suggested, may well have been Apollinarius' father or uncle. The 'foundation' is another matter. The decree for Apollinarius implies nothing about the length of time that had elapsed since the foundation of Heraclea; it can hardly have occurred much earlier than the last years of the Republic. It is at least possible that the city's foundation dates to the mid-20s BC. On this hypothesis, the Hellenistic sanctuary and village, devastated by the earthquake of 26 BC, would have been granted city-status through the agency of the Augustan consular T. Statilius Taurus, from whom the great family of Heraclea accordingly derived their name and prestige.⁸⁷

Other Heracleian families warrant only the briefest consideration. Three consecutive generations of Aburnii followed the equestrian military *cursus*: the most notable, L. Aburnius Tuscianus, was decorated by Trajan in his office as *tribunus legionis* during the Parthian campaign, and acted as the representative of Heraclea during the delicate negotiations over her territorial boundaries in AD 110/11.⁸⁸ His son, L. Aburnius Torquatus, also followed a military career, as did a certain L. Aburnius Severus, quite probably a grandson, *praefectus alae* in Pannonia Superior in AD 146.⁸⁹ The Aburnii have plausibly been taken to be an Italian family settled at Heraclea, rather than part of the native Romanised elite.⁹⁰ Indeed, only a single native *eques* from Heraclea outside the *gens Statilia* is known: one P. Aelius Eucritus, *procurator Augustorum*, of uncertain date, with no known relatives.⁹¹

Ummidius Quadratus (Dagron and Feissel 1987: 120). For further instances, see Salomies 2001: 142–3.

⁸⁷ The earliest coinage is Augustan: *RPC* I 2852–5. The Roberts thought that Heraclea was a pre-imperial foundation (*La Carie II* 220–2), but their arguments are not compelling.

⁸⁸ *La Carie II* no. 78 = *ILS* 9471. The restoration of the name is not entirely secure, but seems plausible. He would then have been honoured by his son. As an old man Tuscianus went to Claros as *theopropos*, c. AD 142–3 (*La Carie II* no. 143).

⁸⁹ *AE* 1947, 135.

⁹⁰ Thus Devijver 1986: 144. Note, however, the hybrid Graeco-Latin name of C. Aburnius Eutychianus (*La Carie II* no. 66).

⁹¹ *La Carie II* no. 53, where 'Εὐθὺκριτο[v]' is printed in error for 'Εὐκριτο[v]'. He is unlikely to be related to the family of P. Aelius Iuuentianus Hermogenes and his two sons, Hermogenes and Antiochus: the former (*La Carie II* no. 60; *SEG* 37, 967) appears to have attained the citizenship through P. Iuuentius Celsus, *procos.* c. 129–30 (Eck 1983: 167; remarkable, since he had opened the year 129 as *cos.* II). No significant office is known for the Heracleian Iuuentiani.

The Statilii were not merely the most successful family at Heraclea; they were, in effect, the *only* successful family at Heraclea in the first and second centuries AD. The sole version of the town's history under the empire now accessible to us is essentially a history of this single household. Nothing could illustrate more clearly the extent to which a prestigious and powerful local family could impose a single hegemonic narrative on the history of a small provincial town. Not only did the Statilii monopolise the public epigraphy of Heraclea; in the adoption of the Statilian Asclepius as the town's patron deity, the community of Heraclea acknowledged the subordination of their wider civic history to the activities of this single family line of court doctors.

One striking aspect of the family's political activity might be emphasised. Of the numerous prominent and successful Statilii on record at Heraclea and Laodicea, only one, T. Statilius Crito, appears anywhere else in the province of Asia: he was honoured by an association of doctors at Ephesus as priest of the Anaktores, Alexander, and Gaius and Lucius, the adopted sons of Augustus.⁹² The Statilii were a strictly local elite, whose activity did not extend far beyond their native city and its immediate neighbours: no member of the family is known to have held the asiarchate or any other provincial office. Instead, their chief fields of action were the imperial palace and the equestrian *militiae*. Compared with the Antonii of Laodicea, for whom the natural field of influence was the province of Asia as a whole, the ambitions of the Statilii were both narrower and broader. Choices of this kind on the part of a local nobility had a powerful influence on the ways in which their native towns did, or did not, develop.

The Carminii of Attouda

The marriage of Statilius Critonianus of Heraclea and Aelia Larcia of Laodicea, the privileges won for Laodicea by the procurator Statilius Marcianus of Heraclea, and the co-operation of Laodiceans and Heracleans domiciled at Rome (see above, p. 218) can all be read as indications of a regular pattern of interaction between the propertied families of the neighbouring towns of Heraclea under Salbake and Laodicea. 'Special relationships' of this kind, created and fostered by the activities of the local elite families, brought benefits both to the individual families and, indirectly, to their native cities. Tactical intermarriage between local notables raised the social standing of both families, improving their prospects of remunerative

⁹² *I.Ephesos* 719.



Figure 6.5 The site of Attouda (modern Hisar), looking north-east over the Lycus valley; in the distance, the Büyükçökelez Dağı; at far right, the white smear below the mountain marks the travertines of Hierapolis-Pamukkale

provincial office or imperial favour. Successful careers could bring both prestige and more concrete benefits to their native cities, as we have seen in the case of T. Statilius Crito. But in only a very few instances can we trace all the steps by which an ambitious local propertied family used their connections to ascend from local prominence to high imperial office.

One such instance is that of the Carminii at Attouda.⁹³ Attouda was a small Phrygian town lying high on the north flank of Mt Cadmus, far above the course of the great Roman highway, overlooking the confluence of the Lycus and Maeander rivers. The site is a dramatic one: perched on a conical hill, surrounded by ravines, with spectacular views over the Lycus plain as far as the snowy terraces of Hierapolis-Pamukkale. Nonetheless, Attouda was an undistinguished and isolated place. Its closest neighbour was the little town of Trapezopolis, a few hours' journey to the east, lower on the northern slopes of Mt Cadmus. The nearest major centre was the beautiful and wealthy

⁹³ On this family, see Thonemann and Ertuğrul 2005, with detailed argument and annotation.



Figure 6.6 Attouda, first century BC (AR); city goddess/Apollo standing l.



Figure 6.7 Plarasa-Aphrodisias, first century BC (AR); veiled Aphrodite/eagle on thunderbolt

city of Aphrodisias, lying half a day's walk to the south-west, on the far side of Mt Cadmus in the Morsynos river valley. The geographical relationship between Attouda and Aphrodisias is not dissimilar to that between Heraclea and Laodicea. From Attouda to Aphrodisias is a five hours' journey through steep, deserted pine forests; from Laodicea to Heraclea, perhaps six hours across the eastern defiles of Mt Cadmus. It is no surprise that the earliest silver coinage of Attouda, minted in the first century BC, was produced by an Aphrodisian die-cutter (Figs 6.6 and 6.7).⁹⁴ The mountain and forest were common land: each year, from spring to the rising of Arcturus, the shepherds and woodsmen of Attouda and Aphrodisias, and of Heraclea and Laodicea, crossed paths on the upper slopes of Mt Cadmus.

As at Heraclea, the history of Attouda in the Roman Imperial period began with a grant of citizenship. In the last years of the first century AD, a local notable from Attouda was granted the Roman citizenship by the new emperor Trajan, through the intercession of Sex. Carminius Vetus, proconsul of Asia in AD 96/97; he took the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the new emperor Trajan in addition to his patron's gentilician (Marcus Ulpius Carminius).⁹⁵ The first member of the family to be directly attested is the beneficiary's son, M. Ulp. Carminius Polydeuces Claudianus. Polydeuces Claudianus

⁹⁴ *La Carie* II 25–31; *MAMA* VI xii. Coinage: Imhoof-Blumer, *KM* I 123, nos. 1–2; the die-cutter is evidently the same as that responsible for the Plarasa-Aphrodisias silver issue *KM* I 113, no. 4 (compare the treatment of the mouth and chin of the Aphrodisian and Attoudan city-goddesses on the obverse types).

⁹⁵ Carminius Vetus: Eck 1982: 326–7; Salomies 1992: 25 n. 11. Compare the M. Ulpii Pomponii at Iconium, who gained the citizenship through T. Pomponius Bassus (*PIR*² P 705), governor of Cappadocia-Galatia AD 94–100 (Mitchell 1979: 413); also the P. Aelii Iuuentiani at Heraclea, above n. 91. For gubernatorial interventions, see also n. 86 above.

first appears during the reign of Antoninus Pius, when he minted a substantial bronze issue at Attouda, on which he carries the titles of son of the *demos*, son of the *polis*.⁹⁶ A contemporary coin-issue in his name declares concord (*homonoia*) between Attouda and the small neighbouring town of Trapezopolis; a series of undated coins of Trapezopolis also bears Claudianus' name, no doubt minted on the same occasion as the *homonoia* issue.⁹⁷ Polydeuces Claudianus was evidently a local magnate, the dominant man at both his native town of Attouda and its equally insignificant neighbour. Late in life, Polydeuces achieved the high-priesthood of the province of Asia, the asiarchate, between AD 166 and 169.⁹⁸ This prestigious office was celebrated with another ostentatious issue of bronze coinage at Attouda, minted in the name of 'Carminius Claudianus, asiarch'.⁹⁹

Polydeuces Claudianus' son, M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus, was a man of higher ambitions. Born around AD 120, heir to the fortunes of the best family in a small town, the young Claudianus set his eyes on wider prospects than the marketplaces of Attouda and Trapezopolis. The momentous year AD 142 had seen two Greeks, L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus of Pergamon and L. Statius Quadratus of Athens, open the year as *consules ordinarii*; in the following year, the great Herodes Atticus assumed the *fascēs*.¹⁰⁰ For an ambitious young provincial, the bar had been raised.

Marriage was the first step, and Carminius Claudianus made an impressive catch, Flavia Appia of Aphrodisias. Appia was the daughter of T. Flavius Athenagoras Agathos, an equestrian and *procurator Augusti*, descended from one of the oldest and best Aphrodisian families. Agathos himself had made an excellent marriage, to the daughter of a good Italian family, the Sallustii, thereby obtaining a father-in-law and brother-in-law of senatorial rank. Agathos' son, T. Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras, also followed his maternal in-laws into the senate. Such was the family of Flavia Appia, sister, niece and granddaughter of senators – and now wife of the rising Claudianus.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Imhoof-Blumer, *KM* 1 124–5, nos. 7–11; *SNG Von Aulock* 2500; *Coll. Wadd.* 7048.

⁹⁷ Franke and Nollé 1997: 90; cf. *BMC Caria* 178, nos. 6–7 (Trapezopolis).

⁹⁸ *IAPH2007* 12.1111.2–3, 10–11; Thonemann and Ertuğrul 2005: no. 2.

⁹⁹ *SNG Schweiz* II 955; *Coll. Wadd.* 2268 (and 7049, without ἀσιάρχου). It is telling that, on his coinages, M. Ulp. Carminius Polydeuces Claudianus chose to foreground his Roman citizenship by using his Roman gentilician and *cognomen* (Carminius Claudianus) rather than his Greek name (Polydeuces).

¹⁰⁰ Rufinus: *PIR*² C 1637; Quadratus: *PIR*² S 883. Greeks and the consulship: Syme, *RP* IV 1–20; v 546–62; Birley 1997.

¹⁰¹ *IAPH2007* 12.646. On the nomenclature of T. Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras, see Salomies 1992: 68–9.

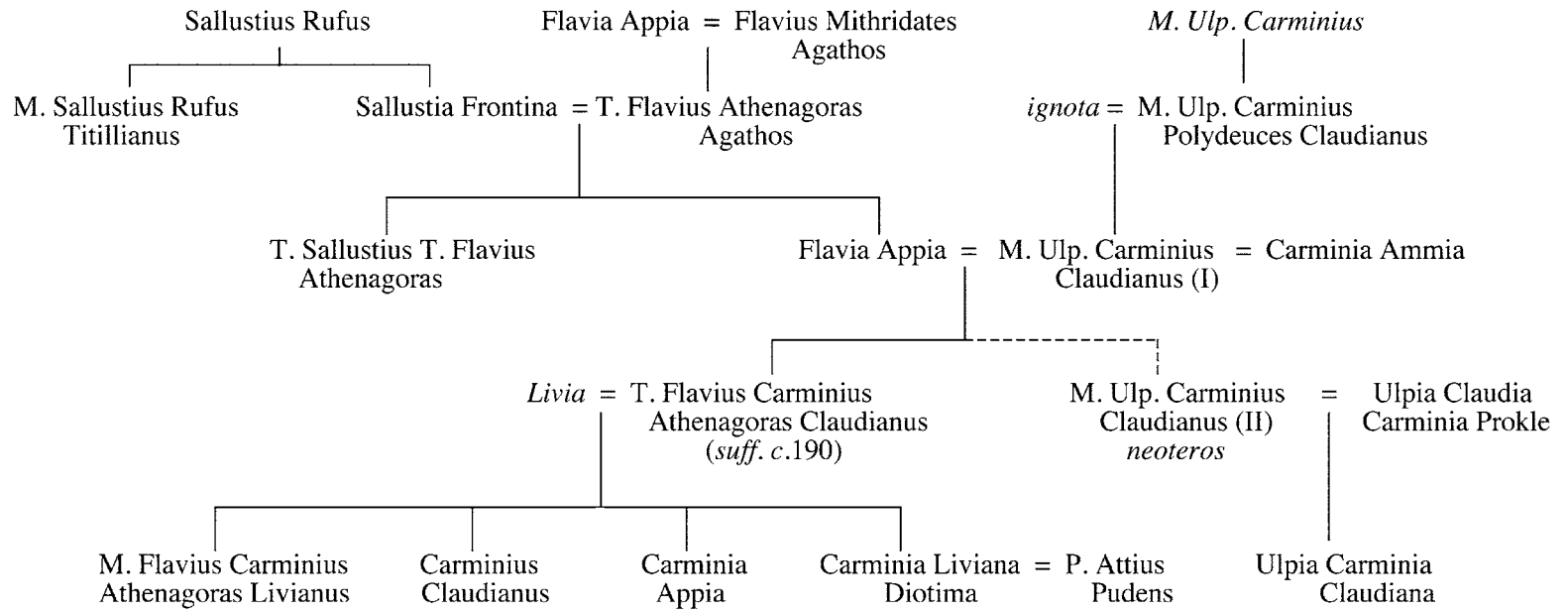


Figure 6.8 The Carminii of Attouda



Figure 6.9 The stadium at Aphrodisias, looking north-east towards Mt Cadmus

The young couple settled at Aphrodisias. Carminius Claudianus lavished his wealth on his adoptive fellow-citizens, offering numerous cash distributions to the local notables in the council and *gerousia*. The theatre and gymnasium received vast subventions: he provided no less than 10,000 denarii for the seating in the theatre. On the occasion of the construction of an aqueduct from the river Timeles to Aphrodisias, he paid for a generous distribution of oil. Claudianus' credit rose, and local and provincial office followed. At Aphrodisias, among other posts and honours, he received the high-priesthood of the imperial cult, and a perpetual priesthood of Aphrodite. At provincial level, he held the office of treasurer of the province of Asia, and acted as *curator reipublicae* at Cyzicus, a post held 'in succession to consulars'.¹⁰² Claudianus did not entirely disown Attouda, where he held a perpetual stephanephorate. But Aphrodisias was clearly the focus of his benefactions and ambitions. No Attoudan coinage was ever minted in his name.¹⁰³

¹⁰² *IAph2007* 12.1111.

¹⁰³ So I have argued: Thonemann and Ertuğrul 2005: 78–9. *I.Denizli* 55 (Attouda) should probably be restored as an honorific decree for Carminius Claudianus as priest of Apollo at

The first child of Flavia Appia and Carminius Claudianus was a son, ostentatiously polyonymous: T. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Claudianus, with twin *nomina* and *cognomina* deriving from his father and his maternal grandfather. As we have seen, his uncle, T. Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras, had already achieved senatorial rank, and Athenagoras soon rose to the same station. He seems to have relocated to Rome, where he married a certain Livia (of unknown origin) and bore four children of senatorial rank. Under Commodus, he attained a proconsulate in the short-lived public province of Lycia-Pamphylia-Isauria, and at length achieved the glories of the suffect consulate, in or around AD 190.¹⁰⁴

This was the acme of the Carminii. In four generations they had risen from citizenship to consulate, following a clear and instructive path of self-advancement. Town had led to city, city to province, and ultimately to Rome and the consulship.¹⁰⁵ The contrast with the Statilii is striking. A family of comparable distinction, the Heracleian *gens* had sought advancement through the professional arts, and through equestrian military service: they occupied no provincial office, and needed no wholesale transferral of attention to the nearest big city in search of fame and favours. Certainly it can hardly have been lack of money that forbade the Statilii a senatorial career.

Around the time of Athenagoras' Lycian proconsulship, two more Carminii emerge at Attouda. The first was a certain Carminia Ammia, priestess of Aphrodite and Meter Adrastus at Attouda, wife of M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus. Ammia may well have been Claudianus' second wife, married in old age after the death or divorce of Flavia Appia. Second, a homonymous son of Claudianus: M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus *neoteros*, 'the Younger', honoured at Attouda as *stephanephoros* and priest of Mother Adrastus. Claudianus *neoteros* seems to have played the role of a municipal magnate at Attouda, unlike his father, but like his grandfather and great-grandfather before him.¹⁰⁶

Attouda: I restore [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος ἐτίμη[ησεν M. Οὐλπίον | Καρμίνιον Πολυ]δεύκο[υ υἱὸν Κλαυδία|νὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλ]ωνος κτλ.

¹⁰⁴ Proconsulate: *MAMA* VI 74–5. Suffered consulate: *I Aph2007* 12.1018; perhaps *CIL* VI 1413.

Honoured at Aphrodisias: *I Aph2007* 8.709 (in which his father is, confusingly, named as Carminius Claudianus *neoteros*). It is true that the suffect consulate was not a hugely prestigious achievement for a senator in the late second century AD: Scheidel 1999: 260–1.

¹⁰⁵ The asiarchate could serve as a kind of stepping-stone to senatorial rank: compare the orator Aur. Septimius Apollonius of nearby Antioch on the Maeander, provincial high-priest at Sardis, and 'father of senators': *SEG* 17, 200 (AD 221–4).

¹⁰⁶ *MAMA* VI 74–5.

The young Claudianus *neoteros* is an elusive figure. That he was a son of Carminia Ammia seems forbidden by the chronology. Hence he must have been a full brother of Athenagoras, a younger son of Claudianus and Flavia Appia. Yet the various honorific decrees for his illustrious relations omitted even to acknowledge his existence. His brother had risen to senatorial rank with effortless facility, and was soon to become a consular; Claudianus *neoteros* seemed doomed to provincial obscurity and quiet local priesthoods. Yet obscurity has its advantages.

Assassination brought a premature end to the Antonine dynasty on the last day of the year AD 192. By the following summer, Septimius was installed at Rome, while the East had rallied to Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria. Niger was defeated at Issus less than a year later, in the spring of 194, and his senatorial adherents, eastern governors, legates and others, suffered catastrophe and eclipse. One of the victims is named in the *Digest*: a certain Flavius Athenagoras, who saw his estate confiscated and his daughter left without a dowry, at least until the benevolent Septimius intervened in her favour. No doubt the unfortunate man is none other than T. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Claudianus of Aphrodisias, struck down at the pinnacle of a brilliant career.¹⁰⁷

The subsequent glimpses that we get of this absorbing family reveal a remarkable reversal of fortune. The two sons of Athenagoras fade into insignificance.¹⁰⁸ His youngest daughter, Carminia Liviana Diotima, marries well, joining an important Ephesian senatorial family.¹⁰⁹ Quite probably it was this very marriage that required intervention from the emperor. But for the younger brother of the disgraced Athenagoras, the reign of Severus was to bring, at length, provincial renown in his own right. Under Septimius Severus, M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus *neoteros* finally achieved the high-priesthood of Asia, like his grandfather before him. For the second and final time, the name of tiny Attouda, home of shepherds and farmers, achieved some glory in the eyes of the province. The event was marked by the dedication of a handsome coinage at Attouda on the model of that minted by his grandfather almost half a century earlier: Of the Attoudeans, dedicated by Carminius Claudianus, Asiarch.¹¹⁰

The Aphrodisians made the best of it: with the eclipse of Athenagoras, Carminius Claudianus *neoteros* was now the senior member of one

¹⁰⁷ Papinianus, *Dig.* 22.1.6.

¹⁰⁸ T. Flavius Athenagoras Cornelianus (*IGUR* 608) appears to be a descendant (grandson?) of Athenagoras, staying on in Rome in reduced circumstances.

¹⁰⁹ *PIR*² C 442 = 441, married to P. Attius Pudens (A 1362); his family, Eck 1980: 45–8.

¹¹⁰ *SNG Von Aulock* 2501, 2505 (AD 198–211).

of the richest families in the region. Carminius and his wife Ulpia Claudia Carminia Prokle, *quondam* high-priests of Asia, were made priests of Aphrodite, and Prokle proclaimed 'daughter of the city'.¹¹¹ The same title was bestowed upon their daughter, Carminia Claudiana, herself later to serve as high-priestess of the province, for whom a theatre seat was reserved at Aphrodisias: a worthy honour for the granddaughter of the man who had poured his wealth so liberally into the auditorium.¹¹² Nor did Claudiana neglect Attouda: early in her career, around the time of her father's asiarchate, she minted a small coinage at Attouda to celebrate her tenure of the office of eponymous *stephanephoros*.¹¹³ Her marital status is unknown. With Claudiana the family finally drops from sight: her provincial high-priesthood is the last such office known to have been held by a Carminius. The last Carminius attested at Aphrodisias seems to be a freedman of the family, M. Carminius Jason; appropriately enough, he was married to a certain Statilia Diogenia, presumably a freedwoman of the Statilii of Heraclea under Salbake.¹¹⁴

The provincial nobility

The historical development of the three families studied in this chapter, the Antonii of Laodicea, the Statilii of Heraclea and the Carminii of Attouda, reveal a great deal about the character of the Asiatic provincial nobility under the Roman empire, or at least about how they would have liked to have been perceived. Most obviously, the elites of Roman Asia Minor can be seen to be essentially interactive; their political and euergetic activities were performed on a number of different social levels, in a wide range of geographical contexts. This represents perhaps the most important single development in civic activity between the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. A wealthy citizen at Miletus or Priene in the second or early first century BC operated essentially within the social and geographical limits of his own city and dependent civic bodies; the only external forum of political activity even theoretically open to him was the royal court at Pergamon. The development of Roman rule in Asia Minor changed all that. The old, vertical separation between provincial city and imperial centre persisted, but the political exclusivity of the individual city was drastically weakened,

¹¹¹ *I Aph2007* 12.1020. ¹¹² Roueché 1993: 46.x.18.

¹¹³ *Coll. Wadd.* 2261; *SNG Cop.* (Caria) 168; *GM Winterthur* 3340–1 (AD 209–11).

¹¹⁴ *I Aph2007* 15.340 (early third century AD).

enabling an increased amount of horizontal movement around the province. At an institutional level, the decentralised and mobile nature of the imperial administration enabled the Romanised elite to develop ties and advance their careers in a number of different cities in the province. The priesthood of the imperial cult is the most prominent and striking example of this: each year saw representatives of the upper classes in the scattered cities of western Asia Minor posted to the major provincial centres (Ephesus, Pergamon, Miletus). Less well attested, but still very widespread, was the appointment of wealthy provincials as *curatores reipublicae* in far-flung parts of the province, as in the case of Carminius' office at Cyzicus.¹¹⁵ The institutions of empire encouraged aristocratic interactivity.

This increased political mobility is also visible at the micro-regional level. So, from the mid-first century BC onwards we see the wealthiest pro-Roman family of Nysa (the descendants of Chaeremon) expanding their operations to Tralles, and thereafter participating in the civic affairs of both cities. The Carminii of Attouda and Aphrodisias are the best-documented example of all, thoroughly engaged at the highest level of local politics in two neighbouring cities (and perhaps three; we have virtually no epigraphical evidence of any kind from Trapezopolis, where the Carminii are known to have had interests). The pre-Roman model of exclusive citizenship and activity centred on a single civic body appears to have completely broken down. Instead, we have a series of overlapping social circles radiating outwards from the wealthy family's native city, encompassing several neighbouring cities, and often stretching as far as the provincial capital.

None of this is novel or unfamiliar. However, I should like to lay particular emphasis on two points which may not be immediately evident.

First, the *geographical unpredictability* of the propertied networks which developed in western Asia Minor in the first and second centuries AD.¹¹⁶ The different horizons of cities and individuals, determined by size and scale, prestige and family connections, led to very different patterns of elite connectivity. The world of the Antonii of Laodicea was by no means the same as that of the Carminii of Attouda. A great family such as the Antonii of Laodicea had no need to build up a network of influence at a local level; after the elevation of Polemo in the triumviral period their horizons were

¹¹⁵ Provincial *curatores*: Burton 1979.

¹¹⁶ For an illuminating case-study, compare Kearsley 1988: 43–6, with Jameson 1966: around the turn of the second century AD, the wealthiest family of Kibyra simultaneously connected itself by marriage not only with the magnates of the neighbouring town of Oenoanda, but also with a major family from the distant Phrygian city of Acmonia, who already had interests at the provincial capital of Ephesus.

always those of the eastern empire as a whole (Cilicia, Pontus), rather than the district or even the province, and hence their activities and connections show little geographical coherence. For lesser families such as the Carminii or Statilii, things were different. Local magnates like the Carminii were obliged to build their careers at a local level, buying prestige in a small-town context (Attouda, Trapezopolis) before expanding their ambitions to the nearest big city; only a city like Aphrodisias could provide the social means, with the possibility of a successful marriage, of making the jump to prominence beyond the province. The Statilii offer another model again: a personal link with a figure of sufficient influence, or individual success in the professional arts (above all medicine and rhetoric), could permit a family to leapfrog the long process of energetic expenditure and social graft required to win provincial repute.¹¹⁷ It is symptomatic that no Statilius is known to have held the high-priesthood of Asia.

The particular value to us of the three rather unappealing families studied in this chapter – who were, to be fair, probably no worse than most of their contemporaries – is that the abundance of relevant epigraphical and numismatic evidence allows us to study their activity not as an inert network of associations, but as a process. Two anonymous citizens of Antioch on the Maeander and Tralles, for whom only the associations are known, serve as illuminating points of comparison. The Antiochean's career is known only from a posthumous 'Table of Honours' dating to the first half of the first century AD, offering a list of towns which have honoured the deceased man with crowns, statues and *post mortem* consolatory decrees. It is unclear how many of these honours were awarded during the individual's lifetime, but the fact that the two consolatory decrees are explicitly described as such suggests that the majority were lifetime honours.¹¹⁸ The geographical distribution of

¹¹⁷ Demougin 1999: 593–4.

¹¹⁸ Buresch 1894. Although the name of the honorand is lacking, the list of towns appears to be virtually complete. The date derives from the name (Philadelphia) Neocaesarea, v6–8, apparently from AD 17 to the reign of Claudius: *RPC* 1 491–2. The earliest example of this type of document, a compendious list of (mostly lifetime) honours inscribed posthumously, dates to the late fourth century BC (*IG* II² 457+3207, posthumous honours for Lycurgus with twelve inscribed crowns marking honours received during his career). In the Hellenistic period, *Ehrentafeln* with inscribed crowns are not particularly common: e.g. *I.Oropos* 433 and *Syll.*³ 654A (154–152 BC, honours from numerous cities for a living Athenian general); *I.Alexandria Troas* 5 (c. 165 BC: also lifetime); *SEG* 31, 721 (Delos, III BC). Posthumous examples with inscribed crowns naming several cities become frequent in western Asia Minor in the first century BC: e.g. *I.Erythrai* 421–2, 430; *I.Sestos* 2–4; *Steinepigramme* 1 03/06/03 (Teos); *I.Ephesos* 3293 (date uncertain, presumably I BC/I AD). The Antioch stone is of this last type. On the genre of the *post mortem* consolatory decree (ψηφίσματα παραμυθητικά), Strubbe 1998: 59–75.

the Antiochean's unknown activities is eloquent. The cities of the Lycus and middle Maeander to the immediate east and west of Antioch (Hierapolis, Laodicea, Tripolis, Anineta, Nysa, Caesarea-Tralles) are well represented, as are those of the two major southern affluents of the middle Maeander, the Morsynus and Harpasus (Aphrodisias, Bargasa, Neapolis). The Antiochean had contacts with no town further east than Laodicea, or further south than Aphrodisias. To the west of Tralles, he visited only the major cities of the southern highway, Magnesia and Ephesus; no town of the Marsyas valley or of the Latmos hill-country appears in the list.¹¹⁹ North of the Messogis mountain range, a few towns of the Ephesian hinterland in the upper Cayster are named (Hypaepa, Dioshieron, the lower and upper Cilbiani, the Mysomacedones);¹²⁰ beyond the Tmolus, the only communities to appear are the major cities of Sardis and Philadelphia/Neocaesarea.

The career of the anonymous Antiochean, implicit in his posthumous honours, appears to have been played out in a radial cluster of local centres, few of them more than a day's travel from his home town. An anonymous citizen of Tralles followed a different path. Some of his connections are known from a fragmentary posthumous honorific decree from Tralles, dating to roughly the same period as the Antioch document.¹²¹ His funeral was attended by the representatives of two small neighbouring towns in the Harpasus valley to the south (Bargasa, Hyllarima), and also of a diverse selection of cities small and large in southern Phrygia and northern Pisidia: Antioch towards Pisidia, Pisidian Apollonia, and Neapolis, on the *via Sebaste*; Blaundos, in the Banaz ovasi; south-Phrygian Metropolis, to the east of Apamea-Celaenae; and Hierapolis, either the city of the Lycus or that of the Pentapolitan plain.

The civic contacts of these two citizens of Antioch and of Tralles invite comparison with the connections developed by the Carminii of Attouda a century later. The anonymous Antiochean cultivated the city-elites of the great urban centres, Sardis, Ephesus, Philadelphia. But the greater part of his activity consisted in the creation of a halo of connections in the small towns of the middle Maeander valley. The world of the citizen of Tralles, only a

¹¹⁹ Given the arbitrary ordering of the cities, A14–16 are best left unrestored (Buresch 1894: 131). For Anineta, Robert 1980: 325–34.

¹²⁰ The location of the Mysomacedones (Ephesian *conuentus*) is uncertain (Robert 1980: 336–7; Leschhorn 1984).

¹²¹ *I.Trall.* 31; corrections by Drew-Bear, *ap. Le Rider* 1990: 697 n. 66. Drew-Bear dates the inscription to the Hellenistic period, without justification. The only transcript of the stone is that of Pappakonstantinou, who read in line 1 [- -] τῆς χώρας ΚΑΙ[.]ΑΙΚΩΝ καὶ οἱ δῆμοι [- -]. I would restore here the ethnic Καί[σ]αρῆων, implying a date between Augustus and Nero.

part of whose 'geographical *cursus*' is preserved, is more complex and unexpected: Tralles' immediate neighbours, certainly, but also a network of more distant cities in southern Phrygia and northern Pisidia. One wonders if his connections with the east may have had some specific economic rationale: he could have been a wholesale trader or businessman.¹²² At any rate, his career offers striking testimony to one particular system of interconnectivity between the cities of the middle Maeander and the mountainous district to the east – and, of course, when we talk about 'interaction' between the smaller towns of western Asia Minor, we are talking primarily about the activities of local dignitaries of precisely this kind.

In the careers of these two first-century notables, we are clearly in the same world as that of the Carminii; the strategies of the two anonymous honorands of Antioch and Tralles appear to be fairly comparable, albeit on a somewhat wider canvas, to those of the first few generations of the Attoudan family. But we should not underestimate the gulf which separated the municipal elites of the first century from those of the second century AD. In the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, intermarriage with the better sort among the Italian immigrants was unusual; an equestrian career was hardly to be dreamed of, and senatorial status unimaginable.¹²³ Provincial institutions offered less scope for social advancement than would become the case in the second century AD. Hence the first-century elites of Antioch and Tralles threw themselves into an unusually ambitious process of local civic networking; they were no longer confined to a single urban sphere, but were not yet able to break out of the world of the Maeander valley altogether.

The second point worth emphasising is the *geographical logic* imposed by the presence of the vast, silent range of Mt Cadmus. Laodicea lies to the north-east of Mt Cadmus, on the edge of the Lycus-Maeander plain, on one of the last northern spurs of the mountain, between two mountain torrents; Attouda and Trapezopolis, high up on the broken north-west slopes of Mt Cadmus itself; Aphrodisias, at the foot of the narrow Morsynos valley to the west of the mountain; Heraclea, in an upland plain under the shadow by the mountain's southern face. The interconnective geography of plains, valleys and roads, would seem at first sight to create natural links between Heraclea and Aphrodisias to the south, Attouda and Laodicea to the north. Yet the Carminii of Attouda chose to pursue their careers at

¹²² For tradesmen from the lower Maeander in southern Phrygia, compare e.g. *MAMA* iv 349 (with Robert, *OMS* III 1617): two linen-merchants from Antioch on the Maeander at Eumeneia; other Antiocheans domiciled at Apamea (*MAMA* vi 224) and Philomelium (*I.Sultan Dağı* 29).

¹²³ Although see below, [Chapter 7](#), p. 252.



Figure 6.10 Mt Cadmus, seen from the site of Trapezopolis

Aphrodisias, not Laodicea; the Heracleian nobility chose to pursue theirs at Laodicea, not Tabai or Aphrodisias. In both cases, small-town elites undertake their municipal careers not in the nearest big city, but in the city on the far side of a substantial mountain range. There is also, it seems, an interconnective geography of mountains. Just as Sophocles' Cithaeron, oddly and counter-intuitively, connected Thebes to Corinth, so Mt Cadmus united the communities around it, rather than dividing them.¹²⁴

This is less paradoxical than it might sound. Laodicea and Hierapolis, facing one another on opposite sides of the fertile Lycus plain, were in a constant state of rivalry over resources and status. Cities of the plain *compete*; cities around a mountain *interact*. The highly developed silvo-pastoralist economy of Mt Cadmus was essentially a co-operative one. Interaction between the timber-barons and flock-owners of Attouda and Aphrodisias reflects their shared use of the mountain's pasturage and timber. The propertied families discussed in this chapter were adept at hiding the sources of their wealth; the economic relationships which underlay the social practices described in this chapter are very effectively concealed. Nonetheless, given the conclusions of the previous chapter, the presumption must be

¹²⁴ Soph. *OT* 1133–9.

that the Antonii, Statilii and Carminii were essentially textiles-men. Some slight and accidental corroboration is provided by the statue-base of Aelia Larcia, the wife of the procurator Statilius Critonianus.¹²⁵ Although the statue itself was dedicated by an athletic member of the Laodicean council, the statue-base and the funds for the erection of the statue were provided by a textile-merchant, Sosthenes son of Scymnus. Sosthenes was not a Roman citizen: we may assume that he was of a somewhat lower social class than his splendid patrons. I infer that Critonianus held a prominent role within the local textile industry.

