Synoikism, Urbanization, and Empire in the Early Hellenistic Period

by

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation, entitled "Synoikism, Urbanization, and Empire in the Early Hellenistic Period," seeks to present a new approach to understanding the dynamic interaction between imperial powers and cities following the Macedonian conquest of Greece and Asia Minor. Rather than constructing a political narrative of the period, I focus on the role of reshaping urban centers and regional landscapes in the creation of empire in Greece and western Asia Minor. This period was marked by the rapid creation of new cities, major settlement and demographic shifts, and the reorganization, consolidation, or destruction of existing settlements and the urbanization of previously under-exploited regions. I analyze the complexities of this phenomenon across four frameworks: shifting settlement patterns, the regional and royal economy, civic religion, and the articulation of a new order in architectural and urban space.

The introduction poses the central problem of the interrelationship between urbanization and imperial control and sets out the methodology of my dissertation. After briefly reviewing and critiquing previous approaches to this topic, which have focused mainly on creating catalogues, I point to the gains that can be made by shifting the focus to social and economic structures and asking more specific interpretive questions. My approach is highly interdisciplinary, making heavy use of new evidence from archaeological surveys, and hundreds of excavations and epigraphic finds.

The first chapter maps the changes in settlement patterns across several regions in Greece and Asia Minor. It first establishes that almost all of the foundations of the Hellenistic kings were not actually *ex novo* creations, but represented either the refoundation of an existing city or the centralization of population scattered in many smaller cities and villages. It then makes the case for the centrality of the process of *synoikismos*, the merging of multiple cities into a single community, for understanding the urbanization processes of the period. The literary sources for many of the foundations of the Hellenistic kings, principally the historians Strabo and Diodoros, stress the destructive process involved in creating these new settlements, which is often described as involving the razing of ancient cities and forced population transfer into these new sites. This historical *topos* overshadows what was in reality a much more complicated process. There is good archaeological and epigraphic evidence that many of these sites persisted as urban centers after they were supposedly destroyed. It is only through a detailed treatment of each of these foundations, with close attention to the epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological material that a more nuanced picture of the process of *synoikismos* and urban foundation can be achieved. Focusing on a dozen case studies, from Thessaly and Macedonia to the Troad and Ionia, I attempt to reconstruct a picture of the settlement patterns of these regions in the late fourth century and show how these

changed after the centralization processes of the Hellenistic kings. Accompanying this argument is a series of original maps, which illustrates this process in detail.

The second chapter examines the effects of this planned urbanization for the reorganization of economic activity both within and across regions and how this reflects the policies of imperial powers. I argue that there was a conscious strategy of setting up wider economic zones to combat the natural fragmentation of the Greek landscape and ensure greater mobility and access to resources, serving both the interests of the king and the individual cities. After considering some royal letters that hint at the economic concerns of the kings and cities and shed some light on the costs that these foundations entailed, I examine the crucial role of restructuring land tenure and expanding infrastructure in the form of roads, ports, and markets that linked these newly expanded urban centers. I then present the evidence for trade networks from several of these cities, before and after the foundations and refoundations of the kings. Through a careful study of the evidence from transport amphorae (storage jars for long-distance trade), I demonstrate that there is a quantifiable expansion of commerce in this period. Finally, the chapter explores the relationship of foundations and urbanization to the creation of *koina*, or federal leagues, that united even larger areas in economic cooperation through the creation of a common coinage, a common treasury and other forms of economic, political, and religious interdependence. I conclude by asserting the centrality of economic concerns for the policies of the kings, rescuing this line of inquiry from recent primitivist interpretations of the ancient economy that have sought to minimize the importance of economic behavior in the ancient world.

In the third chapter, I explore the role of religion and shared cultic identity in forging these new communities and the degree to which negotiating these ancient traditions established a dialogue between king and city. I begin by tracking the continuity and discontinuity of cults across the destruction and creation of cities, and isolate the importance of ritual, cult, and the manipulation of symbols for creating new polities, as well as the potential of these same factors to undermine political unity. In every new royal foundation in this period there is evidence for the persistence of cults that were transferred to the new urban center from the old polis centers, many of which became the central cult of the foundation. However, there is also evidence for the continuing significance and attachment to cults in their original setting and a lingering importance to the landscape. This religious attachment, I argue, partially explains why so many of these synoikisms ultimately failed, resulting in the breakaway and reconstitution of the original cities. I also point to a number of instances where there is evidence for the complete abandonment of sites of cult after a population transfer, showing that a single rubric for understanding how cults are incorporated into a new foundation is not possible. After considering the mechanisms of cultic transfer, I highlight the central role of religion in creating a new, common polity and the degree to which it was a stage for negotiation and tension between city and king and between the communities themselves.

The fourth chapter looks to the interior of the city, attempting to show how the articulation of urban space, city planning, and architecture reflect responses to the new political and social realities of the period. I explore the layout of these cities and the advantages of their design, fortification, and infrastructure. I then examine the means of incorporating ancient sanctuaries in to the new city plan, along with the construction of new, centrally located sanctuaries and the meaning of their architectural order and decoration. I also treat domestic space, and demonstrate how the layout of housing blocks mirrored the concern for equality necessary for integrating diverse populations. Finally, I explore the way the Hellenistic monarchs inserted themselves into the physical fabric of

the city through palaces, sanctuaries dedicated to ruler cult, monumental statues, and public buildings.

This project ultimately seeks to provide a new approach to a period of great transition for the history of the Greek *polis* and a model for imperial interaction in the ancient Mediterranean. I conclude by stressing the degree to which the power of the kings was filtered and mediated through complex negotiations with cities and the limits traditional ties of ethnicity, religion, and identity placed on the authority and opportunism of the kings, while simultaneously providing a highly elaborated venue for that power. This study also seeks to understand strategies of resilience and adaptation for political communities in times of stress, collapse, and change.

TO
MEG

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In 304/3, in the campaigns leading up to the decisive confrontation between the Diadochs at Ipsos in 301, the forces of Kassandros and Demetrios Poliorketes, converging from Macedonia and Athens respectively, met in the open plains of Achaia Phthiotis in eastern Thessaly. Diodoros provides a detailed report on the maneuvers between Kassandros and Demetrios, including an abortive *synoikismos* between Phthiotic Thebai, a strong and strategically important *polis* on the west coast of Achaia Phthiotis, and a valuable maritime outlet into the Pagasitic Gulf, and two otherwise unattested poleis: Dion and Orchomenos. After strengthening his hold on Thessalian Pherai, Kassandros attempted this *synoikismos* in order to brace his position against the arrival of Demetrios:

> μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀντρῶνας μὲν καὶ Πτελεὸν προσηγάγετο, Δίον δὲ καὶ Ὀρχομενὸν μετοικίζοντος εἰς Θήβας Κασάνδρου διεκώλυσε μετοικισθῆναι τὰς πόλεις. Κάσανδρος δὲ θεωρῶν τὰ πράγματα τῷ Δημητρίῳ κατὰ νοῦν χωροῦντα Φερὰς μὲν καὶ Θήβας ἁδροτέραις φρουραῖς παρεφύλαττε, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν πᾶσαν εἰς ἕνα τόπον ἀθροίσας ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον.
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> Afterwards he won over Antrones and Pteleon, and when Kassandros would have transported the people (*metoikizein*) of Dion and Orchomenos into Thebai, he prevented the transplanting of the cities. But when Kassandros saw that Demetrios' undertakings were prospering, he first protected Pherai and Thebes with stronger garrisons; and then, after collecting his whole army into one place, he encamped over against Demetrios.[1]

This passage strikingly illustrates the role that merging independent communities into a centralized urban center played in the military strategies of the Diadochs and their agents. We catch precisely the same dynamic at work over a century later in a recently discovered Rhodian decree from 197-196, which mentions the contemporary struggle between the Seleukids and Ptolemies in Karia.[2] Antiochos III, in the midst of this campaign, after wresting several cities from Ptolemy V's control,[3] almost certainly orchestrated the *synoikismos* enacted between two small Karian poleis located on the front line of this conflict, Thoadasa and Killara/Kildara, as a direct result of this conquest: καὶ συμπολιτεύεσθαι Κιλλαρεῖς καὶ Θ[εωδαεῖς] (l.13). Between these two events, perhaps hundreds of such unions were achieved at the behest of royal authorities, dramatically altering the landscape of the Greek world. The urbanization and consolidation of poleis played a vital role in engineering empire in the Hellenistic world, a process that played out against a backdrop of constant conflict between large imperial forces. It is this phenomenon that is the subject of this study.

Why interfere so extensively in the civic life of subject communities? The agglomeration of urban centers of course has clear military and political advantages, as the cases above demonstrate. The centralization of population and resources provided ready access to the manpower and material of war. The reinforcement of strategic poleis not only would have provided the kings and their

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[1] Diodorus 20.110.3.
[2] *Editio princeps.* Blümel 2000. See also the commentary in the paperback edition of Ma 1999: 308 (Ma 2002) and Reger 2004:147. See also Dreyer 2002.
[3] Blümel 2000: l.10: κυριεῦσαι τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀντι[ό]χ[υ-- | Κιλλάρων καὶ Θωδαων].

generals with a strong base of power, but also the concentration of cities meant fewer garrisons, more secure mechanisms of control, fewer opportunities for subject cities to revolt or change sides, and a less dispersed, multi-axial front. New urban layouts provided an opportunity for more efficient urban planning and modern circuit walls and defenses suitable for methods of siege warfare of the age. Indeed, *synoikismoi* carried out by supra-polis or imperial powers as a means of military strength and security have a long history in the Greek world, as in the case of the consolidation of the population of the Chalkidike into Olynthos at the behest of Macedonia on the eve of the Peloponnesian war,[4] the synoikism of Mytilene during the war,[5] or the foundations of Messenia and Megalopolis in the fourth century, aided by the *strategos* of the Boiotians, Epaminondas, clearly bear out. On the other side of the equation, *dioikismos*, the process of dividing a polis into villages and decentralizing population, was also frequently employed in times of war throughout Greek history, as a means of reducing the potential of regions to resist the advance of imperial powers.[6] However, in the late fourth and early third centuries, the degree to which the imperial forces of the Hellenistic kings intervened in the pattern of settlement in their kingdoms is without parallel. The number of foundations executed by *synoikismos* is extremely large, and as new cities were born or old cities reinforced out of the populations of conquered poleis and *komai*, many old settlements and cities passed from history. We are well informed about these foundations, although we rarely get the precision of the immediate political and military circumstances as we do in the case of the attempted *synoikismos* between Thebai, Dion, and Orchomenos or the union of Theodasa and Killara. Many were probably motivated by immediate strategic concerns, but others clearly had broader aspirations. While military and political motivations are evident behind these foundations, construing them purely as such does little to advance our understanding of the interaction between king and city in the Hellenistic world and the role of city building, *synoikismos*, and urbanization in the birth of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Restructuring political communities surely had as many pitfalls as advantages; it uprooted populations from their homelands, demolished infrastructure, challenged traditional identities and civic bodies, threatened sanctuaries and cultic communities, upset regional power structures, disrupted local social and economic ties and the power of elites, and created new nodes of social and political resistance. A full consideration of this process must go beyond a simple consideration of the military and strategic goals of imperial powers. This study seeks to provide a systematic and nuanced investigation of the role that synoikized city foundations played in the negotiation of power and identity between kings and civic communities in the early Hellenistic period.

1. APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

This project is the result of several interlocking aims and assumptions. Foremost, this study is motivated by a desire to write a limited, yet synthetic, investigation of a key aspect of the "Hellenistic" polis at a critical point of its notional birth and evolution. Proceeding from the assumption that loss of autonomy does not fundamentally change the essential aspects of the polis (*viz.* strong civic identity, energetic independent action, and real agency), but that the Hellenistic monarchies that followed Alexander did bring about real changes to the political framework of the

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[4] Thucydides 1.58.
[5] Mytilene: Thucydides 3.2-3.
[6] *E.g.*: Sparta's treatment of Mantineia (Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.2.7) and Philip II's policy in Phokis: Diodoros 16.6.1-4.

Greek city, this project seeks to isolate an important phenomenon at the intersection of civic autonomy and imperial power. Second, the fact that a fragmented, multi-state ecology with strong, competing civic identities, is a basic challenge to forming larger regional states presents a real problem for the creation and maintenance of large imperial superstructures. In the history of modern nation states, those with the strongest degree of fragmentation and autonomous city-state identity are the slowest to unify, the lateness of Italian unification being typical of this phenomenon. The unsettled political landscape after Philip II and Alexander and the rivalry between the heirs to power made negotiation with cities a central aspect of royal policy. At the same time the centripetal force of royal power was constantly being countered by a constant tension with the centrifugal nature of the fractured political landscape and the tenacity of local identities and priorities.

Further, this study maintains the importance of urbanization, particularly the process of city foundation through synoikism, to the policy of the Hellenistic kings. Recent work cataloguing Hellenistic foundations provides for greater statistical qualification of the way in which cities were formed in Europe and Asia Minor. In particular Cohen's work updating Tscherikower's important *Die hellenistischen städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit,*[7] although it omits foundations for which there is only archaeological evidence, is an extremely useful compendium of the city foundations of the period. A telling statistic that emerges from Cohen's volume is that of the 91 entries where we know anything about how these Hellenistic settlements were founded, only 12 (13%) were actually new foundations settled on something approaching virgin sites rather than the refoundation of existing cities or reorganization and *synoikismos* of several communities, and the actual percentage is probably much lower.[8] Thus, the majority of the important royal foundations were the result of synoikism, and the other side of this phenomenon is the extensive elimination, destruction, or subordination of poleis, villages, and other communities, to larger centers. This reorganization not only of population but also of the urban and rural landscape in this period was clearly extensive and momentous, and it had a wide-ranging impact on regional and local power structures, patterns of settlement and landholding, local cults and sanctuaries, and regional economic patterns. The policy of centralization and urbanization clearly represents a key component of the imperial strategy of the successors, and while this fact has not gone entirely unnoticed in the previous scholarship, the largely non-archaeological approach of most histories of the period has left this crucial and complicated process in large part unexplored and under-evaluated. The royal foundations carried out by *synoikismos* form a coherent unit that provides a wealth of detail about the imperial strategies of the *diadochoi* and the centrality of urbanization and polis foundation in building empire. A systematic treatment helps to reorient the discussion of the strategies of the diadochoi beyond the motivations attributed by the literary sources or inferred from the royal correspondence as well as to illuminate the reaction and adaptation of individual poleis and the reshaping of larger areas and regional networks. Since hardly any settlements were created *ex novo*, the Diadochs focused on reshaping and consolidating the settlements under their control, creating a dynamic clearly marked by the tension between old identities and new orientations of power.

Of the more comprehensive or synthetic treatments of synoikism, Moggi's study *I Sinecismi Greci* takes the form of a catalogue with commentary and focuses almost exclusively on the literary and epigraphic sources and is chronologically limited to the archaic and classical periods.[9] Demand, in *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece*, adopts a more interpretive approach, but this study is

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[7] Tscherikower 1926.
[8] Cohen 1995: Appendix 5.
[9] Moggi 1976.

still structured as a case-by-case analysis, with little cross-comparison between regions.[10] In addition, her approach is limited by an almost exclusive focus on the literary sources, and a methodological concern that is focused primarily on isolating the reasons for instances of relocation.   The majority of treatments have been confined to focused, specialized articles focusing on one case, particularly commentaries on single inscriptions.[11] Briefer, more synthetic efforts have appeared, discussing *synoiksimos* as a political or literary concept,[12] or *sympoliteiai* inscriptions from a specific region, particularly parts of Asia Minor,[13] but no comprehensive study has been attempted, much less one focusing specifically on cases of royal involvement. One of the few, interdisciplinary treatments of the topic (albeit in a Roman context) has been the case of Augustus' foundation of Nikopolis out of several independent communities in Aitolia.[14]

The pace and publication of archaeological data has increased significantly in the last 50 years, shedding new light on old sites of great significance for the period. A more rigorous use of archaeological and epigraphic material opens up a much wider view of the synoikism process. It is only through the use of survey data and excavation results that issues of major significance, like changes in settlement patterns, evidence for destruction, and related issues can be approached. Similar topics of major import, like the role of sanctuaries and cultic transfer, or the economic implications of the centralization and urbanization of regions also can be treated with a much higher degree of detail and specificity through such an approach. Wherever possible this treatment seeks to adopt an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the foundation, destruction, and synoikism processes. This opens the discussion up from focusing strictly on the institutional details of such unions, the parties involved, and the agency through which they were motivated. It also allows us to probe the reports of the literary and documentary sources and nuance or test the reports they provide.

Though fully deserving of a comprehensive study in its own right, the *institution* of synoikism or sympoly is not the exclusive focus of this work in the same way that related institutional phenomena such as *isopolitieia* or the *Bundesstaat*-type of *sympoliteia* have been exhaustively treated in scholarly monographs.[15] As such, this work does not aim at a comprehensive treatment of all instances of *synoikismos* or royal city foundation and does not present a full catalogue or dossier of the relevant cases. Rather, the aim has been to move beyond a strictly institutional approach, focusing on wider issues of economy, religion, and urbanism, and the wider experimental context of this phenomenon. In other words, while attempting to explore the role of foundation, destruction, and urban realignment in the policies and strategies of the Hellenistic kings in this study, I also seek to shed substantial light on the role of the communities affected by this process, to elucidate a more nuanced picture of the confrontation between king and polis and interstate and intercommunity relations in this period.

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[10] Demand 1990.

[11] *E.g.:* Athens: Gouschin 1999 and Jones 1999; Rhodes: Gabrielsen 2000; Mykonos: Reger 2001; Elis: Roy 2002; Mantineia: Hodkinson 1981; Teos and Lebedos: Ager 1998; Latmos and Pidasa: Blümel 1997 and Wörrle 2003; and Nikopolis: Purcell. The scattered and invaluable commentaries of the Roberts on individual inscriptions from Asia Minor are too numerous to list here, but see, for example, the treatment of the sympolieia between Teos and Kyrbissos (Robert 1976) see also the remarks in Robert 1962 54-69.

