

A HELLENISTIC *STRATĒGOI* DEDICATION FROM STRATONIKEIA IN KARIA AND THE DEFENCE OF THE CITY*

I.Stratonikeia 1505 (SEG 58, 1289)

The following fragment of an inscription from Stratonikeia in Karia was published by M. Ç. Şahin, first in *EA* 41 (2008) 54–55, as no. 2 (photo) and subsequently in the third volume of his *The Inscriptions of Stratonikeia III* (*IK* 68, 2010), as no. 1505.¹ The stone is now in the museum depot at Stratonikeia (*non vidi*). The inscription is described as follows by Şahin: ‘Hellenistic fragment brought to us by a villager. According to the forms of letters, the inscription dates from the middle of the 3rd century BC. The marble fragment is too thick to originate from a stele. Hence ... it probably originates from a wall of a temple, which may have been again the temple of Zeus Chrysaorios ... Height 15 cm, width 20 cm, thickness 20 cm, height of letters 0.8–1.3 cm. Left side is original.’

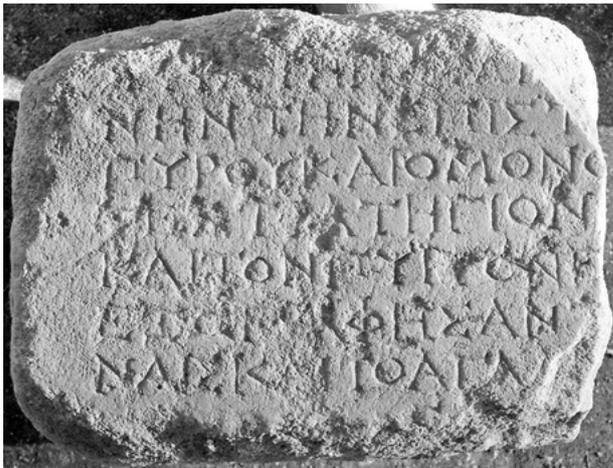


Fig. 1

The inscription (Fig. 1), whose top, right side and base are all broken off, appears to end with l. 7, with seemingly no traces of letters below most of that line, but underneath the first A of

* I am grateful to B. Vergnaud for discussion of the city’s walls; to O. Henry for help with the Turkish articles referred to in nn. 32 and 33 and to P. Hamon for help with Thasian matters and for general discussion. B. Söğüt, director of excavations at Stratonikeia, has generously allowed me to use his photographs of the walls and the plan of the city; U. Oğuzhanoglu the plan and photograph in her article (below, n. 33); Fig. 12 (*I.Stratonikeia* 1003) is part of the photographic collection of the Fonds Louis Robert, reproduced with kind permission of G. Bowersock. Unless mentioned otherwise, all opinions and speculations expressed here are mine alone; they should be treated with caution where the archaeological evidence is concerned, since they are based on insufficient information.

¹ These two publications are identical, both the Greek text and the commentary. The photo is not reproduced in *IK*. Of the four *IK* volumes (21, 22.1, 22.2 and 68), the first three are entitled *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*; the final one *The Inscriptions of Stratonikeia*.

ἄγαλ[μα] the right part of the upper horizontal of an epsilon, sigma or gamma is visible, while underneath the K of καί there is a faint upper part of a round letter. As will be seen below, the block was probably about twice as wide as the surviving fragment (c. 40 cm) and it was very likely taller. I discuss its shape and location further below.²

Şahin restored the text as follows, admitting that ‘the subject matter of the inscription is not clear’:

	[]ΤΗΝ[]ΛΙ[]	
	νην τήν ἐπιστ[ολήν]
	πυροῦ καὶ ὁμονο[ια-]
4	τε στρατήγιον []
	καὶ τὸν πύργον ε[]
	ἐζωγράφησαν τ[ἐν στήλαις λιθί]-	
	ναις καὶ τὸ ἄγαλ[μα ἀνέθηκαν]	

In *EBGR* of 2008 [2011], no. 138, A. Chaniotis commented: ‘As we may infer from references to grain (line 3: πυροῦ), concord (line 3), the seat of the strategoi (line 4: στρατήγιον) and a tower (line 5), the dedicants are somehow connected with a military context: a board of strategoi or (less likely) a group of soldiers’.

This is the first Stratonikeian inscription to mention a *stratēgion*. If Şahin’s dating is correct (the letters are not very carefully inscribed, which makes precise dating difficult), then this is certainly an important text, for it would indicate both that such a building existed not long after the city’s foundation, in the 260s, and, by extension, that the city had a board of *stratēgoi* at this early date.³ For comparison: In Laodikeia on Lykos, probably, though not certainly, founded by Antiochos II in the 250s, a *stratēgion* was built at a date soon after the foundation through the care of three men, whose office or title has not been preserved.⁴

Chaniotis’ suggestion that the inscription possibly concerned a board of *stratēgoi* puts us on the right path. From a small number of later inscriptions we know something about the city’s *stratēgoi*. These texts show a board of eight men, four of whom served the winter and four the summer half year.⁵ Of the four, three served κατὰ πόλιν, one ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας.⁶ At the end of

² The block’s belonging to the wall of the temple of Chrysaorian Zeus (which has not yet been identified) is an unlikely guess.

³ On the date of the city’s foundation, by the Seleukid king Antiochos I (less likely his son Antiochos II), see now my ‘Mylasa in 261 BC’, this volume 1–20, at 10–11. For a low date, now no longer plausible, see A. Meadows, *Stratonikeia in Caria: the Hellenistic City and its Coinage*, NC 162 (2002) 79–134, at 116–117.

⁴ The *stratēgion* in Laodikeia: *I.Laodikeia am Lykos* 2, with Corsten’s commentary at pp. 20–22. On the founder, Antiochos II rather than Antiochos I, J. des Gagniers et al., *Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée, Campagnes 1961–1963* (1969) 2, with all references, but the evidence seems to me not conclusive.

⁵ The Stratonikeian *stratēgoi* were never the city’s main magistrates: the main civic officials, proposers of the (few) known decrees of the city, were the *prytaneis*.

⁶ As is clear from *I.Stratonikeia* 1317 and 1318. One further inscription, *I.Stratonikeia* 485, is a dedication to Panamaran Zeus of a ‘Perseus with a Gorgon’ and a lock of his daughter’s hair, by Sōsandros Hekataiou, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγός, which, if Şahin (ad loc.) is correct in seeing in him the son of Hekataios Sōsandrou, priest in *I.Stratonikeia* 686, whose name is attested on coins of the time of Nero or Claudius (A. Meadows, *Stratonikeia* 112–113: ‘group 4C, of AD 41–68; cf. 132), would be of the 1st century AD. On letterforms, I would put it a century later (photo in L. Robert, *OMS* II, Pl. XX).

their six months in office they would set up a dedicatory inscription, often (perhaps always – the texts are incomplete) to Nemesis; sometimes in combination with other deities (Zeus of Panamara, Zeus Stratios, Hekate) recording that they had exercised the *stratēgia* ‘in harmony’, ὁμονοήσαντες. The surviving dedications, which are of different dates (ranging from the first century BC to the second AD), all use a slightly different formula: some list names and titles while others do not, but they are recognizably of a kind. For none of these inscriptions is a find-spot recorded, even though three (*I.Stratonikeia* 1006a, 1318 and 1319) came to light during the excavations of the 1980s.⁷ Known to date are the following (the full texts are in the Appendix; all numbers refer to *I.Stratonikeia*):

1. 1005, of the imperial period, dated [ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμι]δώρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμ[ιδώρο]υ, and dedicated, ὁμονο[ή]σαντες, to Zeus, Hekate and Nemesis. The text is inscribed above and to the left of a relief of Zeus Panamaros on horseback flanked by two torches (Appendix, Fig. 15);⁸ one of the horse’s front legs rests on the wheel of Nemesis to lower r.; it refers to a year in which a pentatelic festival was celebrated and to [*mono-* or *therio-* or *tauro-*]machia. The *stratēgoi* are those of the summer semester: θερινῆς [στ]ρατηγοί (ll. 3–4).

2. 1006, dated by an *archiereus*, contains the names of four *stratēgoi* who, having served the winter semester, τὴν χειμερινήν, set up a dedication to Nemesis, ὁμονοήσ[αντ]ες. The letter forms suggest a date in the first century AD.

2a. 1006a is a fragment, starting with the word στρατηγοί, with parts of two names surviving, most likely a dedication like the others (photo *I.Stratonikeia* II.1, Pl. XIV, showing letters of the 2nd century AD).

3. 1317 (‘time of Domitian’, ed. pr. and SEG 38, 1097, but probably earlier; on the date see the Appendix) is dated ἐπὶ Διομήδου[ς] τοῦ Διομήδου τοῦ Ἱεροκλέος; the four *stratēgoi*, listed by function, name and demotic, dedicate the inscription ὁμονοήσαντες Νεμέσει.

4. 1318, whose complete text is given below, is of direct relevance to our fragment.

5. 1319 is a fragment.

1318

Ed. E. Varinlioglu, *EA* 12 (1988) 91, no. 18; *I.Stratonikeia* 1318 (SEG 38, 1098); not dated by ed. pr.; no photo. ‘Quadratische Stele aus weißem Marmor, die sich nach oben leicht verjüngt.’ H. 32 cm; w. 16.5–18 cm; d. 14 cm; letters 1.2 cm.