‘An agora and resplendent array of buildings,’ says Philostratus, ‘bring glory to a city; and so too does a house that fares well. For not only does it come about that a man derives fame from his city, but also that the city wins it from a man.’¹²⁶ Such, certainly, the Antonii of Laodicea, the Statilii of Heraclea and the Carminii of Attouda would have liked us to believe. Their native towns, lying under the dark shadow of Mt Cadmus, had real reason to be grateful for their ambitions and mediatory activities. Yet it remains hard to shake off a certain sense of unreality. On its own terms, this chapter has been, I hope, empirically accurate, in describing what can be known or inferred about the spatial aspects of local elite activity in the first three centuries AD. Nonetheless, the suspicion remains that in mapping the interrelations of the civic communities of Mt Cadmus through the activities of their self-proclaimed nobility – not that the evidence allows us a choice in the matter – we are, like the inhabitants of Plato’s cave, doing little more than observing and describing the flickering of shadows on the wall. In faithfully reproducing the story which the local elite chose to tell us, its language, leading themes and deliberate ellipses, we achieve only a dim and mediated picture of the real character of human interactions in their local environment. It is time for us to leave the world of the cities behind.

¹²⁵ *I.Laodikeia* 51 (*I.Denizli* 56); see above, p. 218.

¹²⁶ *Vit. Soph.* 1.25 (532), on Smyrna and Polemo.

The agrarian revolution: from the *kleros* to the great estate

The earliest documentary evidence for land-tenure conditions in the lower Maeander valley dates to 334 BC, the year of the Macedonian invasion of Asia. In the summer of 334, Alexander III of Macedon proclaimed a ‘new deal’ for the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, granting them political autonomy and fiscal immunity from the tribute they had formerly paid to the Achaemenid monarchs.¹ Later that year, the inhabitants of the small city of Priene on the north flank of the Maeander delta plain sent an embassy to the Macedonian king asking for clarification of the status of an ethnically mixed community on their territory, the harbour-town of Naulochon. The first part of Alexander’s reply survives, having been inscribed on the north anta of the temple of Athena Polias at Priene two generations later, in the context of a later land dispute between Priene and the neighbouring city of Magnesia.²

Of King Alexander. Of those living at Naulochon, as many as are [Greek]s shall be autonomous and free, holding their [land] and all their houses in the city, and also the territory, just like the Prieneans, [between the sea] and the [hill] of the Sandeis; but the [village of x], and the village of Myrs[- -] and the village of P[- - and their associated] land I recognise as mine, and those living in those villages shall pay the *phoroi*. I exempt the city of the Prieneans from the *syntaxis*, and the garrison . . . introduce . . .

As a result of Alexander’s edict, the agricultural land around Priene on the north flank of the Maeander delta plain was classified under two headings. A continuous tract of land lying ‘between the sea and the hill of the Sandeis’ was assigned to the citizens of Priene and the Greek inhabitants of Naulochon, its dependent harbour-town. This land was immune from the royal

¹ Arrian 1.18.1–2; Diod. Sic. 17.24.1, and compare *I.Erythrai* 31.22–3. See further Bosworth 1998: 61–9; Briant 2006: 330–6.

² *I.Priene* 1; Heisserer 1980: 142–68; Sherwin-White 1985; Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* 86B; Thonemann forthcoming 2, with a revised text and detailed defence of the interpretation offered here.



Figure 7.1 The lower Maeander flood plain and the southern foothills of Mt Mycale; the acropolis of Priene is visible at the centre of the photograph

land-taxes (*phoroi*), and individual citizen or non-citizen Greek landowners at Priene were at liberty to alienate their land as they pleased. Beyond this civic territory lay stretches of land which did not possess this privileged fiscal status, owned outright by the ruling monarch, and subject to a range of royal taxes in cash and in kind.³ This land, farmed by the inhabitants of indigenous villages in the Maeander delta plain, was subject to alienation by the king as he saw fit. As we shall see, the Hellenistic monarchs who succeeded Alexander regularly granted large tracts of ‘their’ lands in the lowland Aegean valleys of western Asia Minor to their officers, relatives and dependants, with major destabilising consequences for the wider pattern of landholding in the region.

In the late fourth century BC, the civic territories of the Greek *poleis* in the lower Maeander plain seem to have been organised on broadly egalitarian principles. An inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander, dating around the turn of the third century BC, records the sale by auction of seven plots

³ Schuler 2004; Mileta 2008; Thonemann 2009b. For general sketches of the countryside of western Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period, see Chandezon 2003b; Sartre 2004: 163–97.

of land on the civic territory of Magnesia, measuring 333 *schoinoi* in total.⁴ Four of the seven plots up for sale at Magnesia were 50 *schoinoi* in size; another two measured 20 and 30 *schoinoi* respectively; and the seventh plot made up the total with 83 *schoinoi*. The fact that most of the land for sale was divided up into neat 50-*schoinoi* plots surely reflects a system of quadration in Magnesian territory at this period.⁵ This hypothesis receives slight support from the fact that at neighbouring Priene, some time in the first decades of the third century BC, Philaeus the Athenian was granted 100 *schoinoi* of arable land, perhaps reflecting two 50-*schoinoi* plots.⁶

What did these plots represent in terms of real property? The *schoinos* is attested as an areal measure in the classical and early Hellenistic period, designating a rectangle of 100 by 120 ft. Unfortunately, since the length of the Greek foot varied significantly in different regions at different periods, it is uncertain exactly how much land the Magnesian or Prienean *schoinos* represented.⁷ The *insulae* at Hellenistic Magnesia were 98.5 m in length and 42.5 m in breadth; these dimensions are best interpreted as 300 × 130 Greek ft, with a foot of 0.328 m. Priene, however, seems to have used a shorter foot: her early Hellenistic *insulae* measured 47.2 m by 35.4 m, representing 160 × 120 Greek feet with a foot of 0.295 m.⁸ If we assume that a ‘short’ foot of 0.295 m was in use for the measurement of agricultural land in the lower Maeander valley, a standard 50-*schoinoi* plot would represent a little under 13 acres; if a ‘long’ foot of 0.328 m, each plot would be around 16 acres in size.

As we have seen, the existence of a ‘standard’ plot of 50 *schoinoi* at Magnesia (and apparently Priene) probably reflects a system of quadration in Magnesian territory. A single plot of 50 *schoinoi* (13–16 acres) falls well within the size-range of the ordinary Greek family farm in the Classical period (10–20 acres).⁹ No doubt these standardised plots represent the regular units of agricultural land on city territory known in the early Hellenistic period as *klēroi*.¹⁰ In the late 190s BC, in the course of a Rhodian arbitration between Samos and Priene concerning their long-running dispute over ownership of the regions of Karion and Dryoussa on the north flank of

⁴ *I.Magnesia* 8. For the date, Crowther 1996: 206 n. 45.

⁵ Quadration in the Greek world in this period was often on a base of 36 or 50 *plethra*: Heimberg 1984.

⁶ *I.Priene* 6. ⁷ Boyd and Jameson 1981: 332–7.

⁸ Martin 1974: 114, 123. ⁹ Burford 1993: 66–71; Hanson 1995: 181–93.

¹⁰ A comprehensive study of the Hellenistic military *klēros* and its relations to its Achaemenid precursors is a major desideratum. See Hornblower 1982a: 156–65; Briant 1982a: 191–7; Thonemann 2009b, with bibliography.

Mt Mycale, the Prieneans produced documentary evidence to show that in 297/6 BC they had sold 37 *klēroi* around Karion, with a further five sold in 293/2.¹¹ It seems a reasonable guess that here, too, we are dealing with 50-*schoinoi* plots; in that case the land sold by Priene (42 *klēroi*) would cover a total area of 542 or 670 acres (depending, once again, on the size of the foot).

The price raised on each *klēros* sold at auction at Magnesia varies relatively widely, from 38 to 100 *drachmae* per *schoinos*. No doubt this partly reflected the balance of cultivation (grain, vines, fruit trees) on the various *klēroi*; drainage, soil quality and gradient must also have varied.¹² Nonetheless, compared to land-prices in mainland Greece in the same period, the Magnesian *klēroi* seem to have fetched unusually high prices. By way of comparison, in 352/1 BC, a plot of three *schoinoi* at Spartolus in Chalcidice, of unknown composition, was sold for 100 *drachmae*, with an additional sales-tax of 10 *dr.*, a price ($33\frac{1}{3}$ *dr.* per *schoinos*) closely comparable to that of the cheapest land at Magnesia.¹³ At Amphipolis, again in the mid-fourth century, six *plethra* of vines were sold for 320 *drachmae* (=53 $\frac{1}{3}$ *dr.* per *plethron*, 64 *dr.* per *schoinos*).¹⁴ At Homolion in Thessaly in (most probably) the second century BC, the state purchased several vineyards and plots of arable land from its citizens. A *plethron* of arable land at Homolion usually fetched between five and six staters, although some plots were bought for double that price; a *plethron* of vineland fetched twenty staters, and a *plethron* of mountainous land 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ staters.¹⁵ Even allowing for the difference in value between the Thessalian stater (c. 6 g) and the Macedonian *drachma* (c. 4.1–4.3 g), the prices for land at Homolion are surprisingly low, and it is possible that the prices were artificially deflated by the fact that the state had imposed compulsory sale on the owners.

The only prices which come anywhere near the cost of the most expensive land at Magnesia come from Mieza in Macedonia, where in the late third or early second century BC a certain Zopyrus son of Gorgias purchased four plots of land at the unusually high price of 70 *drachmae* per *plethron* (84 *dr.* per *schoinos*), and a fifth at 64 *drachmae* per *plethron* (77 *dr.* per *schoinos*);

¹¹ *I.Priene* 37.83–90 (Magnetto 2008: lines 105–12). ¹² Sallares 1991: 372–89.

¹³ *Game* 2008: no. 37. ¹⁴ *Game* 2008: no. 6.

¹⁵ Arvanitopoulos 1911: 132–9. Of the eighteen indications of price which certainly apply to arable land (lines 49–115), thirteen lie in the range 5–6 staters per *plethron*; the highest attested price for a *plethron* of arable land is 12 staters (line 111). We have only a single secure figure for the value of a *plethron* of vines (line 9: 20 staters) and mountain land (line 132: 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ staters). In lines 27–46 we find land prices ranging from 8 to 22 staters per *plethron*, but it is unclear what kind of land is at issue. Staters of the Thessalian league (196–27 BC) weighed around 6 g: Franke 1959.

one of these plots is explicitly described as 'bare' (i.e. uncultivated) land. But these sales took place under exceptional circumstances. The purchaser, Zopyrus, was in the process of buying up a minimum of ten different plots at three different locations in the northern part of the territory of Mieza; in the course of a single month, he spent more than 25,000 *dr.* on three plots, totalling around 80 acres of land. Zopyrus seems to have been aggressively buying out the existing landowners in the region in order to build up a huge latifundary estate at Mieza; for this purpose, he was willing to pay unusually elevated prices.¹⁶

The reason why the Magnesian *klēroi* fetched such unusually high prices is not obvious. It is conceivable that the *klēroi* included farmhouses, although there is no indication of this in the sale-document.¹⁷ An alternative, and more interesting, possibility is that the Magnesian plots might have been predominantly given over to cash crops such as vines, fruit-trees and olives.¹⁸ Some possible comparative evidence is furnished by a document from Pergamon of the second century BC, describing the land allotments of an unknown Attalid military colony, probably in western Asia Minor. The land allotments are on three different scales: 50 *plethra* of arable land with 5 *plethra* of vines; 100 *plethra* of arable with 10 *plethra* of vines; 125 *plethra* of arable with 12½ *plethra* of vines. To all appearances, the land allotments are calculated on a base of 50 *plethra* of arable land, a plot broadly similar in size to the 50-*schoinoi* allotments at Magnesia (one *plethron* = ⅕ *schoinos*). The main point of interest here is that the fiscal dues payable on this land seem to have been calibrated specifically in order to encourage the colonists to engage in speculative viticulture: arable land was taxed at 10 per cent, vines only at 5 per cent.¹⁹

The Magnesian and Prienean documents provide us with a vivid picture of an agrarian revolution in progress. In the early third century BC, the theoretically egalitarian civic *klēros*-system on the territories of the Greek cities of the lower Maeander valley seems to have been in a state of terminal breakdown. Both cities were happy to sell off blocks of *klēroi* at auction, apparently without any restrictions on multiple purchase. Both states

¹⁶ Game 2008: no. 39 A–D, I.

¹⁷ In *SGDI* 5533d–e (Zeleaia, late fourth century BC) the term *klēros* refers only to the cultivated land itself, not including farm-buildings, agricultural installations (e.g. grain silos), gardens, associated pasture-land or woodland.

¹⁸ For the likelihood that the lower Maeander valley was largely given over to cash crops in the Roman imperial period, see above, Chapter 6, n. 32.

¹⁹ *RC* 51. For the different sizes of *klēros*, compare *I.Smyrna* 573.100–3 (distinction between 'ordinary' *klēros* and *klēros hippikos*).

apparently found themselves in possession of an excess of cultivable land which they were keen to offload to the highest bidder. Nor were the Magnesians and Prieneans concerned to restrict purchase to their own citizens. In 296/5 BC, Megabyxos of Ephesus was granted the right to purchase land on Prienean territory up to the value of five talents, with the proviso that he was not permitted to own land within 10 *stadia* of the borders with Ephesian territory, nor to purchase land belonging to the *Pedieis* (the indigenous population of the Maeander delta plain).²⁰ If Megabyxos purchased land at the cheapest price attested at Magnesia (38 *dr.* per *schoinos*), this represents a putative maximum of 790 *schoinoi* of Prienean land, representing either 204 or 252 acres (depending on the size of the foot), or up to 16 *klēroi*. This is an extraordinary quantity of real property. Even allowing for the fact that Megabyxos may well not have had the opportunity or the desire to exercise his purchasing rights to the full, the Prieneans seem to have been quite happy for a citizen of a neighbouring *polis* to annexe huge stretches of land on their territory.

It is unclear why the Prieneans and Magnesians should have felt the need to abandon their *klēros*-system at this point.²¹ Perhaps the most likely root cause of the early Hellenistic agrarian revolution in the Maeander delta region was the mass abandonment of land by citizens exiled in the civic upheavals of the late fourth and early third centuries. At Priene, the sales of *klēroi* in 297/6 and 293/2 seem to be connected with the fall of the three-year tyranny of Hieron in 298/7; presumably these were lands formerly possessed by supporters of the tyrant.²² A similar scenario can perhaps be hypothesised at Magnesia. The crucial point is that the way in which the cities handled these sales of land positively

²⁰ *I.Priene* 3; for the date, see Crowther 1996: 197–221. The restrictions on where Megabyxos is entitled to purchase land are suggestive. The land farmed by the non-Prienean ‘plain-dwellers’ on Prienean territory is off-limits (see above, Chapter 1, pp. 14–16); the Prieneans also seem to be concerned that Megabyxos might attempt to build up a continuous plot of land on both sides of the Prienean-Ephesian border, which the Ephesians could then exploit in future disputes over the border territory.

²¹ It is possible that this surplus land is a consequence of manpower-drainage to new Seleucid city-foundations in the East. Magnesia is known to have provided settlers for Antioch by Pisidia (Strabo 12.8.14), Antioch in Persis (*I.Magnesia* 61), and possibly for new settlements in Bactria (Bernard 1987, to be treated with caution). However, these new settlements mostly date to the second quarter of the third century, a generation *later* than the Magnesians land-sales.

²² *I.Priene* 37.65–96, 109–18 (Magnetto 2008: lines 87–118, 143–52); for the chronology, see Crowther 1996: 211–21. For sale of exiles’ property, compare e.g. *SGDI* 5533f, in which Zeleia sells off ‘the lands of the exiles’, probably in the immediate aftermath of Alexander’s conquest; in a proxeny decree from Eretria of 319/18 BC (*IG* XII 9, 196), a *proxenos* is granted, among other things, ‘whichever of the exiles’ houses he would like’: see further Knoepfler 2001: 175–84.

encouraged predatory acquisition and the growth of latifundary estates on civic territory.²³

The situation was aggravated by the tendency of the third-century Seleucid monarchs to grant large estates to their benefactors and dependents. These grants (*dōreai*) seem usually to have taken one of two forms: instances where the usufruct alone was granted, without the right of alienation, and instances where ownership of the land itself was transferred to the beneficiary. In the latter cases (at least in the far west of the Asia Minor peninsula), the resulting large private estates were often attached to the civic territory of the nearest appropriate *polis*.²⁴ However, the result of such ‘reclassifications’ of royal land was not only absolute growth of the civic territory of the cities of western Asia Minor, but also, more significantly, an increase in the *proportion* of civic land in the hands of large proprietors. In the early third century BC, one of the largest landowners in the region of Priene was a Seleucid official by the name of Larichus. This officer was granted possession of a large plot of former royal land near the city of Priene around 270 BC. On passing out of royal hands, this estate was attached to the civic territory of Priene (on which Larichus already owned some real property), and its non-Greek workforce were re-categorised as ‘slaves’.²⁵ On one level, of course, the Prieneans benefited from this; they achieved an expansion of their civic territory at no expense, and in theory could have procured an increase in tax revenues (although in fact the Prieneans promptly reassured Larichus that his property would be exempt from the ordinary civic taxes on slaves and livestock). The trouble was that new ‘civic’ landowners like Larichus showed an alarming enthusiasm for maximising their income. The Hellenistic kings had been relatively benevolent neighbours: the desire to live up to their reputation as benefactors of the Greek cities discouraged them from encroaching too blatantly on civic land proper. The king’s officials were constrained by no such proprieties.²⁶

²³ The land-sales at Mieza (see above, pp. 245–6) attest the same process at work in Hellenistic Macedonia.

²⁴ Around 275 BC, Antiochus I granted Aristodicides of Assos 6,000 *plethra* of land in the Troad (representing 1,290 or 1,595 acres, depending on the length of foot), with the requirement to attach it to the civic territory of either Ilion or Skepsis: *RC* 10–13. A comparable requirement was imposed as part of Antiochus II’s sale of an enormous tract of royal land near Cyzicus to Laodice in 254/3 BC: *RC* 18.13–16. It has sometimes been argued from such instances that private property did not exist outside *polis*-territories (e.g. Papazoglou 1997: 100–12), but this distinction is too crude: see Schuler 1998: 159–94; Schuler 2004: 514–19; Mileta 2008; Thonemann 2009b.

²⁵ *I.Priene* 18. For the status of Larichus’ *idia ktemata* (former royal land attached to the civic territory of Priene), see Welwei 1977: 18–20, and particularly Gauthier 1980: 45–7.

²⁶ *IG* x11 6.1, 11.5–20: royal *philo*i of Antiochus II illegally seizing civic land on the Samian *perai*a.

By the time we reach the later second century BC, the effects of these two policies – unrestricted sale of civic land, and reclassification of royal estates as civic territory in the wake of large land grants to individuals – had become all too clear. A small number of super-rich, extraordinarily powerful landowners had obtained an entirely new, totally dominant position in *polis*-affairs. These new elites of the late Hellenistic period were undoubtedly of enormous practical use to their native cities. They undertook embassies to kings or Roman magistrates, provided financial or material support in times of crisis, paid for building works and even undertook the command of civic militias.²⁷ But the crucial novelty, by comparison with the earlier Hellenistic period, was that these duties were not undertaken in conjunction with holding civic offices and magistracies. These men were beginning to supplant the institutions of the Hellenistic city, developing a new status of permanent and hereditary ‘benefactors’. This process was only accelerated by the transformation in the first century BC of the town councils of Asia Minor into a permanent, hereditary *ordo*.²⁸

The sources of these men’s wealth can hardly be in doubt: vast landed estates in the lowland valleys of western Asia Minor, built up over several generations from former royal lands and aggressive capital investment in civic land. We have already seen how Chaeremon of Nysa was able to furnish no less than 60,000 *modii* of wheat flour to a Roman army in the winter of 89/8 BC; both his son Pythodorus and a certain Hiero of Laodicea are said by Strabo to have been worth more than 2,000 talents at their death.²⁹ On at least five different occasions in the late second century BC, a Prienean landowner by the name of Moschion, sometimes in conjunction with his brother Athenopolis, stepped in to mitigate the effects of calamitous grain shortages at Priene. Not that he went so far as to distribute free grain from his own estates – Moschion was, after all, a businessman. ‘When Herodotus was *stephanephoros*, and the city’s grain-stores gave out, Moschion, choosing to follow his usual practice, and seeing how desperate the situation was, took on the burden of making up the shortfall; and he promised to provide grain for the citizens at a reduced price for [a stated number of] months, so that

²⁷ Gauthier 1985: 7–75; Thonemann 2010. Militias: *I.Metropolis* A19–35.

²⁸ Quass 1993: 382–94; Müller 1995; Hamon 2005: 121–44; Fernoux 2007: 196–8. It remains debatable whether the Roman authorities imposed a universal reorganisation of civic *boulai*: Thonemann 2008a: 88–9.

²⁹ *Syll.*³ 741; Strabo 12.8.16, 14.1.42; see further above, pp. 206–8. In comparison to such men, an ordinary civic benefactor such as Cephisodorus of Apamea-Celaenae, who furnished more than 3,000 *drachmae* out of his own pocket to support Attalid soldiers stationed at Apamea, was very small beer indeed (*MAMA* VI 173, with *BE* 1939, 400).

the entire *demos* might be saved along with their wives and children.³⁰ On another occasion, we are told that Moschion intervened during a shortage and put on the market 200 *medimnoi* of grain at a price of four *drachmae* to the *medimnos*; comparative evidence suggests that this may be only a little below half the normal price of wheat.³¹

The physical impact of the emergence of this new propertied class on the landscape of the lower Maeander region is very hard to trace. On the Milesian peninsula, the Hellenistic period saw the emergence of impressive monumental tombs in locations far removed from the *polis*-centre. It seems at least possible that this new stratum of large-scale landowners chose to live and die on their own vast properties in the Milesian *chōra* rather than in the urban centre itself.³² However, this seems not to have had any negative impact on broader rural settlement in this period. Both nucleated hamlets and isolated farmsteads actually *increased* in number through the Classical and Hellenistic periods.³³ The single best-preserved rural building of this period is an isolated farmhouse, situated on the north flank of Mt Mycale in the vicinity of the Classical Panionium, and was apparently occupied from around 200 BC to around 50 BC. This is, to all appearances, a small family farm, consisting of a cluster of four rooms at the western end of a courtyard (around 31 m by 13 m), and a two-roomed tower, with stone walls around a metre thick, abutting the south side of the courtyard.³⁴ If there was a pattern of predatory acquisition of smallholdings along the Aegean coast in the Hellenistic period, it has left little trace in the archaeological record.

The enracination of the new landowning class seems, then, to have had no archaeologically visible effect on rural settlement in the lower Maeander region. In this respect, the situation in western Asia Minor differs radically from other parts of the Greek world. In mainland Greece and the Aegean islands, relative continuity in rural settlement from the Classical through the early Hellenistic period is followed by a startlingly rapid decline in the number of rural sites in roughly the mid-third century BC, with site-density remaining low throughout the early Roman imperial period until the third century AD.³⁵ At Miletus, to judge from the results of the recent field survey

³⁰ *I.Priene* 108.41–50, 57–60, 68–73, 82–7, 97–9; see Gauthier 1985: 73–4.

³¹ At Delos in the early second century BC, an island which, like Priene, had easy access to major grain-producing regions, the average price of grain seems to have been around 10 *dr.* per *medimnos* of wheat, 4 *dr.* per *medimnos* of barley (Reger 1994: 125). For the sale of essential products at cut-price rates (*parapraxeis*) by civic benefactors, see Robert 1937: 343–8.

³² Lohmann 2004: 348. A similar process of elite relocation can be detected at Kyanaei in Lycia in the Hellenistic period: Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 34–41.

³³ Lohmann 2004: 346–51. ³⁴ Kleiner *et al.* 1967: 40–5; Lohmann 2007: 114–24.

³⁵ Alcock 1993, esp. 71–92; Alcock 1994: 177–9; Morris and Papadopoulos 2005: 203–4.

of the Milesian peninsula, no such thinning of rural settlement density occurred until the turn of the era, a full century after the establishment of the Roman province. If this chronology is correct, we should have to assume dramatically uneven development in patterns of rural settlement in mainland Greece and western Asia Minor through the last three centuries BC: the sharp rural depopulation which is visible in other parts of the Greek world from the third century BC onwards did not manifest itself in western Asia Minor for another two centuries.

Nonetheless, the three centuries after the Macedonian conquest of Asia undoubtedly saw a complete transformation in property relations in the lower Maeander valley, which I have crudely described as a shift from the *klēros* to the great estate. It is considerably more difficult to say whether this revolution in property relations was accompanied by a structural shift in the dominant mode of agrarian production in western Asia Minor, from a system predominantly based on the exploitation of a dependent indigenous peasantry to a system based on large-scale chattel slavery. To the best of my knowledge, the Prienean decree for Larichus discussed above provides the only direct evidence for a connection between the emergence of the late Hellenistic landed elite of the lower Maeander valley and a shift to a slave mode of production. Nonetheless, in the face of a near-total absence of evidence for modes of agrarian production in late Hellenistic Asia Minor, it is reasonable to ask how else the landowning elites of second- and first-century BC Priene and Miletus could have accrued and sustained their spectacular wealth.³⁶ The absence of any archaeologically visible changes in rural settlement need not be an obstacle to this view: once Larichus' dependent peasantry had been reclassified as slaves, there was no obvious reason for him to herd them in chains from their villages into new slave barracks. The argument requires more extended treatment than is possible here; I hope to return to it shortly.

Estates and the land in the fourth century AD

The early Roman Imperial period, by contrast, was an age of rapid contraction in rural settlement in the lower Maeander region. Around the turn of the era, there was a widespread abandonment of rural sites, after which the Milesian peninsula remained all but depopulated throughout the first three centuries AD. Naturally, this need not imply that Milesian territory

³⁶ De Ste. Croix 1981: 113, 133–4, 144–5, 171–2, 228.

was necessarily less heavily exploited than in earlier periods, or even that the total population of Miletus decreased in size. All that we can say with confidence is that the rural population of the early Roman imperial period ceased to be settled in small hamlets or isolated farmsteads.

It is hard to say whether or not this process reflects a shift in the mode of exploitation of the agrarian workforce. It may be relevant that it was during this period that Italian immigrants began to buy up significant quantities of land in the lower Maeander valley. One notable case is the anonymous father of the equestrian Cn. Vergilius Capito. Capito was a permanent resident at Miletus, where he had acted as high-priest of the temple of Caligula, and received cultic honours as a consequence of his financial assistance to the city after the devastating earthquake of AD 47; he also served as procurator of the emperor Claudius in Asia, and as prefect of Egypt AD 47–52.³⁷ His father, however, seems to have been an Italian immigrant, who on settling at Miletus had married into the most successful native family of the late Republican and early Imperial period, the Iulii.³⁸ Judging by his son's career, the elder Vergilius must have arrived at Miletus not much later than the turn of the era; given his profitable if unconventional marriage, it is attractive to speculate that he might be identical with Horace's friend Vergilius, 'client of noble youths', whom Horace urged to abandon the 'pursuit of profit' sometime between 17 and 13 BC.³⁹ At any rate, the naturalised Vergilii were soon happily accumulating land in the Maeander delta plain: as late as the fourth century AD, a farm on the territory of Magnesia still derived its name from the family's gentilician.⁴⁰ This new landowning class – additional to, rather than displacing the old native elites – may well have been the motor

³⁷ Ehrhardt 1984: 390–1; Demougin 1992: 569–71, no. 689; Campanile 1994: 50–1, no. 28; Herrmann 1994: 208–9; Riel and Akat 2007. Robert (*Hellenica* 7, 209) and Pflaum (1960–1: I 32–3) argued that Capito was a native Milesian (a position still maintained by McCabe *ap.* Herrmann 1986: 186 n. 7). However, their arguments proved only that he and his descendants were permanently resident at Miletus, which is not the same thing at all; the discovery of Capito's tribal affiliation provides a decisive counter-argument (see next note).

³⁸ Capito's mother: *I.Milet* (VI 3) 1131; Herrmann 1994: 209. Capito was a member of the tribe Falerna (*I.Didyma* 149; Riel and Akat 2007), and owned property at Terracina (*Tac. Hist.* 3.77; 4.3); hence one can hardly doubt that his family was of Campanian origin (Stiglitz, *RE VIII A 2*, cols. 2419–23). For Italians settling permanently at Miletus, compare L. Malius Reginus, *tr. mil.*, who settled at Miletus in the mid-first century AD, and whose granddaughter was happy to conceptualise Miletus as her *patris*: *I.Didyma* 343, with Demougin 1999: 583.

³⁹ Horace, *Odes* 4.12 (*studium lucri*). Syme (1986: 397) supposes Horace's Vergilius to be a merchant or a banker.

⁴⁰ *I.Magnesia* 122e13, χω. Βολβιανὸν καὶ Βιργίλλιον, in the possession of a certain Eutychis of Ephesus. The *nomen* is sufficiently rare in Asia Minor (none at Magnesia, Ephesus or Tralles) that we can reasonably assume that the farm once belonged to the Milesian Vergilii (who continue to flourish through the second and third centuries).

behind the archaeologically visible shift in the settlement patterns of the rural workforce, but direct evidence is lacking.

Evidence for the actual exploitation of landed property in the lower Maeander region through the high Imperial period remains scanty. Some suggestive evidence for agricultural specialisation is provided by a long inscription of the Hadrianic period from Magnesia on the Maeander, recording a decision to increase the city's daily supply of olive oil for the gymnasium by diverting part of the perquisites of the officials of the city *gerousia*. The inscription ends with a remarkably interesting (and to my knowledge, entirely unique) list of the former revenues of the officials concerned, including payments in kind from thirteen estates on Magnesian territory and cash rents from a cluster of fields at the village of Myrsileia.⁴¹ These estates were, therefore, corporate land, owned by the *gerousia* and exploited as a source of revenue for that body's officers and functions.⁴² The village of Myrsileia, at least a part of whose land was now owned by the Magnesian *gerousia*, is the only one of these estates which can be located with any plausibility; it is likely to be identical to the modern village of Mursallı, near Germencik, due east of the urban centre of Magnesia on the northern fringe of the Maeander plain.⁴³ One of the estates, Ateimetianos, is named after a former proprietor (Ateimetos), and another, Kubisthie, possesses an indigenous Carian toponym of deep antiquity. However, most of the estates have purely descriptive names: Halones, 'the threshing-floors'; Petreeis, 'the rocky place'; Lychnoi, 'lamps'; Ouroi, 'garden towers'; Ammosoroi, 'sand-pits'; Adrye, 'hard-shelled fruit'; Gryllie, 'piggy-place'; Konkaros, 'mussels'.⁴⁴ These estates seem to show a high degree of agricultural specialisation. Only two of the estates (Adrye and Olasea) produced a real range of agricultural products: wheat, wine, figs, olives and olive oil. Most of the estates (Leontie, Kareia and Ateimetianos, Ploios, Ammosoroi, Konkaros, Kubisthie, Lychnoi, Ouroi, Gryllie) were exclusively grain-producing (wheat and, in two

⁴¹ *I.Magnesia* 116. The *editio princeps* remains the only detailed study of the text: Cousin and Deschamps 1888.

⁴² Administrators of civic landholdings in the high Imperial period are attested at Laodicea and Colossae: *I.Laodikeia* 47; *IGR* iv 870. In AD 370/1, the *entirety* of civic lands in the province of Asia were assessed at 7,079¹/₂ *iuga* (around 300 square miles): *I.Ephesos* 42.14–16, with Chastagnol 1986.

⁴³ For the name, Robert 1945: 39; Zgusta 1964: 341. Heisserer (1980: 156) suggested identifying Myrsileia with the village mentioned in line 9 of Alexander the Great's edict to Priene; see however Thonemann [forthcoming 2](#).

⁴⁴ Robert 1963: 72–4 (Ouroi, Halones, Ammosoroi); 51–2 (Kubisthie). For the form Ateimetianos, see Thonemann 2007: 450. An Ateimetos is known at Miletus in the second century AD (high-priest of the Augusti: *I.Milet* (v1 3) 1141).

cases only, barley). Two of the estates furnished only wine (Halones) and figs (Petreeis) respectively; in the latter case the toponym ('rocky place') is sufficient to explain the lack of arable production.

For most of the Roman Imperial period we are simply groping in the dark. The first genuinely quantitative evidence for land-tenure, rural settlement and the agrarian economy in the lower Maeander valley is provided by two lengthy inscriptions from Magnesia and Tralles, dating to the early fourth century AD. These inscriptions are the product of a major reform of the Roman tax-system by Diocletian over the period 287–305 AD. The new fiscal system required the cities of the eastern Roman provinces to draw up complete tax-registers of landed property, dependent manpower and livestock on their territories. Several cities of the *dioecesis Asiana* (western Asia Minor and the Aegean islands), including Magnesia and Tralles, chose to inscribe their tax-registers on stone.⁴⁵ Using these registers as a source for agrarian history is by no means straightforward. For one thing, tax-liability is usually recorded not in terms of land-area or number of taxable individuals, but in theoretical arithmetic units, *iuga* and *capita*. It is possible to generate a workable conversion rate from *iugationes* to real area of cultivated land (one *iugum* = c. 43.5 *iugera* = 27 acres).⁴⁶ No such conversion rate is possible for the *capitationes*, but it appears that the norm was a little less than three *capita* of manpower and livestock to every two *iuga* of land.⁴⁷ This ratio, while providing no help in establishing the *absolute* manpower in any given case, does at least allow us to identify individual properties with unusually small or unusually large manpower.

The surviving tax-registers of Magnesia and Tralles are organised on different principles. The Magnesian tax-register is ordered alphabetically by name of property. Much of the register for landholdings with names beginning with *alpha* and *beta* survives, along with a small part of the section listing properties beginning with *epsilon*; usable entries for eighty-one properties, registered to around sixty different proprietors, survive in total. This register hence provides us with a representative cross-section of *types* of landholding at Magnesia, from large senatorial estates to family

⁴⁵ *I.Magnesia* 122; *I.Trall.* 250. For a detailed study of these texts, including a complete re-edition of the Tralles tax-register, see Thonemann 2007. Two exiguous fragments of the Milesian tax-register survive: *I.Milet* (vi 3) 1389–90.

⁴⁶ Thonemann 2007: 463–72; note the criticisms of Harper 2008: 92–7. This conversion rate is likely to be wildly inaccurate for any *given* property, but its usefulness increases the greater the number of properties taken together.

⁴⁷ The large estate of Tatianus at Tralles was registered for $51 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{60} \frac{1}{70}$ *iuga* and $68 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{80} \frac{1}{450}$ *capita*; the estate of Heraclides at Astypalaea was registered for $10 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{5} \frac{1}{24} \frac{1}{200}$ *iuga* and $14 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{75} \frac{1}{750}$ *capita*.

farms. The Trallian register, by contrast, is organised by the individual proprietor, apparently grouped together according to their social status. The main surviving part of the tax-register of Tralles consists of complete descriptions of three large decurial estates, those of Tatianus, Critias and Latron.⁴⁸ The Trallian tax-register thus provides us with a marvellously detailed picture of the make-up and spatial distribution of large estates in the lower Maeander valley in the early fourth century AD.