[12] Synoikismos/Sympoliteia as a political concept: Musiolek 1981; Cobet 1983; Schmitt 1994; and most recently Pascual 2007; Encyclopedia treatments: Kahrstedt; Rhodes 2001a; Rhodes 2001b Hansen and Nielsen 2004.

[13] *E.g.:* Zimmermann 1992 (Lykia) and Reger 2004 (Karia).

[14] Isager 2001.

[15] *Isopoliteia*: Gawantka 1975; *Bundesstaat*-type *sympoliteia*: Giovannini 1971 and Beck 1997.

2. CHRONOLOGY

The chronological span selected requires some comment, especially since this discussion does not strictly or uniformly confine itself to the limits formally established here. While the bulk of the discussion focuses on the Early Hellenistic Period, roughly the death of Alexander to the 289, the conventional end of the period of the Diadochoi, and the date of the Seleukid conquest of Asia Minor, much comparative material has been drawn from later foundations, *synoikismoi*, and *sympoliteiai* in the later Hellenistic period, as well as the important models for Hellenistic synoikism: the Classical examples from the fifth and fourth centuries, in particular the models of Rhodes, Kos, and Megalopolis. I have adopted this approach in order to limit the focus of the discussion to this critical period in which most of the major, extensive foundations were created and in which the structures of Hellenistic empire were really in the process of being formed and imposed. This approach allows for a more comprehensive study of this crucial period and a more intensive investigation of the details of selected cases studies, in order to move into a deeper discussion of the nuances of the process of interaction between kings and cities in this area. However, this study has somewhat broader aspirations, seeking both to provide a model for approaching and understanding the process of how communities can unite to form a single political community throughout the Hellenistic period and a wider discussion that will be relevant to the study of *synoikismos* throughout Greek history.

3. CASE STUDIES

A comprehensive consideration of all of the royal foundations of this period, even all of those founded by *synoikismos*, would be impossible. Because this study seeks to approach the topic thematically, rather than focusing on a city-by-city catalogue, I have been selective in terms of the cases considered in the following chapters. I have chosen rather to follow several key case studies that are significant both because of their importance (*i.e.* their size and scale) and the degree to which telling evidence, particularly new archaeological evidence, is available. I have also chosen to follow these cases as representative and comparative examples of different regions or founders. Thus, central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, the Troad, Ionia, and parts of inland Aisa Minor are all represented, as are major foundations by the principal Diadochs: Antigonos, Demetrios, Lysimachos, and Kassandros.

The goal has been to follow a core group of rich and representative cases across major thematic issues. Thus, most of the same cases are brought to bear in the discussion of shifting settlement patterns, economy, religion, and architecture and identity across each chapter. This means that very interesting cases do not figure into this study. Nevertheless, many cases are discussed in passing by way of comparison and in order to fill out the naturally lacunose nature of the evidence. This approach aims at readability, and the first chapter provides an orientation into the history, landscape, and background of these foundations and how these key regions were reshaped by the foundations of the early Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, a central position of this study is that there is no single rubric for how these processes worked, and while these case studies do identify important trends, central issues, and patterns of interaction and adaption, this study also seeks to stress the primacy of local variations and the varieties of experience in this confrontation. Thus, I have tried to include as many cases as possible to show both patterns and variations.

4. TERMINOLOGY

A word should be provided here about the use of the Greek terms denoting various kinds of foundations and unions in this period. Of course the terminology of political structures used by our sources were never employed as technical terms and there is a good deal of inconsistency and overlap between how this terminology is used. Epigraphic sources are somewhat more consistent, but caution should be exercised in putting too much stock in the precise language of sources in this area. More important for the purposes of this study is unraveling how historians and archaeologists use this terminology and laying out precisely what is suggested under these headings.

The terms συνοικισμός and its cognates συνοίκισις, συνοικίζειν, *etc.,* literally meaning, "founding/establishing a living space [for people] together," cover a wide semantic range. It can refer to a union of people, *e.g.* through wedlock (Diodoros 18.23 and Plutarchos, *Solon* 20) or of political entities. When used of states, it can simply mean settle, resettle, rebuild, reoccupy, or repopulate. After the destruction and depopulation of Lysimacheia at the hands of the Thracians in the time of Antiochos III, the rebuilding and repopulating of the city is called a *synoikismos* by our sources.[16] Similarly, in the letter of Antiochos III to the people of Sardeis in 213, following the siege against Achaios, the king orders for the provisioning of supplies for the rebuilding of the city, and this too is called a *synoikismos.*[17] Further complicating matters, the term μετοικίζειν is also frequently used synonymously with *synoikizein* in our sources.[18]

By contrast, the terms συμπολιτεία and συμπολιτεύειν, are used in a somewhat more restricted sense, but there is still a considerable overlap in precisely what they designate in the sources. Scholars tend to use the term *sympoliteia* as a technical designation for the merging of autonomous communities into a single state, either multiple communities into a *koinon* or league (the *Bundesstaat*-type of *sympoliteia*)[19] or the merger of two or more poleis into a single political community. In general this term designates the same thing as *synoikismos,* where synoikismos is used for unions in the Classical period and *sympoliteia* is used for the Hellenistic period. In sum, this is all a matter of convention, and even in the modern literature there is a good deal of inconsistency and confusion.

In antiquity, as Rhodes's article in the *Neue Pauly,* admirably lays out, *sympolitieia,* is used by our sources to cover a variety of arrangements.[20] In addition, in cases of what we would term a *sympoliteia* or *synoikismos,* no precise term is necessarily used in the historical or epigraphic sources or a term is used that does not follow modern conventions. For example, no exact term is used for the union of Helisson and Mantinea in the early fourth century,[21] and the union of Latmos and Pidasa in 323-313 is called a *politeuma.* In the case of Smyrna and Magnesia under Sipylos, the former "granted

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[16] Appian, *Syriake* I: καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος συνῴκιζε, τούς τε φεύγοντας τῶν Λυσιμαχέων κατακαλῶν, καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες ἐδούλευον ὠνούμενος, καὶ ἑτέρους προσκαταλέγων, καὶ βοῦς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ σίδηρον ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπιδιδούς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων ἐς ταχεῖαν ἐπιτειχίσματος ὁρμήν: πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ χωρίον ἐφαίνετο λαμπρῶς ἔχειν ἐπὶ ὅλῃ Θρᾴκῃ, καὶ ταμιεῖον εὔκαιρον ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὧν ἐπενόει πάντων ἔσεσθαι.
Polybios 18.51.7-8: Λυσιμαχεῖς δέ, παραλόγως ἀναστάτους γεγονότας ὑπὸ Θρακῶν, οὐκ ἀδικεῖν Ῥωμαίους κατάγων καὶ συνοικίζων: [8] ποιεῖν γὰρ τοῦτ᾽ ἔφη βουλόμενος οὐ Ῥωμαίοις τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβαλεῖν, Σελεύκῳ δ᾽ οἰκητήριον ἑτοιμάζειν.
[17] Gauthier 1989: 13 no. 1, line 13: εἰς τὸν συνοικισμὸν τῆς πόλεως.
[18] *E.g.* Diodoros 13.75.1 on Rhodes and 15.94.1 on Megalopolis.
[19] Giovannini 1971.
[20] Rhodes 2001b.
[21] *SEG* 37 340

politeia" to the latter,[22] and similar language is used with Perea and Melitaia in 213-212, where *politeuein* is used.[23] The term *sympoliteia* can also be extended to grants of citizenship to an individual, where the term *politeia* would be more readily expected.[24] The term *sympoliteia* also appears in cases that modern scholars would more conventionally classify as arrangements of *isopoliteia,* as in Polybios 28.14.13, describing the relationship between Kydonia and Apollonia on Krete in 170/169.[25]

This brief survey shows the range and overlap of the terms *sympoliteia* and *synoikismos*. The lack of consistency in modern scholarly discussions further complicates matters, as does the general divide between usage across the entirely artificial separation between the Classical and Hellenistic periods. What is more important is what is understood by these terms. Scholars such as Hornblower, in his illuminating discussion of the *synoikismoi* carried out by the Hekatomnid dynast Mausolos in fourth-century Karia (an important model for the Hellenistic period), have attempted to classify types of unions that fall under the general heading of *synoikismos* or *sympoliteia* based on the important criterion of population movement and settlement pattern. Traditionally, but not always, the term *synoikismos* is used to imply cases where there is significant change in the pattern of settlement and usually one or more polis center is eliminated through the union, whereas *sympoliteia* is used for cases of political union that do not entail major settlement change. Hornblower develops this distinction as the main criterion for distinguishing types of unions and foundations, stressing there are essentially two types: political synoikism and physical synoikism.[26] In the case of the former, the union entails no change to the physical distribution of population and the existing urban centers continue unchanged. In cases of physical synoikism, new centers are established and frequently old population sites are eliminated. This distinction has almost universally been accepted by modern scholars,[27] and the terms frequently appear in commentaries on inscriptions or in discussions of unions, almost as technical terms. Does this distinction really hold up in actuality? Hansen and Nielsen in their discussion of the Classical *synoikismoi*, determine that there are no attested examples of "purely political" synoikism.[28] The *locus classicus* of a so-called political synoikism (and indeed the most famous example of synoikism) is that of the unification of Attika in the time of Theseus. The *communis opinio* is that this unification did not change the settlement pattern of Attica, and the previously independent polis centers were simply converted to deme centers.[29] But the case of Athens is obscured by its place in the semi-mythological past in our sources, and it is not a useful case for comparison alongside historical *synoikismoi*. The distinction between "physical" and "political" synoikism, therefore, seems to be illusory, and while Hansen and Nielsen's survey covers only the classical poleis, I know of know case in the Hellenistic period where patterns of settlement went unchanged in such an arrangement.

We should thus look for more solid criteria for defining what should be understood under

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[22] *Staastverträge* 492.

[23] *Syll.*³ 546. B.

[24] *E.g. IG* IV² 1 59.

[25] ὑπαρχούσης γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐ μόνον φιλίας, ἀλλὰ συμπολιτείας πρὸς Ἀπολλωνιάτας καὶ καθόλου κοινωνίας πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις νομιζομένων δικαίων, καὶ περὶ τούτων κειμένης ἐνόρκου συνθήκης παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἰδαῖον, παρασπονδήσαντες τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιάτας κατελάβοντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας κατέσφαξαν, τὰ δ᾽ ὑπάρχοντα διήρπασαν, τὰς (δὲ) γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν διανειμάμενοι κατεῖχον. See further the comments of Reger 2004: 148 on this passage.

[26] Hornblower 1982 and Hornblower 1990.

[27] *E.g*: Kahrstedt 1932; Moggi 1976; Demand 1990; Davies 1992: 28.

[28] Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 116.

[29] Luce 1998.

the term *synoikismos*. Hansen and Nielsen propose the following distinctions between types of synoikism: "(a) a *polis* is created by merging a number of *komai* or *demoi*; (b) a *polis* is created by merging two or more *poleis*; (c) a *polis* is reinforced by absorbing one or more neighbouring *komai* or *demoi*; (d) a *polis* is reinforced by absorbing one or more neighbouring *poleis*; (e) possible variants are a combination of (a) and (b) and a combination of (c) and (d)."[30] In terms of urbanism these distinctions are extremely clear, and indeed provide helpful distinctions. There are important structural differences between multi-polis synoikisms on the scale of Megalopolis, engineered by a committee, instances where a larger polis swallows up its smaller neighbor, or cases where villages gradually come together through shared interests over a long period of time. However, creating typologies of cases based solely on these criteria does not provide significant gains in understanding the larger issues related to *synoikismos*. A further criterion, and one particularly important for this study is the involvement of hegemonic or imperial powers in the creation of these synoikized polities. As we have seen, this occurred in the Classical period, but especially frequently in the Hellenistic.

In this discussion, I generally use the term *synoikismos* to denote the union of two or more communities, whether poleis or *komai*. I assume that this process always had demographic and urbanistic consequences, and that this was never simply a political alliance. I also consider the traditional distinction between *synoikismos* and *sympoliteia* unhelpful and generally eschew the term *sympoliteia* in favor of *synoikismos* unless reproducing the language of the original source.

5. OVERVIEW AND ORIENTATION

The subsequent chapters seek to address a wide variety of issues pertaining to the process of merging multiple communities in an imperial context. The following overview seeks to provide an introduction to some of the key issues developed in the following chapters:

Chapter one is primarily concerned with reconstructing the physical setting. How is a *synoikismos* under imperial direction achieved? The associated literary testimonies almost unanimously portray this as a process of displacement and destruction, with the agents and armies of the kings reducing poleis and forcibly transferring their populations to new, centralized urban foundations. Chapter 1 of this study closely examines the available archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence to test this picture of strong, violent imperial intervention and the methods that kings employed in dealing with founding new polis centers. The discussion seeks to unravel whether this impression given by the literary sources is in actuality nothing more than a historical *topos*, with little bearing on the reality of the actual process of *synoikismos*. What is at stake in getting a clearer picture of how these foundations were achieved (*i.e.* by actual violence or some other means of either coercion or negotiation) is a more nuanced view of the relations between kings, imperial structures, and cities. Ascribing some agency to poleis and political communities ruled by kings is an important corrective to the history of past scholarship of this period. To what extent did royal foundations occasion resistance on the part of political groups? How did they seek to reconstitute themselves in moments of weakness on the part of the central authorities, and is there a discernible pattern in what communities reemerge? Finally, how does the process of *synoikismos* directed by royal authority differ from interstate sympoly agreements between two autonomous poleis? To simplify greatly, instances of sympoliteia usually were the result of the union of a weaker and a

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[30] Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 117.

stronger polis. This is the case in many of the *synoikismoi* of the classical period (*e.g.* of Mantineia and Helisson) in the fourth century.[31] The motivations for these unions could be complex, and initiated by the interests of either partner. Often the stronger polis sought to strengthen its position and increase its territory.

The second main goal of chapter 1 is to map changes to the settlement patterns of the regions targeted for synoikism. What poleis were involved in the centralization processes, and how did the destruction and creation of polis centers redraw regions? Why were these areas chosen and how did they serve the interests of the kings and prop up their claims to territory, kingdom, and royalty? Chapter 1 reviews the evidence for the shifts in settlement patterns and precisely where urban centers disappeared and how the *synoikismoi* affected the concentration of population and the dispersal of settlements throughout the countryside. Where available this study makes use of evidence from intensive archaeological survey, but where this is lacking a careful consideration of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence is employed to map the effects of *synoikismos* on regional settlement.

Chapter 2 focuses on the economic impact of *synoikismos*. How did the centralization of population and the focus on new infrastructure reshape the economies of these regions and how does that intersect with the royal economy? The second chapter examines the effects of this planned urbanization for the reorganization of economic activity both within and across regions and how this reflects the policies of imperial powers. I argue that there was a conscious strategy of setting up wider economic zones to combat the natural fragmentation of the Greek landscape and ensure greater mobility and access to resources, serving both the interests of the king and the individual cities. After considering some royal letters that hint at the economic concerns of the kings and cities and shed some light on the costs that these foundations entailed, I examine the crucial role of restructuring land tenure and expanding infrastructure in the form of roads, ports, and markets that linked these newly expanded urban centers. I then present the evidence for trade networks from several of these cities, before and after the foundations and refoundations of the kings. Through a careful study of the evidence from transport amphorae I demonstrate that there is a quantifiable expansion of commerce in this period. Finally, the chapter explores the relationship of foundations and urbanization to the creation of *koina*, or federal leagues, that united even larger areas in economic cooperation through the creation of a common coinage, a common treasury and other forms of economic, political, and religious interdependence. I conclude by asserting the centrality of economic concerns for the policies of the kings, rescuing this line of inquiry from recent primitivist interpretations of the ancient economy that have sought to minimize the importance of economic behavior in the ancient world.

Chapter 3 shifts the focus to religion. How does a *synoikismos*, particularly one promoted by royal authority, affect the religious identities and practices of communities? In chapter 3 I seek to explore the role of religion and shared cultic identity in forging these new communities and the degree to which negotiating these ancient traditions established a dialogue between king and city. I begin by tracking the continuity and discontinuity of cults across the destruction and creation of cities, and isolate the importance of ritual, cult, and the manipulation of symbols for creating new polities, as well as the potential of these same factors to undermine political unity. In every new royal foundation in this period there is evidence for the persistence of cults that were transferred to the new urban center from the old polis centers, many of which became the central cult of the

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[31] *SEG* 37 340 = *RO* 14.

foundation. However, there is also evidence for the continuing significance and attachment to cults in their original setting and a lingering importance to the landscape. Does this religious attachment explain why so many of these synoikisms ultimately failed, resulting in the breakaway and reconstitution of the original cities? On the other hand there are also a number of instances where there is evidence for the complete abandonment of sites of cult after a population transfer, showing that a single rubric for understanding how cults are incorporated into a new foundation is not possible.   Further, how did new sanctuaries serve to focalize political communities in new foundations?   How do the alternately divisive and cohesive natures of religion figure into a synoikism? Moving beyond the evidence for cults and sanctuaries, how does ritual and ritual action figure into the development of political communities in this period? Using overlooked evidence for ritual practices in synoikized poleis, I investigate how ritual action served to preserve and accommodate the unique identities of the constituent communities of the synoikized communities, while simultaneously serving to establish a common sense of belonging.

Finally I consider the religious dimension of kingship.   How were the Hellenistic kings incorporated into the religious landscape of the political community as founders and manifest gods? Did this create tension with the traditional religious identities of these communities or provide an opportunity to invest royal political authority with a religious aspect?   In other words, do religious dimensions of a political community serve to limit or prop up royal power in this setting?   These issues are all considered in the third chapter. What deserves stress is the central role of religion in creating a new, common polity and the degree to which it was a stage for negotiation and tension between city and king and between the communities themselves.

Chapter 4 focuses on architecture and commemoration. How does the physical setting of the synoikized polis accommodate the new social and political reality of the combined citizen body? How do monuments, civic architecture, and even domestic space seek to accommodate competing traditional identities and effect and legitimate a new composite social and political community? How does the king fit into this landscape?

