

THE HALICARNASSUS PENINSULA

(PLATES 11-17)

THE base of the peninsula, from the Karaova to Halicarnassus and the Karadağ, is of limestone and singularly devoid of water. It rises to heights of five and six hundred metres in the Kaplan Dağı (Mt. Lide) and Karadağ, with steep slopes on the north side and little valleys opening southwards. The western part of the peninsula is said to be of volcanic formation with fundamental gneiss;¹ the hills here are fearfully denuded and sometimes fantastically gnarled, but there are pockets of fertile land in the central valleys and a number of distinct little coastal plains. The peninsula from Halicarnassus westward belongs to the Aegean world and is capable of supporting a normal Aegean economy. The present population of the *kaza* of Bodrum, which extends on the east beyond Mumcular, is 24,000, of whom about 11,000 live in Bodrum itself on the site of the ancient Halicarnassus.

The sketch map FIG. 1 is based on the Turkish 1 : 200,000 survey, but with some modifications.² The field exploration which forms the basis of this article occupied about six weeks. We were throughout guided by the map and description of the peninsula published by Paton and Myres after their joint exploration sixty years ago,³ which laid secure foundations for the study of the geography of Western Caria and the antiquities of the Lelegian country; no subsequent work in this region can compare with theirs in thoroughness or acuteness of observation.⁴ We have at points been able to supplement or correct their descriptions, and in places we have judged differently of the evidence on the ground (particularly the chronological testimonies offered by the ancient potsherds), but always with a sense of our own fallibility in work of such a sort where the majority of observations are in fact unverified assumptions. For the plans that we give we have attempted to define the range of error. Our principal aim in the field has been the distinction of the characteristic features of the Lelegian town sites, and we have taken the greatest pains to achieve accuracy in this direction.

HALICARNASSUS

THE POST-MAUSOLAN CITY.

It appears from the collation of several ancient testimonies⁵ that Halicarnassus had a closed harbour and an 'island' called Zephyria or Zephyrion; the 'island' was connected to

¹ Paton and Myres, *Geogr. Journal* 1897, 44; Philippson, *Reisen u. Forschungen* V 51, map, denies the presence of gneiss and marks andesite in this area.

² For the plotting of positions in the interior of the Myndos peninsula we have in general regarded Paton and Myres' map (*JHS* XVI, pl. 11) as the most accurate; for the 200-metre contour we have attempted to combine Philippson's indications with those on the Turkish map, but refer the reader to Paton and Myres' map for a truer impression of the relief. Paton and Myres did not undertake an accurate survey to the east of the Myndos peninsula, and we have therefore followed the Turkish map in this part of our sketch map.

³ W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres, 'Carian Sites and Inscriptions', *JHS* XVI (1896), 188-271, pls. 9-11.

⁴ By the generosity of Sir John Myres we were enabled to carry a copy of 'Carian Sites and Inscriptions' with us in the field, and subsequently had his notes and correspondence with Paton at our disposal. We take this opportunity of mentioning also with gratitude those who have helped us in the field, notably Osman Bilgin and Ahmet Davas, and Mrs. J. M. Cook, Miss M. Bean, Mr. R. V. Nicholls, and Mr. W. C. Brice, who accompanied us on some of the shorter journeys and have helped with the illustrations in this article; also, in addition to those named below, Dr. M. Mitsos and Mr. D. M. Lewis for assistance with inscriptions in Athens, Mr. I. Kondis, who gave us access to Biliotti's field notebook of 1865, and Mr. B. Ashmole for allowing us to refer to unpublished objects from Halicarnassus in the British Museum.

⁵ Ps.-Scylax 98a; Strabo XIV 656 f.; Pliny *NH* II 204; Arrian *Anab.* I 23, 3; Vitruvius II 8, 10-14; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ἀλικαρνασσός.'



the land by an isthmus, but it seems to have been artificially sundered from it at different times.⁶ The wall circuit terminated in two 'horns',⁷ of which one was named Salmacis, while the other is necessarily the 'island'; the situation of the ancient Halicarnassus at Bodrum is not in doubt, and since the 'island' can only be the rocky peninsula on the east of the harbour, which is now crowned by the ruined castle of St. Peter (FIG. 2), it follows that the name Salmacis belonged to the promontory on the west of the harbour.⁸

Vitruvius' Locations. While the notices in the ancient geographers and historians are too slight or incidental to give any consistent picture of the topography of Halicarnassus, Vitruvius in the passage cited above gives a graphic description of the place which must depend directly on visual memory.⁹ He compares Halicarnassus to the curvature of a theatre. At the bottom, next to the harbour, is the agora (*forum*). Half-way up is a broad boulevard (*platea*), resembling the *praecinctio* of a theatre, on the middle of which stands the Mausoleum. On the summit of the citadel in the middle (*in summa arce media*) is a shrine (*fanum*) of Mars with a colossal acrolithic statue attributed to Leochares or Timotheus. On the top of the right horn is a shrine of Venus and Mercury at the fountain of Salmacis, and on the left horn the brick and marble palace which Mausolus built; from the palace the view to the right covers the agora and harbour and the whole wall circuit, while underneath on the left was the secret harbour *sub montibus latens*, which could not be overlooked, so that from his house the king could transmit commands to his oarsmen and troops without anyone knowing. Vitruvius then goes on to relate the stratagem by which after her husband's death Artemisia captured a Rhodian fleet in the harbour.

The position of the Mausoleum was fixed by Newton, who discovered substantial remains of its substructures and of its architectural and sculptural members.¹⁰ It stood on a raised platform over 100 m. square; and though it was only 150 m. from the harbour and the ground here was scarcely raised above sea-level, the broad elevated podium and 140-ft.-high monument could well have given an impression of superior height. Behind the position of the Mausoleum is the broad conical hill of Göktepe, which occupies an almost central position in the wall circuit. Ross located the shrine of Ares on its summit;¹¹ and on the highest point, inside the city fortification and apparently detached from it, there is an oblong foundation or platform 8.75 m. broad (N-S) and at least 12.5 m. long. At the east foot of Göktepe there is an enormous platform, which Hamilton¹² and Ross¹³ assumed to be that of the Mausoleum, but which Spratt marked as the Temple of Mars. Newton investigated the site and discovered the traces of a fair-sized building, in an Ionic order similar to that of the Mausoleum, in the centre of the platform.¹⁴ Observing the approximate coincidence in date of the Ionic order here with the sculptors named by Vitruvius, the size and central position of the monument, and Vitruvius' mention of the shrine among the 'principal features of the ancient city', he had no hesitation in locating the Temple of Ares on this platform. The position in the valley bottom, however, does not fit well with Vitruvius' *in summa arce media*, and the word *fanum* does not necessarily

⁶ By Artemisia's canal (Vitruvius *loc. cit.*), Alexander's τάφος ἀξιόλογος (Diod. XVII 27, 6), the fosse of the knights in A.D. 1476 (cf. *Ann.* IV-V 317); cf. also the ποταμός of Ps.-Scylax *loc. cit.* (p. 89).

⁷ Vitruvius *loc. cit.* Cf. also the distinction of the ἀκρον τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ and Salmacis in Arrian, *loc. cit.*, where the Persians withdrew to these two forts.

⁸ For the castle see Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 73 f., I, pls. 32-38; *AA* 1919, 59 ff.; *Ann.* IV-V 290 ff., pl. 5.

⁹ The enthusiasm which he displays in his description and the singular irrelevance to the matter in hand (crude brick construction) are signs of an extraordinary personal interest, and almost suggest that the memory is his own.

¹⁰ The plan FIG. 2 is based on Admiralty Chart no. 1606 and Newton, *Halicarnassus* I, pl. 1; some towers and jogs have been added in the wall circuit, the modern habitational network has been omitted, and legends have been altered to fit with our views.

¹¹ *Reisen* IV 36 f.

¹² *Travels in Asia Minor* II 32.

¹³ *Reisen* IV 33.

¹⁴ *Halicarnassus* II 312 ff. Cf. Ross, *Reisen* IV 33.

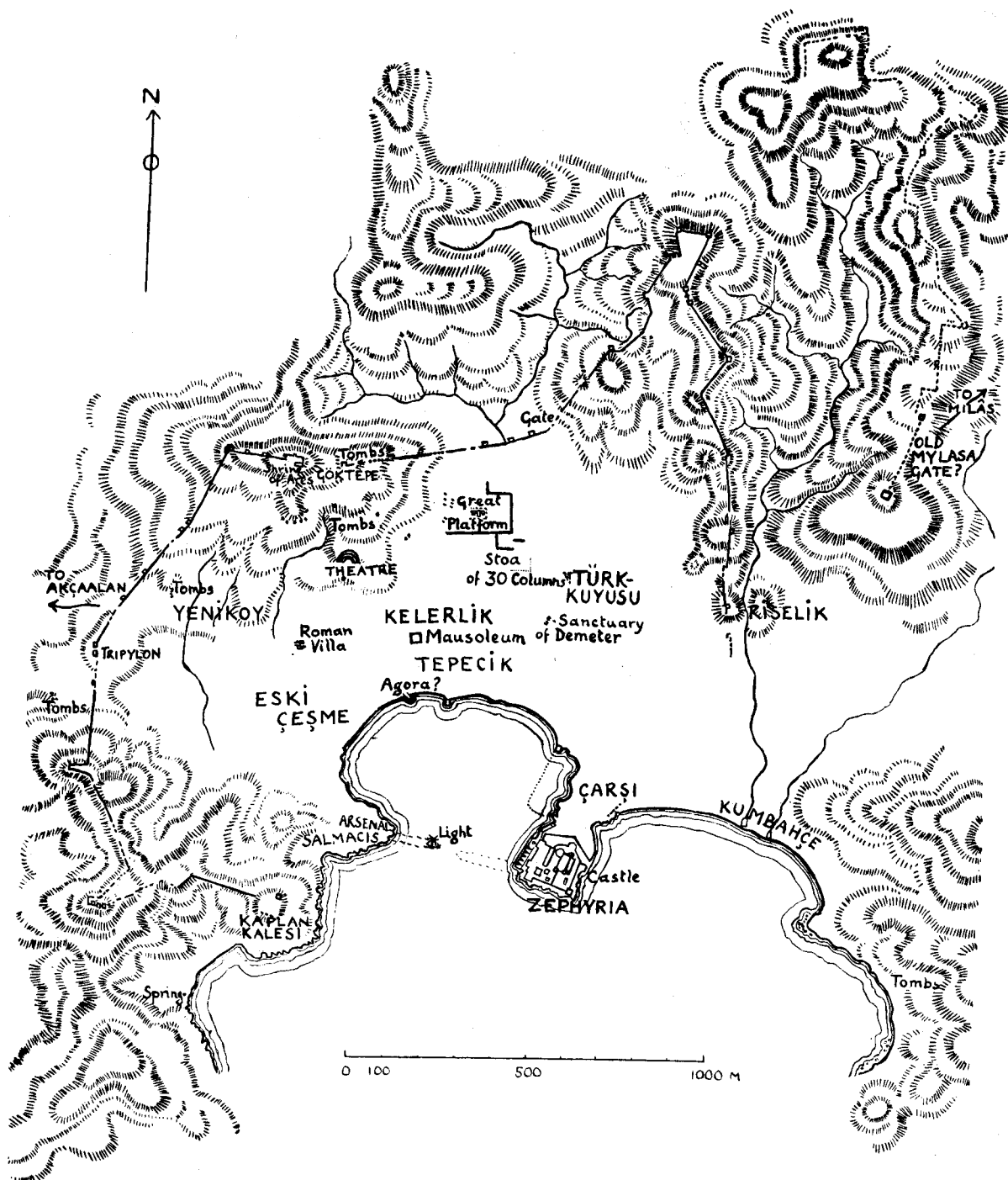


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF HALICARNASSUS.

imply a roofed temple; a colossal statue on the summit of Göktepe would in fact have been an equally conspicuous feature of the ancient city. The position of the agora cannot be determined precisely; a considerable number of marble architectural pieces and public inscriptions have been noted by Newton¹⁵ and others in the vicinity of the old *konak* on the waterfront south of the Mausoleum, but there is no certainty that they were found on this spot.

With Salmacis fixed by a combination of ancient testimonies on the west side of the harbour, the shrine of Aphrodite and Hermes (or of Hermaphroditus)¹⁶ must be located either on the summit of Kaplankalesi or on the flatter promontory of the Turkish arsenal which closes the harbour on the west. Neither position shows any trace of an ancient building, though the peak of Kaplankalesi must have been crowned by a tower of the ancient circuit, of which one block seems to remain *in situ*.¹⁷ The fountain of Salmacis was identified by Newton with the only visible spring in this area, which discharges by the sea at the south end of a little bay some hundreds of metres SW of Kaplankalesi; but this is too far distant to tally with Vitruvius' description (as also is the Eski Çeşme to the north). On our last visit to Bodrum we were told that there is a copious head of fresh water in the harbour off the arsenal point, and the local tradition that this spring once issued above sea-level is confirmed by a notice of Sir Wm. Gell, who visited Bodrum in the summer of 1812.¹⁸ There is some evidence for locating the pre-Mausolan town quarter of Salmacis on the arsenal promontory (p. 93), and this position best fits Vitruvius' word *cornu*.¹⁹

Vitruvius' reference to the other horn would naturally suggest that Mausolus' palace was erected on the 'island'. But, as Newton and others have realised, the description that follows makes this assumption difficult. The secret harbour evidently lay at the isthmus, since it was by means of a dug canal that Artemisia transferred her fleet thence to the open sea on the occasion of the Rhodian attack; the castle rock stands in deep water, and no such walled harbour and canal is thinkable to the south of the isthmus. The presence of a canal at the isthmus is perhaps to be deduced from the description of Ps.-Scylax, who remarks at Halicarnassus: λιμὴν κλειστός καὶ ἄλλος λιμὴν περὶ τὴν νῆσον καὶ ποταμός,²⁰ and it is in keeping with the subsequent circumvallations.²¹ Spratt attributed to the secret port a line of walling in the main harbour on the NW of the isthmus (FIG. 2), and Newton (271) remarked the foundations of its mole as visible there;²² Newton also located the palace of Mausolus on a 'rocky eminence' just north of the isthmus, where he noted beds of Hellenic foundations. But these exact locations of the secret port and palace are incompatible; and it is questionable whether either can be reconciled with Vitruvius' description of the panorama, which suggests that the secret harbour should have lain approximately to the south or even SE of the palace.²³

The City Wall. The wall circuit is extensive and carried out in salients at the SW and NE to take advantage of natural ridges. It rises to 520 ft. on the crest of Göktepe and to approximately the same altitude at the tip of the NE salient. Between these two elevated points it

¹⁵ *Halicarnassus* II 270.

¹⁶ For the connection of Hermaphroditus with the nymph Salmacis see Ovid, *Met.* IV 285 ff.

¹⁷ The ruined tower now standing there is not ancient.

¹⁸ In one of Gell's field notebooks now in the possession of the British School at Athens (*BSA* XXVIII 115): 'at Budrun Bey's gate (inscription *ibid.* 126, no. 16) gave the Bey 3 okes of coffee, 2 loaves of Sugar. The fount Salmacis lost to the people being under water at the old decayed mole. L. of entrance. It boils up.' The loss of the spring can perhaps be accounted for by the general subsidence of the west coast of Asia Minor which is manifest in many places and can be calculated at 1½ m. since classical times.

¹⁹ A good view of the arsenal promontory is given *Ann.* IV-V 291, fig. 9.

²⁰ 98a. We interpret this sequence as referring to the main harbour, the bay off Kumbahçe, and a canal connecting the two. For ποταμός in this sense cf. *LS*⁹; there is no stream worth mention near Halicarnassus.

²¹ Cf. p. 87, n. 6.

²² See also Admiralty Chart 1606.

²³ As Ross, *Reisen* IV, plan opp. p. 39. The *sub montibus latens* of Vitruvius is unintelligible; it is normally emended to *sub moenibus latens*. The now submerged walling might rather be the west boundary of Mausolus' palace.

traverses a valley bottom, where it is now ill preserved; and on the SE side the wall has completely disappeared in the flat ground, so that it is not clear whether the line continued straight to the beach at Kumbahçe or swung round in the direction of the isthmus.²⁴ On the west side, around the low saddle by which the Myndus road left the city (and where the Akçaalan road now breaches the circuit), the wall curtain is 2.60 m. thick and constructed throughout of squared blocks of soft tufa, which appears to be the natural stone of Göktepe; the towers are faced with squared blocks of bluish limestone. Farther south the curtain has a polygonal or rubble face. At the NE salient the wall is 1.90–2.00 m. thick; it is built of the hard bluish limestone of the hillside, and has a rough polygonal or rubble face (PLATE 15 (b)), which in places resembles that of the so-called Lelegian Wall at Myndus. Newton (268) mentions trachyte as a third material in the construction, and this stone also appears to be local.²⁵ A crest of high ground outside the circuit on the NE seems to have borne a fortification commanding the approach down the valley from Yokuşbaşı. Newton marked this as an exterior wall, and though Krischen is considered to have refuted Newton's assumption in a lecture²⁶ the existence of a defence work here is not to be denied. Its southernmost existing tower is larger in plan than the ordinary curtain towers of the main circuit,²⁷ and constructed of big limestone blocks with an irregular trapezoidal face tending towards polygonal and vertical drafting at the corners; and around its walls we picked up a fair crop of black-glazed pottery of early-middle fourth-century date, including a bell-krater handle with a R.F. ovolo pattern (PLATE 14 (a) 1).²⁸ On the crests to the north there are traces of walling of inferior quality which for lack of time we did not pursue farther. It seems quite possible that this line of fortification belonged to a system laid down by Mausolus but subsequently abandoned.

Some further light can be thrown on the wall circuit by closer inspection of the literary sources for Alexander's siege of Halicarnassus in 334 B.C.²⁹ The city was strongly fortified, and resolutely defended by the satrap Orontobates³⁰ and the Persian commander, Memnon of Rhodes. Alexander pitched his camp near the city (at a distance of five stades according to Arrian), and approached the Mylasa Gate, where he repulsed a sally: but his assaults, as yet without siege engines, were ineffective, and some days later (according to Arrian) he led a task force to the west of Halicarnassus in an attempt to take Myndus by surprise. Returning from this unsuccessful raid, he filled in the ditch outside the city wall and began to batter the fortifications; in spite of the defenders' sorties, he succeeded in overthrowing two adjacent towers and a stretch of curtain, but the defenders closed the breach with an interior brick wall. At about this time a drunken attempt by some of Perdikkas' men to scale the wall κατὰ τὴν ἄκρην τὴν πρὸς Μύλασσα μάλιστα τετραμμένην led to a general engagement, after which (according to Diodorus) Alexander recovered the bodies of his dead under a truce. Subsequently, the defenders sallied from the gates in force and defeated Alexander, but were stopped by Philip's veterans in reserve³¹ and were eventually repelled; on the other front at the Tripylon, where Ptolemy was in command, they were also defeated, and many of them were lost when their temporary bridge over the ditch was overturned. Soon after this the Persians

²⁴ Newton, 269, noted some large blocks a little distance inland from the middle of Kumbahçe bay, and therefore assumed that the circuit continued on the same axis to the sea.

²⁵ Spratt *apud* Newton (279); *Üjh* VI 101.

²⁶ Reported in *AA* 1913, 476.

²⁷ 15 × 12.30 m. as against a norm of c. 8 m.

²⁸ Mr. P. E. Corbett, who has examined these fragments, kindly informs us that such krater handles are usually to be dated in the first quarter of the fourth century, but that they continue, with carelessly drawn decoration (as here), into the second quarter. The trapezoidal work of the tower also seems a pre-Hellenistic mode (*cf.* Scranton, *Greek Walls* 167 ff.).

²⁹ Arrian, *Anab.* I 20–23; Diod. XVII 24–27.

³⁰ The proper form of this name is in doubt, *cf.* Head, *HN*² 630; *RE* s.v.

³¹ *Cf.* also Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* VIII 1, 36, V 2, 5.

evacuated the town, and, leaving garrisons in the ἄκρα on the 'island' and in Salmacis, they sailed away to Cos. Alexander razed the city to the ground—after a fashion³²—and departed, leaving a force under Ptolemy to besiege the Persian strongholds.

From the mention of the Mylasa Gate it is clear that Alexander's camp was on the east side of the city, and there can be no doubt that it was on this flank that he delivered his main attack with siege engines. Arrian, who evidently had at his disposal a circumstantial account of the siege from a Macedonian source, seems to have understood that the breach was made in the wall during the engagement near the ἄκρα ἢ πρὸς Μύλασσα μάλιστα τετραμμένη; this phrase, supported by the mention of the χαλεπότης of the terrain and Alexander's evident inability to provide covering fire for the recovery of the bodies, indicates the NE corner as the position referred to, and it is clear that if the wall circuit that confronted Alexander was that which we recognise as the main circuit of Hellenistic times, Arrian has not accurately represented the situation; the ridge on which the existing east wall runs is far too steep and rocky for the operation of siege engines, and Alexander must have attacked the circuit in the lower ground towards the sea. If, on the other hand, Arrian's account is correct, the east circuit must have followed a different course, and this could only be that of Newton's 'exterior wall'. This line, in the southern part of its plotted course, seems to have run along a broad crest with a deep valley on the west but little advantage over the ground to the east; and the old carriage road from Mylasa (which in all probability follows the line of the ancient road)³³ actually descends from the NE to cross the line of the 'exterior wall' on a saddle between the two southernmost towers. If this defence line was part of the original circuit (as our observations at its most southerly point suggest), the Mylasa Gate, which Alexander first approached, will have been on this saddle and not towards the low ground (where it must later have been situated); and Alexander's main onslaught with his engines may have been delivered in this sector; Alexander's camp, at five stades distance from the city, will then have been at the pass at Yokuşbaşı (which is just 800 m. distant by road), and not in the flat ground on the east of the city towards the sea.³⁴ This explanation of the problem of the 'exterior wall' and of the apparent confusion in Arrian can only be regarded as tentative, pending a more systematic study of the whole circuit than we at the time of our visits saw reason to make.

For the position of the Tripylon the clues are that Ptolemy's sector there was a separate one from Alexander's, and that it had a defensive ditch which was not filled in. The existence of this ditch implies that engines could have been used and therefore that the ground was fairly level, and the fact that the ditch was not filled in indicates that Ptolemy was not in fact using engines. Alexander did not have command of the sea³⁵ and must take to the steep mountain-side to circumvent the NE salient, so that the transportation of engines to the north and west flanks of the city would present serious difficulties. It is therefore almost certain that Alexander's sector was throughout on the east, as was his camp, and that Ptolemy's lay west of the NE salient. A triple gate on the north flank facing the trackless mountain-side is out

³² Cf. also Strabo XIV 656, 635. The Mausoleum, however, remained undamaged, as also, apparently, the brick and marble palace of Mausolus (Vitruvius, *loc. cit.*, Pliny *NH* XXXV 172).

³³ The modern motor road keeps to the east side of this crest to avoid the steep descent into the valley.

³⁴ It is perhaps worth remark, though not in any way decisive, that in Arrian's account (I 23, 5) Alexander, on entering the city after the Persians' withdrawal, looked down on the 'island' fort and Salmacis (*cf.* p. 87). This is one of the passages which disproves the recurring misconception that the 'island' to which the Persians withdrew was Arconnesus (the modern Karaada).

³⁵ Diod. XVII 24, 1 implies that Alexander sent his engines and corn by sea to Halicarnassus. But Arrian (I 20, 1) states that Alexander at this point dismissed his fleet; the Persian triremes ἐφόρμουν τῷ λιμένι, the Persians were able to send reinforcements by sea from Halicarnassus to Myndus, and at the end of the siege their fleet effected the withdrawal to Cos (Diod. XVII 27, 5). The supplies from Miletus may in fact have been shipped to Torba Bay and thence brought overland to Yokuşbaşı by the Mausolan road (p. 131).

of the question,³⁶ and the Tripylon can therefore be located with confidence on the Myndus road in the middle of the west flank, where two widely spaced massive ashlar gate-towers still stand to a height of eighteen courses or more.³⁷

Other Remains. The position of the ancient theatre on the slope of Göktepe is unmistakable, and some of the stone bench blocks are still in position in the cavea.³⁸ Newton (276) cleared to the bottom a row of thirty Doric columns, preserved with part of their entablature, from which a number of stumps are still visible to the SE of the great platform; and he recognised them as belonging to a stoa. But his identification of this construction as the Stoa of Apollo and King Ptolemy, whose dedication is attested by inscriptions,³⁹ is hardly tenable; the column shafts are of late date and were accompanied by a Roman mosaic pavement, with rubble and concrete vaults adjacent; and the dedicatory inscriptions of the Stoa of Apollo were found near the east wall of the Mausoleum enclosure three or four hundred metres away. To the east or SE of the stoa of the thirty columns is a complex of ancient remains at the group of houses called Türkkuysu, where Newton recorded a Byzantine monastery of H. Marina. Newton ascertained the limits of a large platform,⁴⁰ c. 50 × 38 m., parts of whose eastern wall are still visible. He conjectured that this was the site of a gymnasium, and our discovery of gymnasiarchal inscriptions in the vicinity confirms his conjecture. In a yard just north of the platform are various carved stones (cf. PLATE 13 (d))⁴¹ and the inscribed Doric column drums noted by all travellers (pp. 101 f., under no. 12), and the circular foundation of a limestone construction of 13 m. diameter. To the south of this Newton (325 ff.) excavated the remains of a sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, with a votive deposit of classical date (p. 94), in the 'Field of Chiaoux'. In the west part of the town, in the 'Field of Hadji Captan', he brought to light a Roman villa with mosaics and sculptures.⁴² In Eski Çeşme, between Newton's Roman Villa and the harbour, some pieces of sculpture (PLATE 12 (c-e), cf. p. 99) have recently come to light;⁴³ they may indicate the position of another villa. Remains of Roman construction were also noted by Biliotti along the edges of the Mausoleum *peribolos*. A sculptured head of a barbarian, 0.25 m. high, was seen in a house on the quay (PLATE 13 (b)), 'perhaps from Gümüşlük' (Myndus); Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee points out that in the photograph there seems to be a Phrygian cap with the peak broken off stretched tight across the brow,⁴³ and that the head might come from a trophy. Hamilton noted remains of houses and other buildings

³⁶ Newton marks a small gate here, from which a narrow mountain path leads up the glen to Gökçeler (p. 123, ancient Pedasa); the easier, though longer, route by Çirkan branches from the Myndus road.

³⁷ See the plan, Newton I, pl. 73, where the walling in the pylon may be partly conjectural.

³⁸ Turner in 1815 counted thirty-two rows of seats (*Journal of a Tour in the Levant* III 55).

³⁹ *Halicarnassus* II 276 f.

⁴⁰ *Halicarnassus* 319 ff., pl. 48.

⁴¹ The pedestal PLATE 13 (d) is one of a pair, mirror twins, in blue limestone, dug up by Newton (324 f.) and now built into the walls of a house. H. 1.24, width 0.48, front to back on moulding 0.44; plain on top. A fragment with a fillet ornamented with rosettes, perhaps from another such pedestal, is built into a neighbouring house. Newton (270 note e) reported another limestone block, with a shield in relief and a triglyph, at the *konak* on the waterfront.

⁴² For the mosaics see Hinks, *BMC Paintings* 125 ff.

⁴³ At house no. 10 in Eski Çeşme: a headless statue of a draped female figure; white marble; pres. H. 0.70 m. In the cellar of the primary school at Bodrum, from a house in Eski Çeşme: (a) the inscribed relief, p. 99, no. 4 (PLATE 12 (c)), (b) statue of Marsyas in the round engaged against a tree-trunk (PLATE 12 (d-e)); white marble, in one piece; socket in top of trunk near front edge (0.045 m. diam., 0.05 m. deep); overall H. 0.92 m., H. of figure 0.67 m.; fingers of right hand missing, slight damage to feet and pubes. Traces of red paint on the body. The thong is slung over a fork in the bole of the tree. The eyelids are heavy and the right one droops; and the modelling of the torso is shallow. The figure is slightly dwarfish and, despite its presumed descent from the Pergamene tradition, mild and undramatic in aspect. For the types of the Hanging Marsyas, cf. Stuart Jones, *Cat. Conservatori* 165 ff. The counterfeit red paint (which is also found on another white marble example in Kos Museum) seems to blur the sharp distinction between 'red' and 'white' types of the Hanging Marsyas.

⁴³ Cf. Vatican Cat., Braccio nuovo I, pl. 21 no. 127. A cross-legged seated barbarian from Halicarnassus *AM* XLV, pl. 4, 1; *Ann.* IV-V 273 fig. 1; Möbius, *AM* L 45, takes it to be a slave from the Mausoleum statues (cf. Lippold *Die griech. Plastik* 256 n. 10 and Buschor, *Maussollos* 39).

in the extremity of the NE salient,⁴⁴ but his account is rather confused at this point; there is now no trace of any building in the rock and scrub on this high point.

The urban population of Bodrum, numbering 11,000 souls, is today distributed *κωμηδόν* into eight or nine *mahalles* or clusters of habitations, of which six lie within the limits of the ancient city. The ancient city could have held a vastly greater population, and in fact at no time in antiquity was it fully inhabited. The west part from Göktepe to the SW salient was a cemetery in Roman times; the south and east slopes of Göktepe as far as the great platform were honeycombed with tombs and complexes of cubicles cut in the soft rock and superimposed in tiers on the southern cliffs (p. 167), and many funerary inscriptions and blocks have come to light round Yeniköy. There are also groups of tombs outside the city along the whole western half of the circuit, on the east at Kislelik (*cf.* p. 94, n. 57), and to the SE beyond Kumbahçe bay.

THE PRE-MAUSOLAN CITY.

Zephyria. Although Mausolus' strategical dispositions, as unfolded by Vitruvius (p. 87), seem to require the isolation of the 'island' of Zephyria as a military reserve, there can be little doubt that it was the position of the original Greek settlement, and of the citadel or *πόλις*⁴⁵ of Halicarnassus before the time of Mausolus. The peninsula, with its low narrow isthmus affording a sheltered anchorage and the shortest possible land frontier, is an ideal colonisation site. We picked up a few early Greek and classical sherds on the rocky sides of the 'island', among them PLATE 14 (a) 5–7, and PLATE 13 (c) 2;⁴⁶ and on the surface of the counterscarp outside the fosse there is much classical pottery (*e.g.* PLATE 14 (a) 8), especially black glaze of the late fifth century and the first half of the fourth.⁴⁷ The tremendous pile of the castle of the Knights has obliterated the pre-existing remains, and we failed to see any trace of ancient construction there; but Newton (275) and Karo⁴⁸ have noted beddings cut for the ancient walls, and Maiuri reported the discovery of an ancient wall of good isodomic masonry in the lower yard under the keep.⁴⁹ Maiuri has shown reason to believe that the Temple of Apollo, in which decrees of the city were kept, was situated on the 'island'; an inscription found there records the improvement of the altar of Apollo, apparently through the construction of a stone court, by Panamyes, son of Kasbollis, who was registrar towards the middle of the fifth century B.C.⁵⁰

Salmacis. On the west side of the harbour there are no sure traces of ancient construction. The ground is denuded, with rock frequently cropping out; but in places on the arsenal promontory and at its base there is a thin streak of ancient deposit on the rock, and we were able to collect a considerable number of scraps of black-glazed pottery of the late fifth century and the early fourth (*cf.* PLATE 13 (c) 4)⁵¹ and a sprinkling of archaic sherds (*e.g.* PLATES 14 (a) 2–3, 13 (e) 7, 9).⁵² These relatively abundant traces of classical occupation suggest that the arsenal promontory was the site of the quarter called Salmacis. That Salmacis towards the

⁴⁴ *Travels in Asia Minor* II 34.

⁴⁵ As in the fifth-century inscription SIG³ 46.

⁴⁶ PLATE 14 (a) 5, fragment with glaze bands on a pale slipped surface, near Geometric; 7, lip of cup or kantharos in soft pale ware with red glaze stripe and running circle and tangent (?) decoration; 6, black-glazed kotyle foot of Attic type; PLATE 13 (c) 2, interior of bowl with stamped ovolo and palmette of first half of fourth century. A few other bits of archaic striped ware were found.

⁴⁷ PLATE 14 (a) 8, rim of Attic-type bell-krater with R.F. laurel spray. The spoil of the counterscarp of the castle is likely to have come from an already disturbed area, since both Artemisia the Younger and Alexander are said to have dug through the isthmus (*cf.* p. 87, n. 6).

⁴⁸ *AA* 1919, 61.

⁴⁹ *Ann.* IV–V 328, marked on pl. 5.

⁵⁰ *SEG* IV, no. 191 (assuming *αὐλή* to be correctly read by Maiuri); a photograph *AM* XLV, pl. 4, 2.

⁵¹ Fragment of cup with impressed ovolo and palmette, early fourth century.

⁵² Striped fragments, including an upright rim of an open bowl with decoration on a white slip outside and a white band on glaze inside (PLATE 14 (a) 3); fragments of a small relief pithos (PLATE 13 (e) 9) and plain crock with incised handle (PLATE 13 (e) 7). The fifth-century lamp rim (PLATE 14 (a) 2) was found on the peak at Kaplankalesi.

middle of the fifth century enjoyed a certain municipal autonomy, with its own registrars, is evident from the inscribed stele⁵³ which records a joint decision of the σύλλογος ὁ Ἀλικαρνα-Τέ[ων] καὶ Σαλμακί[τ]έων and Lygdamis, the second successor of the elder Artemisia in the tyranny; and it has therefore been incautiously proposed that before Mausolus Salmacis was a Carian township independent of Halicarnassus. But the stele itself shows that there was only one *prytanis*, and the whole community is referred to as the Halicarnassians; further, unlike Halicarnassus, Salmacis never issued its own coinage, and it was not detached from Halicarnassus by the Athenians in the collection of tribute or mentioned among the Lelegian towns given to Halicarnassus in the fourth century. It therefore seems impossible that Salmacis can normally have been independent of Halicarnassus; and such limited municipal autonomy as is attested by the fifth-century stele may have been granted by the tyrants as a political manoeuvre. The fountain of Salmacis is mentioned as the scene of the first fraternisation of Greek immigrants and natives, after one of the Greek settlers had set up a tavern at this spot.⁵⁴ Fifth-century Salmacis does in fact seem to have had a high proportion of Carians in its population, if it is legitimate to argue from the twenty recorded names of householders in this quarter.

Other Remains. The evidences of prehistoric settlement found by us at Halicarnassus are exiguous. On the SW slope of the Kaplankalesi hill, where lines of terraces were once retained by boulders, we picked up chips and two scraps of blades of obsidian; no prehellénic pottery could be segregated at this point, though a few sherds from thick, rough vessels from the arsenal promontory and the castle counterscarp may be prehistoric.⁵⁵

The central area of Halicarnassus around the head of the harbour is flat ground overlaid with later deposits; and while Roman and later Hellenistic pottery is abundant and Newton's excavations have brought early Hellenistic glazed sherds to the surface at the Mausoleum site, there is nothing of the pre-Mausolan periods to be seen, though the terracottas from a votive deposit unearthed by Newton at the sanctuary of Demeter⁵⁶ cover (as Mr. Higgins of the British Museum informs us) the fifth and most of the fourth centuries B.C. In the vicinity of the Mausoleum Newton excavated tombs which may have been of classical date⁵⁷ and a sepulchral chamber which contained archaic terracotta figurines.⁵⁸ An archaic marble head in the British Museum, dated c. 530 B.C., was unearthed by Biliotti at the east edge of the Mausoleum platform, and fragments of archaic stone statuettes and terracotta animals and a decayed clay sarcophagus were found along the edges of the *peribolos*; the head is thought to come from a

⁵³ SIG³ 45 = Tod, *GHI*² no. 25.

⁵⁴ Vitruvius II 8, 12.

⁵⁵ A fragment from the neck and handle of a jar found at the counterscarp resembles in fabric and form the prehistoric ware from Erenmezarlík (p. 118).

⁵⁶ *Halicarnassus* II 325 ff., I, pls. 46-7.

⁵⁷ II 124 f., 154 f. Mr. R. A. Higgins dates the head *ibid.* 124 to the late fifth century. At Kislelik also on the east of the town Newton opened sarcophagi (334 ff.) containing vases about which Mr. P. E. Corbett of the British Museum has kindly informed us as follows: 'The vase mentioned by Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 335, is the late Attic pelike E 428; the two vases on p. 336 are a second pelike F 14, and a light cup-kotyle, 57. 12-20. 226. The two pelikai are pretty well contemporary, to judge by their shape; E 428 must be of much the same date as Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, nos. 474 and 514, which are shown to be earlier than 350 B.C. by comparison with *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 64-65, 50. Though F 14 is much corroded the main scene can be recognised as a fight between a mounted Oriental and a Greek: the mounted figure may be compared with *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 45. The two figures on the reverse of F 14 seem contemporary with the cloaked youths of *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 38, no. 28. Thus the date of both figured vases is about 360 B.C. or perhaps a little after. The form and decoration of the cup-kotyle suggest a date in the third quarter of the century, rather than the second, though not too long after the middle of the century.' The pelike E 428 was found in a sarcophagus, together with a fifth-century silver tetrobol of Chios. The pelike F 14 and the cup-kotyle were found in another sarcophagus. These burials seem therefore to date from the first decades of the Mausolan city; they appear to lie outside the main east circuit, but it is not clear in Newton's description whether or not they would lie outside an assumed course of the 'exterior wall' in this sector (see above, p. 90).

⁵⁸ Mr. Higgins kindly informs us that the rude horseman *BMC Terracottas* 92 (B 118) and a number of other similar pieces found by Newton in the sepulchral chamber of the Mausoleum site (*Halicarnassus* II 147) are to be dated somewhere in the sixth century B.C. For the Halicarnassus terracottas see now Higgins, *BMC Terracottas* I (1954), 102.

sphinx, and may have belonged to a funerary monument.⁵⁹ If it could be shown definitely that this area near the head of the harbour was a cemetery in pre-Mausolan times, there would be grounds for supposing that the town quarters were then centred on the 'island' and Sal-macis. An archaic marble lion is built into the wall of the English Tower at the SE corner of the castle.⁶⁰ We observed a white marble Ionic capital of unusual form at the bus terminus in the Carsı as we were leaving Bodrum in 1952 (FIG. 15, PLATE 12 (a-b)); it is of an early date, and its interest justifies a brief note kindly sent us by Mr. W. H. Plommer, which is printed below (pp. 169 ff.).⁶¹ Some archaic relief pithoi or fragments are reported from Halicarnassus and neighbouring sites,⁶² as also a handful of other archaic figurines.⁶³ The earliest known Hellenic object from the site is the sherd PLATE 14 (a) 4, from a glazed skyphos with a reserved panel on the shoulder, of probably Late Geometric form; we did not find it ourselves, and could not ascertain the exact position where it was picked up.

Halicarnassus was the principal city of the coast between Miletus and Cnidus in ancient times.⁶⁴ The Greek settlement was attributed to emigrants from Troezen; ⁶⁵ Herodotus (VII 99) calls them Dorians, and Stephanus records that Anthes, the oecist, brought the φυλή Δύμωνα with him to Halicarnassus. The date, c. 1175 B.C., claimed for the foundation by the Halicarnassian ambassadors in Rome ⁶⁶ is not supported by any archaeological evidence, and it is doubtful whether the settlements at Halicarnassus and Cnidus, in contrast to those in Rhodes and Cos, can be assigned to an earlier date than the colonisation of Ionia.⁶⁷ According to Herodotus (I 144) Halicarnassus was at one time a member of the Dorian *hexapolis*, which included Cnidus, Cos, and the three cities of Rhodes, but was expelled on account of an incident at the Triopian festival. It shared in the Hellenion at Naucratis, but took no part in colonial enterprises. After the Pedasian resistance at Mt. Lide was overcome, Halicarnassus was annexed to the Persian Empire by Harpagus. From some time before 480 B.C. until at least the fifties of the fifth century it was ruled by a dynasty, of which the most famous member was Artemisia the Elder, the daughter of a Halicarnassian named Lygdamis and a Cretan mother; ⁶⁸ at this time it seems to have been the seat of a rule which included the islands of Cos, Nisyros, and Calymna. It joined the Athenian Confederacy, presumably at the time of Cimon's expedition to Caria (c. 468 B.C.), if not earlier; and continued a member until the

⁵⁹ Ashmole, *Festschrift A. Rumpf* 5 ff., pls. 1-2.

⁶⁰ *AA* 1919, 70, fig. 6; its position appears in Newton, *Halicarnassus* I, pl. 35, 1; see also A. H. Markham, *Bodrum Castle* (1904), pl. 6. For archaic sculptures from Halicarnassus, cf. Lippold, *Die griech. Plastik* 66.

⁶¹ The capital has since been moved into the adjacent municipal garden.

⁶² PLATE 13 (e) 9 (p. 93, n. 52), and Louvre, Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs* 85, pl. 3a, Feytmans, *BCH LXXIV* 162 (Halicarnassus); *JHS* VIII 71, fig. 10 (Asarlik, together with fragments of sarcophagi with relief decoration, *BMC Vases* I 1, 213 ff., figs. 300-3); *JHS* VIII 79, fig. 26 (Mandrais); PLATE 13 (e) 8 (Gökbel, p. 135). To judge by the meagre remains that we have seen the Halicarnassian relief pithoi seem to be smaller and thinner-walled than those of Rhodes and Cnidus (*BCH LXXIV* 135 ff.) and to be devoid of figured decoration.

⁶³ E.g. the early fifth century female figurine, Louvre CA 235, found in the digging of a well at Bodrum, now Mollard-Besques, *Cat. raisonné des figurines*, B 338, pl. 36, and *ibid.* B 339.

⁶⁴ For a more detailed account of its history see Newton, *Halicarnassus* II, chapters I-II.

⁶⁵ Strabo XIV 656; Paus. II 30, 9; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ἀλικαρνασσός'. Cf. *CIG* 2655; Michel no. 452. Also Argives, *Vitr.* I 8, 12; *Mela* I 16, 3; cf. also Paus. II 30, 10, where with the descent of the Heraclidae Dorians from Argos were received into citizenship at Troezen.

⁶⁶ Tacitus *A.* IV 55. The claim, put forward in A.D. 26, was that the city had stood for 1200 years and never suffered from an earthquake. It is likely that the age of the city was computed on a chronological system linked to the Troica and that a high dating was adopted to impress the Senate; it does not therefore follow that the foundation was regarded as anterior to the descent of the Heraclidae.

⁶⁷ Strabo XIV 653, (after the death of Codrus) Κνίδος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσός οὐδ' ἦν πῶ, 'Ρόδος δ' ἦν καὶ Κῶς. This admittedly conflicts with the tradition that Anthes left Troezen when the sons of Pelops came from Pisatis (cf. Strabo VIII 374), but is supported by Pausanias' πολλοὶς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον (II 30, 9). It is notable that Halicarnassus is not mentioned in Diodorus' account of the Dorian foundations in the Southern Sporades and Caria (V 53 ff.).

⁶⁸ *Hdt* VII 99; cf. also Suidas s.v. 'Ἡρόδοτος', 'Πανώσις'.

last years of the Peloponnesian War. In the early years of the fourth century ⁶⁹ it came under the control of the satrap of Caria, Hecatomnos, and on his death (c. 377 B.C.) of his eldest son, Mausolus, who transferred his residence from Mylasa to Halicarnassus. It has been supposed that Hecatomnos had first set up his residence at Halicarnassus and from there moved to Mylasa; ⁷⁰ but this assumption seems to rest on no more serious evidence than a statement of Diodorus (XV 90, 3) that the βασιλεία of Caria were at Halicarnassus at the time of the Satraps' Revolt of 362 B.C. The date of the removal to Halicarnassus and the synoecism of the neighbouring towns in it is discussed below (p. 169). Halicarnassus remained in the hands of the progeny of Hecatomnos until 334 B.C. as the centre of a realm that comprised Caria, and for a time Rhodes and other islands, Lycia, and parts of Ionia and Lydia. Alexander restored the town to Ada, widow of Idrieus and last survivor of the children of Hecatomnos, in 334. Halicarnassus subsequently passed through the hands of Asander, Antigonos, ⁷¹ and Lysimachus, after whose defeat in 281 it became Ptolemaic; from 197 B.C. it seems to have remained independent until Roman times. It was the seat of a bishopric in early Christian times, and has remained one of the most important towns of the coast to the present day.