The most immediately striking aspect of the decurial estates at Tralles is their extreme decentralisation: all three are made up of numerous small properties dispersed over a wide area. The largest and smallest of the three estates, those of Tatianus and Latron, make an interesting contrast with one another. Latron's tax declaration reads as follows:

Latron, Trallian decurion.

In the *chorion* Daphne, of slaves and livestock: $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{20}\frac{1}{150}$ *capita*.

An *agros* in the region around Daphne and Myrsine and Drys: 8 *iuga*.

A *chorion* Bounos, *enbathric*; a farm Ampelon: $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{12}$ *iuga*.

An *agros* Hippike and Symbolos, of the *chorion* Bounoi: $1\frac{1}{10}$ *iuga*.

An *agros* Bounos, of the same *chorion*: $6\frac{1}{20}$ *iuga*.

Total: $17\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{80}$ *iuga*.

Latron's property (which totals around 755 *iugera* = 470 acres) is divided into two roughly equal parts, each clustered around a *chorion* (village). At Daphne, where he housed a small number of slaves and animals, he owned an eight-*iuga* plot, representing around 348 *iugera* = 217 acres; at Bounos, he owned three separate plots, registered at $9\frac{1}{15}$ *iuga*, representing a total of around 394 *iugera* = 246 acres. I have argued elsewhere that Latron held the entire village of Bounos, including its manpower and livestock, on perpetual emphyteutic lease (*enbathrikon*) from the city of Tralles.⁴⁹ Latron, therefore, was essentially a village magnate. He held one entire village, Bounos, on permanent lease from his native city; the greater part of his estate had been built up piece by piece around this village, through the opportunistic purchase of individual farms near Bounos (Ampelon, Hippike and Symbolos, Bounos).

When we turn to Tatianus' huge estate, totalling around 2,247 *iugera* (=1,400 acres) in size, we find that it differs from that of Latron not simply in scale but also in kind.

⁴⁸ The three decurions are listed in column II, lines 14–50. The very fragmentary first column seems to be describing the properties of a considerably wealthier class of individuals (Thonemann 2007: 469 n. 118).

⁴⁹ Thonemann 2007: 459–63.

- Tatianus, Trallian decurion. Of livestock: $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16}$ capita.
- 15 At the *chorion* Monnara, of slaves and livestock: $3 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{45}$ capita.
At the *chorion* Monnara, of livestock: $3 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{50}$ capita.
At the *chorion* Paradeisos, of slaves and livestock: $4 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{20} \frac{1}{100}$ capita.
An *agros* Tomos and Hyperbole, also known as Pyrgion: $17 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{60}$ iuga, 9 capita.
An *agros* Trara, of the joint possession (*synktesis*) in the vicinity of Paradeisos: $\frac{1}{16}$ iuga.
- 20 An *agros* Trallikon, of the same joint possession: $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ iuga.
A *topos* in Parkalla, of Alexandros *kopidermos*: $\frac{1}{5} \frac{1}{25}$ iuga.
A *chorion* Monnara, $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{50} \frac{1}{240}$ iuga: $15 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{30} \frac{1}{40}$ capita.
An *agros* Neikostratianos: $2 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} [.] \frac{1}{1200}$ iuga.
An *agros* Arara in the village Arara: $4 \frac{1}{2} [.] \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{60} \frac{1}{3000}$ iuga, $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{30} \frac{1}{100}$ capita.
- 25 An *agros* Priapion and the farmstead (*aule*) of Hecataeus: $\frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{50} \frac{1}{300}$ iuga, $6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{400}$ capita.
An *agros* Nymphai: $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{20} \frac{1}{85}$ iuga, $1 \frac{1}{2}$ capita.
An *agros* Kolea, also known as Kyparission: $3 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ iuga, $6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{5} \frac{1}{30}$ capita.
An *agros* Kalybia: $1 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{5} \frac{1}{80}$ iuga.
An *agros* Monaulis, by the village Ordovou Kepoi: $5 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{12} \frac{1}{70}$ iuga, 5 (?) capita.
- 30 An *agros* Orbela: $5 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{60} \frac{1}{400}$ iuga, $3 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{40}$ capita.
An *agros* Alkizo Kome: $6 \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{50} \frac{1}{300}$ iuga, $7 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{12} \frac{1}{80}$ capita.
Total: $51 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{60} \frac{1}{70}$ iuga.

The estate was made up of fourteen different properties, of several different types. A *first* group of properties consists of self-sufficient farms. Tatianus' largest single property, Tomos and Hyperbole (the name suggests a conglomeration of two smaller properties), measuring around 761 *iugera* (= 474 acres), was also known as Pyrgion, 'the Tower', suggesting that this property was managed directly from a domanial farm, the eponymous *pyrgion*. Similarly, the property Priapion is described as being attached to a 'farmstead of Hecataeus'.⁵⁰ In both cases, it seems reasonable to think that the manpower and livestock attached to the property were housed at the

⁵⁰ Terminology for farmhouses: Schuler 1998: 58–73. Kolea, Monaulis (= 'isolated farmhouse'), and Orbela may well also be self-sufficient farms of this type.

farm itself. A *second* group of properties consists of villages owned outright by Tatianus. Into this category fall the village of Alkizo kome (small enough to be classified as an *agros* rather than as a *chorion*), and the village Monnara, physically extremely small (less than one *iugum*), but home to more than a third of Tatianus' entire workforce ($23\frac{1}{5}$ of $68\frac{1}{3}$ registered *capita*). A *third* group of properties consists of isolated plots of land in the vicinity of independent villages (Paradeisos, Arara, Parkalla and Ordoumou Kepoi) which Tatianus exploited either through his own slave workforce, housed at the nearest village (as in the case of Paradeisos), or, apparently, through free village labour (Arara). The sheer size of Tatianus' estates enabled him to employ far more varied modes of agricultural exploitation than is possible for Latron. Latron's properties were necessarily concentrated around the two village centres on whose labour they evidently relied. Since Tatianus simply had more money and manpower to play with, he was able to set up self-sufficient farming centres such as Pyrgion. His estates were both more widely dispersed and more diverse.

The rural landscape revealed by the Tralles tax-register is both densely populated and highly fragmented. The territory of Tralles in the early fourth century AD was composed of a patchwork of self-sufficient farmsteads (Pyrgion, Monaulis, the *aule* of Hecataeus) and small villages, some of them entirely independent (Paradeisos, Ordoumou Kepoi), some owned by the city of Tralles and leased out to wealthy decurions (Bounos), and others owned outright by major landowners (Alkizo kome, Monnara). It is very striking that most of the villages on the territory of Tralles carried indigenous, non-Greek names: Ordoumou Kepoi, Alkizo kome, Monnara, Arara, Parkalla. On the territory of Magnesia, too, villages attested in the Roman imperial period seem almost all to have had indigenous, or at least very ancient Greek names: Myrsileia, Didassai, Koskobounos, Kadyie, Tabarnis, Attoukleis, Mandragoreis.⁵¹ Naturally, this need not imply that the Hellenisation of the countryside of the lower Maeander valley was still incomplete in the early fourth century AD; place-names have a long life-span. The important thing is that these villages were *still alive*; whatever interruption there may have been of village settlement at Tralles and Magnesia in the first three centuries AD, it had *not* involved the abandonment of the native villages of the region.

The limitation of the Tralles tax-register is that we have no way of judging whether the pattern of decurial land-tenure there described is characteristic of landholdings and rural settlement in the lower Maeander valley more

⁵¹ Thonemann 2007: 451–3. On the names Attoukleis and Mandragoreis, see Thonemann 2006: 35.

generally. Comparison with the Magnesian tax-register is particularly illuminating here. As we have seen, the Magnesian register, since it is alphabetically organised by name of property, provides us with a random sample of landholdings on Magnesian territory (around 8 per cent of the total). Even this small surviving portion of the register furnishes numerous examples of multiple landholdings: the decurion Paulus has four properties registered in his name, and the tribune Severianus five. Given how little of the register has survived, it seems reasonable to suppose that the total landed estates of these men were considerably larger even than the estate of Tatianus, perhaps including up to fifty individually registered plots of land each.

Land-tenure at Magnesia was by no means egalitarian. The wealthiest six proprietors, representing less than 10 per cent of the sixty-two registered landowners, are responsible for almost 55 per cent of the total preserved tax-assessment. The single largest landholding, an enormous senatorial property assessed at 75 *iuga*, makes up some 22 per cent of the total tax-assessment. Since the distribution of crops on this vast estate is likely to have been exceptional, it is difficult to estimate its physical size. At an absolutely maximum, if entirely given over to arable, it could cover as much as 4,684 acres. This property is, however, highly uncharacteristic; only two other properties at Magnesia were assessed at more than 15 *iuga*. Around a fifth of the proprietors are citizens of neighbouring cities (Ephesus, Tralles, Colophon). As one might expect, these foreign landowners are again wealthier than the average: an Ephesian woman by the name of Eutyichis, and an anonymous Colophonian, are among the richest proprietors in the entire surviving part of the Magnesian tax-register. We have some evidence for a Trallian property consortium headed by a man called Philippus, which owned at least two industrial or stock-raising estates at Magnesia (paying minimal land-tax, but with large *capitationes*).⁵²

Be all that as it may, undoubtedly the most striking and unexpected aspect of the Magnesian tax-register is the evidence for genuine small-holders. 47 per cent of the properties (38 of 81) are smallholdings assessed at less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ *iuga* (representing around 65 *iugera*, or 40 acres). Among these smallholdings, there is a very notable clustering of seven properties assessed at between 0.7 and 0.75 *iuga* (c. 19–20 acres), which it is tempting to regard as a remnant of the klerouchic system of the Hellenistic period. It is true that many of these small farms form only one element of larger estates, but nonetheless, around half of them (seventeen properties) are owned by private individuals without official titles who own no other property elsewhere in the surviving part of the register. These smallholders seem to

⁵² Thonemann 2007: 472–5.

have been able to transfer land freely among themselves: a single woman, Variana, owns two small properties (both assessed at less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ *iuga*), one of which, Antygas, is designated as ‘the dowry of Astykleia’.

These ‘family farms’ matter, since they fill out the picture of a highly fragmented pattern of land-tenure which we had already gained from the Tralles tax-register. Big landowners existed, and very big plots of land existed (most notably the 75-*iuga* estate at Magnesia). But the lower Maeander was not a latifundial landscape. Whatever it was that happened to the west-Anatolian countryside in the first three centuries AD – and the decline in rural settlement in that period remains an obstinate archaeological fact – the fourth-century tax-registers unambiguously attest the survival of both the pre-Roman village commune and the independent smallholder.

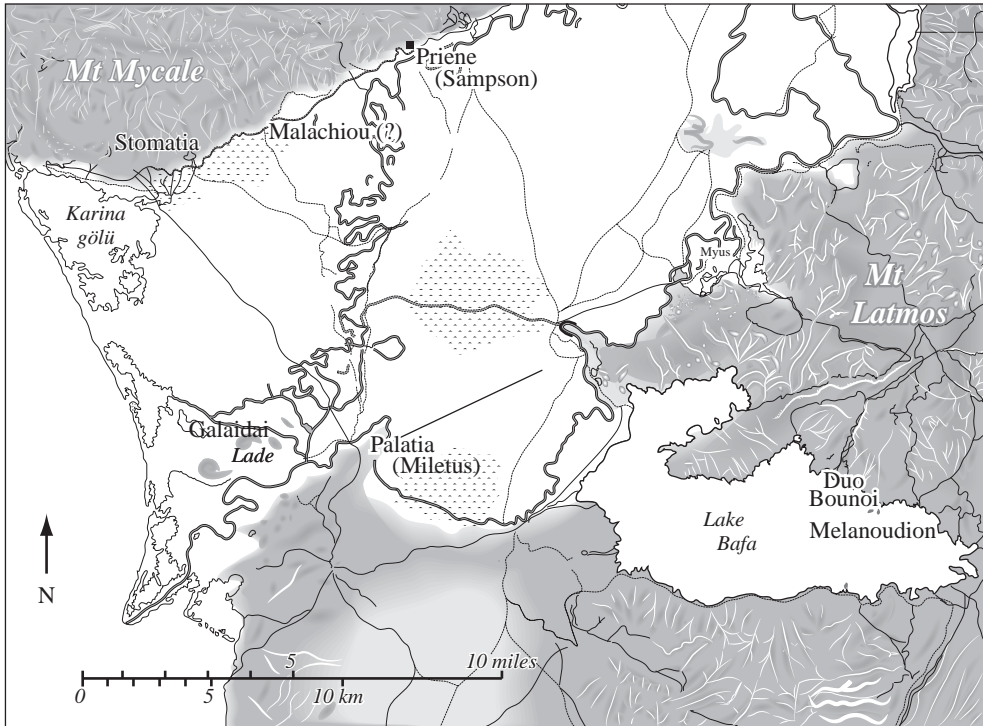
There is little documentary or archaeological evidence to give us any sense of the development of the lower Maeander countryside between the fourth and eleventh centuries AD. Archaeological field-survey in other parts of western Asia Minor suggests that the rural landscape of the peninsula was more prosperous and densely populated between the fourth and seventh centuries AD than it had ever been before. It is not until the eleventh century that the lights come on again.

The *praktikon* of Adam and the Byzantine village economy

A large share of the responsibility for the destruction of the regime of Romanos IV Diogenes rested with Andronikos Doukas, eldest son of the Caesar John Doukas. Appointed to command the imperial rear at the battle of Manzikert in 1071, Andronikos withdrew his troops on his own authority before the battle had even begun. The following year, Andronikos led the expedition to hunt down and crush Romanos in Cilicia. The reward for his successful capture of Romanos came in February 1073, when his cousin, the new emperor Michael VII Doukas, granted Andronikos a large estate in the Maeander delta plain near Miletus.⁵³ A copy of the dossier of documents putting this grant into effect is preserved in the archives of the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos.⁵⁴

⁵³ Polemis 1968: 55–9.

⁵⁴ The dossier consists of four parts: (1) the chrysobull of Michael VII, dating to February 1073: Patmos I 1; (2) the *prostaxis* of Michael to Matzoukes, *oikonomos* of charitable foundations (*euageis oikoi*), dating to the same month: Patmos II 50, lines 70–80; (3) the *entalma* of Matzoukes to Adam, patriarchal *notarius* and domestic of the *sekretion* of the *oikonomos* of the charitable foundations of the East, dated to March 1073: Patmos II 50, lines 69–100



Map 11 The estate of Andronikos Doukas in the lower Maeander valley

The estate transferred to Andronikos Doukas had previously formed part of an imperial domain named Alopekai in the lower Maeander valley.⁵⁵ This was the second parcel of imperial land in the region to have been transferred to Andronikos: Adam, domestic of the office of the *oikonomos* of charitable foundations, was instructed to effect the transfer of the specified Alopekai estates in the same way as he had previously done for the imperial estate (*episkepsis*) of Miletus. The *praktikon* drawn up by Adam consists of four parts, namely (1) a catalogue of the real property of the domanial farm at the head of the estate (*oikoproasteion*), the ‘Manor of Parsakoutenos’ (*Baris tou Barsakoutinou*); (2) a description of the revenues in kind deriving

(incorporating the *prostaxis*), and (4) the *praktikon* of transfer, drawn up by Adam, and dated to June 1073: Patmos II 50, lines 66–327 (incorporating Matzoukes’ *entalma*). The structure of the document is usefully discussed by Lemerle 1979: 209–11.

⁵⁵ For an eleventh-century *episkeptites* of Alopekai, see *DOSeals* 3.5.1; for the Byzantine imperial estates (*episkepsis*) of the Maeander delta region, see further pp. 303–5 below. The name Alopekai ought to mean ‘foxes’ or, preferably, ‘vines’, since there was a kind of vine named *alopeke*, particularly favoured by foxes (Hesychius, s.v. ἀλωπέκεως). For the toponym, compare Kiourtzian 2000: 142 c13 (a farm Alopekion on Thera in the early fourth century AD).

from each dependent estate (*logarike eisodos*); (3) the register of the tenant farmers (*paroikoi*), with their property categories and the dues levied on them, and (4) a detailed delineation of the boundaries (*periorismoi*) of the various estates. To all appearances, the estate had not been in imperial hands for long. The central domanial farm (*baris*), and perhaps other parts of the estate, had formerly belonged to an unknown member of the Parsakoutenos family. The Parsakoutenoi, probably of Armenian origin, are best known as supporters of the faction of the Phokades in the third quarter of the tenth century.⁵⁶ In the eleventh century, the family was in terminal decline: the latest attested members of the family are Constantine Parsakoutenos, *protospatharios* and *katepanō* of Mesopotamia in the 1020s or 1030s, and Anna Parsakoutene, *patrikia*, in the third quarter of the eleventh century.⁵⁷ The domanial farm, although uninhabited at the time of the survey of the estate in 1073, was still in reasonable shape, suggesting that the property had been confiscated from the Parsakoutenos family in the relatively recent past.

The 1073 dossier provides incomparably our best evidence for rural settlement in the Maeander valley in the pre-modern period. We are presented with a vivid and lifelike sketch of the countryside of the Maeander delta region on the eve of the first Turkish incursions into western Asia Minor in the mid-1070s AD. The picture is a peaceful and relatively prosperous one. It is striking that there is no sign of fortified buildings anywhere in the dossier; even the central domanial farm was wholly undefended.⁵⁸ The shock of the Turkish invasions of the following decades, although it appears to have had relatively little impact on the structure of the Byzantine administration in Asia Minor, totally transformed the nature of rural settlement

⁵⁶ For the term *baris*, see Robert 1963: 14–15; Will 1987; Schuler 1998: 71–3. For the Parsakoutenoi in the tenth century, see Cheynet 1986: 311–12. Leo Diaconus 7.1 (ed. Hase 1828: 112) explicitly says that their name derives from their place of origin, Parsakoute: οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης αὐτοῦς Παρσακούτης ἐπὶ κλησιν εἰλήφεσαν Παρσακουτηνοί. Ahrweiler 1965: 71–2 (followed by Whittow 1995a: 64 n. 35), identified Parsakoute with the village of Parsada (modern Bağyurdu, formerly Parsa) near Nymphaion, attested in an early Byzantine inscription (ἐκκλησία Παρσάδων, *IGCAM* 334; Robert, *Hellenica* 6, 115) and in the correspondence of Theodore II Lascaris (ed. Festa 1898) 163: a monastery of Παρσάτου in Lydia). This seems very tenuous; Seibt, more plausibly, interprets the name as Armenian: Seibt 1978: 259–60; Wassiliou and Seibt 2004: 266.

⁵⁷ Constantine Parsakoutenos: Seibt 1978: no. 127; Anna Parsakoutene: Wassiliou and Seibt 2004: no. 276. A certain John Parsakoutenos, *protospatharios*, had a daughter of marriageable age in the 1020s (Schminck 1979: 240–51); this man may be identical to the ‘Paraskotomos’ (*sic*) embroiled in a marriage dispute at *Peira* 49.2.

⁵⁸ Whittow 1995a.

in the Aegean coastlands.⁵⁹ Within a generation, the countryside around Miletus was a patchwork of rural fortifications; the lower foothills of the Milesian peninsula rapidly become dotted with agricultural towers and fortified farmhouses.⁶⁰ The world of the *praktikon* of Adam is a world on the brink of disappearance.

Andronikos' complex of estates encompassed a total area of somewhat more than 1,857 acres (precise figures are not given for the whole of the estate). Some 669 acres of the estate were exploited as arable land; around three quarters of this, 513 acres, was worked by 51 tenant farmers (*paroikoi*), the remainder forming part of the domanial farm.⁶¹ We are not told much about the agricultural produce of the estate. At the time of Adam's survey, the stores at the domanial farm contained 124 *modioi* of wheat, 60 *mod.* of barley and 8 *mod.* of linseed reserved for consumption, plus a further 260 *modioi* of wheat, 150 *mod.* of barley, 5 *mod.* of beans and 5 *mod.* of linseed reserved for annual seed, all derived from the domanial farm itself (the other parts of the estate paid their rents in cash). However, we cannot necessarily use this as evidence for the real pattern of agricultural production, since only certain kinds of produce would have been stockpiled in this way; the domanial farm also included a certain number of fig, pear and olive-trees. At best, we can infer that the proportion of wheat to barley cultivation at the domanial farm was roughly 5:3.⁶²

The estate included five villages: Baris itself, Olynthos, Gamma, Berboulidion and Galaidai. The individual households in each village are listed by the name of the head of the household, along with their tax-status, dependants and livestock. Apparently the entire population of each household is not recorded, but only those lying in the direct line of inheritance: the

⁵⁹ The apocalyptic picture drawn by Cahen 1948 is challenged by Cheynet 1998, who emphasises institutional continuity in the Asia Minor provinces after Manzikert. In April 1127, in restoring the estate of Messigouma (originally granted to the monastery by Leo VI) near Larymos to the newly repopulated monastery of St Paul on Latros, the *dux* of the *thema* of Mylassa and Melanoudion, Michael Xeros, states that the monastery had been stripped of all its numerous estates 'by the barbarian dagger': MM iv 324–5; Smyrlis 2006: 169–70.

⁶⁰ Müller-Wiener 1961: 23–4; Lohmann 1995: 326–8 (*pyrgoi* and fortified farms near Yeniköy).

⁶¹ Total area: 7,775¹/₂ *modioi* are listed in the *periorismos*, but figures were unavailable for a number of pieces of land, including the whole *proasteion* of Prinos (Patmos II 50, pp. 34–5). A total area exceeding 8,000 *modioi* seems likely. Arable land: (1) Land farmed out to *paroikoi*: *choropakta* 73¹/₂ *nom.* + *pakta* 147¹/₂ *nom.*, at 10 *modioi* per *nomisma* = 2,210 *modioi*; (2) Land farmed directly: 420 *modioi* of *kataspóra*; allowing for ³/₈ of the land left fallow each year, hypothetical cultivated area = c. 672 *modioi*; (3) Total cultivated area = 2,882 *modioi*. For methodology, cf. Svoronos 1959: 139; Lefort 2002: 301, 305. My conversions to acres are on the basis of 1 *modios* = 939.18 m²: Schilbach 1970: 66–74.

⁶² Storage figures: Patmos II 50, lines 118–21; for the phrase ἀνόνα ἀπό τῆς παραθέσεως, see Patmos II, p. 28. Fig, pear and olive-trees: lines 115–16. Non-representative: Harvey 1998: 77.

likelihood is that the entire population of these villages was at least twice that listed in the *praktikon*. The villages range from five to fourteen households, which probably represents a total population of between twenty-five and seventy-five per village.⁶³ The poorest village is that of the estate-centre, Baris: twelve of the fourteen households possess no livestock at all. The village of Gamma was not much better off: four of the seven households possessed no livestock, and five of the seven heads of household were widows. Galaidai, however, appears to be a more prosperous place: nine of the twelve families owned their own yoke of oxen, and although Galaidai only contained a quarter of the total number of *paroikoi*-households (12 of 48), it was responsible for $\frac{2}{5}$ of the total paroikic tax-dues (27 *nomismata* of a total of $67\frac{1}{2}$ *nomismata*). Furthermore, each *paroikos* at Galaidai seems to have farmed a considerably smaller plot of land than the average for the estate as a whole: Galaidai covered around 177 acres (762 *modioi*) in total, which works out at $14\frac{3}{4}$ acres ($63\frac{1}{2}$ *modioi*) per family, compared to around 39 acres (c. 167 *modioi*) per family for the whole estate. The implication is that this part of the estate was significantly more intensively cultivated than the remainder.

Galaidai is twice specified as including ‘the place (*topos*) called Lade’. We have here a straightforward preservation of an ancient toponym: the former island of Lade, which was already in the process of being connected to the mainland by deltaic advance in the fourth century AD (see Chapter 8 below), and which today is a cluster of hills in the delta plain north-west of Miletus (Batmaz tepeleri). Lade would not be the only former island in the delta region to have retained its ancient name; the inhabitants of the one-time *Camelitae* islands, mentioned by the elder Pliny as lying off Miletus, were still known as the *Mandrogemelitae* (‘Gemelitae in the Maeander plain’) in the twelfth century AD.⁶⁴

The fact that the Andronikos dossier was preserved at all can be attributed to the lasting success of the estate at Galaidai. In 1216, the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos successfully petitioned the emperor Theodore I Lascaris for an abandoned property called Pyrgos on the Anatolian mainland. This property had previously belonged to the monastery of the Theotokos Panachrantos in Constantinople. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, the estate had become vacant, enabling the monks

⁶³ Patmos II 50, lines 140–75; Litavrin 1990: 192. However, it is not certain that the entire population of each village was of paroikic status. All are at the lowest end of the scale for Byzantine villages: Laiou 2005: 44.

⁶⁴ Plin. *HN* 5.135, cf. Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 30 line 70. For the name Batmaz tepeleri (= Lade), see n. 66 below.

of Patmos to put in a successful bid for it.⁶⁵ The Pyrgos estate is defined as ‘the land which lies between the two rivers, the Maeander and the river flowing from Palatia [i.e. Miletus]’. Pyrgos appears to have consisted of a roughly triangular piece of land incorporating the entirety of the former island of Lade, bounded to the north by the Maeander, to the south by the modern Büyük Menderes river, to the east by a small canal linking the two streams, and to the west by the Aegean sea.⁶⁶ On taking possession of the Pyrgos estate, the monastery set out in search of a record of the titles of the monastery of the Theotokos Panachrantos to the property. This led to the recovery of a series of documents relating to the earlier administration of the estate – registers of inhabitants, revenue assessments, and, most importantly, a description of the estate’s boundaries – from the archives at Palatia.⁶⁷ Among them was the dossier relating to the grant of 1073. Certainly Pyrgos did not include the whole of Andronikos’ estate; as we will see, the constituent parts of Andronikos’ estate were widely scattered, and there is no suggestion in the Patmos documents that the monastery owned property on Bafa gölü or on the north side of the Maeander plain. Rather it seems that what the monastery received was the former estate of Galaidai along with ‘the place called Lade’, still in the early thirteenth century one of the most desirable properties in the Maeander delta region.

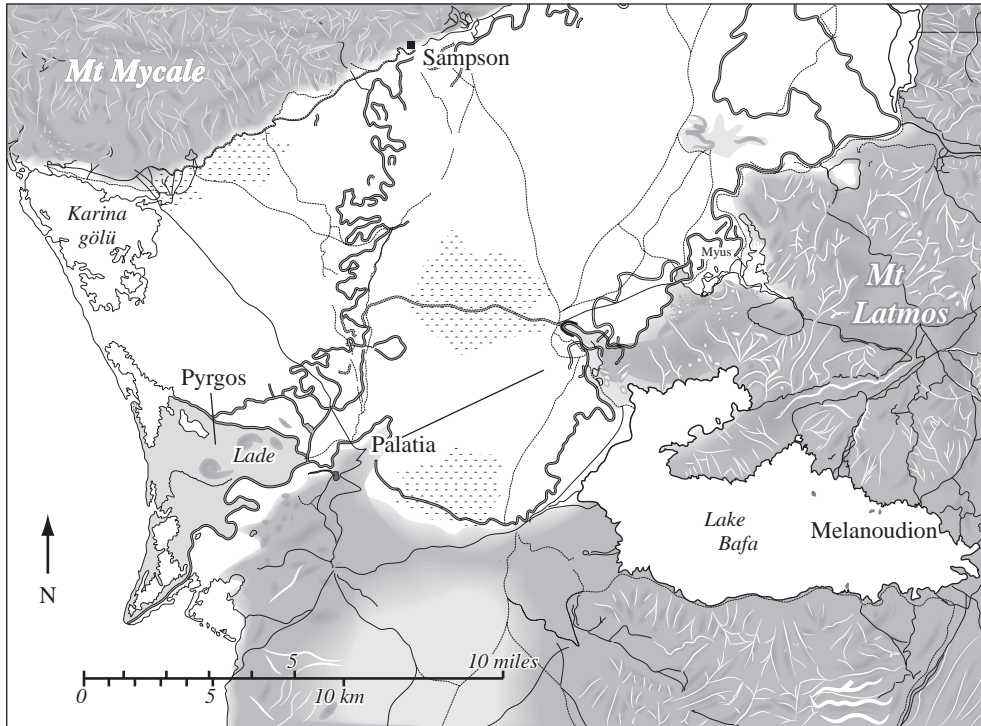
Small though they were, the villages of Andronikos’ estate were fully functioning communities, with a communal life and corporate institutions of their own. At each of the villages of Olinthos and Galaidai, an individual is designated as *presbyteros*, the ‘village elder’ or ‘village chief’.⁶⁸ By chance, we learn that a certain Moschos was the *presbyteros* of the village of Baris. While Adam was undertaking his survey of the boundaries of the Baris estate, he

⁶⁵ When and how the monastery of the Theotokos Panachrantos (Janin 1969: 214–15) had taken possession of the estate is unknown; the outside limits are 1077 (death of Andronikos) and 1204 (fall of Constantinople): Patmos II, pp. 22–3.

⁶⁶ Patmos II 61, line 19: τὸ ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν δύο ποταμῶν, τοῦ τε Μαιάνδρου καὶ (τοῦ) ἀπὸ τῶν Παλατίων διερχομένου, μετόχιον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πύργος, elsewhere described as κατὰ τὸν Μαιάνδρον καὶ ἔγγυς τῶν Παλατίων (Patmos I 14, lines 22–3). For the location, see Smyrlis 2006: 80–1. The eponymous *pyrgos* (‘tower’) may well have been the ‘mittelalterliche Rundbau’ near the peak of the middle hill of the Batmaz Tepeleri, marked on P. Wilski’s map of the Milesian peninsula (*Milet* I.1). In the early twentieth century, a Greek village on the south-eastern slopes of the former island of Lade still went under the name *Patmiotiko* (Lynckner’s 1:100,000 map), ‘the Patmian village’: cf. Lohmann 2002: 235–6 (not quite accurate). Today, the hill of Lade goes by the name of the Batmaz Tepeleri, a toponym unparalleled in Turkey: this is simply *Batnos/Patmos* with a more convincingly ‘Turkic’ termination.

⁶⁷ Patmos II 61, lines 25–30.

⁶⁸ Patmos II 50, line 153 (Strategos, *presbyteros* of Olynthos); lines 170–1 (John, *presbyteros* of Galaidai). In a village context, the term *presbyteros* need not designate a member of the clergy: see Festugière’s note on the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, ch. 72.1; Kaplan 1992: 227.



Map 12 The Pyrgos estate in the early thirteenth century

was met with a claim by ‘the *paroikoi* and the *presbyteros* Moschos and the *protokourator* of the *oikos* of Baris’ that a part of the estate’s land had been seized by the nearby monastery of Oroboi. Moschos was clearly acting as the village’s chief representative in its negotiations with the imperial land-surveyor.⁶⁹ Olinthos seems to have had another designated village official, the *orophylax* or ‘mountain-guard’. Two of the heads of household are the sons of a recently deceased *orophylax*, Basil; the head of a third household, a certain Kyriakos, has recently been appointed as the new mountain-guard.⁷⁰ It is interesting that the *presbyteros* and the *orophylax* were not necessarily the wealthiest men in the village: the only two households at Olinthos to own a yoke of oxen were headed by the widow and son of John Sapounas respectively.

⁶⁹ Patmos II 50, lines 208–12. Moschos and his household are registered at Baris in lines 142–3.

⁷⁰ Patmos II 50, lines 151–2, with Litavrin 1990: 192–3. The manuscript reads *οροφύλαξ* (‘border-guard’) but in this document the terms *ορος*, *ορεινή* (‘mountain’, ‘mountainous’) are always written with the aspirate (e.g. lines 123, 126, 213). *οροφύλαξ* (‘mountain-guard’) makes better sense in context: Olinthos lies in hilly territory (lines 123–6, 212–13). For *orophylakes*, Robert and Robert 1983: 101–9; Brélaz 2005: 157–71; Dunn 1992: 264.

The domanial house of Baris had clearly been a relatively prosperous country residence in the recent past. The associated church was apparently still functioning, despite the loss of a few items of ecclesiastical gear. Although the secular buildings, including a domed cruciform dining hall, a bath-house and a stable, were no longer in use, they do seem to have been in a reasonable state of repair. Their wooden doors had been removed, and the bath-house was missing a boiler (although its location could still be determined without much difficulty). An inn (*xenodocheion*) lying on the public road which runs through the estate of Baris, which had previously brought in 6 *nomismata* per year, had apparently closed down.⁷¹ There were no longer any slaves at the farm, 'because they are dead'.⁷² Elsewhere on the estate, the estate of Mandraklou had been seriously damaged by flooding. Although theoretically 185 *modioi* in extent, Mandraklou was found only to have 36 *modioi* of cultivable land, the remainder having been reduced to marshland by the annual inundation of the river Maeander (Fig. 7.2). On the far side of the Maeander, 212¹/₂ *modioi* of arable land still remained, but even more had been lost to the river: 371 *modioi* were now found to be beyond cultivation.⁷³ We learn that 230 *modioi* (57 acres) of land had recently been assigned to a certain John Diaxinos of Theologo (Ephesus), described as a 'new *paroikos*', for an annual tax of 24 *nomismata*. It is tempting to suppose that this 230-*modioi* plot had been detached from the struggling estate of Mandraklou, and handed over to a new arrival to see if he could make anything of it. At any rate, the scheme was not a success: John abandoned his farm almost as soon as he had arrived.⁷⁴

However, the crisis at Mandraklou and the general dilapidation at Baris are by no means characteristic of the entire property. There would have been no reason for anyone to concern themselves with the upkeep of the manorial house at Baris once the Parsakoutenos family had departed;

⁷¹ Patmos II 50, lines 102–14 (though note the unspecified 'ruined buildings' at line 113). The stable (*zeugelateion*) may be identical to the 'old *mandra* of Barsakoutinos' at line 194. *Xenodocheion*: lines 130, 198–9. On the complex of buildings associated with the Parsakoutenos family, see Magdalino 1984: 95; Whittow 1987: 389–92.

⁷² Patmos II 50, lines 122–3. ⁷³ Patmos II 50, lines 270–4: see in more detail pp. 302–6 below.

⁷⁴ Patmos II 50, lines 133–6. It seems a reasonable guess that John was assigned part of Mandraklou. His theoretical tax-liability of 24 *nomismata* is listed immediately after the revenues from Mandraklou and shortly before those of Prine, which was dependent upon Mandraklou. Possibly John was assigned the stretch of land on the far side of the river from Mandraklou, near the river Gerokomos, which was of about the right size: Adam assessed it as consisting of 212¹/₂ *modioi* of workable land (lines 271–4). Alternatively, he may have received the 230-*modioi* plot of Agraulia at Melanoudion (lines 254–5).