στρατηγοὶ οἱ
ἄρξαντες τὴν χει-
μερινήν τὴν ἐπὶ
4 στεφανηφόρου Ἀρι-
στολάου Ἰάσων Νέ-
ωνος Λο(βολδεύς) καθ’ υ(ιοθεσίαν) Ἀριστέο[υ]

⁷ 1005 and 1006 were found by G. Cousin in two different village houses: *BCH* 15 (1891) 423–425, nos 4 and 5 (these details are not repeated in *I.Stratonikeia*).

⁸ A detailed drawing survives in the 1893 *Skizzenbuch* of W. Reichel (II 52 and 52a) kept in the Institut für Kulturgeschichte der Antike (IKAnt), Arbeitsgruppe Epigraphik, in Vienna (with thanks to W. Blümel for alerting me to this drawing and for providing the photograph produced by the Arbeitsgruppe Epigraphik).

- 8 Κω(ραιέως), Διονύσιος Φα-
νίου Κω(ραιεύς), Πολύαρ-
χος Ἐρμοκράτου Λο(βολδεύς)
καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας
στρατηγὸς Λέ-
12 ων Δημοσθένου
Κω(ραιεύς), ὁμονοήσαν-
τες Διὶ Στρατείῳ
καὶ Νεμέσει χα-
16 ριστήριον· νεω-
ποιὸς Μουσαῖος

7 Κω(ραιέως) Varinlioğlu, Κω(ραιεύς) Şahin.

The *stephanēphoros* was identified by Şahin as Tib. Flavius Aristolaos (*I.Stratonikeia* 214–218, 1025, 1324; cf. stemma at no. 179) which would give a date in the early second century AD. Without a photograph or any certain prosopographic indications, however, this is only one possibility among several. The abbreviated demotics suggest a date not before the end of the second century BC.⁹

Despite this uncertain date, the formulaic sections of 1318 suggest to me the following restoration of our 1505:

- στρατηγήσαν[τες τὴν ---ρι]-
νήν τὴν ἐπὶ στ[εφανηφόρου Ζω]-
πύρου καὶ ὁμονο[ήσαντες τό]
4 τε στρατήγιον [?- c. 10-11 - -]
καὶ τὸν πύργον ε[--- c. 7-9 - -]
ἐζωγράφησαν τ[αῖς ?ιδίαις δαπά]-
ναις καὶ τὸ ἄγαλ[μα ?ἀνέθηκον]
8 [- - - ? traces of one or two letters]

5 The epsilon after πύργον is clearly legible. 6 The upper left part of the tau's horizontal is visible.

1. Although tempting, it is not possible to restore the first line of 1505 directly on the model of 1318, l. 1–2 (στρατηγοὶ οἱ ἄρξαντες). Şahin's THἩ can be read as THΓ and his ΛΙ as ΑΡ (for ἄρξαντες). Traces of ΣΤΡΑ can be discerned at the beginning of the line. But there is not enough space to accommodate ΟΙΟΙ (for στρατηγοὶ οἱ) between THΓ and the presumed ΑΡ in l. 1. The only option I see, and which fits perfectly (see Fig. 2 for a photomontage with letters transposed from l. 6 of the same text) is to restore ΗΣ in the gap and to read the presumed P (whose left upright alone is visible) as a N (with the left upright of the eta perhaps visible after the gamma, and the

⁹ Ten separate individuals with the name are listed in *LGPN* V.B. An (early?) Hellenistic Aristolaos features in *I.Stratonikeia* 822: 'jolies petites lettres de bonne époque' (Cousin, *BCH* 18, 1894, 35, no. 3).

Another early Aristolaos in *I.Stratonikeia* 18, l. 3. For our 1318, *LGPN* V.B s.v. Stratonikeia (6) gives a date of 'ii-i BC' which may be closer to the truth.



Fig. 2

bottom right distinctive serif of the sigma visible before the alpha, so we get στρατηγήσαν[τες]. If this is followed (as in 1318) by an indication of the part of the year in which the *stratēgoi* held office, then -NHN in l. 2 points either to [θερι]νήν or [χειμερι]νήν; it also gives an approximate line-length. The dating formula by *stephanēphoros* must follow as in 1318 (and others).

3. -πύρου does not allow for many possible names, and [Ζω]πύρου suggests itself.¹⁰ If right, then either [χειμερι]νήν, which would yield 24 letters in l. 1 (or [θερι]νήν – 21 letters) would fit with the 23 letters in l. 2. On the model of 1318 (and others) I restore ὄμονο- as the beginning of a verb, not a noun, so ὄμονο[ήσαντες] as in all other similar dedications.¹¹

4. Here the epsilon is certain, and an initial tau was at least in part seen by ed. pr. Restoring τε means that there is a slight gap of 1–2 letters in the previous line before τό (which is required): despite a total of 22 letters, comparison with the position and spacing of the letters in the line above (l. 2) suggests that there would be space for 11, not 9, letters after the final (sliced-off) omicron. After τό | τε στρατήγιον καί is an option, in which case another structure will have been mentioned here: ‘the *stratēgion*, and the [- - -], and the tower’. At nine letters, τὸν πυλῶνα, gateway,¹² may just fit, but we could also think of τὴν στοάν, or τὴν πυλίδα, or τὸ οἶκημα, or τὸν οἶκον (cf. the *agalma* in l. 7). Alternatively the location of the *stratēgion* is indicated here, e.g. τό | τε στρατήγιον [τό plus preposition] or finally, a verb: ἐπεσκεύασαν, or κατεσκεύασαν, or ὠικοδόμησαν,¹³ all depending on the context, which is not recoverable.

5. The verb that follows πύργον begins with an epsilon and is followed by a second verb, ἐζωγράφησαν. The *stratēgoi* may have repaired ἐ[πεσκεύασαν] the three structures, but here the word is too long and the specificity of ἐζωγράφησαν requires perhaps an equally specific (and

10 The (very common) name is not frequent in the city but occurs in western Karia (*LGPN* V.B s.v.) including in neighbouring Olymos (*I.Mylasa* 824, 835) and is attested in a list of priests from Lagina, probably of the 1st century BC: Ἐκαταῖος Ζωπύρου Ἴε(ροκωμήτης): *I.Stratonikeia* 611.

11 A dedication from Knidos offers a similarly abrupt, καί-linked sequence: [-NN-] | Ἀθηναίου | τοῦ Ἀθηναίου | τοῦ Ἴερ[οκλέ]ους | στρατη[γί]σαντα | τὰν δε[υτέρ]αν ἐξά[μην]ον [τὰν ἐπὶ δ]αμ[ι]ουργοῦ [-c.4-]υ Φλά[κ]κου καὶ στεφανωθέν[τα χρυσέ]οις στεφά[νοι]ς πέντε | θεοῖς *I.Knidos* 801 (1st century AD?), though the inscription is listed among the *incerta*: not certainly from Knidos.

12 As e.g. at Bargyia, *I.Iasos* 621 and 623 (Hellenistic).

13 For these verbs and their meaning see the index of Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* and M.-Chr. Hellmann, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l'architecture grecque, d'après les inscriptions de Délos* (1992) s.v.

a slightly shorter) companion verb: ἔχρισαν, ‘plastered’ or ‘rendered’, often used in combination with ζωγραφεῖν,¹⁴ results in 22 letters. We could think instead of ἐστέγασαν (‘covered over’, ‘roofed’) or ἐκόσμησαν.¹⁵

In l. 6–7, I have restored τ[αῖς ἰδίαις δαπά]|ναις rather than Şahin’s ἐν στήλαις λιθί]|ναις, which is surely wrong here. However, one might ask, first, whether expressions like τ[αῖς ἰδίαις δαπά]|ναις or ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων are suited for a collective, and secondly, the expression appears to be more common in the Roman imperial period than in the three centuries BC.¹⁶ It also gives a total of 25 letters (though there are five iotas). Alternatives are not easy to find however: [μαρμαρί]-ναις would need an accompanying noun, but no obvious one comes to mind.

Intriguing is the ἄγαλμα in l. 7, which may have been dedicated, or put back in its original position, or repaired. It is pointless to speculate about the identity of the deity whose cult statue is referred to.

The names of the *stratēgoi*, which in 1318 come after the dating formula, are lacking in our text. Since στρατηγήσαντες cannot stand without a subject, one or more lines must be lost at the top. We could restore e.g. στρατηγοὶ οἱ, which would be quite short, but the words may have been centered, or στρατηγοὶ οἱ μετὰ NN.¹⁷ The most plausible option however is to follow the format of a late fourth-century (the earliest known) Rhodian *stratēgoi* dedication which starts with the names of the six *stratēgoi* (including one ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν) followed by στρατηγήσαντες and a dedicatory formula.¹⁸ A similar format is known from Erythrai.¹⁹

14 On the combination see e.g. *I.Iasos* 22 of the mid-2nd century BC, in which a certain Charēs is given permission to χρίσειν ἐκ τῶν ἐκτὸς μερῶν καὶ ζωγραφίσειν πη τὸ ἀγορανόμιον (l. 11–13). Cf. also from Iasos, a dedication to Herakles Prophylox, in which the donor τὸν ναὸν ἔχρυσεν καὶ ἐκόσμησεν (1st century AD). The *naos* in question was a small chapel inside the western stoa (*SEG* 63, 880, l. 6–8; cf. *BE* 2014, 442). A similar combination can be found in an inscription from Panamara (*I.Stratonikeia* 108, 1st century BC/AD), in which two priests, brother and sister, dedicate a building, a pavement and an entranceway [σὺν καὶ τῆι ἐπι]χρεῖσει καὶ ζωγραφ[φίαι - - κτλ.]. A dedicatory inscription from Apollonia Salbake (2nd–3rd century AD) shows the *paraphylax* Stephaniōn and his troupe of *neaniskoi* financing the building of a *parthenōn*: παρθενῶνα οἰκοδομήσαντες καὶ ξυλῶσαντες καὶ κεραμῶσαντες καὶ χρεῖσαντες καὶ ζωγραφίσαντες ἀνέθηκαν (L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* II 281–283, no. 162; cf. *Hellenica* XI/XII 460–463). See more generally on χρίω/χρίσις Hellmann, *Recherches* 38–41 (‘enduit mural, à base de stuc’). On the related technique of ἀλείφω and variants, perhaps used interchangeably (‘application d’un badigeon, un vernis ou un enduit’) *ibidem* 37–38 and 40; cf. Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* II 73–74. The defensive structure incorporating the Thasian *polemarcheion* discussed below had interior walls covered in plaster (below, n. 30 for references).