Despite its share in the trade at Naucratis, Halicarnassus does not seem to have been one of the great commercial cities in early Greek times; and during the second half of the fifth century, in the interval when it was not the seat of a despotism, it paid to Athens a tribute of one and two-third talents only. At this time the neighbouring Lelegian towns were taxed independently, and some of them paid a tribute comparable to (and in one instance actually exceeding) that of Halicarnassus itself. Halicarnassus may, of course, have exercised some sort of leadership on the peninsula in early Greek times, and its economic strength, if one may use the term, was no doubt broader than the limits of its territory; in an inscription of the fifth century Halicarnassians are found owning property on the peninsula at Termera and Lide. ⁷² The names of the citizens are an index to the absorption of native elements in the Greek community. Among some 265 names (including patronymics) of Halicarnassians in the two generations following the Battle of Salamis the Greek ones are in a majority of only about sixteen. Seven bearers of Greek names had sons with barbarian names, whereas about thirty-one bearers of Greek names had barbarian patronymics; thus among the fathers the barbarian names seem actually to outnumber the Greek. The great majority of the barbarian names have Carian forms. There can be no doubt that many of them, here as at Miletus, were current in Hellenic or fully hellenised families: three of the four bearers of the Carian name Panyasis whose father's names are known had Greek patronymics; and one of them was the celebrated epic poet, whose father, Polyarchus, is said by Suidas to have been a brother of Lyxes, the father of Theodorus and the historian Herodotus. There can be no doubt of the complete Hellenism of this family, or of Panamyas, son of Kasbollis, who was registrar of Halicarnassus together with the son of the tyrant Lygdamis, ⁷³ and who recorded in good Ionic verse his improvement of the altar court of Apollo (p. 93).

The speech and culture of Halicarnassus seem to have been almost pure Ionic in the fifth century. This could amply explain its withdrawal or expulsion from the Dorian union which celebrated the festival of Triopian Apollo. ⁷⁴ Grote's view that the expulsion may in part have

⁶⁹ Perhaps with the King's Peace in 386 B.C.

⁷⁰ Cf. Tarn, *Alexander II* 218, where three ancient authors are incorrectly cited as adhering to his view.

⁷¹ Ptolemy attacked Halicarnassus in 309 B.C., but was compelled to raise the siege by Demetrius Poliorcetes (Plut. *Demetr.* 7). ⁷² *SIG*³ 46. ⁷³ *SIG*³ 45.

⁷⁴ Cf. Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos* p. xvii. The reputed Argive settlement at Iasus is said by Polybius (XVI 12, 2 f.) to have taken reinforcements under the son of Neileus from Miletus to make good its losses in war with the Carians; and it is not unlikely that Halicarnassus also received Ionic immigrants; a legend (Parthenius XIV) shows a Halicarnassian youth of the royal family held as a hostage by the ruling house at Miletus.

been prompted by the increasing predominance of the Carian element ⁷⁵ is hardly tenable in view of the epigraphical evidence now available. It has, nevertheless, given rise to some curious speculation. Paton and Myres spoke of Halicarnassus as not being 'a thoroughly Hellenic foundation'; ⁷⁶ and Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor even numbered it among the eight Lelegian towns. ⁷⁷ Tarn has carried the attack yet further. ⁷⁸ He is, of course, concerned to defend Alexander from the charge of having destroyed a Greek city. He therefore seeks to disqualify the testimony of Diodorus and Strabo (and even Arrian) that Alexander wrecked the city, ⁷⁹ and secondly, to show that in any case Halicarnassus was not a Greek city. Tarn contends that by the fifth century, though the Greeks may have retained a Hellenic organisation in their own community at Halicarnassus, the town was really in the hands of a family of Carian dynasts whom he seems to regard as forebears of Hecatomnos; and that after the synoecism Halicarnassus was 'essentially a Carian town'. This judgment hardly fits the facts. The wonder is rather that Halicarnassus was capable of assimilating the greater part of the Lelegian *octapolis* without, so far as its literature, epigraphy, art, architecture, and coinage show, suffering a diminution of its Hellenism; this is the clearest indication of the contribution that Halicarnassus had long been making, along with Miletus, to the hellenisation of the Carians. In the fifth century the language and literature of Halicarnassus were pure Greek and distinguished by the Ionic writings of Herodotus, Pigres, and Panyasis; cults, ⁸⁰ votive custom, ⁸¹ and coinage ⁸² were fully Greek; the city had normal Greek magistrates, time-reckoning, institutions and legislation, and public records published on stelae and kept in the sanctuary of Apollo; and the Greek political institutions governed the whole, and not just a section, of the community. ⁸³ Finally, there is nothing to suggest that Hecatomnos was a descendant of the elder Artemisia. There is no reason to suppose that the earlier dynasty adhered to the barbarous practice of adelphic marriage, and Artemisia at least was of Greek origin. While the seat of Hecatomnos' power was at Mylasa in the interior ⁸⁴ and dependent on his satrapy, Artemisia's rule was established on the coast and in the adjacent Greek islands; and by a fortunate chance we are able with some confidence to locate the forebears of Hecatomnos at Cindya to the SW of Mylasa at the time when Artemisia was living at Halicarnassus. ⁸⁵

INSCRIPTIONS (HALICARNASSUS).

1. Türkkuysu Mahallesi, in front of the house of Mehmet Keleş, upper part of a stele 0.35 m. high, 0.42 m. wide, 0.075 m. thick. Letters 10 mm. high, much worn and illegible in the lower part. Squeeze.

ἐπὶ Μεγε[. . .]ου τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου, μη-
νός Ἀν[θεστηρι]ῶνος, ἐπὶ πρυτανείας

⁷⁵ *History of Greece* III 275.

⁷⁶ *JHS* XVI 204.

⁷⁷ *ATL* I 538.

⁷⁸ *Alexander* II 218.

⁷⁹ This case is in fact more arguable if one takes into account the ancient testimonies that both the Mausoleum and the palace of Mausolus were standing intact in later times. Cf. p. 91, n. 32.

⁸⁰ *SIG*³ 46, 2-3.

⁸¹ Cf. the elegiac dedication of Panamyas (p. 93).

⁸² Cf. *BMC Coins, Caria*, pl. 18, Head, *HN*³ 617 f. It is worth noting in this connection that the series of late archaic and classical terracotta figurines from Halicarnassus (nn. 58 and 63) are thoroughly Greek and seem on the present evidence to be products of a local fabric.

⁸³ *SIG*³ 45 = Tod *GHI*² no. 25.

⁸⁴ Strabo XIV 659. Cf. Newton II 30 f.

⁸⁵ Herodotus (V 118) names Pixodarus, son of Maussollus, of Cindya, who was married to a daughter of the Syennesis of Cilicia, c. 497 B.C. Pixodarus and Maussollus are two of the three Hecatomnid male names; the known male names in Artemisia's family are Pisindelis, Lygdamis and Apollonides. In Suidas' entry s.v. 'Πίγρης' there seems to be a confusion between the two Artemisias, since Pigres can hardly have been a brother of the later one, whereas the unqualified phrase Μουσώλου γυναικός can only refer to the wife of the famous Mausolus; the phrase τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διαφανούς could well be referred to either Artemisia; the younger one was noted for her capture of a Rhodian fleet in the harbour of Halicarnassus and capture of Rhodes itself, and the stratagem which led to the capture of Latmus (Polyaenus VIII 53 f.) must also be referred to her. Vitruvius (II 8, 11) says that Mausolus was born in Mylasa and transferred his residence to Halicarnassus on account of the advantages of the situation.

τῆς μετὰ Σϒ[- 6-7 - τ]οῦ Ἀρκάδος,
 γραμματ[εύοντος . . .]χου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος,
 5 ἔκτηι ἀν[ομένο]ν, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ[ι]
 καὶ [τ]ῷ δ[ήμ]ῳ, γ[νώμ]ῃι πρυτάνεων, [. . .]
 . ΗΙΕΥΝ[- - - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - - - - -]

This is a normal prescript to a Hellenistic decree of Halicarnassus; cf. no. 35 below. For the name Ἀρκάς at Halicarnassus see *BCH* IV (1880), 398-9, nos. 7 and 8.

Ll. 6-7. ? [ἔπειδ]ῇ κτλ.

2. Türkkuyusu, in the yard of house no. 7, a block of darkish marble now hollowed out as a trough, 0.57 m. high, 0.56 m. wide, 0.45 m. thick. The text is on the side of the trough, but is almost entirely effaced. Letters 10-11 mm. high in ll. 1-5, 7-9 mm. below. Squeeze.

[- -]ΤΥΣΔΕΙΝ[- - - - -]
 ΟΥΝΕΚΑΥΕΥ[- - - - -]
 ΑΡΧΟΥΕΥΟΟΥ . ΑΙΝΕ . . . ΟΥ[- - - -]ΣΚΑ[-]
 [- - -]ΤΑΙ[- - - - -]ΕΚΑ
 5 [- -]ΙΑΧΟΥΨΕΥ . Ε[- - - - -]ΕΥΕΤΕΙΤΑΡΙΟΝ
 (10 lines illegible)

16

ΑΤΗΣ Ἀρτέμιδι
 Ἡρακλεῖ [. . .]ΑΤΡΙΛ

<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
[. . . .]θεμῖς			Δ[η]μήτριος
[Δι]ονυσίου	[- - -]δρος	[- - - -]	Ἐξηκέστου
[ε]ὐταξίας	ε[ὐτα]ξίας[ς]	εὐταξίας	εὐταξίας

In ll. 6-15 occasional letters or syllables are visible on various parts of the stone, and appear to belong, at least in some cases, to proper names; but it is not certain that this part of the text was disposed in four columns, as it is at the bottom. If Ἀρτέμιδι Ἡρακλεῖ is rightly read in ll. 16-17, we have perhaps a joint dedication by four winners of the good-conduct prize in the gymnasium, rather than a list of prizewinners. The heading (ll. 1-5) is very illegible and unintelligible to us; in the absence of any recognisable word, the reading is, of course, most uncertain.

For other gymnastic inscriptions in the quarter of Türkkuyusu see below nos. 8-18.

3. Bodrum Castle, on the east side, built into one of the crenels towards the north end, overlooking the sea, a fragment of pale-grey limestone broken on all sides. Present maximum dimensions: 0.38 m. high, 0.16 m. wide, 0.31 m. thick. Letters 9-10 mm. high, α, θ, ω smaller. Copy.

[- - -]ΑΣΗΝΙΟΥ[- - - - -]
 [- -]ον ἐμ μηνι[- - - - -]
 [- -] ἐπ' Ἀρχίππου[- - - -]
 [- -]ς ἐωνημένη[- - - - -]
 5 [- - -] τὴν Ἑρμίου ![- - - -]
 [- -]ν τὸν πρὸς τ[- - - -]
 [- -]τηι Μενεστρ[άτου - - -]
 [- -]ς Ἑρμίου ἀπὸ Λευ[- - -]
 [- - -] ὁδὸν τὴν στενὴν [- - -]

10 [- -]η μήκος ἀπὸ τοῦ [- - -]
 [- -]ΟΤΗΣΙΤΩΝΑΣΤΗΣ[- - -]
 [- -]ΔΑΣ < Ε ΕΥΘΥΤΙ . Α[- - -]
 [- -]το [Ξ]ΧΟΝΤΕΣ οἰκ[- - -]
 [- -]ος τοῦ Διονυσ[- - - -]
 15 [- - -]ΟΔΑΣΙΒΟΙ[- - - - -]

We have part of a document relating apparently to the sale of properties and containing a description of them. No recognisable localities occur, unless possibly in l. 8 ἀπὸ Λευ[κῆς Ἀκτῆς]; for Mela's *litus Leuca* see below p. 162.

L. 11. The letters will yield σιτώνας, but these seem hardly in place.

L. 12. Presumably 5000 dr., rather than 5 dr.

L. 15. ? [πό]δας ἰβ'.

4. Found in the quarter of Eskiçeşme, now in the Turgut Reis school, an elegant white marble relief in a panel with antae at the sides and antefixes over the epistyle; height 0.42 m., width c. 0.54 m., thickness 0.07 m.; depth of relief 0.028 m. Hermes brings three nymphs in chiton and himation to the river-god Achelous; the second nymph grasps the mantle of the first at the elbow, and apparently the third that of the second. Inscription in three lines, (a) on the epistyle, (b) on the ground above the figures, (c) on the rim below. Letters of the second century B.C., 9-12 mm. high in (a) and (b), 13-15 mm. in (c). Photograph PLATE 12 (c).

ὁ ὑπουργὸς τῶν θεῶν Ἀναξί Νύμφας Ναΐδας
 Ἀχελῷος Ἑρμῆς Περικλυμένη Ναίουσα Πανόπη
 Ἀπελλῆς Ἀπολλωνίου Μύνδιος

For reliefs of this kind cf. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* 85 ff., Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek Sculptures* 80 f., no. 143, pl. 105 a, and for the nymphs *ibid.* no. 60 (we have been unable to consult Svoronos and Feubel). The precise significance of l. 1 is not clear; as it stands it appears to indicate a dedication to the Dioscuri, but the dative ἀναξί may not be intended. In any case the original significance of this type of scene has evidently been forgotten; cf. Rouse, *op. cit.*, 87.

5. Türkkuysu, at the well by the house of Mehmet Mutlu, a rectangular block broken at the top and upper left side. Published by Hula and Szanto, *Sb. Akad. Wien CXXXII* 29, no. 4. We give from a squeeze and a charcoal reading a rather more complete text.

[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΣΙΔΟΣ[. . .]
 [- - - - -]ΟΝΤΟΣΙ[. . .]
 [- - - - -]Θυάλλιος
 [- - 9-10 - -]ΜΑΙΣ ἀπὸ τῆς
 5 [.]πρ[ε]σβείας ΔΙΕ
 [.]Σ ἐπρέσβευσεν
 [- 5-6 -]Ε[. . .]ΙΕΡΩΝΜΕΝ
 [3-4]χυμ[να]σιαρχῶν δὲ τὸ γ'
 [τῶ]ν νέων πρῶτος, γυμνα-
 10 σι[α]ρχῶν δὲ καὶ τῆς γερουσί-
 [α]ς, Εἴσιδι Σαράπιδι καὶ τῶι
 δήμῳ χαριστήριον

L. 3. The name Thyallis is known elsewhere at Halicarnassus, cf. no. 8 below. The name of the gymnasiarch there could in fact be restored here: [Μελάνθιος Δράκ]οντος τ[οῦ] Μελανθίου τοῦ Θυάλλιος.

Ll. 5-6. ? δι' ἐ[παγγελία]ς.

6. Çarşı Mahallesi, built into the house of Ali Uyar beside the Milas road, a rectangular block 0.645 m. high, 0.66 m. wide, 0.28 m. thick; the upper surface is plain. Letters 27–28 mm. high.

ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν
 Κοίντον Λόλλιον
 Δέκμου υἱὸν ἔπαρ-
 χον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα
 5 καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς
 ἑατόν

The man in question seems to be unknown; a Lollius is also mentioned in *BMI* 893. 23.

7. In the quarter of Yeniköy, beside the door of the upper large round cistern, a rectangular block 0.63 m. high, 0.52 m. wide, thickness not ascertainable. Broken on the left. Thin regular letters 25–28 mm. high.

[- -]ων Βίωνος
 [τὴν ἐ]αυτοῦ μητέρα
 [- -]ν Ἀριστομάχου

8. Türküyusu, at the well behind the house known as İğnecilerin Evi, a block of white marble 0.27 m. high, 0.65 m. wide, 0.44 m. thick. Elegant letters 20 mm. high, not earlier than the first century A.D.

Μελάνθιος Δράκοντος τοῦ Μελανθίου[υ]
 τοῦ Θυάλλιος [γ]υμνασιαρχῶν
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ νικήσαν[τ]ος τοὺς ἐφήβους
 τοὺς νεωτέρους *vac.* εὐξίαι
 5 Ἀντιγένου τοῦ Ἀρ[ισ]τογένου Ἑρμῆ
 καὶ Ἡρα[κ]λεῖ
 νίκη νίκη
 [τοῦ δεινός] [-]ηνοδό[του]

For the contest in physical condition (εὐξία), found elsewhere in Asia Minor and at Samos, see *SIG*³ 1060, 1061 and Dittenberger's note.

Melanthios is perhaps mentioned in no. 5 above (*q.v.*), and it seems almost certain that he occurs also in two of the British Museum inscriptions, *BMI* 899 and 905. In the former of these we may read: ὁ δῆμος [Μελανθίωι] Δράκοντος τοῦ Μελανθίου [τοῦ Θυάλλιος], while 905 appears to be phrased identically with our present inscription, thus:

Μελάν[θιος Δράκοντος] τοῦ Μελανθίου
 τοῦ Θυ[άλλιος γυμνασια]ρχῶν ὑπὲρ
 [τοῦ] ν[ικήσαντος τοὺς ἐφήβους]
 [το]ῦς νεωτέρους φι[λοπονίαι *vel. sim.*]
 Μητροφάνου τοῦ Εὐαίωνος τ[οῦ δεινός]
 Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλε[ῖ]

The νίκη inscriptions at the bottom were added subsequently, and have no connection with the main inscription; so also in *BMI* 905.

9. Türküyusu, in the garden of Ahmet Çavuş, upper part of a round base, irregularly broken; two dowel-holes on top. Preserved height 0.25 m., diameter 0.40 m. Letters 15–18 mm. high in ll. 1–5, 9–11 mm. in ll. 6–8. Complete at the top.

ὁ παιδονόμος
 Μελάντας Ἀντιλόχ[ου]

ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν παίδ[ων]
 ὑγείας
 5 Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρα[κλεῖ]

[- -]τον ἐπὶ κτεάνοις γαυρὸ[ν? - - -]
 [- -]αίνω μὴ μοι τοῦτο καλ[- - - -]
 [- - -]το[- - - - - - - - - - -]

L. 6. Or γαυρο[ύμενον].

L. 7. ? [δειμ]αίνω. After τοῦτο, perhaps βαλ- -.

10. Türkkuyusu, outside the house of Hüseyin Morgan, a block of blue marble 0.33 m. high, 0.54 m. wide, 0.42 m. thick; on top is a rectangular sinking 0.235 m. long and 0.04 m. deep. Letters 20–22 mm. high, *omicron* smaller. Squeeze.

Δεινομένης Μύτωνος
 γυμνασιαρχήσας
 καὶ παιδονομήσας
 Ἑρμῇ

The inscription is in elegant letters attributable to the third century B.C.

For the uncommon name Μύτων see Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Μυτιλήνη', and Bechtel *Hist. Personennamen* 541.

11. Türkkuyusu, in the yard of house no. 10, a round base of bluish limestone 0.66 m. high, 2.59 m. in circumference; upper surface not visible. Letters 20–25 mm. high.

Ἀριστείδης Νέωνος, καθ' ὑιοθεσίαν δὲ Θρασυμάχου,
 γυμνασιαρχῶν Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ,
 ὑπογυμνασιαρχοῦντος Θεοδότου τοῦ Φανία

Late Hellenistic date.

Theodotus son of Phanias occurs in two other gymnastic inscriptions at Halicarnassus, published by Haussoullier in *BCH* IV (1880), 401–2, nos. 12 and 13. In the former of these he erects a statue of his nephew Neon son of Aristides, adopted son of Menyllus. No. 13 can now be probably restored: ll. 1–2, [Ἀριστείδης Νέ]ωνος, καθ' υἰοθεσίαν δὲ Θρασυμάχου, [Θεόδοτον Φ]ανία ὑπογυμνασιαρχήσαντα: and ll. 5–6, ὑπογυμνασιαρχο[ῦντος Νέωνος] τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, καθ' [υἰοθεσίαν δὲ Μενύλλου].

12. Close to the house of Hüseyin Morgan in Türkkuyusu, four broken column-drums inscribed vertically in the flutes in the manner familiar at Halicarnassus.

(a) [-] 'P [-] Z [-] [Δ]
 υ ο ο ή δ [ρ]
 τ δ υ θ ρ ά
 ο ο T ο ο κ
 υ κ ι υ υ ο
 λ τ ν
 έ ί τ
 ο ο [ο]
 υ [υ] [ς]
 5

(b) M 'A K
 η μ ο
 ν α ί
 [-] ρ ν
 [ά] [τ]
 [ν] [ο]
 [τ] [υ]
 [ο]
 [υ]

(c)	[-]	Θ	[- -]	[-]	Λ	(d)	[-]
	ο	ε	λέ	αρ-	N		ί
	δ	ο	μου	ίο-	T		μ
	ώ	φ	ι	υ			ο
	[ρ]	[-]	ο				ν
	[ο]		ς				ο
	[υ]						ς

Inscriptions of this kind, recording victories won in the gymnasium, have been well known at Halicarnassus since the first were discovered by Hamilton in 1837 (*Asia Minor* II 31-2, 458, nos. 275-8). They seem to be all of Roman date.

(b) 2. For Ἀμάραντος, cf. Hamilton no. 277.

(c) 3. [Νεοπτο]λέμου or a similar name. The letters ΙΟΣ written below this in smaller characters apparently belong to an earlier name partially erased to make way for . . . lemus; cf. Hamilton, *loc. cit.*

(d) Some name like Ἀνδράμων or Εὐδαίμων. The first letter might also be read as *gamma*.

13. Türkkuyusu, by the well in the yard of house no. 11, very roughly inscribed on a good marble block 0.56 m. high, 0.65 m. wide, 0.24 m. thick.

νίκη Ἀπε[- -]
ΕΛΑΙ[- -]

Γαίου ΚΑ
Φ ΛΞΞΑ

14. Türkkuyusu, in the yard of house no. 10, a rectangular block of dark-blue limestone 0.71 m. high, 0.81 m. wide, 0.37 m. thick; dowel-hole in the right front corner of the under surface.

[- -]ΑΙΟΙΤΗΝ
[- -]ΙΕΜΟΝΤΕΣ
[- -]ΙΕΡΟΝΙΚΗΝ

νίκη
Ἰεροκλέου (*sic*)
καὶ
Ἀριστάνδρου
καὶ
Κλεομενίδα

The original inscription on the left is carefully written in letters of the Imperial period; we have apparently [- -]αὶ οἱ τὴν [- -]γέμοντες [τὸν δαίνα] ἱερωνίκην, but we can offer no likely restoration. The νίκη inscription on the right is a subsequent addition.

15. Türkkuyusu, in a wall near the house of Hüseyin Morgan, on a rectangular limestone block 0.50 m. high, 0.50 m. wide.

νίκη
Νέωνος
κ[αὶ - -]

νί[κη - -]

This is probably the same inscription as *Annuario* IV-V 473, no. 18.

16. Türkkuyusu, near the last, lower part of a marble base with moulding at the foot.

νίκη [τοῦ δαίνοιο]
νίκη Οὐάλεντος

The base was certainly not originally made to carry this inscription.

17. Kelerlik Mahallesi, Mescit Sokağı, built into the 'tower of Ali', rectangular block 0.25 m. high, 0.58 m. wide, 0.19 m. thick. Inscription roughly scrawled.

νίκη Γαίου καὶ
Τροφίμου Λευκίου
τῶν ἀδελ-
φ

Nothing more was written; presumably ἀδελφῶν was intended, perhaps ἀδελφῶν ἱερέων, though the article is not elsewhere added to this phrase: see Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 704, no. 12 c, Le Bas-Waddington 503 = *Annuario* IV-V 472, no. 17 (now forming the threshold of house no. 7 in Türkkuyusu).

18. Türkkuyusu, in the yard of the house of Mehmet Başkaya, a well-cut block 0.57 m. long, 0.27 m. high, 0.25 m. thick, roughly inscribed on the short end in large irregular letters.

Δαφν-
αίου

The inscription has certainly nothing to do with the purpose for which the block was originally cut, and may well be another νίκη inscription.

19. In the epitaph of Chimairos and Aelia Karpime (*SEG* IV 192), in ll. 6-7, the stone has clearly ἐκ γῆς Παταρέων, not ἐκ τῆς Παταρέων.

20. In the epitaph of Demetria (*SEG* IV 193), in ll. 6-7, we should read 'Ανε[κλ]ήτου in place of 'Ανε[ικ]ήτου. The name Anencletus fills the space accurately, avoids the ugly line-division 'Ανε[ικ]ήτου, and is found several times in and near Halicarnassus; see below no. 49.

21. Türkkuyusu, built into a wall in the garden of house no. 22, a handsome block of grey-blue limestone 0.75 m. high, 0.71 m. wide, thickness not ascertainable. Letters 14-16 mm. high, late Hellenistic. The block is complete except for a small piece broken off the top right corner; the inscription continued on another block to the right. Squeeze.

μνημ' ἵκελον ναοῖσι θεῶν ἰδρύσατο (*nomen*)
δὲν βασιλεῖς βιότῳι θῆκ[αν - - - - -]
τῶι δὴ τοι Πόσις υἱὸς ἀγακλει[τὴν τέκε παῖδα]
ἐν ξυνῶι προγόνων μνημ[ατι κεισομένην?]
5 ἥπιον, [ῆ]πιόβουλον, ἐχέφρονα [- - - - -]
'Ανθεαδῶν, ἐρατὴν, βασκαν[ίας ἀθιγῆ]
ἀνδρὸς καὶ τέκνων διεχωρισ[- - - - -]
τῶν ἀγαθῶν μούνην ἰχνε[- - - - -]
σωφροσύνης κλέος ἔσχε πε[- - - - -]
10 ἥδε πάις νεότηθ' οὐνεκ' ἐπι[- - - - -]
τιμαῖς 'Ανθεαδῶν μήτηρ δι[- - - - -]
ἀλλ' ἐτύμως πάντων α[- - - - -]
γίνατο παῖδ' ἀγαθὴν πανταί[νετον? - - - - -]
ἥπιον, ῆς 'Αίδης σῶμα με[θηρπάσατο]
15 αἰνους δὲ οὐ σήψει θνητοῖς [χρόνος, οἷσι - - -]
δῶκε θεὸς τιμὰς ἀθανά[τοισιν ἴσας]
καὶ κτιστῶν γένος εἶλκον ἀπ' 'Αν[θεαδῶν - - -]
πατρὸς ἐπεὶ προπάτωρ πι[- - - - -]
τὴν 'Ανδροσθένης Διομήδη[ς - - - - -]
οὐνομα κείς φθιμένην μη[- - - - -]

The restorations are, of course, tentative.

We have not succeeded in sorting out the relationship of the persons mentioned; they

evidently belonged to a family claiming descent from the legendary founder of Halicarnassus, Anthes King of Troezen.

The name Posis is not uncommon in Asia Minor; it is connected by Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* 381, with Poseidon, and is accordingly appropriate in this family, since Anthes was a son or descendant of Poseidon, whose priesthood was hereditary in the family.

22. Yeniköy, at the door of the house of Mehmet Kırılı, a plain block of good limestone 0.33 m. high, 0.56 m. wide, 0.49 m. thick. Inscription in regular letters 19–22 mm. high.

[τὸ μνημα τοῦτο κατεσκεύα]-
[σεν Φ]λαύιος Ἔρωσ ἑαυ-
τῷ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις
ζῶσιν
5 καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἑσο-
μένοις, μηδενὸς ἔχον-
τος ἔξουσίαν ἕτερον
θεῖναι τινα ἀλλότριον· εἰ
δὲ μή, ἔστω ἐπάρατος

For the name Ἔρωσ cf. no. 31 below.

23. In the Belediye garden, a round altar c. 0.80 m. high, diameter at top 0.57 m., with bucranium decoration. Letters of Roman date 19–22 mm. high. This is probably the inscription published by Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 708, no. 75.

Ἑκατέα
Θευδᾶ
χρη[σ]τῇ χαῖρε

L. 2. Θευδάμου Newton.

L. 3. χρηστῇ Newton.

This is the commonest epitaphic formula at Halicarnassus.

Also in the Belediye garden is an altar dedicated to Aphrodite, the Loves, and the Graces; this will be published by L. Robert.

24. Türkkuyusu, in a wall of the house of Mehmet Başkaya, published inaccurately by Cousin and Diehl, *BCH* XIV (1890), 113, no. 15. Squeeze, PLATE 15 (e).

Ἐφαρμόστου
τοῦ
Ἀπολλοδότου.
ΚΟΙΗΤΟΥ Λοκκίου ΕΥΝΟΔΣ
5 ΘΗΚΑΙΗ χρηστὲ χαῖρε

Nothing is missing on the left, and every letter is clear. As noted by the editors, the second part of the inscription is much later than the first part.

L. 4. [καὶ Κ]οίντου C.-D., and no doubt this name was intended, rather than Quietus; but καὶ is not wanted, and was never on the stone. Εὐνοδ[ίου] C.-D., a name unknown to us. We take it that Εὐνο(ο)ς was intended; for this genitive cf. *TAM* III 1. 636.

L. 5. θῆκαι — Η — χρηστὲ χαῖρε C.-D., but θηκαιη, with floating bar in the second *eta*, was clearly written; and spaces are left between the words in this line. θηκαιη seems hardly a possible word; perhaps it represents a conflation of θήκη and θῆκαι.

25. Göktepealtı, outside the house of Mehmet Özyiğit, lower part of a round altar with bucranium decoration; preserved height 0.49 m., circumference 1.34 m. Letters 16–24 mm. high.

Περτέρνια
Μαάρκου
Ἐλένη
[χ]ρηστή [χαῖ]ρε

26. Tavşan Sokağı, two fragments, one built into a wall behind the house of Yusuf Gözen, the other built into the adjoining house, the two evidently forming a single epitaph. Combined width c. 0.80 m., height at least 0.31 m. Letters 31–35 mm. high.

ἡ ὑπόστη
[Ὶ]ουλίου Ζωσίμου καὶ
[τ]ῆς θυγ[α]τρὸς αὐτοῦ.
[Ὶ]ουλία παρθένε ἐτῶν 15'
χρη[στή] χαῖρε

ς' in l. 4 has the form of the figure 5.

27. Türkkuyusu, in the Bardakçı Sokağı, a rectangular plinth carrying the base moulding of a circular altar; 0.20 m. high, 0.53 m. wide, 0.53 m. thick.

Νίκανδρε Καστρίκιε
χρηστὲ χαῖρε

28. Yokusbası, at the coffee-house, round altar with bucranium decoration.

Κτησικλῆς
Νυσίου

29. Çarşı Mahallesi, tower no. 30 (property of Kâmil Bar), in the staircase outside the door, a block of dark limestone said to have been found at Kanlıdere in the western part of the town. Height 0.74 m., width at least 0.41 m., thickness c. 0.24 m. Dowel-hole 0.07 m. square near the bottom of the inscribed surface. Letters 22–25 mm. high, worn away on the left.

[Αὐτ]οκράτορι
[Καίσ]αρι Ἀδριανῶ
[Δι]ῖ? Ὀ]λυμπίῳ
vacat?

There is room for Διῖ in l. 3, but from the spacing it seems on the whole more probable that it was not added.

30. Eskiçeşme, by a well in the field of Şemsettin Ünlü, a base of pale-grey limestone with moulding at the top, 0.35 m. high, 0.59 m. wide, 0.51 m. thick. Surface damaged on the right. Letters 3–4 cm. high in ll. 1–2, c. 5.5 cm. in ll. 3–4.

Ἡδυνόνοε Αἴπ[ρ- -]
νοε χρετὲ (*sic*) χαῖ[ρε]
Ἐπιγόνυς τῆς
Ἡδυνόνοε. 3ῃ.

Sigma having its square form, it is possible that NOE should be read for NOE in l. 2, and perhaps also in l. 1. We have not seen the name Ἡδυνόνους elsewhere.

On the opposite side of the stone is a second, very illegible, inscription ending with χαῖρε.

31. Gumbet, just outside Bodrum on the west, at a private house, a funeral stele of white marble broken at the top; present height 0.365 m., width 0.295 m., thickness 0.10 m. The stele bears a relief showing a woman in chiton and himation, seated on a stool with cushion, her feet resting on a footstool, in front of a one-legged table on which is a large casket whose lid the woman raises with her left hand. On the inside of the lid is an indistinct design, possibly an animal. Below is the inscription

Ἔρως
[[.]]
χρηστὲ χαῖρε

The woman's name has been erased and Ἔρως added in rough characters above; in the bottom line χρηστή has been altered to χρηστὲ to correspond. The re-use by a man of a woman's tombstone, however inappropriate, is not unparalleled; see, for example, *Side Excavation Report* (*Türk Tarih Kurumu Publ.*) 1948, no. 68.

32. A fragment of the inscription *Corp. Inscr. Jud.* II 756 is now built into the garden wall of house no. 196 in Gembaşi, at the extreme west end of the quay. This is the monument published by T. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Juives* XLII (1901), 1-6 under the title 'La pierre de Myndos'. It mentions a female *archisynagogus*.

33. Yokuşbaşı, lying by the road in front of the coffee-house, a milestone broken into two parts; the upper portion, which carries two inscriptions, is 0.98 m. high, 0.44 m. in diameter at the break.

(a) † ἐπὶ Φλ. [Ἀ]ναστασίου
τοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμ[ῶν]
βασιλέως *vacat*
Φλ. Ἰωάννης ὁ κ (?)
κόμ(ης) κ. ὑπατικ[ός]

Cf. no. 54 below. In l. 5, κὲ was perhaps written in ligature. Anastasius I (491-518) was active in the construction of public works.

(b) In rather tall, thin letters 30-35 mm. high. Badly worn on the left.

Ἀ[ὕτ]ο[κρ]άτορι Καίσαρι Λουκίῳ Σεπτιμίῳ
[Σ]εουήρῳ Ε[ὐ]σεβεί Περτίνακι Σεβαστῷ
τὸ [β']?, ἀρ[χι]ερ[ε]ῖ μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς
[ἐ]ξουσ[ί]ας [τ]ὸ β', πατρὶ πατρίδος, ὑπάτο
5 τὸ β', καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μάρ-
[κῳ Α]ὐρηλίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβεί
[Σεβαστ]ῷ τὸ β', [ἀρ]χιερ[ε]ῖ μεγίστῳ,
[[- - - - -]]
[[- - - - -]] καὶ Ἰου-
10 λία Δόμ[να Σεβ]αστῇ τὸ β', μη-
τρὶ κάσ[τρων], αἱ ὁδοὶ ἀπο-
κατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ ἀνθυ-
πάτου Λολλίου Γεντιά[νο]ῦ

M

This remarkable inscription is full of difficulty. In l. 4, the figure β' for Septimius Severus' *tribunicia potestas* is quite clear on the squeeze, and gives the date A.D. 194; but it is inconsistent with Εὐσεβεί in l. 2, as Severus only took this title in 195. Moreover, the titles given to Caracalla in ll. 5-7, and the inclusion of Geta (ll. 8-9) and Julia Domna, are incompatible with so early a date. It might seem natural to suppose—as was suggested to us by Professor R. Syme—that the inscription has been re-cut, and that the original text, mentioning Severus (and perhaps also Clodius Albinus) and dated 194, was later amended to include Caracalla, Geta

(ll. 8–9) and Julia Domna, without alteration of the original date. But examination of the squeeze shows no trace of any erasure in l. 5, nor any change in the style of lettering; and the difficulty of Εὐσεβεῖ in l. 2 would still remain. It seems virtually certain that the whole inscription was cut at one time. A peculiar feature is the addition, in ll. 7 and 10 certainly and probably also in l. 3, of the meaningless τὸ β' to the title Σεβαστός (-ῆ); perhaps therefore the simplest thing is to suppose that τὸ β' has been added indiscriminately to all the titles, and may be disregarded wherever it occurs. The document can then be dated to the period 201–11. This is probably confirmed by the dating in ll. 12–13 to the proconsulship of Gentianus. The man in question is presumably Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus (*Pros. Imp. Rom.* II 128, no. 27), proconsul of Asia in 201–2 (not 209, as was formerly supposed). Most probably, then our inscription dates to the year 201; the erasure in ll. 8–9 is exactly filled by the words καὶ Λουκίῳ (or Ποπλίῳ) Σεπτιμίῳ Γέτῳ, ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Καίσαρι. The description of Caracalla as *pontifex maximus* is a further irregularity, since he had not this title until the death of Severus; but this is paralleled in other unofficial documents: see Liebenam, *Fasti* 110.

In l. 13, though the stone is worn, Λολλίου is beyond doubt; we take it to be a mere error on the part of the stone-cutter.

L. 14. M denotes presumably one mile, μ(ίλιον), measured no doubt from the Mylasa gate of Halicarnassus. The stone is not now *in situ*, but will not have been moved far from its original position. For one mile, μ.α' is more usual, but the alternative 40 (miles from Mylasa) is not probable.

34. Bodrum Castle. The inscription over the main gate on the outer side, published very inaccurately in *CIG* 8698, was republished by Hasluck in *BSA* XVIII (1911–2), 215 f., but still not quite correctly. We read:

† ὁ ἔνδον ἐρχόμενος τοῦ κάστρου τούτου
(καὶ) πράττειν εἰ λέγειν κακῶς βουλόμενου (*sic*) τιμοριθήσεται C *
,αφιγ'. Φρ. Τζιάκης Γατινέο καπιτάνος

L. 2. καὶ is represented by a sign in the form of the letter S. The symbols at the end of this line (which presumably give the amount of the fine) are omitted by Hasluck.

34a. Bodrum Castle. Built into the main gateway on the left side, close to no. 34, and visible in a hole in the stonework, is an inscribed block so awkwardly placed that we could obtain neither a copy nor a satisfactory squeeze. The last two lines read:

[εὐε]ργέτην καὶ σωτῆ[ρα]
[γε]γονότα τῆς πό[λεως]

but of the man's name we could recover only a few isolated letters. The inscription is of the Roman period, and is carefully written in letters 18–20 mm. high.

We include a few other inscriptions from Bodrum which were not found by us during our investigations. Nos. 36 and 37 are published here with the kind permission of Dr. M. Mitsos.

35. From a copy submitted by Dr. F. J. Tritsch, made at Bodrum in 1952. No details available concerning the stone or the place.

[ἐ]πὶ νεωποίου Ἀνθύλου τοῦ Δημ[. . .]
[π]ρυτανεύοντος Δημοκρίτου [τοῦ . . .]
[.]ύλλου, μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνο[ς . . .]
[τ]ηι ἀνομένου, ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ ἐκλησ[ίᾳ],
5 [γραμμ]ατεύοντος Πυλάδου τοῦ Φ[. . . .]

[.]νου, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ [τῷ δῇ]-
 [μωι, γνώμη] πρυτανίων· ἐπειδὴ [.....]
 [.....]ΜΥΝΙΟΣ εὐνου[ς ὦν καὶ . .]
 [..... πρὸς] τὸν δῆμο[ν]
 10 [.....] τῇ πόλ[ει - - - - -]

The numbers of missing letters are given according to the copy.

Ll. 2-3. [Ἀνθ]ύλλου and [Μεν]ύλλου are familiar names at Halicarnassus.

L. 8. Probably Μύν(δ)ιος.

Ll. 9-10. [διατελεῖ | τὰ συμφέροντα] τῇ πόλ[ει πράττων] or something similar.

For a similar prescript see no. 1 above.

36. Athens, Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. 198, from Halicarnassus. Fragment of a white marble stele, broken at the top and on the right, left edge bevelled away, bottom edge preserved and worked smooth. Present height 0.125 m., present width 0.17 m., thickness 0.07 m. Letters of latish Hellenistic date 14-16 mm. high.

[- - -]ΙΑΡΙΑ διακοσ[- - - - -]
 [- - -]Σ ἐπὶ τὴν βου[λὴν - - - -]
 [- - -]Σ ἀργυρίου εἰς τα[- - - -]
 [- τεσσ]εράκοντα δ[- - - - -]
 5 [- - -]ΤΑΙΣ τῆς γερ[ουσίας - -]
 [- - - -] ἑκαστον ἐν[ι αὐτόν?]

In l. 3 *init.* the squeeze seems to show a *sigma* partially overlapping the *alpha*, as if added later. In l. 4, the second letter is apparently *rho* corrected from *beta*.

We seem to have the record of a gift of money. In l. 1 the obvious restoration [δη]γάρια διακόσ[ια] is probably to be rejected; at the apparent date of the inscription drachmae are more naturally expected than denaria, and we seem in fact to have [δραχμά]ς ἀργυρίου in l. 3. -άρια may be the end of a word denoting the object of the donation; διακοσ- may be from διακόσιοι or from διακοσμεῖν.

Ll. 2-4. [παραγενόμενο]ς ἐπὶ τὴν βου[λὴν ἐπηγγείλατο δραχμά]ς ἀργυρίου εἰς τα[- - - τεσσ]εράκοντα or the like.

For the question of the provenience of this and the following fragment see below, p. 115.

37. Athens, Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. 197, from Halicarnassus. Thin slab of white marble broken on all sides, 0.14 m. high, 0.13 m. wide, 0.018 m. thick. Tall, thin letters with strong apices, 22-24 mm. high, regularly cut. Above the inscription, decoration in the form of scored lines.

[- -]α Φιλαι[- -]
 [- -]ράνορος

Apparently a tombstone. For names beginning Φιλαι- see Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* 447, and add Φίλαιθος at Rhodes (*SGDI* 4157, 35).

MYNDUS

The position of Myndus on the end of the peninsula cannot seriously be questioned; the ancient testimonies demand a position between Bargylia and Cape Termerion opposite Cos,⁸⁶ and within these limits the remains at Gümüşlük, and they alone, correspond to a πόλις

⁸⁶ Strabo XIV 657 f.; Athenian tribute lists (*ATL* I 522, Μύνδιοι παρὰ Τέρμερα; cf. Phot. *s.v.* 'Τερμέρια'); Ps.-Scylax 99; Mela I 85; Pliny, *NH* V 107; Anon. *Stad.* 276-8.

Ἑλληνίς of later Greek times.⁸⁷ The situation closely resembles that of the fourth-century city of Cnidus at Cape Kriò.⁸⁸ It is formed round the anchorage, which is protected by a barren peninsula (ancient Aethusa)⁸⁹ from the north-west wind and closed by a small rocky island at the south of the entrance (FIG. 3, PLATE II);⁹⁰ the city wall seems to have encircled the

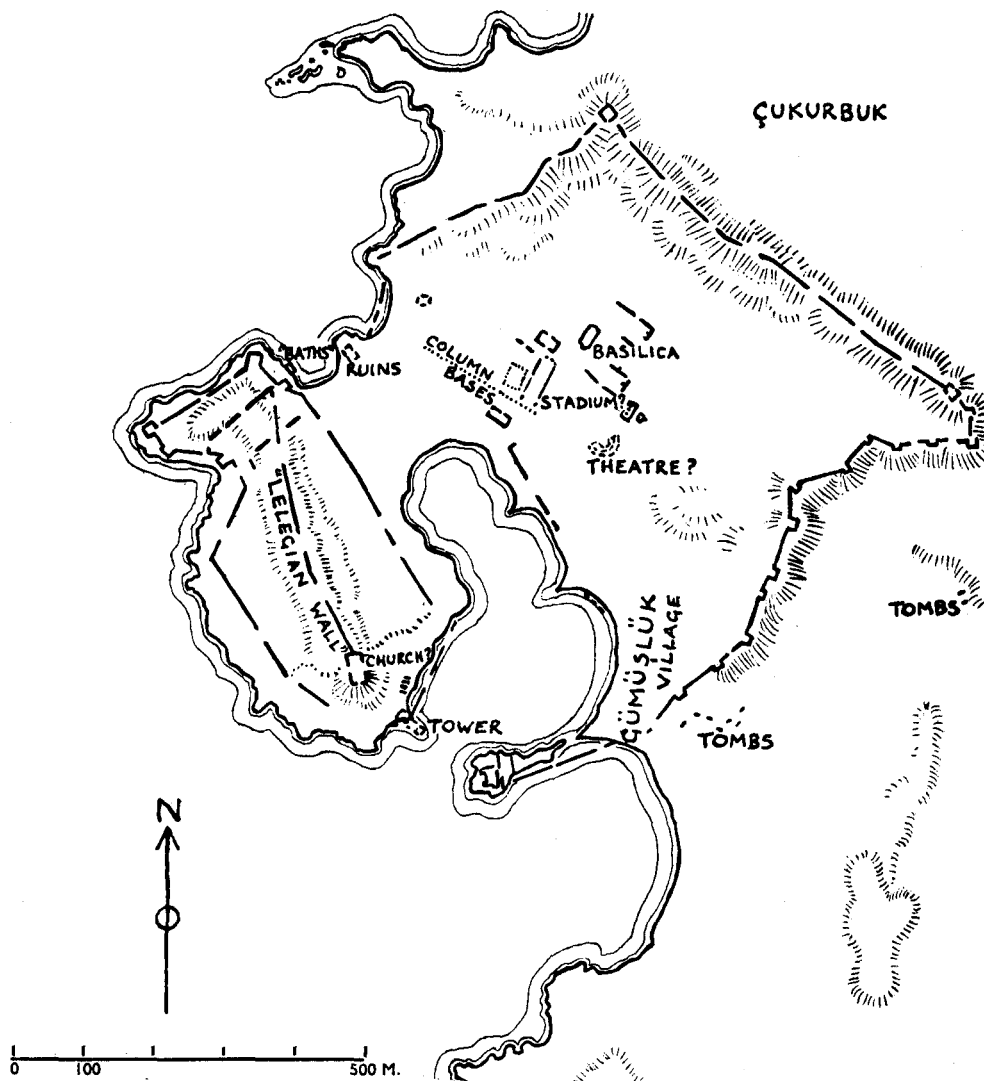


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF MYNDUS.

peninsula, from whose north end it crossed to the mainland and climbed by a sharp crest to a high salient point in the east; thence, still taking advantage of a well-defined ridge, it des-

⁸⁷ The identification has not been attested by inscriptions; but Paton, who had a residence at Gümüşlük, remarked the preponderance of Myndian issues among the coins found there (*JHS* XX 80). The mediaeval testimonies alone might in fact be decisive for the location.