Finally, what are the consequences of synoikism for the political experience of the synoikized population. The establishment of population groups from the constituent poleis within the new city foundation, often organized into specific neighborhoods or city quarters, has the potential to create competing factions and promote stasis within the community.   How was the political life of these cities affected by this situation, and did it play a significant role in the breakaway of incorporated political communities or the domination of certain elements? How do these political disadvantages intersect with the political advantages of synoikism for the Hellenistic kings?

This project seeks to provide a new approach to a period of great transition for the history of the Greek polis and a model for imperial interaction in the ancient Mediterranean. These issues demonstrate the degree to which the power of the kings was filtered and mediated through complex negotiations with cities and the limits that traditional ties of ethnicity, religion, and identity placed on the authority and opportunism of the kings, while simultaneously providing a highly elaborated venue for that power. This work also seeks to understand strategies of resilience and adaptation for political communities in times of stress, collapse, and change. Throughout it remains firmly rooted in the material setting of the local interaction between king and city and the complex internal interworkings and negotiations of the synoikized polis.   Against the ideological backdrop of king-city relationships, so fruitfully explored by recent scholarly works, the following chapters assert the potency of the archaeological record as an eloquent source for reconstructing the practical and pragmatic tension between local communities and supra-poliad imperial structures.

1

Royal Foundation, *Synoikismos*, and Settlement
Unifying Communities in the Early Hellenistic Period

1. Introduction: Regions

This chapter seeks to unravel the politics of settlement in an imperial context. The period following the death of Alexander was marked not only by constant warfare between his generals and successors and competition for land, resources, and manpower, but also by intensive building programs and a major focus on establishing new urban centers. In their effort to carve out physical kingdoms, the emerging Hellenistic kings radically interfered with the traditional status and alignment of subject communities and massively restructured populations to form important new polities. An inevitable corollary to this process of foundation was the destruction or evacuation of existing poleis to populate or strengthen new cities. As the following sections will demonstrate, this process was undertaken by all of the successors in one form or another, from mainland Greece to Asia Minor. The abandonment of cities and villages and the formation of new polities resulted in the centralization of population in key regions across northern Greece and Asia Minor, and brought with it a concomitant rise in urbanization and infrastructure. Almost all of these major foundations were in fact *synoikismoi*, the unification of multiple poleis and villages into a single political and urban center, absorbing or subordinating communities and populations into a single, centralized state.

The merging of these communities to form a new urban center preserves a basic point of contact and conflict between the authority of a new age of kings and kingdoms and the traditional form of Greek urban and political life. Historians since Heuss[1] have grappled with the precise role that cities and city statuses played within an imperial superstructure in the Hellenistic period and have labored over how traditional Greek political and economic values like *autonomia* and *autarkeia* fit into the radically altered political landscape after Chaironeia. Multiple factors have breathed new life into the study of the Hellenistic polis in recent decades, notably the dismissal of the formerly orthodox assumption that the polis as a useful concept degenerated or disappeared in the Hellenistic period[2] and the proliferation of new archeological data derived from excavation and intensive survey. New epigraphic studies, focusing on the local details of the cultural and social life of Hellenistic poleis, have also done much to rescue the polis as the locus of *ideological* interaction between kings and cities, revealing a process of negotiation that lays bare some of the fundamental structures of empire.[3] This study builds on recent advances in our understanding of the Hellenistic polis, and asserts the importance of the practical, physical, religious, and symbolic aspects of the polis in this period for understanding the dynamic interaction between city and empire.

The following sections present a detailed survey of the archaeological and historical evidence for the effects of Hellenistic imperial policy on settlement patterns in northern Greece and Asia Minor. They trace and present the data for the extent and character of the individual synoikisms and foundations, and explore the political context of these events and how they reshaped the regions in which they were located. What emerges is a picture of great disruption and political and social

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[1] Heuss 1937.

[2] This view is embodied by *e.g.* Ehrenburg 1969: 348; *cf.* Runciman 1991. See Gruen 1993 for an important and early objection to this position.

[3] In particular, the work of Ma 1999 has offered significant advances.

change for these regions but also a consistent resilience on the part of communities and a lingering attachment to the original orientation of the landscape. There is often good archaeological and epigraphic evidence that many of these sites persisted as urban centers after they were supposedly destroyed, relegated to the status of villages (*komai*) or in some cases reemerging as fully-fledged poleis. Further, while the literary sources, often reporting on these foundations centuries later, preserve much invaluable information, there is compelling evidence that must be evaluated with considerable caution. The *topos* of destruction and consolidation pervades many of the reports from the sources covering this period, but when paired with the archaeological evidence, there is much less evidence for destruction and violent sack in the process engineering of these foundations than the sources indicate. Thus a picture of much greater nuance emerges, with a wider role for continuity, negotiation, and consensus. Nevertheless, there is no distinctive blueprint for how these processes are achieved, and each case presents its own set of unique circumstances. Consideration of each of these regions in turn reveals both instructive patterns and aberrations in the settlement history of the late fourth and early third centuries.

This chapter will present the evidence for settlement shift and foundation organized by region and city. This study follows four key regions – Macedonia and Aegean Thrace, the Troad, Ionia, and Thessaly – areas where the Greek polis was the main (if not the only) form of political organization and which received the most intensive urbanization in the early Hellenistic period. This treatment of the instances of royal foundation and *synoikismos* is by no means exhaustive, but it does discuss the majority of the important cases that fall within the first generation or so of the diadachoi, with continuing reference to comparative cases that fall both chronologically before and after the main period under consideration here. In each of these instances, the examination of the evidence is as exhaustive as possible, focusing heavily on new archaeological research that in many cases calls into question the traditional picture of these foundations and indeed the policies of the successors as a whole. The presentation of this material forms the basis for understanding how communities were brought together in an imperial context to form a single, large political community with a substantially urbanized center. Subsequent chapters will build on this information, continuing to follow these regions and case studies in order to explore the consequences of *synoikismos* and imperial state building for broader issues of economy and shifting economic zones (chapter 2), religious and civic identity (chapter 3), and the architectural and urbanistic form of the early Hellenistic polis (chapter 4).

2. MACEDONIA, GREECE, AND THRACE UNDER KASSANDROS

It is really with Kassandros that we see the first indications of significant urban foundations as royal policy among the *diadochoi*, and it may be the example of his *Baupolitik* that initiated the flurry of urbanization in the subsequent decades of the fourth and third centuries. Kassandros' major foundations appear to have been part of a single concept, planned and instituted in a single stroke. The date of the foundation of Kassandreia in 316/315 is certain,[4] as is the synoikismos of Thebes, perhaps slightly later or earlier in 316/315,[5] and it is highly likely that the foundation of Thessalonikeia took place in the same year, on the occasion of his marriage to the city's namesake Thessalonike, the daughter of Philip II.

Philip II and Alexander had of course provided powerful models for the extension of Macedonian imperialism. But even though they had founded significant settlements, notably

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[4] Diodoros 19.52.2; *Marmor Parium* (*FGrH* 239 F B14).
[5] Diodoros 19.61-62; *Marmor Parium* (*FGrH* 239 F B14).

Philippoi in 356 and Kalindoia in the late fourth century, the expansionist policies of Macedonia focused heavily on the destruction of autonomous poleis and the dispersal of population. According to Demosthenes, Philip destroyed Olynthos, Methone, Apollonia and thirty-two other poleis in Thrace,[6] and Hypereides maintains that Phillip expelled the inhabitants of forty poleis in the Chalkidike after the destruction of Olynthos in 348.[7] Even adjusting for hyperbole on the part of these orators, there is good reason to believe that more were involved than the three specifically named by Demosthenes.[8] After the Phokians had surrendered to Philip in 346, Macedonian armies destroyed their cities, numbering twenty-two in all,[9] and the inhabitants relocated to scattered *komai*.[10] These instances of *dioikismos* characterized Philip's relations with the Greek world. Alexander's famous destruction of Thebes continued this tactic, and very little actual building can be attributed to Alexander in Greece or Asia Minor outside of dedications and benefactions. It is no accident that the earliest foundations of Kassandros symbolically and physically reversed the previous policies of his predecessors on the Macedonian throne.

Kassandreia

Kassandreia, built on or very near the site of classical Poteidaia, was created out of the synoikism of Poteidaia, the survivors of Olynthos, and the other settlements on the peninsula of Pallene and other nearby towns, ultimately constituting most of the poleis of the former Chalkidian *koinon*.[11] Nothing is known of the state or status of Poteidaia at the time of the foundation of Kassandreia. The city's fortunes had been bleak over the past century, and in 356 Philip had compelled the Poteidaians to submit to Olynthos,[12] giving their city and territory to the latter and subjecting the Poteidaians to *andrapodismos*.[13] Evidently the city of Poteidaia was not destroyed at this point,[14] and Demosthenes seems to suggest that it may have received new settlers, possibly from Olynthos.[15] Kassandros reassembled the surviving Poteidaians, as well as the survivors of Olynthos, whose abandonment of the post-348 settlement at Olynthos is archaeologically visible.[16]

Unfortunately extremely little is known of the site of Kassandreia. Our best evidence for its civic and religious life in the early Hellenistic period comes from several inscriptions dealing with privileges granted by the kings Kassandros and Lysimachos. Three of these documents are likely to have the same provenance, the *metochi* of the Monastery of Docheiarion at Moudania, suggesting that one of the public buildings of Kassandreia was located in the vicinity.[17] Two documents, *Syll.³* 332,[18] a donation of Kassandros to Perdikkas, and *SEG* 47 940,[19] an *ateleia* grant of Kassandros to a certain

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[6] 9.26.

[7] *Frag.* 80

[8] Theopompos fr. 27

[9] Demosthenes 18.36, 41; 19.65, 141; Aischines 2.162; Pausanias 10.3.2.

[10] Diodoros 16.60.2; Demosthenes 19.81.

[11] Diodorus 19.51-52; Strabo 7 frag. 25-27.

[12] Demosthenes 6.20,7.10,23.107–8; *cf.* Diodoros 16.8.3–5.

[13] Diodoros 16.8.5.

[14] Alexander 1963: 91.

[15] Demosthenes 20.61; *cf.* Hammond and Griffith 1979: 361.

[16] Diodoros 19.52.2. For the archaeological evidence of the abandonment of the post-destruction settlement at Olynthos and its transfer into Kassandreia see: Robinson and Graham 1938: 9-13 and 1953: 106.

[17] Based on the correspondence of the archaeological and administrative authorities in Athens in 1937. See Vokotopoulou.

[18] Republished by Hatzopoulos 1987: 22-26 (ph.) from the unpublished notebooks of C. Edson. *Cf. SEG* 38 620.

[19] *Ed. pr.* I. Vokotopoulou in *Μνήμη* 39-50; ph. *Cf. SEG* 892.

Chairephanes, are both dated by the same eponymous priest and date to the period of 306-298. These brief documents shed a good deal of light on the details of the city just a few years after the synoikism.

The Refoundation of Thebes

The reconstruction of Thebes was a singular event. After the defeat of Thebes at the hands of a young Alexander in 335, with staggering losses of around 6,000 Theban men, the city was systematically leveled and the walls pulled down, and the surviving population was subjected to *andrapodismos*, with the exception of the priests.[20] Although the sources unanimously ascribe the decision to destroy Thebes to the council of Greek allies rather than to Alexander,[21] Alexander was surely not blind to the opportunity that lingering enmity toward the Thebans presented, and the destruction of Thebes was a powerful display of Macedonian power and a warning to other Greek poleis that would resort to arms. Alexander famously spared the Kadmeia, where a number of the chief cults of Thebes were located, along with the house of Pindar, out of respect for the great poet. Arrian extrapolates on the details of precisely what avoided destruction. Along with sparing the priests, the sacred land was not redistributed among the allies, but presumably remained attached to the sanctuaries of the gods and under direct control of the priests who continued to tend the shrines.[22]

Kassandros' synoikismos of Thebes twenty years later was a stark reversal of Alexander's policy. In addition, it coincided with the partial restitution of the people of Olynthos, a city emblematic of opposition to Philip, whose destruction was also a benchmark of growing Macedonian hegemony in the 340s. The symbolism of this act was subject to interpretation even in antiquity. Diodoros reports that Kassandros rebuilt the city of Thebes out of a desire for glory (φιλοδοξῆσαι βουλόμενος) and restored the remains of its population only after *persuading* (πείσας) the other members of the Boiotian *koinon*. He ascribes the willingness of poleis in Greece and Sicily to aid in the resettlement to "pity" and the "renown" of the city.[23] Pausanias, on the other hand, was convinced that Kassandros' actions were motivated by blind hatred of Alexander and his family.[24] Kassandros' personal antipathy toward Alexander was of course famous, and the two motives are hardly mutually exclusive, yet the foundation of Thebes was seized upon by Antigonos as an effective talking point in his propaganda war against Kassandros. Following the foundation of these cities, Antigonos called for an assembly of his army at Tyre, as well as the locals (τῶν παρεπιδημούντων), and denounced Kassandros, condemning his marriage to Thessalonike, and went so far as to issue a decree (ἔγραψε δόγμα) demanding that he once again raze the cities of Kassandreia, which now housed the Olynthians, and Thebes as enemies of the Macedonians, as well

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[20] Dinarchos 1.24; Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.7–9; Diodoros 17.7–14; Plutarch, *Alexander* 11.6–12.

[21] Arrian 1.9.9-10; Diodoros 17.14.1; Justin 11.3.6. For Alexander's treatment of Thebes, see further: Hurst 1989.

[22] Arrian 1.9.9-10.

[23] Diodoros 19.54: εἰκοστῷ δ᾽ ἔτει ὕστερον Κάσανδρος φιλοδοξῆσαι βουλόμενος καὶ πείσας τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἀνέστησε τὴν πόλιν τοῖς διασωζομένοις τῶν Θηβαίων. συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ πολλαὶ διά τε τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας ἔλεον καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς πόλεως· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστησαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ᾠκοδόμησαν κατὰ δύναμιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήματα πρὸς τὰς κατεπειγούσας χρείας ἀπέστειλαν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σικελίας, ἔτι δ᾽ Ἰταλίας.

[24] Pausanias, 9.7.2: δέ μοι τὰς Θήβας οἰκίσαι ὁ Κάσσανδρος κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀλεξάνδρου μάλιστα.

as release Alexander IV and Roxane.[25] To this decree Antigonos somewhat ironically appended a clause indicating the freedom and autonomy of the Greek cities. Antigonos' position underscores the fundamental significance of Kassandros' foundations: they were clear steps towards not only carving out a physical empire, but also asserting independence among the *diadochoi*. While Antigonos' public gesture may have been mainly addressed to the Macedonian army, the decision to issue a decree, especially one addressing the status of the Greek poleis, clearly included the Greek cities in its audience. It is unlikely that this would have found favor with many of the Greek poleis, and the balance of Greek opinion was likely in sympathy with Kassandros on this issue.

Kassandros' motivation for rebuilding Thebes and the reconstruction of the consequences of his policy require careful consideration. Cinzia Bearzot's analysis of the event provided the first detailed interpretation of Kassandros' policy. Bearzot suggested that the refoundation of Thebes was an act aimed primarily at the cities of the Peloponnese. In 316, Kassandros was violently contending for the control of these cities with Polyperchon, the former royal *epimeletes*, whose power base was now confined to this region after the recent defeat of his alliance with the queen mother Olympias. The revival of Thebes, in Bearzot's reconstruction, can be explained by Pausanias' description of the main supporters of the rebuilding and resettlement of Thebes: the Athenians, the people of Messene, and the Arkadians of Megalopolis.[26] The interests of Athens in this matter are of course clear, but those of the Messenians and Megapolitians are at first glance less so. Bearzot suggests that it was the connection of the Theban general Epaminondas in the foundation and support of these two cities that explains their interest in aiding in the refoundation of Thebes. Epaminondas was undoubtedly regarded as a *ktistes* in these two foundations, and doubtless received cult here.[27] Pausanias, in fact describes an iron statute of Epaminondas in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Messene, which stood beside the marble statues of the god, his sons, Apollo, the Muses and Herakles, as well as a representation of the polis of Thebes, Tyche, and Artemis Phosphoros.[28] The statue of Epaminondas, of different material and by a different sculptor, although clearly distinguished from the other statues by the methods of its facture, indicates the strong connection of the general to the city. While a cult of Epaminondas is not expressly attested at Megalopolis, it is likely that he was similarly honored in that city as well. It is striking and instructive that Kassandros' refoundation of Thebes appealed so strongly and thoroughly to cultic connections between Thebes and Messene and Megalopolis, themselves artificial creations and synoikismoi, and it was through this mechanism that the synoikismos of Thebes was initially enacted.

Yet, as Knoepfler has recently demonstrated, the connection between Epaminondas, Thebes, and the control of the Peloponnesian cities does not satisfactorily explain the complex situation at work in the revival of Thebes. Following Kassandros' restitution of Thebes it was not until three decades later that Thebes was reintegrated into the Boiotian *koinon*, which Knoepfler's

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[25] Diodoros 19.61.
[26] Pausanias 9.7.1.
[27] Bearzot 1997: 265-276
[28] Pausanias 4.31.10: πλεῖστα δέ σφισι καὶ θέας μάλιστα ἀγάλματα ἄξια τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρέχεται τὸ ἱερόν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, χωρὶς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἡρακλέους· πόλις τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμμιδος Τύχη τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις Φωσφόρος, τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λίθου Δαμοφῶν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο—Μεσσήνιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ τοῦτον ἄλλον γε οὐδένα λόγου ποιήσαντα ἀξίως οἶδα ἀγάλματα—, ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδου ἐκ σιδήρου τέ ἐστι καὶ ἔργον ἄλλου, οὐ τούτου.
For the topographical details of the passage see Habicht 1998: 43-44 and fig. 8. For the epigram on the statue base of Epaminondas, see Bearzot 1995.

detailed analysis of the chronology of the epigraphic documents has shown.[29] It was not until 287, after Demetrios Poliorketes had relinquished power in this region that Thebes was fully reintegrated into the *koinon*.