Figure 7.2 The Maeander flood-plain below Priene; the estate of Mandraklou abutted a branch of the Maeander in this region

the abandonment of the old domanial farm under the administration of the imperial *episkepsis* is hardly surprising. We have already seen that some of the dependent villages, notably Galaidai, were considerably more prosperous than others. There is, moreover, evidence of economic expansion in other parts of the estate. In the near vicinity of the church of the Theotokos on the old domanial estate of Baris, the boundaries of the estate pass close to some ‘newly rebuilt houses’.⁷⁵ Two stretches of pasturage, an area of uncultivated scrub-land near the village of Olinthos and a region called Achlas, have had their pasture-tax reduced, in the latter case to nothing, since they have recently been brought under cultivation.⁷⁶ A large stretch of ‘excess’ (*kata perissian*) cultivated land was found in an unknown part of the estate, estimated at 500 *modioi*: apparently there had been no record of this land in the earlier documentation.⁷⁷

The only one of the constituent estates to be described field by field is that of Melanoudion, in the vicinity of the ancient Heraclea under Latmos,

⁷⁵ Patmos II 50, lines 186–7. ⁷⁶ Patmos II 50, lines 124–5, 136–7.

⁷⁷ Patmos II 50, lines 138–9.



Figure 7.3 The shore of Lake Bafa, north-west of the ancient Heraclea under Latmos

on the north-east side of Lake Bafa.⁷⁸ Quite probably the reason for this lies in the particular geography of the region around Heraclea. The Latmos rises almost directly from the shore of the lake; still today, cultivated land around Heraclea is widely scattered, with some fields strung along the shoreline, some squeezed into narrow gullies, others appearing unexpectedly on isolated ridge-tops (Fig. 7.3). A *periorismos* in this region would make no sense, since the individual elements of an estate could never be coterminous. The division of land at Melanoudion, then, may not be characteristic of landholdings in the Maeander delta region as a whole.

Melanoudion was divided into sixteen individual plots, ranging from 5 *modioi* 18 *litrai* to 230 *modioi*, totalling 939 *modioi* 33 *litrai* (around 232 acres), on which tax was payable at 137¹/₂ *nomismata*.⁷⁹ Six of the sixteen plots are between 5 and 10¹/₂ *modioi* in size, and two are precisely 16 *modioi*; four of the sixteen plots are between 49 and 53 *modioi*; the remaining four are between 119 and 230 *modioi*. The distribution of plot-sizes is markedly clustered into three groups: half of the plots are small fields, between

⁷⁸ Wendel 1940: 442–3. The town is still called Heraclea in the *Life of St Paul the Younger* (ed. Delehaye 1892: 32–3); the author implies that it was all but abandoned. Melanoudion was captured by the Turks in 1079 (MM vi 87).

⁷⁹ Patmos II 50, lines 132, 231–57.

1¹/₄ and 4 acres in size; a quarter of the plots are medium-sized properties of around 12–13 acres; a quarter are large farms ranging from 29¹/₂ to 57 acres in size. By way of comparison, the family farm in classical Greece seems to have averaged around 10 acres, and the range of plot-sizes we find at Melanoudion seems to be very similar to the range we find for small-holders at Magnesia on the Maeander in the fourth century AD (up to 40 acres).

To judge from its tax-liability, Melanoudion seems to have been the most intensively and effectively exploited part of the whole estate. It is unclear which particular village was responsible for its cultivation. Two isolated families are listed as living on the estate itself, both of them possessing their own yoke of oxen. It is a curious fact that the four isolated households mentioned in the *periorismoi* seem to have been both larger and (relatively speaking) better off than the families living in the five domanial villages. At Mandraklou, the sole resident *paroikos*, Nikephoros, lived with his wife, his daughter and his son-in-law; at the vineyard of Mykterinos, lying between Mandraklou and the bishopric of Priene, George Anemotriches ('wind-haired') was assisted by his son, his granddaughter and her husband. It is easy to see why truly rural families, who could not rely on the assistance of their village neighbours, should choose to stick together rather than fragment into independent households.⁸⁰

The case of George Anemotriches is interesting for the evidence it provides for independent commercial activity on the part of the rural population. George cultivates a vineyard of 30 *modioi* (around 7¹/₂ acres), incorporating a small arable plot of 4 *modioi* (1 acre). This is a sufficiently large vineyard that George must have been producing a substantial surplus for sale at a nearby urban market.⁸¹ It is striking, therefore, that George's vineyard is explicitly described as lying 'near the bishopric of Priene'. It was the physical proximity of the small urban settlement of Priene which enabled George to specialise in viticulture. Nonetheless, this case is an isolated one – the greater part of the rural population in the region seem to have been purely subsistence farmers.

Thanks to the detailed *periorismoi* of the estates, we know a certain amount about neighbouring properties in the Maeander delta. Best attested are the estates of the monastery of Myrelaion in Constantinople, who owned

⁸⁰ Patmos II 50, lines 232 (Melanoudion), 258 (Mandraklou), 278 (Mykterinos). The only other instance of a son-in-law incorporated into a household is found in one of the few yoke-owning families at Baris, that of the widow Anna: line 144. See Litavrin 1990: 191.

⁸¹ Harvey 1998: 80–1 (ordinary peasant vineyards no larger than one *modios*). Commercial specialisation in Byzantine agriculture is virtually restricted to the vine (Kaplan 1992: 69–71).

property neighbouring the Baris estate; the interests of the Myrelaion in the region date back to the tenth century.⁸² An anonymous *protospatharia* owned property lying to the west of Baris.⁸³ Most interesting is the case of the monastery of Oroboi. Both Baris and Mandraklou are said to border on the estates of Oroboi, a monastery which lay, as we learn from the eleventh-century *Life of St Lazarus of Galesion*, in the vicinity of Magnesia on the Maeander. Oroboi seems to have taken advantage of the lax administration of the imperial estate of Alopekai to claim possession of a field of 216 *modioi* formerly pertaining to Baris.⁸⁴ Adam was unable to determine the truth of the matter in the course of his survey, but advised that an enquiry into the disputed land be undertaken.

This affair shows how local powers in the delta region such as the monastery of Oroboi could exploit the proliferation of absentee landlords, private or imperial, to improve their position on the ground. A very similar case is attested in the region a century later, when the monastery of St Paul on Mt Latros was found to be illegally claiming the services of a number of *paroikoi* who in fact pertained to the imperial fisc.⁸⁵ At the top of the local pecking order were those few big private landowners who chose to reside in the region. In August 1195, the monastery of St Paul complained to the emperor Isaac II Angelus about the aggressive behaviour of one particular local potentate, John Karantenos, resident at Mylasa. Karantenos had leased the estate of Messiggouma from the monastery at a rent of 24 *metra* of olive oil per year; initially he provided a mere four *metra* per year, which swiftly declined to nothing.⁸⁶ In January 1204, the monastery renewed its appeal: Messiggouma had been seized back by John Karantenos' son Leo, recently deceased, who had left the property in his will to another unnamed monastery in the region.⁸⁷ In practice, the emperor seems to have had very little power to prevent local dynasts like the Karantenoï lording it over their neighbours.

⁸² Patmos II 50, lines 217–18, 228, with Janin 1969: 351–4. See also Delehay 1895: 143–4 (the Myrelaion encroaching on the property of the church of Miletos in the late 960s); *Vita Lazari*, AASS Nov. III, 540 ch. 103 (*episkepsis* of Myrelaion in the Thrakesian *thema*).

⁸³ Patmos II 50, lines 177–8, 180, 227.

⁸⁴ *Vita Lazari*, AASS Nov. III, 510 ch. 3, 518 ch. 30. The seal of the monk Gabriel of the monastery of the Mother of God Orobittissa may pertain to this monastery: Laurent, *Corpus* v 2, 1275. It is possible that the unnamed monastery 'subject to the bishopric of Magnesia' in the tenth-century *Life of St Paul the Younger* (ed. Delehay 1892: 54) is to be identified with Oroboi.

⁸⁵ MM IV 317–18 (AD 1175).

⁸⁶ MM IV 320–2. Similarly, the monastery alleged that the inhabitants of the town of Amyzon had seized the estate of Kyparission, presumably located somewhere high on Mt Latros.

⁸⁷ MM IV 327–9.



Figure 7.4 The fortress of Sabas Asidenos on the acropolis of Priene-Sampson

The age of the dynasts

After the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204, the local potentates came into their own. With Constantinopolitan landowners unable to enforce their claims to provincial estates, property-ownership in the delta region descended into chaos. The effects of the great land-grab of 1204 emerge from a series of documents of the following decades, as local monasteries attempted to assert their property rights against the claims of powerful individual predators. One of the largest landowners in the region before 1204 had been the Sampson hospital in Constantinople, which had controlled a substantial estate centred on the former bishopric of Priene (now simply known as Sampson).⁸⁸ The *episkepsis* of Sampson was now annexed by a local dynast, Sabas Asidenos (Fig. 7.4). In September 1213,

⁸⁸ On Priene-Sampson, see Miller 1990: 132–5, elaborating on a suggestion by Orgels 1935: 76–7. For the architectural remains of Byzantine Priene-Sampson, Müller-Wiener 1961: 46–56. The name ‘Sampson’ has an interesting afterlife. In the mid-nineteenth century, a large rock at Posidhónio, ‘rock of Samson’, was believed by the Samians to have been flung across the strait by the biblical Samson from the peak of the mountain on which he was then residing and to which he gave his name: Guérin 1856: 257. It is striking that this legend attached itself to the eastern end of the strait between Samos and Mycale, not the narrowest part of the strait, but precisely the point where two Samian forts of the Hellenistic period had been established on either side of the channel to control the strait: Shipley 1987: 265–7.

the emperor Theodore I Lascaris upheld a petition of the monks of Hiera Xerochoraphion on Mt Mycale, who alleged that certain monastic properties lying in the Maeander *thema*, including the farm of Akron, had been seized by the *paroikoi* of the villages of Sampson and Malachiou. The Sampsenoi and Malachiotai were acting in the interest of their powerful patrons, Sabas Asidenos at Sampson and George Phokas at Malachiou.⁸⁹ Similarly, in March 1217, a dispute between the monks of the monastery of St Paul on Latros and the inhabitants of the *episkepsis* of Sampson and the bishopric of Amyzon (here called Amazonokorakia) was brought before the imperial law-court in Nicaea. The argument centred on an estate called Alexandreion and its associated reed-bed, which the monastery claimed had been seized by the villagers of Sampson. The villagers of Kleisoura were also present with their own claims of ill-treatment by Sampson, claiming that the Sampsenoi had taken the opportunity of the dispute to seize certain plots of land belonging to Kleisoura and bordering on Alexandreion.⁹⁰ By this point, Sabas was no longer on the scene, and what the Sampsenoi had to prove was that they had possessed the estate *before* his encroachments; the Sampsenoi were reduced to paying a local scribe fourteen *hyperpyra* to forge the relevant documents.

The problem for local landowners attempting to resist the land-grab was that many of the dynasts had powerful connections at the Lascarid court in Nicaea. In a fragmentary document of March 1224, apparently concerning yet another dispute between Sampson and the monastery of Hiera Xerochoraphion, it is explicitly stated that ‘the inhabitants of the *episkepsis* of Sampson have long been in a powerful position, thanks to being supported and defended by great men and relatives of the emperors’.⁹¹ Sabas Asidenos, dynast of Sampson, was married to the sister of George Phokas, patron of the village of Malachiou. George was probably the son of Theodotos Phokas, the uncle by marriage of the emperor Theodore I Lascaris himself. Both men, therefore, were close relatives of the emperor; it

⁸⁹ Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 13–15, docs. 1–3. In doc. 1, the offending parties are once described as τῶν Σαμψηνῶν καὶ τῶν Μολαχιωτῶν and once as τοῦ μέρους τοῦ πανσεβάστου Φωκᾶ κυροῦ Γεωργίου καὶ τινῶν Σαμψηνῶν καὶ ἐτέρων προσώπων. I infer from this that the villagers of Malachiou were *paroikoi* of George Phokas; we know from MM IV 292 (March 1217) that Sabas was in possession of the *episkepsis* of Sampson. For Sabas, see Orgels 1935. The precise location of Hiera Xerochoraphion has not been determined: to my mind the most plausible candidate is the Byzantine predecessor of the modern church of Panagia Korsuniotissa (Kurşunlu Manastir) on the north flank of Mycale near Davutlar (Lohmann 2007: 104–5).

⁹⁰ MM IV 290–5. ⁹¹ Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 20 doc. 5, lines 12–14.

is notable that Sabas possessed the elevated title of *sebastokrator*, normally held only by the emperor's brothers.⁹²

The later history of Malachiou can be reconstructed from documents in the archives of the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos. At some point in the mid-thirteenth century, the estate centred on the village of Malachiou had passed from the Phokas family to their in-laws, the Lascarid imperial house; in the late 1250s, Malachiou was in the hands of Manuel Lascaris, youngest brother of Theodore I Lascaris. The disgrace and imprisonment of Manuel at Bursa late in 1258 seems to have been accompanied by a general confiscation of his landed property. Early in 1259, Michael VIII Palaeologus broke up the former estate of Malachiou. The village itself was handed over to his uncle George Comnenos Angelos, and the small dependent farm of *Gonia tou Petake* was attached to the Patmian estate at Pyrgos. The transfer did not go uncontested by the Lascarid family. In July 1259, we find the emperor writing to Maria Comnena Lascaris, Manuel's wife, instructing her to prevent both her men and the inhabitants of *Gonia tou Petake* themselves from causing trouble with their new landlords: she no longer has any claim to the estate, and her men have no right to agitate against the monastic beneficiaries. Three years later, in 1262, the Malachiotai, in association with another nearby village, Stomatia, were still claiming title to the farm of *Gonia tou Petake*. The dispute now hinged on the terms under which the land had previously been cultivated by the Malachiotai. The villagers claimed that the farm pertained to them as hereditary property, and therefore that the emperor had no right to detach it from the village. Since the Malachiotai were unable to produce any supporting documentation, it was judged that they had farmed it merely as tenant sharecroppers, paying a tithe either to the imperial treasury or to the holder of the *pronoia* of the village of Malachiou; the emperor accordingly reaffirmed the title of the monks of Patmos to the farm.⁹³

⁹² Sabas and George Phokas brothers-in-law: Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 14–15 doc. 2. George Phokas son of Theodotos Phokas: Ragia 2007: 143–4. In 1209 we find the Lampones, inhabitants of a village near Miletos, appealing to Theodotos Phokas for support in a land dispute; Phokas declines to intervene on the grounds that he is busy on imperial business (MM VI 153–4). Angold 1975: 200, 253 n. 27 plausibly suggests that the elder Phokas was duke of the Thrakesian *thema* at this point.

⁹³ Documents of 1259: Patmos I 14 (chrysobull), put into effect by the *horismos* Patmos I 27; Patmos I 28 (*horismos* directed at Maria Lascaris). For the events of 1258–9 and the eclipse of the Lascarids, see Pachymeres I 29 (incarceration of Manuel); Angold 1975: 80–93. Documents of 1262: Patmos I 29 (note esp. line 6, ἀποσπασθείσης τῆς τοιαύτης γῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαλαχίου καὶ δοθείσης τῇ μονῇ); Patmos II 67 (*acta* of the *dux* John Selagites and the bishop John of Amazon); Patmos I 30. The nature of the 1262 dispute is usefully discussed by Ostrogorskij 1954: 69–72; Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: 47–8, 216–17.



Figure 7.5 The modern village of Domatia

We can make a guess at the location in the Maeander delta plain of some of the villages involved in these various disputes. As we have seen, Sampson was identical to the old city of Priene on the north side of the delta plain. Stomatia, to judge by its name ('river-mouths'), ought to be situated nearer to the coast. Theodore Wiegand saw long ago that we are dealing with the Greek village of Domatia, which survived until the early twentieth century; the village lay a little way to the east of Thebes at the foot of Mt Mycale, north of the Karina lagoon (Fig. 7.5).⁹⁴ The location of the village of Malachiou is harder to determine. Since we find it associated with both Sampson and Stomatia, it may well have been another of the communities strung

⁹⁴ Wiegand and Schrader 1904: 19, accepted by Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 17 n. 9. The changes of name and location are a little confusing. Until 1821, the Greek village of Domatia lay a little way to the south-east of Thebes on Mycale. It was abandoned at the time of the Greek war of independence, and a new village, also called Domatia, was constructed some 3 km to the east. New Domatia was a prosperous place, with a population of some 400 families at the turn of the twentieth century. In the population-exchange of 1923, the post-1821 New Domatia was also abandoned; it is now known as 'Old' (Eski) Doğanbey, and is gradually being restored to its pre-1923 state. 'New' (Yeni) Doğanbey, confusingly, lies not far from the site of the original, pre-1821 Domatia/Stomatia. The last mention of Thebes on Mycale appears to be in the late tenth century, in the life of St Paul the Younger of Latros (ed. Delehayé 1892), 143: Θήβαις ταῖς ἐν Μιλήτῳ. Probably Stomatia was simply another name for the mediaeval Thebes. This whole region is lavishly illustrated in Müller 1997: 606–34, s.v. Mykale.



Figure 7.6 The Byzantine fort at Atburgaz (Malachiou?)

along the south flank of Mt Mycale.⁹⁵ A strong candidate is the modern village of Atburgazı. The element *Burgaz* is a straightforward phonetic preservation of the Greek *pyrgos*, ‘fortified place, domain’, with the addition of *At-* (‘horse-fort’) to distinguish the place from Tuzburgazı (‘salt-fort’), the village’s immediate neighbour to the west. Atburgazı is clustered around a spur projecting out into the plain from the Mycale massif. On the top of this spur lies a small polygonal Byzantine fort, of maximum length 46.5 m and maximum breadth 33 m, dating probably to the late eleventh or early twelfth century AD, although a thirteenth-century date is not impossible (Fig. 7.6).⁹⁶ It is conceivable that this fort should be identified as the centre of the thirteenth-century estate of Malachiou. If so, the village Malachiou itself could then be identified with the small Byzantine village-settlement situated up the valley of the Değirmen Dere around a mile to the north-west of Atburgazı.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ In the *partitio Romaniae* of 1204, a place named *Samakii* is named immediately after Sampson, ingeniously emended by Tomaschek (1891: 35) to *Ta Malachii* (adopted by Carile 1965: 218). However, a village by the name of Samakion is attested in the *Life of St Lazarus of Galesion* (529F, ch. 64): the emendation should be rejected.

⁹⁶ Wiegand and Schrader 1904: 16 (‘Akbogaz’); Müller-Wiener 1961: 44–5 with Abb.9. The construction of the Atburgazı fort may have been roughly contemporary with the refortification of Didyma-Hieron in 1088/9 or 1103/4: Foss 1982: 157–8, and for the date, Ragia 2007: 135–42.

⁹⁷ For the site, see Lohmann 2007: 88–9 (no identification proposed).



Figure 7.7 The Cihanoğlu fortress at Cincin: a thirteenth-century fortified residence in the lower Maeander valley

It is hard to assess the consequences of the thirteenth-century breakdown of property-ownership in the Maeander delta region for agricultural production and rural settlement. The first half of the thirteenth century was certainly an age of massive fortification in the lowland valleys of western Asia Minor. The monasteries of Mt Latros and lake Bafa were ringed with impressive fortifications, such that the largest and most geographically exposed of them, such as Kellibara (Yediler) and Duo Bounoi (İkizada) came to look more like castles than monasteries.⁹⁸ There is some evidence that this may have been a more widespread phenomenon in the lower Maeander region. Further inland, on the south flank of the Maeander valley proper, lie two massive fortified residences of the later Ottoman period, the Cihanoğlu fortress at Cincin on the north flank of Mount Latmos (near modern Koçarlı: Fig. 7.7), and the so-called Beyler konağı ('manor of the lords') at Arpaz (ancient Harpasa), at the mouth of the Harpasos river valley. It has recently been argued that both complexes incorporated the surviving ramparts of fortified monasteries or dynastic residences dating to the thirteenth century.⁹⁹ We should probably see these fortified centres

⁹⁸ Buchwald 1979: 268–74; Wiegand 1913: 18–55.

⁹⁹ Arel 1999: 257–64 (with full illustration); Arel 2004.

as an attempt by the local élites to create a more sustainable settlement geography in the face of what was now clearly a perpetual Turkish threat. Loss of property to local dynasts may have been a small price to pay for the promise of refuge behind the walls of a private fortress during Turkish incursions.

After the recapture of Constantinople in 1261, as we saw at the beginning of [Chapter 1](#), the efforts of the Byzantine state to defend south-western Asia Minor became increasingly lacklustre. From the 1260s onwards, the Maeander delta region was under increasing pressure from the corsair emirate of Menteşe, which was installed in Caria from 1269 at the latest. The thirteenth- and fourteenth-century west-Anatolian emirates were naval in origin; it is an attractive hypothesis that Menteşe's title in the Greek sources, Salpakis/Salampakis, might represent the Turkish *sahil beğ*, 'lord of the coasts'.¹⁰⁰ In AD 1294–5, the Byzantine state made its last attempt to wrench back control of the Maeander delta region, with a short campaign (more dramatic than effective) led by the young Alexios Philanthropenos. The only event of Philanthropenos' campaign described in any detail by Pachymeres is his capture of the Turkish fortress of Duo Bounoi in the Latros region. 'Among other deeds, he succeeded in capturing by storm the fortress of Duo Bounoi near Melanoudion, which had formerly belonged to us but was then in the hands of our enemies, and which was, I think, previously known as the Didymeion of Miletus . . . After the death of the Persian Salampakis, the first of his wives was guarded there, and all kinds of treasure were stored up there too.' Pachymeres' identification of Duo Bounoi with Didyma, although etymologically by no means foolish, cannot be right; the fortress in question is (as we soon learn) located on an island in the former Latmic gulf, modern Lake Bafa. After failing to persuade the woman to marry him and betray the fortress, Philanthropenos succeeded in storming the island with the aid of wooden siege engines mounted on boats lashed together with cords.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Wittek 1934: 29–30 (Pachymeres 6.21; 9.9). The Greek termination *-mpakis* certainly ought to represent *bek/beğ* (Zachariadou 1978). Failler 1994: 86–7, rejects Wittek's interpretation, on the grounds that Pachymeres 6.21 (ed. Failler 1984–2000: II 597) explains the surname *Salpakis* as meaning ἀνδρεῖος. Zachariadou (1983: 106) argues that the name represents *Salamat beğ*, which would then explain Pachymeres' gloss of Salpakis as ἀνδρεῖος (= *selamet*, 'soundness'); similarly, Balivet (1994: 40–1) interprets the name as *sağlam beğ*. Unfortunately, Zachariadou's interpretation rests on an identification of Salpakis/Salampakis with the Salamates of Pachymeres 9.9, which appears to be chronologically impossible (see the following notes). Wittek's interpretation remains, to my mind, the most plausible.

¹⁰¹ Pachymeres 9.9 (ed. Failler 1984–2000: III 239). For the date (spring 1294), see Beyer (1993: 121–2), superseding Laiou 1978. For the identification of Duo Bounoi with İközada, see Wendel 1940: 438–43. The siege is also described by Plan., *Ep.* 119 (ed. Treu 1886–9).



Figure 7.8 The fortifications on İközada (Duo Bounoi) on Lake Bafa

The key point here is that this Turkish fortress – probably to be identified with the modern İközada – had until recently served as a monastery (Fig. 7.8). The fortified centres which had been constructed *against* the Turks in the delta region in the early thirteenth century were gratefully taken over by the same Turks after the collapse of Byzantine authority in the region after 1261. Similarly, in summer 1295, the Turks attacked a fort near Priene under the leadership of ‘one of the barbarians from beyond Miletus, Salamates by name’.¹⁰² No doubt ‘Salamates’ was connected with the house of Menteşe, though he cannot be identical with Menteşe Salampakis, the conqueror of Tralles, since Menteşe was dead by spring 1294.¹⁰³ Although this fort cannot be identified with any confidence (I should like to believe that it is the *Atburgazı pyrgos* described above), the point is that the Greeks had inadvertently created a fortified landscape which suited the interests of the Turks perfectly.

¹⁰² Plan. *Ep.* 120; for the date (summer 1295), see Beyer 1993: 133–5. The identification of the fort is uncertain.

¹⁰³ The widow of Menteşe Salpakis/Salampakis was present at the fall of Duo Bounoi. Conceivably the name Σαλαμάτης is an error for Σαλαμάνης, i.e. Suleiman (thus Moravcsik 1958: II 264). If so, the identity of this Suleiman is wholly unclear.



Figure 7.9 The heights of Mt Mycale

Mycale and Latmos: exploiting the margins

One of the most striking aspects of the land disputes of the later Byzantine period is the sheer degree of interconnectivity between the Maeander plain and the mountainous regions to north and south. The estates of Andronikos Doukas included both properties in the delta plain itself and a cluster of properties in the foothills of Mt Latros, at Melanoudion. The monastery of Hiera Xerochoraphion, high among the forested crags of Mt Mycale, was intensely involved in the squabbles between the villages on the north flank of the delta; the right to cultivate a reed-bed in the deltaic marshes could simultaneously be claimed by the villagers of Amyzon on Mt Latros and the inhabitants of the *episkepsis* of Sampson on Mt Mycale. It ought, then, to come as no surprise to find Amyzon participating in the construction of a heavily engineered road from Ephesus to Magnesia, the Trachon, in the mid-second century AD.¹⁰⁴

This medium-range interconnectivity reflects a crucial aspect of the rural economy of the lower Maeander region. Our documentary material, sporadic and unsatisfactory though it is, does allow us to track some changes in

¹⁰⁴ Robert and Robert 1983: 30–2. For the remains of this road, see above, pp. 103–4.

the ownership and exploitation of agricultural land over time. However, the agrarian economy did not operate in isolation. There is reason to think that livestock-rearing may be systematically under-represented in the documentary sources, and in particular, the (potentially highly profitable) exploitation of marginal and mountainous zones is entirely concealed. Alongside the agrarian economy most clearly revealed by the Diocletianic census-records and the *praktikon* of Adam, there existed, too, a silvo-pastoralist economy, of pigs, acorns, wood-cutting and cattle, of which we can trace only the barest outlines.¹⁰⁵

Throughout antiquity and the Byzantine middle ages, large and potentially profitable stretches of woodland were normally regarded as state property. In the late fourth or early third century BC, an anonymous Hellenistic monarch required the inhabitants of Aeolian Aegae to pay both a tax of $\frac{1}{8}$ on their beehives and a tithe of a leg of any boar or deer they might catch while hunting. Presumably the latter demand is based on the principle that the magnificent forests around Aegae, rather than the wild beasts *per se*, belong to the king.¹⁰⁶ In 188 BC, under the terms of the treaty of Apamea, the Romans granted the island of Drymoussa, ‘Oak-tree Island’, to the city of Clazomenae; presumably this wooded island had previously been Seleucid royal property.¹⁰⁷ In the Hadrianic period, the forests of Mt Libanus (although not the mountain itself) constituted a single vast imperial domain; the upper reaches of woodland were exclusively imperial property, but in the lower foothills of the mountain, imperial procurators seem to have granted the right of usufruct to local villagers for grazing, pasturage and the collection of nuts and acorns.¹⁰⁸ In the heavily wooded region lying between Bourboura and Tripotamon on the Longos peninsula, in the early fourteenth century, the monastery of Xenophon possessed the tax-free right to cut wood (*orokopion*), pasture their livestock (*ennomion*), and exploit the woodland’s pine-products (*strobilaiai*), presumably mostly resin, pitch and pine-cones. The fact that these rights have to be specifically granted to the monastery by the emperor carries the strong implication that ordinary subjects could, in theory, be taxed for gathering imperial pine-cones.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Rightly emphasised by Millar 1981: 73–4.

¹⁰⁶ SEG 33, 1034; Chandezon 2003a: no.52; for the date, SEG 53, 1363. Woodland as royal property in Seleucid kingdom: Aperghis 2004: 66–7, 153; Ma 2002: doc.1 (Sardis).

¹⁰⁷ Polybius 21.45.5.

¹⁰⁸ Breton 1980: 27–30. For imperial domains consisting of a particular type of natural product rather than defined stretches of land, compare Rouanet-Leisenfelt 1992: 188 (Judaean balsam; Cretan medicinal herbs; Tithorean oil).

¹⁰⁹ Xénophon, no. 4 (AD 1300), line 12; 5, lines 15–16, etc.; pp. 90–1. In Xénophon, no. 1 (AD 1089), line 135, there is a passing reference to the ξυλοκοπέιον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Βαρναβιτζη,

Two documents of the late fourth century BC suggest that at least some individual cities of western Asia Minor possessed substantial tracts of woodland within their civic territory. A treaty of *sympoliteia* between Teos and an unnamed neighbouring community, dating to the late fourth century BC, specifies that the community will have the tax-free right of exploiting and selling the products of a certain stretch of woodlands. We seem primarily to be dealing with the sale of charcoal and timber, but the further grant of tax-exemption on a stated number of pigs may also point to the value of this woodland area for swine-pasturage.¹¹⁰ Even more striking, in the late fourth century BC, the city of Zeleia in Bithynia rewarded a *proxenos* with a 'half-*klēros* of woodland (*daseiē*) and a *klēros* of land in the plain'; the implication appears to be that particular tracts of woodland could be carved up into individual *klēroi*.¹¹¹ I know of no evidence that the forests of western Asia Minor formed part of civic territory at any later (or indeed earlier) date: one wonders whether it was only with the Seleucid conquest of western Asia Minor that the woodlands of the peninsula were firmly placed under royal administration.

The mountainous country to the north and south of the Maeander delta plain, and in particular the steep wildernesses of Mt Mycale, constituted a major resource for the inhabitants of the lower Maeander valley. Strabo describes the mountain as 'good for game and timber', and both resources were still intensively exploited in the late Ottoman period.¹¹² In the late nineteenth century, Greeks from the island of Icaria still regularly crossed to the wild and remote western tip of the Mycale peninsula to procure charcoal.¹¹³ The magnificent leopards of the Mycale forests, which were occasionally known to swim across the gulf between Mycale and the island of Samos, were hunted to extinction only in the mid-twentieth century.¹¹⁴

Charles Texier, who undertook the first serious exploration of the north flank of Mt Mycale in 1842, was appalled by the failure of the Ottoman state to control local exploitation of the Mycale forests:

presumably a designated spot where the monks were permitted to cut wood for their own use. See further Dunn 1992: 273–9.

¹¹⁰ Robert, *OMS* VII 320–31; Chandezon 2003a: no. 53. In *Syll.*³ 623 (II BC), the little town of Thisoa in Arcadia grants a *proxenos* the right of exploiting the town's timber resources (ἐπιξυλία).

¹¹¹ *SGDI* 5533 (ἡμικλήριον δασείης). ¹¹² Strabo 14.1.12.

¹¹³ Wiegand and Schrader 1904: 23. For the vegetation of Mt Mycale, see Lohmann 2007: 65–7.

¹¹⁴ Robert 1963: 172 n. 3; *OMS* VII 316 n. 72; Texier 1838–49: II 293; note the name *Pantheras* at Magnesia on the Maeander (*I.Magnesia* 110b2). One winter, during the Roberts' excavations at Claros, an Ionian panther attacked a foal belonging to the site-guard, and killed the watch-dog: Robert 1980: 281 n. 90.



Figure 7.10 The wooded northern flank of Mt Mycale, overlooking the Batinetis plain (Chapter 1, p. 28); in the foreground, Fındıklı Kale

All this part of Mycale is covered with splendid forests, and despite the neglect shown by the Turks, who have not the least idea how to administer woodlands, this country could still offer enormous resources to any remotely competent administration. These public possessions are left to the mercy of the local peasants, who for a tiny payment are permitted to cut down even the largest trees. The nomads no longer pay anything at all for their pasturage-rights, which are no less devastating for the forests than the peasants' axes. From time to time one sees tribes of Yürük encamped on a plateau, burning the trees, letting their goats wander in the coppices and destroying all the young shoots. The following year, the traces of their ravages are still visible, since the whole area around their encampment remains withered and dry.¹¹⁵

It is no surprise that, as we saw in Chapter 1, the Samians and Prieneans squabbled for more than 500 years over the boundaries of their respective territories on the mountain; there still survive several of the dozens of boundary markers (*horoi*) strung across the mountain ridge to mark the limits laid down by Rhodian arbitrators between the two states in the second century BC.¹¹⁶

In the eleventh century AD, the *paroikoi* of Andronikos' estate in the Maeander delta plain were evidently making full use of their resources of marginal land. They paid pasture dues attached to the hill of St Elias and

¹¹⁵ Texier 1838–49: II 293. ¹¹⁶ See above, pp. 28–9. For the *horoi*, see Lohmann 2007: 76–8.

a patch of scrubland near the village of Olinthos, and were liable for a flat-rate payment of two *nomismata* for the ‘*balanisterion*’ attached to an unnamed hill, apparently a seasonal charge on acorn-grazing by pigs.¹¹⁷ None of the *paroikoi* declared more than fourteen pigs for the purposes of tax-assessment, but we might reasonably guess that this is a deliberate underestimate: a tax-official could have had no way of establishing which of the herds of half-wild pigs roaming on the wooded slopes of Mt Mycale belonged to a given village.¹¹⁸ The numerous references in Adam’s *periorismos* to *prinos*-trees (Kermes oak, *quercus coccifera*) may suggest another form of woodland exploitation. This tree attracts the *prinokokkion* (kermes), a small insect which lives on its trunk and is a sought-after source of red dye; Byzantine farmers deliberately planted holm-oaks in order to attract the bug, and there was an imperial monopoly on the sale of crimson dye derived from it.¹¹⁹

Patmos: the maritime hinterland

In the next chapter, we shall see how Milesian prosperity from the archaic period down to the Turkish conquest was founded on an aggressive and flexible policy of expansion and economic diversification in the Maeander delta region. A crucial aspect of this process was the early incorporation into Milesian territory of extended ‘maritime hinterlands’ on the north side of the Maeander delta (in particular, the small town of Thebes on Mycale) and far out into the Aegean. The three so-called Milesian islands, Leros, Patmos and Lepsia, have no independent history in antiquity. It is unclear when they were first incorporated into the Milesian state. The earliest unambiguous evidence pertains to Leros, which was certainly in Milesian hands by the 450s BC. It is, at least, a reasonable guess that all three islands were under Milesian control by the sixth century or even earlier, but evidence is lacking.¹²⁰ Describing the flight of the Milesian tyrant Aristagoras in 497 BC, Herodotus has the historian Hecataeus advise him ‘to build a fort on the island of Leros, and bide his time; from Leros he could then make his return to Miletus at a later date’. Even if the proposal

¹¹⁷ Patmos II 50, lines 123–6. Reger (1994: 178–82) argues that a correlation in the price of firewood and pigs on Hellenistic Delos reflects a similar need for woodland swine-pasturage.

¹¹⁸ Patmos II 50, lines 145–69; Harvey 1998: 77. See further above, pp. 184–5.

¹¹⁹ Dunn 1992: 274–5, 290–1. For the *prinokokkion*, see further Theophrastus, *Hist. pl.* 3.7.3; for the use of the *prinokokkion* for red dye, Simonides fr. 45 (Page), ‘the crimson sail dyed with the moist flower of the strong holm-oak’.

