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Murat AYDAŞ

 0000-0002-3915-3683



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## Epigraphical Investigation of the Defensive Layout of Stratonikeia

### *Stratonikeia Savunma Düzenine Epigrafik Bakış*

Murat AYDAŞ\*

**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to investigate the defensive layout of Stratonikeia from a new inscription that records a city gate, a military unit, and an emblem and indicates the direction of a defence division of the city. The current paper presents an epigraphical view of the defence system of Stratonikeia in Karia and discusses this system. Stratonikeia is within the village of Eskihisar in the district of Yatağan, in the province of Muğla. The new village carrying the same name has been rebuilt several kilometers away. There are the walls of three *Pyrgoi* surrounded Stratonikeia, while the presence of a fourth *Pyrgos* is uncertain. The coal mining in Yatağan may have destroyed its remains. The citizens of Stratonikeia built the four city gates: the North Gate, a modern appellation, *Mese Pyle* (the Middle Gate), *Tripylon*, and *Mylasike Pyle* (the Mylasa Gate). The city might have been divided into three or into four zones for defence. The emblems of the zones represented the units of the city's army, with the Stratonicean Army comprising the Herakles, Rhopalon, Elephas, and Kapros units. Astragon and Tendeba were part of the defence system of Stratonikeia. Livius only attests to the castles in the *Khora* of Stratonikeia.

**Keywords:** Karia, Stratonikeia, City Walls, City Gates, Defence System

**Öz:** Bu makalenin amacı bir kent kapısı, bir askerî birlik ve bir amblem belgeleyen ve kentin bir savunma bölümünün yönüne işaret eden yeni bir yazıttan hareket ederek Stratonikeia'nın savunma düzenini incelemektir. Bu makale Karia'daki Stratonikeia'nın savunma sistemine epigrafik bir bakış sunmakta ve bu sistemi tartışmaktadır. Stratonikeia, Muğla ilinin Yatağan ilçesinde Eskihisar köyündedir. Aynı adı taşıyan yeni köy birkaç kilometre uzakta yeniden inşa edilmiştir. Stratonikeia'yı çeviren üç *Pyrgos*'lu surlar vardır. Dördüncü *Pyrgos*'un varlığı ise belirsizdir. Yatağan'da kömür madenciliği kalıntılarını yok etmiş olabilir. Stratonikeialılar dört kent kapısı inşa etmiştir: Modern bir isim olan Kuzey Kapısı, *Mese Pyle* (Orta Kapı), *Tripylon* ve *Mylasike Pyle* (Mylasa Kapısı). Stratonikeia kenti üç ya da dört savunma bölgesine ayrılmış olabilir. Bu bölgelerin amblemleri, Herakles, Rhopalon, Elephas ve Kapros birliklerinden oluşan Stratonikeia Ordusunu ve ordu birliklerini temsil etmekteydi. Astragon ve Tendeba, Stratonikeia savunma sisteminin parçasıydı. Sadece Livius, Stratonikeia *Khora*'sındaki bu kalelerden bahsetmiştir.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** Karia, Stratonikeia, Kent Surları, Kent Kapıları, Savunma Sistemi

### **New Inscription of the Second Watchtower (Fig. 1)**

It was found in front of the front seats (fig. 2) in the Theatre. Not *in situ*. Marble.

Dimensions: Height: 27 cm. Width: 44 cm. Thickness: 27,5 cm. Height of letters: 1,8-3 cm.

\* Assoc. prof., Aydın Adnan Menderes University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Archaeology, Aydın. maydas@adu.edu.tr | ☎ 0000-0002-3915-3683  
I thank Prof. Dr. Bilal Söğüt (Pamukkale University), the director of the excavations, for his permission to publish this inscription. I thank Tunç Sezgin (Pamukkale University), Süleyman Güven, and Cengiz Emlik, the archaeologists of the excavation team, for the photographs.



Fig. 1. The Inscription of the Second Watchtower



Fig. 2. Findspot of the Inscription (Stratonikeia's Archive)

Date: from ca. 250 B.C. onwards.