The widespread support of the refoundation of Thebes reported by the literary sources is elucidated by a remarkable document containing the subscription list of donors to the reconstruction of Thebes (*IG* VII 2419=*Syll.*[3] 337).[30] The document was set up in Thebes sometime after 304, and records, in two columns, the names of individual donors, poleis, and kings. The list reflects, as Holleaux demonstrated, the names of the donators over a period time, collated and published at a later date.[31] There are four entries for kings, one that is probably Damatrios, *i.e.* Demetiros Poliorketes (l.29), who appears possibly dedicating spoils taken from the Rhodians.[32] The Koans, Malians, and Antigoneians on the Troad, and possibly the Samothrakians all figure on the list. One of the most notable details of this document for our purposes, however, is the fact that certain donations are earmarked not for the reconstruction of the city, but for the gods. The mention of a "tenth" (δεκάτ[αν) in l. 33 followed closely by the verb ἀνέθεικε (l.27) seems to indicate clearly that these are donations set aside for the gods, and Holleaux convincingly restores this section as ἀνέθεικε [τοῖς θεοῖς τάλαν]- / τα ἑκατ[όν] in l. 27-28. As discussed above, most of the sacred land seems not to have been affected by the destruction of Thebes. Of the at least twenty-three sanctuaries of Thebes known in the Classical period, twelve of them were located on the Kadmeia, which was untouched and remained populated by at least a Macedonian garrison.[33] Several of the most important sanctuaries were located *extra muros*, such as the sanctuary of Zeus Hypatos on Mt. Hypation[34] and the cult of the Kaberioi. Of the sanctuaries excavated in the lower town, most of which are unexplored due to the overlay of modern Thíva, both the temple of Apollo Ismenios and an unidentified temple show no signs of destruction in the early Hellenistic period.[35]

This document highlights the extent to which the persistence of the shrines and cults of Thebes served as an integral focus of the effort to reconstruct Thebes. Although the balance of the donations preserved in the subscription list were for the reconstruction, a significant amount of money was also pledged to the gods.

Thessalonikeia

Kassandros' most lasting foundation was the creation of Thessalonikeia at the head of the Thermaic gulf in Mygdonia (**M 1A and B**). Owing to its strategic position, it soon became the μήτηρ ἡ πάσης Μακεδονίας[36] and the main commercial outlet of Macedonia. This region, part of Aegean Thrace, was traditionally the home of two distinct *ethne*, the Mygdones and the Krousaians. Many of these communities, however, had by this point had extensive contact with the Greek world by virtue of their involvement in trade and commerce and the presence of Greek colonies in the Chalkidike. By the late fourth century, the region was nominally subject to Macedonia, but there is

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[29] Knoepfler 2001.

[30] Text and commentary: Holleaux 1938. See also: *SEG* 2 339.

[31] Based on internal evidence: the individual Philokles, the future king of the Sidonians, for example, appears twice in the document with several donors between his two entries l. 18 and 27.

[32] [βα]σι[λεὺς Δαμάτριος] / δραχμ[ὰς – ἐν τὸ] / ἐληοχ[ρίστιον ἀπὸ τῶν] /πὰρ Ῥοδ[ίων λαφύρων] /δεκάτ[αν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνέθεικε].

[33] Symeonoglou 1985: 123-137.

[34] Pausanias 9.19.3

[35] Apollo Ismenios: Symeonoglou 1985: site 8 pp.236–8; Unidentified temple: Symenonoglou 1985: site 229 p.299.

[36] Antipatros, *Anth. Pal.* IX 428

no evidence that Macedonia exerted direct control over the area before the time of Philip II. Thus at the time of the foundation of Thessalonikeia, there had been less than a generation of direct Macedonian authority over the region. Despite extended contact with Greek merchants and settlers, the literary sources, maintain the Thracian identity of these settlements into the fourth century. Hekataios of Miletos, in the fifth century, indicates that Chalastre was a Thracian *polis* and Therme was a mixed community of Thracians and Greeks.[37] Theopompos in the fourth century however, still refers to Therme as a Thracian city.[38] Moreover prosopographical data from the Hellenistic and Roman period city demonstrates that the population was still predominantly of Thracian origin in these periods.

The foundation of Thessalonikeia was the result of a synoikism of the surrounding poleis and villages, numbering about twenty-six in all:

> Next, forty stades farther on, is Thessalonikeia, a foundation of Kassandros, and the Egnatian way. He named the city after his wife Thessalonike, daughter of Philip son of Amyntas, having razed (*kathelon*) the cities (*polismata*) in the Krousis and also those on the Thermaic gulf, about twenty-six and united (*sunoikisas*) them into one: and this is the metropolis of modern-day Macedonia. And among those united were Apollonia and Chalastre, and Therme and Gareskos and Aineia and Kissos . . .[39]

Strabo goes on to mention that Thessalonikeia was formerly called Therme, suggesting that Thessalonikeia was founded on the site of Classical Therme.[40] Despite the fact that Strabo reports that these preexisting cities were destroyed in preparation for the foundation of Thessalonikeia, a picture reiterated by other sources,[41] literary sources continue to mention the existence of some of these much later. In his description of the Macedonian wars, Livy mentions an attack on Aineia, which he refers to as an *urbs* fifteen Roman miles distant from Thessalonikeia,[42] and Aineia also appears on a list of the Delphic *theorodokoi* from 230-220.[43] Livy also describes Apollonia,[44] which

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[37] (*F.Gr.Hist.* 1 F 146): Χαλάστρα · πόλις Θράικης περὶ τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον. Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπηι · «ἐν δ᾽ αὐτῶι Θέρμη πόλις Ἑλλήνων Θρηίκων, ἐν δὲ Χαλάστρη πόλις Θρηίκων». Στράβων δ᾽ ἐν ζ (fr. 24) Μακεδονίας αὐτὴν καλεῖ. ὠνόμασται δὲ πὸ Χαλάστρης. ἔστι καὶ λίμνη τῆι πόλει ὁμώνυμος.

[38] (*F.Gr.Hist.* 115 F 140): Θέρμαν · Θράικιον τοῦτό ἐστι πόλισμα, ὡς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν κβ φησίν.

[39] Strabo, Fragment (7a.1.21): εἶτα Θεσσαλονίκεια Κασάνδρου κτίσμα ἐν ἄλλοις τετταράκοντα καὶ ἡ Ἐγνατία ὁδός. ἐπωνόμασε δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς Θεσσαλονίκης, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου θυγατρός, καθελὼν τὰ ἐν τῇ Κρουσίδι πολίσματα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ περὶ ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ συνοικίσας εἰς ἕν · ἡ δὲ μητρόπολις τῆς νῦν Μακεδονίας ἐστί. τῶν δὲ συνοικισθεισῶν ἦν Ἀπολλωνία καὶ Χαλάστρα καὶ Θέρμα καὶ Γαρησκὸς καὶ Αἴνεια καὶ Κισσός…

[40] *Geography*, 7a 1.24: Ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη ἐστὶ πόλις, ἢ πρότερον Θέρμη ἐκαλεῖτο · κτίσμα δ᾽ἐστὶ Κασάνδρου, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, παιδὸς δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου, ὠνόμασε · μετῴκισε δὲ τὰ πέριξ πολίχνια εἰς αὐτήν, οἷον Χαλάστραν Αἴνειαν Κισσὸν καί τινα καὶ ἄλλα.

[41] *E.g.* Dionysios of Halikarnassos *Roman Antiquities* 1.494-5: πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θράκην φικόμενοι κατὰ τὴν χερρόνησον, ἣ καλεῖται Παλλήνη, ὡρμίσαντο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἔφην βάρβαροι Κρουσαῖοι καλούμενοι καὶ παρέσχον αὐτοῖς τὰς καταγωγὰς σφαλεῖς. μείναντες δὲ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν αὐτόθι νεὼν Ἀφροδίτης ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν κρωτηρίων ἑνὸς καὶ πόλιν Αἴνειαν ἔκτισαν, ἐν ᾗ τούς τε ὑπὸ καμάτων δυνάτους πλεῖν καὶ ὅσοις αὐτοῦ μένειν βουλομένοις ἦν, ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσομένους, ὑπελίποντο. αὕτη διέμεινεν ἕως τῆς Μακεδόνων δυναστείας τῆς κατὰ τοὺς διαδόχους τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου γενομένης · ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Κασάνδρου βασιλείας καθηρέθη, ὅτε Θεσσαλονίκη πόλις ἐκτίζετο, καὶ οἱ Αἰνεᾶται σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς εἰς τὴν νεόκτιστον μετῴκησαν.

[42] Livy 44.10.7*: revocatis igitur in naves militibus omissaque Thessalonicae oppugnatione Aeniam inde petunt. quindecim milia passuum ea urbs abest, adversus Pydnam posita, fertilis agro. C.f.* 40.4.9; 45.27.4 and 30.4.

[43] *BCH* 45 (1921) 18 III.75

began issuing coins again in the period after 187.[45] Strabo himself mentions Gareskos[46] and Chalastre[47] as though they continued to exist as centers of settlement in his day. The ethnic of Kissos, in turn, may be attested in an inscription after the synoikism.[48] Less evidence exists for the smaller *polismata* included in the synoikism, but it seems that as so often was the case, these resumed as settlements of some kind after the initial synoikism, or were never in fact entirely depopulated and remained villages or small nucleated centers with some kind of economic or cultic significance. The poleis of Therme, Aineia, Gareskos, Chalastre, and Kissos, however, certainly lost their polis-status and seem to have been greatly reduced if not in some cases entirely eliminated by the synoikism.

A survey of the archaeological evidence provides a more nuanced view of the effects of the foundation of Thessalonikeia. A basic problem is identifying the sites for which we have archaeological evidence, and placing them relative to Thessalonikeia.   Aineia, located in Krousis, is generally agreed to have been situated at modern Nea Michaniona, where surface survey has detected pottery and architecture dating only to the fifth and fourth centuries.[49] Limited excavation has been conducted here, uncovering a cemetery of twenty graves, 19 of which date to the fourth century and one to the fifth. In addition three burial mounds were excavated, all with archaic and classical dates.[50] Hammond has argued convincingly for the identification of a settlement near the summit of Mt. Chortiatis in the NW Chalkidike with ancient Kissos.[51] Excavations at the site of Kissos have produced the remains of domestic architecture and traces of the circuit wall of the city. The excavator dates the settlement to the fourth century on the basis of the pottery found in the houses.[52] The precise location of Apollonia is controversial, but the most convincing arguments place it on the shore of lake Bolbe in Mygdonia.[53] The settlement has a preserved circuit wall, but the reports do not commit to a date.[54] At any rate, Apollonia ceases to mint coinage after the fourth century. It is unclear whether this occurred as a result of its reported destruction by Philip (at an unknown date) or after the synoikism, but it is likely that at the time of Kassandros' foundation Apollonia may have been no longer a polis.[55]   Finally, Chalastre, a Thracian or mixed Thracian-Greek polis in the Classical period, is probably to be identified with modern Sindos.[56] Excavations here have revealed burials form the sixth-fifth centuries as well as some domestic architecture from the eighth-seventh centuries, suggesting that the areas of later settlement have not been located, and offering little evidence for the question of the fate of the settlement after the synoikism.[57] The archaeological evidence on balance shows a distinct break in settlement at these sites in the late fourth century. It seems likely that these poleis were at least temporarily moved to Thessalonikeia, and certainly were deprived of polis status following the synoikism. In the 1980s excavations at the site of the modern village of Sindos revealed a cemetery of extraordinary wealth. The associated

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[44] Livy 45.28.8: *iussis, qui arguebantur, Amphipoli adesse ipse convento Cn. Octavio Demetriade, postquam fama accidit traiecisse iam mare decem legatos, omnibus aliis omissis Apolloniam ad eos pergit. Cf. Acts* 17.1.

[45] Gaebler 1926: 46-47.

[46] (Strabo 7a. *Frag* 36; Ptol. 3.12.22)

[47] 7a *Frag.* 20 and 23).

[48] *SEG* 40 542. It dates either to *c.* 350 or 294/3. See: Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992: 123-145.

[49] Zahrnt 1971: 143.

[50] Tsigarida 1994.

[51] Hammond 1972: 187.

[52] Bakalakis 1956.

[53] Hatzopoulos 1994; see also: Flensted-Jensen 1997: 117–21.

[54] Hatzopoulos 1994: 178.

[55] Demosthenes 9.26.

[56] Hatzopoulos 1996: 197.

[57] Tiverios 1990; *Macedonians* 162: tables 153–76; Tiverios 1998. Tsigarida 1994; Tsigarida 1996; Kalliga 2004

settlement was inhabited in the late bronze-age and rose to prominence in the 9th century, when the rich gold deposits of the Echedoros river began to be exploited. The recent excavations of the urban center report a series of refuse pits dating to the last quarter of the fourth century. The most instructive, pit gamma, containing vessels that almost exclusively date to the period 350-325, along with terracotta fragments and some other artifacts. The size and number of vessels, the majority of which were produced at a local workshop, point to a pit used for clearing out a group of adjacent households, surely at the time of the synoikismos and abandonment of the site. This process of deposition shows the orderly preparation of abandonment, and again points to no forcible or violent transplantation of population. The local pottery, found here in abundance, does not extend past the last decade of the fourth century, eloquently demonstrating the cultural disruption of the foundation of Thessalonikeia.

The reconstruction of the settlement pattern around the Thermaic gulf admits more detail in the immediate vicinity of the modern city of Thessalonki, due in large part to a good deal of scattered data from rescue and systematic excavations carried out in the city and its suburbs in the last 20 years. In the area of modern Thessaloniki there is evidence for three settlement sites in the archaic and classical periods: Trapeza Lembet, northwest of the city, Toumba Thessalonikis, just to the east, and Miko Karabournaki, on the small cape in the southern suburbs. Trapeza Lembet is a relatively small settlement, possibly a large village, just to the northwest of Thessalonikeia. The plots explored so far in rescue excavations provide a rough picture of the dimensions of the site -- with the urban core surrounded by cemeteries to the east and south. Finds extend from the late sixth century to the late fourth, in general confirming the picture of desertion at the time of the synoikismos and foundation of Thessalonikeia. (**F1**) The site is surrounded by a large necropolis, where over 300 graves have been investigated so far. Plots from the late fourth century provide interesting insight into the final period of occupation at the site. Tombs from the mid-fourth century B.C.E. contain extremely rich contents such as elaborate gold and silver jewelry and silver, bronze, and glass vessels, attesting to the wealth and power of the elite at this site. The grave goods found in these burials are very similar to the elite burials at nearby Sindos.   None of the burials from this large necropolis dates to later than the fourth century. At Odos Zefiron, we appear to have the latest date for a burial in this area, where a hoard of 88 coins of Kassander (316-306 BC) was found in one cist tomb. This find suggests that while for a time the settlement persisted with the foundation of Thessalonikeia, it was gradually abandoned over the course of a decade or so. It may even suggest the lingering attachment for the site, where some of the original inhabitants wished to still be buried in their homeland after their transfer to Thessalonikeia.

On the eastern side of Thessalonikeia about 2 km from the eastern gate is a low settlement mound located in Toumba, a modern suburb of Thessaloniki (**F2**). This is in my opinion the best candidate for ancient Therme, the most important city in the region.   Although the site is covered by the modern suburb, rescue excavations from the last 20 years on empty plots or at construction sites have generated a patchwork of evidence about this settlement. When put together, we have a good deal of evidence about the material culture and history of what was likely the ancient city of Therme. As I have said, this city was probably a mixed community of indigenous Thracians and Greek settlers. As a major site of trade, situated near the head of the Thermaic gulf and the gold-laden river Echedoros (literally, the gift holding river) it was strategically situated as an outlet for the wealth of inland Thrace.

In attempting to reconstruct a picture of this ancient settlement I have mapped over fifty excavation plots explored in salvage excavations carried out by the Greek archaeological service. A composite picture of the remains of the settlement in this area yields a fairly clear picture of the site. Ringed by cemeteries on the East, South, and West sides of the mound, the thickly settled center

represents a city of medium size for the classical period, and there seems to be a concentration of sanctuaries at the center of the site.

The cemetery, where several hundred burials have been excavated, provides a good ceramic chronology for the habitation of the site, showing it was occupied from the EIA (ca 1100 BC) to EHL (as late as 300 BC). The cemetery clearly goes out of use following the foundation of Thessalonikeia, but there is good ceramic evidence for lingering use for several decades after the synoikismos, indicating that this was in all likelihood a somewhat protracted process, precisely as we have seen at the neighboring community at Lembet. Finally, at Ortansias 2 a plot was excavated providing an intimate look at the end of the classical settlement at Toumba. The remains consist of a late classical house, with attic pottery of the fourth century and coins of Philip II and Alexander III. These coins date the latest material at the settlement, and provide a representative glimpse into a domestic context on the eve of its abandonment. Here again, in a context securely dated to the end of the fourth century and contemporary with the foundation of Thessalonikeia, there is no evidence for destruction.

The crux of this discussion, however, has always been the location of the most important polis in this region, Therme. As M. Vickers rightly noted, "the site of Therme and its relationship to Thessaloniki is one of the oldest problems of Macedonian topography."[58] Strabo's initial account of the synoikism makes no mention of the relation of Thessalonikeia to Therme, but elsewhere Strabo mentions that Thessalonikeia was formerly called Therme (πρότερον Θέρμη ἐκαλεῖτο).[59] Admittedly this is not entirely conclusive as to the precise location of the two relative to one another, but it is suggestive that they were at least situated very close to one another. Vickers argued strongly for the two sites being one and the same, though his arguments were not entirely conclusive. Most recently scholars have revived Rhomaios' old suggestion[60] that Therme was located on the modern peninsula of Mikró Karabournáki, and both Borza and Hatzopoulos have advanced this view.[61] Likewise Hammond and Papazoglou, both experts in Macedonian topography have rejected the notion that Thessalonikeia was founded on top of Therme.[62] Mikró Karabournáki, then, has achieved something like a consensus among scholars.