15 For στεγάζω/στέγω and related terms see Hellmann, *Recherches* s.v. In *I.Iasos* 22, l. 6–7, Charēs received permission to roof over the *agoranomion* and an adjoining building: καὶ στέξει τὸ ἀγορανόμιον καὶ τὸ προσκείμενον οἶκημα. On the need for towers to be roofed in the Hellenistic period, see e.g. McNicoll, *Hellenistic Fortifications from the Aegean to the Euphrates* 11; see also below, p. 29 and nn. 30, 31 for the Thasian defensive complex, whose tower was roofed (I. Grandjean, *Le rempart de Thasos* (2011) 464–466 with further references).

16 For a collective see *IG* II² 3424 in which eleven wealthy Athenians set up (ἀνέθηκαν) statues of Antigonos and Dēmētrios, Saviours [?δαπάναις] ἰδίαις.

17 Less likely is the possibility that the names came at the very end, under the dedication.

18 *AD* 26 B2 (1971) 539, no. 2 (I. Zervoudaki); new edition: N. Badoud, in *idem* (ed.), *Philologos Dionysios. Mélanges offerts au professeur Denis Knoepfler* (2011) 557–565 (*SEG* 61, 680). Six surviving names are followed by στρατηγήσαντες, the dedication being to Hermes Hagemonios. This format does not seem to be a typical Rhodian end of office dedication. The inscription is precisely dated by Badoud to between 323 and c. 310 BC.

19 As in *I.Erythrai* 32 (first third of the 3rd century BC according to ed., following Keil, but about a century later from the photograph Pl. XII): two identical inscriptions on two different stones are oddly merged by the

The original stone must, as I already suggested, have been twice as wide as the surviving 20 cm; and taller than 15 cm if four names stood at the beginning, so a height of 20+ cm. With a depth of 20 cm, this cannot have been a stele like the later dedications. We could think of a small dedicatory block inserted into the structure of the *stratēgion*, or the tower or any additional building for which the dedicants had been responsible, or possibly a small base for a dedicatory object.

Finally, the date. There are no precisely dated Stratonikeian inscriptions from the second half of the third century.²⁰ The closest dated inscription we have is *I.Stratonikeia* 4, of 198 BC (third year of Philip V). A photograph of the squeeze can be found among the photos posted on the Internet Platform flickr of the IAS Photo Identification Project of the Fonds Louis Robert, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, which I here reproduce (Fig. 3).²¹ The letter forms,

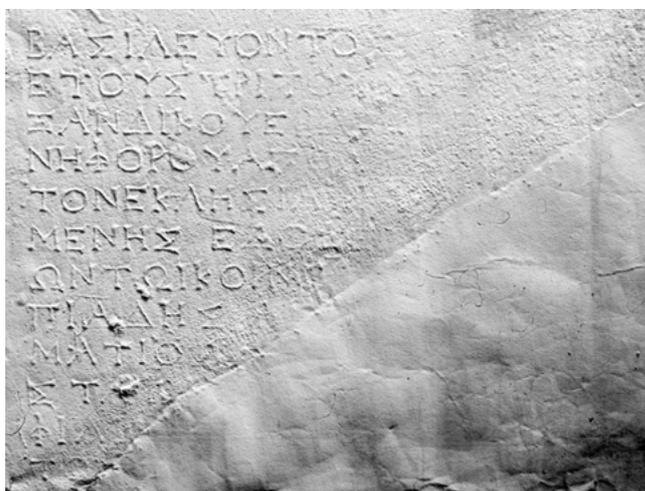


Fig. 3

though showing some similarity with those of our inscription, look later in several aspects (the flattened and rather mannered phi, the curved horizontals of the alphas, the emphatic apices at the extremities of letters). The so-called Chrysaoric decree from Lagina, *I.Stratonikeia* 1418, whose date is not fixed despite its many tantalising historical references, has been said to belong in the early decades of the second century but in my view could be earlier.²² Its letters show clear similarities with our text, in particular a very unusual suspended omega with pronounced

editors of *I.Erythrai*; their underlined text is restored on the basis of the second stone: [οἱ στρατηγ]οἶ οἱ στρατηγ]ήσαντες ἐπι ἰε[ρο]ποιουῦ Ἐπι[κράτου τ]ὴν π[ρ]ώτην τετράμ[η]νον κτλ. See also Engelmann, *EA* 9 (1987) 140–141, no. 7 (*SEG* 37, 937), a dedication to [Aphrodite St]rategis and the [Demos] by *stratēgoi* Apollōnios Meno- [... τ]ου and others. Undated by ed. pr.; ‘ca. 200 B.C.’ (Pleket, *SEG* ad loc.) and therefore probably closer in date to *I.Erythrai* 32 than Pleket assumed on the basis of ed. pr.

²⁰ *I.Stratonikeia* 6, of the early 3rd century, or 1001, of the time of Seleukos I, both clearly show earlier letter forms.

²¹ https://www.flickr.com/photos/aibl_archive_of_louis_robert no. 103. See also there the photograph of *I.Stratonikeia* 9, dated to 180 BC (no. 208).

²² For a useful summary cf. P. Hamon, *BE* 2012, 381. I aim to return to this inscription and its context in a future article.



Fig. 4: Fragments a, c, d

‘wings’ and a phi with a perfect ellipse halfway down the tall upright (both in l. 6: ἐζωγράφησαν); the ny, ypsilon and pi are equally alike. I reproduce three of its fragments (Fig. 4): the omega can be seen in fr. c; the phi in fr. d. There are broad similarities also with the letter forms of the four surviving so-called ‘musterling’ plaques (discussed below) that were once set in the city’s walls and towers, where they served to mobilise the city’s population in times of war but these look to me later. I suggest a date around 200 BC for our inscription; not later and possibly somewhat earlier.

The *stratēgoi* and the *stratēgion*

Stratēgoi and *stratēgion* go together. The institution of the former and the building of the latter must have been closely connected. I have no doubt that this is the earliest of all the known Stratonikeian *stratēgoi* dedications, even if I hesitate to follow Şahin in dating it to the mid-third century.²³ The division into summer and winter semester and similarly the division κατὰ πόλιν and ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας can only have been the result of a reorganization after the city’s acquisition by Rhodes (in the 240s).²⁴

Given that the city was most likely founded in the 260s,²⁵ the *stratēgion* may have been part of the initial urban layout.²⁶ Where was it located and what did it look like? There are remarkably few parallels on which to draw, and hardly any are archaeological. This very basic question can easily be extended to other cities, such as Aigai, Laodikeia on Lykos, and Kyme, for all of which a *stratēgion* is epigraphically attested, but whose location we do not know. Y. Garlan assembled all the evidence known to him in one single paragraph, including Athens, Karthaia, Laodikeia on

23 P. Hamon suggests to me that the expression ὁμοιοῦσαντες might point to a (relatively) recently synoikized city, after which it became a traditional phrase in *stratēgoi* dedications.

24 Stratonikeia’s two *boulai*, rotating also on the six-monthly principle, were clearly part of the same (re-)organization of the city’s institutions, see e.g. *I.Stratonikeia* 16, 17, 181, 230b, 526, 536 (all of the Roman period). The six-monthly rotational system is well-attested for Rhodes from the 3rd century onwards: see N. Badoud, *Temps de Rhodes* 17 and 24–27. For the (Rhodian) *boule*: ἡ βουλὰ ἡ βουλευσασα τὰν χειμερινὰν or τὰν θερινὰν ἑξάμηνον see the references in Badoud. On the territorial designations see G. Reger, The relations between Rhodes and Caria from 246 to 167 BC, in V. Gabrielsen et al. (eds), *Hellenistic Rhodes. Politics, Culture, and Society* (1999) 76–97, at 80–81 with all references. On the date of Rhodes’ acquisition of Stratonikeia, see e.g. van Bremen, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22 (2007) 113–131, at 114–115, with further references; similarly H. U. Wiemer, *Krieg, Handel und Piraterie* (2002) 182–184. For a low date see especially Meadows, *Stratonikeia* 116–117.

25 Above, n. 3.

26 Always cited is Strabo’s statement that the new city was ‘decorated by the kings with costly buildings’ ἔκοσμήθη δὲ καὶ αὕτη κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων (Strabo 14.2.25), but this says little about who was responsible for its original layout.