¹²⁰ Ehrhardt 1983: 15–17, 278–81.

is historical (as is by no means certain), it is not clear whether Leros is understood as already being part of Milesian territory.¹²¹ As a hint at why the Milesians might have chosen to colonise the northern Dodecanese, however, Hecataeus' proposal does have some suggestive value. Aristagoras is being advised to use Leros as an *epiteichisma*, a strong fortified camp within striking distance of Miletus, which could provide a focal point for deserters from a divided city, and from which a violent return to Miletus could easily be effected at a later date.¹²² One major purpose of the Milesian settlements on the islands was certainly military: a number of decrees of the Hellenistic period in honour of Milesian phourarchs show that the islands were continuously garrisoned, at least down to the late Hellenistic period.¹²³

The suggestion that Leros might serve as a refuge for Aristagoras is revealing for other reasons. In the first of the Athenian tribute lists (454/3), the 'Milesians from Leros' were separately assessed for the startlingly large sum of three talents, the same as that of Colophon.¹²⁴ In later tribute assessments, the Milesians as a whole, including the community on Leros, never paid more than ten talents. Tribute assessments, while not necessarily proportionate to population, were, at least in principle, proportionate to economic resources; hence the surprising conclusion that in the mid-fifth century BC almost a third of the perceived resource-base of Miletus was located on Leros.¹²⁵ A sad reality may well underlie the Lerosian tribute assessment. In 494 BC, Miletus, the greatest city of archaic Greece, the ornament of Ionia, was sacked and burned to the ground, and its women and children sold into slavery; those men who survived were transported to Susa and resettled by Darius at the mouth of the Tigris river. Leros, like Teichioussa, a small fortified town on the south coast of the Milesian peninsula, provided a place of refuge for those who had fled the city in time. It was from here, as also from the small settlement which somehow survived on the hill of Kalabaktepe above the wreck of Miletus, that the Milesians slowly and painfully rebuilt their community from the ruins.

¹²¹ Hdt. 5.125. The historicity of Hecataeus' proposal is very doubtful (West 1991: 154–7). No date for the colonisation of Leros is offered or implied by Anaximenes of Lampsacus, *FGrHist* 72F26.

¹²² On *epiteichismos*, see Westlake 1983. The operations of the Samian anti-Athenian faction on the mainland at Anaia after 439 BC, who caused immense trouble for the Samian loyalists by collaborating with the Peloponnesians and providing shelter to refugees (Thuc. 4.75; Carusi 2003: 157–61), provide a close parallel for Hecataeus' proposal.

¹²³ *Isole Milesie* 3 (Leros); 18, 21–2 (Lepsia). ¹²⁴ *IG* I³ 259, v1 19–20.

¹²⁵ For the concept of 'resources' (not merely manpower or area of territory) as the basis for tribute, see Nixon and Price 1990.

In 454 BC, the year of the earliest extant assessment list, the houses and temples of New Miletus were still unfinished, rising stone by stone from the scorched soil. The exiles of Leros and Teichioussa had not yet returned home; to judge from the tribute assessment of 454/3, perhaps a third of the Milesians were still living behind the walls of the fortress on Leros, a bitter testimony to the success of the island's defensive role in Milesian history.¹²⁶

Nonetheless, the Milesian islands were by no means purely fortified outposts. As we shall see, direct agricultural and pastoral exploitation of the islands (particularly in the form of tree-crops) may have been of no small economic significance to the Milesians. There is some direct evidence that their harbours served as a base for maritime traders in the south-eastern Aegean in the Hellenistic period, the period in which the great north–south shipping lane along the Asiatic coast, from the Hellespont to Rhodes or Alexandria, attained its greatest significance.¹²⁷ Since this route followed the islands rather than the rough Ionian coast itself, possession of the superb harbours of Leros and Patmos brought major economic benefits to Miletus.¹²⁸ From a broader perspective, the way in which the Milesian state in general, and the islands in particular, were conceptualised in antiquity, strongly suggests that they were regarded as far more than mere *phrouria*. Miletus was, in the Hellenistic period at least, considered as consisting of three parts: the city, the territory and the islands. The islands were fully part of the Milesian state, but nonetheless have a separate and collective identity of their own within it. This implicit corporate character was institutionalised in the early Hellenistic period, when the three islands were formed into the single Milesian deme of 'Leros'.¹²⁹ The islands were thus in a

¹²⁶ I shall defend this interpretation of the Lirian tribute assessment elsewhere. The complex reconstructions of Milesian *stasis* in the late 450s favoured by an older generation of scholars (e.g. Meiggs 1972: 112; Meritt 1972: 406–11; still upheld by Delorme 1995: 209–26) are best abandoned, whether or not one accepts Mattingly's downdating of IG I³ 21 to the 420s (Mattingly 1996: 453–60). See rather Piérart 1985: 287–92. For the post-494 settlement on Kalabaktepe, see e.g. von Graeve 1986: 37–43; Kerschner 1995: 214–18.

¹²⁷ *I. Isole Milesie 2* (Leros): honours for a certain Aristomachus, living on the island, who makes his living from maritime trade (ἐργαζόμενος τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίαν). For the phraseology, cf. Wilhelm, *Inscripfenkunde* IV 175–6; *BE* 1973, 419. Brun 1996: 132, interprets the phrase as referring specifically to fisheries.

¹²⁸ Brun 1996: 12; cf. 141.

¹²⁹ For the tripartite definition of the Milesian state, see Robert, *Hellenica* 1, 113–15; also Pimouguet 1995. Piérart (1985: 276–83, 292–6) brilliantly shows that the expression Λερίων οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Λέρῳ, found on several decrees from Leros (*I. Isole Milesie* 2.3–4, 16–18; 3.17; 5.7–8; 6.7–8), means 'those Milesians of the Lirian deme who live on Leros', as opposed to those members of the Lirian deme who live on the other islands. The creation of the five Milesian demes does not antedate the end of the fourth century BC; for earlier forms of

conceptually ambiguous, marginal position. On the one hand, each community had its own autonomous religious identity: the Lepsians worshipped their distinctive Apollo Lepsios; the Patmians had a major cult of Artemis Patmia, located at the site of the later monastery of St John the Theologian, complete with an aetiological myth explaining the island's origins.¹³⁰ At Leros, a major extra-urban temple to the goddess Parthenos sheltered a flock of sacred guinea-fowl, the sisters of Meleager; an altar to the Lerian goddess is found as far away as Thera.¹³¹ On the other hand, the islands were equally closely integrated into the religious life of Miletus. Honours for a phourarch on Lepsia are to be proclaimed both at the festival of Apollo Lepsios and at the Dionysia in Miletus; a cult regulation from Miletus lays down regulations for women who wish to sacrifice to Dionysus Bacchius 'in the city, in the territory, or on the islands', implying a common stratum of cult practice throughout Milesian territory.¹³²

We have no idea when Miletus' maritime hinterland was broken up. Settlement of some kind appears to have survived uninterrupted on Leros throughout the Late Antique and Byzantine periods. Patmos, in contrast, was wholly depopulated; when an Arab fleet stopped at Patmos in 904, the island had not a single permanent inhabitant, and was only exploited, if at all, for occasional grazing.¹³³ This *complete* abandonment is crucial, showing as it does that, by the late eleventh century, all earlier links between Miletus and her island possessions had long been broken. By the time that St Christodoulos, the founder of the great monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos, arrived on the island in 1088, Patmos could reasonably be described as a conceptual, as well as a physical desert. It is precisely this lack of continuity which makes the similarities between the territorial strategies of Classical Miletus and Byzantine Patmos so suggestive. The points of contact between the two systems reflect not institutional continuities, but a recurrent ecological relationship.

territorial organisation at Miletus, see Talamo 2003. The deme-names swiftly became anachronistic, since it appears that the villages of both Teichioussa and Argasa were depopulated in the early Hellenistic period (Lohmann 2004: 346–7).

¹³⁰ Apollo Lepsios: Ehrhardt 1983: 133; *I.Sole Milesie* 20; *Nouveau choix*, 4 (misinterpreting the cult). Artemis Patmia: Ehrhardt 1983: 149–51 (rather speculative); Gröll 1987: 15–32 (=SEG 39, 854–5).

¹³¹ Location of temple: Benson 1963: 16–19. Inscriptions to be set up at the sanctuary of the Parthenos: *I.Sole Milesie* 2.27–8; 3.22–3; 4.9; 5.9–10. For the Meleagrides of Leros, see Clytus of Miletus, *FGrHist* 490F1 (whose discussion of the Lerian cult formed part of a work *Peri Miletou*), with Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 2.6; Suda, s.v. Μελεαγρίδες (offering the cult name *Iokallis parthenos*, not attested elsewhere). Thera base (altar?): *IG* XII 3, 440.

¹³² *Nouveau choix*, 4.23–5; *LSAM* 48.18–19.

¹³³ John Kaminiates, *de exp. Thess.* (ed. Böhlig 1973) 57.10; Karlin-Hayter 1977: 190.

At the time of the establishment of Christodoulos' new monastery, according to the *praktikon* drawn up in 1088, Patmos was 'deserted, uncultivated, so densely covered with thorn-bushes and other maquis as to be almost impassable, totally arid from the absence of water . . . Of trees we saw not the slightest trace, neither cultivated trees nor even wild ones, with the exception of twenty wizened pear-trees; nor did we see a single building, except a miserable chapel dedicated to the Theologian, inside the enclosure of what was once, as its foundations show, an extremely large temple at the summit of the highest mountain.' Christodoulos himself describes the island as 'thoroughly cut off from the mainland and from the better-known islands, a secluded place uninhabited by man, an undisturbed retreat, with harbourage unfrequented by day-to-day maritime traffic.'¹³⁴ The pleasure that Christodoulos evidently derived from the contemplation of maritime isolation and insular autarky must have been fairly short-lived. It may be true enough that in the years before 1088 Patmos had been relatively little-frequented, but the mere fact of permanent occupation brought an end to that. From the very outset, the new monastery was structurally dependent on an extended maritime hinterland, initially consisting of the neighbouring islands of Pharmakoussa, Lepsia and (in part) Leros, and ultimately extending to encompass large tracts of mainland territory. Simultaneously, the monastery developed more or less extensive economic relations with islands as far away as Crete and Euboea. No less important, in the course of the twelfth century Patmos started to draw to its harbours that very 'day-to-day' maritime traffic whose absence Christodoulos had eulogised; the island became a busy stopping-off point on the great maritime highway down the south-west coast of Asia Minor between Samos and Rhodes, and simultaneously, the growing wealth and prestige of the monastery gave the island a privileged place in the spiritual geography of the eastern Aegean. Both from the inside looking out (overseas holdings, trading partners) and from the outside looking in (long-distance travel, pilgrimage routes), the monastery on Patmos was rapidly integrated into a wider ecological system. That is not to say that Christodoulos' wild, secluded, empty-harboured Patmos was a mere fantasy: no doubt his assessment of the island was perfectly reasonable, in 1088. The point is not that Patmos has always been interconnected; it has not. Rather, Patmos has always had extraordinary interconnective *potential*, both in absolute spatial terms (its position within the Aegean archipelago),

¹³⁴ Patmos II 51, lines 398–412; the temple must be that of Artemis Patmia. Christodoulos: MM VI 64. See further Karlin-Hayter 1977, on the process of repopulation; for Christodoulos' reasons for settling on Patmos, Morris 1995: 47–9.

and, from the first century AD onwards, in relational terms (its association with St John the Theologian).¹³⁵

As we saw earlier in the chapter, in 1216, Christodoulos' successors at the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos were granted possession of the Pyrgos estate in the lower Maeander flood plain, consisting of the land between the river Maeander and the 'river flowing from Palatia', including the whole of the Batmaz tepeleri (the former island of Lade), and extending to the west as far as the Aegean coastline.¹³⁶ The Patmian monks seem to have claimed that the estate would serve as a place of refuge in case of assaults by pirates against Patmos.¹³⁷ This was no doubt true, but was not the whole story. Equally significant was the more mundane factor of population pressure. The rapid growth of the monastery could only be sustained by a corresponding expansion of her overseas possessions; Patmos lay close enough to the delta ports to permit regular shipping of agricultural goods from Pyrgos to the island. In the course of the following century, these mainland possessions were augmented on more than one occasion, notably by a chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1259, by which the monks obtained the small farm of *Gonia tou Petake*, probably on the north side of the delta plain, and a small land-holding in the vicinity of 'Mandragourion', perhaps identical to the village of Mandragoreis near Magnesia, attested almost exactly a millennium earlier in the early third century AD.¹³⁸ The last mention of the Pyrgos estate in the Patmos documents comes in 1329, shortly after which it may be presumed to have been abandoned.¹³⁹

It is hard to quantify the significance of the Pyrgos estates in the lower Maeander valley to the economy of Patmos itself. Patmos itself, as we have seen, is a small, barren island, with absolute limits to its agricultural potential. Ancient settlement on the island was correspondingly limited. The

¹³⁵ For all this, see Malamut 1988: 446–53 (monastic fleet), 546–52, 560 (major twelfth-century networks), 572 (sacred geography); Harvey 2006: 119–48 (absolute and relational space).

¹³⁶ See above, pp. 263–4.

¹³⁷ Patmos I 13 (AD 1221), with pp. *86–7. Note, however, that Patmos already by 1216 possessed territory on the mainland at Phygela near Ephesus: Patmos I 12, with commentary. For Phygela, see Ragone 1996; Feissel 2003.

¹³⁸ Patmos I 14. For Mandragoreis, see SEG 32, 1149; Nollé 1982: 11–58, at 18–25. It seems clear that Mandragourion was a riverine port (thus Ahrweiler 1965: 53 n. 193); in Patmos I 39, lines 7–8, a document confirming the exemption of the mainland Patmian properties from commercial dues, a distinction is drawn between coastal sites (εἴτε εἰς τὰ Παλάτια, εἴτε εἰς τὴν Τράφον καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ παραλίοις) and those further inland (ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰ Μανδραγοῦριον καὶ παρ' ὄλον τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαίανδρον). The identification is, however, by no means certain: Μανδραγοῦριον could equally well represent an original Μανδραχώριον (stable-place) a name attested elsewhere in Asia Minor (e.g. Grélois 1998: 194).

¹³⁹ Patmos I 17, lines 46–8; Zachariadou 1966: 194.

only identified ancient structure on the island is a fairly substantial early Hellenistic fort overlooking the main harbour at Skala on the east coast of the island, probably the seat of the Milesian garrison.¹⁴⁰ In the *praktikon* of 1088, Patmos was estimated to possess no more than 146 acres (627 *modioi*) of arable land, the rest of the island being ‘mountainous, rough, and impassable’. Even of this tiny amount of cultivable land, by far the greater part was steep and rocky, and could be brought under cultivation only at the expense of ‘sweat and blood’; a mere 37 acres (160 *modioi*) were considered to be workable by a pair of oxen. As we have seen, the island had only twenty unproductive pear-trees at the time when Christodoulos took possession. By contrast, the two estates on Leros contained 306 olive-trees (not counting wild olives), 331 oaks, 36 carobs, 11 quinces, 10 pomegranate-trees, 6 pear-trees, 5 fig-trees and 4 almonds.¹⁴¹ But none of the Patmian island estates were really suitable for large-scale cultivation of staples: even the large Lorian estates seem in fact to have been given over almost entirely to pasturage.¹⁴²

This nutritional gap is explicit in a petition of the monastery of St John to Alexius III Angelus, dating to 1196, in which the abbot Arsenius successfully appeals for the grant of a small monastery and its dependent arable land in Crete specifically in order to remedy the monastery’s critical shortage of bread.¹⁴³ However, the grant of 1196 was a relatively minor one, and the population of Patmos, both monastic and lay, certainly continued to grow. One of the attractions of the Pyrgos estates on the Asiatic mainland must surely have been the prospect of a steady and secure supply of grain; as we have seen, there is some evidence that the estates of Andronikos Doukas were, in 1073, largely given over to the cultivation of wheat and barley. Another major product of the Pyrgos estates, which we shall look at in more detail in the next chapter, was salt. In 1221, the emperor Theodore Lascaris confirmed the monastery’s possession of the ‘estate of Pyrgos along with the associated salt-pans (*halykai*)’. For an island community with few natural resources of its own, where all perishables have to be stockpiled, salt is a particularly vital commodity. So far as we know, the salt-pans around Lade

¹⁴⁰ Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 49–50. Brun (1996: 151) attributes the fort to Antigonus the One-Eyed.

¹⁴¹ Patmos II 51, lines 402–8 (Patmos); Patmos II 52, lines 67–9, 107β–δ (Leros). See also Malamut 1988: 398–9.

¹⁴² Harvey 1989: 155–6.

¹⁴³ Patmos I 21. There were at this point ‘nearly 150’ monks on Patmos, twice as many as the 75 monks listed in 1157 (MM VI 108–10). For the problem of Patmos’ food supply, see further Morris 1995: 217–20.

had not formed part of Andronikos' estate; it is possible that Theodore Lascaris was persuaded to attach them to the Pyrgos estate specifically in the context of its transfer to the island monastery.¹⁴⁴ The potential contribution of the Maeander landholdings to the Patmian nutritional resource-base was very substantial indeed.

It is helpful, if mildly unhistorical, to think of mediaeval Patmos as a kind of mirror-image of ancient Miletus, each reflecting the economic and social strategies of the other. By the early thirteenth century, the distribution of Patmos' dispersed hinterlands was strikingly similar to that of Miletus in the first millennium BC, with the basic geographical relation inverted: Leros, Lepsia, the lower Maeander valley with parts of the hill country to the north and south. Certainly, the significance of this correspondence ought not to be overstated. The range of options for territorial expansion in this region is relatively limited; moreover, Patmos possessed major dependent territories never claimed by Miletus, on the island of Cos and north of the Mycale range on the mainland, and the converse is of course also true of Miletus. The interest in making the comparison lies in the similarity of the strategies developed by the two communities in response to ecological risk. In both situations, that of the large and powerful mainland city, and the small and (initially) isolated island monastery, we see the same compelling impetus towards territorial diversification. For the ancient Milesians, the easily accessible offshore islands of Patmos, Leros and Lepsia served as excellent marginal territory for grazing animals and cultivating tree-crops; for the mediaeval monks of Patmos, the nearby Maeander delta served as their primary bread-basket. Economic pressures ought perhaps not to be privileged to the exclusion of less quantifiable factors. So, as we have seen, the Patmian monks claimed that the fortified places of the Pyrgos estate would serve as a place of refuge against the assaults of Aegean pirates; similarly Leros, the seat of a Hellenistic Milesian garrison, had played the role of a place of refuge for the survivors of the catastrophe of 494 BC. The wholly independent re-establishment in the later Byzantine period of the old Milesian network of discontinuous, dispersed territories in the south-eastern Aegean basin sheds a flood of light on the ecological pressures acting on both societies.

After 1453, the monastic island of Patmos survived as a Christian enclave under Ottoman rule, enjoying administrative independence and immunity

¹⁴⁴ Patmos 1 13, with pp. *86–7; see Chapter 8, pp. 327–32 below. Note the compendious phraseology *μετά παντός δικαίου προσαρμόσαντος τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τοπίῳ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἄλυκῶν*, as though the salt-pans were not an integral part of the pre-existing estate. They are nowhere mentioned in the *praktikon* of Adam.

from maritime attacks.¹⁴⁵ From the Turkish perspective, the diplomacy which had ensured Patmos' special status was most conveniently explained in religious terms. According to the early sixteenth-century cartographer Pirî Reis, Patmos was the resting place of a particular holy man, whose tomb lay inside a church on the island. 'The infidels call this man St Paul, but the Turks call him Batnos Baba. They tell the following story about him: this monk's corpse was twice taken from this island to the city of Balat and buried there, but each time it reappeared on the island. For this reason, everyone, Turks and infidels alike, says that the inhabitants of this island are holy men, and no one harms them.'¹⁴⁶

The myth of Batnos Baba evokes a reciprocal relationship between the island and an Anatolian *peraia*, the world of the Maeander delta. As we saw earlier in this chapter, the toponymy of the southern flank of the delta still today preserves traces of the Patmian possessions on the mainland. By the sixteenth century, the ecological bonds which had long linked Patmos with Miletus survived in the form of a myth of sacred mobility. Similarly, in the Roman imperial period, the sacred spring at Didyma (the main cult-centre on Milesian territory) was understood to derive from a spring on Mt Mycale, the waters of which flowed under the sea to reappear at Didyma. That must reflect an earlier, more intimate connection between Miletus and Mycale. The small town of Thebes on Mycale was in Milesian hands in the fourth century BC, and possibly earlier. There is no evidence that Miletus possessed territory on Mt Mycale at any later date; once again, we are dealing with an intellectual sublimation of ancestral economic interdependence as mythological connectivity.¹⁴⁷

In search of the rural economy

In this chapter, I have presented and analysed a large body of quantitative and qualitative evidence for land-tenure and the rural economy in the Maeander delta region in the Hellenistic, late Roman and middle Byzantine periods. It is worth emphasising the relative abundance of data available from this

¹⁴⁵ *CMFD* no. 24, 567–8; Patmos 1, pp. *110–16; Zachariadou 1966: 198–207.

¹⁴⁶ Pirî Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye* 1 423 (ed. Ökte 1988).

¹⁴⁷ Porphyry, *Fr.* 322.10 (ed. Smith 1993): ἐν Διδύμων γυάλοις Μυκαλήιον ἐνθεον ὕδωρ; Pausanias 5.7.5, claiming that a spring on Mt Mycale reappeared at Panormus, opposite Didyma. See Günther 1971: 114–15; Herda 2006a: 299 n. 2129. For the Milesian occupation of Thebes on Mycale, see Ehrhardt 1983: 14–15, 276–8. Similarly, the Maeander itself was believed by the Sicyonians to flow under the Aegean to feed the Asopus river in the northern Peloponnese: see above, Chapter 2, pp. 65–6.

small region. We are far better informed about land-tenure in the Maeander delta plain, in all three periods, than we are about any other part of the Asia Minor peninsula – indeed, of almost any part of the eastern Mediterranean world outside Egypt. A chapter of this kind simply could not have been written about any other part of western Asia Minor.

Nonetheless, the *comparative* value of this material is extremely limited. We remain (and are likely to remain) completely unable to answer such basic questions as: did the population of the Maeander delta region increase or decrease between 300 and 100 BC? Did more people live in villages or in towns in the fourth century AD? Was the mode of production in the Maeander delta region unusual? Was the Maeander delta plain in the eleventh century AD more or less prosperous than the areas around the mouth of the Hermos river, and why? I have (for reasons which will become clear) no confidence that further archaeological work in the region can help answer any of these questions. Even the fact that quantitative evidence exists is no guarantee of its usefulness. Since the 1073 *praktikon* provides the only hard documentary evidence for the nature of rural settlement in the Maeander delta region at this period, we are forced to treat this estate as if it were characteristic, whereas the fact that this is the only document to survive is in fact the best possible indication that it is *not* characteristic – and so on.

Nonetheless, some interim conclusions can be drawn. The physical discontinuity of large estates, both in the fourth and in the eleventh centuries AD, is very striking. Territorially continuous *latifundia* in the lower Maeander valley were, it seems, rare at all periods. Landowners and tenants combined the cultivation of diverse and fragmented plots on the valley floor with intensive exploitation of marginal zones (Mt Latmos and Mt Mycale; the Milesian islands). Even large estates tended to be composed of several small parcels, scattered across the territory of one or more cities. This contrasts sharply with the geography of agricultural exploitation in, for example, Phrygia Paroreios, on the western fringe of the Anatolian plateau; here there is abundant epigraphical evidence for great tracts of land being carved up into latifundial private and imperial estates, particularly in the second and third centuries AD.¹⁴⁸ The same was apparently true of Kibyra, where we have evidence from the same period for enormous private estates on civic territory, incorporating whole clusters of native villages and administered by freedman or slave bailiffs.¹⁴⁹ But it is important to emphasise the total *absence* of evidence for large continuous private or imperial estates

¹⁴⁸ Mitchell 1993: I 149–64. ¹⁴⁹ Corsten 2005.

of this kind in the lower Maeander region. No less striking is the relative absence of evidence for truly isolated rural settlement. Throughout antiquity and the Byzantine middle ages, the landscape of agricultural production was a landscape of more or less dispersed villages. In both the fourth and the eleventh century AD, labour was considerably more centralised than land.

It is far harder to map change and development in the rural economy over time. We can certainly trace cycles of intensification and abatement in patterns of rural settlement; but there is no reason to think that the causes and effects were the same at each stage in the cycle. As we have seen, archaeological field survey has rendered it abundantly clear that rural settlement on the territory of Miletus underwent a dramatic contraction around the turn of the era. However, the relative depopulation of the Milesian countryside in the first three centuries AD need not reflect population decline or a general impoverishment of society. One could equally well argue that the contraction of rural settlement in the Maeander delta region at the end of the Hellenistic period is an index of wider economic *expansion*. The second century BC saw the emergence of a new class of large-scale landowners in western Asia Minor, swelled in the first century BC by Italian immigrants. Initially, these civic grandees seem to have chosen to exploit their landed property through pre-existing village communities of dependent labourers, although it seems to me highly probable that the inhabitants of these dependent communities were effectively reduced to the status of slaves. At the end of the first century BC, the spatial organisation of production underwent a rapid transformation: across Milesian territory, nucleated rural settlement declined sharply. This collapse in rural settlement certainly does not reflect a collapse in landed wealth; it may well mark a decision of the landed class at Miletus to intensify agricultural production by a concentration of labour at a smaller number of rural centres, quite probably with a concomitant expansion of the urban population of Miletus. By contrast, the changes which seem to have occurred in the Maeander delta region in the seventh to ninth centuries AD were completely different in kind. Here, the sudden decline in rural settlement in the territory of Miletus did not reflect agrarian agglomeration and intensification – quite the contrary. The last centuries of the first millennium AD were undoubtedly characterised by general impoverishment and population decline.

The trouble is that I do not see that the archaeological evidence from the Milesian countryside alone could have allowed us to distinguish between the two different models. We here run up against the limitations of archaeological evidence in mapping economic growth or stagnation. For example, it has recently been argued that the proliferation of towers in the

countryside in Classical Greece should be taken as an index of agricultural intensification.¹⁵⁰ In relation to the particular circumstances of mainland and insular Greece in the Classical period, this argument may well be correct. But in Byzantine Asia Minor, the emergence of towers in the countryside reflects the precise opposite. The fortification of the Maeander delta region in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries marks, instead, the beginning of a period of drastic retrograde evolution in the rural economy following a sudden collapse in security in the mid-1070s – known to us thanks to the rich documentary and literary evidence for the period.

Throughout the last six chapters, I have focused on the actions of humans in a particular landscape, their social relations, religious practices, economic behaviour and productive activities. Throughout, I have attempted to relate this changing human landscape, from the fourth century BC to the thirteenth century AD, to the physical landscape of the Maeander valley, its possibilities and limits, hydrographical peculiarities and channels of communication. But in the Maeander delta region, at least, the physical landscape was never merely a static ‘background’ to human events and social processes. Indeed, in no other part of the Mediterranean world were human activities so affected by geographical change through time; arguably, in no other part of the Mediterranean world were geographical structures so radically affected by human activity. In the final chapter, on the strange and unstable world of the delta plain, the Maeander river itself will at last take centre stage.

¹⁵⁰ Morris and Papadopoulos 2005: 164–7.

C'est la mer qui faisait vivre ces villes; c'est le fleuve qui les a fait périr.¹

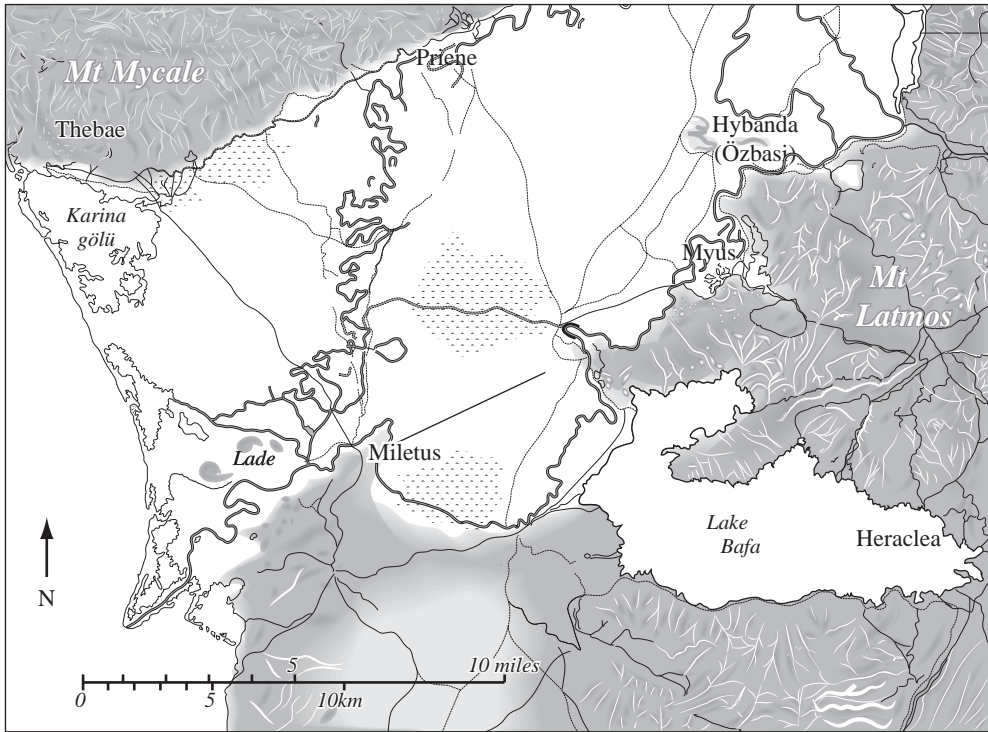
The plain of the Maeander

‘Concerning the alluvium from the rivers of India,’ Strabo reports, ‘Nearchus gives the following parallels: that the Hermos plain and the Cayster plain, and those of the Maeander and Caïcus, are similarly named because they are all increased, or rather created, by the rich and soft silt which is carried down from the mountains into the plains. It is the rivers that carry it down, so that the plains are as it were their offspring, and it is right that the plains should be named after them, and said to be “theirs”.’² The geographical expression ‘the plain of the Maeander’, often used by ancient authors to refer to the lower Maeander valley, and above all to the Maeander delta, is more eloquent than it might at first appear. The phrase does not simply refer to the plain which happens to have the Maeander river flowing through it, but specifically designates the area understood in antiquity to have been *created* by the Maeander river. This, I suggest, expresses a certain way of conceptualising the region. As Egypt was, for Herodotus, the ‘gift of the Nile’, so the territories of Priene, Magnesia and Miletus, were all the gift of the Maeander.³ It was the advance of the Maeander delta, uniquely swift and catastrophic as it was, that led Pausanias to his famous hypothesis concerning the causes of alluvial deposition (that the rapidity of deltaic

¹ Rayet 1888: 93.

² Strabo 15.1.16 (Nearchus, *FGrHist* 133F17), followed closely by Arrian 5.6.3–6: ‘coastal plains are for the most part the creations (ποιήματα) of their rivers’.

³ τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδῖον, first in Hdt. 2.10; also mentioned by Thuc. 3.19, 8. 58; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.17, 3.4.12; Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* 16.5–6, and compare the *Pedieis* in the vicinity of Priene (above, [Chapter 1](#), pp. 14–16). Note especially Strabo 12.8.15: the Maeander divides Caria and Lydia in the region of ‘the so-called plain of the Maeander’ (κατὰ τὸ Μαιάνδρου καλούμενον πεδῖον); for the phraseology, compare *Hell. Oxy.* 7.4 *ad fin.*: [τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Μαιάν]δρου καλούμενον (‘the so-called plain of the Maeander’, inhabited by Lydians and others). At Strabo 14.1.42, the ‘plain of the Maeander’ extends from Miletus to Nysa and Antioch. For Egypt as the ‘gift of the Nile’, see Hdt. 2.5 (ἐπικτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ), after Hecataeus, *FGrHist* 1F301.



Map 13 The Maeander delta

progradation in the first millennium BC was the result of anthropogenic process further upstream).⁴ It is no coincidence that it is here in the delta that we find the only attested cult of the Maeander river, at the small town of Thebes on Mycale, overlooking the plain visibly spreading outwards into the waters of the Aegean sea.⁵

In this final chapter, I shall explore the effects of this process on the communities of the Maeander delta. The focus throughout will be on economic realities; but it was by these realities that the social and religious mentalities of the inhabitants of the Maeander delta were shaped, and I shall from time to time try to make this relationship explicit. I begin with the practical consequences of the constant creation of new land, and the means by which

⁴ Paus. 8.24.11 (further illustrated at 7.2.11, the abandonment of Myus), with Horden and Purcell 2000: 312–20. Pausanias' hypothesis has been amply confirmed by modern geoarchaeological studies: Bay 1999; Müllenhoff 2005.

⁵ *I.Priene* 362, quoted above, Chapter 5, p. 196. For the rather different case of the fertility cult at Magnesia on the Maeander, see Thonemann 2006: 38–9.

the legal and economic problems arising from this were resolved. From this I turn to the exploitation of the delta environment through the characteristic industries of the Maeander wetlands, with an attempt to assess their significance for the micro-regional economy.

The overwhelming bulk of our evidence for the advance of the Maeander delta, and the human response to it, comes from the south side of the delta, between Myus and Miletus. The north side of the delta silted up much earlier than the south side. In the fourth century BC, when Myus and Miletus were still flourishing coastal towns, the newly relocated city of Priene, on the north flank of the plain, was already struggling to keep her harbours clear of silt, and the Gaesonis lagoon (modern Karina gölü) may already have been in the process of formation. The explosion in documentary evidence for western Asia Minor in the late Hellenistic period coincides with the great shift in the course of the Maeander, when the pattern of soil deposition was suddenly diverted from the north to the south side of the delta, with swift and cataclysmic consequences for the small town of Myus.⁶ This chapter will, therefore, largely be the story of Miletus, and its epic resistance to deltaic advance: a war fought with ingenuity and vast resources over the greater part of two millennia.

A year at Priene

In the late nineteenth century, the Maeander delta was a melancholy place. Following long years of neglect, much of the plain had degenerated into a vast, monotonous, uncultivable swamp, infested with mosquitos, and wholly impassable in winter, when the entire lower part of the valley was covered in a sheet of grey water by the annual flooding of the Maeander. In summer, the central part of the delta plain, the *alan*, was abandoned altogether to the *yürük*, as Olivier Rayet describes:⁷

The whole space is as uniform as the surface of a calm sea. The soil is hard, covered with short thick grass, and echoes under horses' hooves like the turf of a racecourse. In summer, when this thin carpet of grass has been burned by the sun, giving a uniform russet tinge to the whole surface of the *alan*, there is nothing to compare with the monotony and desolation of this vast space, where no trees or undulations catch the traveller's eye to help him judge the progress of his journey. Not even the most deserted parts of the Roman countryside create such a poignant impression of despondency. From June to September, the plain has no inhabitants bar a few

⁶ Müllenhoff 2005: 190–9. ⁷ Rayet and Thomas 1877–85: I 19–24.



Figure 8.1 Theodore Wiegand at Priene, 1900

families of nomadic Turcomans (*yürüks*), whose tents of black-dyed camel-hair are like daubs of soot on the reddish brown soil. Here and there, herds of emaciated horses, threadbare camels or small cattle seek out some thin sustenance among the dry rushes.