In my view, the settlement at Mikró Karabournáki is unlikely to represent ancient Therme. Rhomaios' excavations yielded material from the Mycenaean period on, including fifth century sherds of Rhodian, Korinthian and Attic pottery. Rhomaios proposed a date of *ca.* the eighth century for the establishment of the settlement, and the latest horizon seems to be the fifth century.[63] More recent work has confirmed the chronological limits of Rhomaios' excavations, adding finds of domestic architecture, a semi-subterranean dwelling,[64] and a number of sixth-through fifth-century graves.[65] The complete absence of fourth century material makes the identification with Therme, known to have been a major settlement in the fourth century, unlikely. Recent rescue excavations have provided a good deal more material to the discussion, including features of Hellenistic Thessalonikeia and earlier settlements. Recent material from the excavations suggest that the center of Therme was probably situated slightly to the SE of the ancient city of

[58] For an overview of the problem see Vickers 1981.

[59] Strabo, *Frag.* (7a.24).

[60] *BCH* 54 (1930) 497–98; *Makedonika* I (1940) 1-7 and map p. 6.

[61] Borza 1990; Hatzopoulos 1996: 107 n. 4.

[62] Hammond 1972; Papazoglou 1988: 189-95.

[63] *BCH* 54 (1930) 497–98

[64] Tiverios 1987; Tiverios 1990; Tiverios et al. 1994; Tiverios 1998; Tiverios et al. 1998; Tiverios et al. 2001; Tiverios et al. 2002; Tiverios et al. 2004; Tiverios et al. 2005.

[65] Pandermali and Trakosopoulou 1994.

Thessalonikeia, at the *trapeza* south of Toumba, where domestic architecture from the Archaic and Classical periods have been discovered.[66] The Archaic-Classical graves excavated within the city walls of Thessalonikeia probably belong to one of the cemeteries of Therme, which tellingly seem to have gone out of just at the period of the foundation of Thessalonikeia. As is evident, this site is quite distant from Mikró Karabournáki, as well as modern Thérmi, which also was the site of a settlement in the Hellenistic period.[67] Due to the fact that the literary sources suggest that Thessalonikeia was situated at Therme, it is probable that Therme lay near Thessalonikeia. The construction of the new city just outside of Therme in the area of the cemetery meant that Therme could be used as a base of operation for the construction of Thessalonikeia, but it also indicates a sharp break in the settlement of Therme.

The results of the excavations at Mikro Karabournaki demonstrate that this was a thriving commercial center with extensive connections throughout the Aegean and Northern Balkans throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. The early importance of this area is reflected in the imported pottery found at the site. Fragments of geometric attic pottery mark the presence of the oldest known Athenian imports in northern Greece and the Black Sea. In the 6th C imports from Rhodes and Ionia, particularly Chian and Samian wares appear in large quantities and from the fifth century on large amounts of attic and Corinthian imports are in evidence.

3. THRACE AND ASIA MINOR: FROM ACHAEMENID TO HELLENISTIC EMPIRE

Lysimacheia

Little remains of Lysimacheia on the Thracian Chersonessos. The precise location of this major foundation was a matter of topographical debate until the discovery of an inscribed marble shield reading ΦΙΛΛΙΠΟΥ.[68] The find securely places Lysimacheia at the modern site of Bolayır. The date of the foundation can be firmly set at 309/308.[69] It was founded on a virgin site, and its population was derived mainly from the synoikism of Kardia and Paktye. Pausanias makes it clear that its foundation involved the destruction of the venerable polis of Kardia, judging from his description of the historian Hieronymos' bias against Lysimachos because of the destruction of his native city.[70] Yet the literary sources continue to speak about Kardia as though it continued as a distinct entity.[71] Nevertheless, the synoikism seems to have registered discontent among the citizens it affected, which seems to have been a characteristic of Lysimachos' foundations, as at Ephesos and Kolophon (see below). Since 2006, a German team has resumed archaeological work in the area, mapping the stray finds, surface remains and setting up a grid for future survey and geophysical prospection of the site. Among the surface finds, the team has clearly identified the remains of a Doric temple on the akropolis of the city, based on some visible portions of the foundations and a geison block from the building, and the dimensions of the temple appear to be on the same order as the temple of Athena Ilias at Ilion. Doric columns have been found in quantities elsewhere on the

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[66] See: Soueref: 1987, 1990, 1991, 1993. 1994, 1994a., 1994b., 1994c., 1996: 273-284, 1995, and 1996: 389-406.

[67] A Hellenistic building with coins of Kassandros and sections of an ancient cemetery with continuous burials from the archaic to the Roman period have been excavated here: *ΑΔ* 48 1993: 328-333; *Εργόν* ΥΠΠΟ 1997: 102.

[68] Robert 1955: plate 35.

[69] *Marmor Parium* 239 F B19. Diodoros 20.29.1

[70] Pausanias 1.9.9: τῷ δὲ Ἱερωνύμῳ τάχα μέν που καὶ ἄλλα ἦν ἐς Λυσίμαχον ἐγκλήματα, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τὴν Καρδιανῶν πόλιν ἀνελὼν Λυσιμάχειαν ἀντ᾽ αὐτῆς ᾤκισεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Θρακίας χερρονήσου.

[71] Pliny *NH* 4.48; Strabo 7 *Frag.* 52.

site in such numbers as to suggest that the main order of the civic construction was Doric.[72] As with the temple of Artemis Iolkia at Demetrias (discussed below), the choice of this order for the temple at Lysimacheia may have motivated by desire to maintain a "conservative" element in the architecture of an old cult. The same dynamic can probably be seen at work in Alexandreia Troas (see below). In the case of Lysimacheia, of course, there is absolutely no evidence for the diety to whom the temple was dedicated, but Lysimacheia may have the potential to provide a parallel to Demetrias and Alexandreia.

3.1 THE TROAD

In the last decade of the fourth century, the political and religious landscape of the Troad experienced dramatic redefinition, as it was transformed from a fragmented and somewhat backward region into a strategic crossroads between powerful Hellenistic forces and the center of a major religious and economic federation (**F 2A and B**). Prior to 427, when Athens captured Mytilene,[73] much of the coastal Troad had been part of the *peraia* of Mytilene, and many of the coastal cities were originally her colonies.[74] After its detachment from Mytilene and the period of Athenian domination, it fell once again under Persian control. Under the influence of minor Achaemenid dynasts for the next century and a half, the poleis of the Western Troad generally experienced decline and an increasingly denucleated pattern of settlement. Thucydides' description of the Ionian war already demonstrates that the poleis were at that time largely unwalled,[75] and the economic policies and rivalries of the Achaemenid governors that had controlled the area before the Macedonian conquest intensified this process. When Antigonos assumed control of this area most of the poleis had populations lower than 100,000 and were incapable of defending themselves. Perhaps spurred on by the revolt of Phoinix in this region in 311 and the relatively recent foundation of Lysimacheia in 309, a major capital poised against him on the opposite side of the Hellespont, Antigonos responded with a massive reorganization of the population and resources of the Troad, culminating in a major fortified foundation and harbor, Alexandreia Troas. In the northern Troad, the focus was centered on Ilion, at the time a village dominated by neighboring Sigeion, yet still of considerable ancient fame, and Antigonos used this distinction to intensify centralization of settlement in this area and create the headquarters of the *koinon* of the Troad.

Of the more than twenty poleis that existed in the Troad in the last decade of the fourth century, only eight remained after the synoikism of Ilion and Alexandreia Troas, resulting in the concentration of over half of the land of the Troad in the *chora* of these two cities. Recent and ongoing archaeological research in the Troad has yielded considerable new data, making the sites of these foundations well suited for this kind of investigation. The extensively, although somewhat unsystematic, survey and topographical study of Cook in the 1960s and 70s already made this one of the better documented regions of Western Asian Minor, but new regional work centered on Ilion, as well as renewed exploration of Neandreia and Alexandreia Troas has shed considerable new light on this period of rapid transition. A new intensive survey project focusing on the Granikos valley in the Eastern Troad has provided the most valuable new data about the settlement patterns of NW Asia Minor in the early Hellenistic period, and the new results of this survey add detail to this overall

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[72] Lichtenberger, Nieswandt, and Salzmann forthcoming. Preliminary reports of the project can be accessed at http://www.poliskultur.de/6601_Die%20hellenistische%20Residenzstadt%20Lysimacheia.html.
[73] Thucydides 3.18-49.
[74] Strabo 13.1.38; Livy 37.21.4. Colonies: Achilleion in Troas (Strabo 13.1.39), Sigeion in Troas (Herodotos 5.94.1).
[75] Thucydides 3.33.2: ἀτειχίστου οὔσης τῆς Ἰωνίας; Thucydides 8, *passim*.

picture of settlement shift.[76] The project has set out to survey all of the settlements and tumuli between the Granikos (Kocabaş) and Aisepos (Gönen) rivers. This region of the Eastern Troad, inland from the Ida range that separates the Eastern and Western Troad, was in relatively close proximity to the Persian (and one-time Lydian) satrapal capital of Daskyleion. The landscape here is dotted by tumuli, the burial mounds of the aristocratic families serving the Persian bureaucracy who exploited the land from fortified estates. Study of the patterns of these tumuli show that they were almost always sited 1-5 km from settlements and served the twin function of demarcating the estate and advertising the power and wealth of its owner, making the localization of these estates, which are often difficult to locate archaeologically, somewhat easier.[77] Such estates provided for the cultivation of the arable land, surveillance and control, and manpower for the Persian administration and army. The tumuli, elaborately topped with cylindrical stone markers, erroneously called "phalloi," and located at the most conspicuous points of the landscape (on hills, ridges, and along rivers and major roads) broadcast the power of the aristocrats in the region, and probably served as high points for signal networks and surveillance.[78] These estates did not cease to exist in the Hellenistic period, but they were largely reassigned to *philoi* of the Macedonian kings and, importantly, required to be attached to a polis, a we see so clearly in the Troad in the well-known Aristodikides dossier (*RC* 10-13=*I.Ilion* 33) or the divorce settlement between Antiochos and Laodikeia (*RC* 18). Analysis of the surface pottery in the Granikos valley indicates that the period of Persian domination ushered in a period of prosperity in this region, with the land intensively cultivated. 41% of the ceramic material collected in the survey dates to the late sixth through the early fourth century. By contrast, there is a sharp decline in the Hellenistic period, with only 5% of the datable artifacts belonging to this period, and of that most are Early Hellenistic. By the early Roman period the percentage is reduced to a meager 1%, and settlement in this region would only begin to rise again in the Late Roman period (29%).[79] With the end of Persian control the tumuli, once carefully guarded by the Persian elites, began to be plundered, and the population of this area demonstrably shifted to the newly founded or expanded cities. The survey shows how dramatically and apparently swiftly the pattern of settlement changed in the early Hellenistic period, and how large a role urbanization played in the policies of the successors.[80]

Ilion

Strabo describes Ilion as a mere village at the time of Alexander's arrival in 334, consisting of a small settlement and a small and "cheap" (εὐτελές) sanctuary of Athena.[81] Strabo favors the

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[76] The results of the first two seasons (2004-2005) of the Granicus River Valley Survey project have been published in Rose et al. 2007. Subsequent seasons were reported on at the 2010 meeting of the AIA, reinforcing in large part the preliminary data published in 2007.

[77] Rose et. al. 2007: 73 n.68.

[78] Rose et. al. 2007: 72-75. As lookout locations, see: Arrian 1.13-14; Diodoros 17.18-21; Plutarch, *Alexander* 16; Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.2.15.

[79] Rose et.al. 2007: 106-107. The data are perhaps somewhat skewed by the fact that much of the focus of the 2004-2005 campaigns was on the tumuli, but 17 actual settlement sites were located and seem to bear ou this pattern.

[80] For additional survey data, primarily focusing on Bronze Age occupation of the Troad, see: Özdoğan 1988; Özdoğan 1989; Özdoğan 2003; Jablonka 2004.

[81] Strabo 13.1.26: τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰλιέων πόλιν τῶν νῦν τέως μὲν κώμην εἶναί φασι τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μικρὸν καὶ εὐτελές, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἀναβάντα μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ νίκην ἀναθήμασί τε

historians who maintain that the settlement at Ilion was distinct from that at ancient Troy, though the Ilians themselves maintained that they had been living there since that time, and Strabo mentions that *chora* of the former polis had been divided between the neighboring cities of Achilleion and Rhoiteion until the time of Kroisos, when it was refounded.[82] Whatever historical truth is behind this, it seems to preserve a record of the domination of Ilion and its *chora* by its neighbors, a pattern that continued into the time of Alexander. Alexander famously sacrificed to Achilles here and pledged his patronage to the settlement, granting it the title of polis ordering an improvement of the buildings and judging it exempt from tribute; after his victory over the Persians he sent a letter promising to make it a great city with a lavish temple and to institute sacred games.[83] But the restitution of the city's fortunes was in actuality left to his successors to bring into fruition. Ilion's synoikism coincided with the creation of the *koinon* of the Troad, instituted by Antigonos,[84] which centered on the temple of Athena and featured a yearly *paneguris*[85] and the transformation of the Iliaka into a Panathenaia.[86] Athena herself was endowed, probably in this period, with substantial new landholdings (*RC* 60ff.). The period of Antigonos' control did not last long, and it is unclear precisely what the ascendancy of Lysimachos meant for the projects that Antigonos had initiated at Ilion. Strabo's description of Lysimachos' treatment of Ilion is notoriously difficult and apparently marred by an irreconcilable textual problem. Strabo first says that after the death of Antigonos, Lysimachos devoted special attention to Ilion, and built a temple and a forty-stade city wall.[87] In the very next section however, Strabo says that at the time of the Galatian invasion the city was unwalled.[88] These passages clearly contradict one another and scholars have attempted to resolve the problem by rearranging the text so that in 13.1.26 Strabo is referring to Alexandreia Troas rather than Ilion.[89] Excavation of Hellenistic levels of Ilion has added significant archaeological evidence to the discussion of this problem. Blegen's excavations revealed traces of a wall of Hellenistic date, but the context pottery was never published, and no good date for the wall can be established on this basis.[90] Recent excavations however, have convincingly decided this issue. On the basis of the ceramics from the foundation trench of further sections of this wall excavated in 1995 and 1996

κοσμῆσαι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι πόλιν καὶ οἰκοδομίαις ἀναλαβεῖν προστάξαι τοῖς ἐπιμελεταῖς ἐλευθέραν τε κρῖναι καὶ ἄφορον: ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιστολὴν καταπέμψαι φιλάνθρωπον, ὑπισχνούμενον πόλιν τε ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ ἱερὸν ἐπισημότατον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἀποδείξειν ἱερόν.

[82] Strabo 13.1.26-42. Refoundation: 13.1.42.

[83] Strabo 13.1.26. See also: Cohen 1995.

[84] Holleaux, *Ét*., 1: 289-300; L. Robert, 15-41; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 102ff. For Antigonos as founder of the *koinon,* see Haubold, 62f.; Brückner, 577-78; Robert, 21 n. 2; cf. Droysen (*Hist*., 1: 783-85, 2: 659). First epigraphic evidence for the *koinon*: (*Syll*.³ 330 = *I. Ilion* 1 c. 306/5 B.C.). *Cf.* E Verkinderen, *Tyche* 2 (1987) 247-69

[85] *I.Ilion* 1

[86] For documents concerning the reorganization in the first century BCE, see: *I.Ilion* 10 and 11. Peuner 1926: 113-133; *cf.* Vian 1952: 260 and 267-268.

[87] Strabo 13.1.26: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν Λυσίμαχος μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμελήθη καὶ νεὼν κατεσκεύασε καὶ τεῖχος περιεβάλετο ὅσον τετταράκοντα σταδίων, συνῴκισέ τε εἰς αὐτὴν τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις ἀρχαίας ἤδη κεκακωμένας, ὅτε καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤδη ἐπεμελήθη.

[88] Strabo 13.1.27: καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον δ᾽ ὃ νῦν ἔστι κωμόπολίς τις ἦν, ὅτε πρῶτον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπέβησαν καὶ ἐξέβαλον Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου. φησὶ γοῦν Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος, μειράκιον ἐπιδημήσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς καιρούς, οὕτως ὠλιγωρημένην ἰδεῖν τὴν κατοικίαν ὥστε μηδὲ κεραμωτὰς ἔχειν τὰς στέγας: Ἡγησιάναξ δὲ τοὺς Γαλάτας περαιωθέντας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀναβῆναι μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν δεομένους ἐρύματος, παρὰ χρῆμα δ᾽ ἐκλιπεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀτείχιστον:

[89] So Grote *GG* (1888) 1: 297 n. 1. Similar emendations are supported by Robert 1951, 7 and n.4; Dörpfeld 1902, 207; Leaf 1923, 142-144; Blegen 1935, 26, 564; Blegen 1937, 594; Merkelbach 1976, 241-242

[90] Blegen 1935, 26, 564; Blegen 1937, 594.

show that the wall was not constructed until the 3rd quarter of the third century.[91] Recent research has also helped refine the date of the temple of Athena Ilias, the date of which has been a matter of long-standing debate. Advocates of a high date, based on stylistic features of the sculpted metopes, put the temple in the late fourth / early third century, in the time of Lysimachos' control, and thus in accord with Strabo.[92] Other scholars have argued for a low date in the Augustan period, based again on stylistic arguments as well as a partially restored inscription on the architrave containing the title of Augustus as well as the dowel holes for another bronze inscription.[93] On this view, Augustus was responsible for the reconstruction of the temple after its destruction, possibly following Fimbria's sack of the city in 85 BCE during the first Mithridatic war.[94] The argument essentially came down to a debate over stylistic features of the sculpture and architectural elaboration of the preserved blocks of the temple, which is difficult for a Doric temple in this region.