⁸⁸ *BSA* XLVII 184.

⁸⁹ Pliny, *NH* II 204.

⁹⁰ The plan FIG. 3 is drawn after Admiralty Chart no. 1531 of the year 1837, with some remodelling of the legends and slight additions. Remains which are now no longer visible have been retained on the plan.

cended to the shore and traversed the shallow water to the little island; the narrow entrance to the harbour was further contracted by a reef on which the foundations of a square tower are still visible under water off the SE tip of the peninsula. The geographical situation, at a distance from the inland cities of Caria and six hours farther out than Halicarnassus, was not favourable to commercial development. But the strategical emplacement, with its capacious enclosed harbour and wonderfully sited circuit, is almost without equal among the Hellenistic cities of the west coast of Asia Minor. It withstood an assault by Alexander in 334 B.C.,⁹¹ and provided a naval base for Ptolemy when he prepared his expedition to Corinth in 308;⁹² it also accommodated the Rhodian fleet after the battle at Lade in 201⁹³ and Cassius in 43 B.C.⁹⁴

Of the network of fortifications which the Admiralty Chart of 1837 shows encircling the peninsula (FIG. 3) there is now nothing to be seen save for faint traces at the NW end; but Newton, twenty years later, was able to follow this circuit from the most northerly point round the west side to beyond the entrance of the harbour.⁹⁵ The whole course is still clear on the mainland. The circuit is constructed in ashlar masonry,⁹⁶ parts, at least, being of green granite (*cf.* p. 130); we measured the thickness of the wall on the north as 2.75 m. The foundation of the wall in the shallow water where it crosses to the island on the south is laid in squared blocks throughout. The SE stretch of the circuit was studded with towers, since this side faced the road from Halicarnassus and was more accessible to attackers, whether approaching by land or sea.⁹⁷ Of the constructions laid down in the Chart on the landward side of the harbour head there is now scarcely anything to be seen apart from the ruined Christian basilica preserved by Paton, but most of these ruins were observed by Newton (II 575 ff.) in 1857.⁹⁸ There are rock cuttings, presumably for houses, on the upper slope here inside the circuit, and traces of rock stairways, both here and near the SE tip of the peninsula. The building at the highest point of the peninsula is not ancient, and may have been a Christian church.⁹⁹ The ruins on the little island are also not ancient, though ancient blocks and architectural pieces are incorporated in them.¹⁰⁰ Tombs of late date have been remarked outside the circuit on the SE; and in the valley of Çukurbuk on the NE, outside the city wall, we saw a funerary altar with a relief of a woman seated in a basket chair and a little girl in front of her, and a fragment of another relief. There are polychrome Roman mosaics, with geometrical decoration, and late Corinthian capitals at the primary school about twenty minutes' walk inland.

The most celebrated of the antiquities of Myndus is the so-called Lelegian Wall, which ran down the spine of the peninsula northwards from the summit.¹⁰¹ This wall also has a thickness of 2.75 m. It is built of big blocks of hard stone, roughly faced in places and sometimes tolerably well fitted,¹⁰² while at points it has the squareish look of Hellenistic polygonal;¹⁰³ there is no perceptible difference between the two faces, though the east one is the better preserved. The masonry is unlike that of Lelegian fortifications and is best matched in the north part of the main circuit of Halicarnassus (p. 90, PLATE 15 (*b*)). It is hardly likely to be of any exceptional antiquity, but along its course towards the south end we picked up some black-glazed

⁹¹ Arrian I 20, 5–7.

⁹⁴ Appian, *BC* IV 65, 71 f.

⁹⁷ Newton's explanation (II 574) that this side is less naturally strong could only be applied to the lowermost end of this stretch.

⁹⁸ The small foundation near the north tip of the peninsula, which Spratt and Newton (II 575, I, pl. 83) took for a bath, is now under water but must have stood on terra firma in antiquity.

⁹⁹ We noted an *epikranton* with carved cross among the architectural pieces close at hand.

¹⁰⁰ The wall of squared blocks traversing the base of the isthmus, which Newton (II 578) noted as ancient, can hardly be so, since pieces of tile can be seen in the joints.

¹⁰¹ Spratt marks it as extending from the peak almost to the north tip, and Paton apparently described it as doing so in the 1880s (*JHS* VIII 66, fig. 2); Guidi's assertion that it starts from the north summit of the peninsula and descends towards the sea in a southerly direction (*Ann.* IV–V 365) seems to correspond, assuming the topographical directions to be inverted.

¹⁰² *Cf.* *Ann.* IV–V 366, figs. 25–6.

¹⁰³ *Cf.* *BSA* XLVII 172.

sherds which constitute the earliest known remains of habitation on the site; these include a fragment of the rim of a small bowl dating to the second quarter of the fourth century, the mouth of a squat lekythos which Mr. Corbett assigns to the same date, and a piece of a mid-fourth-century bell-krater.¹⁰⁴ In general, the outer system of fortification, in which greenstone seems to be dominant, should date to the later years of Mausolus' power (*cf.* p. 169); and we are inclined to suppose that the more primitive, incomplete defensive line seen in the 'Lelegian Wall' represents an abortive earlier stage of fortification immediately consequent on the Mausolan synoecism of the Lelegian towns. There is no sign of earlier settlement at Gümüşlük or of Lelegian tombs in the vicinity, and the native settlement of Myndus cannot have been on this site (*cf.* p. 145); the situation is quite unlike that of any known Lelegian town, and is, on the other hand, perfectly designed for a later Greek city. Apart from the few scraps of pottery mentioned, we found little trace of occupation before the advanced Hellenistic era, at which time sherds become abundant; and the architectural and epigraphical relics seem to be all of Roman date. The ruins that Spratt and Newton observed were all bunched in one part of the town, and the impression of empty spaces within the walls is confirmed by an anecdote recounted by Diogenes Laertius (VI 2, 57) of his more famous namesake: the Cynic philosopher, going to Myndus and noticing that the gates were big but the city small, advised the Myndians to shut their gates for fear that their city might run away. While Mausolus could build a new city, he could not fully man one; and it seems that at Myndus the Lelegian hill-folk, like the Arcadians of Megalopolis, did not readily take to Greek political life, and that Mausolus' aim was not realised in full until two or three hundred years after his death. In the end, however, it caught on firmly, and Myndus was numbered among the bishoprics in the later Roman province of Caria.

According to Strabo (XIII 611) Myndus was a Lelegian town, though in later times it laid claim, like Theangela, to a Troezenian origin in imitation, no doubt, of Halicarnassus.¹⁰⁵ It was mentioned by Hecataeus (*ap.* Stephanus), and Herodotus (V 33) records a Myndian ship under a captain of the name of Scylax in Aristagoras' fleet (*c.* 500 B.C.). It is recorded in Athenian tribute lists as paying only one-twelfth of a talent tribute, and was clearly a place of very slight consequence in the fifth century.¹⁰⁶ Myndus has a small interior plain on the SE, and the present population is estimated at about eight hundred. Its access of prosperity in later times must have come from the possession of the territory of Termera (pp. 147 ff.), and possibly also from some working of the silver mines.¹⁰⁷ In the main, Myndus must have followed the fortunes of Halicarnassus after the time of Mausolus. Unsuccessfully assaulted by Alexander in 334 B.C., it seems to have been lost to the Persians after the defeat of the satrap Orontobates in the following year.¹⁰⁸ The city sent judges to Samos *c.* 270 B.C.;¹⁰⁹ and from the late third century onward there are occasional references to Myndians in the inscriptions of other states, especially on Rhodian territory. The first coinage of Myndus is said to date to the second century B.C. after the city was helped to independence by the Rhodians in 197. About 131 B.C., prior to its incorporation in the Roman province of Asia, Myndus was in the hands of the rebel Aristonicus.¹¹⁰ It was to two Italians resident there that Verres sold a ship that he had commandeered from the Milesian navy (*Cic., Verr.* II 1, 86 f.). After the battle of Philippi Myndus is said to have been given by Mark Antony to the Rhodians, but not to have remained subject for long to their harsh rule.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ The fragment from a plate with palmettes and rouletting, PLATE 13 (c) 3, is of the late fourth century or rather later.

¹⁰⁵ Paus. II 30, 9.

¹⁰⁶ *ATL* I 348.

¹⁰⁷ Paton and Myres, *JHS* XVI 204.

¹⁰⁸ Arrian, *Anab.* II 5, 7.

¹⁰⁹ *SEG* I 363.

¹¹⁰ Florus II 20, 5.

¹¹¹ Appian, *BC* V 7. L. Robert infers from the scanty coinage that Myndus suffered a decline in the imperial period (*BCH* LX 201). On the cults and prosopography of Myndus, see Petrarca, *Rend. Lincei* XII (1936), 259 ff.

INSCRIPTIONS (MYNDUS)

38. Gümüşlük, in a wall of the house of Karakayalı Galip at the north end of the village, a slab of white marble broken on the right, the other edges preserved. Height 0.35 m., length 1.25 m.; the thickness is not ascertainable, but the stone is cracked in five places after insertion in the wall, and is probably very thin. Inscription in monumental letters 0.12 m. high, but the carving is neither sharp nor deep. Imperial date.

ΑΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΤΙ
ΡΥΣΟΙΣΚΕΦΑΛΕ

We have apparently part of the dedication of a building: [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεινός τῆς γλυκυτ]άτη πατρίδι τῇ[ν στοάν? σύν - - - καὶ τοῖς χ]ρυσοῖς κεφαλ[έ]οις]. Though κεφαλῇ and κεφαλῖς are used of a column-capital, we have not found κεφαλαῖον in this sense, nor indeed of any part of a building, but we see no other probable restoration.

39. The funeral altar of Paideros son of Aelius Stephanus, published by Paton in *REG IX* (1896), 423, no. 13, is now lying on the beach at the extreme south end of Gümüşlük village. Paton *ibid.* justly remarks on the rarity of Myndian inscriptions.

40. Athens, Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. 201, published here by permission of Dr. M. Mitsos. Small funeral stele with pediment, of coarse-grained white marble, 0.40 m. high, 0.22 m. in maximum width, 0.06 m. thick; the back is left rough. Letters 17–21 mm. high, with marked apices.

Σφαῖρε
Ἀράδιε
χρηστὲ
χαῖρε

The stone belongs to a consignment sent from Bodrum by Michael Bogiatzes (see below, p. 115), and was apparently found ἐν πόλει Μέντζα. More precisely, the provenience of Inv. No. 200 is so indicated, no. 201 having merely ὡσαύτως. No. 200 is *BCH XII* (1888), 281, no. 6, and was seen by Paton near Mandrais between Gümüşlük and Geriş. There seems no doubt that Μέντζα is Myndus; the word πόλις is significant, and various forms of the name Myndus are quoted: Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* 38, gives ὁ Μονδοῦ, Μένδου, Zumonta and Jumenta.

The name Σφαῖρος occurs in various parts of the Greek world, e.g. Kirchner, *Prosopogr. Att.* nos. 13042–5 (Athens), *SGDI* 1461 II 47 (Halos), 4052 (Rhodes), 5485 (Thasos); cf. Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* 605. Our man presumably came from Aradus in Phoenicia.

THEANGELA

The site of Theangela at Etrim we consider to be beyond dispute.¹¹² The extant remains have been described, though not exhaustively, by Judeich in *AM XII* (1887), 334–6, and by Robert in *Coll. Froehn.* 81–6; cf. *RA* 1935 II 163.

The city forms an elongated enclosure along the crest of a steep mountain (alt. 547 m.) immediately to the south of Etrim village (alt. c. 80 m.); it dominates the extensive plain of Karaova to the north-east and the Çiftlik valley to the south. The fortified perimeter takes in three peaks of the mountain and can hardly be less than 1500 m. in length on an east–west axis; but it has little breadth except in the central part, where it forms a salient to the south to take in the lower spur C.¹¹³ A similar salient descends the ridge to the east of B. On the west the walls run up to merge into a fine rectangular fort, with four corner towers, on the

¹¹² Robert's discussion in *Coll. Froehn.* 65–9 should be regarded as decisive.

¹¹³ We adopt Robert's lettering in *Coll. Froehn.* 85–6. The visible crest from D to B subtends an angle of 10½ degrees when seen obliquely from Alâzeytin at a distance of c. 6 km.

summit D. FIG. 4 shows an outline plan of this *tetrapylon*. The entrance through its eastern wall, now buried under débris, is about 1 m. wide and had a corbelled roof.¹¹⁴ The masonry to be seen on the site is varied, including a fairly regular coursed masonry near to ashlar (PLATE 16 (a)), a regular isodomic ashlar, and a kind of squareish polygonal. The city wall is in general about 2.50 m. thick; its masonry recalls that of the Lelegian sites, but is more solid and of a more developed type. There is no place for a stadium and no sign of a theatre.³⁵⁹

Inside the wall the chief extant buildings are on and around the peak B. On the NE slope of this hill, a little below the summit, is a remarkable pit, evidently a cistern, hardly less than 5 m. deep (PLATE 16 (b)); the upper part is of regular coursed masonry, the lower part is rock-cut. The roof is of large stone slabs supported on rectangular pillars of masonry, each course of the pillars consisting of two blocks with the joints alternately along and across. At the bottom, now largely filled with stones and rubbish, the tops of two triangular apertures are visible; these are said to lead through into cavernous spaces where a match will not burn and only rock is to be seen. On the west side of the same peak B is a very well-preserved tomb in the hillside (PLATE 16 (c)); its side-walls are vertical in their lower parts, then converge to a sharp

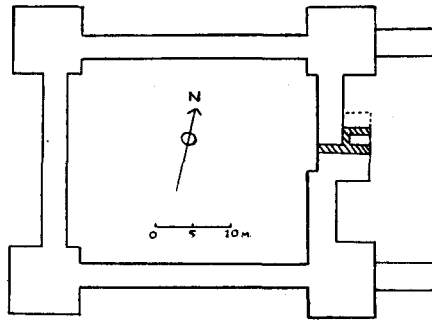


FIG. 4.—THEANGELA: PLAN OF TETRAPHYRGON.

point at the top, presumably on the corbelled false-arch principle, but they are covered with red and whitish-yellow plaster. The tomb is about 7 m. long and has a door at the west end. The height is not less than 3 m.; the floor is at present buried under earth and stones. This remarkable structure, particularly in this situation, might hardly have been recognisable as a tomb; but its nature is assured by the recent discovery in it of quantities of bones, together with numerous fragments of three vases, namely a r.f. pelike, a Panathenaic amphora, and a kalyx-krater. Some of these sherds were shown by the villagers to Miss Aşkıldil Akarca, and others were later picked up in her presence on the spot.^{114a} The two first-named of these vases are dated by Mr. P. E. Corbett (from photographs kindly supplied by Miss Akarca) to about 420 B.C. On the same slope, lower down to the west, are several fine cisterns, one of which (still used by the peasants) is illustrated by Robert in *RA* 1935 II 162, fig. 10. In the same area, between B and the southern foot of A, we noticed several column-drums, a piece of a triglyph-frieze, and other well-cut blocks. It was in this central area that Winter in 1887 discovered the plinth, with the feet, of a kore of archaic type (*AM* XII 337), and from here

¹¹⁴ Robert, *Coll. Froehn*, 85, observes mistakenly that the *tetrapylon* is linked to the west angle of the main perimeter by a single wall. He has no doubt reached this conclusion from a study of his own composite photograph, pl. XXVI, but the appearances are deceptive; in fact, a wall runs up to each of the eastern towers of the fort: see FIG. 4. The *tetrapylon*, as Mr. E. W. Marsden pointed out to us, is of unusually powerful construction and designed to resist artillery.

^{114a} The fragments in question were deposited by Miss Akarca in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul; we are indebted both to her and to the Museum Director, B. Rüstem Duyuran, for permission to announce this discovery in advance of publication.

also other statues seem to have come to light, including presumably the trunk of an archaic kore in the British Museum.¹¹⁵ Inscriptions¹¹⁶ also attest the location in this area of a temple of Athena. Near the summit of peak A is a finely preserved specimen of a Lelegian house, comprising three intercommunicating rooms, with an entrance in the long side-wall and the usual corbelled roofing, as for example at Alâzeytin and in the farmhouse near Halicarnassus (below, pp. 132 f., n. 209). Other buildings of Lelegian type are illustrated by Robert, *Coll. Froehn*. pls. XXVII d, XXVIII h.

There is a fair quantity of sherds around the peaks A and B; the earliest pieces we recognised were from black-glazed vessels (bowl, kotyle, and fish-plate) of the middle ranges of the fourth century. The rest is Hellenistic, the latest fragments being from half-glazed plates and kantharoi of advanced Hellenistic forms; we found no trace of *sigillata* and Roman wares. We saw also much Hellenistic tile, with a few pieces that look fourth-century; again no Roman.

On the flank of the mountain, below the city on the NE, we saw a group of tomb-chambers sunk into the ground; these are oblong and built of fine squared blocks joined by strip-clamps, with regular vaulting and a pavement of limestone slabs above. One, which we saw newly rifled and nearly intact, is 2.05 m. long; in its spoil we found fragments of a large hydria or similar vessel of reddish ware with a cream slip,¹¹⁷ and of a miniature with poor-quality dark glaze. Apart from a late tombstone (below, no. 41) from the village below, we know of no other tombs hitherto discovered on or near the site.¹¹⁸

We agree without hesitation in the commonly accepted view that Theangela is the Hellenistic form of the name Syangela, which occurs in the fifth and fourth centuries.¹¹⁹ In the Athenian tribute lists Syangela pays regularly at least until 427 B.C.; the city is all this time under a dynast Pigres (or Picres or Pitres), who on two occasions pays in his own name, Πίκρης Συαγγελεύς. Syangela is on one occasion coupled with Amyndanda,¹²⁰ and the Syangelan tribute, one talent, seems normally to include that of Amyndanda.¹²¹ A certain Pigres, son of Hysseldomus, was among the distinguished Carian captains at Salamis (Hdt. VII 98); if, as seems probable, he was an earlier member of the Syangelan dynasty, the city must have had a port on the south coast. Syangela was one of the eight cities founded by the Lelegians, but when Mausolus merged these into Halicarnassus he did not include Syangela; this is stated by Strabo on the authority of Callisthenes.¹²² Pliny (*NH* V 107) states that Alexander incorporated six towns in Halicarnassus, one of which was Theangela. This information we believe to be erroneous in two important respects: Pliny has attributed Mausolus' synoecism to Alexander, and Theangela is wrongly included; see below p. 144. In the late fourth, third, and early second centuries numerous inscriptions show Theangela as an independent city;¹²³ in this period we find it claiming a foundation from Troezen, which claim is accepted by the Troezenians.¹²⁴ This we believe to be based on nothing more than the Troezenian origin of Halicarnassus.¹²⁵

¹¹⁵ *BMC Sculpt.* I 1, 149 (B 319), dated c. 520 B.C.

¹¹⁶ See *RE* s.v. 'Theangela'.

¹¹⁷ The strongly moulded projecting rim of this vase seems best matched by the profiles of early Hellenistic vases (e.g. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, pl. 38 below).

¹¹⁸ We have no information regarding the 'large tumuli' seen by Paton and Myres on a distant skyline 'probably in the neighbourhood of Theangela' (*JHS* XVI 198); we suspect they may have been the fortified peaks of Theangela itself.

¹¹⁹ The case has been argued, conclusively as we think, by Robert, *Coll. Froehn*. 82 n. 7 and in *ATL* I 551-2, as against Ruge in *RE* s.v. 'Theangela'. We have nothing to add: the intermediate form Θυαγγ[ελεύς] seems to us almost decisive in itself.

¹²⁰ 446/5 B.C., Συαγγε[λ]ῆς and Ἀμύνδα[νδ]ῆς.

¹²¹ When the two pay separately in 444/3, the tribute of each is half a talent.

¹²² Strabo XIII 611 = *FGH* II B, no. 124, fr. 25: Συαγγελα δὲ καὶ Μύνδον διεφύλαξε.

¹²³ See the list given by Robert, *Coll. Froehn*. 91-4; his no. 18 now Πολέμων IV 8, no. 248.

¹²⁴ Nos. 9 and 10 in Robert's list.

¹²⁵ Cf. *ATL* I 552. For a similar claim by Myndus, see above, p. 111.

By about the middle or end of the second century it is commonly supposed that Theangela had been absorbed into Halicarnassus. The evidence for this is an inscription attributed to Theangela, published by Wilhelm in *ÖJh* XI (1908), 61, no. 4; it is dated by the eponymous priest of Halicarnassus.¹²⁶ This evidence has never, as far as we know, been challenged;¹²⁷ but in fact the attribution to Theangela is, in our opinion, mistaken. The stone is in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, Inv. No. 199, among a number brought to the Museum about 1901 by Michael Bogiatzes from Bodrum. The provenience of the individual inscriptions is recorded in the inventory; we transcribe the relevant passage.

No.	Provenience	Remarks	
196	Ἐκομίσθη ὑπὸ Μιχαὴλ Βογιατζῆ ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου Θεαγγελίας ('Αλικαρν.)	Μνημονεύεται ὑπὸ A.W. ἐν Jh. 1905, 241: ἐξεδ. Jhefte 1908, 71	Decree of Troezen for Theangela.
197	Ὡσαύτως	ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ	Two-line fragment: above, No. 37.
198	Ὡσαύτως	ὅπου τὸ 197 ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ	Fragment apparently recording a gift of money: above, No. 36.
199	Ὡσαύτως	αὐτόθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἐξεδόθη ἐν Jahreshefte 1908, 61 . . .	Contributions for the construction of a well.

Two things here are perfectly clear: 196 is from Theangela, and 197–9 are all three from a single source. But is that source Theangela or Halicarnassus? The contents of the inscriptions themselves afford no clue, apart, of course, from the agreed Halicarnassian dating of 199. Wilhelm, in his publication of 1908, took the provenience of 196 to apply also to 199. He saw the stones within a few years of their arrival in Athens, when oral information may possibly have been available to him; but there is no hint of this in his article, where he makes the attribution of 199 depend upon the inventory record.¹²⁸ He evidently understood Ὡσαύτως to repeat the whole of the 'Provenience' entry of 196; it seems to us, on the contrary, clear that the 'Remarks' entries of 197–9 refer in fact to the provenience of the stones, Ὡσαύτως denoting simply that all four formed part of a single consignment from M. Bogiatzes. This is especially plain in the case of 198: ὅπου τὸ 197 can only refer to provenience. And if that provenience is Theangela, why is the reference not to 196, or at least to 196–7? Since 197 is distinguished by the words ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ, the reference is surely to this, and 197–9 must all be from Halicarnassus.¹²⁹ If this be right, the evidence for the absorption of Theangela in Halicarnassus disappears; since the evidence of Pliny is likewise to be rejected (below, pp. 143 f.), there remains no reason to suppose that Theangela was ever other than an independent city.¹³⁰ We believe, moreover, that there is evidence that it was a free city under the early Empire; see below, p. 144.

On Syangela–Theangela see further below, pp. 145–7.

¹²⁶ ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ποσειδῶν τοῦ Ἀνδροσθένου. This man is known as a priest of Poseidon Isthmius at Halicarnassus (*CIG* 2655).

¹²⁷ It is accepted by Ruge in *RE* s.v. 'Theangela' 1374 and by Robert, *Coll. Froehn*, 84–5.

¹²⁸ 'Der Vermerk der neuen Erwerbungen n. 199: ἐκομίσθη ὑπὸ Μιχαὴλ Βογιατζῆ ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου Θεαγγελίας ('Αλικαρνασσοῦ) lehrt, dass der Stein von der Ruinenstätte (sc. Etrim) stammt.' In fact, as was seen above, this entry belongs not to 199 but to 196.

¹²⁹ The alternative is hardly attractive, namely to suppose that ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ means merely that the stone, though found at Etrim, was shipped to Athens from Bodrum.

¹³⁰ *IG* II² 8831, Μενεκράτης Μενεκράτου Θεαγγελεὺς, is there dated by Kirchner to the first century B.C. If this is correct, it is conclusive against the supposed second-century incorporation in Halicarnassus. In the *Addenda*, however, a second-century date is preferred for the epitaph: 's. I a. Theangela non iam sui iuris fuit. L. Robert per litt.' If this argument is, as we believe, baseless, it will be possible to revert to Kirchner's original dating.

INSCRIPTION (THEANGELA).

41. Etrim. Shown to us in the village, right bottom corner of a funeral stele, with a pilaster in relief on the right. Height 0.30 m., width 0.25 m., thickness 0.13 m. Found recently during the construction of a road near the village. Late letters, 25–27 mm. high. Photograph.

[ὁ δεινα]	[καὶ τοῖς] ἕξ αὐ-
[τὸ μνημεῖον]	[τῶν] αἰεὶ ἔσομέ-
[ἔαυτῷ καὶ τῇ]	[νοί]ς κατεσκεύ-
[γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ]	[ας]εν (<i>leaf</i>)

LELEGIAN TOWN SITES

The description of the sites which merit this title follows. The account of their history and discussion of their identification are reserved for a later section of this article (pp. 143–155).

ASARLIK.

The site ¹³¹ (FIG. 5) has been partly described by Newton,¹³² and by Paton and Myres, whose identification of it as Termera seems certain (p. 147).¹³³ The citadel forms a nearly level platform *c.* 40 m. long on the peak of a dominant hill, whose slopes are steep on all sides and precipitous on the NE; it enjoys a commanding view in all directions save to the SW, where it is overlooked by the lofty range of the Termerian promontory. There are traces of a citadel wall in smallish squared masonry surrounding the summit, and the outline of this fortification can be followed in the eastern part by the cuttings made to receive the wall; at the north corner cuttings show that the wall was carried out on to a natural bastion or pinnacle of rock. On the NW side, near the west corner, the wall foundation is well levelled off as though for a threshold, and a long block fallen close by seems likely to have come from a door-frame; we have therefore restored a gate in the citadel circuit at this point (immediately to the right of the letter e in 'gate' on FIG. 5). There are traces of buildings on the summit, including one 13 m. in length on the highest part at the north. To the south of this a double vaulted cistern is sunk to a depth of perhaps 4 m. below ground level, with traces of a rectangular building perhaps built over the western chamber; the two chambers together have a length of about 9 m., and are built in smallstone work which has received several coats of plaster; the vaults seem not to be barrels but to have sprung in Lelegian fashion from all four sides of each chamber. Despite the presence of odd fragments of Hellenistic vases and Byzantine impressed ware on the summit, this cistern gives the appearance of belonging to the classical era.

Below the summit on the south is a shelf partly upheld by a natural scarp and revetted by a polygonal wall; on it are building traces with sherds and tiles of later Hellenistic or Roman date. This area was entered on the east by a gate whose threshold block, with four circular sockets for a double door, is still in position; the gate seems to have been 1.50 m. wide. The fortification enclosing this shelf was carried round outside the west end of the citadel, where no doubt a road gave access to the summit. At some distance below this to the south a stretch of massive polygonal walling *c.* 5 m. high runs down to a saddle which separates Asarlık hill from the main Termerian range; in this wall, whose thickness is 1.75 m., is set a gate 2 m. wide at the bottom and tapering upwards to form some sort of arch (PLATE 17 (*e*)).¹³⁴ The masonry in

¹³¹ The plan FIG. 5 was fixed where possible by compass intersections from the corners of the citadel, but the steep convex slopes made a complete system of intersections impossible; some details of the intermediate perimeter and the position of the vaulted tomb have been added from a freehand plan drawn by Mr. R. V. Nicholls in 1949.

¹³² *Halicarnassus* II 580 ff.

¹³³ *JHS* VIII 81 f., XVI 203 f.

¹³⁴ Cf. Paton's drawing, *JHS* VIII 64, fig. 1. The gate appears on the right of the photograph in PLATE 17.

the immediate vicinity of the gate approximates to ashlar or trapezoidal, but has elsewhere a tendency towards curved joints; surface pottery here is abundant and mainly of the fifth century, and it seems probable that the wall here is to be dated to this time. Inside the gate a depressed line, flanked at points by traces of buildings, seems to indicate a road leading up towards the citadel. It is difficult to believe that this wall does not belong to a defensive system; and we were in fact able to link it up with a line of walling 1.60 m. thick which follows

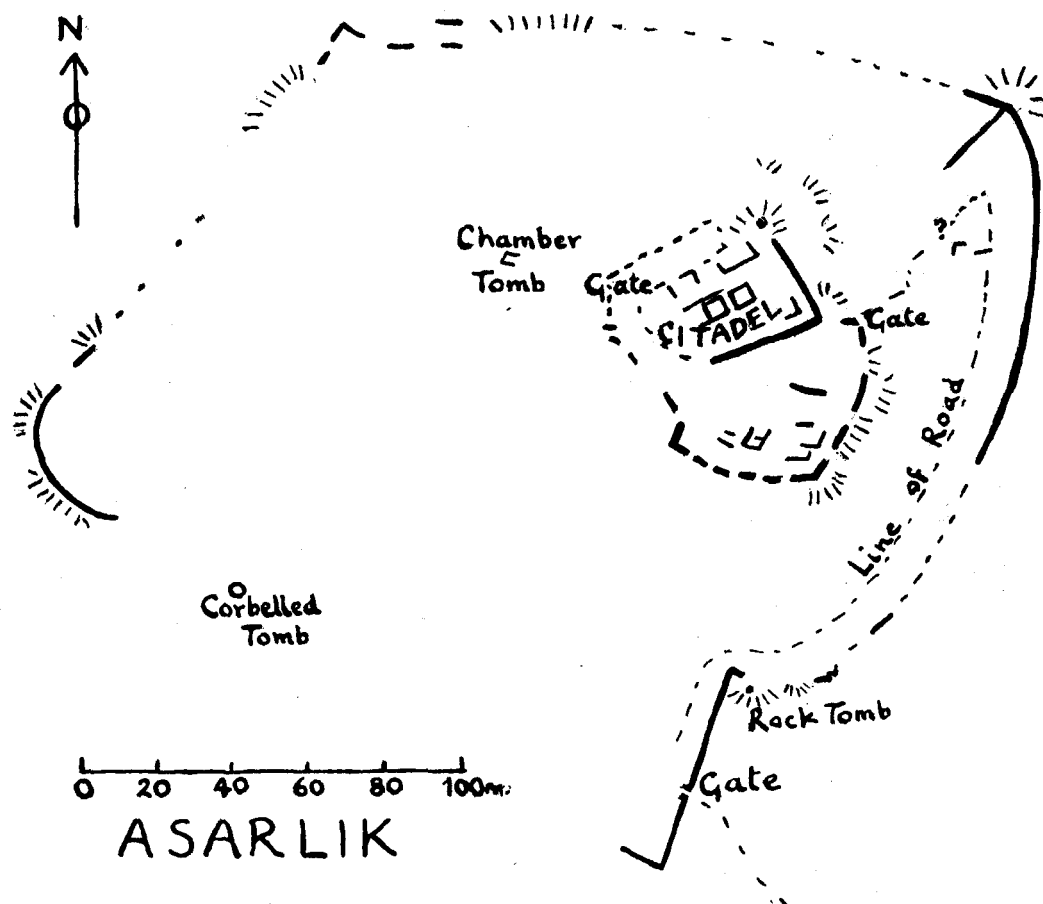


FIG. 5.—PLAN OF ASARLIK.

a rock fault up to the NE corner, and thus to trace the outline of an outer circuit in polygonal masonry, which keeps at a consistent level round the hill save at the NE angle, where it rises to a rocky bluff.¹³⁵ Inside this perimeter there are some traces of habitation, and much pottery on the north slope under the citadel and on the south towards the gate. The pottery includes a sprinkling of archaic¹³⁶ and some fourth-century wares (the latest¹³⁷ being dated by Mr. P. E.

¹³⁵ At this corner a stretch of a roughly piled cross wall runs across the neck towards the citadel; it hardly seems to belong to the original design of the circuit.

¹³⁶ PLATE 14 (b) 1, probably from the neck of an amphora with striped decoration, similar to seventh-century Chian; PLATE 14 (b) 4, from a late B.F. chariot-scene skyphos, with legs of horses and a man; fragments of early fifth-century glazed kylikes.

¹³⁷ PLATE 14 (b) 3, oenochoe rim with painted ovolo pattern; PLATE 13 (c) 1, foot of black glazed bowl with glazed underside and grooved resting surface, stamped palmette and rouletting; fragments of black glazed kantharoi.

Corbett in the second quarter of the century): but the bulk of it seems to be of the full fifth century or the beginning of the fourth.¹³⁸ The abundance of the classical pottery leaves no doubt that the main occupation in the outer perimeter came to an end about the second quarter of the fourth century, and might perhaps suggest that from the advanced fifth century it was declining.

There are tombs on the edges of the site, in the valley to the west,¹³⁹ and on the watershed east of the main gate of Asarlık towards the hamlet of Mandıra. Paton investigated a considerable cemetery, with chamber tombs, enclosures, and individual graves, around the valley head to the south of Asarlık,¹⁴⁰ and there are built tomb complexes still visible on the ridge leading down to Aspat. Paton's finds range from the end of the Bronze Age to archaic times; a singular resemblance between the early pottery from these tombs and contemporary Attic wares has been remarked in a recent study, where it is suggested that the original settlers at Asarlık may have come from Athens.¹⁴¹

BOZDAĞ.

This site, also called Erenmezarlık, crowns a mastoid hill, fairly steep on all sides and rising to perhaps 250 m., which forms the southernmost peak of the chain of bare hills behind Myndus. It commands the coastal plain of Karatoprak and an extensive view inland. On the summit are the foundations of a tower c. 10.5 m. square, of irregular masonry roughly squared at the corners with a wall thickness of 0.90 m.;¹⁴² inside this foundation sits a Turkish burial enclosure. Around the hilltop runs an irregular ring wall in loose polygonal or dry rubble enclosing an area not more than c. 80 m. across. We observed no sure trace of an outer circuit; but sherds are abundant for some distance down the hillside, and thus attest considerable occupation, which can be assigned to both prehistoric and classical times. The prehistoric is rough brown handmade ware with straw marks, the dominant form being apparently a jar with vertical handles of almost circular section;¹⁴³ we also picked up blades and flakes of obsidian, and a bit of a core. The wheelmade pottery was mostly indeterminate, but included a plain conical foot perhaps of Protogeometric form, some black glazed kylix fragments, one being of a stemmed cup with poor glaze and a reserved circle in the centre of the bowl, and a fragment of a bolsal dated by Mr. Corbett in the first quarter of the fourth century; also the socketed bronze arrowhead PLATE 14 (b) 8. We noted nothing of a later date than the early fourth century B.C.

BURGAZ.

NW of the village of Geriş (Gheresi) a high spur runs seaward from the Myndian highland to block the west end of the coastal plain of Yalıkavak. It is articulated by three peaks in line, of which the middle one is crowned by the citadel described and planned by Paton and Myres.¹⁴⁴ Our sketch plan FIG. 6 a depends on a combination of eye and memory. This citadel, about 50 m. long, is surrounded by a wall in coursed masonry, and encloses some fainter wall traces and a small tower built of squared blocks with vertical drafting at the angles (PLATE 15 (a)). Outside the NW corner of the citadel, curiously placed at the foot of the 8-m.-high fortification, stands the tower marked by Paton and Myres, which we noted as being detached from the

¹³⁸ Wine amphora fragments, black glazed kylikes, kotylai, and bolsals, etc., R.F. fragment PLATE 14 (b) 2.

¹³⁹ Newton II 580 ff.

¹⁴⁰ *JHS* VIII 67 ff., 454 ff.; XVI 243 ff.

¹⁴¹ Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 218 ff. For the gold and bronze equipment from these tombs see *BMC Bronzes* 8, *BMC Jewellery* 100 f.

¹⁴² Paton and Myres, *JHS* XVI 204, noted this tower (at their sketching station 'A').

¹⁴³ Cf. *ibid.* 204, 264.

¹⁴⁴ *JHS* XVI 206, fig. 7. It was visited by the Italian cruise, *Ann.* IV-V 363 f.

upper circuit. It seems certain, as Paton and Myres surmised, that the short wall-stretches in rough polygonal down below towards the saddle on the north belong to an outer circuit.¹⁴⁵ We traced the course of this circuit for a considerable distance, but were prevented by impenetrable scrub and cliffs from ascertaining whether it formed a ring round the citadel, or whether it linked on to the sides of the citadel, which will thus have formed the south apex of the whole perimeter. We guessed the length of the whole as 200–250 m.; the ground is steep, and rises to a jagged pinnacle in the middle of the lower perimeter. There is a sloping shelf traversing the north side of this perimeter, which we regarded as an ancient road leading from a gate

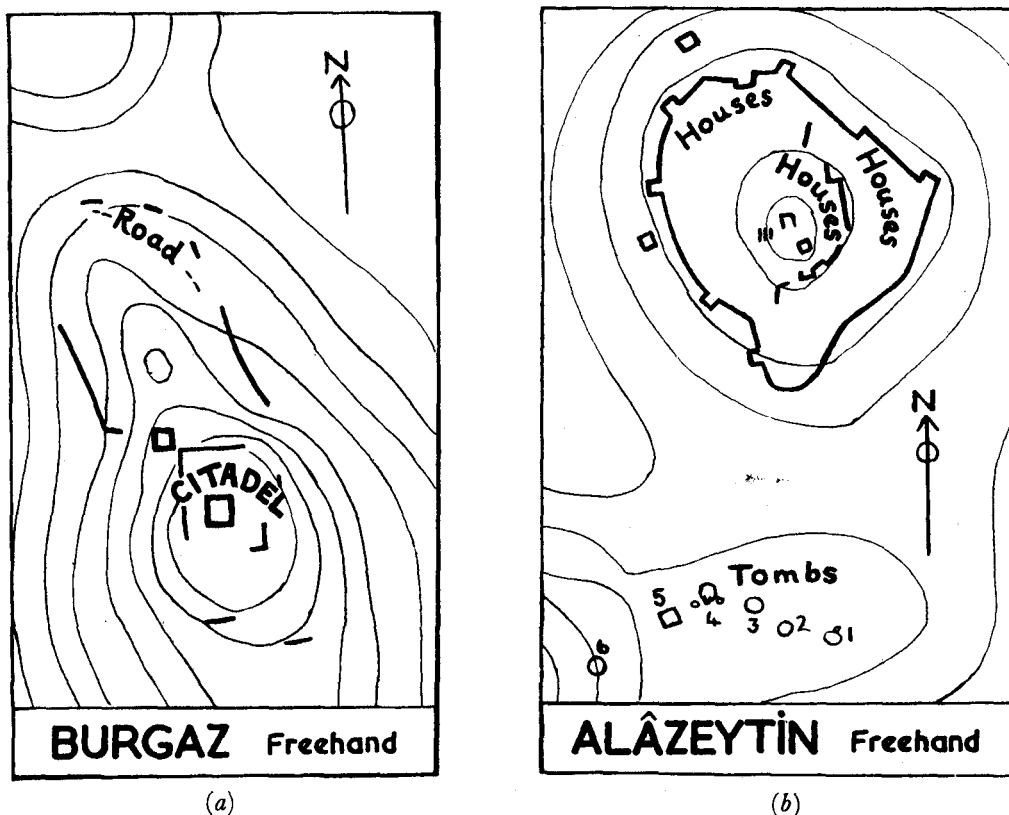


FIG. 6.—ROUGH PLANS OF BURGAZ AND ALÂZEYTİN.

at the NW extremity of the circuit by the saddle. There are some coarse sherds and tiles, perhaps of late Greek date, and some wall traces in heavy rubble masonry at the other saddle to the south of the citadel, and small unfluted column shafts in use as roof rollers in the village of Geriş.¹⁴⁶ But on and around the citadel itself, where Paton also noted 'many fragments of glazed pottery, black and red',¹⁴⁷ we found only archaic and classical wares, with a few coarse sherds possibly of prehistoric handmade vases.¹⁴⁸ The archaic included a number of fragments with glaze stripes on both slipped and plain ground (PLATE 14 (b) 13–15) and pieces

¹⁴⁵ A photograph *JHS* XVI, pl. 9, 1.

¹⁴⁶ The inscription no. 55 was also found at Geriş.

¹⁴⁷ *JHS* VIII 79.

¹⁴⁸ These are grey throughout, or tend to grey in the core; the shapes seem to be jars with vertical handles (as at Bozdağ, p. 118) and a bowl with incurving rim.

from the shoulder of sixth-century hydrias or oenoches with horizontal (PLATE 14 (b) 10) and vertical (PLATE 14 (b) 11) wavy line decoration; these archaic wares have an Ionic complexion. The classical pottery is mainly black glazed and rich in fragments of fifth-century kylikes and other cups; one or two scraps seem to come from cup-kotylai, and should therefore date about the first half of the fourth century. Paton found what sounds like a scrap of R.F. in the handsome chamber tumulus on the peak to the north of this site.¹⁴⁹ Other chamber tumuli are recorded in the vicinity of Burgaz by Paton and Myres,¹⁵⁰ and tomb enclosures to the SW.¹⁵¹

GÜRICE.