It is hard to imagine why any Greek would ever have wanted to live in this miserable and desolate place. For a more nuanced image of the delta plain, we may turn to Theodore Wiegand, director of the German expedition to Priene between 1896 and 1899. The Priene excavations continued unbroken through the winter months; from the terrace of the excavation house, low on the south slopes of Mt Mycale, Wiegand came to know the lower Maeander better than any European had ever done before. His beautiful description of the changing face of the delta plain through the year deserves to be quoted in full, not only for its literary qualities (hard to convey in translation), but also for its extraordinary insight into the productive *potential* of the lower Maeander valley.⁸

⁸ Wiegand and Schrader 1904: 11–14.

Throughout September, the drought still grips the brown, glimmering landscape. But already the wind from the sea starts to rouse its strength, whirling up great clouds of yellow dust, so that the mountains of Caria and even the broken peaks of Latmos are hidden from view for hours at a stretch. At this time of year the local inhabitants suffer terribly from plagues of malarial mosquitos; deadly epidemics fall on the herds, and each day up to a hundred cattle become food for the half-wild shepherd-dogs, hyenas and vultures, who serve in their own way as the plain's sanitary officers. So it remains until deep in October. In the bright moonlit nights, the broken scream of the hyena and the clear wail of the jackal ring out in the distance. The shepherds cheerfully burn off the dry grass, kindling fires that stretch for hours in breadth. At last, soon after the cranes have passed through in mid-October, come the first torrential rains. In their wake follows a rapid drop in temperature. Here and there, pools of water start to glint in the plain, and as the oranges and lemons on the mountain slopes start to ripen, the rising ground water drives the otters, badgers and mice in hurried flight to the hills. Around this time of year, whole swarms of black horned beetles (*oryctes nasicornus*) and hosts of peacock moths used to come and circle around our evening lamp.

Plant growth is very modest after the long summer's drought. First of all one spies the pink glimmer of heather, and crocuses sprout on the tombs of abandoned Turkish graveyards. Rainy days become more frequent; it starts to pour for days on end, the sun wrapped in a veil of silver haze. The countryside is now grey in colour, but despite the dampness, the view over the broad plain is never impeded; the fogs of northern Europe are unknown here. Our work was often hindered by fierce storms. The participants in the English expedition [to Priene] of 1869 must have known their strength only too well; on the first of November, their wooden work-hut was shattered by a hurricane. Likewise, on the twelfth and thirteenth of November 1898 our work came to a complete halt; the force of the storm was enough to hurl an iron wagon from our field-railway down from its embankment.

Every rainless day is now used for ploughing and sowing wheat, barley, rye and oats. At the start of December, when the oranges are ripe, the sharp east wind brings the first cold weather down from the snow-capped mountains of Phrygia. On the first of December 1897 the thermometer fell below zero, the leaves of the figs and elder froze, and the old course of the Maeander carried a 4cm-thick coating of ice. However, by the sixth of December, when the wind dropped it was once again so warm that we could work with the windows open; butterflies flew in through the window. Planes, poplars, willows and vines quickly shed their leaves around the turn of the year, and the countryside now bears a close resemblance to Germany in late autumn. Meanwhile, the water in the plain rises ever higher. Lade once again becomes an island, and the evening sun, which used to be seen setting far off at sea, is reflected in the nearby marshes. The waters usually break through into the plain proper at Özbaşı, not far from Myus, and in a single day miles of meadowland are swallowed up by the shallow yellow waters, feeding-grounds for innumerable birds.

Alongside the true water-birds – white and grey herons, gulls, black ducks, divers, wild swans and all the smaller kinds of inedible bird which the Greeks dismissively gather together under the name *neropoulia* – one sees buzzards and great brown eagles, who sit motionless on the water for hours on end, and allow riders to approach within shooting range. The wild geese, making their appearance in great flocks, are industriously hunted. The crested larks bustle across the rain-soaked fields without fear; the flocks of lapwings and starlings keep far away from any passing rider, and from the dead arms of the river the woodcocks fly squawking up into the sky. It is the most intimate knowledge of this Asiatic landscape which lies behind the simile drawn by the poet of the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Iliad* 2.459ff.):

Just as great flocks of winged birds,
Of geese, or cranes, or long-necked swans,
In the meadow of Asios, by the Cayster's streams,
Wheel this way and that, glorying in their wings,
And the meadow resounds as they settle in tumult;
So the great flocks of men, from their ships and huts,
Poured forth into the plain of Scamander.

From now on, every day brings a change to the landscape. When the first blazing red anemones flower in February, the whole plain is already decked with a green carpet, the slopes glitter with countless pale asphodel-flowers, and at the edge of the fetid marshes stretch crescents of blue and golden lilies. Around the middle of March the migrating cranes with their hoarse cries pass through once more; then in the lowlands, where at night countless glow-worms hang suspended, the host of storks appears for their ancient migrations. Melons and quick-growing peas are cultivated in the fields. The almond-trees blossom first, soon followed by the other fruit-trees, although fierce hailstorms, with hailstones up to ten grams in weight, very often destroy a great part of the germinating fruit. In 1897, the equinoctial storm stopped all work for two days. On the hundredth birthday of Kaiser Wilhelm, the day-book entry reads: 'Around 10 o'clock we abandoned the excavation, since the wind made work impossible, especially on the embankment of the field-railway. Some of our people were hurt by the continuous rain of stones as big as a fist. The Latmos is covered with snow, and our house is constantly shaken from top to bottom by the blasts of wind.'

As time passes, especially during May, the grain ripens undisturbed in the bud, while during the same weeks the cotton plants, maize and sesame are entrusted to the earth. Already in June, we regularly found ourselves short of excavation-workers, notwithstanding a rise in pay, since all hands were needed for the harvest. The manpower of the plain, depopulated by swamp-fever, is wholly insufficient for the task – this plain which the Turkish government, with only a few canals to improve the climate, could so easily conjure into a healthy, well-populated landscape. Foreign workers, then, swarm in by the thousand; day and night, one sees farmers



Figure 8.2 Pelicans in Lake Bafa

from Samos with their broad straw hats wandering past in groups of ten or twenty. After the harvest, which is never interrupted even by the most unfavourable weather, they receive as pay a fixed portion of grain, by which they feed themselves at home all winter. The Turkish tax-officials are active in collecting the cereal-tax, which in the *kaza* of Söke alone amounts to around 300,000 marks per year.

Now, once again, the plain stretches bald before our eyes, and the sun glows on the abandoned steppe; even the yellow-green twigs of the ubiquitous liquorice-root begin to turn brown. Forest-fires, a daily occurrence here as in Greece, announce the coming height of summer; only the pale blue blooms of *agnus castus* will survive the heat into September. Anyone who knows the Roman countryside might compare the region with the Pontine marshes between Capo Circeo and Terracina. However, he who has seen the Nile delta cannot but be struck, particularly around this time of year, by the truth of Herodotus' comparison with the Maeander plain: the same red-brown ploughlands, the same sparse scatter of homesteads and isolated clumps of trees.

Wiegand's crucial insight is that the Maeander delta, swept by flocks of countless birds, planted with melons and barley, pink with almond-blossom or grey with rain, in turn ravaged by malaria and so productive that workers have to be imported *en masse* from Samos, is a sleeping giant: 'this plain which the Turkish government, with only a few canals to improve the

climate, could *so easily* conjure into a healthy, well-populated landscape'. With Wiegand's words in mind, we may turn to the exploitation of the resources of the Maeander delta plain in antiquity and the middle ages.

Mandraklou: a cautionary tale

Among the estates in the Maeander delta plain granted to Andronikos Doukas in AD 1073 (see above, pp. 259–70) was a property by the name of Mandraklou. At the time of the survey conducted by the *notarius* Adam in late spring 1073, this estate supported only a single tenant farmer and his family. Mandraklou, which seems to have been located near Priene on the north side of the delta plain, was bounded to the west by the 'great stream of the Maeander', and to the south by 'the old river'; that is to say, the estate was in the low-lying ground between the then active course of the Maeander and one of its former water-courses, either dry or stagnant. In the earlier *praktikon* which Adam was using for reference, the total area of Mandraklou was registered as 185 *modioi*; in fact, when surveyed in 1073, only 36 *modioi* of cultivable land were found, the rest having been destroyed and turned to marshland by the activity of the Maeander. The land on the far side of the Maeander was in a similar state: here Adam found 212½ *modioi* of cultivable land, but 371 *modioi* registered as arable land in the earlier *praktikon* had been turned into an uncultivable swamp by the river.⁹

Similarly, when a survey of the Patmian estates in the delta region was undertaken in AD 1251, the condition of the land on the south side of the delta was found to have deteriorated significantly since the eleventh century. The hill of Lade itself still contained arable land (and a functioning monastery), but the land in the plain to the south of Lade, between the hill and the 'river flowing from Palatia', had become so heavily salinated that there remained 'not even a single *modios*' of arable land. The northern part of the estate, between Lade and the old course of the Maeander, seems still to have had a small amount of cultivable land, but only thanks to the laborious construction of canals to protect it from the annual flooding of the Maeander: 'for, at the beginning of winter, both the southern and

⁹ Patmos II 50, lines 257–77; see above, pp. 266, 269. The period over which this decline had occurred is not clear: Svoronos (1959: 65) argues that cadastral documents were subject to revision every thirty years. In the *Fiscal Treatise* (probably of the early twelfth century: Oikonomidès 1996: 44–5, 77–9), destructive fluvial activity (παντελής και ἀδιόρθωτος τῆς γῆς ἄφρασιμός) is a factor to be taken into account when drawing up land-assessments (Dölger 1927a: 120–1).

the northern parts of the estate are covered in floodwaters, and become impassable and uncultivable'. The greater part of the estate was now only good for pasturage.¹⁰

Modern scholars have drawn large consequences from what looks very much like a progressive failure to control the delta wetlands. The inventory of the estates 'reveals years of neglect and lack of investment . . . Arable land had been inundated by the river and had been allowed to turn into marshland. The peasants settled on the villages belonging to the estate do not seem to have been especially prosperous and were burdened with heavy taxation.' This miserable situation is attributed to 'a failure of the administration of the imperial demesne'.¹¹ Uncontrolled erosion around the Mediterranean and Black Sea coastlines had drastic effects: 'The scale of the loss to agricultural productivity, and therefore eventually to state finances . . . was probably appreciable, and may even have been fundamental.'¹² On this interpretation, a detached and inefficient imperial state, in league with useless and backward peasants, collaborated in the ruin of great tracts of potentially highly productive agricultural land.

Yet we ought not, perhaps, to be too apocalyptic about all this. Consideration of deltaic properties solely in terms of *agricultural* productivity is bound to lead to a pessimistic view of the state of the regional economy. Such an approach conceals the real economic value of the delta region to the Byzantine state. While putting into effect the transfer of the imperial estate (*episkepsis*) of Alopekai to Andronikos Doukas, a certain Matzoukes, overseer (*oikonomos*) of charitable foundations, specifically instructs that all of the livestock on the Alopekai estates, large and small, are to be handed over to Andronikos, with the sole exception of the horses.¹³ The horses of the Alopekai estates remain imperial property, as being too important to be handed over to Andronikos. No doubt the main interest of the Byzantine state in the *episkepsis* of Alopekai was in its capacity as an imperial stud farm. The two main royal stables (*metata*), which provided horses for the imperial post and, more importantly, horses and pack-animals for military expeditions, were located in Asia and Phrygia respectively.¹⁴ It is significant that Alopekai seems to have been only part of a whole complex of imperial

¹⁰ Patmos II 64, pp. 156–63. ¹¹ Angold 1997: 87.

¹² Hendy 1985: 68; already criticised by Whittow 1987: 21 n. 68.

¹³ Patmos II 50, line 91, as emended by Lemerle (1979: 210 n. 1): ζόων, ἄδρῶν τε καὶ λεπτῶν, ἄνευ τῶν φορβαδί(ων). The horses which are in fact listed in the *praktikon* (lines 144–5, 163, 171) pertain to individual *paroikoi*, not to the *episkepsis*.

¹⁴ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caer.* 458–9 Reiske = Haldon 1990: (C) 59–66, with commentary; Wassiliou and Seibt 2004: 225.



Figure 8.3 Wild horses near Priene; in the background, Mt Mycale

properties in the delta region.¹⁵ The *praktikon* refers to the *episkepseis* of Alopekai, Miletus and Manginou; an eleventh-century *episkeptites* of Alopekai is also attested.¹⁶ An eleventh-century estate-manager (*episkeptites*) of Maeander is known from both sigillographic and diplomatic sources;¹⁷ the *partitio Romanie* of 1204 records *episkepseis* (Lat. *pertinentia*) of Sampson (Priene) and Samakion (somewhere in the Maeander delta region).¹⁸ In the tenth-century *Life of St Paul the Younger of Latros*, mention is made of an individual entrusted with the oversight of imperial properties in the vicinity of Miletus, almost certainly the *episkeptites* of one or other of these estates.¹⁹ This concentration of evidence is very striking. Given how few attested *episkepseis* are known elsewhere in the former province of Asia,

¹⁵ For *episkepseis* see Cheynet 2002b; the significance of the density of evidence for the Maeander delta region was noted by Hendy 1985: 133–4.

¹⁶ *DOSeals* 3.5.1. For the *episkepsis* of Manginou, Patmos II 50, line 261.

¹⁷ *DOSeals* 3.25.1; Wilson and Darrouzès 1968: 19.

¹⁸ *Prouintia Laodikie et Meandri, cum pertinentia Sampson et Samakii* (Carile 1965: 218). Carile reads *Ta Malachii* for *Samakii*, after Tomaschek 1891, 35. However, a village Samakion is also attested in the *Life of St Lazarus of Galesion*, AASS Nov. III 529F, ch.64; the manuscript reading should be retained. The *episkepsis* of Sampson also in MM IV 290.

¹⁹ Delehay 1892: 138–9.



Figure 8.4 Water-meadows around Myus, looking north towards Mt Mycale

it seems a reasonable assumption that the Maeander delta was the main centre of the imperial *metaton* of Asia.²⁰

The marshy, humid meadows of the Maeander delta in its uncontrolled state, although (as we have seen) drastically unsuitable for agriculture, are very well suited to horse-rearing, providing as they do almost unlimited resources of lush pasturage.²¹ Cattle-rustling was one of the grievances specifically cited in the dispute between Magnesia and Priene over land in the vicinity of Myus, on the south side of the delta plain, in the second century BC (Fig. 8.4).²² We should not assume that pasture-land and water-meadows are necessarily always less economically valuable than land under cultivation. In AD 1293/4, an arbitration concerning lands near Smyrna disputed between the Lembos monastery and Michael Comnenus Branas specifically *forbade* the parties from turning over for cultivation a designated area of joint pasturage. Moreover, ‘during winter, both parties are free to

²⁰ The only other clearly attested *episkepsis* in the former late-Roman province of Asia is that of Myrelaion in the Thrakesion *thema*, near Ephesus (AASS Nov. III 540), also an area of wetlands: see above, p. 270.

²¹ Chandezon 2003a: 411–12. The great flocks of sheep, cattle and camels formerly pastured in the Maeander wetlands between May and September are evoked by Philippon 1936: 9.

²² *I.Magnesia* 93.85.

put their livestock out to pasture in the nearby spot where sedge grows; but when spring comes, and the grasses start to sprout, both are to take care not to let their livestock into this spot, so that both can make use of the grass growing there for fodder.²³ In antiquity, neighbouring states could be forced to resort to arbitration over the right to exploit particular stretches of marshlands.²⁴ Consequently, the decline of the agricultural land in the Maeander delta region and its return to marshland, so clearly attested in the eleventh century, ought not necessarily to be seen as a collapse in the productive capacity of the region. A process which was all but catastrophic for landowners and the local rural population may have been positively beneficial to the imperial military apparatus; in the eleventh century, the state had an *interest* in the destruction of settled agriculture in the Maeander delta.

I hope this will serve as a cautionary tale. What from one perspective may look like agrarian collapse, may be interpreted from another point of view as a rational and profitable commitment to pastoral specialisation. In the eleventh century, arable cultivation in the Maeander delta may have been regarded by the Byzantine state as a ‘necessary evil’, deliberately restricted to the minimum required to sustain the local rural population.²⁵ The economy of the delta wetlands was at all periods a highly sophisticated and complex system, made up of a variety of interdependent elements – fisheries, salt-panning, pasturage, fowling and agriculture. The point is that the intrinsic instability of this ecological system rendered it, with sufficient commitment of resources, magnificently flexible.

Deltaic accretion: law and reality

It was Pausanias’ belief that rapid alluvial accretion at river-mouths results from intensive arable cultivation further upstream: ‘my reasoning is confirmed by the fact that the Maeander, flowing through the land of the Phrygians and Carians, which is ploughed up each year, has turned in a short time the sea between Priene and Miletus into solid land.’²⁶ Be that as

²³ MM iv 181, with Kyritsès and Smyrlis 2005: 444; for the date, Dölger 1927b: 299. The word for sedge is σαμάκιον (cf. Hesychius, s.v. σάμαξ): for the *episkepsis* of Samakion, see above, n. 18. Areas designated for cutting grass for fodder (χορτοκόπια) are attested at Mylasa and Sykeon (Schuler 1998: 126; Robert, *Hellenica* 7, 157 n. 1), and perhaps at Tralles (Thonemann 2007: 445).

²⁴ Sartre 1979: 214; e.g. IG ix 1² 1, 3 (marshes of the Acheloos delta); compare *I.Erythrai* 17, for the civic office of ‘marsh-guardian’; Fantasia 1999: 67–8.

²⁵ Mulliez 1979. ²⁶ See above, n. 4.

it may – and Pausanias’ reasoning is almost certainly correct – the practical consequence of this constant creation of new land in the Maeander delta was endemic instability of land ownership. Already in the early fourth century BC, Miletus and Myus were locked in a dispute over claims to alluvial land in the Maeander plain, and the early second century BC saw a bitter series of ‘alluvium wars’ between Miletus, Heraclea under Latmos, Priene and Magnesia, in which the four cities contested the exploitation of the expanding Maeander delta plain.²⁷

The trouble with such disputes was that there was, in legal terms, simply no right answer. Alluvial activity and its relation to property – more specifically, as a mode of acquiring ownership – is a topic much discussed by jurists ancient and modern. The basic legal principle to be grasped is that of accretion (*incrementum*), stated with admirable clarity by Gaius: ‘What is added to our land by alluvium, also becomes ours by this same principle of natural reason. Addition by alluvium is that which the river adds so gradually to our land that we cannot at any given moment judge how much is added; hence the common saying that an addition by alluvium is one added so gradually that it deceives our eyes. Therefore (by contrast), if the river cuts away a portion of your land and carries it over onto my land, this portion remains yours.’²⁸

Gaius’ doctrine of accretion, by which additions effected to a man’s land by alluvial activity are judged to be his, applies only when these additions are gradual and imperceptible; when these additions are sudden, substantial and recognisable, the doctrine does not apply. This principle continues in force today, having passed unaltered into the English Common Law *via* Bracton.²⁹ It is worth emphasising that Gaius, and his Common Law successors, are fundamentally concerned with ownership, and, more specifically,

²⁷ See above, Chapter 1, p. 28.

²⁸ Gaius, *Inst.* 2.70–1 [= Just., *Dig.* 41.1.7.1–2]: *id, quod per alluuiionem nobis adicitur, eodem iure [i.e. naturali ratione; similarly Dig., iure gentium, ‘by the law of nations’] nostrum fit: per alluuiionem autem id uidetur adici, quod ita paulatim flumen agro nostro adicit, ut aestimare non possimus, quantum quoquo momento temporis adiciatur: hoc est, quo uolgo dicitur per adluuiionem id adici uideri, quod ita paulatim adicitur, ut oculos nostros fallat. itaque si flumen partem aliquam ex tuo praedio resciderit et ad meum praedium pertulerit, haec pars tua manet.* See on this passage Lewis 1983.

²⁹ The summary preserved in Just., *Inst.* 2.1.20–3 is reproduced almost verbatim by Bracton, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, 2.2 p. 68, as noted by Hale, *de iure maris*, in Hargrave 1787: 28–9; see further Palles C.B., *Attorney-General v. M’Carthy* [1911] 2 I.R. 260, at 276–7. In Bracton’s formulation, as in Gaius’, the principle is only stated in relation to rivers, and does not explicitly extend to accretion by the activity of the sea: in Common Law practice it has regularly been judged applicable to the ocean waters also. This extension may not be valid in all cases: see below.

with proof of ownership: both Gaius' original discussion, and the summary in the *Institutes*, form part of longer analyses of various modes of natural acquisition. In brief, title to property demands traceability; land that accrues gradually hence becomes the property of the beneficiary precisely by dint of not being traceable to anyone else.

The principle mattered. In ancient and mediaeval Asia Minor, fluvial encroachment was a day-to-day reality and a source of danger and disputes. The best agricultural land usually lay close to water-courses; parcels of riverine land were regularly destroyed, added to, or modified by the activity of rivers in spate.³⁰ To the surprise of modern legal historians, ancient legal sources dedicate extraordinary space and ingenuity to the eventuality of a tree being washed from one side of the river to another. But real cases of this kind occurred: Nicephorus Skeuophylax, in his encomium of Theodore of Sykeon, describes how a tree was broken off from one bank and carried to another's property; the saint resolved the dispute between the two parties by miraculously restoring the tree to its original location.³¹ The normal presumption was that any given river would no doubt be shifting its course before too long. In the peace treaty between Magnesia and Miletus, perhaps of the late 180s BC, in which the river Hybandos is taken as the limit between their territories, the boundary is specifically determined as the *current* course of the river, on the assumption that the river is bound to change its course in future.³² Fluvial instability was a fact of life.

Strabo tells us that in certain cases of land being washed from one side of the river Maeander to the other, the landowner who had lost part of his property obtained compensation by suing the river itself for damages. The fine was paid out of the ferrymen's tolls for the Maeander crossing (Fig. 8.5).³³ The attribution of a legal personality to the Maeander river is highly revealing. Under certain circumstances, if we can trust Strabo's account, the local authorities abandoned all pretence of legal principle and simply undertook an *ad hoc* procedure to satisfy as many parties as possible. As we shall see, this kind of behaviour is characteristic of the region.

³⁰ Kaplan 1992: 104–6; Mitchell 1993: II 132–3.

³¹ ed. Kirch 1901, ch. 23; Psellus, *Or. in archangelum Michaelum* (ed. Fisher 1994) 227–50. Note also *Vit. Theod. Syk.* (ed. Festugière 1970) 53, 141: by setting up crosses on the banks of the rivers Kopas and Sangarios, Theodore prevents further encroachment of floodwaters onto the land of the villages of Karya and Skoudris. For parallels in sixth-century Egypt, see now Kreuzsaler 2004.

³² εἶναι αὐτοῖς διὰ παντός τὸ νῦν ὑπάρχον βεῖθρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *Milet* (I 3) 148.36–7, with Robert, *OMS* III 1438–9; for the date, Wörrle 2004.

³³ Strabo 12.8.19, with Engels 2002.



Figure 8.5 Ferry-crossing on the lower Maeander, near Myus

The status of alluvial land in the Maeander delta caused even more serious legal difficulties. The problems and benefits are well illustrated by an imperial rescript of AD 533 from Didyma (Fig. 8.6).³⁴ The text records a successful petition of the inhabitants of Justinianopolis, formerly the village (*kōme*) of Didyma, to the emperor Justinian. The taxes levied on the new city, granted civic status no more than six years earlier, are still at the time of the petition being paid through the intermediary of Miletus; that is to say, the taxes due on land and manpower in and around Didyma would have been listed on the Milesian census-register, and thus formed part of the total tax-liability of the city of Miletus. The actual sums involved are negligible, consisting of 41 *solidi* due to the treasury of the praetorian prefect, and a further 20 *solidi* to the *sacrae largitiones*. The new citizens of Justinianopolis petition the emperor to be relieved entirely of this insignificant burden, and suggest that it might be transferred to the city of Miletus itself, in order that the state might not find itself out of pocket.³⁵ They make a specific proposal for the mechanism by which this might be achieved, proposing that the sum

³⁴ Feissel 2004. ³⁵ τὸ δημόσιον ἀζήμιον φυλαχθήσεται (29).



Figure 8.6 Rescript of Justinian to Didyma (Justinianopolis)

be levied instead ‘on those places [in Milesian territory] which have been turned into land, previously having been sea, but which have now become subject to taxation’, later described in more detail as ‘the places which have been turned into land *by the Maeander river*, previously having been sea’.³⁶ The petition was successful, and henceforth the Justinianopolitans enjoyed complete tax-exemption at the expense of their larger neighbour.

³⁶ τὴν δὲ ποσότητα αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀπογεωθέντων τόπων, θαλαττίων πρότερον ὄντων, ὑποφόρων δὲ γενομένων, τῇ Μιλησίων πόλι εἰσφέρεισθαι, τῆς Ἰουστινιανουπολιτῶν κουφιζομένης πάσης τῆς ποσότητος αὐτῆς (10–14); τῶν ἀπογεωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεάνδρου ποταμοῦ τόπων, ἰς τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον θαλαττίων ὄντων (61–2).

There are several extraordinary aspects to this case. Most remarkable of all is the cavalier manner in which the state imposes a tax-regime on the new lands in the Maeander delta plain. No effort is made to measure these lands or to assess their real productivity. Instead, it is simply decreed that they are to be subject to exactly the same annual land-tax of 41 *solidi* formerly payable by the village of Didyma, in order that the fisc might suffer no loss in revenue by the grant of tax-free status to Didyma-Justinianopolis. The taxes levied on the alluvial land in the Maeander delta are wholly arbitrary: they are only imposed at all in order to satisfy the claim of another part of Milesian territory to tax-free status.³⁷

It seems likely enough that, had the Justinianopolitans not introduced their petition in 533, the alluvial land in the Maeander delta plain would have remained free from taxation for the foreseeable future. This is, in fact, quite in accordance with legislation in force at the time. Theodosius, in his twentieth *Novella* ‘on alluvial land and marshes’ (AD 440), laid down the basic principle. ‘The nature of alluvial lands, which tend to occur in estates which are bounded by the banks of certain rivers, is such that the occupancy is always impermanent, and the ownership of that which passes to the occupant by alluviation is impermanent. For that which we occupy today is sometimes transferred the next day to the opposite bank of the river and is acquired by the owner of a neighbouring farm; nor indeed does it always remain in the possession of the man to whom it accrued, but frequently returns augmented to its former owner, and often neither remains with the latter nor returns to the former owner, but is dissolved into sand by the inundation of the river.’³⁸ The word which I have twice translated as ‘impermanent’ is *incerta*, and our understanding of this word is crucial to our interpretation of the passage. Theodosius’ concern, as is clear from the compendious second sentence, is not with the Gaian requirements of proof of ownership under the doctrine of accretion; he makes no effort to draw a distinction between sudden and gradual alluvial activity. Rather Theodosius is concerned with the *intrinsic* instability of landownership on the banks of rivers: the cause of legal uncertainty is the simple fact of change,

³⁷ Thonemann 2007: 439–40.

³⁸ Theod., Nov. xx.1: *Adluuionum, quae contingere solent in praediis quae ripis quorundam fluminum terminantur, ea natura est, ut semper incerta possessio, incertum sit eius dominium quod possessori per adluuionem adcrecit. Nam quod hodie possidemus nonnumquam altero die uicini fundi domino [dominio MSS; domino Mommsen and Meyer] in alteram fluminis ripam translatum acquiritur nec tamen apud quem adcrecit semper remanet acquisitum, sed plerumque redit ad priorem dominum cum augmento, saepe nec ad posteriorem manet nec ad priorem redit, sed in harenam fluminis inundatione dissoluitur.*

rather than its degree of perceptibility, in which he shows not the slightest interest.

The Theodosian legislation continues as follows. ‘We sanction . . . that those lands which occupants obtain by alluviation are not to be sold by the treasury, nor petitioned for by anybody, and they shall not be assessed separately nor shall compulsory public services be exacted from them, in order that we might not appear either to be unaware of the injuries caused by alluvial lands or to impose a harmful regime on their occupants.’³⁹ Nothing is explicitly stated here about the regime for landowners who *lose* land by alluvial activity, but the clear implication of the concluding purpose clause, which is framed in terms of the commensurability of potential benefit with potential loss, is that tax must still be paid on lands which have been destroyed by alluvial activity.

Despite the plausibility of Theodosius’ appeal to natural justice,⁴⁰ his real concern, it seems clear, is with the cadaster. The unstated motive behind the legislation is an unwillingness to make periodic revisions to the cadaster to allow for occasional losses and gains to properties on the banks of rivers. Hence his emphasis on the unpredictability and impermanence of occupancy, and his enshrinement of this impermanence in property law. The

³⁹ Theod., *Nov.* xx.2 [=Just., *Cod.* 7.41.3]: *ea, quae per adluuionem possessoribus adquiruntur, neque ab aerario uendi neque a quolibet peti nec separatim censeri uel functiones exigi hac perpetua lege ualitura sancimus, ne uel adluuionibus ignorare uitia uel rem noxiam possessoribus uideamur indicere.*

⁴⁰ The argument from natural justice was instructively employed by Lord Wilberforce, in an Appeals Court judgement concerning title to a property greatly augmented by alluvial activity: ‘If part of an owner’s land is taken from him by erosion, or diluion, it would be most inconvenient to regard the boundary as extending into the water: the landowner is treated as losing a portion of his land. So, if an addition is made to the land from what was previously water, it is only fair that the landowner’s title should extend to it’ (*Southern Centre of Theosophy Inc v. State of South Australia* [1982] AC 706, at 716). Wilberforce subsequently attempts to extend this rationale to the principles underlying the doctrine of accretion itself: ‘The requirement that the process be gradual and imperceptible . . . is in recognition of the fact that a riparian property owner may lose as well as gain from changes in the water boundary or level’ (721). This seems to me far less satisfactory. The requirements of graduality and imperceptibility surely derive in the first instance from the question of *proof of ownership*. A’s property has increased in size: is it or is it not possible to determine the immediate source of the soil which has been added to his land? In an instance of sudden, large-scale avulsion from the nearby property of B, the land’s provenance is easily verifiable, and hence naturally B’s title is upheld. But in an instance of gradual augmentation over months and years, imperceptible at any given moment, the soil may come either from B’s property; or from the properties of C, D or E, who own land further upstream; or from all, or from none of the above. Since the source of the soil (and hence its ‘true’ ownership) cannot be proved one way or the other, the land is considered to have accrued to the beneficiary. The claims of natural justice are relatively incidental.

landowner must simply take the rough with the smooth: the taxman is not interested.⁴¹

The final provision of the Theodosian legislation, while so framed as to favour the occupant, is inspired by the same spirit of administrative economy. 'Likewise we grant that if, by the expenditure and labour of their occupants, lands which previously were reckoned as swamp or pasture-land have now been converted to the successful cultivation of crops, neither are those lands to be sold nor petitioned for, and they shall not be assessed separately as if cultivable land, nor shall compulsory public services be exacted from them, in order that the hard-working might not regret applying their energies to agriculture, nor consider their hard work to be detrimental to themselves.'⁴² Precisely the same point is being made. The converse of this concession, although not explicitly stated, no doubt also obtained: if, by lack of care on the part of the occupant (or, presumably, by unavoidable fluvial activity), good agricultural land degenerated into a swamp, the land would continue to be assessed as if it were cultivable. The two parts of the *Novella* are consistent in spirit and letter: alterations in the hydrography of landed property is no concern of the government. The lucky or hard-working farmer has the chance of gaining cultivable land tax-free, and the indolent or unlucky farmer may well find himself taxed for cultivable property which has ceased to exist: the government renounces all responsibility one way or the other.

According to the letter of the Theodosian legislation, therefore, lands which accrue by alluvial activity ought not to be liable to taxation. How, then, did Justinian justify the imposition of a tax-regime on the new land in the Maeander delta identified by the Justinianopolitans in AD 533? One possibility is that the financial benefits enshrined in law by Theodosius were understood in all cases to be of limited duration, and that once the new lands become genuinely productive the cadaster underwent corresponding revision.⁴³ Such an interpretation has the advantage of superficially reconciling the rescript of 533 with the Theodosian legislation. But this really cannot be right. Firstly, the cadaster is not revised, and the new land is

⁴¹ For the government's reluctance to make piecemeal alterations to the cadaster, see Jones 1964: 454–5, with n. 107.

⁴² Theod., Nov. xx.2 [=Just., *Cod.* 7.41.3]: *similiter nec ea quidem, quae paludibus antea uel pascuis uidebantur adscripta, si sumptis ac laboribus possessorum nunc ad frugum fertilitatem translata sunt, uel uendi uel peti uel quasi fertilia separatim censerit uel functiones exigi concedimus, ne doleant diligentes operam suam agri dedisse culturae nec diligentiam suam sibi damnosam intellegant.*

⁴³ Thus Feissel 2004: 321–2.

not assessed. It simply has an arbitrary sum levied upon it to help the fisc balance its books. Secondly, there is not the least support for an officially recognised time-lag in the 533 rescript: 'the places turned to solid earth, previously marine, which have become subject to taxation'. There is no suggestion here of a long process of agricultural labour to transform the new land into arable, or of a correspondingly lengthy period of tax-exemption.

The problem is that the specific case of alluvial augmentation in the Maeander delta was simply not covered by the existing legislation at all. Theodosius' *Novella* is so framed as only to refer to situations where there is the potential both for damage and for benefit. Land-holdings bordered by rivers are periodically augmented and reduced by alluvial activity; land can deteriorate to a marsh as easily as marshes can be drained. However, in a situation where the process is necessarily one-way, where the occupant of the land is in not the slightest danger of damage to his property, and is guaranteed a constant, gradual and permanent augmentation of his land-holdings by alluvial activity, the principle does not and ought not to apply. Such was the case in the Maeander delta. Here the Gaian principle of accretion clearly holds good, since the advance of the delta is by definition gradual and imperceptible: the new land hence automatically becomes part of Milesian territory. But the fiscal exemptions granted by Theodosius to the beneficiaries of alluvial activity equally clearly do not, since the benefit that accrues is permanent and predictable: although *internally* subject to the periodic alterations of the course of the Maeander, property bordering on this stretch of coast is only going to increase. The Theodosian legislation requires the occupant of riparian property to take the rough with the smooth; on the shoreline of the Maeander delta, there simply is no rough.

The crucial point for our purposes is that the pace of advance of the Maeander delta, with its consequences for land-tenure in the coastal regions, was quite unparalleled elsewhere in the Roman world. The problem of the status of newly formed alluvial lands on a large scale simply did not arise elsewhere. Hence Justinian responded with an *ad hoc* judgement: in this particular case, to satisfy the claims of the Justinianopolitans, the new lands in the Maeander delta would be subject to an arbitrary tax-assessment. No new legal principle was thereby laid down. Justinian's decision was determined entirely by the accidents of local petition and imperial patronage. This matters, because it shows that the Maeander delta plain was an *essentially contested* space. There was never any right answer as to who owned it, who paid tax on it, who had the right to cultivate the land or fish the lagoons. Everything was always up for grabs by the strongest party.