It is not clear whether the word "*Pyrgos*" means "watchtower" or "watchpost". The so-called E1 Tower in Kadıkulesi Tepesi<sup>1</sup> is a unique and incomplete remnant, so it is uncertain if it is a watchtower or a watchpost.

<sup>1</sup> Tırpan 1990, 218: "Stratonikeia şehri (...) Kadıkulesi tepesi eteğine kurulmuştur"; Söğüt 2019, 36-37 Resim 6 Çizim 2. For the architecture of the city wall see Tırpan 1990, 219-225; Söğüt 2019, 33-40; Özdemir 2023, 13-17, 23-66.

<p>Δευτέρου Πύρ- 2 γου από τῆς Μυλασικῆς Πύ- 4 λης· Ἐπίσημον κάπρος.</p>	<p><i>“It belongs to the Second Watchtower from the Mylasa Gate onwards. Its emblem is the wild boar”.</i></p>
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LI.1-2: *I.Stratonikeia* 1004 first attests to the Second Watchtower<sup>2</sup> of the city walls of Stratonikeia. The new inscription is the second attestation of the same watchtower.

*I.Stratonikeia* 1003 is damaged<sup>3</sup> and, therefore, inconclusive. In contrast, its emblem, *Herakles*, is compatible with the *I.Stratonikeia* 1004's emblem, *Rhopalon* “Mace of Herakles,” (cf. also the word “*Herakleion*” in ll. 1-2). So, one can suggest that *I.Stratonikeia* 1003 may be the inscription of the Second Watchtower.

LI.2-4: ἡ Μυλασική Πύλη (the Mylasa Gate) is a newly discovered city gate. Cf. this adjective phrase with Δελφικός τρίπους in *I.Stratonikeia* 1531, ll. 4-5.

L.5: Κάπρος (*kapros* “wild boar”) is a new emblem and military unit of the Stratonikeia's Army.

The other emblems were Ἡρακλῆς, Ῥόπαλον, Ἐλέφας, and Δελφικός Τρίπους<sup>4</sup>. Except for the Delphi tripod, the other emblems symbolize the military units of the Army of Stratonikeia.

Combining all the data and some information on them allows researchers to develop an understanding of the defence system and urban layout of Stratonikeia.

### The *Pyrgoi* of Stratonikeia

The Second Watchtower's first inscription *I.Stratonikeia* 1004, and its second new inscription and *I.Stratonikeia* 1531 and 1532, which prove the presence of the third watchtower<sup>5</sup>, also confirm the presence of the First Watchtower, although no inscription has been found to document it during the excavations and surveys. It would of course have been inconceivable for the city of Stratonikeia to start numbering the *pyrgoi* with the number two.

The Fourth Watchtower and its emblem are doubtful at present. No watchtower remains near the North City Gate. So, a fourth watchtower might not have been built, however, the coal mining might have destroyed the remains. Nevertheless, based upon the inscriptions indicating the second and third watchtowers and the inference of the presence of the first watchtower and the four city gates, and the four military symbols, one can think that Stratonikeia might have been divided into three or four defence districts, although the geographical extent of these defence districts is presently unknown.

<sup>2</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* 1004: Δεύτερος [π]ύργ[ο]ς τῶι Ἡρακλείωι καὶ τῶι ἐχομένωι φυλα[κ]εῖωι· ἄμφοδα τὸ Σαμοθράκιον καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ· ἐπίσημον ῥόπαλον. See Robert 1937, 531: “Il a montré que l'inscription était relative à l'organisation militaire de Stratonicee: elle indiquait les quartiers, ἄμφοδα, qui se rattachaient à la seconde tour, et l'emblème, la massue”.