The village of Gürice is situated on the watershed dividing the valleys of Müsgebi and Akçaalan. Paton and Myres noted a tower on the summit of a conical hill behind the vil-

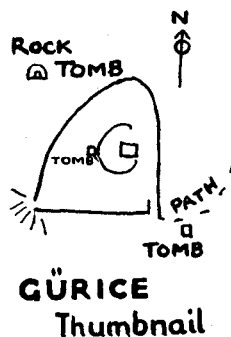
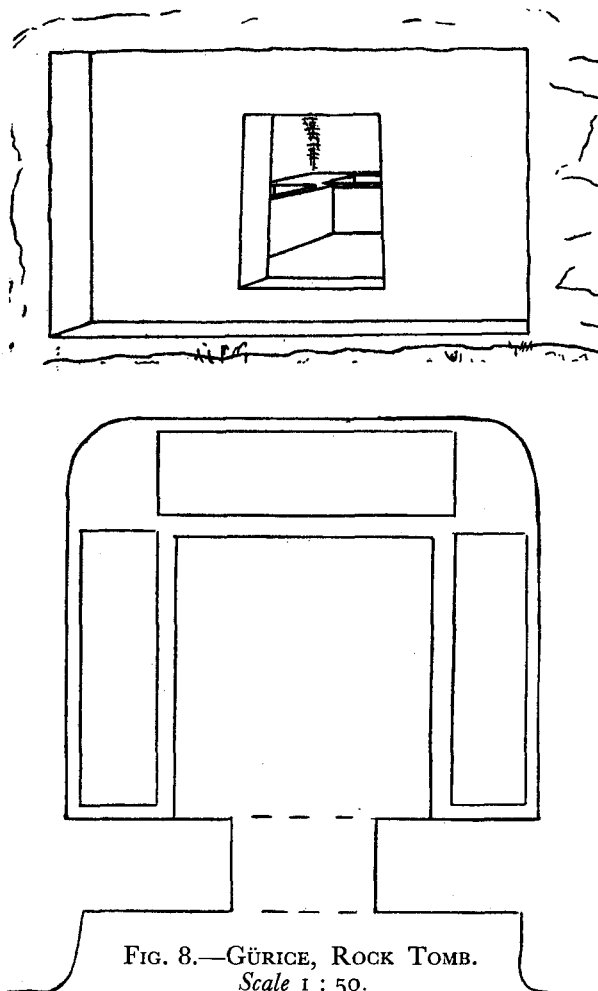


FIG. 7.—MEMORY SKETCH OF GÜRICE.



lage; ¹⁵² it is nearly 12 m. square, of good ashlar masonry with vertical drafting at the corners, and stands to a height of *c.* 3 m. A shelf below this on the west and SW seems to have been enclosed by a wall of dry rubble masonry, and traces of buildings are to be seen here. An

¹⁴⁹ *JHS* VIII 81.

¹⁵⁰ *JHS* XVI 206 f.

¹⁵¹ *JHS* VIII 78.

¹⁵² *JHS* XVI 203.

outer circuit is formed by a wall of medium-sized dry rubble masonry; it was carried out to a rocky bastion at the SW corner, and had a tower in coursed masonry on the west side. The gate was at the SE corner. There is a distinct shelf on the south side of the enclosed area with traces of buildings, one with a rounded corner. The rest of the circuit forms a continuous curve, and the greatest length of the perimeter might be 150 m.; the thumbnail sketch FIG. 7 has no pretension to accuracy, but gives the basic form of the defensive system as we understood it.¹⁵³ There was no late pottery on the site; we picked up a scrap of a R.F. cup (PLATE 14 (b) 5) and a fair number of fragments of good black glazed ware including a fifth-century kylix rim; and the latest dateable fragment came from a pneumatic rim of a cup-kantharos and is dated by Mr. Corbett in the second quarter of the fourth century. There is a rock-cut tomb chamber inside the circuit, a broken-down vaulted chamber tomb outside the gate, and a fine rock tomb below the circuit on the NW. This last tomb (FIG. 8, PLATE 17 (d)) belongs to a class not noticed hitherto in this region of Caria, which seems to be of earlier date than the rock tombs with cubicles (*cf.* p. 167); three sarcophagi are cut in the native rock against the sides and back of the chamber, whose internal measurements are 2.60 × 3.10 m., with a height of *c.* 1.75 m.; the ledges at the two inner corners are not cut out square; the walls curve over to the ceiling to give the effect of a false vault, perhaps influenced by the vaults of Lelegian stone-roofed buildings. Paton and Myres also noted a simple rock tomb at the roadside on the top of the pass.¹⁵⁴

GÖL.

The site lines the edge of an escarpment separated by a deep valley from the Karadağ on the south; the ground falls in cliffs on this side, while to the NE the hillside inclines steadily down to the sea at Türkbükü and Göl harbour. The site was briefly described by Paton and Myres, and we give a measured plan (FIG. 9).¹⁵⁵ On the highest point of the crest is a tower in ashlar masonry with vertically drafted angles, which forms the apex of a small inner perimeter lying under it on the east and enclosing a complex of buildings. Other substantial buildings stood on two successive rocky shelves below the tower on the south. To the NW of the tower, but separated from it by a lane-like depression in the rock, stretches an elevated tongue of rock scaled on the north side by a hewn staircase; near the foot of this stair is a group of cisterns. To the NW this tongue broadens out, and the crest is crowned by the foundations of buildings; the extremity of the crest carries a second tower. The site, which is about 300 m. long, is enclosed by a continuous outer circuit, with its main gate apparently on the north side and with occasional jogs and towers; the circuit wall is 1.50 m. thick on the north, but seems to be as little as 0.70 m. at the east corner, and is built in dry rubble or polygonal masonry with a tendency to courses (a fine stretch at the west end, PLATE 17 (c)). House foundations can be seen all over the perimeter; at points they seem to be backed onto the circuit wall, as also at Gökçeler (p. 124) and Alâzeytin (p. 125). There are rock tombs, which we did not have time to examine, in the cliff near the west end.¹⁵⁶ We noted one or two bits of Roman tile and a late amphora sherd on the site. Otherwise the surface pottery seems again principally of the classical era, with amphora sherds and fine black glaze fragments which include fifth-century

¹⁵³ It was drawn from memory after we had left the site in a thunderstorm.

¹⁵⁴ *JHS* XVI 203.

¹⁵⁵ *JHS* XIV 376 ff., with drawings figs. 2–3. The citadel on the summit was also seen by the Italian cruise, *Ann.* IV–V 365, fig. 23. Our plan (FIG. 9) was laid out to scale, with intersections in the SE parts only and traverse for the rest of the circuit; an intersection on a very narrow base, which showed the site as distinctly broader in the middle part north of the tower, has been disregarded in our plan.

¹⁵⁶ *JHS* XIV 376. Guidi, *Ann.* IV–V 365, remarked Christian paintings in one.

kylix and cup rims, pieces of bolsals and bowls, and fragments of bowl rims and heavy cup-kotylai of the first half of the fourth century. We also picked up a number of early fragments, including an archaic amphora rim, a fragment of a glazed tankard, perhaps of the Geometric era, a scrap with Geometric bands of glaze (PLATE 14 (b) 7), a piece of a sixth-century kylix

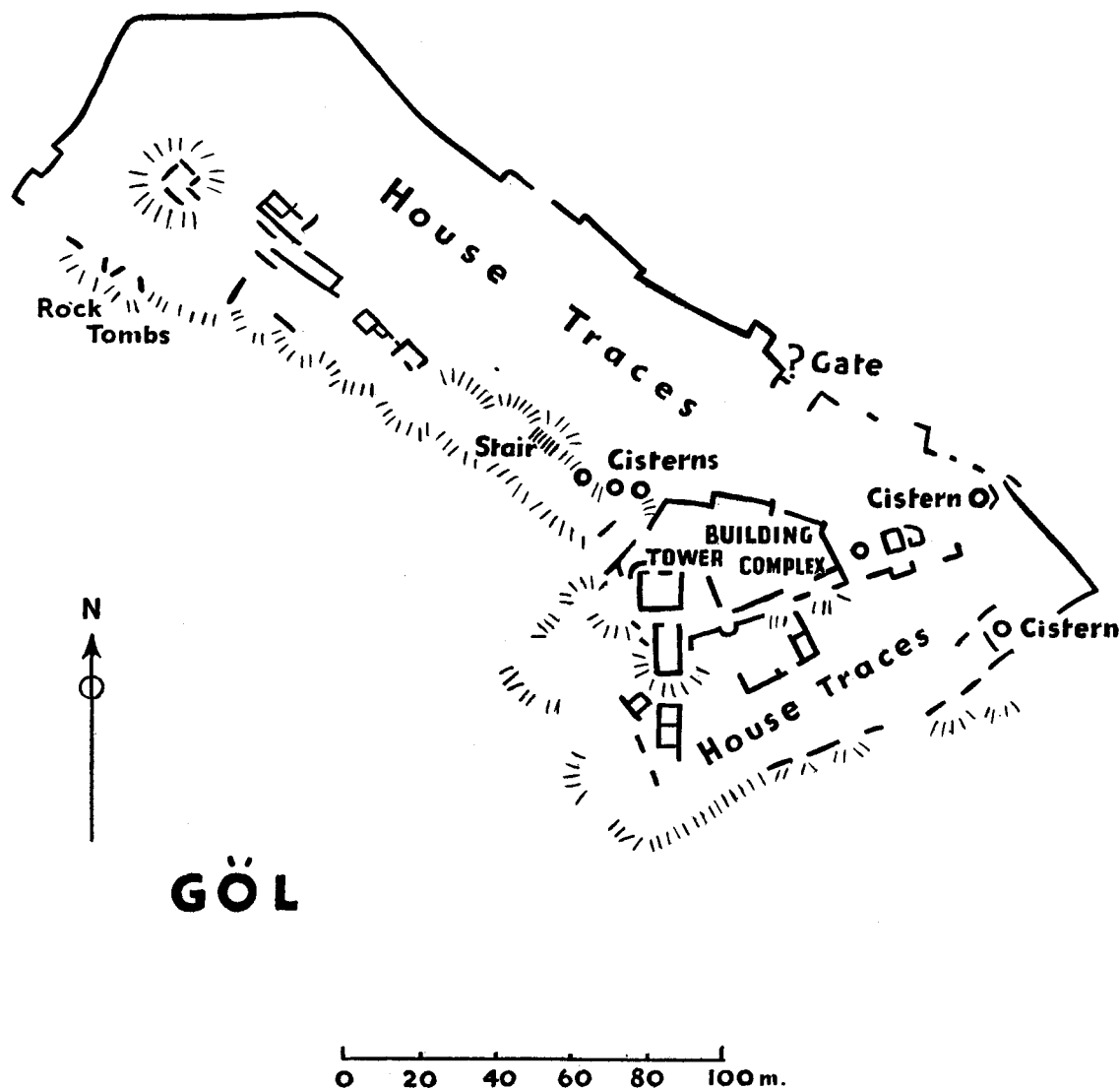


FIG. 9.—PLAN OF GÖL.

stem, a scrap from the lip of an Ionic cup of *c.* 600 B.C. with polychrome stripes on the shoulder and interior of the lip (PLATE 14 (b) 6), and a single chip of obsidian. The pottery here not only indicates early occupation, but seems also to show more contact with the archaic Greek world than on most of these sites. The relative abundance of classical pottery on the surface leaves no doubt that the habitations on the site belong to the classical era.

KARADAĞ.

At the head of the pass that leads from Göl southwards on the way to Bodrum there is a ruined church, built (according to Paton and Myres) upon the ruins of a Carian or Hellenic building.¹⁵⁷ Adjoining the ruin are a vaulted cistern and wall traces, apparently contemporary with the church. A stone's throw to the east is the foundation of a tower in squared masonry with vertical drafting at the angles, and beside it lie many squared blocks and a badly weathered unfluted column shaft. On a crest a minute or two to the south are the remains of a small fortified perimeter containing traces of buildings and of a large tower on the highest point. It was at the ruined church that Paton and Myres located the Telmessian sanctuary of Apollo (p. 154).

The situation is shown in the admirable sketch which accompanies their description of the sites here.¹⁵⁸ On the shoulder of the mountain above the pass are two considerable settlements facing each other across a valley head a few hundred metres broad, with a small compound tumulus on the ridge above. The more northerly settlement site is about 200 m. long and very narrow, being bounded by a bow-shaped perimeter of dry rubble masonry on the south side (PLATE 15 (c)) and a line of cliffs on the north, which forms, so to speak, the string of the bow. Inside the circuit are scattered remains of perhaps three dozen houses. The masonry is of hard limestone, which splits into longish blocks; the houses (as we noted on other Lelegian sites also) are more carefully constructed than the circuit wall, with a tendency towards squared work. At the east end of the crest, inside an inner perimeter, is the foundation of a well-constructed oblong building of *c.* 16 × 7 m. This site overlooks the valley of Göl far below; Paton and Myres estimated the altitude at 1800 ft. The second settlement, to the south, has a rounder perimeter which encloses a summit slightly higher than the first. The outer wall is likewise of dry rubble masonry, heavier in places, and in general of a primitive appearance. The area within the circuit is built up with sturdily constructed houses laid on differing axes with walls generally in coursed masonry. Many of the houses consisted of a single room in plan, with sometimes, apparently, an upper storey; others were formed of a complex of rooms. We reckoned that there were hardly less than a hundred rooms in the ground plan of this settlement. The walls often stand two or three metres high, and with a little clearing the plans of these habitations could be recovered more or less complete. Surface pottery is scarce. On the more northerly site we picked up some fragments of wine amphorae of *c.* fifth-century date and undistinguished scraps of black glaze; on the second site, a single scrap of black glaze and two striped fragments (one, PLATE 14 (b) 12, from a closed vase). There was no sign of occupation of Hellenistic or Roman date. Since the valley on the north must have belonged to the settlement at Göl, this town on the Karadağ can hardly have had access to the sea; and the land around is unmitigated mountainside.

GÖKÇELER.

The site lies at the head of a pass about an hour and a half above Bodrum, and looks down a ravine to the northern sea. Around the site some stony fields support a handful of cottagers; the inhabitants of the small village of Çirkan spend the summer in their *yayla* in the plain of Bitez. Paton and Myres have mentioned the citadel,¹⁵⁹ and the Italian mission has described it.¹⁶⁰ This citadel, *c.* 160 m. long, crowns a detached hillock (plan, FIG. 10).¹⁶¹ It is supported

¹⁵⁷ *JHS* XIV 373. We noted ancient blocks built into the walls, but could not recognise any *in situ*.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 374, fig. 1.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* VIII 81; XVI 202, with drawings figs. 4-5.

¹⁶⁰ *Ann.* IV-V 425 ff., with a sketch plan of the citadel fig. 30.

¹⁶¹ The plan of the citadel (which is overgrown with pinewood) is drawn mainly freehand; the lower circuit was plotted in by traverse and intersection on an insecure basis.

by a high wall in irregular masonry, in places with quite small stones; the thickness of the wall varies between 1.75 and 1.50 m. There are squared masonry towers and bastions on the south side, but the north and west faces show the sweeping curves characteristic of Lelegian fortifications. The main entrance is by a gate 2.50 m. wide at the west end; there is also a postern 0.60 m. wide, with a flat lintel slab (not, as Maiuri indicates, arched) in the north side, and possibly entrances on the south side. Traces of buildings can be seen among the trees, and houses seem to have been regularly backed against the citadel wall. The ground rises steadily from the west gate to the east end, where an enclosure 36.30 m. long is walled off. The approach

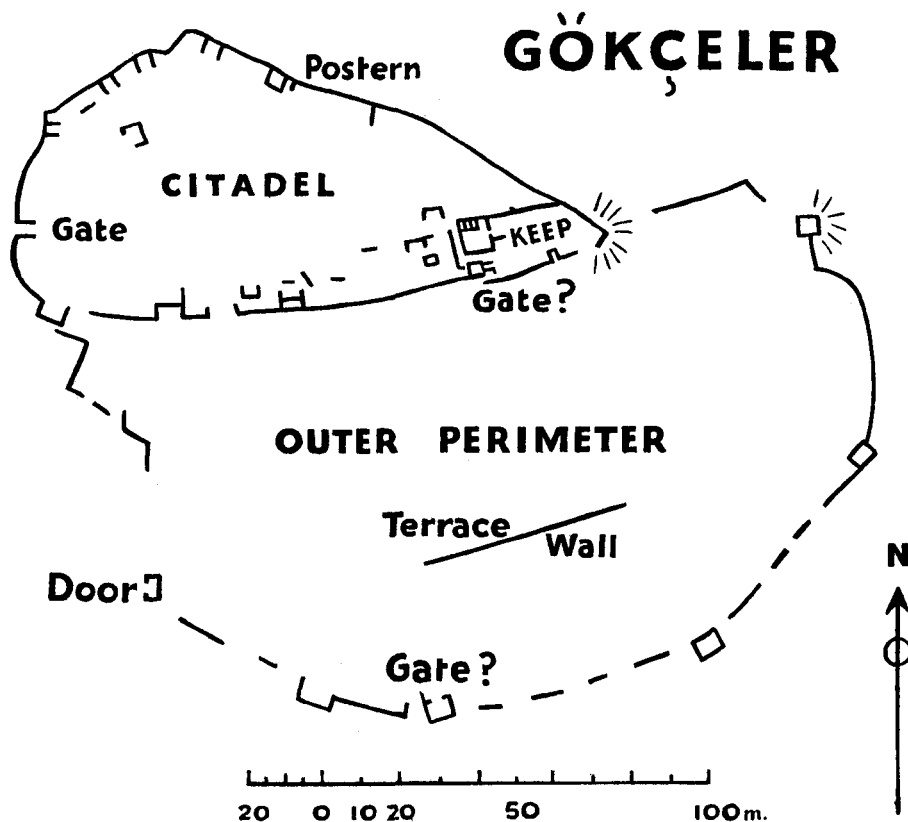


FIG. 10.—PLAN OF GÖKÇELER.

to this keep is by a gateway 2.50 m. wide, reached from the west by a transverse ramp of the same width; it is defended by a tower in coursed masonry, with a door in the east side and a staircase in the corner. On the east and south of the citadel we traced an outer perimeter wall descending to the saddle. It is 1.63 m. thick, and is constructed in heavyish dry rubble masonry roughly coursed on the curtain with better coursed long blocks on the faces of the towers. We found little significant pottery on the citadel, save for a fragment of R.F. with a fugitive trace of drapery. Immediately below the citadel on the SW, in the trough where Paton and Myres located the temple of Athena,¹⁶² there are some building traces and tiles and sherds of Hellenistic-Roman date; and two bucranium altars, evidently of Roman date, are reported from the vicinity of the site.¹⁶³ We accept Paton and Myres' identification of this site as Pedasa, and note

¹⁶² *JHS* XVI 216.

¹⁶³ *JHS* VIII 81 f. We also heard of one from a cottager here.

here that occupation in Hellenistic times is consistent with the assumption that it was garrisoned by Philip V in 201 B.C. (p. 151).

The ridges on the south and SE are studded with chamber tumuli, in which the corbel-vaulted chamber, with the dromos, was surrounded by a ring wall and covered with a loose pile of stones; some examples are described and illustrated by Maiuri.¹⁶⁴ The Italians seem to have excavated some tombs and claim to have discovered 'abundant local Geometric pottery'.¹⁶⁵ In all probability this belongs to the early Greek period, since a number of early archaic fragments which we gathered on the surface of one of the southern tumuli (PLATE 13 (e) 1-3, 6) must be dated not later than the seventh century.¹⁶⁶ Across the valley on the NE Paton and Myres noted compound tumuli and a large circular enclosure.¹⁶⁷

ALÂZEY TIN.

The site lies about two hours from that of Theangela and three and a half or four hours east of Halicarnassus. It sits on a small rounded hill which overlooks a valley on either side. Paton and Myres estimated its altitude as nearly a thousand feet. They have given a brief description of the site and buildings, with photographs;¹⁶⁸ and Maiuri also describes it with good photographs and some drawings of buildings.¹⁶⁹ Our sketch plan FIG. 6 *b* was drawn freehand and in haste, and cannot be relied on for more than a general idea of the layout. The length of the site is probably under 200 m. The circuit is in loose rubble masonry, built of a local stone which tends to split into narrow blocks; the towers which punctuate the western part of the circuit are in irregular coursed masonry. There was probably a gate at the north end. Within the walls the ground is densely built over, and isolated houses are found outside the perimeter. The houses are generally well built with shallow courses of local stone; here, as at Göl and the Karadağ, they merit a more detailed investigation. On the east side of the summit a line of solidly built houses seems to mark off an upper terrace, but we could not ascertain whether an inner perimeter was in fact formed. There are traces of a well-constructed *krepis* of three or four steps on the west edge of the crest, and on top the foundation of a building or tower 7 m. broad and at least 11 m. long, with vertical drafting at the corner. The sparse surface pottery includes some bits of late tile and odd sherds apparently of late date, but the main occupation seems to have been of archaic and classical times. Myres picked up some early archaic,¹⁷⁰ and we found the odd scrap of striped ware. The classical wares include amphora lips of fifth-century types, badly worn scraps of black glaze, and a fragment from the rim of a R.F. bell krater (PLATE 14 (b) 9). Paton and Myres also discovered a plain voluted capital of archaic appearance.¹⁷¹

At no more than five minutes' walk from the town site, on a lower ridge to the south, we noted a series of buildings, of which six are marked on the sketch plan FIG. 6 *b*. They are of similar masonry to the house walls in the town. Two of these (nos. 3 and 6) appear to be 'compound tumuli' of the type made familiar by Paton and Myres.¹⁷² Of no. 3 little now

¹⁶⁴ *Ann.* IV-V 427 ff., figs. 32-34; cf. Maiuri, *Parola del Passato* III (1948), 13 ff.; *JHS* XVI 247, fig. 22.

¹⁶⁵ Levi, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* IV 177, n. 73; bronze fibulae and arms are mentioned among the few fragments of grave furniture recovered, *Clara Rhodos* I 124.

¹⁶⁶ PLATE 13 (e) 1, fragment of large coarse vase with spiral or cable pattern on a cream slip; 2, fragment of slipped vase with stripes; 3, fragment of body with springing of belly handle, wavy line in glaze; 6, fragment of closed vase with curvilinear decoration: also fragments of skyphoi, one being of the Ionic Late Geometric form with nicked rim.

¹⁶⁷ *JHS* XVI 249 ff., figs. 26-30; the tumulus, figs. 26-28, is described and illustrated by Maiuri, *Ann.* IV-V 429 ff., figs. 35-38, who gives the diameter as 22 m. See below, pp. 166 f.

¹⁶⁸ *JHS* XVI 199 f., pl. 9, 3-6.

¹⁶⁹ *Ann.* IV-V 432 ff., figs. 39-46.

¹⁷⁰ Two fragments with painted concentric circles widely spaced, probably of the eighth or seventh century, in the Ashmolean Museum.

¹⁷¹ *JHS* XVI 200, fig. 2.

¹⁷² *JHS* XVI 248 ff.; below, pp. 166 f.

remains, but it is clear that it consisted of a circular area of *c.* 14.60 m. diameter enclosed by an eccentric ring like FIG. 12; the outlines of two chambers in the thickness of the wall can still be traced—one narrow and wedge-shaped, the other broader and with a doorway on the inner face of the circle. No. 6 had at least two chambers in the thickness of the wall communicating with the interior by doorways. No. 4 consists of an irregular ring wall 2 m. thick, with a

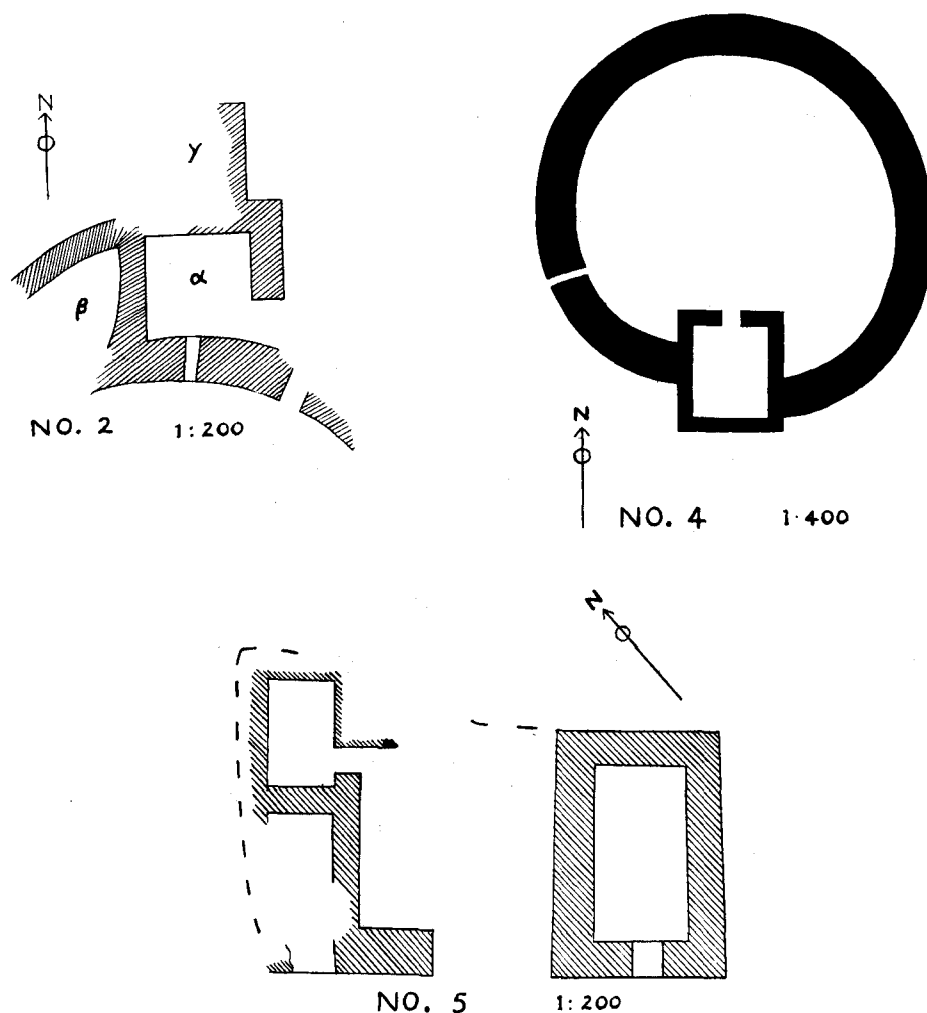


FIG. 11.—ALÂZEYTIM, BUILT TOMBS.

'diameter' of 16.50–18 m., which is interrupted by a rectangular building measuring 6.20 × 5.40 m. (FIG. 11). The ring is entered by a doorway only 0.40 m. wide, and the rectangular building opens by a doorway 1.15 m. wide on to the inner court. The inner face of the ring wall has the inward curve characteristic of the 'compound tumuli',¹⁷³ and there can be little doubt that this construction belongs to the same class of monuments. There are traces of a construction a few metres to the east, which may have been attached to the ring, and of a little domed

¹⁷³ Cf. *JHS* XVI 251, fig. 28.

tholos on the SW. The position of this monument on the crest of the ridge is a conspicuous one. No. 1 appears to be of a similar form, with a ring 2 m. thick and an inner diameter of 13.40 m.; here a doorway in the inner face of the ring gives access to a rectangular building which projects outwards from the ring; the building was *c.* 6 m. deep and is of uncertain width. No. 2 appears to combine elements of the two types (FIG. 11), the two exposed chambers (α and β) being corbel-vaulted and the narrower one (β) being immured in the style of the eccentric 'compound tumuli', while the square one (α) stood free on its east face. The chamber α is approximately square with a 2.80-m. side and a doorway 1.03 m. wide; it had a window 0.33 m. broad facing on to the circular court. The ring was *c.* 12.50 m. diameter on the inside; and the ring wall, slightly over 1 m. thick, was perforated by a door 0.61 m. wide a little to the east of the window. Behind the chamber α there seems to have been another room (γ) which is still covered over; its outline is only partly visible, and there is no trace of a door giving access to it. No. 5 is a more or less rectangular complex with a front of about 12 m. facing SW. It consists of two buildings perhaps joined by a wall at the back, the two-room one being partly built against the rocky slope on the north and NW; one jamb of the outer door here is cut in the rock. The ground plan is shown on FIG. 11; the two-room building is ruined, and the plan is not fully reliable. The free-standing single room, on the other hand, is preserved intact; it measures 4.80 \times 2.40 m. in the interior, and has a corbelled vault of Lelegian type, which springs from all four sides and is closed at the top by flat slabs. There are traces of further single-room and complex buildings scattered about the ridge, some showing evidence of corbelled vaults. We picked up some fragments of late tiles, a Hellenistic two-reed amphora handle, and a black glazed kantharos stem not earlier than the middle of the fourth century.

Apart from this group of monuments, Alâzeytin appears to have no cemeteries close at hand. Paton and Myres conjectured that the tombs by the roadside several kilometres to the north might be associated with this site;¹⁷⁴ and Maiuri noted a 'compound tumulus' between Alâzeytin and the sea.¹⁷⁵ Paton and Myres also refer to a sanctuary near Alâzeytin which yielded early terracottas.¹⁷⁶

The recognition of the eight sites described in this section as Lelegian town sites rests on a number of factors. The ancient city of Termera is located with certainty at Asarlık; and it is almost equally certain from the sudden development of Myndus in the mid-fourth century and from the part played by Myndus in the fighting in 334 B.C. (p. 110), that Termera was one of the Lelegian towns that had been disbanded by Mausolus. The abundance of surface pottery of the fifth and early fourth centuries at Asarlık not only confirms this assumption but offers a valuable criterion for the recognition of the synoecised sites. Asarlık offers two other valuable criteria. One is the hilltop situation with a citadel in the dominating position and an outer circuit lower down on the slopes. The other is the presence of chamber tumuli and early tomb complexes in the vicinity of the town site. By these criteria the sites at Burgaz, Gürice, Gökçeler, and Alâzeytin can at once be recognised as Lelegian town sites. With the inclusion of these we can add to the criteria the presence within some of our circuits of ruins of closely packed stone-built houses, in the style of architecture which we recognise as Lelegian, and normally in association with pottery of pre-synoecism date; and we can thus proceed to add the Karadağ and Göl sites to the list. The site at Bozdağ lacks any trace of a cemetery, and seems smaller

¹⁷⁴ *JHS* XVI 198 ff.

¹⁷⁵ *Ann.* IV-V 439 f., fig. 47. See p. 166.

¹⁷⁶ *JHS* XVI 200. It appears from letters shown us by Sir John Myres that Paton could not definitely establish the position of this sanctuary but ascertained from a 'retentive old dyer' at Syme that it was located near Alâzeytin (apparently to the exclusion of Theangela); it is apparently this site that is referred to in *BMC Terracottas* 92, where pieces similar to the sixth-century horseman B 118 (*cf.* p. 94, n. 58) are mentioned.

than any of the town sites, save perhaps that at Gürice; but its situation is characteristic, and the pottery offers decisive evidence that the site was abandoned in the fourth century B.C. There is one other peculiarity that binds these sites together: on all save Asarlık and Gökçeler (where the town was dominated by a small 'keep') a tower in more or less squared masonry with drafted angles seems to have been deliberately superimposed on the citadel; the significance of these towers is considered below (p. 168). There is no other site known to us on the peninsula that could rank as a Lelegian town site, and the fortified positions that we have visited farther to the east—at Sıralık, Kisebükü, and Gökbel (pp. 131 f., 134 f.)—do not bear the stamp of Lelegian settlement.

INSCRIPTIONS.

We have discovered no inscriptions of the Lelegian towns.

OTHER SITES AND REMAINS

Less extensive ancient remains have been noted or are to be seen at a large number of other points on the peninsula and the islands that lie close inshore. We give a brief summary of the known sites in this section, together with a note of the sites that we have examined as far east as Sıralık on the north coast and Gökbel on the south. Paton and Myres have remarked on old roads through the peninsula.¹⁷⁷

THE TERMERIAN PROMONTORY.

The barren rocky island of *Çatallaradası* ¹⁷⁸ opposite Karatoprak had a cottage or two before the Greeks left Asia Minor, but is now deserted; it has two narrow isthmuses with faint traces of ancient occupation and the foundations of an ancient tower approached by a path above the southern isthmus. The sherds are mainly Hellenistic, but go back into the fourth, if not the fifth, century. The island of *Pserimos* lies out to sea, and would not require mention here had it not also been named in recent years as a possible location for the Carian town of Caryanda. It shields the passage between Kos and Kalymnos, and has an underfed population of three hundred; it is attached for administrative purposes to Kalymnos, and was probably included in the *Καλύδναι* of Homer *Il.* II 677 (*cf.* Strabo X 489). There are faint traces of Roman and early Christian occupation near the modern anchorage, and the corner of a dry rubble building, presumably a watch tower, stands on a peak facing Kos; but there is no indication of earlier occupation or of a Carian hill settlement. The late inscription noted by Paton, which contained the phrase ἐν Ψηρίμῳ, almost certainly gave the proper name of this insignificant island.¹⁷⁹ At *Kadıkalesi*, just south of Myndus, there are Hellenistic sherds on the ground and the remains of a mediaeval fortification faced with squared greenstone blocks, which were perhaps brought from the site of Myndus.¹⁸⁰ At *Karatoprak* and *Akçaalan* no building traces have been noted, but inscriptions have been found in both places (p. 137, nos. 48–9).^{180a} At *Beleniçi*, twenty minutes' walk SSE of Akçaalan, there are rock tombs in a valley descending from the mountain-side; one of these, which we examined, has three sarcophagi cut in the rock like that at Gürice (FIG. 8), and has the same internal measurement of 2.60 m.

¹⁷⁷ *JHS* XVI 201.

¹⁷⁸ Or Karabağlar, *cf.* *ATL* I 498.

¹⁷⁹ *BCH* XII 282 f. *Cf.* the Pserima of Pliny *NH* V 134; for mediaeval forms of the name see Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie v. Kleinasien* 22. According to Segre, *Ann.* XXII–XXIII 219 f., Coan and Mausolan coins have been unearthed in the fields.

¹⁸⁰ Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 579.

^{180a} The inscriptions of Karatoprak are related by Petrarca to the cult of Artemis Myndia (*Rend. Lincei* XII (1936), 260).

from front to back, but is only 2.45 m. wide (the ends of the middle sarcophagus overlapping those on the side); its ceiling is slightly vaulted, as at Gürice, but there are also beam sockets in the walls and cuttings for a door-frame in the jambs. These tombs may be outliers of the Asarlık cemeteries. About ten minutes' walk south of *İslamhaneleri* there is another such tomb, with traces of three sarcophagi and internal measurements of 2.60 × 3.20 m., and groups of two and three parallel gallery tombs cut in the rock;¹⁸¹ a little to the south of these tombs, at Kuyucak, we noted scattered marbles from a Byzantine church, including the large inscribed mullion (p. 137, no. 50). The route from Myndus to Halicarnassus descends at Dereköy into a fruitful valley, from which it rises to cross the main watershed at Gürice. On rising ground at the roadside one kilometre east of *Dereköy* there are marble architectural pieces, both late classical and early Christian, and a fragment of a monumental dedication (p. 138, no. 52); they may perhaps indicate the position of a sanctuary. A badly damaged marble statue of a lion in Late Greek style and an inscribed stele (p. 137, no. 51), now at the school in the village, are also said to have been found in this place. About 2 km. south of Karatoprak there are some traces of a small fort with good walling just above the sea at *Erentepesi*, with tiles and amphora fragments of late date; and in the seaward face of the hillock is a rock-cut galleried tomb with a side bench. Paton and Myres reported some rough house or tomb platforms on the peak inland¹⁸² and a farm site east towards Asarlık.¹⁸³ On the beach at the SW tip of the Termerian promontory there are late building traces and an inscribed bucranium altar (p. 137, no. 47). At *Aspat* there is a full stream but little land. The commanding conical hill of Çifitkalesi there has a mediaeval circuit wall and keep, with traces of an earlier Christian monastery of the Virgin;¹⁸⁴ and ancient architectural pieces are built into the walls. Around the north and west foot of the hill are rock-cut tombs and the ruins of a village already deserted in 1837.¹⁸⁵ The village of *Bağla* is almost deserted; there are squared blocks with a slightly cushioned face and odd marbles among the houses, and an inscription in Athens appears to have come from there (p. 136, no. 46).

CENTRAL PART OF PENINSULA.

At *Yalı Cuma* in the valley bottom there are traces of habitation of Roman times and the remains of a Christian building, and we copied two late funerary inscriptions (p. 136, nos. 44–5); a little distance inland there are rock-cut tombs. The plain of *Müsgebi* offers singularly few antiquities. The village itself contains numerous Mausoleum greenstone blocks and some marbles, but they seem to have been brought from Halicarnassus.¹⁸⁶ There are late classical and Christian remains c. 1 km. to the west at Hacı İbrahimtepesi, which may be the site of the large Byzantine church mentioned by Paton and Myres.¹⁸⁷ Near the head of the valley, by a cottage at *Beypinar*, we noted a patch of geometrical mosaic in pink, grey, and white, ancient blocks and a late Corinthian anta-capital, an inscribed Hellenistic tombstone (p. 138, no. 53), the inscribed column shaft pp. 138 f., no. 54, and a white marble roundel with an ivy-wreathed satyr's head in relief (PLATE 13 (a)).¹⁸⁸ On the east of the valley here a small fortification in

¹⁸¹ These have the form of simple boxes open at one end; one which we measured was 0.85 m. broad, 0.75 m. high, and 2.20 m. from front to back.

¹⁸² *JHS* XVI 204, Hill 'F'.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* 262.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Newton II 588 f.; *BCH* XIV 120. This site, as L. Robert has remarked (*Études épigr. et phil.* 165 f.), is probably that of the important mediaeval fortress of Strobilos near Myndus (Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie v. Kleinasien im Mittelalter* 38 f.); the name Strobilos implies a conical hill, and St. Willibald in the eighth century after Christ described this Strobilos as a city on or at a high mountain (T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* 20 and 60). For the Christian inscriptions of Çifitkalesi see Grégoire, *Inscr. chrét.* nos. 232 f.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor* II 38; Newton, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *JHS* XVI 203.

¹⁸⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁸ H. 0.42; breadth 0.38; thickness in centre 0.12 m.; the back is roughly worked off. It seems too rough for an oscillum.

heavy rough masonry hedges the sharp crest of the *Türkmen Dağ*; there is little sign of occupation there, but odd wall traces and abundant late pottery and Roman tile fragments are to be seen at the north foot of the ridge towards Belen. At *Bitez* there are occasional ancient blocks and fragments of tile, and an inscribed base of a funerary altar (p. 136, no. 43); worked stones and a pedestal of an altar dedicated to Dionysus (p. 135, no. 42) have recently come to light in a garden in the village. There are some other remains of late antiquity in the valley to the south. Paton and Myres also noted forts on the headland south of *Bitez* and on a peak of the barren hills between *Bitez* and *Müsgebi*; ¹⁸⁹ of the latter we could see nothing more than a short stretch of heavy walling on the summit.

NORTH COAST OF PENINSULA.

The route northwards from Myndus leads past a succession of little bays. At *Koyunbaba* we noted a few fragments of late amphorae and tiles, and the quarries marked by Paton and Myres at the corners of the cove. The stone appears to be the green granite or ragstone which was extensively used in the fortifications of Myndus and the substructures of the Mausoleum. The workings at the south end of the beach and on the slopes above the bay are relatively small (one of the latter PLATE 17 (a)), but those at the north end of the bay are of great extent. The quarry here consists of a cutting approximately 200 m. square, with a face up to perhaps 9 m. high,¹⁹⁰ which lies at a stone's throw from the coast, and a long shelf at the water's edge (PLATE 17 (b)). The lower shelf has been quarried back so that the water now laps onto it; and one can hardly doubt that it not only provided the original quarry at this point but subsequently served as a wharf for the loading of stone from the great cutting directly above. The quarry faces are scarred by horizontal ledges which give the depth of the untrimmed blocks; the majority of those which we measured ranged between 0.43 and 0.45 m., though deeper (and occasionally shorter) steps are found.¹⁹¹ West of *Geriş*, by a village which was called *Mandrais*, Paton and Myres remarked an early tomb enclosure¹⁹² and a fortified farm,¹⁹³ and a tower or tomb on the high peak behind *Geriş*.¹⁹⁴ There are scattered traces of late classical and Christian occupation along the bay of *Sandıma* around *Yalıkavak*, and the inscription noted by Newton (II 592) is still to be seen built into a field wall at the isthmus. There are rock tombs in the vicinity.¹⁹⁵ At *Dirmil* a peak above the modern village is crowned by a small fort of irregular outline in a mixture of ashlar and polygonal masonry; a tower in squared masonry forms an integral part of the design.¹⁹⁶ In the shelf against the west face of the tower is a bottle-shaped cistern lined with red plaster; on the south edge of the summit there are building traces and patches of polychrome mosaic, and the tiles and sherds seem to be of a late period. The occupation therefore seems to be post-Mausolan. Paton and Myres remark rock tombs below the village,¹⁹⁷ and we noted occasional marbles there and at *Farılya*. By the road between *Dirmil* and *Farılya* various antiquities of the Roman and Byzantine periods are to be seen in the fields at *Arapmezarlıği*; they include a fragment of a white marble banquet relief with reclining figure, horse's head and amphora, architectural pieces in the Ionic order and the

¹⁸⁹ *JHS* XVI 202, pl. 11 (sketching stations Θ and Υ).

¹⁹⁰ *JHS* LXXIII 125, fig. 12.

¹⁹¹ Pullan gives the depth of the blocks in the Mausoleum core as one foot (*Halicarnassus* II 183). We did not revisit Myndus after seeing these quarries, and have no measurements for the greenstone blocks in the fortifications there; Guidi's figure of 0.45 m. (*Ann.* IV-V 368) applies to a tower with headers and stretchers which may be of a later date than the original system of fortification.

¹⁹² *JHS* VIII 78.

¹⁹³ At *Azacık*, *JHS* XVI 206.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 207, pl. 11, sketching station 'Q'.

¹⁹⁵ *JHS* XVI 261 f. Newton's inscription has *alpha*, not *mu*, in the first place, and the *sigma* square.

¹⁹⁶ *JHS* XVI 207 f. The plan *ibid.*, fig. 8 is inaccurate in the marking of the north wall; the north face of the tower should according to our notes be shown as forming a right angle with the east face and so creating a bend in the wall here.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Newton II 592 ff., tombs and perhaps a tower at *Filkecek*.

two inscriptions below (pp. 139 f., nos. 58–9). There are late rock tombs at *Farilya* bay, and tumuli are reported on the promontory to the west.¹⁹⁸ At *Türkbükü* and *Göl* there are more rock tombs, and there are groups of Christian ruins on the shores of *Göl* bay;¹⁹⁹ about ten minutes' walk inland here we noted a Hellenistic epitaph (p. 140, no. 60). *Konelada* is a rocky, scrub-covered island, now deserted, with a hill at either end. On the summit of the southern one is a church with a nave and two narrow aisles, and paintings in the apse and south aisle (for painted inscriptions see pp. 140 f.); some of the stones built into the church may be ancient. Some 50 m. to the SW of the church is an angle of ancient wall c. 1 m. thick, constructed of good-sized blocks with rubble filling between the faces; the wall can be traced for c. 30 m. in either direction. The pottery on the surface around the hilltop included coarse local ware and mediaeval glazed sherds.²⁰⁰ We did not examine the steep wooded country between *Göl* and *Torba* bay.²⁰¹

EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.

The ancient route from Halicarnassus seems to have forked at the top of the pass at *Yokuşbaşı*, where we noted numerous ancient blocks (perhaps from built tombs of Halicarnassus), three bucranium altars (one inscribed, p. 105, no. 28), a Roman milestone (p. 106, no. 33), and gallery rock tombs in the vicinity. The modern motor route traverses the high ground eastwards to descend into the *Karaova* near *Etrim*. Paton and Myres recognised the line of an ancient road here, flanked by late tombs;²⁰² on the massif of *Kaplan Dağı* north of the road Paton and Myres also remarked tumuli (and perhaps small forts), and a long line of wall which they convincingly associated with the Pedasian resistance to Harpagus on Mt. Lide (Hdt. I 175).²⁰³ Before the construction of the motor road the principal route from *Bodrum* to *Milâs* is said to have been that which descends from *Yokuşbaşı* to the east side of *Torba* bay and follows the coast to *Güvercinlik*.²⁰⁴ On the long coastal stretch here a road for wheeled traffic has been engineered two or three metres above the sea; it was embanked by a wall of rubble masonry (in places well over two metres high) on the slope; and it had a consistent width of 5–6 m., though it may occasionally have narrowed to a single lane at awkward points. The road is older than the Turkish pack route, whose *kalderim* often forms a narrow track deep down in the eroded bed of the old roadway; and from the scale of the work and the importance evidently attached to communication between Halicarnassus and *Mylasa* we have little hesitation in ascribing the construction of the road to Mausolus. We noted the traces of a rough perimeter wall, with coursed work at an angle, on a small island at *Zeytinli Kahve*;²⁰⁵ the island was joined to the land by a short causeway, and a little jetty once offered shelter for a few boats at the isthmus. We found no pottery earlier than Hellenistic, and the settlement here seems to have been very small. The site at *Sıralık* is that to which H. Kiepert assigned *Caryanda*, and Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor allotted the *Uranium* of Pliny (p. 163); it is spread over a blunt peninsula which rises perhaps 40 m. above the sea and commands the coast road. There are considerable remains of late buildings, with sherds of late Roman *sigillata*, and of a Christian

¹⁹⁸ Newton II 595; *JHS* XVI 208 f., 253 f., 262. Another rock tomb on the east side of the bay has a chamber 3.57 × 3.20 m. with single cubicles on the sides and two large cubicles at the back (that on the right, no doubt the owner's, having a niche for an inscription over the door).