Lykos and Sikyon as well as a passage in Aeneas Tacticus.²⁷ Aeneas Tacticus (*Poliorketika* 22.2–3) recommends (in case of imminent danger) installing the chief *stratēgos* and his colleagues in or around the magistrates' buildings (κατὰ τὰ περιարχεῖα) and in the *agora* 'if the locations can be defended'; otherwise to choose 'the best fortified position in the city and that which can be best seen from the city itself'.²⁸ In 11.3, describing a betrayal that led to the deliverance of Chios to the enemy (the historical context is unknown), it is clear that the relevant magistrates, presumably those charged with the defense of the city, resided in a tower by the harbour.²⁹

Y. Grandjean has recently shown for Thasos, whose *polemarchoi* were the equivalent of our *stratēgoi*, that the *polemarcheion* in which he assumes they resided (although the building is not specifically mentioned in any text) was located in a structure adjoining one of the harbour towers which formed part of the Thasian fortification system built in the final decades of the fourth century: 'placé à proximité immédiate de la porte maritime par où passait la rue menant de l'agora au port commercial situé à l'Ouest du port de guerre'.³⁰ The entire complex consisted of four rooms located on two separate levels below the rampart walk and a tower with three rooms on three separate floors and a roofed crenelated platform on top. At a later stage, the tower's third-floor room was extended above, and made to project from, the middle two rooms below the rampart walk, thus allowing for an effective surveillance of the closed harbour (port fermé) which was Thasos' military harbour.³¹ The actual office of the *polemarchoi* according to Grandjean was most likely located in one of the two first-floor rooms of the building adjoining the tower, accessible via an integral stairway (see especially the photos figs 301–303bis in Grandjean, *Rempart* 291), and was thus at the same time part of a defensive structure and an official civic space.

We cannot compare the maritime focus of the Thasian defensive system with Stratonikeia's land-locked location, nor perhaps assume a similar sophistication of spatial organization, but as at Thasos, the connection with the city's walled circuit has to be assumed from the reference to a tower and I would suggest seeking the *stratēgion* here, somewhere near the part of the walls that most closely adjoined and/or was visible from the civic centre (see Fig. 5).

27 Y. Garlan, *Recherches de Poliorcétique grecque* (1974) 401.

28 Aen. Tact. 22.2: τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν τὸν τοῦ ὄλου ἡγεμόνα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ τετάχθαι κατὰ τὰ περιარχεῖα καὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔαν ὄχυρότητος μετέχη. Visibility: τόπον τῆς πόλεως ἐρμυνότατόν τε καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὀρώμενον. In the next line, 22.3, the word στρατήγιον is specifically mentioned: περὶ δὲ τὸν στρατήγιον σκηνοῦν καὶ διατελεῖν αἰεὶ τὸν σαλπικτήν καὶ τοὺς δρομοκίρυκας.

29 τῶν τε νεωρίων ἐπεσκευάσθαι τὰ στάζοντα καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην αὐτῶν στοάν καὶ τὸν πύργον, ἐν ᾧ διητῶντο οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἐχόμενον τῆς στοᾶς. Mentioned in Grandjean (next n.) at p. 189.

30 Y. Grandjean, *Ou siégeaient les polémarches thasiens?*, *REG* 127 (2014) 187–193. For a discussion of the role of the *polemarchoi* in 4th and 3rd century Thasos see P. Hamon, *BCH* 134 (2010) [2011] 301–315. In the 1920s, when the porte maritime was first uncovered, two *polemarchoi* dedications to *Soteira* were found, one of which was still in its original position, against the entrance of the porte maritime. This suggested that the seat of the five *polemarchoi* had to be in this very area. The tower with its adjoining two-story structure was only uncovered in the 1970s and Grandjean connected the building with the dedicatory inscriptions. The latter are republished, with a brief commentary, by P. Hamon in *CITh* III as nos 80–81.

31 Grandjean, *REG* 127, 188, with the drawings and detailed description in *idem*, *Rempart* 289–298 with figs 300–302, and 446–478 with figs 370–373, showing the entire complex, the tower and the staircase. Cf. 546–549 on the relation with the porte maritime.

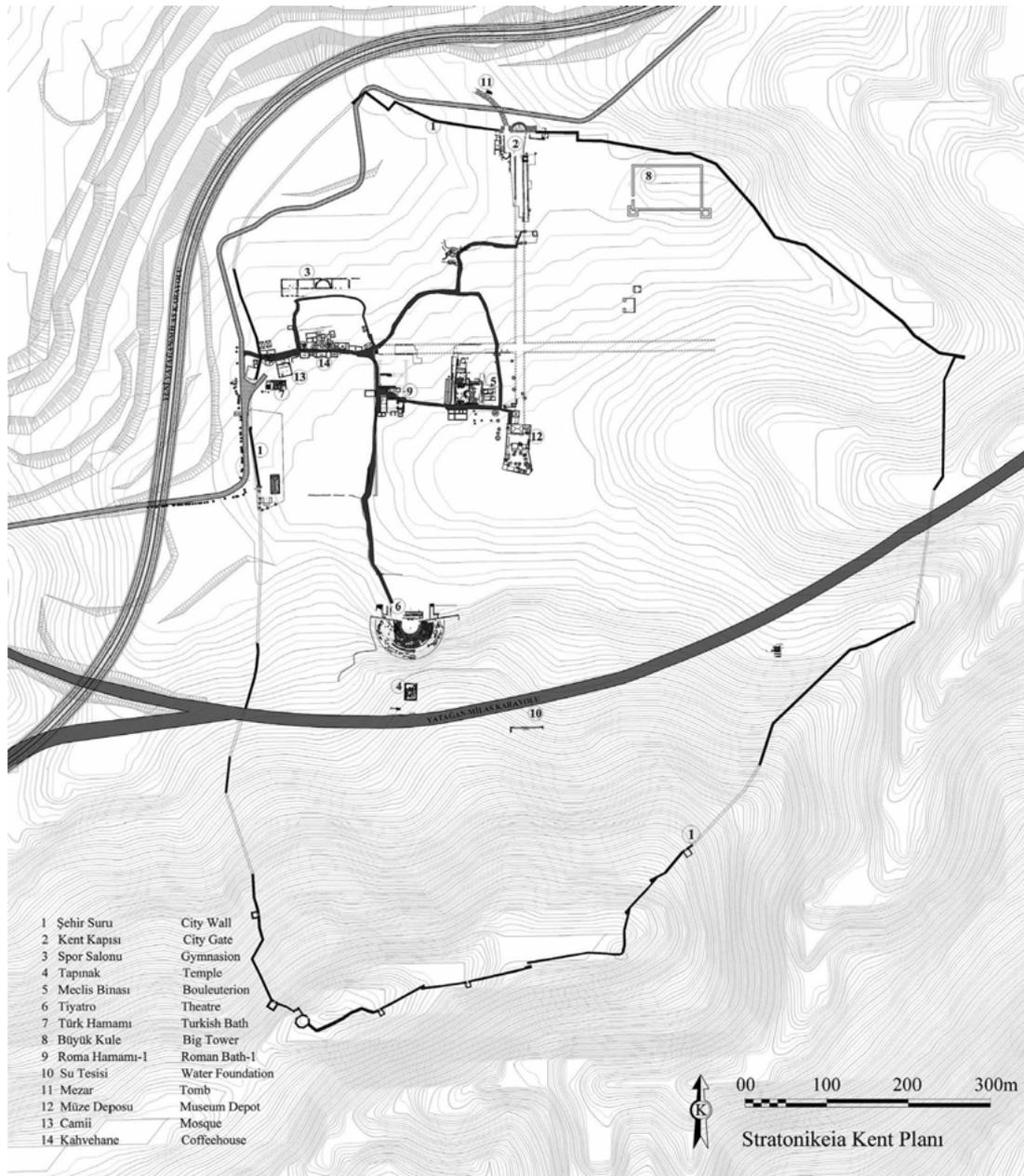


Fig. 5

The stratēgion and the city walls

Given the suggested integration of a *stratēgion* into or near the city's walls, something needs to be said about their date, extent and type, but very little can be established with certainty, for the remains of the impressive walled circuit, which survives to a length of c. 2.5 km (the original circuit was c. 3.5 km, enclosing a surface area of approximately 1 km²), have never been adequately published (Fig. 5 shows the walls as part of the general city plan). The only discussions that I am aware of are by A. Tırpan and B. Söğüt who differ quite substantially on dating. Tırpan, in two separate articles, of 1983 and 1990, gives an analysis of the structure and the materials of the entire circuit, with drawings and photos, including some of the towers. Fourteen of these are said to survive but they are not easy to locate on the plans provided. Söğüt dedicates a few pages to the city's walls within a more general article.³² Photographs of the foundations of a square tower and a section of the southern part of the wall on Kale Tepe, to the south-east of the city, above the Milas–Yatağan road, are presented in a recent article by U. Oğuzhanoglu as part of a discussion of early settlements in the immediate vicinity of the city.³³

L. Robert's description (from the 1950s) of the southern – upper – sections of the walled circuit is evocative: 'Au sud de la ville, la colline où est creusé le théâtre, s'élève en pente raide; au sommet, un rempart, avec une série de tours, avec une porte, suit sur toute sa longueur la crête de la colline; il domine d'un côté la ville étendue à ses pieds, dans un site commode et propice au peuplement, avec l'agora se détachant parmi les maisons modernes comme un rectangle cultivé, mais non bâti, – de l'autre, un ravin profond, au fond duquel court une rivière, apparemment "le fleuve" (ποταμός) de l'inscription topographique³⁴; le ravin est borné au nord par une pente boisée, très raide elle aussi. *Ces murs hellénistiques doivent remonter à la fondation de la ville par les Séleucides au IIIe siècle*' (italics mine).³⁵