<sup>3</sup> Laumonier 1934, 339-340 no. 24; Robert 1937, 529-530; *I.Stratonikeia* 1003: [ ἀπό τοῦ] ἀύχενος[ ] παρὰ τὴν [πλατεῖαν] τὴν φέρουσ[αν ἀπό τοῦ] τριπύλου ἕως[ τῆς] ἄλλης πλατ[είας]. Ἐπίσημον Ἡρακλ[ῆς]. See Robert 1937, 531: “(...) ici nous avons [ἀπό τοῦ] ἀύχενος[ ] ου [ἕως τοῦ] ἀύχενος[ ]”. His restoration in pp. 535-536 is as follows: “En définitive je restaure ainsi les lignes qui nous ont été en partie conservées: [— — — ἕως τοῦ] ἀύχενος[ — — —] παρὰ τὴν [πλατεῖαν] τὴν φέρουσ[αν ἀπό τοῦ] τριπύλου ἕως[ τῆς] ἄλλης πλατ[είας]. Ἐπίσημον Ἡρακλ[ῆς]; SEG XLIV 917 proposes the following restoration: “1003 should be considered complete at top; LI.1/2 should be restored as Αύχενος[ numeral πύργου or πύργος] παρὰ τὴν [πλατεῖαν] (with Auchen as a toponym) rather than [— — — ἕως τοῦ] ἀύχενος[ — — —] (...)”.

<sup>4</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* 1003, l.7 (*Herakles*); 1004, l.7 (*Rhopalon*); 1532, l.5 (*Elephas*); 1531, ll. 4-5 (*Delphikos Tripous*).

<sup>5</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* 1531: Τρίτου πύργου μέσης πύλης ὑπὸ τὸ Σαραπιεῖον· ἐπίσημον Δελφικός τρίπους; SEG XLIV 917; *I.Stratonikeia* 1532: Τρίτου πύργου <τ>οῦτο φυλακῆον ἄμφοδον ἐχόμενον ἐπίσημον ἐλέφας; SEG LVIII 1255.

### Dating of the *Pyrgoi* Inscriptions

The dates of the inscriptions are under discussion. *I.Stratonikeia* nos. 1004 and 1532 date from the Hellenistic period, while *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1531 dates from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., and *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1003 dates from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century or the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.

Antiochos I Soter (281-June 2, 261 B.C.) first captured the city of Hekatesia under the rule of the Ptolemies in ca. 268 B.C.<sup>6</sup>. At that time, Antiochos I and his son Antiochos II were both kings<sup>7</sup>. The Ptolemies recaptured Hekatesia from Antiochoi. Hekatesia was finally conquered and renamed in ca. 260 or 250 B.C.<sup>8</sup>. Consequently, Antiochos II Theos (261-246 B.C.)<sup>9</sup> was the king who reorganized politically and architecturally the time-honored city, whose first name was Khrysaoris, the second name was Idrias, the third name was Hekatesia, under the name Stratonikeia. Stratonikeia became the fourth name of the city. The former names<sup>10</sup> of the city are learnt only from the ancient authors, as none of the inscriptions found during excavations to date have recorded the city as Khrysaoris, Idrias, or Hekatesia.

Therefore, structural changes<sup>11</sup> at Stratonikeia began from ca. 250 B.C. onwards. The defence system of Stratonikeia must also have been reorganized and renovated after the city's foundation. Stratonikeia might have renamed the city gates. The pre-Stratonicean town<sup>12</sup> was surrounded by walls<sup>13</sup>. It means that the city walls date from before the inscriptions. Hence, "the Hellenistic period" dating is problematic for *I.Stratonikeia* nos. 1004 and 1532. So, I date the new inscription, and *I.Stratonikeia* nos. 1004 and 1532 from ca. 250 B.C. onwards.

### The City Gates and Military Divisions

There were multiple gates<sup>14</sup> around the city of Stratonikeia. The entrances into the city center are

<sup>6</sup> Şahin 1976, 1 fn. 2; *I.Stratonikeia* (= IK 68.3) p. 1; van Bremen 2000, 389.

<sup>7</sup> See *I.Stratonikeia* 1030: [Β]ασιλευόντων Ἀντιόχου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀντι[ι]όχου, ἔτους τετάρτου καὶ τεσσαρακοστ[οῦ] (...); SEG XXX 1278: "This seems to be the first text so far known in which Antiochos II (ca. 18 years old in 268 B.C.) is mentioned as coregent of Antiochos I (...)"

<sup>8</sup> van Bremen 2003, 9; 13 fn. 27.