¹⁹⁹ Newton II 595 ff.; *JHS* XIV 376 f., XVI 210; *Ann.* IV–V 363, figs. 20–22.

²⁰⁰ Prof. Haspels has examined samples, and reports that the coarse local ware is ancient (one fragment apparently Hellenistic), while the glazed ware is to be dated between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.

²⁰¹ Paton and Myres mark a Byzantine church inland here (*JHS* XVI, pl. 10) and tumuli at *Torba* bay (*ibid.* 254). A mausoleum was noted here, of which we hope to give a photograph in our concluding article on the Carian coast.

²⁰² *JHS* XVI 198 f.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* 194 ('compound tumuli' *ibid.* 249, 254).

²⁰⁴ Cf. Newton II 602, where both routes are remarked; Prokesch v. Osten in 1827 followed the coastal one (*Denkwürdigkeiten* 443 f.). The walking time *Bodrum*–*Milâs* is reckoned a good 12 hours (cf. Ross, *Reisen* IV 38, Newton, II 602, 610).

²⁰⁵ Admiralty Chart 1546.

church on the summit. At the foot of the slope towards the anchorage on the east we noted the remains of a tower in ashlar masonry with vertically drafted angles; it may have been the corner of a considerable circuit, but dense scrub hampered reconnaissance at this point. The earliest pottery that we found on the site came from glazed ware (and especially half-glazed plates) of middle Hellenistic times. The situation bears no resemblance to those of the Lelegian towns, and the site has none of the characteristics of an early Greek settlement; there is scarcely any land in the immediate vicinity, and habitation now consists of a coastguard station and some seasonal charcoal burners from Bodrum.

Salihadası (Tarandos I., Gölcü Ada) is the principal island in the Iasian Gulf; it is now deserted and covered with almost impenetrable scrub. It was visited in 1865 by Biliotti, who noted four cisterns on the small peninsula at the NE extremity and learned of a tower *c.* 10 m. square in Hellenic masonry on the other side of the island. A visit in August 1953 revealed nothing more on the peninsula, apart from a short stretch of nondescript wall by the water's edge; but on the next hill to the south of the isthmus there are considerable remains. On the summit of this hill an ancient wall forms an enclosure *c.* 160 m. from north to south; the dense scrub prevented a measurement of the breadth from east to west. The wall is of dry rubble with double facing and filling of small stones; the blocks are for the most part small, but larger at the north corner, where one block measures $1.18 \times 0.80 \times 0.45$ m.; the thickness is *c.* 1 m. From this wall others run down the hillside to the south and to the NW. Halfway down the north slope is a stretch of mediaeval wall, and Biliotti notes Byzantine remains near the isthmus. In 1954, armed with bill-hooks, we made a second expedition from the sheltered anchorage in the lee of the N.E. promontory. Numerous rubble walls, apparently from fortifications 1.05–1.30 m. thick as well as from houses, were encountered on the east part of the site; but we were unable to find the remains visited in the preceding year, and so could not accurately gauge the extent of the site, which must, however, have been considerable. The tiles were of the early (*c.* fourth century) type, some showing traces of red glaze, and the sherds of wine amphorae appear to be of a similar period, Chian and Thasian fragments being noted but none of the later Hellenistic types; no fine pottery was found, the conditions underfoot being unfavourable to the discovering of small sherds.

There are some striking remains of Lelegian architecture at a distance of less than an hour's walk to the SE of Halicarnassus. The two most southerly peaks of the mountain ridge directly above Kumbahçe bear faint traces of walling and terrace revetment;²⁰⁶ and on the saddle immediately to the north there is an unusually well-preserved 'compound tumulus', which we have named the 'Tomb of Lygdamis'.²⁰⁷ It has an inner circle *c.* 12.20 m. in diameter and is up to 17.80 m. on the outer ring (PLATE 16 (*d*), plan FIG. 12); the stonework is fairly well fitted, the doors are *c.* 0.70 m. wide and contract towards the top, and all wall faces, save that of the outer ring, have an inward curve. At about a quarter of an hour's walk to the SE, on a low ridge running down towards the sea, is a farmhouse, 14.75×6.35 m., built in rather rough squared masonry of longish blocks (FIG. 13, PLATE 16 (*e-f*)). It consists of two rooms, each with loophole windows (partly closed on the outer face and set at 1.30 m. above the threshold level) in three sides, and a lobby with a solid stone staircase leading up to the roof and a small pantry

²⁰⁶ The remains here are too slight to correspond to the fortified site remarked by Paton on a hilltop here (*JHS* XVI 200). This site was discovered by Paton in 1893 after Myres had gone away, but not investigated. In a letter, which Sir John Myres has kindly allowed us to quote, Paton referred to it as a 'mountain fortress on the hill just above Budrum, on the S.W., with walls of seemingly great extent', and in a subsequent letter he spoke of it as 'on the hill above H. Georgios [at Kumbahçe], Boudroum'. We reconnoitred the mountain ridge here without finding any trace of a fortified site other than that mentioned above, but examined a hilltop a few hundred metres to the east of the crest ringed by a rocky escarpment which so closely resembles a fortification that we were certain while approaching it that it was the site noticed by Paton.

²⁰⁷ For the type see p. 166. The name is for convenience of reference only.

under the landing; ²⁰⁸ there are lockers set in the thickness of the walls, a narrow one (0.30 m. high and set 0.60 m. above the floor) beside the main door, and a larger one 0.70 m. high in a corner of the south room. The main door (PLATE 16 (e)) is 1.13 m. high and 0.70 m. wide; the inner one is 1.54 m. high and 0.90 m. wide (PLATE 16 (f)). The thresholds and lintels are formed of long stretcher blocks, and the lower part of the door jambs of heavy orthostates. There is no sign of door fittings. The floor was presumably of earth. The walls are c. 1.10 m. thick, and rise to a maximum height of 2.40 m. on the exterior. The roof is formed of enormous slabs rising in steps from the edges; in the south room, where it is still nearly complete, it rises

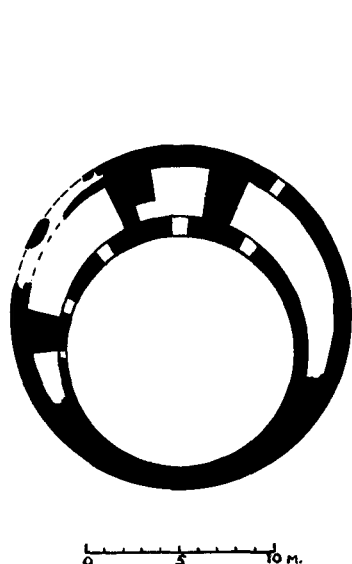


FIG. 12.—TUMULUS EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.

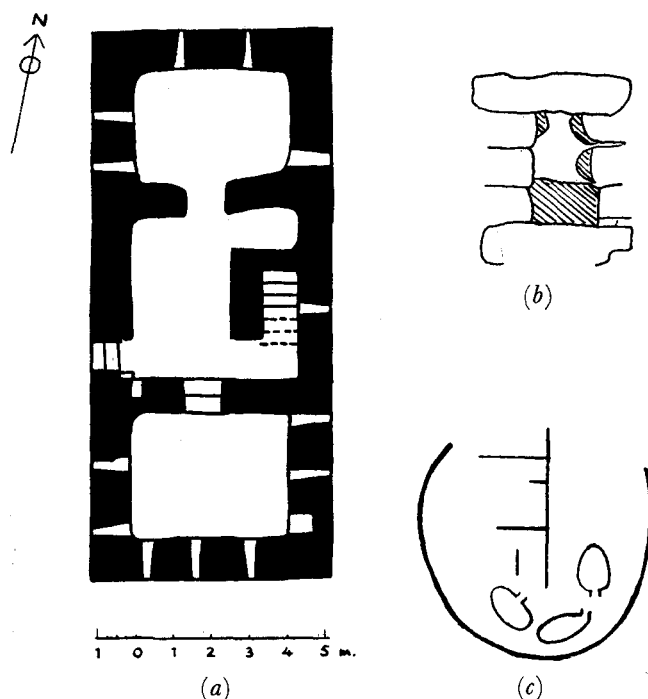


FIG. 13.—FARMHOUSE EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.

(a) *Plan of House* (1 : 200), (b) *Elevation of Window, interior* (1 : 50), (c) *Farmyard* (thumbnail sketch).

from the four corners to the crown, the bracketing beginning low down, so that it is not possible for a man to stand erect within half a metre of the walls, while the height in the centre of the room was about three metres. This form of roofing is characteristic of Lelegian buildings, and seems to have been copied on a magnificent scale in the Mausoleum. The plan of the house, with rooms in line and the outer door in a long side, is also normal; ²⁰⁹ it may have been a normal house type in archaic Ionia also. A few metres away on the NE is a corbelled vault 5–6 m. long sunk in the ground; it presumably belongs to a chamber tomb like the archaic

²⁰⁸ The half closing of the windows is shown by the bonding to belong to the original construction; the windows are mostly c. 0.20 m. wide on the exterior, though varying from 0.17 m. (the stair light) to 0.35 m. (the adjacent window on the north). The top three steps of the staircase (each a single block) are visible, while the lower part of the flight is buried under the collapse of the roof; the risers are 0.20–0.25 m. high, and there is an incline of about 0.05 m. on the tread.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Alâzeytin, *Ann.* IV–V 435, fig. 32 (the original arrangement of the doors of this house has been altered), Urn (JHS XVI 202, fig. 3, main block on north), the house or tomb at Farilya (JHS XVI 253, fig. 30), and a building at Etrim (p. 114).

ones of Asarlık and Gökçeler (pp. 118, 125), and suggests a fairly early date for the group of buildings here. A minute's walk above this lies a curved enclosure, of which an unmeasured thumbnail sketch plan is given (FIG. 13 c). On the north it rests against the hill slope, while the rest of the circumference is retained by a wall in native style. There are traces of apparently above-ground constructions in the west part, while the bottom end is occupied by three eye-shaped underground chambers in corbelled vaulting; these chambers are about 4 m. long and 2.5 m. broad, and have doorways similar in construction to those of the compound tumuli (p. 166), which give onto vaulted connecting passages. We could see no means of judging whether this is a tomb enclosure, as those of Mandrais near Burgaz and Asarlık (p. 166), or a farmyard, but are inclined to prefer the latter solution. Paton remarks Lelegian ruins south-eastwards;²¹⁰ and Judeich and Winter noted a complex of buildings in the lower *Kızılağaç* valley, which may belong to a farm, with a habitation site on the slope above,²¹¹ and a tower near the sea.²¹²

At *Kargıcık* on the bay of Orak there are ancient remains, which include a fortified perimeter on the peninsula. It is roughly oblong with a long side of over 100 m., and apparently had three towers and a gate on the north side; there is nothing in the interior save a modern coast-guard post, and the pottery seems modern. The fortification is constructed of great blocks quarried on the spot, which are only 0.20–0.25 m. deep but are as much as 3 m. long and 1.25 m. thick. The walls are c. 1.70 m. thick and built in a unique style, the long blocks being punctuated by headers and vertical ribs;²¹³ there is, as Maiuri remarks, a hard mortar in many of the joints. Maiuri reckoned this fortification to be one of the most primitive in the whole of Caria, and derived the style of building from mudbrick and timber work; but it is perhaps rather an adaptation of Hellenistic header and stretcher masonry. The place is too barren for any considerable settlement. Complex tomb constructions are known at the entrance to Orak bay and on the little island opposite;²¹⁴ and there is a large unexplained building in a perimeter on the Karaada (Arconnesus).²¹⁵

The remaining sites mentioned in this section lie outside the presumed limits of Lelegian settlement, and do not appear to have anything in common with the Lelegian town sites. At *Alâkilise* bay (Kisebükü) the cultivation is restricted to a few fields, but there are Christian ruins on the shore, and two or three minutes inland a rocky eminence about 30 m. high bears rough fortifications which form a small citadel on the summit with perimeter walls on the slopes.²¹⁶ The Italians noted the odd B.F. sherd, and we picked up striped sherds, fragments of fifth-century wine amphorae, and a bit of a late fifth-century Attic crater in the R.F. style (PLATE 13 (e) 4), black glazed and other fourth-century and Hellenistic wares, and the head of a terracotta 'snowman' of Cypriot type and classical date (PLATE 13 (e) 5).²¹⁷ We found nothing of Roman date. At *Mazı* five miles to the east there are ruins of the Christian era and ancient architectural pieces in the valley bottom near the sea.²¹⁸ A Hellenistic inscription (p. 141, no. 65) apparently relating to a sanctuary, was discovered here, and we copied a late epitaph (p. 142, no. 66) in the village of Aşağı Mazı up the ridge. At the next bay, Çökertme (Vasilika), there

²¹⁰ *JHS* XVI 200.

²¹¹ *AM* XII 224, figs. 1–2. Paton and Myres (*JHS* XVI 254, n. 4) were unable to find these remains.

²¹² *Ibid.* 331 f.

²¹³ *Ann.* IV–V 440 ff., fig. 48a–b.

²¹⁴ *Ann.* IV–V 442 ff., figs. 49–52; *JHS* XVI 255 f., fig. 31.

²¹⁵ Paton and Doerpfeld, *AM* XX 466 ff., pls. 12–13; *JHS* XVI 201; *Ann.* IV–V 449 ff., figs. 57–61.

²¹⁶ *Ann.* IV–V 445 ff., figs. 54–55. We do not know whether this is the same as Paton and Myres' site 'on a precipitous hill (1300 ft.)' overhanging the bay (*JHS* XVI 198), but it is clearly that laid down on Admiralty Chart 1604. Cf. Hula-Szanto, *Bericht über eine Reise in Karien* (*SB Wiener Akad.* CXXXII) 30.

²¹⁷ Cf. *SCE* II pls. 130 ff.

²¹⁸ Hula and Szanto saw substantial remains hereabouts (*op. cit.* 26 f.).

are no considerable remains of antiquity, but fortified positions are reported inland on the mountain heights around *Gökbel*, where H. Kiepert located Bargasa.²¹⁹

On a spur of the mountain south of the village of *Gökbel*, at a height of *c.* 300 m., there is a small citadel on a rocky peak overlooking the valleys of *Mazı* and *Vasilika*, with decrepit ring walls in very rude masonry; we picked up a few worn fragments of archaic and Hellenistic pottery here, including a fragment of a thin-walled relief pithos with meander pattern (PLATE 13 (e) 8).²²⁰ The land on the mountain shelf and in the valleys here could hardly support a population of more than a thousand people; but there was evidently a Greek city in this position in Hellenistic times, since a piece of an honorific decree was brought to light in 1952 on top of the citadel (p. 142, no. 67). The site of *Ceramus* at the delta of the *Koca Çay* is well known and has been described by Lieut. Smith,²²¹ Paton,²²² Guidi,²²³ and Robert.²²⁴ A number of fragments of archaic *kouroi* and other sculptures in marble have recently come to light by the temple platform whence came the archaic marble head noted by Robert in 1932,²²⁵ but we found no archaic or classical sherds there; the new sculptures reinforce Robert's contention that an important temple stood in this position. We copied some new inscriptions on the site (pp. 142 f., nos. 68–70). Paton and Myres mention a tower and remains of buildings on the inhospitable coast between *Ceramus* and *Vasilika*.²²⁶

INSCRIPTIONS (OTHER SITES).

42. Bitez, unearthed in 1952, now serving as a gate-post in the village, a handsome rectangular altar 0.77 m. high, 0.50 m. wide, 0.40 m. thick. The front is decorated with a relief showing a garland from which hangs a bunch of grapes; the garland is crossed obliquely by a thyrsus; above it is a small pendent wreath; below, on the left, two caps (?) resembling the *piloi* of the Dioscuri, on the right, a small circular wreath; below again, on right and left, crossed thyrsi. Oblong sinking on top. The other sides are plain. The inscription is on the rim above the relief, in letters of the Imperial period, reasonably well cut, 20–24 mm. high.

Διότειμος Δράκοντος τοῦ Ἀν-
[τ]ιγένοῦσι ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου Διονύσου-
ν τὸν βωμὸν Διονύσῳ Βακχεῖω



Close to where the altar was found many other ancient blocks are said to have been unearthed; it seems likely there was a precinct of Dionysus here.

²¹⁹ Cf. R. Kiepert, *FOA* VIII 7.

²²⁰ This site is not the same as the tower above the sea marked on Admiralty Chart 1604 and mentioned by Maiuri (*Ann. IV-V* 448 f., fig. 56); cf. also *JHS* XVI 197. It is, however, that visited by Hula and Szanto (*op. cit.* 26).

²²¹ *Ap. Newton* II 627 ff.

²²² *JHS* XI 109 ff.

²²³ *Ann. IV-V* 386 ff.

²²⁴ *AJA* 1935, 341 ff.

²²⁵ Devambez, *AJA* 1935, 344 ff., now in Smyrna Museum. Two terracotta figurines of classical date in the Louvre (Mollard-Besques, *Cat. raisonné* C 160–1, pl. 80) are reported to have come from *Ceramus*. ²²⁶ *JHS* XVI 197.

43. Bitez, lying beside a tower in the village, rectangular plinth with lower moulding of a round altar, 0.28 m. high, 0.63 m. wide (but broken on the left), 0.70 m. thick. Letters of late Hellenistic date, 21–29 mm. high.

[Διο]γύσιος Διοδώρου
χαῖ[ρε]

Not [χρηστὲ] χαῖρε. Cf. no. 53 below, which is of similar date.

At a church some fifteen minutes south-west of the village, among other ancient blocks, are an altar-base similar to the above and an oil-press.

44. Yalicuma, over the door of the house of Hasan Hüseyin Çavuşun Mustafa, a block 0.29 m. high (broken at the top), 1.075 m. long (broken on the right), 0.10 m. thick. Letters 4–5 cm. high in l. 2; in l. 1 only the bottom halves remain. Inscription complete on the left and below.

τῷ ἱερῳτάτῳ ταμείῳ * ,α καὶ ὑπο[- - -]
ρι τούτων νενομοθ[- - -]

Read καὶ ὑπο[κρίσεται τοῖς πε]ρὶ τούτων νενομοθ[ετημένοις] or the like.

45. Close to the same house at Yalicuma, unearthed in 1952, a funeral stele 0.58 m. high, 0.235 m. wide, 0.06 m. thick; letters 35–40 mm. high, with apices.

Γαίου
Ἰου(λίου)· Ἐρ-
μονεί-
κου

46. Athens, Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. 202, from the village of Μπαλαῖς, seven hours from Halicarnassus, fragment of a grey limestone slab, broken on the left; height 0.22 m., present width 0.36 m., thickness 0.065 m. Below the inscription is a relief of a snake (the head broken away). Letters 12–15 mm. high in ll. 1–5, 30–40 mm. in l. 6.

[- - -]!C κατὰ προστάγματα σεμνά
[- - -]!I μεγάλου Πλουτέος Ἑρμοῦ
[- - -] Μενεκράτης πολύχαριν εὐχὴν
[- - -]ων μεγάλων θεῶν προθύμως
[- - -]κω γράμματι τὸν στίχον ἐπιγράψας
[A] E H I O Y Ω
I A Ω

The village of Μπαλαῖς we take to be Bağla, which answers to the distance from Bodrum.

The amount lost on the left is approximately determined by the missing *alpha* in l. 6; it should be not more than 11–12 letters in l. 1, or 9–10 letters in l. 5.

For the association of Pluto with Hermes see *RE s.v.* 'Pluton' § 12. We have Διὸς Πλουτῆος on an altar at Halicarnassus (*CIG* 2655 b = Michel 800), but we are not aware of any actual identification of Hermes and Pluto elsewhere. The στίχος of l. 5 is evidently the series of the seven vowels inscribed below, but the significance of this is not clear to us. The letters I A Ω (understood to represent the Hebrew name of God), and also the snake, are common on magic amulets; see most recently Campbell Bonner in *Hesperia* XXIII (1954), 145–151, nos. 30, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40. We must leave the interpretation of this interesting inscription to those who are more familiar than we are with the intricacies of Greek magic.

47. Akyerler, near Kemer west of Kefaluka, lying on the beach half-buried in sand, about a quarter of a mile west of the lighthouse, a round altar with bucranium decoration, 0.65 m. high, 0.43 m. in diameter at the top. Letters 23–26 mm. high. On top is a rectangular sinking 0.19 m. long, 0.08 m. wide, 0.07 m. deep.

τὸ μνημεῖ-
ον
(bucranium)
Φιλοστόργου α' καὶ Γ(αίου) Ἰ(ουλίου)
Φλώρου καὶ τῶν γυ-
5 ναϊκῶν αὐτῶν καὶ
τῶν ἐκ τούτων
ἐσομένων.
ζῶσιν

L. 3. α' = τοῦ Φιλοστόργου. α' is thus used instead of the usual β' in certain parts of Asia Minor, notably in the south-west; for Halicarnassus cf. *BMI* 893, 898 and Hirschfeld's note.

The personal name Philostorgos (not in Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*) we do not remember to have seen elsewhere.

We heard a few days later that this stone had been smashed by the villagers.

48. Akçaalan. The interesting epitaph published by Paton in *BCH* XII (1888) 279, no. 3, is built into the house of Izzet Gani at Akçaalan. In ll. 3–4 read τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ | [Ε]ὐκαιρίας, not αὐτ[ο]ῦ Καίριος. The name of the village is given by Paton as Tcherenda, which has sometimes been supposed to preserve the name of Caryanda; this name seems now no longer to be in use.

49. Akçaalan. In the epitaph published by Cousin and Diehl in *BCH* XIV (1890), 119, the wife's name in l. 4 should be restored Ἀνεν[κλήτη]; see above p. 103, no. 20. Cousin and Diehl give the name of the village as Ak-shallah.

50. Kuyucak, fifteen minutes S.W. of Islamhaneleri, on a church-window mullion of grey limestone 1.79 m. high; letters 24–45 mm. high.

μν-
ίσθι-
τη,
Κ(ύρι)ε,
5 ΠΑΡ
Δῶ
ἀμ-
αρτ-
ολοῦ
10 πρεσ(βυτέρου)
ἀμή-
ν

Ll. 5–6. The rare name Παρδος is known from *Corp. Inscr. Jud.* I 159 (Rome), and should no doubt be read here in preference to Πάβλου, i.e. Παύλου. Dr. M. Khatzidakis suggests a date in the fifth or sixth century.

51. Dereköy, built into a wall in the yard of the school, a funeral stele 0.69 m. high, 0.31 m. wide, 0.075 m. thick. Letters, much worn, 23–25 mm. high.

Ἀλλέας
Ἀρχᾶς
Ὁρθαγόρα

For the rare name Ἀλλέας cf. *Inscr. v. Magnesia* 321. We have not found the name Ἀρχᾶς elsewhere, but Ἀρχῆς (contracted from Ἀρχέας) occurs on Rhodian territory (Fraser-Bean, *Rhodian Peraea* 37, no. 23 (c), l. 28). In l. 3, Ὀρθαγόρα is apparently the patronymic; there is no room on the stone for Ὀρθαγόρα[ς]. The date may be comparatively early.

52. Dereköy, in the wall of the coffee-house by the roadside, ten minutes east of the village, a block broken right and left, now 0.60 m. wide, 0.32 m. high, thickness not ascertainable. Inscription in monumental letters c. 7 cm. high.

ΙΣΑΡ . Ι
ΑΝΕΚΤ

Apparently the dedication of a building. After *rho* in l. 1 the traces on the stone suggest *phi*; probably [ὁ δεῖνα φιλόκα]ισαρ φι[λόπατρις - - - τὴν στο]άν *vel sim.* ἐκ τ[ῶν ιδίων ἀνέθηκεν].

53. Beypınar, outside the house of Mehmet Muslu, a rectangular block of porous green stone 0.79 m. high, 0.43 m. wide, 0.40 m. thick, found in 1951. Dowel-hole in the under surface, top surface plain. A relief on the inscribed face has been entirely chiselled away. Letters 24 mm. high, very regular, of late Hellenistic date.

Μηνόδοτος
Μενεσθέως
χαῖρε

54. Beypınar, together with no. 53, found many years ago, part of a milestone broken in two pieces; combined height of the pieces 1.07 m., diameter 0.38 m. Letters of varying heights.

(a) Upper portion.

οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν
Φλ. Κοσταντ Κῶ
Φλ. Κωνστ
ΤΟΙΩΝΙΟΙΕΥΣΕ Β
Φλ. Οὐαλ(ερίω) Κωνσταντίω καὶ
Φλ. Οὐαλ(ερίω) Μα[ξ]ιμιανῶ τοῖς
ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν

(b) Lower portion.

† ἐπὶ Φλ. Ἀνα-
στασίου τοῦ
εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
βασιλέως
Φλ. Ἰωάννης ὁ μεγ-
λοπρε(πέστατος) κόμ(ης) κ. ὑ-
πατικός

The stone carries other fragments of writing now unintelligible; the inscription has evidently been erased and reinscribed a number of times. For (b) cf. no. 33a above.

(a) 1, δεσπότες. First declension plural in -ες occurs apparently as early as c. A.D. 200 (Mendel, *Catalogue* no. 992: παροδίτες); cf. Hatzidakis, *Einl. in d. neugriech. Gramm.* 139 f.

Assuming (what is not certain) that the stone has not been carried far from its original

position, we have evidence of a Roman highway passing up the Beypınar valley. For the possibility that it led to the sanctuary of Telmessian Apollo see below, pp. 154 f.; if it continued to the north, it led presumably to the late town on the shore at Yalıkavak (Lower Sandıma).

55. Geriş (Gheresi), from the cemetery, now in the school, inscribed block subsequently cut to form a late column base (or capital). Published without comment by Paton in *BCH* XII (1888), 280, no. 5; we offer a rather more complete text.

[- - - - -]
 [.]CH[.]ΥΕΙΚΩ[- - c.6 - -]
 ΗΝ καὶ [- - c.11 - -] αὐτὴν κατ' ἀ[νδ]-
 ρογενίαν [κα]ὶ Πῶλλα Ἀθηναίου, Δ-
 ρακοντί[ς . .]ωτου, Ζωσάριν Ἐρω-
 5 τος, Ἀττέλιν, Ἀμφινόη μόναι,
 καὶ Κάρπος Σωζομένου, Ἑρμᾶ-
 ς Εὐτυχᾶ, Κοίντος Γλαύκωνος
 ἀρχαιρέσιοι, καὶ τούτων τῶν
 τριῶν αἰ[ε]ὶ κατ' ἀνδρογενίαν,
 10 καὶ Λούκιον Σπέδιον Διό-
 τειμον μόνον. αἰ ὕ-
 ποκάτω ὑπόσται ἔστω-
 σαν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέ-
 ρη ἀνεξέταστοι

L. 2 fin. The letters ΝΔ were apparently lost when the block was trimmed for re-use.

L. 4. For Ζωσάριν (*i.e.* Ζωσάριον) cf. *BSA* XLVII (1953), 198, no. 41 (Cnidus).

L. 5. Ἀττέλιν (*i.e.* Ἀττέλιον) is nearly certain; the name is unknown to us. Paton reads Ἀττί[ν]η.

L. 8. The word ἀρχαιρέσιοι (the reading is correct) seems not to occur elsewhere, and is overlooked in LS⁹ and Buck-Petersen, *Reverse Index*. We take it to be a variant form of αἰρεσιάρχαι, 'leaders of the sect, heresiarchs'. The family is no doubt Christian, as is suggested by the names Paula and Sozomenos.

L. 10. We do not understand why Paton prints Σπέ(ν)διον.

Ll. 11-14. We understand: 'the spaces directly underneath each tomb shall belong to the owners (of each tomb) absolutely (ἀνεξέταστοι, "without question").'

56. Yalıkavak (Lower Sandıma), recently dug up near the isthmus and about to be built into a house in the village, a plain block 0.65 m. long, 0.27 m. high, 0.17 m. thick. Byzantine letters 8 cm. high.

[- - θεο]φύλακτον[- -]

57. Yalıkavak, found with no. 56, a similar block subsequently lost. Copy by a villager.

ΤΟΥCEN≡ΤΟΟΙΚΟΥ

i.e. τοὺς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ.

58. Arapmezarlı, on the road from Dirmil to Farilya, in the wall of the cemetery; now in a neighbouring house. Block of soft stone, broken on the right, complete on all other sides, 0.34 m. high, 0.33 m. wide, 0.115 m. thick. Letters 20-32 mm. high, of Imperial date.

τὸ ἡρῶ[ον το]ῦτ[ο ὁ δεῖνα κατε]-
 σκεύασεν ἐαυ[τοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς]
 αὐτοῦ Ἐπιγόν[ης τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ τῶν τέ]-
 κνων (αὐ)τοῦ Θευδ[- καὶ τοῦ δεῖνος σὺν γυναι]-

- 5 ξὶν αὐτῶν /[- - - - -]
 ἐν ᾧ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται ἄλλω τεθῆναι εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἐξ-
 αὐτῶν αἰεὶ [ἐσομένοις. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα]
 ποιήσει, ἀ[ποτεῖσει τῇ κυρία *vel sim.* Ἀρτέμι]-
 δι Ἐφεσία [δηνάρια -]

L. 4. του for αὐτοῦ, as in modern Greek, is attested from the sixth century (*IGLS* 651), but can hardly be intentional here.

There is, of course, nothing surprising in the mention of Artemis Ephesia; there was similarly a cult of Artemis Pergaea at Halicarnassus (*BMI* 895).

59. Arapmezarlığı, in the wall of the cemetery, a lintel-block of white marble 0.68 m. long, 0.09 m. high, 0.34 m. thick. Byzantine letters 53 mm. high.

[- - -]γένετω παρὰ Κω(νσταντίνου) ταπεινοῦ κ(αὶ) ἀμα[ρτωλοῦ - - -]

Inscription recording the construction of a certain building by one Constantine, of Middle Byzantine date according to Dr. Khatzidakis.

60. Lower Göl, over the door of house no. 54, a block 0.16 m. high, more than 1.03 m. long, *c.* 0.20 m. thick. Elegant letters 36–38 mm. high; branching *sigma*, *upsilon* with curved strokes, *nu* with right-hand upright slightly shorter than the left.

[τῷ δεῖνι - -]ασίας Διονυσίου ἥρωι

This inscription can hardly be later than 200 B.C., and is apparently the earliest yet discovered on the territory of Myndus. The name may be [Π]ασίας or [Στ]ασίας.

61. Konel Ada, in the church, a fragment of white marble.



62. Konel Ada, painted *graffito* in the south aisle of the church.

ὁδε ὁ
 ἄμνος
 [το]ῦ Θε(ε)οῦ
 ὁ ἔρων
 5 τὴν ἀμαρ-
 τίαν τοῦ
 κόσμου
 †

The text is from John 1, 29, with apparently ὁδε for ἴδε.

63. Konel Ada. Ditto.

Χ Ε Θ
 // // // // //
 INI B O Χ(ριστ)ἔ ὁ
 [- - - -]
 // // // // // INI βο-
 Ε Ν Ο [ή]θ[ι ποι]-
 [μ]ένο[ς ?]
 Θ Ε Ω Θεω-
 Δ Ω Ρ Ο Υ δώρου
 Α Μ Α C Υ ἄμα συ(μ)-
 Β Ι Ο C T E βίο (κἔ) τέ-
 Κ Ν Υ C A κνυς. ἄ-
 Μ Η Ν † μὴν †

64. Konel Ada. Ditto.

† ὁ Θ[εὸς]
 ἄπα[- - -]
 ΤΥ[.]ο[- - ἄσ]-
 χολίας, ἄ-
 5 φεσιν ἄμα-
 ρτιῶ[ν] δώ-
 ρισε (ἴ)ωάν-
 νου ταπι-
 νοῦ μονα-
 10 [χ]οῦ. [ἄμ]ήν

Ll. 6-7. δώρισε aorist imperative.

65. Aşağı Mazı Yalısı (Çeşmebaşı), at the house, a block of pale grey-blue limestone dug up in 1950, broken right and left, complete at top and bottom, 0.28 m. high, 0.19 m. wide, 0.15 m. thick. Letters 10-15 mm. high, *omicron* mostly smaller. c. 200 B.C. Squeeze PLATE 13 (f).

[- - - -]ΑΝ vac.
 [- - - -]ΙΟΣΙΕΡΟ vac.
 [- - - -]ετράδι αἶρεθέντ[- - - -]
 [- - - -]πόνου Διοδώρου[- - - -]
 5 [- - -Θ]εοδώρωι Θεωδωρο[ν -]
 [- - - -]ΤΡΩΝ καλουμένω[ν ? -]
 [- - -δ]ωρος Μητροδώρ[ου ? -]
 [- - - -]ιαυτος προσε[- - - -]
 [- - - -]νους ἱεροῦς λιμέν[ας - -]
 10 [- - - -]ΤΙΩΝ ἐπὶ ἱεροπ[οι - -]
 [- - - -]μένην ἐν τῶι ἱερ[ῶι]

L. 1. These letters hardly seem to belong to the main inscription; they are smaller than those in l. 2, and *alpha* has the broken bar, which it has not elsewhere.

L. 2. The letters in this line are rather larger than the rest; it evidently formed a heading.

L. 4. Perhaps -γόνου, e.g. [Ἐπι]γόνου.

L. 6. The first two letters are uncertain, and seem to have been altered; possibly ΤΙΩΝ or ΠΩΝ.

It is unfortunate that so little remains of this inscription, which belongs evidently to the city at Gökbel (see below no. 67). The allusion to the 'Sacred Harbours' (l. 9) is interesting; there is a moderate anchorage at Aşağı Mazi Yalısı (Mahazi Bay), but the principal harbour of the city must have been at Çökertme (Vasilika Bay) a little to the east. By the shore at Aşağı Mazi Yalısı we saw numerous ancient blocks, but nothing apparently *in situ* or suggestive of any particular kind of building.

66. Aşağı Mazi village, in the porch of the house of Ali Cangır, but said to have come from Alâkilise, a rectangular block broken at the top and on the left; present height 0.25 m., present width 0.51 m., thickness not ascertainable. Letters 20–24 mm. high, of Imperial date. In ll. 1–3 a fault in the face of the stone has been avoided by the lapicide.

[- - - - - εἰ δέ τις μετὰ τὸν ἐμὸν] θά νατον τολμήσι
[ἔτερον θεῖναι, μήτε γῆ βαττή μή]τε θάλασσα πλωτῇ
[μήτε τέκνων μήτε βίου ἀπόλαυσ]ις, ἀλλ' ὦλη πανώλη
[- - - - -]νθοντα καὶ τούτων τὸν
5 [- - - - -][[. .]] ἐνθήσι τῷ ταμίῳ * σ'
(leaf)

Ll. 2–3. For a version of this familiar curse at Halicarnassus see *BMI* 918.

L. 5. The extant words (following an erasure of uncertain length) seem to be a later addition.

67. Gökbel village, built into the house of Mustafa Karakuş, a fragment of a block of grey limestone broken on all sides except the left, 0.14 m. high, 0.27 m. wide, 0.18 m. thick. Letters of the second century B.C., 13 mm. high. The stone was found very recently at the small walled site just south of the village; the exact place was pointed out to us a few yards south of the summit. As it is now placed, the first two or three letters of each line are covered by a wooden post, and are legible only with difficulty; they do not appear on the squeeze (PLATE 15 (d)).

[- - - - - τὸν δῆ]-
μον διατελεῖ ἐμ πα[ντὶ καιρῷ λέγων καὶ πράττων καθό]-
[λω]ς τὰ συμφέροντα Ε[- - - - -]
[. .]ς καὶ κεχρύσωκε[ν - - - - -] ὅπως οὖν ὁ δῆ]-
μος φαίνεται ἀξίας [χάριτας καὶ τιμὰς ἀποδιδούς τοῖς φι]-
λαγάθως διακειμέν[οις αὐτῷ· δεδόχθαι στεφανῶσαι αὐ]-
τὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κ[αὶ - - - - -]
[.]αι ἀναγραφάτωσαν ἐν τ[- - - - -]

vacat

The decree is of the most ordinary type, but is important as proving, in conjunction with no. 65, the existence of a Greek city at Gökbel in Hellenistic times. For the probability that this is Bargasa see below, p. 165.²²⁷

68. Ceramus. In the school at Gereme, a fragment of grey limestone chipped off the face of an inscribed block; height 0.125 m., width 0.125 m. Letters reasonably well cut, 15–20 mm. high, of Imperial date.

[- - -]πὶ ἱερέως [- - -]
[- - -]ις νεωκό[ρ - - -]
[- - -]ΗΝΟ[- - -]

²²⁷ We understand that L. Robert in 1946 found a fragmentary inscription at Gökbel which may or may not be the same as our no. 67. To an enquiry by letter Professor Robert has not as yet replied; we therefore publish the inscription in case it is new, more especially as we understood it to have been unearthed in 1952. If we are in fact anticipating Professor Robert's publication, we offer our apologies.

This fragment, tiny as it is, supplies two items of information concerning Ceramus which seem to be new. First, the eponymous official was, at least for some purposes and at some periods, a priest. Second, in l. 2, unless appearances are deceptive, we have a note of the city's neocorates. In front of ΙΣ on the stone the extreme tip of a stroke is visible at the level of the top of the line; [δ]ίς and [τρ]ίς are therefore excluded, and the city must have been at least τετράκίς νεωκόρος.

69. Ceramus. In the school, four partially fitting fragments of an inscription enclosed in an oval wreath. Late letters varying from 14 to 30 mm. in height.

[- - - - -]
BH[. . .]ΟΥ
ΕΠ[. . .] Παμ-
φίλ[ου κα]ὶ ἡ γυνή
αὐτοῦ Παρθε-
5 νική· εὐτυ-
χῶς

In l. 3, ΓΥ only was written. The name Parthenike is new to us.

70. Ceramus. In the school, fragment of a round marble base broken on all sides; maximum height 0.30 m., maximum width 0.35 m. Letters 18–20 mm. high. The inscription is complete at the bottom and on the left in ll. 4–6.

[- - - -] Ι Ψ Ι Ψ [- - - - -]
[- c.6 -] ΩΚΑΙΛΑC[- - - - -]
[. . . 'Ε]ρμοδώρου [- - - - -]
Ι[. .] ἱερείας νεωκ[ορ- - - - -]
5 'Ιεροκλέους τοῦ Μ[- - - - -]
'Ηλιοδώρου καὶ Διον[υσ - - -]
[τ]οῦ Μελανθίου, Λουκ[ιο - -]
[Ἀπ]ολλωνίου τῶν ὕψ[υ - -]
[. .]εως καὶ ΛΑΛΩΝΜΙ[- - -]

IDENTIFICATION OF SITES.

A. THE MAUSOLAN SYNOECISM.

Strabo XIII 611, speaking of the settlement of the Lelegians in the country called Pedasis around Halicarnassus, observes: φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ Πηδασίδι) καὶ ὀκτὼ πόλεις ᾤκισθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Λελέγων πρότερον εὐανδρησάντων, ὥστε καὶ τῆς Καρίας κατασχεῖν μέχρι Μύνδου καὶ Βαργυλίων, καὶ τῆς Πισιδίας²²⁸ ἀποτεμεῖσθαι πολλήν. ὕστερον δὲ . . . ἠφανίσθη τὸ γένος, τῶν δ' ὀκτὼ πόλεων τὰς ἑξ Μαύσωλος εἰς μίαν τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσὸν συνήγαγεν, ὡς Καλλισθένης ἱστορεῖ. Στάγγελα δὲ καὶ Μύνδον διεφύλαξε. This information is deserving of the utmost confidence; the same cannot be said of Pliny's observation concerning Halicarnassus (*NH* V 107): *sex oppida contributa ei sunt a Magno Alexandro, Theangela, Side, Medmassa, Uranium, Pedasum, Telmisum*. As was said above (p. 114) we do not believe in this second concentration; Pliny has carelessly attributed the Mausolan synoecism to Alexander. This has indeed been commonly assumed; but since the most recent discussion in *ATL* I 536 accepts Pliny's evidence as it

²²⁸ Πισιδίας is suspect. In *ATL* I 537, n. 5 it is proposed to read Μιλησίας.

stands, we think it well to give our reasons. Leaving aside the coincidence of the number six, we take it as axiomatic that no Lelegian town incorporated by Mausolus can have been re-incorporated by Alexander, except on the extremely improbable assumption that it had contrived to break away in the meantime; that is, Pliny's towns, if really incorporated by Alexander, must be additional to those synoecised by Mausolus.²²⁹ So far as concerns the first four, this is perfectly possible; ²³⁰ but not, we think, for the last two. Pedasa in particular must have been Lelegian, as is plain from Strabo and from the extant remains, and being so close to Halicarnassus ²³¹ cannot conceivably have been omitted from the Mausolan synoecism: in fact, as we know, only Syangela and Myndus were omitted. For the same reason Pedasa is the least likely of all to have succeeded in re-establishing its independence. Telmissus is not such a clear case, but here again we cannot doubt that it was one of the Lelegian cities, and therefore synoecised by Mausolus.²³² We feel, moreover, that on historical grounds the story of Alexander's synoecism is in itself improbable. Alexander passed on from Halicarnassus leaving the city wrecked by his own orders and the acropolis still uncaptured; and he certainly never returned there. By the time the city was in a condition to be synoecised he was in the midst of his eastern campaign, and might well have felt that such a task could wait till he had more leisure to attend to it.²³³ Further uncertainty is caused by the fact, recorded by Strabo and Arrian, that Alexander gave back Caria, including specifically Halicarnassus, to the elder Ada with the title of queen; after this simple settlement of the region we should not expect him to interfere further. We prefer therefore to reject the Alexandrian synoecism altogether.

There is, however, one obvious difficulty in supposing that Pliny's six cities were those incorporated by Mausolus. One of them is Theangela, whereas Mausolus Συάγγελα διεφύλαξε. It is generally admitted (except, of course, in *ATL*) that Pliny is in error here; but it is, we think, possible to go further. The notable absentee from Pliny's list (assuming it to refer to Mausolus) is Termera, which was surely one of the eight Lelegian cities.²³⁴ It is very attractive to propose the substitution of Termera for Theangela: the error would be by no means too gross for Pliny. But this is not all. Termera actually occurs three lines lower in Pliny's text: *Myndos . . . Neapolis, Caryanda, Termera libera, Bargylia*. Termera is here out of geographical order, and the monstrous idea that it was a free city under the early Empire is rejected with one voice by modern scholars.²³⁵ Surely the remedy is simple: we have only to transpose Termera and Theangela, and all is well. We have then *Theangela libera*, making Theangela a free city in the first century A.D. There is no difficulty in this. As explained above (p. 115), once the alleged evidence for its absorption in Halicarnassus is discarded, there remains no reason to suppose it was ever other than an independent city. Furthermore, Theangela is thus geographically well placed immediately before Bargylia; its territory, the modern Karaova, was undoubtedly contiguous with that of Bargylia.²³⁶

We take it, then, that we have in Strabo and Pliny combined the complete list of the eight

²²⁹ This is in fact accepted in *ATL* I 538: see below n. 237. Mausolus did not merely attach the Lelegian towns to Halicarnassus as demes; he was concerned to man the great new city, and the bulk of the Lelegian population was certainly transferred there. The old sites ceased to be inhabited as townships, as is clear from the remains, though perhaps not all entirely deserted.

²³⁰ There were only eight Lelegian towns, but Pliny's towns are not stated to be Lelegian. Side, Medmassa, and Uranium might be claimed as non-Lelegian; Theangela (or at least Syangela) was Lelegian, but was left free by Mausolus.

²³¹ For the site at Gökçeler see above pp. 123 ff. and below pp. 149 ff.

²³² Cf. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* 32.