The lower reaches of the steep slope above the theatre are now separated from its upper section and from the walls on its summit by the modern Milas–Yatağan road, which runs directly behind the theatre and the imperial temple above it: see e.g. the photograph in Söğüt, *Stratonikeia ve Çevresi Araştırmaları* 6, Fig. 4, and see the plan Fig. 5.³⁶ Remains of the upper circuit, stretches of which can still be clearly seen on Google Earth, survive across three hills: the central

32 A. Tırpan: 5. *KST* (1983) 209–214 (drawings at p. 453–455) and *Edebiyat Dergisi* 5 (1990) 217–234, with drawings and photos on pp. 229–234. B. Söğüt, *Stratonikeia'da Hellenistik Dönem Öncesi*, in *Studies in Honour of K. Levent Zoroğlu* (2013), 605–623, at 609–611. A brief description is also given in I. H. Mert's study of Stratonikeian architectural decoration (*Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Bauornamentik von Stratonikeia* (2008) 12–13 with Abb. 5); his one photo entitled 'Stadtmauer' has however no indication of this particular section's location, but shows most likely part of a tower gate in the upper circuit, on Kadıkule tepesi, identical to Fig. 2, p. 620 in Söğüt ('Kadıkulesi Tepesi'ndeki Kapı Kulesi Duvar Detayı' = my Fig. 7). Mert described the walls' construction as pseudo-isodomic (though on his photograph trapezoidal blocks are clearly visible); the stone as local schist, but he did not differentiate between upper and lower parts of the circuit.

33 In B. Söğüt (ed.), *Stratonikeia ve Çevresi Araştırmaları* (2015) 9–28, at 27–28, figs 14, 16 and 17. For the approximate location see the map in this article, p. 22.

34 By which is meant *I.Stratonikeia* 1004, one of the city's four mustering inscriptions: δεύτερος [π]ύργ[ο]ς τῶι | Ἡρακλείωι καὶ τῶι ἐχο|μένωι φυλα[κ]είωι ἄφο|δα τὸ Σαμοθράικιον καὶ τὸ | ἐχόμενον ἕως τοῦ πο|ταμοῦ. ἐπίσημον | ῥόπαλον. On these see below, pp. 35–40. The 'fleuve' Robert refers to is the modern Işık dere.

35 OMS V, 450–451.

36 As can be seen on the city plan, Fig. 5, a wider road has recently been constructed which leads off the Milas road around the northern part of the ancient city in a big loop, and meets up with the Milas–Yatağan road again past the site.

Kadikule tepesi with Yeldeğirmen tepe to its west and Kale tepe to its east (see the map Fig. 6). Figs 7 and 8 show a tower on Kadikule tepesi and a stretch of wall on Yeldeğirmen tepe respectively; Fig. 9 a stretch of wall on Kale tepe. These examples clearly show different construction techniques and dates.³⁷

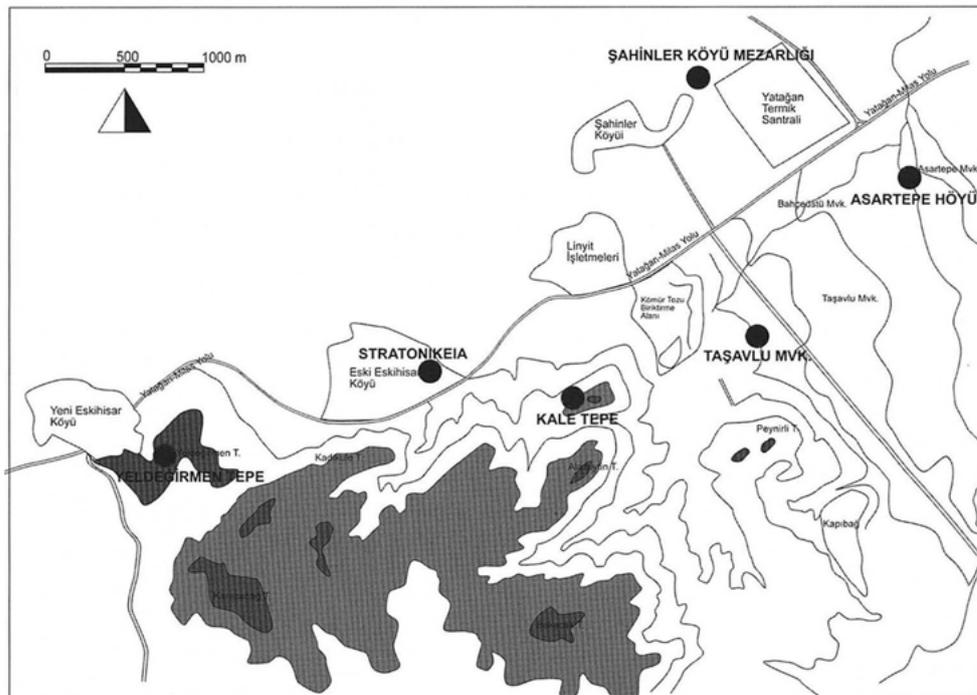


Fig. 6

As we saw, Robert dated the entire walled circuit to the early third century. Tırpan and Söğüt on the other hand have shown that we ought to distinguish between the upper and the lower circuit and between at least two separate building phases. Tırpan prefers to date the upper part of the circuit to the fifth or early fourth century, the lower part of the walls to after the 270s.³⁸ For Söğüt the oldest parts of the upper walls as well as some terrace walls at Kadikule tepesi show features of the late Geometric and/or Archaic period but stretches of repair or rebuilding can also be seen, which may date to the time of the lower city walls' construction.

The upper wall and towers made of flat irregular stones (*Plattenmauerwerk*; Fig. 10; cf. Fig. 8) are likely to be archaic or early classical. The extent and shape of this early fortification wall

³⁷ On dating Hellenistic walls in Karia see especially I. Pimouguet-Pédarros, *Archéologie de la défense. Histoire des fortifications antiques de Carie* (2000), which has however no mention of the Stratonikeian walls; and further the useful *Fortifications et défense du territoire en Asie Mineure occidentale et méridionale* (REA 96, 1994, eds P. Debord and R. Descat) as well as the studies by P. Pedersen and B. Schmalz in R. van Bremen and J.-M. Carbon, *Hellenistic Karia* (2010) 269–315; 317–330 on Halikarnassos and Kaunos respectively; for the 'Hautes terres de Carie' see the chapter by P. Brun ('Les sites') in P. Debord and E. Varinlioğlu (eds), *Les hautes terres de Carie* (2001) 23–73; for Hyllarima see P. Debord and E. Varinlioğlu (eds), *Hyllarima de Carie* (2018) chs. VI and VII 199–212 (with I. Pimouguet-Pédarros).

³⁸ A. Tırpan, above, n. 32, 217–234, comparative schedule on p. 220.



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

is not known but a walled circuit confined to the acropolis, which may have served the local communities as a kind of Fluchtburg before the foundation of the city seems possible.³⁹ The construction is reminiscent of that of Pedasa or Alazeytin and that of the other ‘Lelegian’ settlements in Karia.⁴⁰

The south-western stretches of wall, on the Kadikule hill, show different features. I reproduce here, with his permission, and with reference to the city plan Fig. 5, and my Figs 7 (this page) and 11 (below, p. 34), the assessment of Baptiste Vergnaud:

On the south-western sector of the city wall, the Kadikule area, one can notice a change in masonry and material in the East-West stretch between the square tower built of irregular masonry and the hexagonal tower. The stone is most probably marble, the blocks are polygonal and where the wall changes direction, there is a drafted edge, a feature that is

³⁹ George Bean in *Turkey beyond the Maeander* (1971) 69 only dedicates a few sentences to the walls, but he does remark (without further clarifying) that ‘The acropolis hill ... is fortified with a ring wall beyond the summit.’ The ravine through which the Işık dere flows may have served as natural fortification to the south.

⁴⁰ See W. Radt, *Siedlungen und Bauten auf der Halbinsel von Halikarnassos unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der archaischen Epoche*, *IstMitt Beih.* 3 (1970). I am grateful to Baptiste Vergnaud for a discussion of these aspects of the upper walls based on his recent autopsy.

not earlier than the fourth century BC. This stretch presents similarities with the tower built of trapezoidal blocks located south of the hexagonal tower and probably belongs to the same construction phase. The massive hexagonal tower which is made of irregular blocks is very particular. Its masonry is similar to that of the first-phase walls but its hexagonal plan is absolutely unknown before the Hellenistic period. My hypothesis is that the blocks from the early wall were used to create this tower during the Hellenistic reinforcement or replanning of the city's defenses. Below this tower, on the N-S section of the wall, there is another tower of quadrangular plan which is built of trapezoidal blocks [here Fig. 7] with occasional headers. This composite technique is hard to date but it is probably contemporary with the preserved stretches of the lower city wall [here Fig. 11].



Fig. 11

In the view of B. Söğüt, the lower city walls belong to the later fourth century, more precisely the Hekatomnid period, showing similarities with those of Alabanda, Amyzōn and Latmos.⁴¹ It should be noted however that e.g. the distinctive header-and-stretcher style, so characteristic of Hekatomnid building techniques, is lacking and there are clear differences between what remains of the Stratonikeian walls and those of Hekatomnid construction elsewhere.⁴² In particular the trapezoidal masonry visible in certain stretches (Fig. 11), which is quite common in mainland Greece in the fourth century, is virtually inexistant in Karia at this time and only becomes more widespread in the Hellenistic period.⁴³

41 'Fortifications of the Lelegian type and some other structures were constructed in the Archaic and Classical periods. In particular, in the period of the Hekatomnids in the 4th century BC, both upper and lower cities were surrounded by new fortification walls which had at least four gates.' Söğüt, summary, p. 605. A full publication is eagerly awaited.