<sup>9</sup> For list of the Kings see Bickerman 1980, 128-129. Cf. Liv. XXXIII.18.22: nequiquam inde obsessa oppugnataque urbs est, nec recipi nisi aliquanto post per Antiochum potuit.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. V.21.10: τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα ἢ τε χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Χρυσαορίς (*In the earliest times, the city and its khora were called Khrysaoris*); Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 696: Χρυσαορίς, πόλις Καρίας· ἡ ὕστερον Ἰδριάς ὀνομασθεῖσα (*Khrysaoris was a Carian city. This town was later named Idrias*); Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 326: Ἰδριάς, πόλις τῆς Καρίας· ἡ πρότερον Χρυσαορίς (*Idrias was a Carian city. This city was earlier called Khrysaoris*); Hdt. V.118: ποταμὸν Μαρσύην, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρας ἕς τὸν Μαϊάνδρον ἐκδιδοῖ (*The Marsyas River, flowing through the Khora of Idrias, merges with the Meander*); Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 262: Ἐκατησία· οὕτως ἡ Ἰδριάς πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Καρίας. ναὸν γὰρ τεύξαντες οἱ Κᾶρες τὴν Θεὸν Λαγινίτιν ἐκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ φυγόντος ζώου ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ Ἐκατήσια τελοῦντες οὕτως ὠνόμασαν (*Hekatesia: Idrias, the Carian town, was named Hekatesia. The Carians, who built a temple proclaimed the Goddess Hekate Laginian after the animal that escaped into the temple, completed the rituals of Hekate and named the temple thus the Temple of Hekate*); Str. XIV.2.25: ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Στρατονικιέων δύο ἱερά, ἐν μὲν Λαγίνοις τὸ τῆς Ἐκάτης ἐπιφανέστατον, πανηγύρεις μεγάλας συνάγον κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν· ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσαορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν (*In the Khora of Stratonikeia, there are two sanctuaries: One of them is the most famous Temple of Hekate in Lagina, which organizes great panegyrics every year; the other is the Temple of Zeus Khrysaoreus, the joint sanctuary of all Carians, located near the city of Stratonikeia*).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Str. XIV.2.25: ἐκοσμήθη δὲ καὶ αὕτη κατασκευαῖς πολυτελεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων "Stratonikeia was decorated with costly structures under the patronage of the kings".

<sup>12</sup> For the pre-Stratonicean periods see Hanfmann & Waldbaum 1968, 52-55 Plate 25-26 Fig. 4-8; Şahin 1973, 177, 182; 1976, 19 fn. 63; Söğüt 2012, 553-586; 2013, 605-623.

<sup>13</sup> Söğüt 2019, 35-40.

<sup>14</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* 1508 Column II-C, I.1 refers to all the city gates: Τοῖς ἔξω πυλῶν (...).

the so-called North City Gate, its original name is unknown, *Tripylon*<sup>15</sup>, *Mese Pyle*<sup>16</sup> (the Middle City Gate), and *Mylasike Pyle* (the Mylasa City Gate), which the new inscription records.

The North City Gate (fig. 3) was a monumental entrance that has been excavated and restored<sup>17</sup> under the direction of Prof. Dr. Bilal Söğüt. Except for the City Gate in the north, the structures' and architectural layout of the defence districts are unknown.