²³³ *ATL* I 536 says that 'Alexander was incensed with Halicarnassus and indeed destroyed it after the siege; but he certainly restored it.' We do not know on what authority this last statement is made. For the destruction, cf. p. 91 above.

²³⁴ Jones *CERP* 383, n. 7 suggests that 'the missing sixth city is perhaps Termera'.

²³⁵ Normally, *libera* is either obelised or made to apply (contrary to practice) to *Bargylia*.

²³⁶ Whether the error in Pliny is due to his own carelessness or to a faulty manuscript tradition, we are not concerned to decide. The corruption, in all MSS. but one, of Theangela to Thagela may perhaps help to explain the mistake.

Lelegian cities as recorded by Callisthenes.²³⁷ Our task is now to apportion these among the known sites of Lelegian character on the peninsula. In addition to Myndus at Gümüşlük and Theangela at Etrim, we have eight such sites (described above, pp. 116–127)—that is, ten sites in all. We believe that these will be found to meet the requirements satisfactorily.

We begin with the two that were not incorporated in Halicarnassus. When Strabo (or Callisthenes) says that Mausolus preserved the existence (διεφύλαξε) of Myndus and Syangela, this need not imply that he made no change at all in their condition. We believe that in fact he refounded each on a more impressive scale and on a site more suited to its new form and functions as a Greek city. The two new sites, at Gümüşlük and Etrim, stand respectively at the western and eastern extremities of the Lelegian country, almost exactly equidistant from Halicarnassus.²³⁸

1. *Myndus*.

As was made clear above (p. 111), the city at Gümüşlük cannot be the Lelegian town of Myndus. Nothing earlier than Mausolus has been found on the site, and it lacks all the characteristic Lelegian features. We have the evidence of Pliny and Stephanus for the one-time existence of an earlier Myndus, apparently distinct from the later city.²³⁹ We believe that this Old Myndus is the Lelegian town which paid one-twelfth of a talent in the Delian League.²⁴⁰ We seek this town at a modest Lelegian site not far from Gümüşlük. Such a site is that at Bozdağ (Erenmezarlık), described above, p. 118, and we propose with confidence to locate the Lelegian Myndus here.²⁴¹

Ps.-Scylax 99 includes Myndus among the πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες of Caria. Unless we are prepared to abandon the approximately contemporary testimony of Callisthenes that it was one of the eight Lelegian towns, this must be interpreted to refer to the layout of the new city at Gümüşlük on the lines of a Greek polis. It appears from this that the Periplus of Ps.-Scylax is later than the Mausolan synoecism; when it was written the fictitious claim to foundation from Troezen was no doubt already in vogue.

2. *Syangela–Theangela*.

The site of Theangela at Etrim is beyond dispute (above, p. 112); but here again we do not believe that this is the Lelegian town of Syangela. It is distinguished from the Lelegian

²³⁷ It is observed in *ATL* I 552, n. 2 that Pliny's authority for his six cities cannot have been Callisthenes, who would have said Syangela, not Theangela. The substitution of Termera for Theangela obviates this difficulty also. We note further that the editors of *ATL* are hard put to it (*ibid.* 538) to find names for the cities synoecised by Mausolus other than those in Pliny's list, and are driven to include Cindya and even Halicarnassus itself. We cannot agree that this last is implied by Strabo's τὰς ἐξ . . . εἰς μίαν, though the words might conceivably be so interpreted. Halicarnassus cannot have ranked as a Lelegian city in the fourth century. As for Cindya, the evidence suggests that it was absorbed by Bargylia, not by Halicarnassus; see Polybius XVI 12, where Artemis Cindyas is a goddess of Bargylia. This absorption is in fact accepted in *ATL* I 474, 503, 538; cf. Jones, *CERP* 50, 388.

²³⁸ This distance is in fact such that no inhabitant could be too far from the nearest city to ride or walk in with reasonable convenience to exercise his civic functions. Mausolus' cities—Myndus, Halicarnassus, Theangela, Bargylia—Cindya, Mylasa—are remarkably evenly distributed over the countryside.

²³⁹ Pliny *NH* V 107: *Myndos et ubi fuit Palaemyndus*; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Μύνδος'. πόλις Καρίας . . . ἔστι καὶ πόλις Καρίας ἁλλή Παλαιὰ Μύνδος.

²⁴⁰ We see no reason why the memory of a Palaemyndus should be preserved if its site was the same as that of the familiar city. For this reason (among others) we cannot agree with the suggestion in *ATL* I 522 that Old Myndus was on the peninsula which closes the harbour at Gümüşlük. For the much-quoted polygonal wall on this peninsula see above pp. 110 f.; even if it be accepted as of Lelegian date, its position is quite unsuited to the defence of a settlement on the peninsula itself. Running down the backbone of the hill, it is intelligible only as the extremity of a larger circuit such as that actually standing on the mainland. Its situation is exactly comparable to that of the wall over the western extension of the acropolis hill at Caunus; see *JHS* LXXIII (1953), 12, fig. 3.

²⁴¹ The site at Burgaz might also claim consideration; but the expression Μύνδιοι παρὰ Τέρμερα in the tribute lists is then less intelligible, with the town at Bozdağ intervening.

sites described above first and foremost by its size. None of them is on anything approaching the scale of the city at Etrim. The masonry of the city walls, though reminiscent of the Lelegian style, is stronger and more solid; ²⁴² and the salients on the south and east are likewise of a very much more advanced character. There can, we think, be no question of this powerful fortification, as it stands today, being of old Lelegian construction; we have no hesitation in ascribing it to Mausolus.²⁴³ The question remains, whether he built it on a new site or was merely enlarging an earlier Lelegian town. We take the former view; but several points might appear to support the latter. Certain of the buildings inside the city bear the unmistakable mark of Lelegian construction.²⁴⁴ But there is nothing remarkable in this: Theangela was unquestionably the successor of Syangela, wherever the site of the latter, and the people would naturally use the building style long familiar to them. Secondly, there seems to be no doubt that archaic Greek statuary was standing at Etrim in Hellenistic times, since these sculptures appear to have come to light at the same spot as Hellenistic inscriptions which were to be set up in the sanctuary of Athena (above, pp. 113 f.). But there is nothing to show that the sanctuary itself was older than the fourth century, or that the statues were not transported, together with the cult, from an earlier site. This we suppose to have been in fact done. There are some traces on the west side of the peak B which might possibly be ascribed to an inner perimeter; we were not able to confirm or disprove this, but the wall in question is not peculiarly Lelegian in style. Finally, we have the remarkable gallery-tomb, with pottery of the late fifth century, described on p. 113. Caution is, we think, necessary in deciding the significance of this tomb, which does not conform to any of the recognised Lelegian types (see p. 166). It is situated well inside the existing wall-circuit, and must also have been inside the circuit of an earlier city on the site, unless that city was very small indeed, or unless peak B was not included in it. This is not decisive: we have tombs inside the outer circuit at Asarlık and at Gürice: but it is at least possible that it was an isolated tomb on the open mountainside, like, for example, the 'Tomb of Lygdamis' on the hill south-east of Bodrum (p. 132). There is accordingly, in our view, nothing that proves the existence of a city at Etrim before the time of Mausolus; and other indications are strongly against such a hypothesis. The surest criterion of occupation in doubtful cases is the pottery, and at Etrim nothing (apart of course from the tomb just mentioned) has been found earlier than the middle fourth century. The absence of any tomb of Lelegian type is also remarkable, to say nothing of the apparent disappearance of the

²⁴² Their non-Lelegian character was noted by Judeich (*AM* XII (1887), 335) in his description of the walls; Robert, *Coll. Froehn*. 85 n. 2, quotes Judeich and adds: 'il me semble que l'appareil des monuments de Theangela est celui des monuments Cariens de la presqu'île d'Halikarnasse . . . et d'Alazeitin'. This comment holds good for certain of the buildings inside the city, and in a modified degree for the circuit walls also.

²⁴³ Against Judeich's late Hellenistic dating Robert, *op. cit.* 85, notes that the walls were no doubt standing in the late fourth century, when the city withstood a siege by Eupolemus. In the treaty between Eupolemus and Theangela (*Coll. Froehn*. no. 52) it is provided that Eupolemus shall eventually take over τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἀκρας. Robert, *ibid.* 81–6, understands 'the city and the citadels', identifying the latter with the two peaks A and B. This seems to us mistaken. Πόλις, of course, often denotes the lower, inhabited city as opposed to the fortified acropolis; but at Theangela, as Robert himself emphasises (*ibid.* 82), there was no such lower city; the whole city was evidently within the walls. There is therefore no point in mentioning the two peaks unless they were separately fortified as inner citadels, a question which Robert does not consider. The mere fact that the mountain rises to a double summit is obviously not enough. We saw no evidence of such fortification on A; on the west side of B there is a stretch of wall which might perhaps be so interpreted, and in fact a more recent examination (see p. 171 n. 359) shows that there was a definite inner circuit defending this peak. If B was so fortified, it was doubtless included among the ἀκραι; but the points on the site which are most clearly denoted by the term are surely the forts on the subsidiary peaks C and D. The meaning is that no Theangelan garrison shall be maintained in the city after Eupolemus takes over, a point well deserving mention in the treaty; but to provide for his occupying the city, including the double mountain-top, is plainly futile. An exact parallel is afforded in Arrian's account of the siege of Halicarnassus (I 23, 3), where the defenders retire to the fortified posts at the extremities of the city: αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀκραν τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα, ἀκραν οὕτω καλουμένην.

²⁴⁴ In particular those illustrated by Robert in *Coll. Froehn*. pls. XXVII d, XXVIII h, and in *RA* 1935 II 162, no. 10, and the house described above, p. 114.

presumed Lelegian fortifications. We are therefore disposed to believe that the first occupation of the Etrim site was not earlier than the second quarter of the fourth century.²⁴⁵

If the Lelegian Syangela was not at Etrim, it is not difficult to decide where it must have been. There is only one serious possibility—Alâzeytin. This is a suitable site for Syangela, which was evidently a town of modest importance with a royal dynast, paying half a talent in the Delian League (equal to the minimum paid by Termera and Pedasa), and probably possessing a harbour (above, p. 114). Alâzeytin is a quite considerable site, showing archaic and classical habitation, and has no fewer than five ‘compound chamber-tumuli’, more than any other single site can show. It overlooks the Çiftlik valley, and unless it was a mere goat-herds’ town, which the ruins by no means suggest, it must have possessed territory there; but this valley is dominated by the site at Etrim, so that the simultaneous existence of the two towns seems improbable. If Syangela had, as we suspect, some sort of naval tradition, a site fairly close to the sea is at least acceptable.

In view of the cumulative weight of these considerations, we place Syangela at Alâzeytin and Theangela at Etrim. The change of name no doubt accompanied the change of site, both being imposed by Mausolus in accordance with his hellenising policy.²⁴⁶

We have now six sites remaining, which we believe to correspond to the six places listed by Pliny—with, of course, the substitution of Termera for Theangela. We proceed to consider these, taking first the two whose sites have, we think, been long since correctly identified, namely Termera and Pedasa.

3. *Termera.*

The approximate site is determined by Strabo XIV 657: ἐξῆς (*sc.* after Halicarnassus) δ’ ἐστὶν ἄκρα Τερμέριον Μυνδίων, καθ’ ἣν ἀντίκειται τῆς Κώας ἄκρα Σκανδαρία διέχουσα τῆς ἡπείρου σταδίους τετταράκοντα· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ χωρίον Τέρμερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄκρας. The association with Myndus is confirmed by the entry Μύνδιοι παρὰ Τέρμερα in the tribute lists, and by Photius *s.v.* ‘Τερμέρια’, who says that Termera was founded ἐν ἄκρᾳ τινὶ τῆς Μυνδίας.²⁴⁷ In the region indicated—the south-west corner of the peninsula—there is only one site that can come in question, namely that at Asarlık described above pp. 116 ff.²⁴⁸

Termera was a place of some importance in early times.²⁴⁹ At the time of the Ionian Revolt, among the ship-captains in the Persian navy seized by Aristagoras (Her. V 37) was a certain Histiaeus son of Tymnes, of Termera.²⁵⁰ The name of Tymnes occurs also on a fine silver drachma, inscribed on the obverse Τύμνο and on the reverse Τερμερικόν. This coin is dated by Head in *HN*¹ 532 and *BMC Coins, Caria* 176 to c. 480–450 B.C., and it is suggested that it was perhaps struck by a grandson of the Tymnes mentioned by Herodotus. In *HN*², however, the date c. 550–480 is preferred, and Mr. H. Cahn informs us that he would date the coin

²⁴⁵ The absence of recognisable Roman remains of any kind suggests that under the Empire the inhabitants moved their living-quarters down to the plain—a very understandable proceeding, in view of the arduous ascent to the mountain-top.

²⁴⁶ Callisthenes, writing c. 330 B.C., still uses the form Syangela; but he is speaking of the Mausolan synoecism and would naturally use the name appropriate at that date: it would be incongruous to speak of Mausolus preserving Theangela. In any case (as may be seen in Turkey to-day) the new name would take time to become generally recognised. There is no epigraphical reference to Syangela that need be later than Mausolus: Σπαγγεῖλαιος in an inscription of Oropus (*AE* 1917, 231, Robert, *Coll. Froehn*, 94, no. 17) is dated to the fourth century, before 338. Conversely, the earliest epigraphical mention of Theangela is in the Eupolemus inscription, which is supposed to date c. 315 B.C.

²⁴⁷ For Pliny’s notice (*NH* V 107) see above pp. 143 f.

²⁴⁸ The site at Aspat (above, p. 129) shows no evidence of occupation before Christian times, and is not a serious rival candidate. The allusion in *ATL* I 522 to ‘the modern town of Assarlık’ is an error: Asarlık is the name given to the ancient site, which is now quite deserted.

²⁴⁹ For the evidence from pottery of occupation at the end of prehistoric times see p. 118.

²⁵⁰ He is mentioned again in Her. VII 98.

to the end of the sixth century; in this case the Tymnes in question will be identical with the father of Histiaeus. This Tymnes will then in all probability be the Carian whose epitaph came to light recently at the Piraeus Gate in Athens; his death, to judge by the signature of the sculptor Aristocles, may be placed around the end of the sixth century.²⁵¹ The inscription Τερμερικόν on the coin is interesting. Evidently the coin is not simply a coin of Termera; ²⁵² it must, we think, be supposed that Tymnes' rule extended over other places as well. We have in fact evidence, if the expression be permissible, of some kind of Termeric union, centred on Termera under the rule of Tymnes.

In the Athenian tribute lists Termera pays in the first and second periods (454-447 B.C.) two and a half talents; for the third period (446-444) evidence is lacking; in the fourth period (443-439) the tribute drops to half a talent. No reason has been suggested for this unusually big reduction; we note, however, that just at this time, in 445 B.C., we have the first appearance in the lists of an entry read as Κῶρες ὧν Τύμνης ἄρχει, paying half a talent. This is likely to be more than coincidence. We are disposed to believe that the 'Termeric union' continued in existence down to 447 B.C., being at that time ruled by Tymnes, doubtless son of Histiaeus and grandson of the Tymnes of the coin.²⁵³ At this date the union broke up and the dynasty came to an end; Tymnes lost Termera, but continued in control of the remainder of the union elsewhere on the peninsula.²⁵⁴ The combined tributes of his Carians and of Termera, one talent in all, correspond to the earlier payment of two and a half talents by the union; a similar reduction (from two talents to one) is observable at this same time in the tributes of Pedasa and Madnasa.²⁵⁵ There can be little doubt, we think, of the extent of the territory comprised in the 'Termeric union'. Myndus to the north is separately assessed and continues to pay regularly throughout the first four periods, and was therefore not included; but the area to the north-east around Müşgebi, the richest part of the peninsula and the present centre of a *nahiye*, is not represented in the tribute lists, in spite of its easy accessibility. This area we believe to have belonged to Telmissus (see below, pp. 153 ff.), which was never assessed by name in the Athenian league. We suggest accordingly that the 'Termeric union' comprised Termera and Telmissus, extending from the west coast to the border of Pedasan territory around Bitez; that in or about 447 B.C. this union broke up, and that Tymnes, expelled from Termera, retired to Telmissus, which he continued to rule down to 425 B.C. or later.²⁵⁶

After the Mausolan synoecism, Termera seems to have continued in existence, if only as a fort. Hellenistic sherds are found on the site (above, p. 116). Strabo speaks of χωρίον Τέρμερον in the present tense; as also Suidas in an interesting notice *s.v.* 'Τερμέρια κακά'. περὶ Καρίαν χωρίον Τερμέριον καλεῖται, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ τύραννοι δεσμοτηρίῳ. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν τυγχάνον κείται μεταξύ Μήλου (*leg.* Μύνδου) καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ. τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτου ληιζομένων δυσαλώτων τυγχανόντων λεχθῆναι τοῦτο. Τερμέρια οὖν κακά τὰ μεγάλα κακά. The 'tyrants' are not identified, but it is likely that the Hecatomnids are meant; ²⁵⁷ and it seems to us very probable that this notice preserves a genuine historical fact. The inner citadel at Asarlık may well have continued in use as a guard-house or prison, and may not

²⁵¹ See Mr. Threpsiades' communication in the current reports from Greece for the year 1953, esp. *AJA* 1954, 231, pl. 43, 2.

²⁵² We infer this from the termination -ικόν, which must apparently refer to something other, or more, than the city of Termera: cf. such inscriptions as συμμαχικόν, Ὀλυμπικόν, ἀρχιερατικόν.

²⁵³ Or identical with the latter, if the later dating of the coin, now abandoned, is right.

²⁵⁴ The decline in prosperity from this time on, suggested by the sherds at Asarlık (above, pp. 117 f.), may have been a consequence of this break-up.

²⁵⁵ The union under Tymnes paid in the name of Τερμερῆς. Similarly, Syangela under Pigres pays generally as Συναγγελῆς.

²⁵⁶ For Tymnes in the 'Carian Syntely' of 425 B.C. see below, pp. 162 f.

²⁵⁷ This is the view taken by Head, *op. cit.*

have been the only citadel so used; see below, p. 168. From Mausolus' time onwards Termara belonged unquestionably to the territory of Myndus: cf. Strabo and Photius quoted above.²⁵⁸

4. Pedasa.

Equally assured, we think, is the location of Pedasa at Gökçeler. A site in the general neighbourhood of Halicarnassus is postulated by Herodotus,²⁵⁹ Strabo²⁶⁰ and Pliny;²⁶¹ the exact site is indicated with virtual certainty by the discovery close to Gökçeler of building remains and a fragmentary list of dedications to Athena.²⁶² And in the plain to the south-west, where the territory of Gökçeler must have lain, the village of Bitez appears to preserve the ancient name.²⁶³ The identification is indeed generally accepted to-day;²⁶⁴ but the subsequent history of the city after Harpagus' campaign is complicated by the existence in Caria of two other places of the same name.²⁶⁵ The question has been discussed by Ruge in *RE s.v.* 'Pedasa' and in *ATL I* 535–8; but with the majority of the views expressed, particularly in the latter work, we find ourselves obliged to disagree.

A second Pedasa (Πήδασον) is mentioned by Strabo in the same passage concerning the Leleges (XIII 611) as existing in his day ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικέων. This statement is apparently made by Strabo on his own authority, and this rather shadowy πολίχνιον is not certainly referred to elsewhere.

The third Pedasa (Πίδασα) is well attested in Milesian inscriptions.²⁶⁶ It was near enough to Miletus to be incorporated in the city c. 182 B.C., but the exact site has not yet been determined.^{266a} We agree with the view expressed in *ATL I* 537 that the foundation of this Pedasa is recorded by Herodotus, who says that the Persians after capturing Miletus in 494 B.C. occupied the city and the plain, but gave the highlands to Carians of Pedasa.²⁶⁷ These Pedasans were surely transplanted from the neighbourhood of Gökçeler; we feel that when the Halicarnassian Herodotus speaks of Pedasa, very good reason should be shown before supposing that he means any other than Gökçeler.²⁶⁸

In the years following the Ionian venture at Sardis in 499 B.C., the Persian general Daurises came south with an army to suppress the Carian rebels. Defeated at the Battle of the Marsyas

²⁵⁸ The explanation of the proverbial Τερμέρια κακά seems to be uncertain. Suidas' account, which refers it to the sufferings due to the banditry practised by the Termerans, is apparently confirmed by Philip of Theangela and by Photius *s.v.*, who attribute the practice to the eponymous founder Termerus. (The passages are quoted in *FHG IV* 475.) But a different explanation is given by Plutarch, *Thes. II*, who makes it equivalent to 'being paid in one's own coin' or 'given a dose of one's own medicine': (Ἡρακλῆς) τὸν Τέρμερον συρρήξας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ Τερμέριον κακὸν ὀνομασθῆναι λέγουσι: παίων γάρ, ὡς εἴκοι, κεφαλὴ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁ Τέρμερος ἀπώλλυεν. (Not merely 'a misfortune one brings on oneself', as LS⁹ *s.v.*, where, moreover, the more usual explanation is disregarded.)

²⁵⁹ I 175: ἥσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκόντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαίαν, τοῖσι ὅπως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδευον εἶσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοις, ἡ ἱρεὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίαν ἀνδρῶν μούνοι τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγου καὶ πρῆγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐνόμα ἐστι Λίδη. Cf. VIII 104: οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκοῦσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδασοῖσι τοῦτοισι τοιόνδε συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι: ἐπεὶ τοῖσι ἀμφικτύοσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκοῦσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλει τι ἐντὸς χρόνου εἶσεσθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱρεὶ αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φῦει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφι δις ἤδη ἐγένετο.

²⁶⁰ XIII 611, quoted above, p. 143.

²⁶¹ V 107, quoted above, p. 143.

²⁶² *JHS XVI* (1896), 215–6 no. 4 = *CIG* 2660 = *SGDI* 5731: cf. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 440. Not, as *ATL I* 537, halfway between Gökçeler and Bitez.

²⁶³ Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten III* 441 (c. 1827), gives the form Pedess, the Admiralty Chart Petasa.

²⁶⁴ Though Ruge in *RE* allows it only 'a certain probability'. Earlier locations of this 'Halicarnassian' Pedasa at Etrium or at Karacahisar no longer need refutation, as these sites are securely assigned respectively to Theangela (above, p. 112) and Hydissus (Robert, *AJA XXXIX* (1935), 339).

²⁶⁵ We take little account of the variant forms Pedasa, Pedason, Pidasa, which are to all appearances interchangeable. St. Byz. *s.v.* 'Πήγασα' strangely insists that the name should be spelt with a *gamma*.

²⁶⁶ Cf. *Milet I* 3, 352 ff.

^{266a} A discussion of the site is promised by Robert, *Coll. Froehn*, 79, n. 3.

²⁶⁷ Her. VI 20: τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδοσαν Καροῖ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτίσθαι.

²⁶⁸ The Persian motive was perhaps to divide and so weaken a people who had given them serious trouble in the past (Her. I 175: for V 121 see below).

not far from Tralles, the Carians gathered at Labraunda, where they were joined by a Milesian contingent, but were defeated a second time by the Persians. They recovered again, however: *πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμέαται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν* (Her. V 119–21). In this text ἐν Πηδάσῳ is a correction, the MSS. having ἐν πιδάσῳι, ἐπὶ δάσῳι, or ἐπὶ λάσσοισι. *ATL* I 537 accepts Wesseling's conjecture ἐπὶ <Μυ>λάσσοισι, supposing the ambush to take place on the Sacred Way from Labraunda to Mylasa: 'the Persians prepared to march ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων: this, from Labraunda, can hardly mean other than along the road to Mylasa'. We cannot believe this view to be right. From Labraunda, of course, the road leads straight to Mylasa, but we can hardly suppose that after the battle the Persians remained idle at Labraunda, instead of marching down to take Mylasa. After the defeat the city can hardly have been defensible, and we must surely suppose that the Persians took it. Secondly, the Persians fell into the ambush *by night*. To allow this to happen on the few hours' march from Labraunda to Mylasa would argue a quite exceptional incompetence on Daurises' part. Thirdly, Herodotus' words *πυθόμενοι . . . ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων* imply that previously there had been doubt about Daurises' intentions, that is, there was some reasonable alternative open to him. But after the Battle of Labraunda what alternative was there to a march on Mylasa? The Persians could hardly be expected to exploit their victory by turning round and retreating northwards. After the fall of Mylasa, on the other hand, there might well be uncertainty as to Daurises' future plans. Short of going back the way he had come, he might proceed in three directions: north-west towards Miletus, east towards Lagina and the later Stratoniceia, or south-west towards Halicarnassus. And it may be said that in each of these directions there was a Pedasa. The first two are mentioned in *ATL*, without approval, as possibilities; the second is adopted by Ruge in *RE*, though on no stronger grounds than that the Persian route from the north to Labraunda 'führt in die Gegend von Stratonikeia'. The third, which finds no mention in these two works, we should judge to be unquestionably the right solution. Daurises' choice of route is defined by Herodotus in the words ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων. What is the natural meaning of this? There were no doubt Carian settlements of some sort in every direction from Mylasa; but the principal concentration of cities (at least after Mylasa had fallen) was surely that in the Halicarnassian peninsula, the country of the Lelegian octapolis where the notable Carian chieftains were located.²⁶⁹ The purpose of the Persian expedition was to suppress the revolted Carians; on the last occasion of the sort, the chief resistance to Harpagus had been offered by the Pedasans of Gökçeler; it is surely unlikely that Daurises would turn away leaving this Pedasa unmolested.²⁷⁰ The country north and west of Gökçeler is very difficult for an army; once the Persians had crossed the Karaova they might easily get benighted, even on what their guides would recommend as a possible day's march.²⁷¹ We cannot doubt that 'the road near Pedasa' means the Gökçeler road.²⁷² As was said above, Pedasa in Herodotus' mouth should be presumed to mean Gökçeler till the contrary is demonstrated.

In the Athenian tribute lists Pedasa pays two talents in the first period (454–1 B.C.), and one talent in the second; after which it drops out, though it is reassessed at half a talent in 425.

²⁶⁹ Herodotus does not distinguish Carians and Lelegians (*cf.* I 171).

²⁷⁰ He might have been provoked by the Milesian intervention at Labraunda to turn against Miletus, but it seems to us quite clear from Herodotus' words that this is excluded. To take the road to the east would be to abandon the expedition with its object unachieved; the opposition was by no means yet suppressed, as the event showed.

²⁷¹ The total absence of running water in this region, combined with the mountainous nature of the country, would make a camping site practically impossible to find. We have assumed that the road taken by the Persians followed roughly the course of the modern *chaussée*; if instead they attempted the road along the coast from Sıralık to Torba (above, p. 131), the success of the ambush is even easier to understand.

²⁷² Since Herodotus (VIII 104) calls the city Πηδάσσα, we should be inclined to read ἐπὶ <Πη>δάσσοισι in the text of V 121, but certainty is impossible.

In *ATL* I 535 it is said that this history makes it practically impossible to locate Pedasa at Gökçeler, and the view is adopted that the 'Milesian' Pedasa is meant.²⁷³ On such a point, the opinion of the editors of *ATL* must carry great weight; yet we find ourselves unconvinced. True, their view makes it easy to understand why Pedasa disappears from the lists after the Peace of Callias, but it does not explain why the city at Gökçeler was omitted. Of the Lelegian cities not only Syangela, Termera, and Madnasa, with substantial tributes, were included, but also such inconsiderable places as Myndus and Uranium;²⁷⁴ and Pedasa was certainly among the more important of them. The same reasons that make it unlikely that Athens would abandon a handsome tribute from a town so near the sea make it unlikely that she would forgo it in the first place. That Pedasa (= Gökçeler) should drop out early is not, we think, hard to understand. Uranium disappears from the lists at the same time as Pedasa, and at the same time also the tribute of Termera drops to a fifth. The Lelegian cities that continued to pay regularly were Syangela, Myndus, and Madnasa, and of these the first two at least had probably some sort of naval tradition;²⁷⁵ the others soon lost any interest in the Athenian maritime league, and could not be induced to go on paying. Punitive expeditions against these hilltop towns were, from the Athenian point of view, simply not worth while. We believe that the 'Halicarnassian' Pedasa was in fact assessed from the beginning, with a tribute corresponding well with her standing among the Lelegian cities.

Pedasa makes one more appearance in history. In Polybius XVIII 44, 4 it is among the places from which Philip V was required in 196 B.C. to withdraw his garrisons.²⁷⁶ In *ATL* I 536, n. 7, it is taken as certain that this is the 'Milesian' Pedasa; Ruge and E. Meyer agree. This may very well be so; but we see no certainty. If Polybius' words ἐλευθέρας ἀφείναι are pressed to their full meaning, the Halicarnassian Pedasa is out of the question; Gökçeler cannot have been an independent city at this time, whereas the 'Milesian' Pedasa apparently was so until about 182 B.C. But on other grounds a Macedonian garrison at Gökçeler seems highly probable. Philip held Miletus, Iasus, and Bargylia; to complete his control of the Iasian Gulf he would require a position on the Halicarnassian peninsula, and for this purpose Gökçeler is admirably suited. It commands Halicarnassus, with the advantage of overlooking the Iasian Gulf as well, and being placed on the neck of the peninsula is well situated to obviate enemy reinforcements sent through Halicarnassus or Myndus. Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen* 71), while not questioning the identification with the 'Milesian' Pedasa, actually remarks it as singular if Philip had no position on the north side of the Ceramic Gulf. Pedasa, we have insisted above, was effectively incorporated in Halicarnassus more than a century and a half before this date; but the sherds at Gökçeler attest some sort of occupation in Hellenistic times (above, p. 124), and nothing is more likely than that the fortification would be maintained as an outpost of Halicarnassus.

5. *Telmissus*.

As in the case of Pedasa, confusion has been caused by the recurrence of the name not far away at Fethiye (Makri) in Lycia, and it is not always clear in the ancient authorities which of the two is meant when Telmissus is named. The uncertainty is complicated by the apparent

²⁷³ With the proviso that the half-talent assessment in 425 may relate to Gökçeler.

²⁷⁴ Side was not assessed, nor apparently Telmissus.

²⁷⁵ Pigres, probably of Syangela, at Salamis (above, p. 114); Myndian ship in the Persian fleet (Her. V 33). For Madnasa, see below, p. 155. Termera also continued to pay her reduced tribute, and she too had a captain in the Persian fleet (Her. V 37).

²⁷⁶ Εὐρώμων δὲ καὶ Πήδασα καὶ Βαργύλια καὶ τὴν Ἰασέων πόλιν (also Abydos, Thasos, Myrina, and Perinthus) ἐλευθέρας ἀφείναι τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταστησάμενον. Cf. Livy XXXIII 30.

fact that divination was practised at both places; the Telmessian diviners had indeed considerable celebrity, and are mentioned with some frequency. We quote the evidence which helps, or may help, in identifying the Lelegian city.²⁷⁷

(1) *BMI* 896; *JHS* XVI (1896), 234, no. 36; *SIG*³ 1044; Michel 854: a Halicarnassian inscription of c. 300 B.C. in which Ἀπόλλων Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέων delivers an oracular response (ἐχρησεν ὁ θεός) of normal type.

(2) *JHS* XIV (1894), 377; Michel 459: found by Paton built into a house in the village of Belen,²⁷⁸ and dated to the early second century B.C. This is a decree of the koinon of the Telmessians in honour of a certain Poseideos who εὐσεβῶς μὲν διακείμενος τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην τοῦ γένους Ἀπόλλωνα Τελμισσῇ, φιλοστόργως δὲ τὰ πρὸς πάντας Τελμισσεῖς, καὶ γενόμενος στεφανηφόρος εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως ἐπετέλεσεν τὰς θυσίας καὶ ἐκαλλιέρησεν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ Τελμισσέων καὶ τῆς πόλεως. We learn further that the Telmessians possessed the right of *ateleia* κατὰ προτιμήν (*s.v.l.*) and ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, and that the god owned sacred domains (ἱερὰ χωρία).²⁷⁹

(3) Head, *HN*² 619: Imperial coin of Halicarnassus, showing a draped male figure holding a branch, and inscribed ΤΕΛΜΙCΕΥC, with reference presumably to Apollo Telmisseus.

(4) Polemo of Ilium *ap. Phot. Lex.* (*FHG* III 125, fr. 35; *cf.* IV 394): Τελμισσεῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Καρίᾳ, ἀπέχοντες ἐξήκοντα στάδια Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ. This notice is repeated in *Etym. Magn.* and *Suidas s.v.* 'Τελμισσεῖς'.

(5) Cicero *de div.* I 41, 91: *licet autem videre et genera quaedam et nationes huic scientiae deditas. Telmessus in Caria est, qua in urbe excellit haruspicum disciplina; itemque Elis in Peloponneso familias duas certas habet etc.*

ibid. I 42, 94: *Tum Caria tota praecipueque Telmesses, quos ante dixi, quod agros uberrimos maximeque fertiles incolunt, in quibus multa propter fecunditatem fingi gignique possunt, in ostentis animadvertendis diligentes fuerunt.*

(6) Arrian, *Anab.* II 3, 2–4 tells the story of Gordius the Phrygian, on whose plough an eagle perched and remained all day: τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ ὄψει λέναι κοινώσοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου παρὰ τοὺς Τελμισσέας τοὺς μάντεις· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσέας σοφοὺς τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι, καὶ σφισιν ἀπὸ γένους δεδόσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναῖξιν καὶ παισὶ τὴν μαντείαν. προσάγοντα δὲ κώμη τινὶ τῶν Τελμισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ ὕδρευομένη καὶ πρὸς ταύτην εἰπεῖν ὅπως οἱ τὸ τοῦ ἀετοῦ ἔσχε· τὴν δὲ, εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους, θύειν κελεῦσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ.

Other references of the classical period are unhelpful for our present purpose, namely:

(7) In Herodotus I, 78 and 84 the Telmessians are consulted on two occasions by the kings of Sardis concerning portents, but no indication is given of their whereabouts.

(8) Aristophanes wrote a play called the *Telmessians*, in which mention was made of divination from entrails (fr. 540 Kock), but again there is nothing to show whether the Carian or the Lycian Telmessus is meant.

(9) Telmessus makes two appearances in the Athenian tribute lists; we agree that, to

²⁷⁷ Of the various forms attested—Telmessus, Telmessus, Telemessus—we have chosen the first as having the authority of the only strictly local inscription; but the choice has no significance, and in particular the form of the name can never, it seems, be used to distinguish the Carian and Lycian cities.

²⁷⁸ *ATL* I 554, 'in situ near Pelen' refers presumably to the reported provenience of the stone as learned by Paton: see below. We have not ourselves seen this stone.

²⁷⁹ In l. 15 of this inscription, ἀποκατέστησε τῷ θεῷ τὴν χώραν ἐξῆς, ὥστε [θ]υσίας καὶ τιμὰς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι συμβέβηκεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, we do not understand ἐξῆς, and wonder if the true reading be not ἐξ ἧς (τάς) τε [θ]υσίας κτλ. In l. 23, [ἀπο-δειλιῶν] is wrongly restored; [δεικνύμενος] or something similar is required.

judge by the contexts in which it occurs, this is almost certainly the Lycian city.²⁸⁰ Its tribute is one talent.

There are also numerous references in late authors to the Telmessian diviners: see Ruge in *RE* s.v. 'Telmessos (2)'.

Of these notices the first four relate with complete certainty to our Carian Telmissus. We learn with assurance that Telmissus was sixty stades from Halicarnassus, and that after the synoecism it continued to exist, forming within the state of Halicarnassus (τῆς πόλεως) a privileged community centred on a sanctuary of Apollo Telmisseeus. This Apollo uttered oracles, possessed sacred lands, and was the founder of a priestly γένος.

The passage of Cicero, no. 5, with its repeated mention of Caria, seems also on the face of it to relate to our Telmissus, and we should have no hesitation in taking it so, but that Ruge in *RE loc. cit.* has claimed that Caria is a mistake on Cicero's part, and that in reality the Lycian Telmessus is meant. In the article in question he makes a courageous attempt to distinguish between the forms of divination practised in the Carian and Lycian towns respectively. He takes as a basis a passage of Tatian (*ad Graecos* 1), where the Telmessians who interpret dreams are contrasted with the Carians who use τὴν διὰ τῶν ἄστρον πρόγνωσιν: he then combines this with a notice in Photius s.v. 'Τελμισσεῖς', who writes (following no. 4 above): Τελμισσὸς δὲ πόλις ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἀπὸ Τελμισσοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μιᾶς τῶν Ἀντήνορος θυγατέρων, ἥ ἐμίγη εἰς σκύλακα μεταβαλὼν διὸ καὶ τερασκόπον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, ὥς Διονύσιος ἐν Κτίσεσιν. Ruge accordingly claims that all references to interpretation of dreams and portents are to be related to the Lycian Telmessus, leaving apparently for the Carians only astrology. Since therefore Cicero's Telmessians are *in ostentis animadvertendis diligentes*, their location in Caria must be an error. We cannot enter here into the details of this question, but we confess ourselves unconvinced; such an error on Cicero's part seems to us unlikely,²⁸¹ nor do we think it proved that interpretation of portents was confined to the Lycian city. On the other hand, it is clear from the context that Cicero takes the Telmessians as an example of a clan or family (*genus*) versed in divination, and we know from the inscription no. 2 that there was such a clan (γένος) at our Telmissus. We cannot help believing that Cicero refers to this.

The passage of Arrian, no. 6, is in somewhat similar case. Here again the presence of a portent should, on Ruge's view, indicate the Lycian city. Ruge himself is disposed to believe that the inclusion of the Telmessians is a later addition to the story; whether this be so or not, we note that, as in the case of Cicero, Arrian's account of the μαντικὸν γένος agrees with the information supplied by the inscription no. 2, and strongly suggests that the reference here also is to our Carian Telmissus.

We should therefore prefer to believe that nos. 5 and 6 both relate to the Halicarnassian Telmissus. In this case, we have important information to supplement that already gained. The Lelegian city²⁸² possessed enough territory to include one or more villages, and the territory belonging to the later *koinon* was of exceptional fertility. It is natural to suppose that the *koinon* also comprised a number of villages apart from Telmissus itself. If we look for such a site at a distance of sixty stades from Halicarnassus, we are led inevitably to the Lelegian town-site

²⁸⁰ *ATL* I 554: once before Λύκιοι καὶ συν(τελεῖς), once between Phaselis and Calynda. Telmessus, though of Lycian origin, seems to have held aloof from the rest of Lycia at least until the middle of the fourth century (Theopompus, *FGrH.* 115, F 103), so might well be separately assessed.

²⁸¹ It is true that the Lycian Telmessus was near the border of Caria and Lycia; but this border was an important one, since Lycia was at this time still independent, whereas Caria was part of a Roman province—a province, moreover, governed by Cicero's brother, to whom the description is not improbably due. The mistake would be the more reprehensible since Telmessus is taken as an outstanding example of a faculty common to all the Carians. For Ruge's second reason for supposing Caria to be an error here, see below in connection with the Karadağ site.

²⁸² Or the later *koinon*, if Ruge be right in supposing Arrian's account to be of late origin.

at Gürice, to which must have belonged the abundant arable land around Müsgebi and as far as the coast at Yalicuma. On the evidence presented above, this would seem the natural, or even inescapable conclusion.²⁸³

If we go further, and search on this territory for the site of the temple and oracle of Apollo, we think naturally first of all of the church and bishopric close to Müsgebi (Episkopi) (p. 129). Too little is now visible on the site (which indeed is not certainly identified) to prove or disprove this suggestion, but it is natural that the religious centre of Christian times should succeed to the religious centre of antiquity.

But another site, at a similar distance from Halicarnassus, but of totally different character, has been confidently proposed and widely accepted. The important inscription no. 2, found by Paton built into a house in Belen village, is stated to have come from a church upon the saddle below Karadağ on the west, where the path leads across from Belen to Göl (p. 123). This church 'is built upon the ruins of a Carian or Hellenic building, of large roughly-squared stones, with the broad draft down the angles which is characteristic of the pre-Mausolan masonry of this neighbourhood'.²⁸⁴ On the strength of this evidence Paton and Myres concluded that the church marks the site of the temple of Telmessian Apollo, in which case Telmissus can hardly be other than the double town-site on Karadağ, half an hour's climb up the mountain from the church. This case is persuasive,²⁸⁵ and if the resulting identification were more satisfactory, we should feel bound to concur. But there are obvious difficulties. In particular, as Ruge observes, Cicero's description of the Carian Telmessus 'passt absolut nicht' to the wild and arid mountain-sides of Karadağ; there is, indeed, no spot on the whole peninsula to which that description is less applicable. Ruge concludes that Cicero must be in error; it should, we think, be seriously considered whether the error be not rather in the identification. The case rests upon two items of evidence: the Carian or Hellenic ruins under the church, and the provenience of the inscription. With regard to the former, we were not ourselves able to confirm the existence of this earlier building;²⁸⁶ the church appeared to us to be constructed mainly of ancient blocks taken no doubt from the neighbouring fort,²⁸⁷ and we wonder if the reported Carian or Hellenic ruins also may not be merely the blocks of this fort. The vertical draft-lines at the corners are surely more suggestive of fortification-works than of either the walls or the foundations of a temple. Nevertheless, if the decree of the Telmessians really came from this site, we must in spite of all difficulties accept the location of the temple here. With abundant supplies of squared blocks close at hand, it is not likely that the inscribed stone should have been brought from far afield for the construction of the church: Paton speaks quite definitely on this point, and had evidently no reason to doubt the information;²⁸⁸ all the same, we have suffered often enough ourselves from inaccurate and irresponsible information of provenience to feel that doubt is perhaps permissible. If our alternative location of the temple on the site of the later bishopric be correct, we have only to suppose that some confusion arose, or some careless statement was made, as to which of the two *kilise* was the true source of the inscription. There is no difficulty at all in supposing that the stone may have been carried

²⁸³ Neither Cicero nor Arrian makes any mention of Apollo, for whom at Telmissus the two inscriptions and the coin are the only evidence. In Cicero's case this is natural, as he is concerned to give a rational explanation of the Carians' powers of divination: having these rich lands, in which many strange things are liable to germinate, they are familiar with the phenomena of nature. In general, it seems that the Telmessians' divinatory faculties made more impression in antiquity than the oracular powers of Apollo.

²⁸⁴ Paton-Myres, *JHS* XIV (1894), 373.

²⁸⁵ It is accepted by Kiepert, by Ruge in *RE*, and in *ATL* I 554.

²⁸⁶ The site is now very thickly overgrown; more was perhaps visible sixty years ago.

²⁸⁷ See above, p. 123. This fort is, we imagine, that shown on Admiralty Chart 1546; Paton and Myres make no reference to it, and take the ruins on Karadağ to be the fort shown on the chart.

²⁸⁸ He did not, of course, see the stone at the church himself.

from near Müsgebi to Belen for the construction of the house. Alternatively, the temple of Apollo may have been in the neighbourhood of Beypınar, where there are some ancient remains, including the two inscriptions, a milestone and a Hellenistic epitaph, nos. 54 and 53, above (pp. 129, 138 f.).

We are therefore disposed to believe that the Lelegian town of Telmissus should be located at Gürice, which answers excellently to the requirements of the documentary evidence.

6, 7, 8. *Madnasa, Uranium, Side.*

For the last three Lelegian cities we have the three sites at Karadağ, Göl, and Burgaz, but for the apportionment of these there is little or no precise evidence. There is, however, perhaps enough probability to justify a tentative identification. We note first the ancient testimony apart from Pliny.

Madnasa (Mednasa)²⁸⁹ was evidently a place of some little consequence. It is recorded by Hecataeus *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v.* 'Μέδμασσα', and in the Athenian tribute lists it begins with a tribute of two talents later reduced to one, which it continues to pay regularly at least down to 432 B.C.

Uranium appears in the tribute lists, with a small tribute, in the first period (454–1 B.C.), then again in 425 B.C. in a 'Carian syntely' (see below, pp. 162 f.). Diodorus Siculus V 23 records that during the Carian thalassocracy after the Trojan War Syme was occupied by Carians: ὕστερον δ' αὐχμῶν γενομένων ἔφυγον ἐκ τῆς νήσου, καὶ κατέκρησαν τὸ καλούμενον Οὐράνιον. This is presumably the same place: even if καλούμενον must imply that the name was in use in Diodorus' own time, there is no reason why it should not have been preserved after the place itself ceased to be inhabited.