42 A photograph published by E. Varinlioğlu, *REA* 96 (1994) 189–191 (without indication of its location), also shows a section of the wall to the north of the city (according to Debord, *Questions stratoniceennes* [n. 45] 158 and 159, n. 19). On the characteristic features of Hekatomnid defensive structures see especially I. Pimouguet-Pédarros, *Existe-t-il un style de construction hécatomnide?*, in P. Brun et al. (eds), *Euploia. La Lycie et la Carie antiques* (2013) 153–173, with further references.

43 I. Pimouguet-Pédarros, *Archéologie de la défense* 94–95.

Very provisionally we may settle for two main periods that are clearly identifiable: the archaic/early classical phase comprising the upper fortifications and towers in irregular masonry and a second phase which included a remodeling of the existing defenses and the construction of a lower part of the circuit to protect both the upper and the lower city. That second phase most likely belongs to the early Hellenistic period, partly because of the nature of its construction (trapezoidal elements), partly because of the presence of the hexagonal tower discussed above, and therefore most likely belongs to the time of or after the city's foundation.

The city walls and the mustering inscriptions

The defence of the city, and the mobilisation of its male citizens in the case of a siege, was organized by city quarters, *amphoda*, 'unités tactiques d'auto-défense',⁴⁴ topographically related to sections of the city walls. We know this from four small inscribed plaques, *I.Stratonikeia* 1003, 1004, 1531 and 1532, mustering inscriptions of a type known also from Hellenistic Smyrna, once probably set into the city's towers or walls.⁴⁵ A similar organization has to be assumed for both cities. A comparison with the *pyrgoi*-based defensive organization of Teos has also been made, most recently by Jonathan Strang in a dissertation of 2007, who dates that city's walled circuit and the emergence of the *pyrgoi* divisions to the late third or early second century BC.⁴⁶

The Stratonikeian plaques have been dated (in first instance by L. Robert) to the early phase of the city's history, post-dating by about five decades the presumed construction of the walls. Robert, who at the time knew only the plaque that is now 1003 (Fig. 12) wrote: 'très légers *apices*, les *pi* et les *nu* à hastes inégales, les petits *omicron* accrochés au sommet de la ligne, me semble dater cette inscription comme une des plus anciennes de Stratonicee; je la rapporterais volontiers à la fin du IIIe siècle, au plus tard au début du IIe.'⁴⁷

For three of the plaques we now have a photograph either of the stone (1003; 1532) or of the squeeze (1531); the fourth exists only in a majuscule copy. The format of each plaque is the same (an inscribed rectangle within a wide moulded frame) as are the dimensions (w. 36 cm, h. 26.5/27 cm; the depth varies). They must have been produced and inscribed at the same time, for the letter forms in so far as they can be compared are very similar.

These small plaques with their brief lapidary texts reveal the location of mustering points in the city. Each mustering point had its own sign (ἐπίσημον): a club, a Delphic tripod, an image of Herakles, an elephant. In each case, the reference point was a tower (πύργος) though in one

44 Y. Garlan, *Recherches* 384; cf. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 528–529, and the evocative discussion in T. Boulay, *Arès dans la cité. Les poleis et la guerre dans l'Asie mineure hellénistique* (2014) 188–200.

45 See Boulay, previous n., and see now also the discussion of D. Marchiandi, *Le fortificazioni ateniesi nell'età classica: note su alcuni horoi di interpretazione incerta*, *Axon* 3 (2019) 294–328, at 315–318. On the *amphoda* see the interesting discussion in P. Debord, *Questions stratoniceennes*, in A. Bresson, R. Descat (eds), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.* (2001) 159–160.

46 J. Strang, *The City of Dionysos: a Social and Historical Study of the Ionian City of Teos*, Diss. New York at Buffalo (2007) esp. 199–206. M. Adak, K. Stauner, *Philia* 4 (2018) 1–25, at n. 20, while broadly agreeing with Strang, point out that his view that the *pyrgoi* emerged/were organized only after Teos' bitter experiences with pirate attacks, does not account for the fact that the *pyrgos* names predate them. On the walls of Teos see now E. Taşdelen, Y. Polat, *New Investigations, Finds and Discoveries Concerning the Hellenistic City Walls of Teos*, *Philia* 4 (2018) 173–199.

47 *Études anatoliennes* 530.

case this is restored, and since the surviving circuit of the city walls still contains the remains of 14 such towers, the number of mustering points, and the accompanying *episema*, will have exceeded that number.⁴⁸ Adolf Wilhelm first compared the one Stratonikeian plaque known to him with the very similar inscriptions from Smyrna. These are now in G. Petzl's *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* II.1, with a discussion on p. 108.⁴⁹ Unlike those of Stratonikeia, the Smyrna plaques appear to date from different periods: a) third/second century; b) second century; c) third century (so Wilhelm, confirmed by the photographs in *I.Smyrna*). Below I give the texts and photographs of the plaques with a brief commentary. The numbers are those of *I.Stratonikeia*.

1003

Ed. A. Laumonier, *BCH* 58 (1934) 339–340, no. 24; L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 529–536, improved reading with photo Pl. XVII 1; E. Varinlioğlu, *REA* 96 (1994) 189–191 (correction to Robert's reading). H. 27 cm; surviving w. 21 cm; no depth recorded; letters 1.4 cm (Fig. 12).

Date (Robert): 'fin du IIIe siècle, au plus tard au début du IIe'; 'écriture du IIe s. av. J.-C.' (Laumonier). The fragment was found built into a modern wall: 'à droite quand on va de la maison de Murat Bey à l'école' (Laumonier). The alpha has curved crossbars.



Αὐχένο[ς? πύργος vel πύργου]
 παρὰ τὴν [πλατεῖαν]
 τὴν φέρουσ[αν ἀπὸ τοῦ]
 4 τριπύλου ἕω[ς τῆς]
 ἄλλης πλατ[είας ἐπί-]
 σημον Ἡρακλ[ῆς]

-1/1 [- - - - - ἀπὸ τοῦ] | αὐχένο[ς - - -] L. R.; M. Ç. Ş.

[(?at?) the tower?] at the (?)⁵⁰ gorge (assemble?) along the [street] that runs from the triple gate to the other street. The emblem is Herakles.

Fig. 12

1 L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 531 (cf. *ATAM* 153), assumed that lines were missing at the beginning and restored [- - ἕως τοῦ] | αὐχένο[ς - - - -] on the model of no. 1004 (below). But from the photograph (Pl. XVII.1 and here Fig. 12) it is clear that this is not possible, something seen

48 In Teos, the number of *pyrgoi* listed in the catalogue *CIG* 3064 (with p. 1125; cf. *SEG* 4, 620) is 27; not an implausible number for a circuit of c. 4 km. See the discussion in Taşdelen and Polat, above, n. 46, and in Boulay, *Arès* 191–194. For Smyrna, where six towers are certainly attested in three inscriptions, and seven are implied, see Petzl, next n. ad loc., and Boulay, *Arès* 190.

49 *I.Smyrna* II.1, 613a, b, c; A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1924, 116–117; 149–150, and L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 531, with Pl. XXIX 1 (= *I.Smyrna* 613c).

50 L. Robert, who spends many pages (531–538) on the meaning of πλατεῖα, does not seem concerned with how to translate, and where to locate, the puzzling αὐχὴν.

already by E. Varinlioğlu.⁵¹ Varinlioğlu thought there was space for an ordinal numeral before πύργος (or πύργου), on the analogy of the other plaques, but there is perhaps no need for this if ἀρχένος qualifies the tower. The photograph of 1532 (Fig. 14) moreover shows that there the first line does not fill the available space, and 13 letters broadly correspond to the number in l. 4 and 6 (14 and 12 respectively). According to Varinlioğlu, Ἀρχήν is a toponym.

2–5 For a discussion of πλατεῖα see L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 531–538; Debord, *Questions stratoniciennes* 159–160.⁵²

4 The triple gate has not (yet) been identified. Robert at p. 532 left open whether this was a gate in the walled circuit or a gate into the *agora*.⁵³

5–6 Herakles as an *episemon*: L. Robert drew attention to a relief head of Herakles from Pisidian Antioch (*JHS* 1930, 272–274; photo) which Ramsay considered was the *episemon* of a *vicus Heraculis*. Neither scholar dates the relief (or gives dimensions). The relief is apparently now lost.⁵⁴ M. Ç. Şahin refers to the *episemon* in 1003 as ‘eine Stange mit Herakles’, perhaps reading the Greek word for ‘Stange’ (English ‘stick’, ‘pole’, ‘rod’) in the noun ἀρχήν. Note also the ‘tower of Herakles’ in Smyrna, *I.Smyrna* 613c.