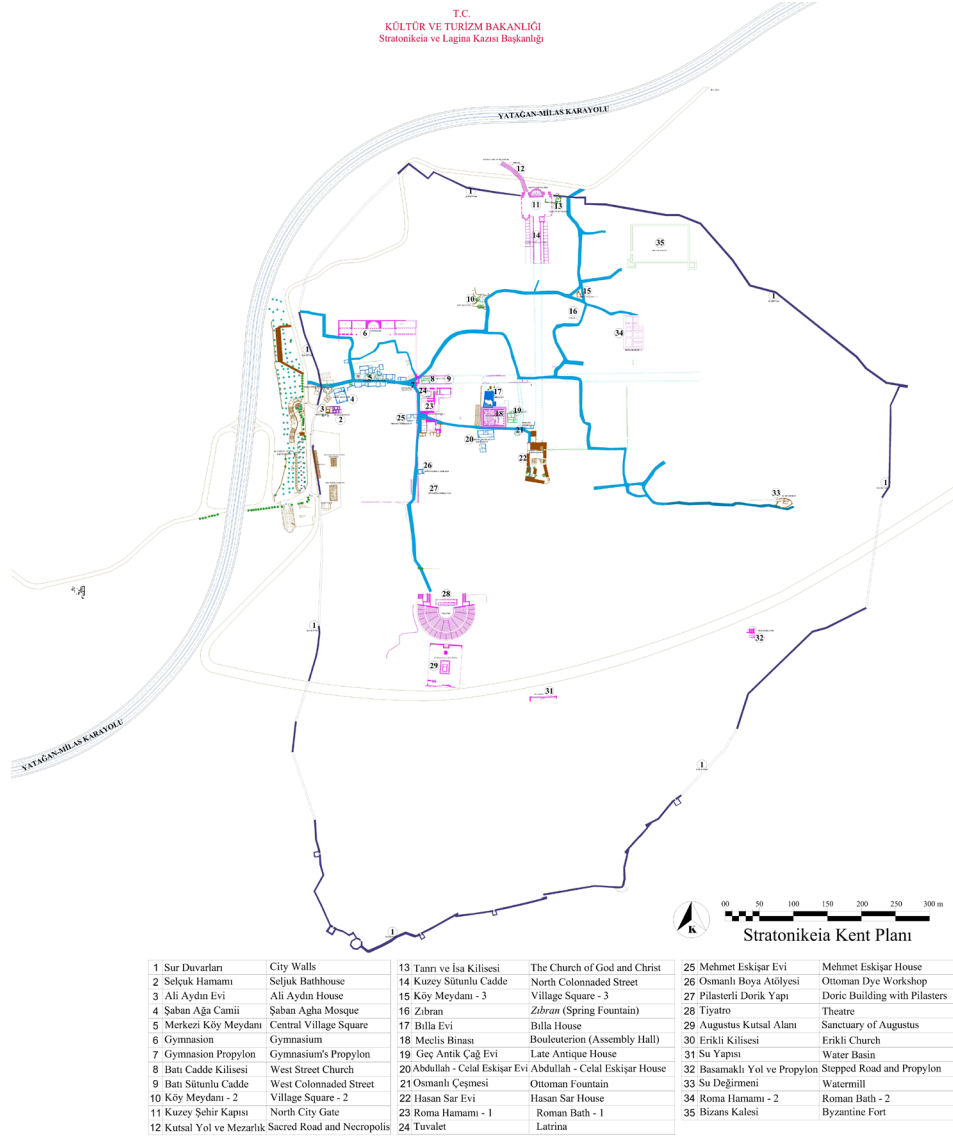


Fig. 3. The City Plan (Söğüt 2019, 34 Çizim 1)

ἡ Μέση Πύλη (the Middle City Gate) was below the *Sarapieion* (the Temple of Sarapis). Stratonikeia used to consult<sup>18</sup> this temple for divination. Delphoi was the center of prophecy. Therefore, the emblem of the Third Watchtower here was the Delphian Tripod. The Third Watchtower also had another symbol, called *elephas* (elephant). Ὑπὸ τὸ Σαραπιεῖον (below the Temple of Sarapis) indicating that the location of *Mese Pyle* and the Third Watchtower was mountainous, and the Temple of Sarapis was extramural. The *Delphikos Tripous* and military *Elephas* subdivi-

<sup>15</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* 1003, l.5.

<sup>16</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* 1531, ll. 1-2.

<sup>17</sup> Söğüt 2019, 70-77 Resim 39-41, 43 and Çizim 12-13.

<sup>18</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* 1103.

sions of Stratonikeia included an anonymous post (*phylakeion*) and a quarter (*amphodon*), as their names are unwritten. Since there was the Temple of Sarapis in this division, one may suggest that this anonymous quarter might have been named *Sarapieion* (cf. *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1004, ll. 3-4: ἄμφοδα τὸ Σαμοθράκιον καὶ κτλ.<sup>19</sup>) or that this quarter might have been named *Phylakeion*. The inhabitants of the Quarter might have been the Elephas Unit's soldiers and some *Sarapieion* temple officials. The site of the Third Watchtower, the Middle City Gate, the Temple of Sarapis, the post, and the extramural quarter beside them is unknown.