Side is presumably identical with Stephanus' Σίβδα, πόλις Καρίας. It does not appear in the tribute lists and is not otherwise mentioned.

Of our three sites, that at Karadağ is by far the least accessible, and is cut off from the sea on all sides. It is much the most likely of the three to have escaped assessment by the Athenians, and we are strongly inclined to identify it with Side. Of the two remaining sites, Göl is a more considerable place than Burgaz, and it commands the excellent harbour of Türkbükü; it may well, we think, have come into the one-talent class, and we propose with some confidence to place Madnasa here. We suggested above in connection with Pedasa that the cities which, like Madnasa, continued to pay their tribute regularly after the first two periods were those which had ships on the sea; and Göl looks the most maritime in character of all the Lelegian sites.²⁹⁰ Burgaz remains for Uranium, and the site seems quite satisfactory. It commands the plain and *iskele* of Yalıkavak; but as a harbour Yalıkavak is far inferior to Türkbükü, being much exposed to the prevailing north-west wind (*meltem*).²⁹¹ A small tribute, soon discontinued, seems perfectly appropriate.

B. CARYANDA.

The site of Caryanda is a long-standing enigma. It is sensibly discussed in *ATL* I 498 though without the advantage of actual knowledge of the localities concerned. As we have ourselves visited the places in question, a fresh attempt to clear up the confusion is perhaps justified.

²⁸⁹ The identity of these names is universally accepted and hardly needs justification. *Mednassa* and *Methnassa* are in fact variant readings in Pliny.

²⁹⁰ For the connection of Madnasa with Caryanda see below, p. 158.

²⁹¹ See the descriptions of the two bays in *Mediterranean Pilot* (7th ed. 1941), pp. 313–14.

We transcribe, for convenience, the relevant ancient texts.

Ps.-Scylax 99 (going south) lists the Greek cities of Caria—Heracleia, Miletus, Myndus, Halicarnassus—then passes to the islands: Κάλυμνα νῆσος, Καρύανδα νῆσος καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν (οὗτοι Κῶρες), νῆσος Κῶς καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός. In this text Καρύανδα is a correction; the principal MS. has Κρυῖνδα, the others Κρυίνδα.²⁹² No island of this name is otherwise known, and there seems no reasonable doubt that Caryanda is meant.

In the tribute lists Caryanda appears, paying regularly, with a tribute of one-twelfth of a talent, raised to one-sixth in 425 B.C.

Strabo XIV 658: εἴτ' εὐθύς ἡ Μύνδος λιμένα ἔχουσα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Βαργύλια, καὶ αὕτη πόλις· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ Καρύανδα λίμνη καὶ νῆσος ὁμώνυμος ταύτῃ, ἣν ᾠκου Καρυανδεῖς. In this passage the most recent editions give λιμὴν after Καρύανδα without comment; but it appears from the notes in the editions of Koraes (1815–19) and Kramer (1852) that the MS. reading is λίμνη.²⁹³

Mela I 85 (going north): *trans Halicarnason illa sunt: litus Leuca, urbes Myndos,*²⁹⁴ <C>aruanda, Neapolis, sinus Iasius et Basilicus.

Pliny, *NH* V 107 (going north): *inde Myndos et ubi fuit Palaemyndus, Nariandos, Neapolis, Caryanda, Theangela*²⁹⁵ libera, Bargylia et (a quo sinus Iasius) oppidum Iasus.

ibid. 134 (in a list of islands) after Cos: *hinc Caryanda cum oppido, nec procul ab Halicarnaso Pidossus. in Ceramico autem sinu . . .* (for the list that follows see below, p. 160).

Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* 'Καρύανδα', πόλις καὶ λίμνη ὁμώνυμος πλησίον Μύνδου καὶ Κῶ. 'Ἐκαταῖος Καρύανδαν αὐτὴν φησι. Here again λίμνη is altered to λιμὴν by the editors.²⁹⁶

Apart from these passages, the few references to Caryanda are all early. The Caryandan Scylax in the time of Darius I is well known (*Her.* I 44); in *CIG* 4702 we have Στράτων Καρυανδ(εύς) in a list of dedicators in Egypt *c.* 360 B.C.; *IG* II² 8963 (Peiraeus, mid iv B.C.) and Maiuri, *Nuova Sill.* 541 (Cos, iv–iii B.C.) are epitaphs of Caryandans. The rare coins of Caryanda are dated to 'the third century or earlier' (Head, *HN*² 612). After this time Caryanda disappears from all but the texts of the geographers.

This evidence, we think, presents a perfectly consistent picture. First and foremost, one thing is absolutely certain, namely that *two* sites are required, an early island site and a later site on the mainland. Strabo indeed tells us as much; and any other supposition will inevitably involve rejecting a considerable part of the evidence. Our most informative witnesses, Ps.-Scylax and Strabo, are fortunately the most reputable, and we look first to their testimony. Ps.-Scylax is clear and definite: Caryanda is an island with a city and harbour, exactly like Cos which immediately follows. Strabo agrees: there is an island called Caryanda, where the Caryandans used to live. So far we are surely on firm ground.²⁹⁷ But it is further clear from Strabo that the Caryandans are no longer in their island, but are living (unless they have ceased to exist altogether) beside a Lake Caryanda, obviously on the mainland. One more

²⁹² For this information we are gratefully indebted to Mr. Aubrey Diller. It appears that Müller's note in *GGM* I 73 is incorrect.

²⁹³ The change to λιμὴν involves the further alteration of ταύτη, *e.g.* ὁμώνυμος: ταύτην ᾠκου Koraes; ὁμώνυμος τούτῳ, ἣν ᾠκου Müller (Didot 1877); Meineke's Teubner text (following the Vatican epitome) omits ταύτη. *ATL loc. cit.* follows Meineke. Newton points out that all MSS. of Strabo and Steph. Byz. have λίμνη (*Halicarnassus* II 599), and Chandler does not seem to have questioned the reading λίμνη.

²⁹⁴ Corrected from *Myridos*.

²⁹⁵ MSS. *Termera*: see above, p. 144.

²⁹⁶ *ATL loc. cit.* accepts Jacoby's conjecture πόλις καὶ λιμ(ήν καὶ) νῆ(σος) ὁμώνυμος.

²⁹⁷ In the face of this evidence, it is strange that scholars (including even so good a judge as Robert: see *Rev. Phil.* LXII (1936), 283) should so often have sought the classical Caryanda on the Carian mainland. R. Kiepert's suggestion in *FOA* VIII, Text 7, that the Caryandans may have had country houses and farms on the island, and that the name of the city was eventually transmitted to the island, seems an almost exact inversion of the actual course of events. *ATL loc. cit.* rightly insists on an island site, but leaves the evidence for a mainland site (Strabo, Mela, Pliny) in the air.

fact we gather from Strabo: there was no *city* of Caryanda on the mainland. This appears not merely from his mentioning only Καρύανδα λίμνη, but even more clearly from the words Βαργύλια, καὶ αὕτη πόλις: Myndus and Bargylia are cities, Caryanda by evident implication is not. Pliny also has heard of the two sites, island (with city) and mainland; Mela knows only one, apparently the later one on the mainland.²⁹⁸

On the evidence as we have it, the island site included a harbour, λιμὴν, the mainland site included a lake, λίμνη. For the latter we have the unanimous authority of the MSS. of Strabo and Stephanus, and we see no reason to distrust it. The phrasing in Stephanus seems to show that he took this part of his notice from Strabo, in which case the reading λίμνη in Strabo must go back at least to early Byzantine times. The two words are, of course, easily confused, and an early corruption in Strabo might readily be accepted if any good reason were shown; we see no reason at all, and prefer to take the texts as they stand.²⁹⁹

We look therefore for an island with a city and harbour, and for a lake, without a regular city, on the mainland. Postponing for the moment the location of the island, we consider first the mainland site. Concerning the position of this, our authorities are unanimous: it was between Myndus and Bargylia.³⁰⁰ In this area there is one obvious lake—that which gives its name to the village of Göl, though it is now little more than a marsh. According to the evidence, this should be Lake Caryanda. Fairly early in the Hellenistic period the Caryandans abandoned their island city and settled here, around Aşağı (Lower) Göl and Türkbükü, giving to the lake the name of their old city. From this time on they are citizens of Myndus; the coins of Caryanda cease, and the ethnic no longer appears in inscriptions or in literature. We feel no doubt that this is what actually happened. The Mausolan synoecism must have left a considerable vacuum on the peninsula, and the Caryandans merely moved into the vacancy created by the abolition of the Lelegian city which we identify with Madnasa. Myndus—*itself*, as we know, underpopulated³⁰¹—would no doubt be ready and willing to admit this accession of man-power. Positive evidence of connection between Caryanda and Göl exists in the coin found by Paton, and (on our view) in the close association of Madnasa and Caryanda in the tribute lists (below, n. 306).³⁰²

This, we believe, is the conclusion demanded by the evidence. Before reaching it, we considered carefully the claims of the site at Sıralık favoured by Kiepert. This has sherds beginning in the middle Hellenistic period, and walls of similar date (above, p. 132). Lake

²⁹⁸ He calls it a city, *urbs*; this is no doubt a mere assumption on his part: he would know there was at one time a city: there is no trace elsewhere of a city of Caryanda in Hellenistic or later times. Incidentally, it is perhaps not certain that Mela mentions Caryanda at all; it would presumably be possible to read <N>aruanda, corresponding to Pliny's Nariandos. Stephanus' account is confused: see below n. 300.

²⁹⁹ The only reason offered (to our knowledge) for changing to λιμὴν is the mention of a harbour by Ps.-Scylax (see Kramer's note *ad loc.*), but this is clearly wrong-headed: Strabo's λίμνη is expressly distinguished from the island recorded by Ps.-Scylax.

³⁰⁰ Strabo, *loc. cit.*, Mela, *loc. cit.*, Pliny V 107. Stephanus' evidence is neither one thing nor the other; he seems to have taken his facts from a variety of sources, and he certainly did not realise that two sites were in question. He has consulted Hecataeus; λίμνη ὁμώνυμος is apparently from Strabo; πόλις may be his own invention or may be from Ps.-Scylax or Mela; πλεῖστον Μύνδου καὶ Κῶ might be from Hecataeus, as suggested in *ATL* I 498, but need not be so; both names may be taken from the extant authorities quoted above.

³⁰¹ Cf. the story of Diogenes quoted above, p. 111.

³⁰² This settlement at Lower Göl has, of course, no connection with the Lelegian site on the hill above, but was centred on the low ground by the shore, where later a considerable Byzantine town grew up. The Lelegian city at Göl was identified with Caryanda by Paton and Myres on the strength chiefly of a coin of Caryanda found on the shore close by (*JHS* XIV 375 f.). This identification (which has met with considerable approval, e.g. from Head, *HN*² 612, Robert, *Rev. Phil.* 1936, 283, *Coll. Froehn.* 84 n. 2) is in our view out of the question; first, because an island site is absolutely demanded for the early Caryanda (so *ATL loc. cit.*), and second, because the city at Göl is clearly one of the synoecised Lelegian towns, whereas Caryanda was not among the eight names recorded, as we believe, by Callisthenes, and is shown to have survived the synoecism by its mention in Ps.-Scylax (see above, p. 145). The lake lends no support, being connected in the authorities only with the later Caryanda. The coin is too portable an object to be relied on in isolation, but may well have come across with the settlers from the island.

Caryanda must then be identified with a small lake called Inegöl some distance to the east of Güvercinlik, towards Mumcular; though now insignificant, this was formerly, as it appears, of more consequence.³⁰³ But this view seems to us on all grounds inferior to that proposed above. Sıralık and Inegöl are unreasonably far apart, and the lake is hardly describable as between Myndus and Bargylia. It must have lain in the territory either of Theangela or of Bargylia; we must then suppose that one of these cities, in admitting the Caryandans to citizenship, permitted them to occupy a considerable area of its territory and to fortify the hill at Sıralık. A simple settlement on the depopulated Myndian peninsula at Lower Göl seems incomparably more probable.

A further suggestion seems justified by the evidence. Pliny and Mela place Neapolis next to Caryanda, and a coin in the British Museum appears to describe the same place as Νεάπολις Μυν(δίων).³⁰⁴ Bearing in mind the cardinal fact of the underpopulation of Myndus and its territory, we find it hard to imagine the emergence in Hellenistic times of a 'Neapolis of the Myndians' except as the result of just such a settlement as we suppose to have been made at Göl; we suspect that this Neapolis is no other than the transplanted Caryanda, whose former standing would explain the privilege of a special coinage. The two names in Pliny and Mela are then virtually in apposition, and the difference of order (Neapolis-Caryanda in Pliny, Caryanda-Neapolis in Mela) is naturally explained. Since the coin is unique, it is unlikely that many were struck in the name of this Neapolis; the types have nothing in common with the coins of Caryanda, but the head of Apollo is similar to that on contemporary coins of Myndus.

We turn now to the question of the early island city of Caryanda. For the location of this we have the evidence of Ps.-Scylax, who names it after Calymna and before Cos, and of Pliny, who (going in the opposite direction) names it after Cos. Stephanus also has πλησίον Μύνδου καὶ Κῶ, though he does not actually mention an island.³⁰⁵ On this testimony we should naturally look first in the neighbourhood of Cos. From Strabo, on the other hand, it might naturally be understood that he placed the island, as he certainly placed the lake, between Myndus and Bargylia; the word μεταξύ undoubtedly seems to refer to both. In this uncertainty it is suggested in *ATL loc. cit.* that 'a decision might be reached by an examination of the islands of H. Apostoli and Karabağlar, perhaps of Pserimo also'. We have visited, together or singly, all these three islands, but the results are not particularly encouraging. Pserimos is most naturally suggested by the text of Ps.-Scylax; but this seems excluded, not only because the island contains no discoverable Carian town-site, but also because its present name is apparently ancient (see above, p. 128). For Çatallaradası (Karabağlar) see the description above, p. 128; it offers no city and nothing more than a very moderate anchorage. The associations of Caryanda in the tribute lists are also against a location in this neighbourhood; not only is Caryanda constantly associated with Madnasa, but it is equally constantly dissociated from Myndus.³⁰⁶ The order of mention in Ps.-Scylax is not to be relied on, since: (1) his list of islands between Samos and Nisyros is selective, not exhaustive; there is therefore

³⁰³ It is mentioned by the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi in the seventeenth century, who speaks of gardens and orchards and a considerable population dwelling around. We are indebted for this information to the Educational Officer at Bodrum, Bay Necati Çavdar; we have not ourselves seen this lake, nor do we know its exact location. It seems certain that there is no other lake whatsoever in the region in question except that at Göl.

³⁰⁴ *BMC Cat. Caria* lxx, 140, pl. XXIII a; second or first century B.C. *Obv.* Head of Apollo. *Rev.* Lyre: NE ΑΠ ΟΛΙ ΜΥΝ ΚΟΑΒΑ (*cf.* Head, *HN*² 623). The reading ΜΥΝ is said to be 'not quite certain', though it appears perfectly clear in the photograph. ΚΟΑΒΑ is supposed to represent a magistrate's name: Colbasa in Pisidia struck coins under the middle Empire, but it has never, so far as we know, been suggested that our coin may belong to it.

³⁰⁵ Unless the text be altered; see above, n. 296.

³⁰⁶ See *ATL* I. Caryanda is next to Madnasa in lists 3, 12, 13, 23, and next but one in list 5; only in list 12 is it anywhere near Myndus.

no guarantee that all three were bunched together; (2) he names, for example, the Rhodian islands in the order Chalce, Telos, Casos, Carpathos; (3) if his order were stressed, Caryanda could hardly be other than Pserimos, which is in our opinion excluded. The notices in Pliny, *NH* V 134 and in Stephanus, which also associate Caryanda with Cos, are presumably based on no more than the order of names in Ps.-Scylax, and need have no independent authority.

We prefer therefore to take Strabo as guide, and look for Caryanda Island between Myndus and Bargylia. With Lake Caryanda fixed at Göl, this is surely the most natural area of search. Apart from numerous insignificant islets, there are only two islands in this region which can reasonably come in question, namely Konel Ada (H. Apostoli) and Salihadası. The choice must rest between these two.

Konel Ada is in some ways attractive; in particular, it is the nearest island to Göl, and its position agrees well with the general impression one gains of Caryanda's Aegean associations. Paying only 500 dr. in the Delian League, Caryanda cannot have been a large city, and no very substantial remains need be expected to be visible. Nevertheless, the existing ruins on Konel Ada are certainly very scanty (above, p. 131), and the surface sherds are apparently Hellenistic. Above all, the island totally lacks anything that could fairly be described as a harbour.³⁰⁷

Salihadası is rather more distant from Göl (though the bay of Türkbükü looks towards it) and is perhaps a little far up the Iasian Gulf; but in other respects it has undoubted advantages. Though as yet very inadequately explored, it contains at least a walled site of fair extent and of an appropriate date (above, p. 132), below which there is a sheltered anchorage on the side of the isthmus towards the mainland. Caryanda was in fact located at one time by Kiepert on Salihadası, and is so marked on Admiralty Chart 1546; but this is said in *ATL* I 498 to be absolutely excluded, for two reasons: (a) it is too far from Cos, (b) Salihadası (formerly Tarandos) 'is the ancient Taramptos, and as such appears in Ag in addition to Karyanda'. As explained above, the distance from Cos does not seem to us a serious difficulty. The other point is more debatable. Assuming that Taramptos does in fact figure in Ag,³⁰⁸ is it to be identified with Tarandos? The identification rests solely on the similarity of name; Taramptos is known only from a single inscription, dated c. 300 B.C., in which a citizen of Halicarnassus possesses a field ἐν Ταράμπτω,³⁰⁹ and from this it is restored in the assessment of 425 B.C. (Ag). There is no indication as to where or what kind of a place it was.³¹⁰ We are far from sure that 'Taramptos' would naturally change to 'Tarandos'; it seems to us that Torba is at least as likely to be its modern representative.³¹¹ Torba was certainly Halicarnassian, whereas Tarandos, if not independent, must surely have belonged to Bargylia.³¹² We are accordingly not convinced that Salihadası is excluded for these reasons; we think it on the present evidence to be on the whole the most likely site for early Caryanda. A final decision must wait upon further investigation of the island, which the dense scrub at present renders impossible.

³⁰⁷ We take it that λιμήν in Ps.-Scylax means no more than a decent anchorage, not necessarily harbour-works: for a periplus this would be the essential information; but he is not consistent in mentioning or omitting this item. Konel is a very rocky island, and not easy to land on except in the early morning calm; if it can be said to have a λιμήν, the term virtually ceases to have any meaning.

³⁰⁸ On this point see below, p. 163.

³⁰⁹ *SIG*³ 1044, l. 18.

³¹⁰ The statement in *JHS* XIV 375 that 'the ancient name of Tarandos was certainly Taramptos, for which there is no alternative site' (our italics) seems strangely inaccurate; if Taramptos is not Tarandos, it may have been anywhere on the whole peninsula not unduly far from Halicarnassus. It may in fact have been no more than a farm.

³¹¹ Tára(m)p might easily, with the help of a simple Turkicisms, have finally become Torba ('Bag'); other forms quoted are Durvanda and Trupada (*Med. Pilot*⁵ IV (1918), 366), of which the second (?= Turpada, 'Turnip Island') could well be corrupted from Taramptos.

³¹² So indeed it is taken to be in *ATL* III 210 f. ('by apotaxis from Bargylia'). We hesitate to attach significance to the 'Karandakia Rocks' south of Salihadası and close to Sıralık (Admira name has any genuine historical basis.

One further point remains. The *Stadiasmus* 285 records a Panormus eighty stades from Myndus. Müller, in *GGM* I 500, takes the view that this is identical with Caryanda, and locates it at Paşalimanı (wrongly identified on Kiepert's map). We have no particular feelings on this point, but note that Göl would be equally possible, as 80 stades leads to a point about half-way between the two; and Türkbükü is the better harbour.

C. OTHER IDENTIFICATIONS AROUND THE MYNDUS PENINSULA.

1. *Termile*.

Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Τέλμερα', πόλις Καρίας . . . Τερμίλην δ' ἐξῆς παραθήσομαι, ἑτέραν ἔχουσιν γραφήν, τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν ὡς οἶμαι. It has been proposed³¹³ to identify this Termile with Dirmil (described above, p. 130) on the strength of the similarity of name. We regard this as in the last degree dubious, not merely because there are other places of the name Dirmil in Turkey, but chiefly because we much doubt that a town of Termile ever existed. Under 'Τέρμερα', πόλις Λυκίας Stephanus notes: ὁ πολίτης Τερμερεύς. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ Τερμίλας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ.³¹⁴ From this it seems probable that he equated Τέλμερα with Τέρμερα (in which he was surely right), and Τερμίλη, misunderstood from Herodotus, with both. Nothing whatever is known of Termile or of Telmera from any other source.³¹⁵

2. *Peleia*.

We refer the reader to *ATL* I 533, to which we have nothing to add. We have the gravest doubts as to the location at Pelen (properly Belen), which seems to us a wrong type of identification by similarity of name.

3. *Pliny's Islands*.

Pliny, *NH* V 128–140, gives a long list of islands off the coast of Asia. In 134, after Cos, Caryanda, and Pidossus near Halicarnassus, he continues: *in Ceramico autem sinu Priaponesos, Hipponesos, Pserima, Lampsa, Aemyndus, Passala, Crusa, Pyrrhaeciusa, Sepiusa, Melano, paulumque a continente distans quae vocata est Cinaedopolis*. He then passes to Ionia. In *ATL* I 513 this passage is said to be 'either corrupt or garbled'. It is certainly garbled to the extent that in *Ceramico sinu* is not strictly accurate: there are not nearly eleven islands in the Ceramic Gulf; moreover, the one or two known names in this list are located outside that gulf, whereas the known islands in the gulf (Arconnesos, Cedraeae) do not appear in the list here. Off the west end of the Myndus peninsula, however, there is a crowd of small islands, and we presume that Pliny's list relates, at least in the main, to these. Pserima, the modern Pserimos (above, p. 128), is in fact the largest of them; we take this identification to be certain.

One other name is approximately located, but it fits very badly into the list. Passala is known from Stephanus *s.v.* as Μυλασέων ἐπίνειον, which places it at or near the head of the Iasian Gulf,³¹⁶ and from a corrupt entry in the *Stadiasmus* 291: οἰκεῖται κατέναντι Πάσσαλα πηγῇ. † σθερεστον ἀποβῆναι εἰς Μύλασσαν σταδ. κ'. Müller *GGM* I 501 reads κείται

³¹³ *JHS* XVI 208; accepted by Kiepert.

³¹⁴ Her. I. 173, where Termilae is recorded as the old name of the Lycians, without reference to Termera. Stephanus knows Τερμίλη as a name for Lycia.

³¹⁵ Except that *Telmera* is a variant reading for *Termera* in Pliny, *NH* V 107. If a name must be found for Dirmil, Pliny's Nariandos is available, but there is no positive evidence for an identification. Nariandos seems to be otherwise unknown; for the Ναρνανδεῖς in the neighbourhood of Stratoniceia see Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 569.

³¹⁶ The modern port is Küllük.

κατέναντι <Ἰάσου> Πάσσαλα πηγῇ· ἐνθεν ἐστὶν ἀποβῆναι κτλ.³¹⁷ *ATL* I 506, *s.v.* ‘Κρουσῆς’ proposes to read νῆσος for πηγῇ on the strength of Pliny’s notice, supposing the island of Passala to be now absorbed into the mainland. It seems, however, improbable that Mylasa would have its seaport on an island, and we therefore doubt very much whether the port of Mylasa can really come in question in this list; we note that Stephanus records Πάταλος, νῆσος παρακειμένη τῇ Καρίᾳ, and suspect that this may be the true name of Pliny’s Passala.³¹⁸ It lay presumably with the rest near the west end of the peninsula.

Of the other names only Crusa is known at all; it is restored with great probability in the tribute assessment of 425 B.C. (*ATL* I 447, 506). The syntely in which it occurs is discussed below (pp. 163 f.); we suppose it, like the others in Pliny’s list, to have lain close to the Myndus peninsula. Its occurrence in the tribute lists suggests it was one of the larger of these islands, such as Konel Ada or Çatallaradası, both of which have ancient remains (above pp. 128, 158 f.) and are no doubt included somewhere in Pliny’s list. We note the name Kruso given to two islets near the south end of Çatallaradası in the *Mediterranean Pilot* and on Admiralty Chart 1604; if this name represents a genuine tradition, we may suppose that it applied in antiquity to Çatallar and its small neighbours, surviving for the latter after the larger island acquired its descriptive Turkish name.

One further proposal has been made. Kiepert suggested that *Lampsä*, *Aemyndus* was a corruption of *Lampsimandus*, a name which occurs in a variety of forms (though not in this particular one) in the Athenian tribute lists. We have nothing to add to what is said in *ATL* I 513.³¹⁹

4. The Headlands.

The principal evidence is in Strabo XIV 657: ἐξῆς (*sc.* after Halicarnassus) δ’ ἐστὶν ἄκρα Τερμέριον Μυνδίων, καθ’ ἣν ἀντίκειται τῆς Κώας ἄκρα Σκανδαρία διέχουσα τῆς ἡπείρου σταδίους τετταράκοντα· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ χωρίον Τέρμερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄκρας; and 658: ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς ἡπείρου κατὰ τὴν Μυνδίαν Ἀστυπάλαιά ἐστιν ἄκρα καὶ Ζεφύριον· εἴτ’ εὐθὺς ἡ Μύνδος. In the same neighbourhood Ptolemy records a C. Scopiae.

The identification of these headlands is in practice more difficult than might be expected; Kiepert’s arrangement is criticised by Ruge in *RE s.v.* ‘Termerion’, but neither it nor Ruge’s own seems to us satisfactory. Kiepert’s arrangement is as follows: Termerium = Aspat

³¹⁷ The figure K’ is also wrong; as pointed out in *GGM loc. cit.* and in *ATL* I 506 n. 1, the correct figure 80 is recorded by Pausanias VIII 10, 4.

This passage of the *Stadiasmus* is full of difficulty. The MS. has (according to Müller’s notes): 288, ἀπὸ Βαρβυλίων εἰς Ἰάσον στάδιοι κ’ (? measured by following the ancient coast all round the ‘Little Sea’; the direct crossing is barely 50 stades); 289, ἀπὸ Ἰάσου ἐπ’ ἀκρωτήριον Ποσειδίου στάδιοι ρκ’ (really about 220); 290, ἀπὸ Ἰάσου εἰς τὴν Ἀκρίταν στάδιοι σμ’; 291, οἰκεῖται κατέναντι Πάσσαλα πηγῇ κτλ. As a connected passage this will not hang together. If Acritia is Agathemerus’ Arcitis, the modern Arki east of Patmos, the figure 240 stades from Iasus is little more than half the true distance; Müller accordingly reads Ποσειδίου for Ἰάσου in 290, but believes that this section is a later addition. We strongly suspect the same of 291, for the following reasons. (1) If Passala the port of Mylasa was mentioned in the original text, it should have come between Bargylia and Iasus. (2) Notes of this kind are unusual in this part of the *Stadiasmus*, which consists in general of a mere list of places and distances. (3) If we suppose a reader’s marginal note, illegible handwriting will explain the corruption. (4) Such a note will also account for the abbreviation σταδ.; elsewhere in this passage στάδιοι is written in full. If 290 and 291 are omitted, the catalogue proceeds in straightforward fashion, Bargylia—Iasus—C. Poseidion—Panormus—Miletus. But even if added later, the note is not for that reason devoid of all value; it is a confirmation of Stephanus’ note on Passala. In this case the corruption must apparently extend to πηγῇ, which can hardly be right; if a correction must be found, we are tempted to suggest <καὶ ναυ>πηγία. Other explanations of the passage are possible, but hardly attractive. E.g. Passala might be identified with Pliny’s island and placed in the neighbourhood of Acritia; the rest of 291 is then a confusion with Stephanus’ Passala, the port of Mylasa. But the drawbacks to this are obvious.

³¹⁸ It is identified by Meineke, *ad loc.*, most unconvincingly, with Patara in Lycia.

³¹⁹ *Aemyndus* is very likely to be corrupt; it has a peculiarly unconvincing look. We cannot, however, approve the suggestion there made to suppose a lacuna and read, e.g. *Lampsimandus*; *inde sinus Iasicus et in continent)e Myndus*; it is surely unlikely that Pliny would interrupt his catalogue of islands to name a city on the mainland which he has already recorded in its proper place, unless for some special purpose. We see no such purpose here.

(Çiftkalesi); Astypalaea = Kocaburun (Petra); Scopias = Sağıralaca Burun (Arkiialla); Zephyrium = the headland immediately south of Myndus.

Strabo's location of Termerium is precise, but corresponds indifferently to the geographical facts. Scandaria is unquestionably Kumburnu, the northernmost point of Cos; opposite this on the mainland, across the Cos Channel, is the fine outstanding headland of Kocaburun. This should naturally be Termerium; but the Cos Channel is in fact only three miles wide instead of five. Aspat is just about the required distance from Kumburnu and is nearer to the site of Termera at Asarlık, but is much less prominent and is not properly described as 'opposite Scandaria'.³²⁰ We think the description of position in Strabo more significant than the estimate of distance, and agree with Ruge in identifying Termerium with Kocaburun. Alternatively, and perhaps better, ἀκρὰ Τερμέριον may be the whole of the south-west tip of the peninsula, from Fenerburnu (Hussein Pt.) to Kocaburun.³²¹

Ruge thereupon identifies Astypalaea with Sağıralaca (Arkiialla); but this is hardly satisfactory. Between Strabo's mention of Termerium and that of Astypalaea and Zephyrium there intervenes a page concerning Cos; it seems to us therefore unnatural to locate Astypalaea at a point so very near Termerium and so far from Zephyrium, which is evidently close to Myndus. We note that Zephyrium is not called a headland by Strabo—indeed, his language suggests rather that it was not; we should therefore be disposed to identify Astypalaea with the prominent headland just south of Myndus, and to suppose that Zephyrium is some feature on or close to this headland.³²²

Scopias appears to us unidentifiable. Its position in relation to Halicarnassus and Myndus, as given by Ptolemy, is shown on the sketch-map in *ATL* I 559; it is obviously useless for a precise identification, but suggests the south-west corner of the peninsula.³²³

For the *litus Leuca* mentioned by Mela I 85 between Halicarnassus and Myndus, we have no certain identification to offer; but we note that the name Akyerler ('White Places') is given locally to the spot on the beach at the SW point of the Termerian promontory where we noted building traces and a bucranium altar (p. 129), and the beach just east of Fenerburnu shows as a white streak from the sea.

D. THE 'CARIAN SYNTELY' OF 425 B.C.

In the assessment list for the year 425 B.C. appears an entry which is restored as follows in *ATL* I.³²⁴ The amount of the tribute is missing.

III	[Συναγγελεῖς]	[Κ]ροσῆ[ς]
	[Ἀμ]υ[νανδεῖς]	Ῥορνι[ἔτα]ι
	[Κᾱ]ρ[ε]ς ἡδυν]	ταύτεσι [σ]ύμπ[ας] ἡο
	[Τ]ύμν[ε]ς ἄρχει]	119 φόρος ἑτάχθε
115	[Τ]όραμ[πτος]	

This highly skilful restoration is the fruit of long study, and (with the exception of the first two lines) we accept it as substantially correct. The attempt made in *ATL* to plot the

³²⁰ It is observed in *ATL* I 522 that no cape west of Petra can be described as opposite Kumburnu; we do not understand this, and suspect that 'east of Petra' was intended.

³²¹ Fenerburnu is regarded in the *Mediterranean Pilot* as the north-west entrance-point to the Cos Channel, Kocaburun as the north-eastern entrance point.

³²² Kiepert interpreted the name Astypalaea as 'Erniedrigung' (from the Phoenician), with reference to the low isthmus between the lofty cape and the high ground on the mainland; this description would apply equally to the cape south of Myndus but not (as Ruge supposed) to Sağıralaca, which is flat and featureless.

³²³ The relative positions are then more or less correct, but the compass-points are turned through an angle of about 90°.

³²⁴ P. 447, with pl. XXIII; cf. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica* 119 ff.

syntely on the map is, however, in our opinion, much less successful. Taramptos, equated with Tarandos (Salihadası), is made the starting-point, and the syntely is taken to be 'either a group centred on the Iasian Gulf and including Mylasa, or one bestriding the peninsula between the Iasian and Ceramic Gulfs.'³²⁵ The following locations are finally adopted, more or less tentatively: Syangela at Etrim; Arynanda at Alâzeytin (?); Tymnes in the interior at Ulaş (Casossus) between Mylasa and Hydissus (?); Taramptos at Salihadası; Crusa at the head of the Iasian Gulf (?); Uranium at Sıralık, which for greater convenience is made an inland site.³²⁶ This group straggles over a good deal of country. If the first two names were omitted, it would be a good deal more compact, and the evidence for these is in fact as slight as it could be;³²⁷ we should prefer to discard them. But even the resulting group is far from satisfactory. Tymnes is not well placed so far inland, considering that he and his Carians first appear in the lists at the time when the other inland tributaries (e.g. Killara, Hydissus) are dropping out. Moreover, some at least of the proposed locations are certainly wrong. Uranium cannot have been at Sıralık, where nothing is found earlier than Hellenistic; nor (we think) can the island of Crusa have been anywhere near the head of the Iasian Gulf.³²⁸

We should prefer to start from Uranium, the only absolutely certain name on this part of the stone. This was one of the eight Lelegian cities, and was accordingly on or near the Myndus peninsula.³²⁹ Crusa in l. 116 is also nearly certain, and this, too, we suppose to have lain off the coast of the same peninsula.³³⁰ This, then, is the region in which we should look for the syntely. The restoration of ll. 113–15 has been much discussed, but assuming [Kḗ]ρ[ε]ς ὦν Τύμνης ἀρχεῖ to be right, we note that the name of Tymnes is associated, two generations earlier, with Termera; our views have been explained above.³³¹ Taramptos we feel to be very uncertain. The restoration is hardly assured, though we have no alternative to offer; the possibility of an unknown name cannot be disregarded, especially in A9, where so many small places are assessed for the first time.³³² Nor are we convinced of the equation Taramptos = Tarandos.³³³ Taramptos may in fact have been anywhere not far from Halicarnassus.³³⁴

We take it, then, that this Carian syntely covered most of the Myndus peninsula other than those places individually assessed, together with one or more of the adjacent islands. Two of the names (Crusa and Taramptos) appear for the first time; one (Uranium) reappears after a long period of non-payment. For the missing names at the beginning (ll. 111–12, and possibly more), we look naturally in the same region. The cities separately assessed in 425 are Halicarnassus, Pedasa, Termera, Myndus, and of the islands Caryanda and Lepsimandus; these are therefore excluded. At the head of the syntely, instead of Syangela, we should not hesitate to place Madnasa, which can hardly have been omitted; but for the other name or names we are reduced to the barest conjecture.³³⁵

³²⁵ *Op. cit.* 553, with map on p. 554.

³²⁶ *ATL* III 211 n. 77.

³²⁷ Of the *upsilon* in l. 112 nothing is now to be seen on the stone.

³²⁸ See above, p. 161. There are in fact no islands at the head of the gulf; Crusa is supposed in *ATL* to have been, like Passala, absorbed since antiquity by the alluvial advance of the coast-line. If Taramptos is Salihadası, the largest island in the Iasian Gulf, and if Pliny's list extends to the head of this gulf, it is curious that Taramptos is not named in it.

³²⁹ Whether or not our suggested location at Burgaz be correct; see above, p. 155.

³³⁰ Above, p. 161.

³³¹ See p. 147. Robert's ingenious suggestion for ll. 114–5, [Κ]υμ[ι]σσῆς π[ρ]ὸς Μ[υ]νδον (*Rev. Phil.* LXII (1936), 282), would also suit our location of the syntely; but it is declared epigraphically impossible, on the grounds that l. 115 cannot have contained more than nine letters: part of the tenth letter, if it existed, should be visible on the stone. The earlier suggestion [Σ]ύμ[η]τρα (see *ATL* I 553), i.e. Symbra in western Lycia (see most recently *JHS* LXXIII (1953), 26), is naturally no longer maintained.

³³² The first preserved letter in l. 115 might be *gamma* or *delta* equally with *alpha*.

³³³ See above, p. 159.

³³⁴ For the single inscription in which Taramptos is named, see above, p. 159. There is no indication as to what sort of a place it was.

³³⁵ Nariandos is available, or another of Pliny's islands; Side may have been assessed for the first time. In l. 112 it seems that the bottom extremity of an upright stroke was formerly visible in the third place; [Π]ά[ρ]α[λος], or perhaps [Ν]α[ρ]α[λος], would meet the requirements. But such speculations are hardly profitable.

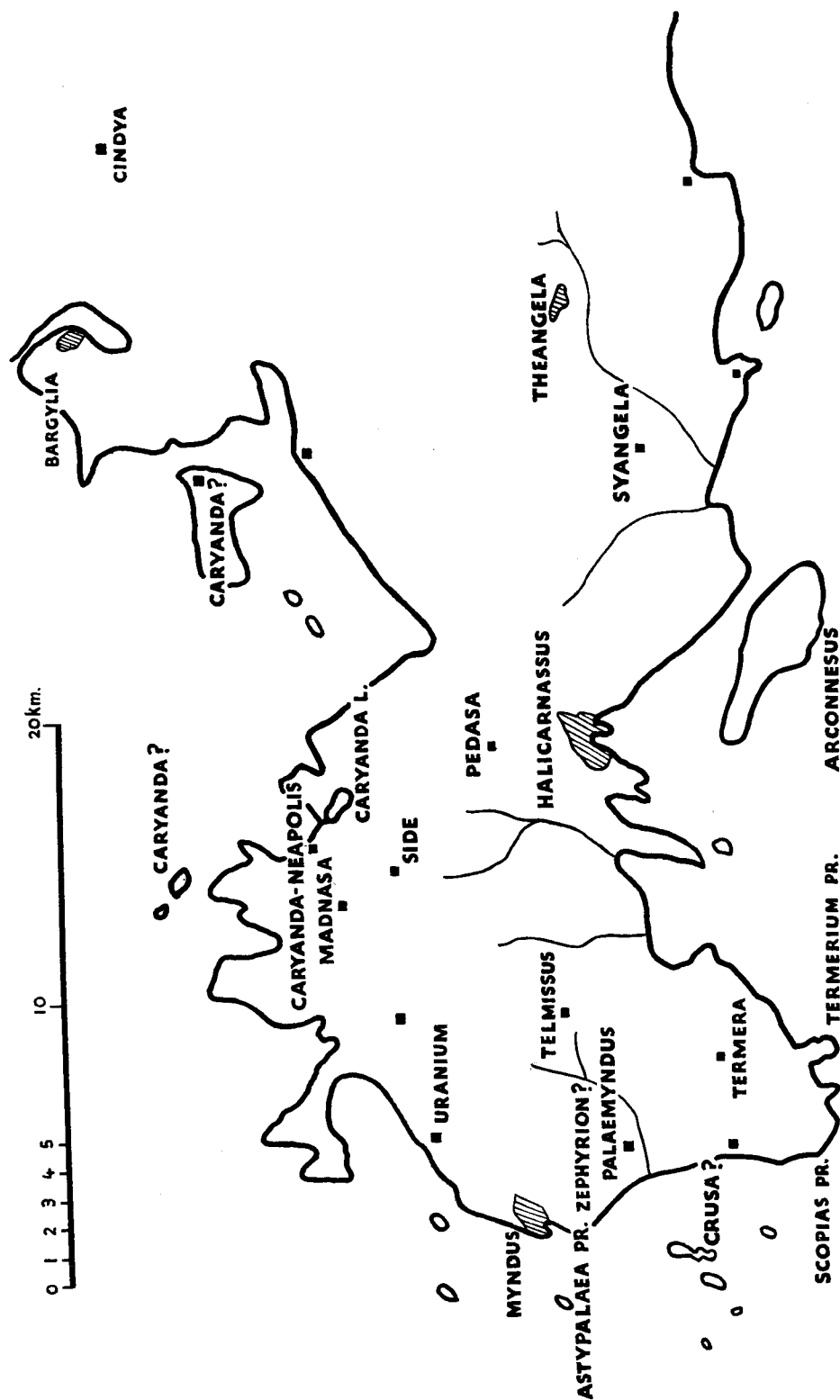


FIG. 14.—SUGGESTED LOCATIONS ON THE PENINSULA.

E. EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.

1. *Amyranda*.

This city appears in the tribute lists with Syangela, Syangela being apparently the senior partner (above, p. 114). After this it totally disappears. With Syangela at Alâzeytin, Amyranda may perhaps have been on the coast, either at Kargıcık or at Alâkilise (p. 134).

2. *Bargasa*.

For the two cities of this name see *ATL* I 531. We agree that the Pargasa of the tribute lists is to be identified with the Bargasa mentioned by Strabo XIV 656, together with Ceramus, as *πολιχνια ὑπὲρ θαλάττης*. For the precise location Strabo tells us only that these places are between Cnidus and Halicarnassus; but Ceramus is fixed beyond doubt at Ören, so that Bargasa should be somewhere west of this. The site at Gökbel has been proposed,³³⁶ in spite of some doubt whether the extant ruins are of sufficient consequence to represent a city; since it now appears from the new inscription no. 67 that there was in fact a Greek city on the hilltop just south of the village of Gökbel, the identification gains greatly in probability. Conforming excellently as it does to such evidence as is available, it should, we think, now be accepted.

FIG. 14 shows the identifications that we propose.

TOMB TYPES

All the ancient tombs known to us on the peninsula have been referred to in the preceding sections. The majority of them fall into a few distinct classes,³³⁷ whose distribution and dating form the subject of this short section; but some of the most remarkable of the complex constructions evade this classification and are not considered here. Despite the example of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, above-ground architectural tombs of Hellenistic and Roman date are rarer on this peninsula than in other parts of Western Caria, whereas underground tombs cut in the rock (below, p. 167) are very common where softer rocks come to the surface. We have not attempted a serious study of the problems of the construction, development, and external connections of the Lelegian tombs; such a study must go hand in hand with that of the domestic architecture of the Lelegians and would require the clearing of fallen masonry and a far closer investigation of the existing remains than we could undertake.³³⁸

Chamber Tumuli.

These consist of a built rectangular chamber with a Lelegian vault and a dromos, covered by a mound of loosely piled stones which is retained round the edge by a low wall curvilinear in plan. They are normally found in the vicinity of Lelegian sites.³³⁹ The earliest dated tombs

³³⁶ On Kiepert's map; approved in *ATL loc. cit.* Robert, *Coll. Froehn*. 84, n. 2 says the site is 'entièrement incertain', though he seems to consider Gökbel a possibility.

³³⁷ Cf. Paton and Myres' classification of the tombs, *JHS* XVI 242 ff.

³³⁸ F. P. Johnson has justly drawn attention to the startling resemblance (which cannot be explained solely by similar physical and geological conditions) between the Lelegian architecture here and the Dryopian constructions at Styra and on Mt. Okha in Southern Euboea (*AJA* 1925, 398 ff.); the Hellenistic date that he there suggests for the houses at Alâzeytin hardly seems tenable, however. In addition to similar wall construction, roofing, and doors the Styra dragon house also has loophole windows near the lower corners of the two long rooms (cf. the farmhouse near Bodrum, pp. 132 f.). There can be no doubt that these monuments on the Halicarnassus peninsula were among the ruins attributed by Strabo to the Leleges (VII 321, XIII 611); but Strabo's assertion that the Lelegian monuments were encountered all over Caria, and house ruins at least in the Milesia as well, does not entirely accord with the distinctive character of the architectural remains on the Halicarnassus peninsula. Cf. Paton and Myres, *JHS* XVI 268 f.