Recent excavations however have broken this stalemate and provided convincing new arguments for the date of the temple. The results of the new excavations as well as a reexamination of the material from the excavations of Schliemann, Dörpfeld, and Blegen shows that the foundations were laid around 240-230, and it is likely that the initial impetus for the construction of the new temple was Antiochos Hierax's bid for power in the region in this period. A reassessment of the metopes and architectural fragments shows that the majority of stylistic features fit best in the late third/early second century, providing a terminus for the completion of the carving of the temple.[95] The closest parallels show influences from Pergamon, Samothrace, and Macedonia, and it is likely that the temple was completed under Attalid patronage. The new evidence, in sum, shows that Strabo's description of the building program of Lysimachos at Ilion must be rejected. However a mere emendation of the passage to make it refer to Alexandreia Troas (which in fact does have forty-stade wall) does not completely resolve the problems associated with Strabo's account. Strabo also says that at the time of his source Demetrios of Skepsis (first half of the second century BCE), Ilion was so depopulated that its buildings did not even have tiled roofs, and later describes Ilion as a κωμόπολις in the early second century. As we have seen, the city by this time was experiencing a period of prosperity, with a new wall, the construction of the Athena temple and portico, and new blocks of domestic housing in the lower city.[96] More to the point, roof tiles stamped ΙΛ have been found in third and second century contexts. Finally, excavations have also shown that the destruction of Fimbria in 85, at which time Strabo tells us he razed Ilion, were far less extensive than previously thought, and only affected the western part of the city, leaving the temple and much of the rest of the city untouched. The assembled material evidence shows the unreliability of Strabo and his informers (Demetrios and Hermesianax) for this period, and the influence of the literary trope of the successive destructions of Ilion on his account. We should, then, be suspicious of his description of the weakness of Ilion in the Hellenistic period, and we must also revise our understanding of the role Ilion played in the region in the early Hellenistic period and the roles of the successors.

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[91] Tekkök 2000. The pottery dates of the foundation trench are also consistent with the dates derived from the construction fills of the portico of the Athena *temenos*, to which it is bonded. The structures are thus clearly part of the same building project. On the walls see also: Aylward and Wallrodt 2003: 89-113.

[92] Schliemann 1884: 224; Dörpfeld 1902; Holden 1964: 1-5, 29-3; Ridgeway 1990: 150-54, 199-200.

[93] *I.Ilion* 84; For this view see especially the restoration of Schliemann 1884; Dörpfeld 1902; Schleif and Goethert 1962; Ridgeway 1990 Rose 2003 reassigns the bronze inscription on the architrave, which would have covered the Augustan inscription to Julian the Apostate.

[94] Strabo 13.1.27. *Cf.* Appian *Mith*. 53 and Augustine, *de Civitate Dei* 3.7.

[95] Rose 2003.

[96] Aylward 1999.

Whether the motivation came from Antigonos or Lysimachos, Ilion was clearly reinforced by the synoikism of several poleis in the area. Neither Strabo nor any other source mentions the precise poleis involved. Robert conjectured that the synoikism included Sigeion, Achilleion, Thymbra, Glykeia, Kenchreai, and villages of the Simois valley, and Cook proposed Sigeion, Birytis, Gentinos, and probably, Achilleion.[97] And it seems likely that these cities were all under Ilion's control based on Strabo's description.[98] We may now add to this list, with certainty, the polis of Kokkylion.[99] Following Apameia, the city would further absorb Rhoiteion and Gergis,[100] and it is likely that *I.Ilion* 64, a fragmentary list of 231 new citizens of Ilion found built into a Roman wall in Ilion, represents a record of the population absorbed from Rhoiteion or Gergis.[101] This centripetal process continued, and by the first century BCE Skamandroi was connected to Ilion by a sympoliteia agreement (*I.Ilion* 63). As so often, not all of these cities remained in the union, and shortly after the synoikism we hear of Sigeion asserting its independence from Ilion. That city had been taken and garrisoned by Lysimachos in 302, and presumably incorporated into Ilion shortly thereafter. Strabo informs us that following its bid for independence, the people of Ilion themselves destroyed Sigeion.[102] The date of this revolt is a matter of some discussion, and its chronology hinges mostly on the date of a document from Sigeion that records an honorific decree for a *euergetes* who lent the city 200 Phokaite staters. The *editio princeps* of Daux puts the document in the context of the renewed period of Sigeion's independence, and suggests a tentative date of 200-150 BCE based on the lettering.[103] Robert, however, puts the document in the first half of the third century, based on the language of the text and the denomination of the staters, and this date is probably to be preferred.[104]

Achilleion, with its important cenotaph of Achilles (τὸ Ἀχιλλέως μνῆμα), was a polis in the time of Herodotos,[105] and assessed for tribute in the Delian league,[106] but at least by the time of Strabo's source for the Troad, Demetrios of Skepsis (first half of the second century BCE), it had declined into a mere κατοικία μικρά, indicating both that it was more than likely made subject to Ilion at the time of the synoikism and that, though some settlement evidently continued at the site at least into the second century, it was greatly reduced[107] and it had stopped minting coins by 300 BCE, making a synoikism by Lysimachos likely as this firmly puts the demise of Achilleion in the same period as Lysimachos' capture of neighboring Sigeion.[108] The polis center itself was reputedly fortified with the stones of Ilion by Mytilene after that city had fallen into ruin.[109] Cook first suggested that the site of Achilleion should be identified with the remains at Beşik-Yassıtepe, and excavations at this site have produced Archaic fortifications confirming Cook's hypothesis.[110]

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[97] Robert 1951, 8 n. 2; Cook 1973, 364-365.
[98] Strabo 13.1.39
[99] Rigsby 2007. See below for discussion.
[100] Livy 38.39: *Iliensibus Rhoetium et Gergithum addiderunt non tam ob recentia ulla merita quam originum memoria.*
[101] The date of the document is unknown. See further: *I.Ilion*: 80.9 and 19.1
[102] Strabo 13.600.39
[103] *BCH* 80 (1956) 53 ff.
[104] Robert 1966: 177.
[105] Herodotos 5.94
[106] *ATL* A9 and A10. Merritt et al. 1939:154ff.
[107] Strabo 13.1.39.
[108] Imhoof-Blümer (1901) 33–34.
[109] Strabo 13.1.39
[110] Korfmann 1988.

A new document from Ilion attests to the integration of the population of the polis of Kokkylion in the Troad into Ilion, a polis now known to have been a part of the synoikism. The document, though brief and fragmentary, provides some important details for the terms of the incorporation of cities into the synoikism of Ilion. The stone was found in the context of a late Roman earthquake collapse near the Northeast Bastion of the akropolis, suggesting that it had originally been set up in the east side of the sanctuary of Athena Ilias. Kokkylion remains unlocated, but it was a polis, and likely fortified in the fourth century[111] and is mentioned by Pliny in a list of cities that have disappeared.[112] The brief text reads as follows:[113]

Κατὰ τάδε [--------------------]
[Κ]οκκυλῖτα [ι---------------ὅρ]-
[κ]ον ὃν ὤμ[οσαν--------------]
  τες τόνδε Ο[----------------- Ἰ]-
λιάδα, πολιτ------------------]   5
καὶ ἐκγόνου[ς--------------- ἐπὶ]
τῆι ἴσηι καὶ τῆ[ι ὁμοίαι----------]
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ων---------------]
ουμενος [---------------- τὸν ὅρ]-
κον ὤμ[οσαν-------------------]   10
ΠΕΛΑ. [--------------------]
ἀπο[-----------------------]

The document records the text of an oath sworn on the occasion of the synoikismos, and the traditional formulae contain clauses promising to be a just citizen and assuming equal rights with the Ilians. The deity that unites them, and to whom the oath is sworn is, significantly Athena Ilias, and this text vividly underscores the religious element of the Ilians new-found power.[114] We will return to this issue in greater depth in chapter 3.

Alexandreia Troas

Antigonos founded Antigoneia Troas **(F 2A and B)** sometime after 311 on the site of the coastal community of Sigia,[115] the product of the synoikism of Kebren and Skepsis,[116] and probably of Larisa, Kolonai, Hamaxitos and Neandria as well, although Strabo's description refers to the time of Lysimachos.[117] Many of these which were fairly substantial places in the Classical period, relative to the poleis and villages synoikized into Ilion, and this foundation was clearly designed as the

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[111] Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.1.16: : ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνὰς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις ἑκούσας παρέλαβε: πέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις ἠξίου ἐλευθεροῦσθαί τε αὐτὰς καὶ εἰς τὰ τείχη δέχεσθαι καὶ συμμάχους γίγνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἰλιεῖς καὶ Κοκυλῖται ἐπείθοντο: καὶ γὰρ οἱ φρουροῦντες Ἕλληνες ἐν αὐταῖς, ἐπεὶ ἡ Μανία ἀπέθανεν, οὐ πάνυ τι καλῶς περιείποντο:
[112] Pliny, *HN* 5.122. The MSS. have Coccylium and Cocylium. This document provides the correct spelling of the city's name.
[113] *Editio Princeps:* Rigsby 2007 (text, photo).
[114] *Cf. IG* I³ 40 and *Staatsvertr. III* 545
[115] Strabo 13.1.33, 47, 52.
[116] Strabo 13.1.33.
[117] Strabo 13.1.47, 52.

military and economic center of the Troad.[118] Antigoneia Troas provided this part of Antigonos' empire with a substantial commercial center organized around a large port.[119] Although we cannot pinpoint the precise moment of its foundation, it has to have postdated Antigonos' letter to Skepsis (*RC* 1) announcing the peace of 311 and ironically proclaiming the freedom of the Greek cities, when Skepsis was still clearly autonomous. It is likely that the synoikism took place at the same time as the establishment of the *koinon* of the Troad, so the *terminus ante quem* is likely 306/5, when the *koinon* is first attested and supported by two other documents, the Theban donation list (where the Antigoneians appear) and a Koan decree. After Ipsos, Lysimachos took the city, refounded it and renamed it Alexandreia Troas, allowing Skepsis to leave the union shortly thereafter.[120] What this refoundation entailed is not entirely clear, but if we take Strabo's description of Lysimachos' synoikism of Ilion as a corrupted description of the diadoch's building program at Alexandreia Troas,[121] it is likely that this refoundation involved more than a simple change of name, and at least included the construction of the forty-stade circuit wall and a temple. The walls of Alexandreia Troas have been investigated, confirming their extent of approximately forty stades and enclosure of about 1000 acres.[122] In addition, two fragments of building inscriptions containing συγγαφαί (specifications) found near Alexandreia Troas and detailing the agreements of the building commission of the city and the contractor of public works for the construction of a city wall survive (*I.Alexandreia Troas* 1-2). These fragments, although not from the same stone, were likely carved by the same cutter and deal with the same project, and therefore must belong to the same dossier concerning the agreements for the construction of the enceinte of the new foundation.[123] Almost all such inscriptions date to the late fourth / early third centuries, and when coupled with the literary evidence, these inscriptions strongly suggest that the construction of the wall dates to Lysimachos' refoundation.[124] It is fairly certain, then, that Lysimachos also constructed an important temple in Alexandreia at the same time.

Of the cities incorporated into Alexandreia Troas, the evidence for settlement patterns shows a distinct pattern of depopulation of the smaller old poleis and a centralization of the population in Alexandreia and a greater level of continuity and in some cases resurgence in the cities that had been larger and more powerful. Sigia, as the actual site of Alexandreia, must have been entirely incorporated and obliterated by the new foundation. Hamaxitos, which in the Classical period was located on Beşik Tepe, was located on the coast and at the terminus of the land road of the Mytilenaians. Of the cities synoikized into Alexandreia Troas, Hamaxitos was probably the largest and most economically powerful. Assessed by the Athenians for a tribute of four talents in 425 BCE,[125] its costal positioning and its control of the salt pans at Tragasai, as well as its control of

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[118] Strabo 13.1.47: ἦν δὲ τῷ Ἀχαιίῳ συνεχὴς ἥ τε Λάρισα καὶ Κολωναί, τῆς [Τενεδίων περ]αίας οὖσαι πρότερον, καὶ ἡ νῦν Χρῦσα, ἐφ' ὕψους τινὸς πετρώδους ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἱδρυμένη, καὶ ἡ Ἁμαξιτὸς ἡ τῷ Λεκτῷ ὑποκειμένη συνεχής· νῦν δ' ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια συνεχής ἐστι τῷ Ἀχαιίῳ· τὰ δὲ πολίσματα ἐκεῖνα συνῳκισμένα τυγχάνει, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω τῶν φρουρίων, εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὧν καὶ Κεβρήνη καὶ Νεανδρία ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖνοι· ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐν ᾧ νῦν κεῖται ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια Σιγία ἐκαλεῖτο. *Cf. I.Alexandreia Troas* 4-8.

[119] See Feuser 2009 for a detailed discussion of the harbor.

[120] Strabo 13.1.52.

[121] Strabo 13.1.26. See the above discussion of this passage.

[122] Leaf 1923, 236-240; Cook 1973, 198-202.

[123] Ricl 1997: 24-26.

[124] Ricl 1997: 26-27. Ricl also points out as the nearest comparandum to this inscription the document attesting to the construction of walls around Ephesos after the synoikism with Lebedos and Kolophon *ca.* 290 (Maier I no.71.).

[125] *ATL* I (1939) 157f.

the renowned sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus all led to its prominence.[126]   Hamaxitos no longer minted coinage after 310, and Cook's survey of Beşik Tepe detected no pottery later than the fourth century, demonstrating that the site of Hamaxitos seems to have gone completely out of use. At the site of Hellenistic Chrysa, however, a place mentioned by Strabo as the site of a φρούριον and a garrison some settlement seems to have persisted.[127] Cook identified this site at modern Göz Tepe, where his survey found evidence of only Hellenistic occupation.[128] A Hellenistic inscription also refers to this site, an honorary decree of a city whose name is not preserved, but is most likely Alexandreia Troas, that praises the phrouarch for his preservation of the fort during the war. The honors were suggested by οἱ ἐν Χρύσηι πολεῖται (l.7), who must be citizens of Alexandreia Troas living at the stronghold.[129]   Thus, it seems clear that Hamaxitos did not continue as a site of considerable settlement or occupation, besides as a small fort, past the synoikism, despite its inclusion on the Delphic theorodokoi lists *ca.* 200. The site of Larisa has not been located with complete certainly, but it was most likely located at Liman Tepe. It was a fairly substantial city, assessed just below Hamaxitos at three talents in 425.[130] Cook identified Liman Tepe with Larisa, and found limited evidence for the continuity of settlement at the site following the synoikism. However, as Cook himself notes, it appears that the settlement was much reduced. Cook found only one sherd that clearly dated to after 300 BCE and two coins dating to the Hellenistic period.[131] Inland, the site of Neandreia (at Çığrı Dağ), another Aiolian polis, though small in the fifth century,[132] appears to have been experiencing a new prosperity in the fourth. It had a new city wall,[133] a newly expanded city quarter, but after the foundation of Alexandreia it shows little sign of occupation other than isolated deposits associated with cultic activity (see below) and possibly the maintenance of operations relating to the water supply of Ilion and Alexandreia Troas. Beyond this activity, there are no coins dating to the Hellenistic period found at the site, indicating a lack of any kind of economic activity.[134] Kebren(e) (Çal Dag), traditionally a colony of Aiolic Kymai, was already listed by Strabo as one of the cities deserted.[135] Cook's survey of the site revealed no traces of occupation after the late fourth century BCE,[136] with the exception of a series of terracotta votives, probably of Kybele, that date right around 300. However, there is some evidence that Kebren(e) reasserted its independence or was refounded by the Seleukids at a later period. Robert argued that a rare group of unprovenanced coins first published by Imhoof-Blumer with an obverse/reverse of a ram's head and head of Apollo (the traditional type of Kebren(e)) and the legend Ἀντιοχέων demonstrates that Kebren(e) had been refounded at some point by a Seleukid king. Further, the additional monogram of BK on some of these issues and the depiction of a club (the known reverse type of Birytis) alongside the Ram's head, demonstrates that Kebrene and Birytis were united in a sympolity at the time of the refoundation.[137] Robert also restored the Delphic

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[126] Strabo 13.1.32.

[127] Strabo 13.1.32

[128] Cook 1973: 234-235.

[129] *I.Alexandreia Troas* 4

[130] *ATL* I (1939) 157f

[131] Cook 1973, 220-221. However Akalın 1991:63-68 has put forward another site, some 600 m south of Liman Tepe that has some evidence for an ancient harbor as a possible alternative candidate for the site of ancient Laris(s)a. The current state of research makes a firm decision between the two impossible.

[132] It was assessed at only 2000 drachmai in 425.

[133] Schulz 2000:65-98. The wall dates from *ca.* 425-350.

[134] Pohl 1994, 157-165.

[135] Strabo 13.1.33.

[136] Cook 1973: 326-334. The datable pottery does not extend beyond *ca.* 320.

[137] Robert 1951 16-31.

theorodokoi list to include Kebrene, suggesting that the city was intact and had reverted to its old name around the beginning of the second century.[138] Finally, a fragmentary inscription dating to the mid-Hellenistic period found in the American excavations at Assos twice mentions Kebren(e) in recording honors for a detachment of men, recording that a stele is to be set up there and at Assos and mentioning a festival at Kebrene.[139] Finally Kebren(e) is mentioned in the late-Hellenistic Sybilline Oracles, as a place that will be destroyed.[140] Cook has argued forcefully against these pieces of evidence constituting sufficient grounds to conclude that Kebren(e) regained the status of an independent polis in the Hellenistic period, objecting that this claim is incompatible with the archaeological evidence. He asserts on the contrary that the coinage, due to its lack of provenance, could represent an Antioch anywhere, populated with people originally from Kebren(e) and not necessarily the revival of Kebren(e). Further, he convincingly produced a more plausible restoration to the theorodokoi list, which effectively removes Kebren(e) from it, and objects that the Assos inscription need not mean that there was a village still called Kebren(e) and that it was not necessarily a polis.[141] Cooks arguments are not without merit, yet it is difficult to explain away fully the evidence for a possible refoundation as an Antioch, which in any case clearly did not persist for very long. Either way, it is clear that whatever settlement succeeded Kebren(e), it was at a different site, and clearly much reduced; Cook later suggested that it may be located at Pınarbaşı.[142] A final piece of evidence for the afterlife of Keberen(e) desrves mention. A dedicatory inscription from the Roman period was found near Kyzikos bearing the name of Dionysos Kebrenios.[143] Either this is a *pierre errante* far from the site of classical Kebren(e), or it is possible that the reconstituted Antioch Kebren(e) was located nearer to Kyzikos (as Cook suggests).[144] At any rate, it is a powerful attestation of the survival of a cult of Kebren(e), after such vicissitudes of settlement shift, polis dissolution and reconsitution after so many centuries.