ἡ Μυλασική Πύλη (the Mylasa City Gate) is undoubtedly somewhere in the west toward Mylasa. The Mylasa City Gate also points out the Second Watchtower, *Herakleion* (the temple of Herakles), and next to it, the post (*phylakeion*) that might have been named Herakles; *Samothrakion* (the Temple of the Samothracian Gods), and the *Samothrakion* Quarter, and the *Potamos* Quarter, and the *Rhopalon* and *Kapros* military subdivisions of Stratonikeia are undoubtedly somewhere in the west toward Mylasa. The soldiers of the *Rhopalon*, *Kapros*, *Herakles* Units and some *Samothrakion* and *Herakleion* temple officials might have dwelt in the two quarters here.

1100 meters west of Stratonikeia lies Yeldeğirmen Tepe. The explorations here under Prof. Dr. Bilal Söğüt have detected remnants of defence walls and traces of a settlement<sup>20</sup>.

One may think that τὸ Τρίπυλον in *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1003 was in this division because of its emblem. Nevertheless, the *Tripylon's* and *Herakles* Military Unit's location is uncertain. The inscription is in part wanting. The meaning of *Aukhen* is obscure if it refers to a geographical designation<sup>21</sup> or a toponym within the *Khora* of Stratonikeia. Whether the Triple City Gate might have stood amidst the two Colonnaded Streets (*Plateiai*) is also inconclusive. Still, the possible location of the *Tripylon* may be predictable.

The south of Stratonikeia is mountainous. The Mylasa City Gate (*Mylasike Pyle*) is undoubtedly in the west. What the adjective “Μέση” means within Stratonikeia's urban layout is unclear. If the Middle City Gate (*Mese Pyle*) is in the mountainous south, the *Tripylon* may be in the east. Hence, *Mese Pyle* may be said to be in the middle of the *Mylasike Pyle* and *Tripylon*. The inference needs to be confirmed from archaeological research; while compass accuracy should not be expected from the directions.

The archaeological and architectural context of the division where the First Watchtower lay is unknown.

### Military Units

The Army of Stratonikeia comprised four military units. The number of soldiers in the army is unknown. Stratonikeia must have added the weapons and war machines to its army's weapons inventory, which the defeated Parthian Army under Labienus<sup>22</sup> had left on the battlefield.

*The Kapros Unit*: Wild boars roam in herds. So, the military unit, the emblem of which was *Kapros*, might have patrolled the *Khora* of Stratonikeia, guarded the Physkos-Ephesos trade route<sup>23</sup>, and ensured trade safety. In logistic and strategic terms Lagina was one of the supply

<sup>19</sup> Robert 1980, 153: “Aussi le nom Σαμοθράκιον pour un quartier de Stratonicee est-il certainement en rapport avec un sanctuaire des Dieux de Samothrace et non avec une population composée de gens de Samothrace”.

<sup>20</sup> Söğüt & Yılmaz 2015, 574-575.

<sup>21</sup> Liddell *et al.* 1996, 285 s.v. ἀύχην, ἑνος, ὄ, ll. 3. “mountain-pass, defile”.

<sup>22</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* 10; Aydaş 2023, 41-60.

<sup>23</sup> Str. XIV.2.29: φησὶ δὲ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀπὸ Φύσκου τῆς Ῥοδίων περαιίας ἰοῦσιν εἰς Ἐφεσον μέχρι μὲν Λαγίνων ὀκτακοσίους εἶναι καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίου, ἔντεῦθεν δ' εἰς Ἀλάβανδα πεντήκοντα ἄλλους καὶ διακοσίους, εἰς δὲ Τράλλεις ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα (*Artemidoros says that travelers from Physkos in the Rhodian Peraia to Ephesos traveled eight hundred and fifty stadia to Lagina, thence to Alabanda two hundred and fifty stadia,*

points where goods were unloaded and loaded on the Physkos-Ephesos land trade road.

*The Rhopalon and Herakles Units:* *Rhopalon* (the Mace of Herakles), and *Herakles* might have been the emblems of the heavily armed units of Stratonikeia.

*The Elephas Unit:* It might have battled in plains. Elephants might also have been used to pull heavy war machines.