Of the four texts discussed here, this is the most puzzling in terms of the city’s topography. Since a tower features at the beginning of each of the three other inscriptions, the word has been restored here too. Quite how we should understand the location depends on the meaning of ἀρχήν: literally ‘neck’ and, in geographical writing, always used of a narrow strip of land or a gorge.⁵⁵ The further description ‘along the street’ etc.: I have assumed that this concerns the mustering, at the tower, of all those who lived along the main *plateia* (and its side-streets?), or, as T. Boulay understands it, it is the assembling itself that is to take place [‘se rassembler’] près de la rue qui va du *tripylon* jusqu’à l’autre rue’.⁵⁶

51 *REA* 96 (1994) 190: ‘A ce que je peux voir sur la photographie de la pierre donnée par L. Robert, l’inscription aussi est dans un panneau en retrait encadré d’une moulure, très nette en haut. Il n’y a donc pas lieu de restituer une première ligne. C’est directement, à mon avis: Ἀρχένος -- πύργου ou πύργος | παρὰ τὴν [πλατεῖαν] κτλ.’ Şahin retained Robert’s version without explanation. We now know, as Robert did not, that one further plaque, 1531, omits to mention *amphodon*. That text is the briefest of the four, lapidary in the extreme. The implication of all four texts is that the mustering went by *amphodon* and/or by other locations, i.e. those living along or near a particular road. See also Boulay, *Arès* 190–191, and Debord, *Questions stratoniciennes* 159–162.

52 See also L. Robert, *ATAM* 152–157. On the relation between *plateia* and *amphodon* cf. Debord, *Questions stratoniciennes* 159–160, with a critical comparison of the ‘openness’ of Robert’s view of *plateiai* and the closedness emphasized in Philo of Byzantium’s *Poliorketika*. Cf. G. Petzl, *I.Smyrna* II.1 p. 108, who translates ἄμφοδον as ‘das, was sich auf beiden Seiten der Straße befindet’, while Liddell–Scott–Jones give ‘that which is surrounded by streets’. The best discussion is in Y. Garlan, *Cités, armées et stratégie à l’époque hellénistique d’après l’œuvre de Philon de Byzance*, *Historia* 22 (1973) 16–33, at 21–22 (cf. Garlan, *Recherches* 382), emphasizing the different meanings of the term *amphodon*: basic meaning ‘a street of houses’; interpreted in a wider context they were quarters or sectors of a city serving as ‘unités d’auto-défense’.

53 P. Debord, *Questions stratoniciennes*, argued for an *agora* gate.

54 Information from S. Mitchell, *per ep.*

55 Boulay, *Arès* 190, hesitates between the suggestion of Debord (*Questions stratoniciennes* 159) who translates: ‘une poterne’, a postern gate (a secondary, often hidden, narrow entry gate) and ‘défilé’. But the word used for a postern gate is always *πυλῖς*, so Garlan, *Recherches* 341.

56 *ibidem*.

1004

Eds Le Bas–Waddington 527; Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* 183–187; Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 530–531. No measurements are given.

δεύτερος [π]ύρ[γ]ος τῶι
 Ἡρακλείωι καὶ τῶι ἔχο-
 μένωι φυλα[κ]εῖωι ἄμφο-
 4 δα τὸ Σαμοθράκιον καὶ τὸ
 ἐχόμενον ἕως τοῦ πο-
 ταμοῦ. ἐπίσημον
 ῥόπαλον.

*Second tower; by the Herakleion and the adjoining guard-post, the quarters of the Samothrakion and that adjoining it, as far as the river.*⁵⁷ Emblem: club.

1–2 Wilhelm (187): πρὸς is to be assumed before τῶι Ἡρακλείωι.

3–4 ἄμφοδον τὸ Σαμοθράκιον: Wilhelm (187) wrote that this is probably a street named after its Samothrakian residents rather than a reference to a sanctuary of the Samothrakian gods, ‘zu stellen haben sich die Bewohner der Samothrakischen Straße und die der nächsten bis zum Flusse’. But a city-quarter named after the sanctuary situated there is more likely.⁵⁸ A Samothrakion at this relatively early time strongly suggests Ptolemaic presence before the foundation of the Seleukid city, as does the Sarapieion in the next inscription.

5–6 ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ: The Greek can imply, but need not, that both *amphoda* went as far as the river. L. Robert’s description (above, n. 34) may be repeated here ‘de l’autre [côté], un ravin profond, au fond duquel court une rivière, apparemment “le fleuve” (ποταμός) de l’inscription topographique’. But there were branches of the Çine Çayı (ancient Marsyas) to the east of the city and which ‘river’ was meant is not certain.

1531

Ed. E. Varinlioğlu, *REA* 96 (1994) 189–191 (ph.); *I.Stratonikeia* 1531 (*SEG* 44, 917; *BE* 1996, 401). ‘Bloc de marbre ou de pierre tirant sur le noir, encadrée de moulures de tous les côtés. L’inscription est dans un panneau en retrait.’

H. 26.5 cm; w. 36 cm; letters 0.8 cm. Small, suspended omegas, light apices, pi and nu have shorter r. hastas, phi has very small triangular ring halfway down the upright; alphas have curved cross-bars. Same script as 1003 and 1004 (Fig. 13).

⁵⁷ Wilhelm: ‘zu sammeln haben sich die zu seiner Beziehung berufene Mannschaft bei dem Heiligtum des Herakles und dem anschließenden Wachthause’.

⁵⁸ So also P. Debord (*Questions stratonickéennes* 161), drawing on parallels from Smyrna – discussed below. The Sarapieion in *I.Stratonikeia* 1531 (which Wilhelm did not know of) makes the existence of a Samothrakion more plausible, and suggests Ptolemaic influence and/or presence. Debord, at p. 161, reminds us however that, in Smyrna, Queen Stratonikē, wife of Antiochos I and mother of Antiochos II, was the patroness of an association of worshippers of Anubis (*I.Smyrna* 765, dated to the mid-3rd century) and that therefore her influence might count if the city was founded while she was still alive, i.e. before end 254 BC). She would, however, have had no association with the Samothrakion.



Fig. 13

4 τρίτου πύργου μέ-
σης πύλης ὑπὸ
τὸ Σαραπιεῖον. ἔ-
πίσημον Δελφι-
κὸς τρίπους.

?At the third tower of the middle gate at the foot of the Sarapieion. The emblem (is) a Delphic tripod.

The height of this plaque is more or less the same as 1003; the width shows that the latter has lost approximately half of its total surface. The mouldings are identical on 1003, 1531 and 1532.

1–2 Both the tower and the middle gate are in the genitive which make the translation awkward, unless one ignores it, as does Boulay: ‘Troisième tour. [Se rassembler] à la porte du milieu au pied du Sarapieion etc.’⁵⁹ In my understanding, the middle gate qualifies the tower (see the commentary on the next inscription).

In this particular text there is no obvious reference to who are to assemble. The Sarapieion must be at a higher level and the location may have been in the southern part of the walled circuit.⁶⁰

1532

Ed. M. Ç. Şahin, *EA* 41 (2008) 66, no. 31. ‘A cubical, relatively small block of marble ... framed with mouldings ... It is clear that the block was set in a wall.’ No findspot given. Now in the museum depot at Stratonikeia. H. 26.5 cm; w. 36 cm; d. 31 cm; letters 1.3–1.8 cm. Photo (Fig. 14).



Fig. 14

4 τρίτου πύρ-
γου(ου) τὸ φυλα-
κῆον ἄμφοδον
ἔχόμενον ἐπί-
σημον ἑλέφας

2 The OY could be an accidental duplication (cf. the mistaken upsilon in l. 3); ed. pr. -γου <τ>οῦτο; an alternative would be to read οὔ: ‘where’. 3 The stonemason wrote ΑΥΦΟΔΟΝ, then changed the upsilon to a my.

?At the third tower the guard-post quarter, having as emblem an elephant.

⁵⁹ Gauthier, *BE* 1996, 401 does not comment.

⁶⁰ On the Ptolemaic antecedents of the Seleukid city (the Sarapieion, the Samothrakion, perhaps the Herakleion) see especially Debord, *Questions stratoniceennes* 160–162, comparing the many references to Herakles (Herakleion, club and Herakles as *episema*) with similar in Smyrna. For Herakles the connotation must be Macedonian rather than Ptolemaic or Seleukid.

As in the previous inscription, here we have another ‘third tower’, which may suggest some overall organization having multiple points from which towers were counted. Alternative, the qualifying ‘of the middle gate’ in 1531 did the job of distinguishing that tower from the one in 1532.

A (similar?) carved image of an elephant survives over a doorway in one of the towers of the Seleukid fortress on Mt. Karasis in eastern Cilicia; ‘eine Herakleskeule’ is also mentioned among the reliefs on its walls.⁶¹ In a recent article the building of this fortification has, with good arguments, been attributed to Antiochos I (rather than to Antiochos IV as has been the assumption hitherto); a date compatible with the foundation and fortification of Stratonikeia.⁶²

The emblems on the towers were most likely Seleukid and integral to the original construction: their symbolism (Herakles, club, elephant, Delphic tripod) fits a Macedonian/Seleukid context. Whether the same can be said of the organization of the city’s defence as it is reflected in the four plaques is less straightforward: their letter forms suggest a date in the early second century (above, p. 35); but emblems and plaques need not be of the same period. Should we imagine the plaques set into the very towers where the *episema* were located or would there have been one location where all the plaques could be read collectively?

The relation between the *stratēgoi*, their *stratēgion*, the work done to the (adjoining?) tower and the chronology of the construction of the city’s walls cannot (yet?) be precisely understood. Equally, the organization of the citizen body for defensive purposes, though partly visible, remains to be explored, both in terms of chronology and topography, as do many other aspects of the early history and the military and civic organization of this remarkable city.