3.2 IONIA

Lysimachos in Smyrna and Ephesos

With the refoundation of Smyrna and Ephesos, Lysimachos made his greatest contribution to reshaping the settlement patterns of Asia Minor (**F 3A and B**). Smyrna at the time was still in a dismal state after having suffered destruction at the hands of Alyattes in the sixth century, and the literary sources describe the former territory of Old Smyrna as settled *kata komas*.[145] Alexander took an interest in the revival of Smyrna,[146] but Antigonos and later Lysimachos seem to have actually synoikized the villages on a new site, constructed a circuit wall, and Lysimachos renamed the site Eurydikeia.[147] The late literary sources are unanimous in calling Alexander the founder of Smyrna, and romantic myths grew around his association with the city.[148]

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[138] Robert 1951: 33.
[139] *Papers of the American School at Athens* I (1882-1883) 7 no.4 (photo); *Investigations at Assos* (1902) 69 fig. 24 = *I.Assos* 4.
[140] *Orac. Sibyll.* 3.343.
[141] Cook 1973: 338-334. For a discussion of whether having a place on the list of *theorodokoi* is sufficient evidence for civic status, see Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 102-106.
[142] Cook 1973.
[143] *Ath. Mitt.* 38 (1912), 12 no. 48.
[144] Cook 1973: 344.
[145] Pausanias. 7.5.1
[146] Pausanias 7.5.1; Aelius Aristides 20.7.20; Pliny *NH* 5.118;
[147] Wall: Cadoux 1938: 102 ff. *IG II²* 663; Renamed Eurydikeia: based entirely on numismatic evidence, Minnet *Suppl.* 3: 77-78; Borrell *NC* 3 (1841) 135-137.
[148] Pausainas 7.5.2-3

At Epheosos, Lysimachos moved the site, which no longer had access to the sea due to silting of the Kayster river, and incorporated the populations of Lebedos and Kolophon, as well as Phygela. It is likely that Lysimachos planned to have this be his imperial capital in Asia. Strabo reports the unwillingness of the residents of Ephesos to move their city and tells the story of how Lysimachos blocked the drainage of the city during a heavy rainstorm and forced the Ephesians to move after their city had flooded.[149] The story is likely apocryphal and indeed Stephanos of Byzantium mentions the flood as a natural disaster.[150] A flood may indeed have occurred, but we need not dispense with Strabo's information that the Ephesians resisted the *metoikisis* of their city. Recent archaeological findings at the new site of Ephesos have revealed that the site had been used as the cemetery of the city during the archaic period.[151] This religious concern for the integrity of the cemetery was likely behind the unwillingness of the Ephesians to relocate. The flood, whether natural or engineered, may have been the impetus needed, and eventually the Ephesians moved; however, following the relocation, the superiority of the layout of the city and the site were universally recognized by the Ephesians. In order to supplement the population of Ephesos and fill the monumental dimensions of the new capital, Lysimachos transferred the populations of Lebedos (possibly detached from Teos), Kolophon, and the coastal polis of Phygela. Pausanias tells us that these poleis were destroyed and lay in ruins in his time,[152] yet they continue to resurface and Kolophon in particular minted coinage from time to time.[153]

4. THESSALY

Achaia Phthiotis: The Refoundation of Halos

As with the case of Kassandreia, it is likely that Demetiros Poliorketes' hand can also be discerned in the refoundation of a city destroyed several generations earlier by Philip II: the Achaian polis of Halos *ca.* 302. Classical Halos had been an important port city on the southern coast of the Pagasitic Gulf, and its strategic location meant that it soon found itself embroiled in the campaigns of Philip II. Since the sixth century the wider region of Achaia Phthiotis had been in a state of dependence on the Thessalians as region of so-called *perioikoi*. Following the defeat of Alexander of Pherai, the cities of Achaia Phthiotis fell under the control of the Boiotian *koinon*.[154] What we know for certain is that the Macedonian army under Parmenion besieged Halos in 346, when Demosthenes reports that an Athenian embassy headed to Pella disembarked at Halos during the siege.[155] Athens and Macedonia eventually struck a treaty, but Halos was excluded and promptly destroyed. Strabo and Demosthenes tell us that Philip took the territory away from Phthiotis and assigned it to the Pharsalians,[156] one of his main allies, without specifying what became of the people of Halos. Demosthenes 19th speech rounds out the picture somewhat. Demosthenes mentions that

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[149] Straboe 14.1.21.
[150] Stephanos *s.v.* "Ephesos."
[151] Vetters 1978: 20 and 1979.
[152] Pausanias 1.9.7 *cf.* 7.3.4-5.
[153] Milne 1951: 5-9, 63-81, nos. 101-179.
[154] Diodoros 15.80.6
[155] 19.163: δὲ πολιορκουμένου διέπλευσαν εἰς τοῦτον, καὶ πάλιν ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς Παρμενίωνα τὸν πολιορκοῦντ' ἐξελθόντες ἀπῆραν διὰ τοῦ πολεμίου στρατεύματος εἰς Παγασάς, καὶ προϊόντες ἀπήντων ἐν Λαρίσῃ τῷ κήρυκι. Papakhatzis 1958.
[156] Strabo 9.5.8: Φίλιππος μέντοι Φαρσαλίοις προσένειμεν ἀφελόμενος τῶν Φθιωτῶν. Demosthenes 11.1: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Φαρσαλίοις Ἅλον παρέδωκε καὶ τὰ περὶ Φωκέας διῳκήσατο καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην κατεστρέψατο πᾶσαν, αἰτίας οὐκ οὔσας πλασάμενος καὶ προφάσεις ἀδίκους ἐξευρὼν τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πάλαι πολεμεῖ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν…

the Halians were cast out of their homes and their land ravaged, strongly suggesting that the people of Halos were expelled.[157] No source attests to the fate of the people of Halos. Whether they were absorbed into towns of Achaia Phthiotis or taken into Pharsalos or continued to live in scattered, disorganized settlements around the ruins of the former city, as Reinders suggests, is entirely unknown.[158] The sources suggest deportation or exile, and nearly 50 years had passed between the destruction of old Halos and the foundation of the new city. Surely much of the population would have scattered after several generations.

Classical Halos was likely located at the settlement mound of Magoúla Platanióatiki, located on a beach ridge on the shore of the Pagasitic gulf. The small mound is actually only a part of what is a *ca.* eleven-hectare site strewn with fourth-century artifacts and estimated to be capable of supporting a population of around 2000. Archaeological survey of the region has yielded only small Classical/Hellenistic farmsteads elsewhere in the Almíros plain, making Magoúla Platanióatiki the only viable candidate for Classical Halos.[159] The open beach provided a harbor suitable for beaching ships, and its chora included a good deal of the fertile Almíros plain. The new site of Halos, located about two kilometers further inland, controlled the same beach but had the strategic advantage of a small acropolis. The movement of the site is in many ways similar to the considerations evident in Demetrios' refoundation of Sikyon on a more advantageous (and defensible) site only one year earlier in 303.[160]

The circumstances of the refoundation are less clear. Strabo's description of Halos is explicit as to who refounded Halos, but unfortunately the name is lost in a lacuna in the text: ᾤκισε δὲ ὁ Ἀθάμας τὴν Ἄλον, ἀφανισθεῖσαν [δὲ] συνῴ[κισ *lacuna*] χρόνοις ὕστερον. (Athamas founded Halos, and at a later date ----- refounded it after it had been obliterated).[161] Most editors restore this lacuna as συνῴ[κισαν Φαρσάλιοι],[162] with no justification, but συνῴ[κισε ὁ Δημήτριος] *vel sim.* is just as possible. It is furthermore unlikely that the Pharsalians would refound Halos, in opposition to Philip's policy, soon after its destruction, and there is no further mention of Halos until the third century. We can hardly imagine a dependent ally of Philip refounding Olynthos, for example. While the evidence in favor of Demetrios as the founder of New Halos is circumstantial, it is convincing. The date fits the period of Demetrios' activity in Thessaly prior to the battle of Ipsos. In 302 the armies of Kassandros and Demetrios were encamped across from each other in the Almíros (Krokian) plain at a standoff. Demetrios had recently left Athens, and crossed with his army from Chalkis to Larisa Kremaste in Achaia Phthiotis. Advancing northward, his progress was halted by the strong garrisons of Kassandros in Phthiotic Thebes and Pherai. Diodoros preserves an additional detail of the preparations for battle, when he tells us that Kassandros was planning the synoikismos of two unidentified communities into Thebes, which Demetrios prevented: Δίον δὲ καὶ Ὀρχομενὸν μετοικίζοντος εἰς Θήβας Κασάνδρου διεκώλυσε μετοικισθῆναι τὰς πόλεις.[163] Thus in 302, Demetrios controlled almost the whole of Achaia Phthiotis outside of Thebes and was

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[157] Demosthenes 19:39: οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἁλεῖς, οὓς ἵνα συνδιαλλάττωσι κατασχεῖν φησι τούτους, τοιαύτης τετυχήκασι διαλλαγῆς ὥστ' ἐξελήλανται καὶ ἀνάστατος ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν γέγονε. A parallel is perhaps suggested by the case of Methone, see above.

[158] Reinders 1988.

[159] Reinders et al. 1996. The *Inventory* of the Copenhagen Polis Centre (Decourt et al. 2004: 177-180) treats Classical Halos as unlocated (Reinders 1988; Reinders 1993: 714), and the entry is misleading as to some of the religious architecture as it follows a misidentification of the site of Classical Halos by Stählin 1924.

[160] Diodoros 20.102-103. For Sikyon, see also: Lolos 2006.

[161] Strabo 9.5.8

[162] *E.g.* the Teubner edition of Meinke (1877).

[163] Diodoros 20.110: The are no such poleis known in Achaia Phthiotis, and this passage may be corrupt.

prepared for a major confrontation with Kassandros. Kassandros' attempt to reinforce the population of Thebes underscores the importance of this kind of strategy for the successors and the fact that it was a common military tactic. It is entirely possible that Demetrios seized this occasion, when his army was assembled and idle, to refound Halos on a new, extremely well fortified plan. Although this event is conspicuously absent from the account of Diodoros, there is convincing archaeological evidence that bolsters this interpretation. H. Reinders, the director of the Dutch excavations of Halos, adduces the following arguments based on the material evidence: first, a coin hoard, found during the excavation of the Southeast gate of New Halos dating to the fourth century, contains an assemblage of coins that is uncharacteristic of other coin hoards in Thessaly.[164] Reinders believes this assemblage reflects the progress of Demetrios' army from Rhodes, to Athens, Euboia, and ultimately Achaia, where it was lost in the construction of the fortifications of New Halos. An additional piece of numismatic evidence furthers this argument. The coins of New Halos were struck with adjusted dies (*i.e.* the obverse and reverse are made to have a consistent rather than random orientation to one another), a practice that begins in the Levant and is first attested in Greece following Demetrios' resuscitation of the Euboian *koinon* in 304. The coins of New Halos also bear the monogram ΑΧ, suggesting that Halos was a part of a newly created Achaian *koinon*.[165] Finally, the design of the city, fortified with 120 towers and an innovative gate system,[166] must be indicative of the work of the great besieger and not of the scattered, destitute people of Halos and surely not of Pharsalos.

The Foundation of Demetrias

The territories on the northern and western shores of the Pagasitic gulf were of clear and long-standing economic and strategic importance to builders of Macedonian empire (**F4-5**). The gulf was the only outlet to the sea for all of Thessaly and much of Central Greece, and this region was a key station on the north-south land route from Macedonia through the Vale of Tempe and Thessaly to central and southern Greece. Controlling the area around Pagasai was key for controlling Greece.[167] Philip II had first sought to dominate this area after the failure of the internal Thessalian state-builders Jason of Pherai and his son Alexander. In 353, Philip besieged and razed Methone and with its defeat the last possession of Athens that bordered Philip's territory fell, opening the road to Pagasai.[168] What remained was setting up a base of power and shoring up the area against Athenian naval power in the Pagasitic gulf.[169] The gulf of Vólos was central to his policy of control and economic exploitation of Thessaly, and its chief harbor, Pagasai, formerly the ἐπίνειον of Pherai·

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[164] Reinders 2009: 372. For details of the excavation of the hoard see: Reinders 2009 and Reinders et al. 1996. The hoard consists of coins of Ephesos (tetradrachm), Tenos (tetradrachm and didrachm), Karystos (two didrachms), Chalkis (drachm), Boiotia (federal mint, hemidrachm), Histiaia (six tetrobols) and two drachms of Alexander III.

[165] Reinders 2005: 372-373. For adjusted dies see: Reinders 2009: 91.

[166]For the uniqueness of the gates of Halos, for which the only parallel is the Pnyx-Mouseion Gate at Athens (of mid-Hellenistic date) see: Mørkholm 1991.

[167] Strabo 9.4.15: καθάπερ καὶ πέδας ἐκάλει Φίλιππος τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν Χαλκίδα καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, πρὸς τὰς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀφορμὰς βλέπων· ἐπιδέσμους δ᾽ οἱ ὕστερον προσηγόρευον ταύτας τε καὶ ἔτι τὴν Δημητριάδα· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη παρόδων ἦν κυρία τῶν περὶ τὰ Τέμπη, τό τε Πήλιον ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν Ὄσσαν.

[168] Diodoros 16.31.6: ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Μεθώνην μὲν ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ διαρπάσας κατέσκαψε, Παγασὰς δὲ χειρωσάμενος ἠνάγκασεν ὑποταγῆναι. *Cf.* Demosthenes 1.22 and 2.11.

[169] See Westlake 1935: Chapter 9.

[170] and the only Thessalian outlet to the sea, was separated from Pherai and put under direct Macedonian control. Philip directly laid claim to the profits from the harbor dues and markets.[171] The weakening of Pherai, always one of the strongest poleis of Thessaly, also aided in controlling the land routes through the Vale of Tempe. At the same time, on the eastern shore of the gulf, Philip more than likely created not only a garrison, but a full-scale urban foundation on the high hill overlooking the harbor now known as Gorítsa, with formidable walls and massive catapult batteries.[172] This was the beginning of a dramatic redrawing of this region, which at the intersection of the traditional regions of Pelasgiotis, Achaia Phthiotis, and Magnesia was not only strategically central but an area of contact between different *ethne* and between Thessaly and two of her *perioikoi*,[173] and Demosthenes registers the discontent of the Thessalians with Philip's maneuvers in Magnesia and how great a loss it was to Thessaly (1.22). With the defeat of the Phokians and the end of the Third Sacred War in 352, Philip had succeeded in being elected *tagos* of Thessaly. He quickly focused on the restitution of the Thessalian tetrarchy, in what our sources brand as an attempt to wrest power away from individual poleis and strengthen his position in Thessaly.[174] Demosthenes explicitly compared this political weakening of the poleis of Thessaly to the destruction of cities in the Chalkidike and Thrace and the dioikismos of Phokis, and while the passage is keyed up for rhetorical effect, it nonetheless accurately underscores the polis-level strategy of the Macedonian kings.[175] The restitution of the tetrarchy, I would suggest, was also a means of planning for the conscription of Thessalian cavalry for the Macedonian campaigns, as this seems to have been one the primary administrative functions of the *tetrades* originally, and would have proved convenient for Philip. Finally, in Achaia Phthiotis, a traditionally perioikic region of Thessaly that had been handed over to the Boiotian *koinon* during the Third Sacred war,[176] Philip destroyed Halos in 346,[177] handing over the territory to Pharsalos, and he handed over the polis of Echinos to Malis in 342, simultaneously gaining the allegiance of that polis and strengthening Macedonia against the Boiotians.

As dramatic as Philip's presence was in Thessaly, it was Demetrios Poliorketes who had the greatest role in redrawing the map of the region and the religious and urban landscape. While Philip's strategy of control had been to consolidate his power mostly through force and the reduction of cities, Demetrios focused on the foundation of urban centers as a means of control. In Achaia Phthiotis he probably refounded Halos on a new site and may have also presided over the

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[170] Theopompos *FrGHist* 115 fr. 53.
[171] Demosthenes, Olynthiac 1.22: ταῦτα γὰρ ἄπιστα μὲν ἦν δήπου φύσει καὶ ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, κομιδῇ δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, καὶ ἔστι νῦν τούτῳ. καὶ γὰρ Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν αὐτόν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκωλύκασι τειχίζειν. ἤκουον δ' ἔγωγέ τινων, ὡς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἔτι δώσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι· τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων δέοι διοικεῖν, οὐ Φίλιππον λαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀποστερήσεται τῶν χρημάτων, εἰς στενὸν κομιδῇ τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς ξένοις αὐτῷ καταστήσεται.
[172] Bakhuizen 1992: *passim*.
[173] Intzesiloglou 1994
[174] Demosthenes 9.22: καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ βραχέος λόγου ῥᾴδιον δεῖξαι. Ὄλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἐῶ, ἃς ἁπάσας οὕτως ὠμῶς ἀνῄρηκεν ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πώποτ' ᾠκήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φωκέων ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνῃρημένον σιωπῶ. ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρῄρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν; *cf.* Westlake 1935: 196-216.
[175] For the *dioikismos* of Phokis see Diodoros 16.6.1-4.
[176] Diodoros 15.80.6
[177] Strabo 16.60.8

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establishment of a *koinon* of the Achaians *ca.* 302.[178] The foundation of Demetrias, however, was the most monumental and lasting contribution to the region. The establishment of a royal city and court that commanded the Pagasitic gulf created a major metropolis in an area of Thessaly that had always been important but not central and dramatically affected the populations and poleis of the area. Demetrias drew its population out of a total of fifteen communities: Neleia, Pagasai, Ormenion, Rhizous, Sepias, Olizon, Boibe, Iolkos,[179] Omolion, Aiolis, Halai, Korope, Spalauthra,[180] Glaphurai,[181] and Amphanai.[182] Most of these settlements were historically Magnesian, extending from the northern end of the Pagasitic gulf down the Magnesian peninsula, but it also incorporated cities from Pelasgiotis (Pagasai and Amphanai) and communities that had long been under direct Thessalian control (Iolkos and the surrounding area). Such a dramatic reorientation, combining communities that had been Thessalian with perioikic communities with a very different political and linguistic history to form a single polity was a major historical event.