### The Fortress and Castle in the *Khora* of Stratonikeia

Not *I.Stratonikeia*, but Livius attests<sup>24</sup> to the fortress and castle. *Astragon* and *Tendeba* were part of the defence system of Stratonikeia. L. Bürchner (1896, 1795) refers<sup>25</sup> to Livius for *Astragon*. Zgusta does not give information about *Astragon*. For *Tendeba*, W. Ruge (1934, 492) refers<sup>26</sup> to Livius and Stephanus Byzantius, while Zgusta only refers<sup>27</sup> to Stephanus Byzantius, and does not cite Livius.

Livius defines *Astragon* by the word *castellum* and *Tendeba* by the word *castra*. Stephanos of Byzantion records that *Tendeba* was a city<sup>28</sup>. It means that the Stratoniceans settled in the *Castra*. Hence, one may suggest that *Astragon* was a fortress and *Tendeba* was a castle.

Peraia was south of Stratonikeia. Based on Livius' text, the march of the Rhodian troops in ca. 201 B.C. from Peraia to Stratonikeia may suggest that *Astragon* was closer<sup>29</sup> to Stratonikeia than *Tendeba*. The locations of *Astragon* and *Tendeba* are today unknown.

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and thence to Tralleis one hundred and sixty stadia).

<sup>24</sup> Liv. XXXIII.18.1-7: iisdem diebus, (...) Rhodii quoque ad vindicandam a Philippo continentis regionem — Peraeam vocant— [2] possessam a maioribus suis, Pausistratum praetorem cum octingentis Achaeis peditibus, mille et octingentis fere armatis, ex vario genere auxiliorum collectis, miserunt: [3] *Callipolitani et Mniesutae et Pisuetae et Tarmiani et Theraei ex Peraea et Laudiceni ex Peraea* erant. [4] cum iis copiis Pausistratus *Tendeba* in Stratonicensi agro, locum peropportunum, ignaris regiis qui Therae erant occupavit. [5] in tempore et ad <id> ipsum exitum auxilium, mille Achaei pedites cum centum equitibus supervenerunt; Theoxenus iis praeerat. [6] Dinocrates, regius praefectus, recipiendi castelli causa primo castra ad ipsa *Tendeba* movet, inde ad alterum castellum item Stratonicensis agri —*Astragon* vocant—; omnibusque [ex] praesidiis, [7] quae multifariam disiecta erant, devocatis et ab ipsa Stratonicea Thessalorum auxiliariis ad Alabanda, ubi hostes erant, ducere pergit.

Bresson et al. 2001, 214 *correxerunt* Liv. XXXIII.18.3 "*Galli et Pisuetae et Nisuetae et Tamiani et Arei ex Africa et Laudiceni ex Asia erant*". Bresson et al. 2001, 208-212: *Kallipolis* [Gelibolu-Çamlı, Durançiftlik]; 95-133: *Pisye* [Pisiköy/Yeşilyurt]; 181-192: *Tarmia* [Muğla and Akçaova]; 174-180: *Thera* [Taşyenice, Akkaya, Yerkesik]. *Mniesye* and *Laodikeia in Peraia*, the two settlements in Karia, have not yet been located in the modern geography.

<sup>25</sup> Bürchner 1896, 1795 s.v. *Astragum*.

<sup>26</sup> Ruge 1934, 492 s.v. *Tendeba*: "Stadt in Karien, Liv. XXXIII 18, 4. Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* (Τένδηβα), im Gebiet von Stratonikeia".

<sup>27</sup> Zgusta 1984, 611 no. 1318 s.v. Τένδηβα: "Wohl in der Gegend von Stratonikeia zu suchen".

<sup>28</sup> Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 615: Τένδηβα, πόλις Καρίας ἀρχαία. τὸ ἔθνικόν Τένδηβεῖς.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Liv. XXXIII.18.4: cum iis copiis Pausistratus *Tendeba* in Stratonicensi agro, locum peropportunum, ignaris regiis qui Therae erant occupavit, and XXXIII.18.6: Dinocrates, regius praefectus, recipiendi castelli causa primo castra ad ipsa *Tendeba* movet, inde ad alterum castellum item Stratonicensis agri —*Astragon* vocant.



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