³³⁹ Asarlık (p. 118), Gökçeler (p. 125), Burgaz (p. 120), and perhaps on the Kaplan Dağ. We cannot say whether the built chambers at Gürice (p. 121) and by the farmhouse SE of Bodrum (pp. 133 f.) were covered by mounds; those at Etrim (p. 114) seem not to have been.

of this class, at Asarlık, yielded pottery going back to Protogeometric.³⁴⁰ We have shown reason for dating chamber tumuli at Gökçeler in Late Geometric or early archaic times (p. 125), and Paton and Myres have remarked a development at Asarlık which seems to lead towards the regular masonry and capping of the classical tomb at Burgaz.³⁴¹ The Burgaz tomb (p. 120) is probably to be dated around the fifth century,³⁴² and this date may be regarded as a rough terminus for the Lelegian chamber tumuli.

Tomb Enclosures.

Walled enclosures containing cist- and bun-graves have been discovered by Paton at Asarlık,³⁴³ one with graves containing a submycenaean stirrup vase and sherds with concentric circles; a similar enclosure discovered by Paton at Mandrais near Geriş (p. 130) yielded a fragment of relief pithos of c. 600 B.C.³⁴⁴

'Compound Tumuli'.

The circular constructions of this rare group can be divided into two classes. In the first (cf. FIG. 12) two more or less circular eccentric wall rings have been laid out on such a plan that they converge in one part in a single wall of diminishing thickness, while on the other side, where they diverge, the intervening space is divided by short radial walls into wedge-shaped compartments of irregular plan which communicated by low doors with the central area. The outermost face of the ring stands vertical, but all enclosed wall faces have an inward inclination or curve to facilitate the vaulting of the chambers and passages; the face of the inner ring fronting on the central area also seems to be inclined inwards in the same way, and Myres therefore proposed a restoration with a dome in Lelegian vaulting over the whole circle. The second class has a simple ring wall of a uniform thickness of about two metres, with chambers attached to it or interrupting it; here also the inner face of the ring is inclined inwards. The only examples of this second class known to us are in the newly discovered cemetery at Alâzeytin (pp. 125 ff., nos. 1 and 4, with the bastard form no. 2). Eccentric compound tumuli, on the other hand, have been noticed at Geriş, above the Karadağ site, and on the Kaplan Dağ (pp. 120, 123, 131), at Gökçeler,³⁴⁵ at Alâzeytin (pp. 125 ff., nos. 3 and 6), and above Halicarnassus (FIG. 12, p. 132); and Maiuri attributed to this class a construction photographed by the Italian cruise in 1921 and located by him below Alâzeytin (p. 127). There is no clear evidence that compound tumuli of this sort are found east of Alâzeytin and the Kaplan Dağ—the tumuli seen by Paton at Cindya, Ceramus, and immediately above Miletus cannot be classified, and Guidi seems to be mistaken in locating at Iasus the construction which appears in the Italians' photograph;³⁴⁶ we need therefore not hesitate to regard these compound tumuli as a speciality of Lelegian architectural design. Myres' assumption that the whole circle was roofed over relies on the inward inclination of the inner face of the ring and the evidence of a first-storey corridor in the big tumulus (e) at Gökçeler. Paton, however, disagreed, pointing out that the

³⁴⁰ Cf. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 218 ff. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien* 70 f., stresses the relationship with Mycenaean tholos tombs.

³⁴¹ *JHS* XVI 246 f.

³⁴² *JHS* VIII 81; Paton found fragments of marble and an Attic sherd, perhaps RF, inside the tomb. Cf. also the tomb at Etrim (PLATE 16 (c)) now dated about the late fifth century (p. 113).

³⁴³ *JHS* VIII 73 f. Cf. *JHS* XVI 243 ff.

³⁴⁴ *JHS* VIII 78 fig. 26.

³⁴⁵ *JHS* VIII 248 ff. (a)–(e).

³⁴⁶ *Ann.* IV–V 354, fig. 9, identified by Guidi as a tomb of Lelego-Carian type in the necropolis on the seashore at Iasus, and *ibid.* 439, fig. 47 by Maiuri as a compound tumulus at the back (?) of the valley of the bay of 'Gören-kuiu' below Alâzeytin. Despite the superficial differences, we find it impossible to believe that the two illustrations have not come from one negative. The photograph shows what appears to be the thick part of the ring of a compound tumulus; and in Guidi's print (where the background is printed stronger) it is evidently situated on a hill slope high above a valley. Guidi's description bears no relation to the construction illustrated, and he is clearly mistaken in his identification of the photograph; Maiuri's location could fit the surroundings, and the position near Alâzeytin may therefore be accepted.

amount of debris found inside these circles is not sufficient to tally with a collapsed dome, and that the cognate circle (f) at Gökçeler, which is more than fifty metres in diameter, cannot possibly have been roofed.³⁴⁷ The new evidence seems rather to reinforce Paton's objections; the normal internal diameter of the rings (12–16 m.) seems now to be considerably greater than Myres was reckoning, while the loose stones now lying inside the central areas do not appear to have had the shaping that would be required for a dome of this size; and the plan of the new tomb no. 4 at Alâzeytin (FIG. 11) seems incompatible with the roofing of the whole circle.

For the dating of the compound tumuli there is next to no evidence. Their masonry resembles that of the dwellings preserved on the Lelegian town sites, and they are in the majority of cases situated near Lelegian towns; so they are almost certainly to be regarded as pre-Mausolan. They seem to stand apart from the cemeteries with early chamber tombs, and do not (like some of the tombs of other types) seem to be attached to ancient farmhouses. They are universally interpreted as tomb monuments. But apart from the trench, roofed with stone slabs, seen by Paton and Myres inside the Karadağ tumulus (b), we know of no installations or finds in the compounds which might serve to elucidate their purpose, and have been tempted to wonder whether they may not rather be the shielings of Lelegian shepherds and goatherds; the stout ring wall would give security against thieves, the inward inclination of the inner face would allow no foothold for goats to jump up, and the vaulted chambers would provide pens and shelter in bad weather.

Rock-cut Tombs.

Rock-cut tombs of late date are abundant at Halicarnassus and around the bays and valleys leading to the coasts. The dominant forms are the simple gallery or tunnel, which frequently occurs in series of three or four in a row,³⁴⁸ and the rock chamber in which small cubicles (both single and double) were cut as required at the sides and back.³⁴⁹ These groups and multiple tombs are no doubt family sepulchres. Drum-shaped marble funerary altars, generally adorned with bucrania and festoons, are very common in the SW of Caria and the adjacent islands. Maiuri assumed that those at Halicarnassus owe their origin to imitation, if not import, from Cos,³⁵⁰ but their use seems to have been as widespread on the mainland as in the islands.³⁵¹ Elsewhere they have been found in association with built architectural tombs, and sometimes in position on a shelf over the entrance.³⁵² We noted a similar shelf on the front of at least one rock-cut tomb, and are inclined on the Halicarnassus peninsula to associate these altars with rock-cut tombs.

The class of tombs with sarcophagi cut in the rock within the chamber is rare here; we only know of the examples we have discovered, one at Gürice (p. 121, FIG. 8, PLATE 17 (d)) and two at Kuyucak (p. 129) and Beleniçi (pp. 128 f.) in the vicinity of Asarlık. The arrangement of the sarcophagi is precisely that of the terracotta grave cists in a chamber tomb (D) excavated by Paton at Asarlık, which yielded a Geometric or early archaic potsherd;³⁵³ and since the three known tombs under discussion here can well be related to Lelegian towns it seems not unlikely that they are earlier than the other rock-cut tombs and should be assigned to archaic or classical times.

³⁴⁷ *JHS* XVI 251, n. 1.

³⁴⁸ Cf. the Carian series, *JHS* XVI 260, fig. 40, which has a more elaborate façade than any we have seen on the peninsula.

³⁴⁹ Cf. p. 131, n. 198; *JHS* XVI 262, figs. 43–4 (Farilya); *ÖJh* VI Beibl. 101 ff., figs. 24–31 (Halicarnassus).

³⁵⁰ *Ann.* IV–V 472.

³⁵¹ Besides the inscribed altars and base mentioned above we have seen a considerable number of uninscribed altars.

³⁵² Cf. Hamilton, *Researches* II 43, Texier, *Description* III 176, pl. 104 (Cnidus); *Antiquities of Ionia* V 23, pls. 44–5, Ross, *Reisen* III 73 (Lindus).

³⁵³ *JHS* VIII 72, figs. 14–15. Rock-cut tombs of this sort are not uncommon at Caunus and in Lycia.

PATTERN OF OCCUPATION

The whole of Western Caria seems to be singularly poor in remains of prehistoric occupation. The great void that the east coast of the Aegean presents in the maps of Bronze Age settlement in Asia Minor is, of course, primarily due to the lack of excavation, and there is in fact evidence that the northern and central sectors of the coast were fairly densely inhabited. But our reconnaissances of the Halicarnassian and Cnidian peninsulas have convinced us that south of Miletus the prehistoric settlement was sparser than in the richer coastal lands to the north. The only prehistoric site hitherto noted on the Halicarnassus Peninsula, apart from the indication of settlement at the end of the submycenaean phase at Asarlık (p. 118), is that at Bozdağ (p. 118); and we can add nothing more than some uncertain evidence from Halicarnassus (p. 94) and Burgaz (p. 119) and a single chip of obsidian found at Göl (p. 122).

In early historical times there were flourishing settlements at Halicarnassus and on the hilltop town sites which we have described, though only the cemeteries of Asarlık (p. 118) and Gökçeler (p. 125) show positive evidence of occupation in the first centuries of the Iron Age. Each of these Lelegian towns controlled a modest but sufficient area of arable territory on the level ground below, and an abundance of pasture on the high ground. Their way of life must have been very similar to that which obtains today; the high-lying villages such as Çirkan, Geriş, Farilya are now almost deserted in the hot weather, when the inhabitants—contrary to the normal *yayla* system—move down to summer quarters in the plains.³⁵⁴ This pattern endured until the time of Mausolus, who undid it almost at one stroke by abolishing the autonomous Lelegian towns and building the new πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες—Myndus, Theangela, and the remodelled capital of Halicarnassus—in which the Lelegians were enrolled as citizens.

There are signs that the old hilltop sites did not all remain thereafter utterly deserted. At Gökçeler there seems to have been a resettlement, and at Asarlık and Alâzeytin at least we have noted traces of later habitation. At a number of these sites—notably Burgaz, Göl, Gürice, Alâzeytin, and less strikingly at Bozdağ—a remarkable feature is a tower on the extreme summit constructed in regular ashlar, which contrasts sharply with the general style of the Lelegian masonry and is strongly suggestive of a later addition to the original layout. An explanation of these is perhaps afforded by the tradition (above, p. 148) that the citadel at Termera was used by ‘the tyrants’ as a prison. This may well have a real historical basis: the forced removal of the Lelegian population to Halicarnassus was no doubt as unpopular as such measures usually are, and it is easy to imagine that Mausolus, or his successors, found it necessary to establish police posts to prevent attempts to re-occupy the old towns, and to maintain the peace generally.³⁵⁵

Village life must have continued in the Hellenistic period; but Hellenistic epitaphs are rare in the countryside, and there is no doubt that the dominant role was assumed by the three cities and that a large part of the population was concentrated inside them. With the settled conditions of Roman rule security from attack became a less important consideration, and we find a new pattern of country life in which the *amoenitates camporum* and the *maritima* played their part; this pattern is attested by the debris of Roman habitation and the rock-cut tombs that fringe the valley bottoms and the breezy bays of the northern coast, and it seems to have per-

³⁵⁴ To this general statement an exception must be made in the case of the site on Karadağ, which possesses no arable territory at all and has no modern counterpart; its occupants must have lived by pasture alone. The site at Göl, which we equate with Madnasa, commands a certain area of good land by the shore and lake, but it is impossible to doubt that its inhabitants, like their modern successors, were largely interested in the sea.

³⁵⁵ The little fort at Dirmil may also have served such a purpose.

sisted in Byzantine times until unsettled conditions again drove the population to find shelter in villages laid inland or on the mountain slopes.

DATE OF THE SYNOECISM

Pottery of the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. is relatively abundant on the Lelegian town sites, and later pottery is almost negligible in quantity there. Among this classical pottery we found a small number of fragments which must be dated in the second rather than the first quarter of the fourth century.³⁵⁶ On the new foundations at Myndus and Theangela we found a number of sherds that are to be dated to the second quarter, and distinctly before the middle, of the century;³⁵⁷ and at a distant tower of the Mausolan fortifications of Halicarnassus we picked up a sherd that can hardly come down far into the second quarter of the century (p. 90, PLATE 14 (a) 1). The final eviction of the Lelegians from their old towns may, of course, have been protracted, and there is some evidence for thinking that Termera may have been garrisoned by Mausolus after the synoecism (p. 168), so that a certain overlap is possible between the earliest occupation on the new sites and the latest on the old. But on the archaeological evidence a date *c.* 370–365 B.C. for the realisation of the synoecism should not be far astray, and this would fit well with the known date of the synoecism on the island of Cos (366/5 B.C.), which is hardly likely to have been unconnected with the activity of Mausolus at Halicarnassus. The erection of the best part of twenty kilometres of fortifications and many public buildings on the new sites must have involved Mausolus in heavy expenditure, of which perhaps we hear the echoes in his fraudulent demands on the Mylasians and the extortions practised on his subjects.³⁵⁸ The opening of the greenstone quarries at Koyunbaba north of Myndus (p. 130) is perhaps to be regarded as a direct reflection of the intensity of his building programme. In what we should naturally expect to be the first works—his palace and the fortifications at Halicarnassus—the green stone does not appear to have been used at all. But the rock of Göktepe is too soft to be durable, and the hard limestone of the mountain-side is laborious to work; and no doubt Mausolus found that a ready supply of satisfactory building material could be more economically maintained by shipment from the quarries beyond Myndus. So in his late work—the Mausoleum—and in the fortifications of Myndus the green stone was extensively used.

G. E. BEAN
J. M. COOK

Note by Mr. W. H. Plommer on the Ionic Capital (Above, p. 95, FIG. 15, PLATE 12 (a-b)).

In the absence of an abacus, the upper surface apparently measures some 70 by 43 cm. The height from the soffit to this upper surface is 28 cm., of which the volute member accounts for 13 and the ovolo member (generally called the 'echinus' these days) for 15.

The capital was meant to be seen from the front alone. Not merely is the back too rough to have had even painted volutes, but the carving on the echinus ceases abruptly the moment this passes under the volute member.

The following features are all in various ways distinctive. The corners of the upper 'shelf', the substitute for an abacus, fall well outside the eyes of the volutes, while these in their turn

³⁵⁶ Especially at Asarlık (pp. 117 f.) and Gürice (p. 121).

³⁵⁷ See pp. 110 f. and 114.

³⁵⁸ Ps.-Arist. *Oecon.* II 14–15; Polyænus, *Strat.* VII 23, 1. The *tetrapylon* at Theangela (pp. 113 f., FIG. 4), if a part of the original design, is an outstanding example of Mausolus' strategic foresight.

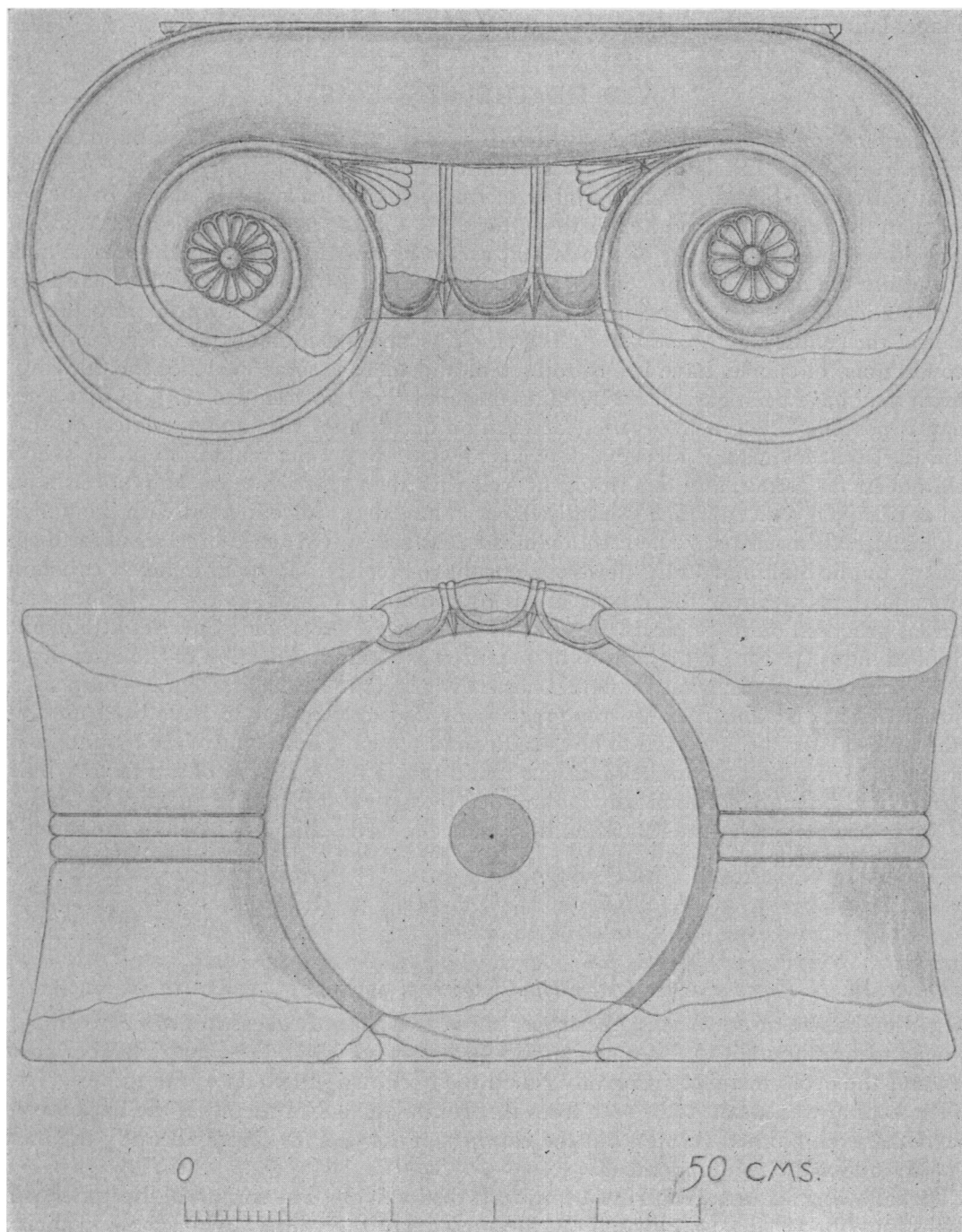


FIG. 15.—HALICARNASSUS: IONIC CAPITAL.
(By Mr. R. V. Nicholls.)

appear to have fallen just outside the edges of the shaft. The *canalis* is convex, and bordered by a roll. The eyes are fairly large, and treated as rosettes, the one of twelve, the other of fifteen (not sixteen!) petals. The *pulvinus* is well pinched in the centre (perhaps a little more so than appears in Mr. Nicholls' drawing, FIG. 15, and with more 'flaring' ends) and encircled there by two adjacent rolls. There appear to have been no empty spaces, and there were perhaps no palmettes (such as are shown on FIG. 15) between the echinus and the lower edge of the *canalis*.

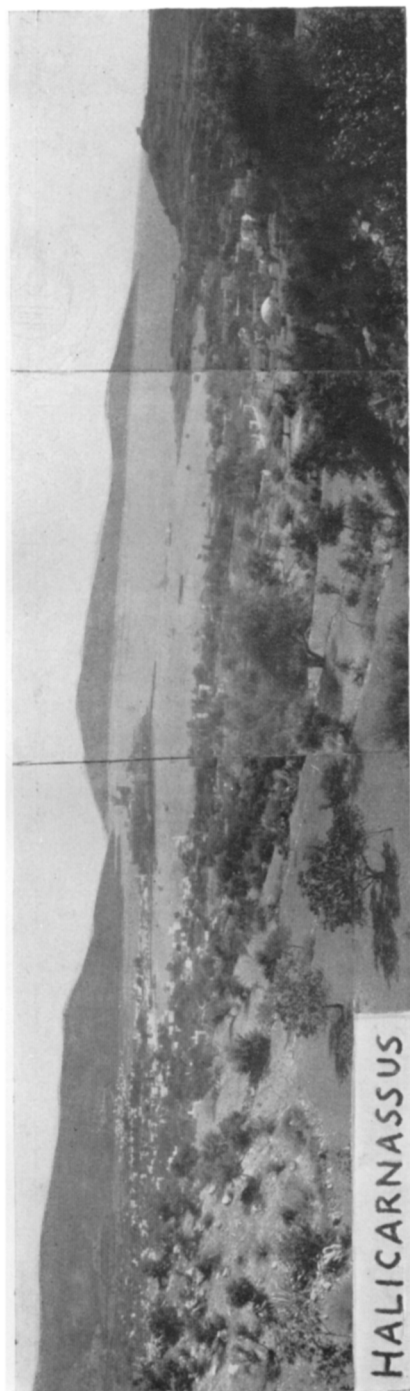
The echinus was apparently a single carved ovolo, with no subsidiary moulding. Even so, it was unusually lofty, and so hemmed in by the volutes that it had room on the front for only three carved eggs, as opposed to the normal five found for instance on the Propylaea. Indeed, its unencumbered front is considerably narrower than either of the volutes, in this resembling many Attic examples of the earlier fifth century (Puchstein, *Das Ionische Kapitell*, figs. 2-9). But its treatment, as one big carved moulding closely pressed against the *canalis*, is not Athenian but genuinely Asiatic. The closest parallel I know, carved with three eggs in the front and higher than the volute member surmounting it, is the echinus from the fourth-century temple of Ephesus (Wood, *Ephesus* 196: Robertson, fig. 63).

Lacking an abacus, our capital comes in a small group of examples, whose other members all seem datable to the earlier fifth century (Dinsmoor 136-7). Of these the nearest to it both in place and time is perhaps the capital from Samos, Möbius, *AM* 1927, pl. XXVII top. But the best known are from Locri, and are even closer to our capital in several respects, the convex *canalis*, the roll border, the profile and extent of the pseudo-abacus, and the rosettes in the eyes. Rosettes of similar size appear also on the capitals Puchstein, fig. 8, and Möbius, *Beil.* XIX 2. Older rosettes, such as those on the capital Möbius, *Beil.* XIX 1 and, of course, the capitals of sixth-century Ephesus, are proportionately far larger. But all seem to have had eight petals only; and the number and asymmetry of the petals on our rosettes appear to be unique. The pinched *pulvinus* points to a date some way down in the fifth century, and the treatment of the encircling rolls (though their number and placing are unusual) recalls the *pulvinus* in the Propylaea (c. 435 B.C.). On the other hand, the roll bordering the *canalis*, here and at Locri, looks more archaic, and savours more of those capitals which Möbius (*op. cit.* 167 ff.) would place in the decades after 500.

In its main lines, then, this is the sort of capital we might expect a Greek of Asia Minor to have designed at any time between 500 and 450. But how can we explain the difference between its eyes, or the roughness of the back? If, as is said, it had a smooth unbroken upper surface, it cannot surely have been votive. If from a building, why should it have had a rough back and yet have crowned a free-standing shaft? It could, perhaps, have been a trial block, on which to test various effects before executing the final capitals—in this analogous, for all we know, to the famous Corinthian capital at Epidaurus. Of actual buildings it could have adorned, a stage building seems to me the most likely—the only place that I can imagine for both free-standing columns and roughly finished rear faces on the capitals. At the same time the scale seems too big for the low colonnades of the earliest proscenia we know. For a capital 28 cm. (one foot?) high implies a shaft of some fifteen feet.

W. H. P.

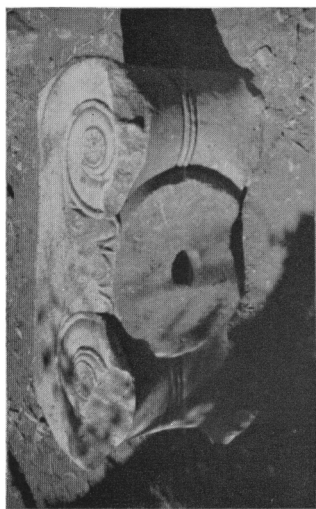
³⁵⁹ Bean and Miss A. Akarca spent a week at Etrium in September 1955. This visit made possible a more complete examination of the site of Theangela; and we hope to give a plan of the site in our concluding article on the West Carian coast.



(a)
VIEW OF HARBOUR FROM THEATRE.



(b)
VIEW OF HARBOUR FROM CIRCUIT WALL ON EAST.



(a)



(b)



(c)

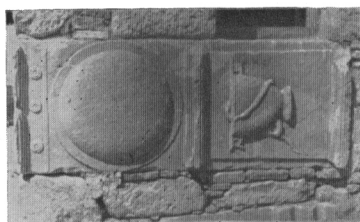


(d)

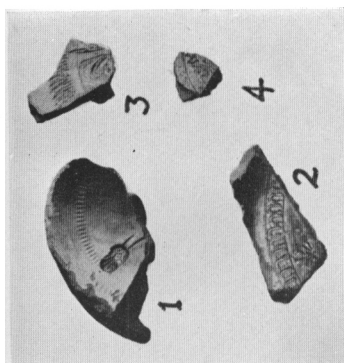


(e)

MARBLES IN HALICARNASSUS: (c) = INSCRIPTION No. 4.



(d)



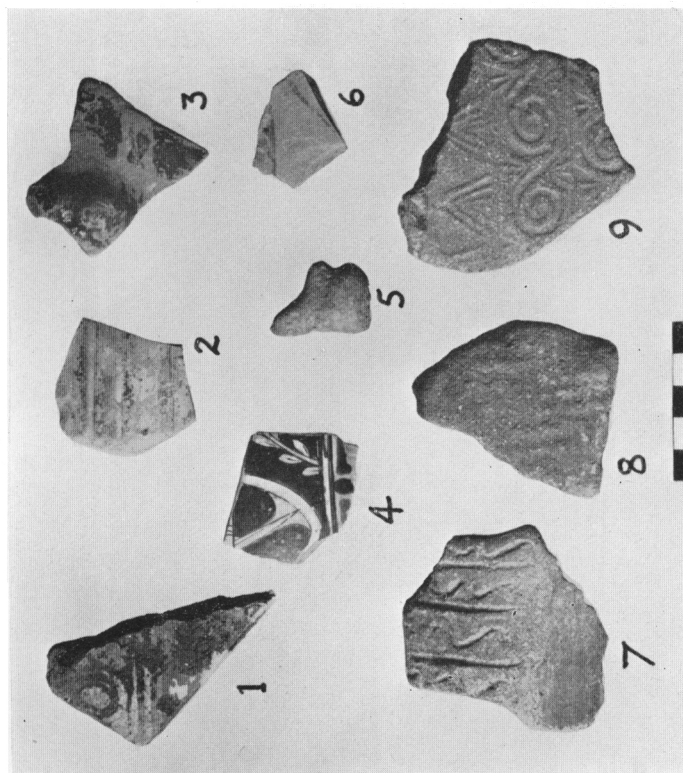
(c)



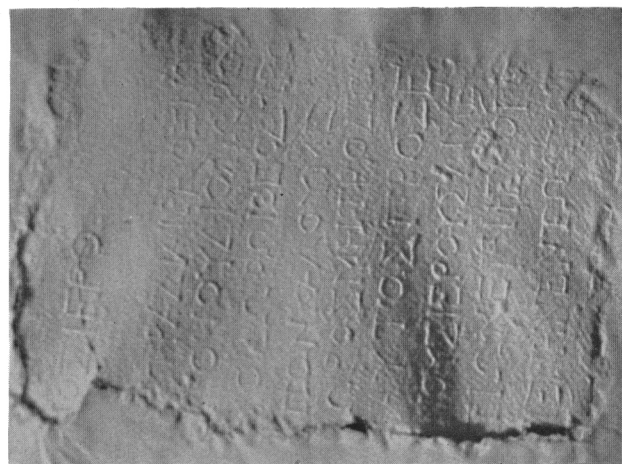
(b)



(a)

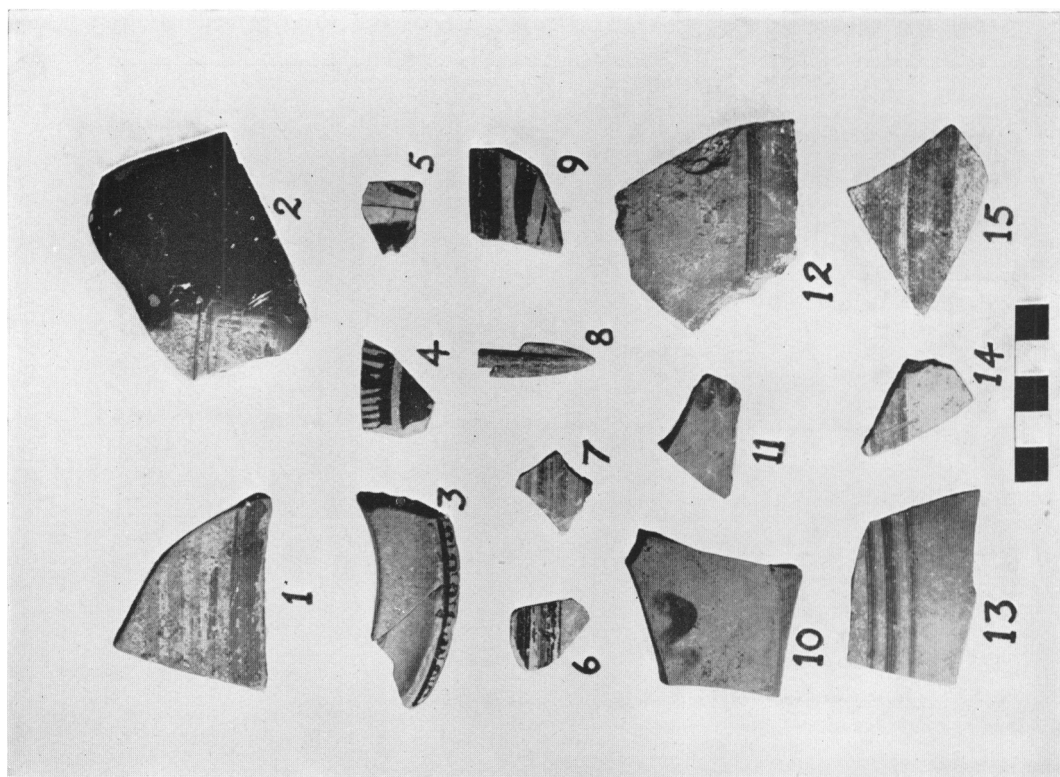


(e)



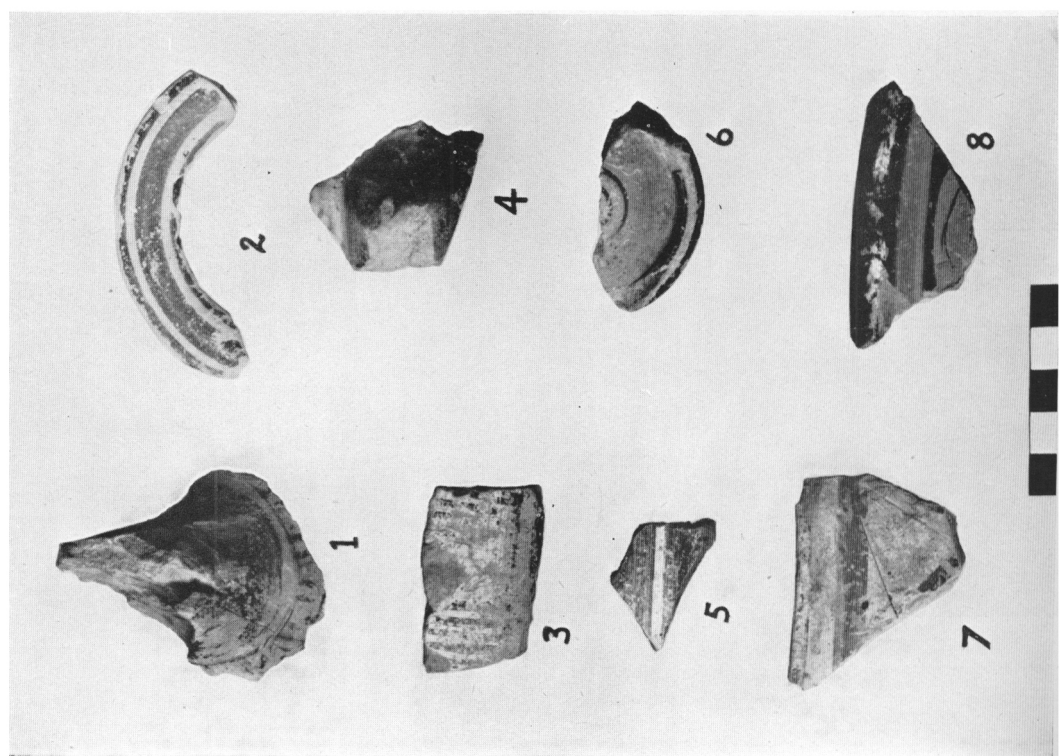
(f)

OBJECTS FROM HALICARNASSUS AND PENINSULA.
 (a) AT BEYPINAR, (b, d) IN HALICARNASSUS, (c, e) SHERDS FROM VARIOUS SITES, (f) AT MAZI
 (INSCRIPTION No. 65).

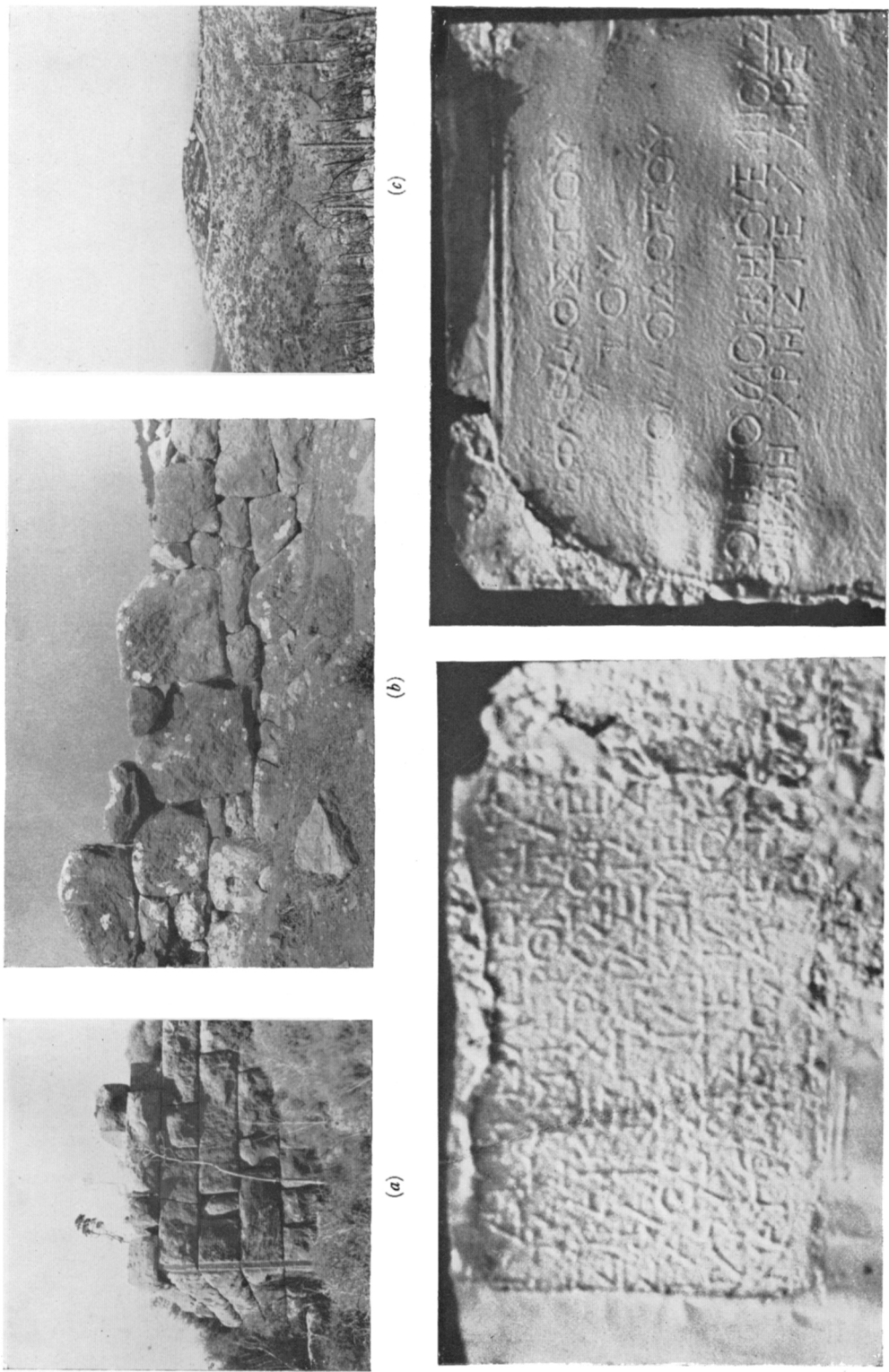


(b)

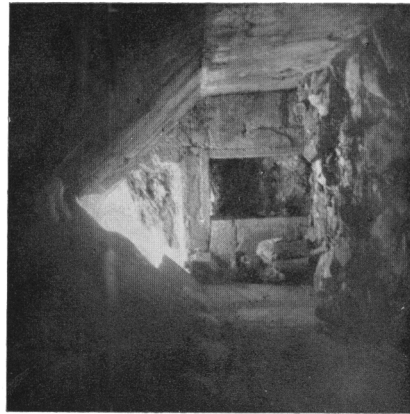
SHERDS FROM HALICARNASSUS AND SITES ON THE PENINSULA.



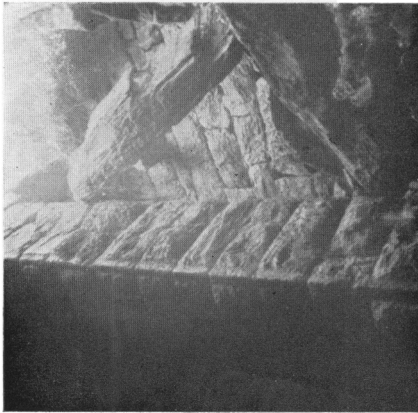
(a)



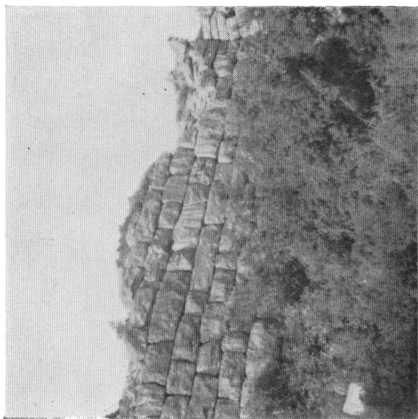
HALICARNASSUS AND PENINSULA.
(a) BURGAS, (b) HALICARNASSUS, (c) KARADAĞ, (d) AT GÖKBEL (INSCRIPTION No. 67), (e) AT HALICARNASSUS
(INSCRIPTION No. 24).



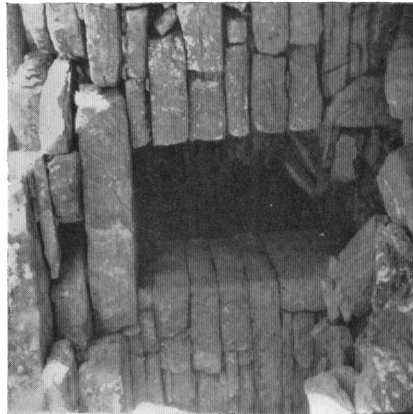
(c)



(b)



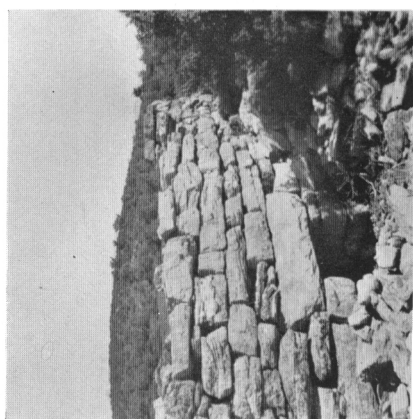
(a)



(f)

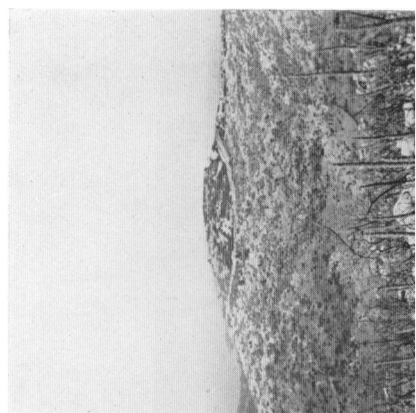


(e)



(d)

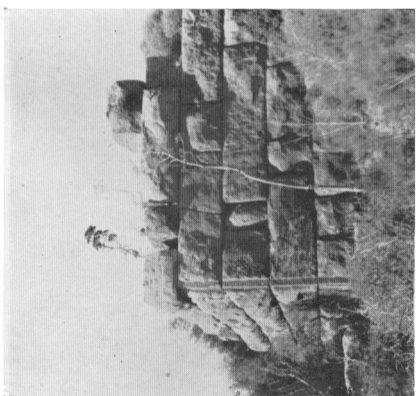
HALICARNASSUS PENINSULA.
(a-c) WALL, CISTERN AND TOMB AT THEANGELA, (d-f) TUMULUS AND FARMHOUSE EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.



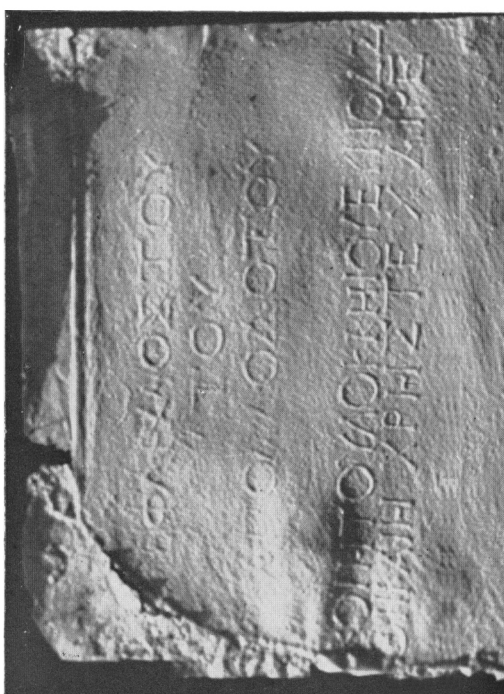
(c)



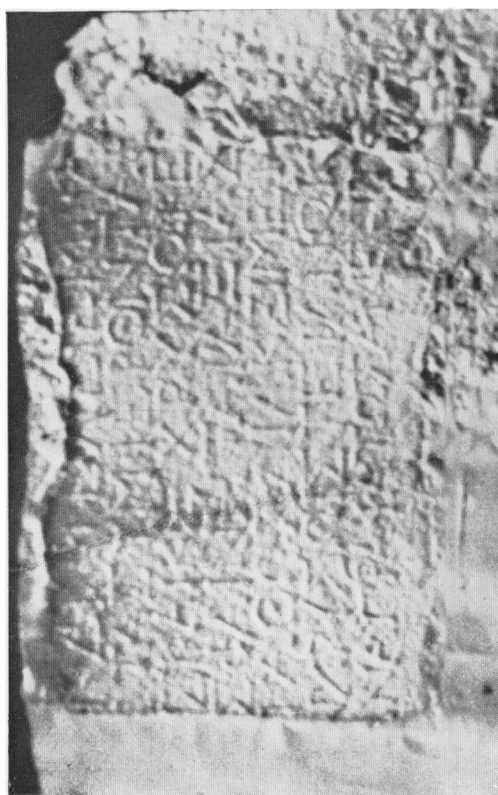
(b)



(a)



(e)



(d)

HALICARNASSUS PENINSULA.

(a-b) QUARRIES AT KOYUNBABA, (c) GÖL, (d) TOMB AT GÜRICE, (e) ASARLIK.