Sailors to shepherds

A glimpse of the financial status of the newly created lands in the Maeander delta in the decades immediately preceding the rescript of Justinian is provided by a group of three honorific epigrams from the baths of Faustina at Miletus, commemorating the restoration of the bath complex through the mediation of a certain Hesychius. This man may plausibly be identified with the historian Hesychius Illustris of Miletus, whose career extended over the first third of the sixth century AD, or conceivably with his homonymous father.⁴⁴ The first epigram for Hesychius reads as follows: ‘Nor has God forgotten you, Miletus; for a Milesian has sprung from your womb, a friend to the mighty emperor, Hesychius. He shares a name with his father, and among the prefects’ orators he shines like lightning; and now, appealing to the emperor, he has requited his beloved homeland for the gifts he has received at her hands. Whence this bath-house, after the cycle of a hundred years, has again brought unexpected pleasure to the citizens of Miletus.’⁴⁵

It is clearly implied here that the benefaction of Hesychius consisted in an intervention with the emperor at Constantinople, rather than a personal financial subvention; the repair of the baths was evidently in fact paid for by the government. But a second epigram for Hesychius, this time on the base of a statue of the man himself, adds a important qualification. ‘This statue is of Hesychius, and its cause, not one single action of his alone, but rather the whole spendour of his homeland; a high-stretching column, bearing an imperial statue; the baths of Faustina; an immense temple; the great opulence of the baths, which he bestowed from [*sc.* the revenues deriving from] the land newly hardened; and the channels of beautiful flowing waters.’⁴⁶ It appears that a distinction is being made here between the restoration of the baths themselves, and their ‘opulence, prosperity’

⁴⁴ Hesychius Illustris: *PLRE* II 555 s.v. 14; *RE* VIII cols. 1322–7 s.v. 11; Kaldellis 2005. His father: *Suda*, s.v. Ἡσύχιος. Epigrams: *I.Milet* (VI 1) 341–3, with addenda pp. 213–14; Feissel 2004: 319–21 (with a somewhat different interpretation from that offered here). On the baths of Faustina, see above, [Chapter 2](#), p. 86.

⁴⁵ *I.Milet* (VI 1) 341: οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μίλητε, θεὸς λάθε, σῶν δ’ ἀπὸ κόλπων | ἐννοέτης βλάστησε φίλος κρατερῶι βασιλῆι | Ἡσύχιος, πατρὸς μὲν ὁμώνυμος, ἐν δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπάρχων | ἀστράπτων ῥηπτήρσιν, ἑὼν δ’ ἠλλάξατο δώρων | αἰτήσαι βασιλῆα φίληι θρεπτήρια πάτρηι. | ἔνθεν τοῦτο λοετρὸν ἑπτὼν ἑκατὸν μετὰ κύκλα | ἀστοῖσιν ἀδόκητον ἔην πάλιν ἤγαγε τέρφιν. In line 5, αἰτήσαι is very difficult, and Herrmann’s neat correction, αἰτήσα(ς), is probably right. Rehm attractively suggests that ἀστράπτων may be a pun on the name Illustris.

⁴⁶ *I.Milet* (VI 1) 343: Ἡσυχίου τόδ’ ἀγαλμα, τὸ δ’ αἴτιον | οὐ μία μούνη | πρῆξις, ὅλη δ’ ἐστὶν πατρίδος ἀγλαίη | κίων ὑμιπενῆς ὀχέων | βασιλιθίδα μορφῆν, | Φαυστίνης λοετρὸν, νηὸς ἀπειρέσιο(ς), | καὶ λοετροῦ πολὺς ὄλβος, | ὃν ἀρτιπαγοῦς ἀπὸ γαίης | ὤπασεν, ἡδ’ ὄλκοι καλλιρό[ων] ὑδάτων.

(*olbos*): that is to say, presumably, their running costs, or perhaps their luxurious interior decoration.⁴⁷ This latter is funded from the revenues derived from the ‘newly hardened land’, surely land of the same type as that under consideration in the Justinianic rescript, namely, the newly cultivated fields at the mouth of the Maeander.

The question is: who was the usual recipient of these revenues? As we have seen, a tax regime was first imposed on the new land in the Maeander delta by the Justinianic rescript of 533. If Hesychius is indeed the well-known historian, the repair of the baths could theoretically fall on either side of this fiscal reorganisation, since his career continued into the early years of the reign of Justinian. The question does not admit of a certain answer. It is possible that the restoration of the baths postdates 533, and that Hesychius has brought about a redirection of revenues from the imperial fisc. But the distinction made in the final lines of the second epigram for Hesychius seems to me to be significant. Most of the benefits won for the city from the emperor receive only summary description: column and statue; baths; temple (that is to say, presumably, a church); canals. But a single item, the ‘opulence’ of the baths, is singled out as having been ‘provided’ by Hesychius himself, with a more detailed description of the source of the revenues, the new land in the Maeander delta. It is at least possible that, in the decades before 533, part of the steadily growing estates in the Maeander delta was in the possession of the wealthy historian Hesychius himself, not yet subject to taxation, to the concrete and tangible benefit of the city of Miletus. Throughout the Mediterranean, reclaimed and marshy land has always been unusually liable to fall into the hands of large proprietors, since they alone possess the necessary resources to bring the land under cultivation.⁴⁸ That funds for the baths of Faustina should ultimately have derived from the activity of the Maeander river may have been felt to be especially appropriate: one of the most prominent pieces of sculpture in the baths was a huge statue of the reclining Maeander.⁴⁹

The construction of ‘channels of beautiful flowing waters’ in the vicinity of Miletus by the imperial government in the early sixth century also invites

⁴⁷ The phrase is a verbal reminiscence of Hes. *Theog.* 974: πολλὸν δὲ οἱ ὠπασεν ὄλβον; a similar allusion in *JGLS* 4, 1490, another late-antique epigram (AD 473) commemorating the construction of a bath-house.

⁴⁸ Braudel 1966: I 67–8.

⁴⁹ *Milet* 19 (Thermen und Palaestren) 123–5, Abb. 121. For the unusual pose, with right hand resting on his head, see Temporini 1982: 357–63 (suggesting a connection with the iconography of Apollo Delphinios). For a second Milesian statue of the Maeander, in the same pose, but this time accompanied by a female personification (Byblis?), see Klementa 1993: 109–13.

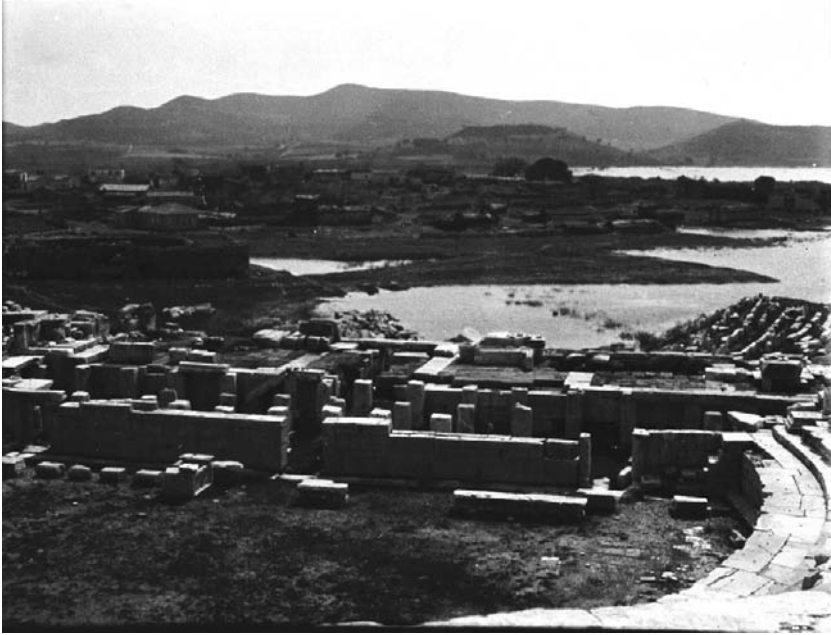


Figure 8.7 Spring floods at Miletus; in the foreground, the theatre of Miletus; in the middle distance, the village of Balat

comment. These ‘channels’ seem less likely to be an aqueduct than a canal or series of canals. As such, it would fit well into a series of governmental measures to control the increasingly unfavourable fluvial conditions in the lower Maeander plain. A generation earlier, in the latter half of the fifth century AD, Miletus had honoured the proconsul Vitianus for the construction of a *gephyra* for wayfarers, ‘a bulwark against the winter floods’. Again, this is presumably not a bridge, but a dike or causeway, providing access on foot in winter from Miletus to another location in the plain; most likely, perhaps, across the neck of the former gulf of Heraclea, newly closed off from the sea by the advance of the delta, which in winter must have degenerated into a soaking, swampy morass.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ *I.Milet* (vi 3) 1129. For the proconsul Vitianus, Roueché 2004: 65; for *gephyra* in the sense of ‘dike’, see Bonneau 1993: 50–1. Such dikes in the lower Maeander still existed in the mid-eighteenth century: Richard Pococke, crossing the river at Aydın in February 1740, records that ‘the river Maeander is here about half a furlong broad; it is a rapid stream, and the bed of it was at this time full; the rivulet at Guzelhissar, and some others that run into it overflowing, make the country a morass for a mile from the Maeander. There is a large causeway across this low ground, and even that is overflowed in winter’ (Pococke 1745: 57).

Moving still further back in time, the orator Himerius has preserved for us an extensive description of hydraulic works in the vicinity of Miletus in the mid-fourth century AD, under the governorship of a certain Scylacius, almost certainly in the capacity of *vicarius Asiae* (AD 343).⁵¹ Himerius' praise of Scylacius is anchored on two comparisons. Firstly, the creation of new lands by the advance of the Maeander delta is compared favourably with the proverbial creation of Egypt as the 'gift of the Nile': the Maeander is judged to be 'as inferior to the Nile in size, as it is superior in its natural qualities. For the land which the Nile granted as a gift to the Egyptians, is now no more than a proverb. But the Maeander, having stolen the sea from its sailors, has given furrows to the labourers to till with their ploughs, in place of the waves. You can see a plain, where previously there was sea; fauns play where once there were dolphins, and instead of the sailor shouting his commands, you may hear the shepherd's flute.' The point here is somewhat obscure, but seems to be that the creation of land by alluvial activity in the Nile delta is now little more than a distant memory, while the Maeander continues to create land at a pace almost visible to the naked eye.⁵²

At this point the text of Himerius' oration breaks up into fragments. The general sense seems to be that the true nature of the area around Miletus has been distorted and violated by the ravages of the Maeander, and that Scylacius has restored the landscape to its natural state. It is, Himerius appears to be saying, 'natural' that a gulf should extend inland from the sea to divide Miletus from the island of Lade; the gulf has been silted up by the activity of the Maeander, thus damaging the primordial nature of the place.⁵³ A lake further inland, 'naturally' deep enough to enable ships to sail upon it, is now all but dried up; Scylacius has built a canal across the plain, thus restoring the lake to its earlier depth. This leads him to

⁵¹ Himerius (ed. Colonna 1951) *Or.* 25.73–95 (fragmentary); the first part also preserved in Photius, *Bibliotheca* 6.117. See further Robert 1969: 346–9; he is, however, anticipated on this point by Chandler 1775: 176, whence Rayet and Thomas 1877–85: I 24; Rayet 1888: 93. For Scylacius, see *PLRE* I 811; *I.Laodikeia* 18.

⁵² ὅσον πλήθει τοῦ Νείλου λείπεται, τοσοῦτον φύσει περίεστι. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ μῦθος ἡ γῆ, ἣν Αἰγυπτίοις χαρίζεται· ὁ δὲ πλωτῆρας ἀποσυλήσας τὴν θάλασσαν γηπόνους σχίζειν ἔδωκεν ἀρότρους ἀντὶ κυμάτων τοὺς αὐλακας. ἴδοις ἂν πεδίον μὲν τὴν πρόσθεν θάλασσαν, σκιρτῶντα δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δελφίνων νεβρόν, ἀντὶ δὲ ναύτου κελεύοντος νομέως ἠχούσης ἀκούση σύριγγος. On my interpretation, the contrast anticipated in the first sentence is marked by the antithesis μῦθος/ἴδοις ἂν: the one case is now almost a matter of legend, the other still present and tangible.

⁵³ ἡ γὰρ φύσις τοῦ τόπου τοιάδε τις. Here, as throughout the passage, Himerius draws on Herodotus, who begins his description of Egypt (immediately after describing it as the 'gift of the Nile') with the words Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας τοιάδε (2.5). However, the particularly pointed use of φύσις, 'natural state' as opposed to 'actual state', is Himerius' own.

draw a second comparison, between the canal-building of Scylacius and that of Cyrus the Great: ‘It is said that Cyrus the Persian, angered at the river Gyndes because it had swept over and drowned his horse Nisaios in its waves, split its stream into canals – and it had at first been navigable – in order that he might make the Gyndes crossable for Assyrian women. But you, mourning no noble horse, but rather seeing that the nature of the place itself was being wronged, turned the Maeander back into the course which it is natural for the river to travel.’⁵⁴ Cyrus’ canal-building was bad because it disrupted the natural course of the Gyndes river; Scylacius’ canal, although at first sight a similarly artificial construction, in fact serves to re-establish the region’s normal and just hydrography. Finally, Scylacius is praised for having ‘restored the harbours to the city’, although whether this was a natural consequence of the works outlined earlier, or whether it involved a separate and specific dredging operation, is unclear.⁵⁵

Fragmentary though it is, the encomium of Scylacius is one of the most important documents concerning the advance of the Maeander delta to survive from antiquity. Aside from the precious factual details concerning the precise extent of alluviation around Miletus at this date, the speech expresses a wonderfully ambivalent attitude towards the activity of the river. On the one hand, the new agricultural land in the delta, plundered from the sea to be sown and ploughed by the farmers of Miletus, is a gift hardly inferior to the semi-mythical bounty of the river Nile, and is duly praised by Himerius as such. But the cost of this new land is the destruction of the old Milesian fisheries. Year by year, as the silt creeps inexorably into the harbours of Miletus, and the gulf of Lade itself is slowly choked by the mud from the mouth of the Maeander, the precious lacustrine and wetland environments retreat. Himerius’ response to this is moral outrage. The river is wronging the true nature of Milesian territory; the changes effected to the region’s hydrography are both unfair and – what is far more revealing – unnatural. This moral perspective on alluvial activity is highly suggestive. The history of the Milesian deltaic economy is essentially the

⁵⁴ Κύρον μὲν δὴ λόγος τὸν Πέρσην χαλεπήναντα Γύνδη τῷ ποταμῷ ὅτι Νισαῖον ἐπικλύσας ἔκρυψε πᾶλλον τῷ κύματι, εἰς διώρυχας σχίσαι τὸ ῥεῦμα (ἦν δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ναυσίπορος) ἵνα γυναιξίν Ἀσσυρίαις βατὸν τὸν Γύνδην ἐργάσῃται· σὺ δὲ οὐ πᾶλλον ζητῶν ἀγέρωχον, ἀλλ’ ἰδὼν ἀδικουμένην [e.g. τὴν φύσιν τοῦ τόπου, τὸν Μαϊάνδρον ἀπέστρ]εψας ἢ ποταμῷ φύσιν κομίζεσθαι. My restoration here is only meant to indicate the likely sense; ἀποστρέφειν (as in *I.Ephesos* 274.14) is a more appropriate verb for ‘restore to its natural course’ than Colonna’s τρέπειν.

⁵⁵ Similarly, in AD 129, the city of Ephesus honoured the emperor Hadrian for ‘having made the harbours navigable and diverting the river Cayster, which had been harming the harbours’: *I.Ephesos* 274.



Figure 8.8 Fishing boats in the Karina gölü

history of a balancing act: how to exploit deltaic advance for new tracts of agricultural land, without damaging the profitability of the city's specialist wetland industries, to which we now turn.

Sea-bass and grey mullet

The desiccation of the lake lying inland from Miletus, a process temporarily delayed by Scylacius' new canal, had serious potential consequences for the city's economy. One of the industries for which the Maeander delta provided particularly favourable conditions was lagoonal fishing (Fig. 8.8).⁵⁶ The practicalities of coastal fisheries in the delta wetlands of western Asia Minor are wonderfully illuminated by a lengthy dossier from the cartulary of the monastery of Lembos near Smyrna. In 1227, the monks of Lembos appealed to the emperor John III Vatatzes for the right to establish a fishery (*vivarion*) on the northern shore of the gulf of Smyrna, close to the mouth of the Hermon (ancient Hermos) river. The new fishery, named Gyros, was

⁵⁶ Horden and Purcell 2000: 186–97, 575–8; for the south-west coast of Asia Minor, Delrieux 2008. For the systematic misrepresentation of the significance of wetlands by ancient authors, Traina 1986.

to be located in a region already densely packed with fishing establishments; it is described as lying between the canal (*aulakion*) of Opsikinou and the fish-pond (*lampē*) of Kourtikes. Since the establishment of the new fishery requires considerable labour and no small expense on the monastery's behalf, and will of course cause no damage to the revenues of the fisc, the emperor grants the monastery complete exemption from all fiscal dues usually exacted on fisheries.⁵⁷

In 1234, the monks of Lembos appeal again to the emperor to intervene in a dispute with the *stratiotes* Kalegopoulos.⁵⁸ Kalegopoulos possesses by imperial grant the right of exploitation (*pronoia*) of the river Hermon; this right is further leased out by Kalegopoulos to a group of fishermen.⁵⁹ Since the fisheries in this region are all directly or indirectly dependent on the water of the Hermon, their proprietors regularly pay dues to Kalegopoulos, *via* the fishermen in possession of the river-lease. In the past, the Hermon had flowed directly into the Gyros fishery. The river has now left its old bed and moved to a new one, and no longer flows into the fishery; the monks are, however, still having dues demanded of them by Kalegopoulos. The point of dispute is 'the *aulakia* which run into the *vivarion* of Gyros from the river Hermon, and those (sc. *aulakia*) from the *ex anemou*'. The monks claim that there can be no access to the *vivarion*, and indeed that it cannot exist at all, without the *ex anemou aulakia*.⁶⁰ The *aulakia* are evidently canals or channels drawing water from the river or the sea into the fishery; the *ex anemou* seems to be a windmill regulating one or more of these channels, presumably for raising water a short distance into the fishery, or for preventing the fish-pond from stagnating.⁶¹ The Lembos monastery continued to have trouble with the holders of the *pronoia* of the Hermon,

⁵⁷ MM IV 240–1, no. 150.II (1227: Dölger, *Regesten* 1713); for the location, MM IV 17, no. 2, (1235); for the exemptions, MM IV 4, no. 1; 18, no. 2; 21, no. 3; 25, no. 4. For Kourtikes, see Ahrweiler 1965: 140–1. The chronology of the dossier was established by Dölger 1927b; the alternative schema adopted by Smyrlis (2006: 253) is arbitrary and impossible.

⁵⁸ MM IV 239–40, no. 150.I (imperial *prostagma*, February 1234: Dölger, *Regesten* 1736); MM IV 242–4 no. 150.IV (*gramma* of Kalegopoulos, April 1234).

⁵⁹ οἱ κατὰ καιροῦ πακτωτικῶς ἔχοντες τὸ ὑπ' ἐμὲ βιβάριον τοῦ ποταμοῦ: MM IV 243. On the stratiotic *pronoia*, see Ostrogorskij 1954: 82–5.

⁶⁰ MM IV 242–3. Compare MM IV 246, no. 152 (1264): τὸ βιβάριον αὐτῶν μετὰ τῆς εισοδοεξόδου αὐτοῦ, 'along with the entrance and exit'.

⁶¹ αἱ/τὰ ἐξ ἀνέμου seem not to be attested elsewhere. In the comprehensive registers of the monastery's possessions the phrase always appears in the singular (τὸ βιβάριον σὺν τῇ ἐξ ἀνέμου καὶ τοῖς αὐλακίαις; MM IV 17, no. 2; 21, no. 3; etc.); in Kalegopoulos' *gramma* always in the plural (τὰ ἐξ ἀνέμου σὺν τοῖς αὐλακίαις; τὰ ἐκ ἀνέμου καὶ τὰ αὐλάκια). Gounaridis (1998: 268) unpersuasively interprets *ta ex anemou* as sailing-boats; see rather Angold 1975: 113.

first in 1259, with the *stratiotes* Michael Angelos, and five years later with his heirs.⁶²

The topography of the Hermon delta in the thirteenth century seems to have been closely comparable to that of the Maeander: a broad stretch of mud-flats and wetlands, traversed by a river constantly shifting its bed, and scarred with the deep trenches and stagnant channels left by the former courses of the river. The Hermon delta was thus ideally suited for lagoonal and lacustrine fishing. The Lembos monastery was prepared to sink substantial resources into the conversion of one of the Hermon's old water-courses into what was presumably a lightly salinated *vivarion*, connected both to the sea and the river, and regulated by a system of canals and windmills. Such fisheries were profitable enough for it to be worthwhile for the imperial state to lease out the fishing rights to the river Hermon to individual *stratiotai*, who energetically attempted to boost their profits by harassing the owners of other fisheries in the delta region.

In the mid-first century AD, the city of Miletus honoured a certain C. Iulius Epicrates for privileges won for his native city from Augustus, among which was permission for Miletus to take possession of 'the land newly turned to earth by the Maeander, and the sandbanks'.⁶³ The situation will by now be a familiar one. It seems likely that the Milesians were faced with the same problem as that resolved by the Justinianic rescript five centuries later, concerning the status of stretches of new land under cultivation in the Maeander delta. Here, however, the issue is not one of fiscal liability, but of possession. The ownership of the new land appears to have been disputed, most probably between Miletus and her neighbour to the north, Priene; as we have seen already, the two cities had a long history of acrimonious disputes over the exploitation of the lower Maeander flood plain.

What is interesting from our perspective is that the grant explicitly includes the sandbanks projecting out into the Aegean and protecting the salt-water lagoons along the coastline of the delta (Fig. 8.9). This was a major victory for the Milesians. No emperor could have granted the Milesians exclusive fishing rights to any stretch of the sea itself: in Roman law, the sea was by nature open to all. However, by granting the Milesians possession of the sandbars protecting the coastal lagoons, Augustus was effectively

⁶² MM IV 241, no. 150.III (1259: Dölger, *Regesten* 1869); MM IV 246–7, no. 152 (May 1264: Dölger 1927b: 305 n. 2); MM IV 244–6, no. 151 (August 1264: thus Gounaridis 1998: 267 n. 15, apparently reading *ινδ. ζ* in place of *ινδ. ιβ* on p. 245).

⁶³ *I.Milet* (VI 3) 1131.6–7: τὴν ἀπ[ο]γαί[ου]μένην χώραν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου καὶ τοὺς γαιεῶνας; Herrmann 1994, esp. 211–13.



Figure 8.9 The Karina gölü, with reed-fences closing off the entrance to the lagoon at far right

handing them ownership of the most profitable part of the coastal fisheries along the Maeander delta frontage; in practice, no other city would be able to gain access to the lagoons.⁶⁴ Still today, the outermost sandbars of the great coastal lagoons are speckled with little clusters of fishermen's reed-huts, poised over the narrow passages into the lagoons, waiting for the waves of shoaling fish to come streaming in from the Aegean. In June, the fishermen close the entrances to the lagoons with long reed-fences, trapping tens of thousands of migratory fish. The catch then takes place in leisurely fashion through the summer and autumn months. The reed-fences represent the major annual expenditure of the modern fishing cooperatives of the deltaic lagoons, since suitably tough reeds now have to be imported from the region of Aydın: an unfortunate consequence of the draining of the deltaic marshes, which previously served as abundant reed-nurseries.⁶⁵ There is slight evidence that such fishing-collectives may date back at least to the

⁶⁴ Compare *Dig.* 8.4.13, with Purpura 2008.

⁶⁵ Brinkmann *et al.* 1991: 139–42. The place known as Skolopoeis (Hdt. 9.97; cf. *I.Priene* 361, τὸν λή[φου τὸν] Σκόλοπουσίω), at the foot of Mt Mycale near Thebes, may well derive its name from a reed-bed (σκόλοψ = stake). For architectural use of reeds, see above, p. 62.

Byzantine period, if not before.⁶⁶ At any rate, in the later Byzantine period, the lagoonal fisheries were sufficiently profitable as to attract a substantial tax assessment in their own right.⁶⁷

The fish of the Maeander lagoons were famous throughout the ancient Greek world. Milesian sea-bass were already proverbial for the comic poet Aristophanes in the late fifth century BC; his (undateable) scholiast comments that ‘in Miletus the sea-bass are especially large and plentiful, because of the lake which empties into the sea. For the fish swim up to the lake from the sea, enjoying the sweet water, and so they are abundant among the Milesians.’ Similarly, in the fourth century BC, Arcestratus of Gela urges his readers: ‘When you come to Miletus, try to get hold of the *kephalos* variety of grey mullet and the divine sea-bass, which come from the Gaeon; they are the best there, for that is the nature of the place. There are many other, fatter ones in famous Calydon, and in wealthy Ambracia and in lake Bolbe, but not with such fragrant and pungent belly-fat. But these, my friend, are extraordinarily good. Roast them whole and unscaled – carefully, since they are tender – and serve in brine.’⁶⁸ Both sea-bass and mullet perform seasonal migrations into lagoonal and lacustrine environments: the sea-bass moves into fresh water during the summer, and the grey mullet generally spawns in coastal estuaries and fresh water. Along much of the west coast of Asia Minor, these seasonal migrations provided a welcome annual boost to local economies. In the early thirteenth century AD, near the village of Vari (also known as *ta Mela*) on the gulf of Smyrna, the monastery of Lembos possessed a ‘winter mill-house, and the river called *Demosiates* which flows down to the sea from the village of *ta Mela*, into

⁶⁶ In the tenth century AD, when the emperor is on campaign in Anatolia, ‘the head of the table ought to have exempted persons from the Opsikion thema, from the village of Tembres, with nets, so that they can catch fish in the rivers of the uninhabited regions’, *De Caer.* 488–9 Reiske = Haldon 1990: (C) 554–6 (whose translation I quote); that is to say, the fishermen of the village of Tembres (near Dorylaion) were a distinct class recognised by the fisc. For a comparable case, apparently concerning the fishermen of Heraclea under Latmos, see *De Caer.* 659 Reiske = Haldon 2000: 213, with 286 n. 169. For an association of fishermen at Miletus in the Late Empire, see below, n. 76.

⁶⁷ Thus Marino Sanudo, in the context of an interesting description of the plain of the Maeander in the early fourteenth century, ‘... che’ è molto Grande, buona e Fertile d’ogni bene, per la qual passa un Fiume Grande, che fà un Gran Lago in Morea, ed evvi qualche isola piccola che guarda verso Ponente, in la qual vi stava gran multitudi di Pescadori, che pescavano in quel Lago, e della gran quantità del Pesce, che pigliavano, pagavano all’ Imperatore un gran Denaro, I quali Pescadori erano valenti Marinari e ancora ve ne sono alcuni’ (*Hopf* 1873: 145).

⁶⁸ *Σ ad Ar. Eq.* 361; Athenaeus, 7.311a–e. It is interesting in this connection that the small harbour city of Myus should have been granted to Themistocles in order to furnish him with fish: Thuc. 1.138.5; Diod. Sic. 11.57.7 (specifying that the grant reflected the wealth of Myus’ sea-fisheries).

which an influx of sea-water occurs, and where fish can be caught at the appropriate time.⁶⁹

The literary sources give us some hints of the local geography of these migrations in the Maeander delta region. The Aristophanes scholiast mentions a lake connected to the sea by a canal (of similar function, presumably, to the canal dredged by Scylacius in the mid-fourth century), which was favoured by sea-bass as being relatively lightly salinated; the location of this cannot be determined. Arcestratus' Gaeson river is perhaps to be identified with the watercourse now known as the Sadak dere, which flows down from the heights of Mt Mycale through the old Greek village of Domatia, a little to the east of the site of Thebes.⁷⁰ In the early fifth century BC, if we can rely on Herodotus' rather vague description of the site of the battle of Mycale, the river Gaeson flowed directly into the sea; but by the fourth century the river was already feeding a lake Gaesonis, lying between Miletus and Priene, and connected with the sea. This 'lake', given its location, was evidently a lagoon, in the vicinity of the modern Karina gölü, still fed by the Sadak dere. In antiquity, the river and lagoon seem always to have formed part of Prienean territory: in the later second century BC, the boundary between Priene and Thebes in the lower Maeander plain was formed by the river and the west bank of the lagoon.⁷¹

In more recent periods, the extraordinary abundance and quality of mullet in the fisheries of Miletus has often attracted attention. Among the earliest antiquarian visitors to Miletus were a small party of European merchants from Smyrna, a description of whose excursion into the interior (summer 1673) is preserved by Wheler in the account of his *Journey into Greece*, undertaken in the company of Dr Spon of Lyons in 1675: 'Above two hours after their passing of the Meander, they arrived at a village, called Palatsha; where they pitched their tents on the banks of a large river; which running through a great lake in those plains, emptieth itself into the Meander . . . They were carried to the ruins of an old Greek church, as the people say it hath been: under which is a very fair arched place; where the people now salt their fish, after they have taken out the rows, whereof

⁶⁹ MM iv 17; similarly 20–1, 24, 30–1. For the topography, see Smyrlis 2006, 58.

⁷⁰ Lohmann 2007, 74–5. Domatia, now known as Eski Doğanbey, was largely abandoned in the population exchange of 1923; many of the old Greek houses are now (2005) being restored as holiday homes. The history of Domatia dates back at least as far as the thirteenth century: see further below.

⁷¹ Hdt. 9.97; Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70F48; Neanthes of Cyzicus, *FGrHist* 84F3; *I.Priene* 42.40–1. The hypothesis of a lagoonal environment around Domatia already in the early Hellenistic period seems to be compatible with the geophysical evidence (Müllenhoff 2005: 101–2).

they make botargoes: the most they catch being very large mullets.⁷² The lake formed by the closing of the Latmic gulf is still called Bafa gölü, 'lake of (female) mullets', and botargo production continues today.⁷³ The extent of botargo production in antiquity is unknown, although it is notable that a Byzantine text concerning salted fish-eggs informs us that the eggs of the mullet and sea-bass were especially prized.⁷⁴

Even more profitable, we may suppose, than the fishing of luxury food-stuffs was the production of woollen dye from purple shellfish, abundantly attested in the thick layers of murex-shells uncovered in the city by the excavators of Miletus. The purple industry is first directly attested in the mid-first century AD, with the tombstone of the foreman of a publicly owned dye-workshop, but was no doubt of far greater antiquity. Milesian murex-fishing formed a part of the larger industrial complex centred around wool production, the most important of all the Milesian export industries.⁷⁵ However, murex was not the only type of shellfish collected in the delta region. An inscription of the later imperial period informs us of the existence of a fleet of 'razor-shell spearkers' at Miletus. Fishing for razor-shells was a specialised task: the fish conceal themselves below the sands of shallow lagoons, and are collected by means of a kind of iron spit or prong, on which the fishermen impale them. The razor-shell has no industrial use, and in antiquity was generally eaten in the form of a thick chowder.⁷⁶

It is impossible to quantify the economic importance of the lagoonal and lacustrine fisheries to the ancient cities of the Maeander delta.⁷⁷ Even to be able to conclude that the local civic economies were or were not actually dependent on their exploitation would not, in itself, tell us very much. The point is that the deltaic wetlands and watercourses offered scope for an extraordinary diversity of economic strategies: fishing, fowling, salt-panning, animal husbandry. These strategies together form a single,

⁷² Wheeler 1682: 269. The building referred to appears to be the great theatre at Miletus. At almost exactly the same period, in 1676, the English chaplain in Constantinople, John Covel, records seeing at Smyrna excellent large *botarghe* from mullet caught at the mouth of the Cayster (Georgacas 1978: 173).

⁷³ Modern Greek μπάφα (Georgacas 1978: 172–3). A botargo installation on the lake was visited by Louis Robert (1987: 512–13); for the lake's mullets, e.g. Cuinet 1891–1900: III 391–2.

⁷⁴ τὰ (ὠὰ) ἰχθύων ταριχευθέντα πάντοτε ἔσθιε καὶ μάλιστα τῶν κεφάλων καὶ τῶν λαβράκων, καὶ τῶν ὁμογενῶν, ὅτι πᾶσαν ἀνορεξίαν λύουσι (Kyraniides, IV Ω: de Mely 1898: 124). On mullet botargo, Georgacas 1978: 146–8, 171–5, with copious bibliography; Robert, *OMS* VII 5–6. More on the grey mullet in antiquity in Thompson 1947: 108–12 (κέφαλος, κεστρεύς).

⁷⁵ Herrmann 1975. For the murex, Thompson 1947: 209–18.

⁷⁶ *I.Milet* (VI 3) 1138, with Robert, *OMS* v 611–13.

⁷⁷ In the late fourth century BC, the city of Colophon partly funded the construction of a new circuit of city-walls through taxes levied on fisheries and pasturage (Maier 1959–61: no. 70).



Figure 8.10 Fisherman's reed hut on the north shore of Karina gölü

mutually interconnected ecological network, on which the cities certainly did depend. So, just as the murex industry was intimately connected with Milesian wool production, the preservation and export of mullet and sea-bass relied on the successful exploitation of the Maeander salt-pans.

The salt-pans of Priene

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the most important salt-pans in the Ottoman empire were those of the vilayet of Aydın, including those of the Maeander delta region. By the nineteenth century, the number of individual works had been much reduced and their exploitation correspondingly intensified: in the last decade of the nineteenth century, seven salt-works were producing more than 76 million kgs per year, and were engaging the labour of the majority of the population of at least one *kaza*, that of Foça.⁷⁸ The Maeander salt-pans were no longer in use at this point,

⁷⁸ Cuinet 1891–1900: III 367–9; 484. 'La constance de climat et l'appropriation des lieux permettant d'opérer sur les grandes surfaces, on obtient ainsi une cristallisation lente et par conséquent parfaite. Cette cristallisation se fait d'elle-même, par simple évaporation de l'eau de

but their importance and productivity in the earlier Ottoman period is beyond doubt. A petition dating to December 1578 informs us of the enormous damage done to the Batnos salt-pans in the province of Aydın by the winter flooding of the Maeander, which flowed nearby. The salt depositaries have been utterly ruined; the evaporating basins have been filled with fresh water; and the canals by which water is brought from the sea to the salt-pans have been destroyed. The state, which, as holder of a salt monopoly in the Ottoman empire, was responsible for the upkeep of the salt-pans, is urged to step in and undertake repairs; this particular salt-works, it is maintained, produces no less than 10,000 camel-loads of salt per year, corresponding to *c.* 1.4–1.8 million kgs.⁷⁹ It is clear that in the Maeander delta of the sixteenth century, the salt-pans were in no sense economically epiphenomenal; the prospect of losing their revenues for the coming year threatened regional catastrophe. It seems likely that it was precisely the hydrological instability of the Maeander delta which led to the abandonment of the Maeander salt-pans by the later Ottoman period, when the risks at last outweighed their profitability; by the late nineteenth century the winter flooding of the Maeander regularly inundated the whole lower part of the delta.