APPENDIX

Stratēgoi dedications

I. *Stratonikeia* 1005

Ed. Cousin, *BCH* 15 (1891) 424–425, no. 5 (copied at Eskihisar); Kubitschek, *Anz. Akad. Wien* (1893) 7 (copied at Çine, near Alabanda); W. Reichel, *Skizzenbuch* II (1893) 52, 52a; von Premerstein, *AM* 27 (1902) 270; Oppermann 87; Laumonier, *BCH* 58 (1934) 301 fig. 4; *idem*, *Cultes*, Pl. V 13; Robert, *Gladiateurs* 172, no. 167. Estampage Fonds Louis Robert 4146 (in three parts); ‘photographié’ (photo not found).

Cf. Laumonier, *Cultes* 303, n. 8.

61 M. Sayar, *Antike Welt* 1995, 279–282. ‘An verschiedenen Stellen der Mauer sind Reliefs angebracht, die drei Schilde und eine Herakleskeule zeigen. Über dem Türsturz eines Turmeingangs ist ein Elefant im Relief zu sehen’ (p. 279 and Abb. 5 and 6).

62 Until recently Antiochos IV was argued to have been the ‘Bauherr’ (so A. Hoffman, R. Posamentir, M. Sayar (eds), *Hellenismus in der Kilikia Pedias*, *Byzas* 14 (2011) *passim*); but in a recent article M. Durukan, U. Tepebaş and M. Yilmaz have argued convincingly that the initial building phase was under Antiochos I (*Vir Doctus Anatolicus: Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin*, *Philia* Supplement 1, 2016, 308–329). An elephant also features on a rare preserved city seal of Sagalassos. The seal is dated to the 2nd or 3rd century AD, but the editor plausibly argues that its origin may lie in the Seleukid period and the presence of a settlement of Macedonian soldiers there. K. Vandorpe, *Sagalassos’ city-seal*, in M. Waelkens et al. (eds), *Sagalassos III* (1995) 299–306; see also *ibidem*, E. Kosmetatou, M. Waelkens, *The Macedonian shields of Sagalassos (277–292)*.



Fig. 15

καί?] Robert, Şahin, seemingly confirmed by Reichel's drawing; the squeeze shows rather a my, as on Cousin's majuscule drawing: μ[ο]- Cousin. 3 [v]ομαχία Cousin, but there is space for καί; end: [οί] Cousin but there is no space, and Reichel indicates *vacat* here. 4. [οί στ] Robert, Şahin, but Reichel's drawing suggests that the flame of the torch fills up the space.

'Petite stèle, représentant un cavalier' (Cousin), probably Zeus Panamaros. Reichel's drawing shows a small circular object in the horseman's right hand (a *phiale*?). The relief is set in a banded frame; the first three lines are inscribed on the frame (illegible in Laumonier's photo). Reichel's drawing, however, clearly shows both the relief and the text's distribution on the stone. To l. and r. torches; the horse's front leg rests on the wheel of Nemesis. H. 49 cm; w. 38 cm; d. 12 cm (Reichel); letters 1,5–2 cm (Reichel).

[ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμι]δώρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμ[ι]-
[δώρο]υ πενταετηρικὸς ἀγ[ών]
[καὶ] μ[ον]ομαχία ἤχθη· θέρινῆς
4 [στ]ρατηγοὶ Διὶ Ἑκά-
[τη] Νεμέσι ὀμονο-
[ήσ]αν-
τες.

1–2 [ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀρ][τεμι]δώρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμ[ι]-
δ[ώρο]υ κτλ.] Cousin, assuming a line before l. 1,
but there is no space on the stone. 2 End: ἄ[γών]

I.Stratonikeia 1006

Ed. G. Cousin, *BCH* 15 (1891) 424–425, no. 4. Estampage Fonds Louis Robert 4152.

H. 33 cm; w. 24 cm; letters: 1.2–1.5 cm. Regular, well-spaced script; apices; omega clean circle with very long detached horizontal; omicron full size, wide mu with diverging uprights; wide sigma; kappa with slightly shorter horizontals; wide zeta and epsilon, latter with short inner horizontal.

[στ]ρατηγοὶ οἱ ἄρ-
[ξ]αντες τὴν χει-
μερινὴν τὴν ἐπὶ ἀρ-
4 χιερέως Μέντορο-
ς τοῦ Ἀπελλοῦ, Ἀντί-
οχος Σωκράτους
Κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς), Ἀπολλώνιος
8 Διοφάντου τοῦ Ξά-
νθου Κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς), Ἴεροκλή-

12 ς Ζήνωνος Κω(ραιεύς),
 καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώ-
 ρας στρατηγὸς
 Μενέδημος Ἄπε-
 λλοῦ Ἰε(ροκωμήτης), ὁμοιοήσ-
 [αντ]ες Νεμέσει.

1 [Οἱ σ]τρατηγοὶ Cousin, Şahin, but cf. 1318.

I.Stratonikeia 1006a

Ed. M. Ç. Şahin, who (probably correctly) calls it 'Strategenliste'; photo vol. II.2, Tafel XIV. No findspot or dimensions given. Complete on r. and above (though the upper part above the moulding is damaged), broken l. and below. How much is missing on l. is unclear. Şahin assumed one or two letters. At the top traces of a moulding, possibly a pediment, and a raised band also on r. Present location unknown.

Fragment of a (?) dedication by *stratēgoi* of a semester. 2nd century AD (?).

4 [- - - - -] στρατηγοὶ
 [- - - - -Χρ]υσάωρ Διονυ-
 [σίου τοῦ Διονυ]σίου Κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς),
 [- - - - -]σίου ΟΣ[. . .]

2-3 Χρ]υσάωρ Διονυ]σίου Κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς) Şahin.

I.Stratonikeia 1317

Ed. E. Varinlioğlu, *EA* 12 (1988) 90, no. 17: 'Quadratische Stele aus schmutzigweißem Marmor, die sich nach oben leicht verjüngt.' Broken in two parts. H. 41 cm; w. 19.5-20.5 cm; letters 1.5-2 cm. Irregular script. Photo Pl. II (*SEG* 38, 1097).

4 ἐπὶ Διομήδου[ς]
 τοῦ Διομήδου-
 ς τοῦ Ἱεροκλέος
 χιμερινῆ{ν}ς
 στρ<α>τηγοὶ ἐ-
 πὶ μὲν τῆς χώ-
 ρας Λεωνίδης
 8 Λεωνίδου Κο(λιοργεύς),
 κατὰ πόλιν δὲ
 Ἱεροκλῆς Θε-
 ομνήστου Λο(βολδεύς),
 12 Καλλικράτης
 Χρυσίπ<π>ου Ἰε(ροκωμήτης),
 Μενέδημος
 Λέοντος τοῦ

16 Μενεδήμου Κω(ραιεύς),
 ὁμονοήσαντες
 Νεμέσει· νεωκόροι
 Στέφανος ΟΝΣ[—]
 20 [—]φ[—]

4 χιμερινῆν{ς} Varinlioğlu. 13 IA lapis, Ἰα[σεύς] Şahin. 19 (?) Ὀνή[σι|μ]ος Varinlioğlu.

Ed. pr. (followed in *SEG* 38, 1097) suggested that the eponym is identical with T. Flavius Diomēdēs, married to Claudia Leontis *quae et Sabina*; stemma in *I.Stratonikeia* I, p. 76; not followed by Şahin, and not certain. The son of Hieroklēs Theomnēstos, l. 10–11 (called Hieroklēs, like his father) occurs in a list of gymnasiarchs, no. 25A (= *I.Stratonikeia* 1325a; *SEG* 38 1080), l. 17–18, which can be dated approximately to the first century AD (see *EA* 12, 1988, 98 for a prosopographical discussion of no. 25). In l. 13, the restored Ἰα(σεύς) as the demotic/ethnic of the third stratēgos cannot be right: the IA is probably a mistake for IE: Ἰε(ροκωμήτης).

I.Stratonikeia 1318

For the text and commentary of this inscription see above, p. 23–24.

I. Stratonikeia 1319

Ed. E. Varinlioğlu, *EA* 12 (1988) 91–92, no. 19: ‘Weißer Marmor; links und oben unbeschädigt, sonst alle Seiten abgebrochen.’ H. 70 cm; w. 19 cm; d. 9 cm; letters 1.5–1.8 cm. No photo. Text as in *I.Stratonikeia*.

ἐπὶ Φα[-----]
 τοῦ Διο[-----]
 χιμεριν[ῆς στρατηγῶν]
 4 Ἄρτεμι[δωρος-----]

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Özet

I.Stratonikeia'daki 1505 no. lu yazıt bu makalede yeniden ele alınmaktadır. Yazara göre bu yazıt, üyeleri İ. Ö. 200 yılı civarında ve kış veya yaz döneminde hizmet veren Komuta Heyeti'nin (*stratēgoi*) bir adağıdır. Yazıtta bir komutanlık binasından (*stratēgion*) ve bir kuleden (*pyrgos*) söz edilmesi komutanların bir dekorasyon ve/veya inşaat işinin ödemesini üstlendiklerini ve bilmediğimiz bir tanrının kült heykelini (*agalma*) adak olarak sunduklarını düşündürmektedir. Makalede ayrıca, *stratēgion*'un yaklaşık yeri ve tarihi, şehir surlarıyla ilişkisi ve surların tarihi ve – bilinen 4 yazıt sayesinde – kentin savunma sistemi üzerinde saptamalar yapılmaktadır.