The profitability of the Batnos salt-pans in the sixteenth century helps explain a passing reference in the Patmian documents concerning the Pyrgos estates in the Maeander delta. In 1221, the emperor Theodore I Lascaris, in confirming the monastery's rights to its properties in the Maeander delta, describes their possessions as the 'estate of Pyrgos *along with the associated salt-pans (halykai)*'.⁸⁰ The salt-works do not appear to be directly referred to anywhere else in the voluminous documentation relating to the mainland Patmian estates, but the fact that the emperor is prepared to single them out specifically implies that they were of no small economic importance to the monastery: the donation falls into a pattern of imperial grants of salt-pans to churches and monasteries, both separately and as part of larger

mer introduite dans les bassins . . . Là où le niveau du sol le permet, on se contente de creuser les petits canaux à ciel ouvert qui rendent inutile l'emploi d'une force motrice pour le remplissage des bassins.' The Phocaeen salt-pans were themselves taken over by the Ottomans directly from the Genoese, just as (it is here suggested) the Maeander salt-pans were taken over from the Greeks of Patmos.

⁷⁹ Güçer 1962–3: 99–100. I have converted camels to kilograms on the basis of Bowen and Albright 1958: 35–6 (one salt-load *c.* 300–400 lbs); 10,000 is clearly a very rough estimate, but gives us a qualitative sense of the scale of operations.

⁸⁰ Patmos I 13, with pp. *86–7. For the organisation of salt-production in the later Byzantine period, see Matschke 1973, esp. 38–43 (geographical distribution; private and monastic ownership).

land-donations, from the seventh century onwards.⁸¹ Furthermore, the name *Batnos* has no meaning in Turkish, and looks very much like a phonetic transliteration of the Greek name *Patmos*. In short, it seems highly likely that the extraordinarily profitable sixteenth-century Batnos salt-pans in the Maeander delta are none other than the thirteenth-century salt-pans owned and exploited by the monks of Patmos.⁸²

The delta salt-pans were exploited no less intensively in antiquity.⁸³ A long honorific inscription from Priene, dating to the early first century BC, documents a long-running dispute between the city of Priene and the Roman *publicani* over the revenues from the salt-works on the northern side of the Maeander delta.⁸⁴ The relevant section of the text begins with a distinction between at least three different groups of salt-works in the vicinity of Priene. Firstly, the royal salt-pans ‘which were formerly exploited by King Attalus’ are dismissed as irrelevant to the point at issue, since they ‘have not been in the continuous possession of the people of Priene, nor has the senate granted any authority over them to the publicans’. Rather, the disagreement concerns two further groups of salt-pans: those recently constructed by the honorand, Crates, and those ‘which have since ancient times been dedicated to Athena Polias’, both of which are most definitely owned and actively exploited by the Prieneans.⁸⁵ The Prieneans have appealed to the senate to

⁸¹ Grégoire 1944–5 (Justinian II to the church of St Demetrius at Thessalonica, AD 688); Xénophon, no. 1 lines 145–7, with pp. 10, 33 (monastery of Xenophon on Athos: Basil II donates the monastery of Hieromnemon on the Longos peninsula, ‘along with the salt-pan and the fishery’). Alternatively, a monastery could be guaranteed an annual supply of salt from the public salt-works by imperial edict: thus e.g. MM IV 284–5, with Matschke 1973: 42–3. For comparable donations to monasteries in the mediaeval Adriatic, see Hocquet 1978: 83, 192 n. 4.

⁸² No doubt the salt-pans were located in the low-lying territory around the former island of Lade (Batmaz tepeleri): see above, Chapter 7, n. 66.

⁸³ For ancient Mediterranean salt-pans, see Traina 1992; in Asia Minor, Broughton 1938: 624. In the second century AD, Magnesia on the Maeander had a specialised salt-fish market to distribute her neighbours’ produce (*I. Magnesia* 116.35); a salt-fish seller is now attested at Miletus (*SEG* 55, 1266).

⁸⁴ *I. Priene* 111.112–23, 134–43, with Holleaux, *Études* I 309–11 (*ISE* III 182); see now Carusi 2008: 81–3, 192–5, 236–7. The disputes between Priene and the publicans and Priene and Miletus (lines 112–51) date to the final years of the 90s BC; see Ferrary 2000: 175–9, arguing that the Asiatic proconsulship of Lucius Lucilius L.f. (line 136) is highly unlikely to follow directly on that of C. Iulius Caesar (line 14).

⁸⁵ Lines 112–15. Hiller’s restoration in lines 113–14 (τὰς δὲ κατασκευασθείσας ὑφ’ ἑαυ[|τοῦ ἁλέας τὰς ἀνακειμέ]νας ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου τῆι Ἀθηνῶι τῆι Πολιάδι, ἧς κατέχει καὶ καρπίζεταί [|ὁ δῆμος]) is unsatisfactory: a recent construction by Crates cannot *also* be an ancient dedication to Athena. Hence I should prefer to restore here τὰς δὲ κατασκευασθείσας ὑφ’ ἑαυ[|τοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀνακειμέ]νας κτλ. These two ἁλέαι are being contrasted with a third installation mentioned earlier on: hence we should restore at the start of line 112 [τὰς μὲν ἁλέας τὰς βασιλικὰς, ἧς π]ρότερον εἰργάζετο βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος, etc. For the phraseology, compare the Asiatic

recognise the tax-exemption of these latter two groups of salt-pans; while awaiting a final judgement on the matter, they have become embroiled in a further series of conflicts with the publicans, who have made representations to the proconsul arguing that they should be permitted to continue to levy taxes on the disputed salt-pans in the interim, and have employed force in exacting what they consider to be their due. Crates successfully persuaded the proconsul that while the two parties await the senate's decision the salt-works should remain unmolested and free from taxation; the following year, when the new proconsul received the publicans' complaints favourably, Crates was again compelled to travel to Ephesus and obtain a guarantee from the governor that the salt-pans would be left undisturbed until the senate's decision became known.⁸⁶ That the Prieneans chose to commemorate the dispute at all no doubt implies that the final ruling of the senate was in their favour.

The sheer complexity of the dispute – attempting to resolve the financial status of at least three different groups of salt-works – and the tenacity with which it was prosecuted on both sides, suggests that major financial assets were at stake. The productivity of the Prienean salt-pans is, of course, unquantifiable, but a hypothetical comparison may give some sense of their *potential* significance within the local economy. As we have seen, the Batnos salt-works in the Maeander delta in the sixteenth century AD are said to have produced in the order of 1.4–1.8 million kg per annum. The exact price of salt in the early first century BC is not known, but, again purely by way of comparison, we may take as a round figure that attested at Rome in 204 BC: 1 *denarius* = 20 kg of salt. This would give us a theoretical annual revenue of 70–90,000 *denarii* from a *single* Batnos-sized salt-works. The comparison is wholly unscientific, and is intended only to indicate the vast potential profitability of the Maeander salt-pans; more than sufficient justification for a long and bitter struggle over their revenues.⁸⁷

It is notable that the publicans concerned are designated by the technical term *halonai*, 'salt-contractors'. Set alongside Cicero's passing reference to the large *familiae* maintained by the publicans for working the salt-pans of the province of Asia, this usage suggests that salt-production was in the late Republican period generally treated as a source of public rather

customs law (Cottier *et al.* 2008), lines 67–8: ἐπιτοκία [καὶ σταθμούς βασι]λικούς οὐς βασιλεὺς Ἀττάλος Εὐμένους υἱὸς τελωνίας χάριν ἔσχ[εν].

⁸⁶ Compare *I.Priene* 117.47–8, for another embassy to Ephesus (no doubt to the proconsul) concerning the Prienean salt-pans.

⁸⁷ For the – I repeat, pretty spurious – figures, compare Giovannini 1985: 379–80. For ancient 'salt wars', *ib.* 374, citing the Priene dispute.

than municipal revenues, under the administration of a body of specialist contractors.⁸⁸ This was not a Roman innovation. We have seen that some of the salt-pans near Priene were owned by the Attalid monarchs during the second century BC. As it happens, there appears to be no other evidence for an Attalid salt-monopoly in western Asia Minor, but the practice was standard in the Hellenistic kingdoms.⁸⁹ That the city of Priene itself never formed part of the Attalid kingdom implies nothing about the surrounding territory; as it happens, we have explicit evidence that large stretches of the Maeander plain around Priene were already in royal hands at the time of Alexander the Great, and this land need not have been included in the recognition of Prienean autonomy in 188 BC.⁹⁰ With the bequest of Attalus III, this land (including the royal salt-pans) became *ager publicus* and subject to the exactions of the publicans, or to purchase by individual Roman citizens. This last possibility may help explain the status of the first group of salt-pans mentioned in the Prienean document, formerly the possession of Attalus III, but at the time of the dispute neither in Prienean hands nor subject to taxation: these may well have been bought up by private Roman entrepreneurs, a possibility which receives incidental support from the existence of a significant community of resident Romans at Priene in the early first century BC.⁹¹

It is instructive to compare a precisely contemporary dispute at Ephesus, Priene's neighbour on the north side of Mt Mycale, recorded by Strabo. 'North of the outlet of the Cayster is a lake named Selinousia extending inland from the sea, and next to it another lake, which is confluent with it. The lakes provide large revenues, which, although they were sacred, the kings removed from the goddess, and which the Romans returned to her; for when the tax-farmers once more forcibly appropriated the dues to themselves, Artemidorus, as he says, went on an embassy, and reclaimed the lakes for the goddess, the case being decided at Rome.'⁹² The revenues from the Ephesian lagoons most probably derive from fish rather than salt, but

⁸⁸ Cic. *Leg. Man.* 16 (66 BC).

⁸⁹ Carusi 2008: 202–35. The earliest known instance of royal interest in the Asiatic salt-pans is Phylarchus, *FGrHist* 81F65: Lysimachus tries unsuccessfully to impose a tax on the Tragasaeian pans in the Troad. There is no clear evidence for an Achaemenid precedent (Briant 2002: 932); note that in the mid-fifth century BC the Byzantines were still in a position to farm out the sale of salt from their salt-pans (τὴν τῶν ἁλῶν ἄλατοπωλίαν); Ps.-Arist. *Oec.* 1346b.

⁹⁰ See above, pp. 242–51. For the freedom of Priene under the Attalids, Bernhardt 1971: 65.

⁹¹ *I.Priene* 112.80; 113.39, 77; 123.9.

⁹² Strabo 14.1.26. Note that Artemidorus uses identical phraseology (πάλιν δ' οἱ δημοσιῶναι βιασάμενοι) to that of the Priene inscription (πάλιν τε τῶν δημοσιωνῶν βιασαμένων, line 118).

this aside, the situation is strikingly similar to that at Priene. Indeed, given that Artemidorus' embassy to Rome ought to date around the same time as the Prienean dispute, it is not impossible that Crates and Artemidorus collaborated in a joint embassy to Rome on behalf of the Asiatic *koinon* concerning the tax status of coastal installations as a whole. A joint embassy of a very similar kind, from a slightly later period, but also concerning the activities of the publicans, is attested in an inscription from Aphrodisias.⁹³ At both Ephesus and Priene the case for tax-exemption seems to have rested primarily on the consecration of (at least a part of) their wetlands to the local goddesses, Athena and Artemis. Disputes over the tax-status of sacred property were relatively frequent – several other cases are known – and it is by no means certain that it was always the publicans who were at fault. The pairing in the Priene inscription of Crates' salt-pans with those which were sacred to Athena is suggestive. Dedicating lucrative industrial sites to the local deity may well have been a recognised tax-dodge; early in the reign of Tiberius, the Senate cracked down on a similar strategy relating to the right of asylum, which was harming credit relations in the Eastern provinces.⁹⁴

Water and power

While the dispute with the publicans rumbled on, the Prieneans were simultaneously engaged in a separate conflict (also recorded in the decree honouring Crates) with the city of Miletus, within sight of Priene on the south side of the Maeander delta. The dispute concerned the 'right of sailing in', which was apparently being denied to Priene by the Milesians.⁹⁵ Since a number of other cities are represented alongside the Prieneans at the preliminary legal hearing, and are described as 'having a common share in the dispute', we may assume that the Milesians' actions were affecting a number

⁹³ Reynolds 1982: 26–32, no. 5: when the cities of Asia were being oppressed by the publicans, a meeting of the *koinon* of the Greeks was held at Ephesus, and it was decided to send ambassadors to Rome from among the first men in the cities, including two Aphrodisians.

⁹⁴ For other instances of the publicans transgressing on sacred property, cf. *I.Ilion* 71 (land sacred to Athena Ilias restored to state of tax-immunity); *I.Oropos* 308 (land sacred to Amphiareus at Oropos confirmed as exempt, contrary to the representations of the publicans); Nicolet 1966–74: 1 347–55; Kallet-Marx 1995: 138–48. For the asylum affair, see Tac. *Ann.* 3.60: *crebrescebat enim Graecas per urbes licentia et impunitas asylu statuendi. . . eodem subsidio obaerati aduersum creditores receptabantur*, etc.

⁹⁵ *I.Priene* 111, lines 123–34 (preliminary judgement at Erythrae), continued the following year in lines 143–51; the substantive point is described only as [τὸ ?ἀμφισβήτητημ]α τὸ κατὰ τὸν εἴσπλου. See Heller 2006: 28–34.

of cities in the lower Maeander region. The preserved part of the inscription informs us first about an arbitration at Erythrae, in which the Prieneans and their allies were successful, thanks in part to the advocacy of Crates himself. A number of issues, however, were left unresolved by the Erythraean judgement, which itself was only a preliminary decision (*prokrisis*). Hence the dispute continued the following year, with the Milesians demanding that the whole case, including all the articles of disagreement, should once more be considered *in toto*, no doubt hoping that the Erythraeans' decision would be reversed.⁹⁶ The Prieneans countered with the argument that since many of the issues had been resolved by the Erythraean decision, it was only necessary to go to law over the outstanding points.⁹⁷ At this point the inscription breaks off; once again, the fact that the dispute was ultimately recorded on stone at Priene strongly suggests that the Prieneans and their allies were ultimately successful.

The point of dispute, the 'right of sailing in', is not elaborated upon. It could refer to the right of Prienean ships to enter the harbours of Miletus. But it might be better taken as the right for ships to sail up the Maeander from its mouth to riverine harbours further inland.⁹⁸ By the early first century BC, Priene lay some way from the coast, and the only access to her harbours would have been via an inland waterway of some kind.⁹⁹ If the mouth of the Maeander was within the boundaries of Milesian territory, the Milesians could well have attempted to levy tolls on boats attempting to sail in from the Aegean to the harbours of Priene or her neighbours further upstream (Magnesia, Tralles and others), thus effectively blocking the Prieneans from access to the sea. This would have caused the Prieneans serious economic

⁹⁶ Lines 149–151, which I take to mean 'The Milesians, considering it right that the case should be judged in its entirety [. . .], and wishing that the previous suit should be recorded as null and void, and saying that [it was necessary] to go to law [again] about the entire matter'; we might restore the final phrase as φασ[ένων αὔθις δεῖν κρ]ιθῆναι περὶ πάν[των].

⁹⁷ Lines 145–8. Hiller's restorations in lines 146–7 are unsatisfactory. I should restore here περὶ δὲ ὧν ἤμεν προκεκριμένο[ι ὑπ]᾽ Ἐρυθραίων καὶ νε[ν]ικηκ[ότ]ε[ς τῆ]ι κρίσει τῆι κατ[ὰ τὸν εἴσπλου]ν [μετὰ τῶν τοῦ]τ[ο]ις ἐπικοινωνούντων, 'the matters concerning which we received a preliminary judgement from the Erythraeans, and in which we were victorious in the judgement concerning the right of sailing in, along with the others who have a share in this business'. For the turn of phrase νικᾶν κρίσει (rather than Hiller's νικᾶν ζήτημα), compare *I. Magnesia* 93a.26 (cf. 12), c. 175–60 BC: ὁ δῆμος νικήσας τὸ δεύτερον Πριηνεῖς τῆι ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας κρί[σει]. Compare also *RDGE* 9.48–50, c. 140 BC: Ναρθακίεις . . . περὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κριτηρίοις νενικηκέναι; as direct object, *SEG* 13, 259.10–11 (cf. 18–19), early II BC: δικαιολογηθέντες ἐνίκασαν ταύταν τὰγ κρίσιν.

⁹⁸ In line 144, one might perhaps restore τῆς πρὸς Μιλησίουσ ἡμῖν κρίσεωσ ἐνστάσης τῆς ἐπι τοῦ [Μαιάνδ]ρου, 'when our suit against the Milesians concerning the Maeander came to court'.

⁹⁹ In the early first century AD, the abandoned town of Myus was only accessible by means of rowing-boats: Strabo 14.1.10.

damage: in the early years of the Roman province, Priene was a designated customs station for the province of Asia.¹⁰⁰ In the early first century AD, the Milesians' possession of the land around the Maeander mouth was not undisputed, as the inscription in honour of C. Iulius Epicrates makes clear (above, p. 322); however, a peace treaty between Miletus and Magnesia of the early second century BC implies that in that period at least the greater part of the lower delta was in Milesian hands, presumably including the river mouths.¹⁰¹

A scenario of this kind is compatible with literary and geophysical evidence. In the mid-fourth century BC, according to pseudo-Scylax, Priene had two ports, of which one was closed. This statement has recently been confirmed by geoarchaeological research in the two embayments to the east and west of the site of (Hellenistic) Priene. The eastern harbour, now largely occupied by the modern village of Güllübahçe, appears to have been partly closed by sandbanks as early as the ninth or eighth century BC, and to have changed to a shallow brackish lake by the fourth century. This lake is evidently the 'closed harbour' mentioned by pseudo-Scylax; that it was still in use as a harbour at all in the fourth century suggests that it must have been connected with the sea by a canal, unless ships were pulled in over a sandbar. The western harbour, by contrast, continued in use as an open harbour well into the Hellenistic period, and may have still been a lagoon as late as the turn of the era.¹⁰² There appears to have been extremely swift progradation of the delta on the north side of the Maeander gulf in the Classical and early Hellenistic periods, not experienced by the southern side of the gulf until perhaps the third century BC.¹⁰³ It is quite plausible that by the early first century BC the Prieneans should have been reliant on the Maeander for access to the sea from their west harbour.

The bounty of the Maeander

What the dispute over access to the mouth of the Maeander highlights above all is the near-total economic and political dominance wielded in

¹⁰⁰ Cottier *et al.* 2008, line 25; see above, p. 26.

¹⁰¹ SEG 44, 938 (I AD); *Milet* (I 3) 148.28–32 (early II BC: for the date, Wörrle 2004): all the land from the Hybandus river to the sea is to belong to Miletus. Note, however, SEG 39, 1180.25 (I BC): Priene 'at the mouth of the Maeander'.

¹⁰² Brückner 2003: 136–41, with the slight modifications of Müllenhoff 2005: 60–72; Ps-Scyl., 98: λιμένας ἔχουσα δύο, ὧν τὸν ἕνα κλειστόν.

¹⁰³ Müllenhoff 2005: 190–9.



Figure 8.11 The Maeander river, seen from Mt Mycale

the delta region by the city of Miletus, the chief beneficiary of the annual bounty of the Maeander. From the early Iron Age to the later Hellenistic period, the history of Miletus' proverbial prosperity is largely a history of extraordinarily successful agricultural intensification and diversification. The relative shortage of good arable land on the Milesian peninsula was overcome, first, by a process of expansion and incorporation of smaller, often indigenous communities to the south and east of the city itself (beginning in the Archaic period with the incorporation of Teichioussa and the southern part of the peninsula, and continuing through the Hellenistic period with the synoecisms with Myus, Pidasa and Heraclea), and second, by an ever more intensive exploitation of the land on the peninsula itself. In the latter half of the first millennium BC, Miletus' enormous population was structurally dependent on this large, heavily exploited, and steadily growing territory to the south and east.¹⁰⁴

The shift in the Maeander's pattern of deposition in the early Hellenistic period, from the north to the south side of the delta, was entirely in Miletus'

¹⁰⁴ Robert, *OMS* I 373–401; Lohmann 2001: 146–7; Lohmann 2004.

favour. If the inhabitants of Myus were forced to abandon their city through the decline of their harbours into a malarial swamp, that represents, cruelly, nothing more than a failure to respond adequately to a major wealth-creating opportunity.¹⁰⁵ Miletus did not make the same mistake. As we have seen, her developing exploitation of the rich alluvial soil brought down by the Maeander, and her use and careful preservation of the delta wetlands, brought her lasting prosperity well into late antiquity, and indeed beyond: the city's mediaeval successors, Byzantine Palatia and Ottoman Balat, remained major economic forces long after her neighbours (Priene, Ephesus, Iasos) had been finally abandoned.

The failure of Myus to exploit the potential wealth of the Maeander, as compared with the extraordinary success of Miletus in so doing, invites explanation. The causes should, I suggest, be put in the context of wider patterns of Milesian wealth-creation in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods. The increased opportunities for exploitation of the Maeander delta towards the end of the first millennium BC coincided, as we saw in the previous chapter, with a radical alteration in the agricultural exploitation of the Milesian peninsula. Landed resources were increasingly concentrated in the hands of large private landowners, men like Crates of Priene.¹⁰⁶ The opening up of major new economic opportunities in the Maeander delta fortuitously coincided with this explosion in private landed wealth. For the first time, lagoonal environments and alluvial marshland started to develop in the immediate vicinity of the city of Miletus itself. Individual landowners of extraordinary private wealth and power could, as the inhabitants of Myus tragically could not, afford the necessary initial outlay to turn these potential assets into real and profitable ones. The geological processes which led directly to Myus' abandonment were thus harnessed and mobilised to serve the economic needs of her wealthier neighbour.¹⁰⁷

The interpretation offered in this chapter of the ecology of the Maeander delta invites some more general reflections. Seen from the perspective of the Maeander valley as a whole, the delta was evidently a world apart, with radically different economic priorities to the cities further inland: it formed,

¹⁰⁵ Abandonment of Myus: Günther 1995; Mackil 2004: 494–7. ¹⁰⁶ See above, pp. 249–51.

¹⁰⁷ Compare Hendy 1985: 66; Brun 1996: 42–6. At Acraephia in Boeotia in the mid-first century AD, the wealthy benefactor Epaminondas spent 6,000 *denarii* on repairs to the dike protecting the city's territory from the waters of Lake Kopais: *IG VII* 2712.33–7; Fantasia 1999: 88–9. In the second century AD, it was the Roman state which stepped in to fund an ambitious network of dikes protecting the territory of Coronea from the rivers feeding into Lake Kopais: Argoud 1993: 49–53. The earliest substantial *levées* of the Loire valley, constructed between the twelfth and the fourteenth century, were not the work of the local rural population, but resulted from the intervention of large individual landowners: Dion 1934: 336–47.

in fact, a highly distinctive and self-contained anthropogenic ecological micro-system. Early on in this book I raised the problem of Miletus: to what extent, and in what historical periods, can she meaningfully be said to form part of the cultural and economic world of the Maeander? This chapter provided a partial answer, by highlighting the ingenuity and persistence with which Miletus exploited the delta alluvium, which was, from at least the late Hellenistic period onwards, the unique and defining characteristic of her territorial resources. The final section of the previous chapter offered a different perspective, sketching some of the ecological pressures which encouraged Miletus to look outwards, into the south-eastern Aegean, rather than inwards, towards the cities of the middle Maeander valley, or indeed to its Carian neighbours to the south and east.

The impact of the advance of the Maeander delta has here been presented in a largely positive light. I have argued that this approach is justified by what we can infer about the collective economic benefits which could accrue to communities fortunate enough to possess territory – not only ‘land’ – affected by alluvial activity. The case of Myus is clearly an *exception*: a community which proved, for historically contingent reasons, socially and economically incapable of realising the potential benefits of the clay-rich soil which sealed their harbours in the early Hellenistic period.

It is the example of Myus which informs the brilliant, but wholly misleading, epigram by Olivier Rayet which I have quoted as the epigraph of this chapter. The Maeander delta as Rayet saw it in the late nineteenth century was a desolate place, largely abandoned to mosquitos and the *yürük*. But the desolation of the late Ottoman delta indicates, as Wiegand recognised, nothing more than a temporary institutional inability to realise the economic potential of the wetlands and the Maeander alluvium. That failure must not casually be retrojected into antiquity.¹⁰⁸ The introduction of simple drainage technology in the mid-twentieth century wrought an extraordinary transformation; the delta plain is once again a major economic asset to the region, though now it is cotton, not grain or salt, which it supports.¹⁰⁹ It is the prosperous agricultural landscape of the modern Maeander delta, rather than the monotonous wasteland of the late nineteenth century, which most closely resembles the delta in antiquity. Rayet speaks of the ‘death’ of the coastal cities. Of the ancient cities of Ionia, with the single exception of

¹⁰⁸ Anachronistic determinism: Chandezon 2003a: 222–4, making inappropriate use of Rayet and Thomas 1877–85: 1 19–24. A comparable landscape is vividly attested in the thirteenth century (above, pp. 302–6), but should not be projected back even to the eleventh century (above, pp. 264–70), let alone earlier periods.

¹⁰⁹ Brinkmann *et al.* 1991: 132–8. Consequences: 171–2.

Smyrna, none has so distinguished a post-classical history as Miletus-Balat, which under the fourteenth-century emirate of Menteşe continued to be the most important commercial centre on the Anatolian coast, and retained its prosperity well into the Ottoman period.¹¹⁰ Miletus survived. It was only in 1955 that Balat itself was finally abandoned, more than fifty years after the beginnings of the modern German excavations in the ruins of the classical city (above, Fig. 8.7). As so often, Richard Chandler got it exactly right:

From the alterations already effected, we may infer, that the Maeander will still continue to encroach; that the recent earth, now soft, will harden, and the present marshes be dry. The shore will in time protrude so far, that the promontories, which now shelter it, will be seen inland. It will unite with Samos, and in a series of years extend to remoter islands, if the soil, while fresh and yielding, be not carried away by some current setting without the mountains. If this happen, it will be distributed along the coast, or wafted elsewhere in the tide, and form new plains. Some barren rock of the adjacent deep may be enriched with a fertile domain, and other cities rise and flourish from the bounty of the Maeander.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Wittek 1934: 123–5, 129–33; Zachariadou 1983: 108–9, 129–31, and *passim*. A single striking example: the emir of Menteşe could be referred to interchangeably as the *dominus Palatie* and the *dominus Turchie*, since for the Venetians, the two were synonymous (Zachariadou 1983: 119). Palatia, along with Theologo (Selçuk), served as a funnel for the export of grain, vegetables and horses from the Anatolian emirates to Crete.

¹¹¹ Chandler 1775: 179.

Epilogue

The historical geography of the Maeander valley

West of Miletus, on a tideless shore, the waters of the Maeander flow out quietly into the Aegean sea. Like the river, this book has no conclusion. Nonetheless, certain ideas and approaches have recurred, and it may be helpful to draw out four leading themes of this study.

The first key theme of the book was that of the *production of space*.¹ In [Chapter 1](#), I argued that it would be highly misleading to regard the Maeander valley as a ‘natural’ space, objectively determined by geological facts. The Maeander valley was a historically contingent social construct, created by human communities at a specific point in past time, which ceased to exist (or at least was transformed into a different kind of spatial expression) at another specific point in past time. Within this region there existed further spatial units, produced both organically by resident groups (such as city-territories) and through creative negotiation between local peoples and external powers (such as administrative divisions). Those produced in dialogue with external powers inevitably possessed a political dimension. These ‘politicised’ spaces in the Maeander region took three notable historical forms: geographies of imperialism, geographies of resistance and geographies of appropriation.

In [Chapter 4](#), I tried to show how the upper Maeander ‘frontier’ in southern Phrygia can helpfully be understood as a geography of imperialism. This relational frontier space, created by the Attalid monarchs of the mid-second century BC as a pragmatic response to temporary military circumstances, was irrationally perpetuated in the Roman imperial and Byzantine periods as a strategy of territorial domination.

In the final part of [Chapter 1](#), I argued that the proliferation of the maeander logo on the coinages of the cities of the middle and lower Maeander valley in the second century BC is best interpreted as a geography of resistance. The maeander symbol expressed a local sense of regional association, which only crystallised in opposition to the totalising partition of the valley imposed by the Roman commission at Apamea in 188 BC.

¹ Lefebvre 1991: 68–168 remains fundamental. See further Smith 2008: 123–31, 225–9; Harvey 2006: 119–48.

In [Chapter 3](#), I described the creation in the first century AD of a Phrygian *koinon* with its centre at Apamea. This ethno-cultural association should be seen as a geography of appropriation, simultaneously reproducing and creatively re-interpreting the spatial dimension of a Roman administrative unit, the juridical *conuentus* with its centre at Apamea.

Finally, I emphasized that these spaces, although created, named and attributed with social qualities by human communities, were also representations of real physical geography. The spatial expression ‘the Maeander valley’ corresponds (at least in its western half) to an actually existing graben in south-west Turkey, and the Attalid, Roman and Byzantine ‘upper Maeander frontier’ corresponds to an actually existing range of mountains between the modern towns of Dinar and Banaz. The creation of space, as a human project, is neither geographically determined nor geographically arbitrary. As I indicated at the end of [Chapter 1](#), I find the concept of ‘possibilism’ a useful tool for understanding this dynamic.

A second theme of the book was the *production of nature*. By this I mean not only the second nature created by human hands in the inherited natural world through deforestation, wetland reclamation, irrigation and so forth, although there can have been few parts of the ancient Mediterranean in which this ‘seconding of nature’ was more visible than in the Maeander delta region ([Chapter 8](#)).² I was also concerned to show the subjective character of human appraisals of natural resources. The fact that particular places have historically been dedicated to vine-cultivation, utilized as a major harbour, or populated by sheep does not constitute proof that these places were ‘naturally suited’ to viticulture, harbourage or animal husbandry. In [Chapters 1](#) and [8](#), I argued that the variable prevalence of arable cultivation or large-scale stock-rearing on the Maeander valley floor in different historical periods was the result of social dynamics; the valley was not intrinsically better suited to one or the other mode of production. A particularly striking case of ecological variability, that of the extent of olive cultivation in southern Phrygia in pre-modern periods, was highlighted in [Chapter 2](#). From antiquity to the present day, subjective assessments of particular regions as ‘hard’, ‘fertile’, ‘wild’ or ‘unproductive’ have been represented as geographical absolutes; supposed facts of nature (the softness of Asia, the thin soils of sub-Saharan Africa) provide a reassuring moral justification for imperialist and neocolonial political projects of all kinds.³

² Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.151–2; Glacken 1967: 116–49; Williams 1994.

³ Harvey 2001: 232; Judkins, Smith and Keys 2008; Harvey 2009: 202–13.

Historicising and undermining these assessments is one of the chief functions of historical geography.

A third major theme of the book was the *spatial dimension of productive relations*. In [Chapter 5](#), I offered an explanation for the distinctive productive strategies of the human communities of the middle Maeander, upper Kogamos and Lycus valleys in the Roman and Byzantine periods. The decision to specialise in large-scale animal husbandry was driven not by geographical considerations (the right kind of grass) but by spatial expediency (the economic benefits resulting from the physical agglomeration of textile production). Nothing could be less ‘natural’ than the curious development of the urban centre and territory of Hierapolis in the Roman Imperial period. In [Chapter 7](#), I described the changing patterns of rural settlement and agrarian modes of production in the lower Maeander valley from the fourth century BC to the thirteenth century AD. These patterns were modified, often rapidly and violently, by wider social developments such as the emergence of large-scale rural landowners in the late Hellenistic period, the sudden disappearance of absentee Constantinopolitan landlords after 1204, or the prestige and influence of the monastic community on Patmos. Nonetheless, productive relations in the lower Maeander region continued to obey a locally distinctive spatial logic: a highly fragmented landscape of discontinuous lowland estates, a persistent mutual interdependence of plain and mountain, and recurrent strategies of productive dispersal between the Maeander delta plain and the small offshore islands of Patmos, Leros and Lepsia.

The fourth and final theme of the book was the *production of social practice* in dialogue with nature. In [Chapters 2, 3 and 6](#), I explored the ways in which different aspects of social life – myth and cult practice, market activity and elite interaction – were shaped by the experience of living in and around this particular river valley. In the field of religious practice, it is particularly important to insist on the dialectical character of the relationship between human groups and their local environments. A reductive environmental determinism has always carried a certain appeal for historians of ritual, since myth and ritual behaviour are often so intimately and explicitly related to place; stories that social groups tell about their gods really are, in very visible ways, sublimates of material life processes. But religious practice ought not simply to be reduced to a materialist base (‘big skies lead to big Gods’).⁴ In [Chapter 2](#), I argued that the hydrographic

⁴ Horden and Purcell 2000: 403–11.

myths and cults of the upper Maeander and Lycus valleys served the function of explaining and controlling the strange and unstable geomorphology of the region. The cults of Noah at Apamea and of St Michael at Chonae were historically contingent social artefacts; they can only be properly understood in relation to their function in domesticating a dangerous and unpredictable landscape, but they were not merely *products* of that landscape. The danger for historians of market activity is precisely the opposite: the existence of common exchange mechanisms and institutions across large stretches of the Mediterranean world in antiquity and the Byzantine middle ages can distract attention from local geographical variables. In [Chapter 3](#), I argued that the dominant spaces of exchange in the upper Maeander region took a distinctive and highly localised form, that of periodic cities situated on the margins of different cultural and institutional spaces (Apamea, at the eastern edge of the Attalid kingdom and the later Roman province of Asia; Chonae, in a zone of cultural imbrication between Byzantine and Selcuk territories). Finally, in [Chapter 6](#) I tried to map the interactive strategies of a well-attested group of Romanised elite families in the early Roman Imperial period. I suggested that the marital and political choices made by those families can best be understood in the context of the distinctive local ecology of Mt Cadmus, the great pine-clad mountain range which rises silently above the confluence of the Lycus and Maeander rivers.

Edward Thompson has written of the ‘creative quarrel at the heart of cognition . . . a delicate equilibrium between the synthesizing and the empiric modes, a quarrel between the model and actuality’.⁵ Alongside the four hermeneutic themes outlined above, I also tried (in the empiric mode) to do justice to the subjective human experience of life in the Maeander valley in antiquity and the Byzantine middle ages: the colours of lake Aulutrene, the personality of M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus, the chaotic realities of agrarian relations on the Pyrgos estate, the taste of fish from the Glaucus springs. Empirical integrity means, among other things, recognising that the men and women of the Maeander were *real people*, burned brown by their daily pilgrimages from piedmont to plain, awestruck in the face of the divine water and fire which burst here and there from beneath the earth, cunning and tenacious in their unending struggle with the blind weight of deltaic alluvium. I am grateful to have known the people of the Maeander

⁵ Thompson 1978: 78. Contrast Runciman 1983: 144, who speaks of ‘steering . . . a course between the Scylla of positivistic empiricism and the Charybdis of phenomenological hermeneutics’. I find this metaphor less helpful; the aim is not to avoid either mode, but to retain both in a state of creative tension with one another.

valley, the ever-baffled, ever-resurgent agents of an eternally unmastered geography. As Engels wrote in *The Dialectics of Nature*,

At every step we are reminded that we by no means rule over nature like a conqueror over a foreign people, like someone standing outside nature – but that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other creatures of being able to learn its laws and apply them correctly.

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