Pelasgiotis: *Sorós (Amphanai/Pagasai?)*

The extensive remains of an Archaic/Classical polis that occupy the summit of the conical hill situated on the western shore of the outer gulf of Vólos, now called Sorós, certainly mark the site of one of the cities incorporated into Demetrias in the synoikism of 293 BCE (**F4**). However, the identification of the ancient name for this city is less clear, and scholars disagree whether this is the site of ancient Pagasai or Amphanai.[183] While the current state of the evidence precludes a positive answer to this debate, the prevailing scholarly opinion tends to favor identification with Pagasai, primarily on the basis of the remains of an extramural temple dedicated to Apollo and the well-known association of Pagasai with Apollo.[184] In connection with the cult of Apollo at Pagasai, Hesiod mentions an ἄλσος καὶ βωμὸς Ἀπόλλωνος Παγασαίου,[185] and it is in this area that most of sources locate the myth of Apollo and Kyknos. Apollo, enraged at Kyknos, the son of Ares, for the theft of cattle destined for sacrifice at Delphi, compelled Herakles, seconded by the hero Ioalos, to dual Kyknos and Ares. Kyknos had been terrorizing Thessaly by challenging his *xenoi* to a chariot battle and decorating the temple of Ares with the skulls of the vanquished. After Herakles had killed Kyknos, Keryx, the king of Trachis, set up a tomb for him somewhere near Iolkos, and Apollo made the river Anauros flood and destroy his monument.[186] However, by the Classical period at

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[178] Reinders 2009. For the *koinon* see Reinders 2004; Reinders 1995; Stählin 1924. Coins with the monogram AX have been found in Halos, Larisa Kremaste and other poleis in Achaia Phthiotis.

[179] Strabo 9.5.15: ἔκτισε δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ πολιορκητὴς ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Δημητριάδα μεταξὺ Νηλείας καὶ Παγασῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τὰς πλησίον πολίχνας εἰς αὐτὴν συνοικίσας, Νήλειάν τε καὶ Παγασὰς καὶ Ὀρμένιον, ἔτι δὲ Ῥιζοῦντα Σηπιάδα Ὀλιζῶνα Βοίβην Ἰωλκόν, αἳ δὴ νῦν εἰσι κῶμαι τῆς Δημητριάδος.

[180] *IG* IX 2 1109

[181] *BCH* 95:555

[182] *Polemon A*:126

[183] Amphanai: Arvanitopoulos 1909, Stählin 1924, Stählin et al. 1934, Intzesiloglou 1994: 46, Triantaphillopoulou 2000, Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2009. Pagasai: Theocharis 1973: 324, n.90; Milojčić 1974:61-75; Marzollf 1975: 46; Marzollf 1994a: 59; Marzollf 1994b: 274, n. 10; Di Salvatore 1994: 115-116; Di Salvatore 2002: 42; Helly 2001; as well as the current excavator, Mazarakis Ainian 2009: 273. The evidence for each site is conveniently summarized in Mazarakis Ainian 2009: 271-273. While the balance of scholarly opinion favors Pagasai, the confidence with which the relevant entries in the *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Decourt, Helly, Nielsen *et al.* in Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 691 and 696) identify Sorós with Pagasai and dismiss Amphanai is nevertheless surprising.

[184] For the many attestations of the cult of Apollo Pagasaios see *RE* xviii.2.2303.

[185] Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles* 69-70.

[186] Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles* 57-138 and 318-480*;* Hyginus, *Fabula* 31; Apollodoros, 2.7.7; Diodoros, 4.37, Eurpides, *Herkales* 389-393. Incidentally, the monument's location in the river valley of the Anauros, would seem to suggest that

least, Kyknos was also associated with Amphanai,[187] somewhat complicating a secure identification of Sorós as Pagasai on the basis of this myth.[188] In addition to the Kyknos myth, Pagasai was also of major mythological significance as the place from where the Argonauts constructed the Argo and set sail, the event that by some accounts gave its name to the site.[189] Here they also are supposed to have founded a sanctuary to Apollo Aktios or Embasios before their departure.[190]

  The polis center itself was surveyed and partially excavated by Arvanitopoulos in 1909 and has since seen renewed, but limited, exploration in 1971-1973 and 2004-2008.[191] The overall plan of the urban center (**F8**) can be traced fairly accurately on the basis of surface remains. The akropolis is characterized by a circular wall of large upright stones that rings the summit of the conical hill. The construction style suggests a date in the middle of the sixth century, which is probably also the date of the first inhabitation of the site.[192] The lower town is in turn delimited by several concentric, 5th - 4th century curved walls that follow the natural contours of the site, constructed either as defensive or retaining walls, and a *diateichisma* that flanks the akropolis wall on the southeast side. Arvanitopoulos excavated several monumental structures that he considered an "*anaktoron*" of the city's rulers and a temple, but provided only limited data about the use and date of these structures.[193] In the course of the survey and excavation of the polis center, no pottery datable to the Hellenistic period was found, nor did the recent excavations in the area of the cemetery produce any Hellenistic material.[194] These findings strongly suggest that the polis was completely and suddenly deserted and its population was transferred following the synoikism with Demetrias.[195] Demetrias naturally would have eclipsed Pagasai or Amphanai as the major port of the Pagasitic gulf, and the archaic plan of its defenses may have rendered it indefensible and untenable in the world of third-century military operations.

  The case of Iolkos presents a very different scenario for the fate an ancient polis incorporated into a newly founded metropolis. While Iolkos, like the other poleis that made up Demetrias, was converted into a *kome* of Demetrias, essentially equivalent to a deme, there is evidence for significant continuation of its independent religious life after the synoikism. Whether

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the location of Pagasai was closer to the northern end of the gulf of Vólos, where Pagasai has been more traditionally located by some scholars, *e.g.* Stählin et al. 1934 and Meyer 1942.

[187] Euripides, *Herakles* 389-393: ἄν τε Πηλιάδ' ἀκτὰν / Ἀναύρου παρὰ πηγὰς / Κύκνον ξεινοδαίκταν / τόξοις ὤλεσεν, Ἀμφαναί- / ας οἰκήτορ' ἄμεικτον.

[188] Pausanias mentions a statute group on the Athenian akropolis depicting Herkales fighting Kyknos and associates it with and alternate version of the myth that took place in the locale of the Apollo temple on the Peneios river in the Vale of Tempe, whence the laurel for the Pythian games came. This might suggest that Pagasai had lost its important association with the myth by Pausanias' time. (Pausanias 1.27.6): ἔστι δὲ συός τε θήρα, περὶ οὗ σαφὲς οὐδὲν οἶδα εἰ τοῦ Καλυδωνίου, καὶ Κύκνος Ἡρακλεῖ μαχόμενος: τοῦτον τὸν Κύκνον φασὶν ἄλλους τε φονεῦσαι καὶ Λύκον Θρᾷκα προτεθέντων σφίσι μονομαχίας ἄθλων, περὶ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πηνειὸν ἀπέθανεν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους

[189] Strabo 9.15.5: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ναυπηγίας τῆς Ἀργοῦς καὶ Παγασὰς λέγεσθαι μυθεύουσι τὸν τόπον, οἱ δὲ πιθανώτερον ἡγοῦνται τοὔνομα τῷ τόπῳ τεθῆναι τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν αἳ πολλαί τε καὶ δαψιλεῖς ῥέουσι: πλησίον δὲ καὶ Ἀφέται ὡς ἂν ἀφετήριόν τι τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν.

[190] Apoll. Rhod. I 359 f 403 f schol. I 407; Kallim. Fg 545b in Hygin atron. II 37; Gr. St. 77.)

[191] Milojčić 1974; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2009; Mazarakis Ainian 2009.

[192] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2009: 258.

[193] Arvanitopoulos 1909; Arvanitopoulos 1928: fig. 90. Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2009: 258.

[194] Town: Milojčić 1974; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2009: 259-261. Cemetery: Triantaphillopoulou 2000: 60.

[195] Despite the desertion of the polis center, the name of the polis certainly continued as a demotic in Demetrias, regardless of its identification with Pagasai or Amphanai: *e.g. Polemon* 1 (1929) 126.423: Φίλωνα Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀμφαναιῆ; *IG* IX 2 1109 l.4: Αἰτωλίων Δημητρίου Παγασίτης.

this evidence suggests that the site persisted as a significant urban center is unclear. Strabo only rather laconically reports that ἡ δ' Ἰωλκὸς κατέσκαπται μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ (Iolkos was utterly destroyed of old),[196] but it is unclear what time period he refers to. Unfortunately, we know relatively little archaeologically about the city of Iolkos, primarily due to its proximity to the sprawl of the modern city of Vólos and the lack of systematic archaeological work in the area.[197] Scholarly consensus places the site of Iolkos at the large mound at Kastro (Ano) Volou[198] **(F7),** which in the Mycenaean period would have been much closer to the Pagasitic gulf before the silting of the Anauros. The famous Neolithic site of Dimini, with its extensive Mycenaean remains has also been suggested as the site of at least prehistoric Iolkos, possibly with Kastro Volou serving as its port, but epigraphic evidence (see below) conclusively puts the historical center of Iolkos at Kastro Volou. Graves in the area of Kastro Volou dating from the sixth through fifth centuries have been identified,[199] and there are scanty remains of a temple, in all likelihood that of Artemis Iolkia, the patron divinity of Iolkos.[200] Arvanitopoulos also found poros fragments of triglyphs, metopes, and Doric capitals used as spolia in a house on the east side of the hill.[201] These fragments almost certainly belong to the temple, and suggest a Classical date. However, due to the extremely poor publication of this temple, its precise period of use is unclear. On the west side of the hill, a marble base was found with late second-century dedicatory inscription to a priestess of Artemis Iolkia (*IG* IX 2 1122; see below), and a late second-century dedication to Artemis Pagasitis (*IG* IX 2 1123) was built in to the Byzantine fortification wall encircling the Kastro. Due to the limited excavation that has taken place in the area, it is not possible to make any secure judgment as to whether Iolkos continued in any meaningful way as an urban center. The cemetery seems to be mainly archaic – classical, but it has not been fully explored, and what physical remains have materialized seem are all connected with the sanctuary of Artemis.

Pevkakia Magula (Neleia?)

  Pevkakia Magula, an artificial settlement mound on the spur of land that extends northward into the inner bay of Volos from the site of Demetrias, is well known for its continuous levels of occupation from the Neolithic (Classical Dimini period) through to the Late Helladic. Unfortunately, the extensive excavations of Theocharis and Milojčić focused almost entirely on these levels, and the reports on the later phases of the site lack detail.[202] The site is traditionally identified with Neleia, one of the *komai* of Demetrias, and according to Strabo it was between Neleia and Pagasai that Demetrias was founded (9.5.15).[203] There are a few traces of Classical settlement evident, however, mostly scrappy traces of the walls of classical houses and some pottery. The lack of extensive finds from archaic/classical Neleia may be the most telling evidence and is probably

[196] 9.5.15

[197] Staïs 1892, 229-232; Arvanitopoulos 1912, 141; Arvanitopoulos 1914, 119-130; Theocharis 1956; Theocharis 1957, 49-59; Theocharis 1960; Theocharis 1961: 45-54.

[198] Arvanitopoulos 1910.

[199] Intzesiloglou 1994: 709.

[200] Giannopulos first reported the find as the temple of Apollo Embasios: *Θεσσαλία,* Volos: 18 April 1900 (newspaper); *AM* XXV 1900: 117. Arvantiopoulos preferred the idenifaction as the temple of Artemis Iolkia: Lauffer 1989; Arvanitopoulos 1908. See also: Stählin in *RE* IX 1853.

[201] Arvanitopoulos 1909.

[202] For the final report of the German excavations, see: Hauptmann 1989, and for the excavations of Theocharis see: Theocharis 1973.

[203] Doubt is frequently cast on whether Neleia was actually ever an independent community. Baladié (1996) considers it the harbor of Iolkos, and Bakhuizen 1996 has argued that the name Neleia (city of Neleus) simply stands in metonomy for Iolkos.

attributable to the foundation of Demetrias itself. There is evidence for a general leveling of the mound, in the upper phases and this is probably related to the preparation works for the laying out of Demetrias, which appears to have entailed the destruction of the settlement on Pevkakia Magula.[204] In the Hellenistic period, the end of the peninsula had at least one installation for the production and processing of murex, so it is conceivable that the area was converted to a primarily industrial use after the creation of Demetrias.[205] In any case, if we are right to identify Pevkakia Magula with Neleia, it seems evident that the population and the urban settlement was completely incorporated into the polis of Demetrias, as in the case of Soros. The demotic is not longer attested in Demetrias, but the cult of Aphrodite Neleia persisted after the synoikism.

Korope, as the site of the renowned sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios, one of the major oracular shrines of the Greek world, is of central importance to the discussion of the religious life of Magnesia after the synoikism of Demetrias. The sanctuary is well attested epigraphically in the Hellenistic period through a long *lex sacra* dealing with the proper protocols for consulting the oracle and regulations for the maintenance of the shrine (*IG* IX 2 1109), as well as through a number of documents from Demetrias, and the site has been conclusively identified and partially explored.[206] As will be discussed further, the cult of Apollo Koropaios, became one of the central state cults of Demetrias, which controlled its shrine and elected and eponymous priest, and by at least by the period of the Magnesian league, Apollo Koropaios had become firmly ensconced as a member of the so-called "Magnesian triad:" Artemis Iolkia, Apollo Koropaios, and Zeus Akraios.

However, despite our rather detailed knowledge of the role of Apollo Koropaios and the sanctuary at Korope in the Hellenistic period, our knowledge of the cult in earlier periods and its relationship to Magnesia are far more tentative. In the tradition of the oracle, the sanctuary was supposedly founded by the Boiotians of Thessaly, a pre-Thessalian group that Helly interprets as "north-Achaian," that is the *ethnos* that would come to make up the historical perioikic regions of Thessaly, *e.g.* Achaia Phthiotis.[207] At this time the Magnesians were not settled in the areas at the foot of Pelion and their origins are specifically distinct from that of the other perioikic groups, a fact that distances them from and early association with the oracle. The arrival of the Thessalians displaced these groups, and in the historical period, Pelion was poised between the Thessalian *tetras* of Pelasgiotis and Magnesia. The question that remains, is whether the oracle of Apollo Koropaios and its accompanying settlement Korpe, was considered Thessalian or Magnesian in the Archaic-Classical periods. The question cannot be determined with certainty, but Helly suggests that the testimony of a scholiast, commenting on Aristophanes' *Clouds,* suggests a possible Thessalian orientation toward the shrine in the Classical period, though it is doubtful that the scholiast would have be making such a precise distinction between Thessalian/Magnesian.[208] There is no conclusive evidence however that Korope belonged to Magnesia before the Hellenistic period. The ethnic is not attested, and, *pace* Stählin,[209] who cited *CID* II 97.64 (327/326) as an instance of Korope providing a *hieromnemnon* to Delphi in the fourth century, the ethnic Κοροφαῖος is that of an Ainian city, and not Korope.[210]

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[204] Batziou-Efstathiou.

[205] *AR* 1957: 12.

[206] Bakhuizen 1996: 123; Arvanitopoulos 1906: 3-24.

[207] Papakhatzis 1960: 151-152; see also: Helly 2006a; Helly 2001b.

[208] (Σ. *ad Clouds* 133): οἱ δ' ἐν Θετταλίαι περὶ τὸν Παγασιτικὸν κόλπον εἶδον περιπταμένους τοὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱεροὺς κόρακας, οὕς παῖδες ἀφῆκαν γυψώσαντες ὑπὸ τὸν χρησμὸν φησάντες ἐνταῦθα κατώικησαν.

[209] Helly 2001: 54.

[210] As rightly observed by Helly 2006:153 n.37.

Arvantiopoulos' brief excavations in the area of Korope in 1906 revealed the remains of the sanctuary, the results of which were reinvestigated and partially published by Papakhatzis in the 1960s.[211] The sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios was located at the base of the small hill called Petralona, near modern Bufa, on the shore of the Pagasitic gulf. In addition to the inscription, found on the site of the sanctuary, two sections of the *peribolos* wall of the sanctuary were identified. In the northern section, two parallel walls appear to represent a stoa.[212] The pottery, though not published, dated as early as the 7th-6th centuries BCE, including a large amount of black-glazed and black figure sherds and terracotta figurines. Fragments of Archaic terracotta revetments, most likely from the temple of Apollo and a further fragment of zoomorphic akroterion, displaying the wing of a gryphon or sphinx, were also discovered.[213] The classical settlement of Korope itself seems to have been located on the peak of Petralona, about one kilometer east of the sanctuary. There are traces of retaining walls in the area, likely of archaic date based on the masonry style, but no fortification walls on what was likely the akropolis. The finds in this area indicated dates of habitation from the archaic through the early Hellenistic periods, with no more precision reported as to the date of abandonment. However, it does seem that the focus of activity in the later Hellenistic-Roman period was concentrated in the area to the south west of the sanctuary, near the shore, where Papakhatzis' survey of the area has noted concentrations of Hellenistic through Roman pottery.

The finds are suggestive, yet the preliminary state of investigation limits any conclusive interpretation of the material. What is immediately apparent is that the sanctity of the site of the oracle was maintained, and it flourished well into the Roman period. Unlike the cult and temple of Artemis Iolkia, which was to some extent, if not completely, transferred into the city of Demetrias (see *infra*), even though Apollo Koropaios became a key poliadic deity of Demetrias, there is no evidence for any transference or duplication of the shrine, though the fact that there was a priest in Demetrias may be suggestive. The fate of the settlement is less clear. The apparent abandonment of the akropolis at Petralona may indicate that the settlement was abandoned completely and the population moved to Demetrias in the early third century, in which case the pottery may be explained by the temporary population of pilgrims visiting the site and the sanctuary personnel alone. It is possible that the center of settlement moved downhill near the water and the sanctuary, and Roman tombs between the two sites suggest some inhabitation in a later period. The lack of precision in the pottery dates makes this hard to track.

Spalauthra and Glaphyrai

Spalauthra and Glaphyrai were two of the most peripheral of the communities brought into the synoikism for which we have any evidence in the Hellenistic period. The epigraphical documents from these sites seriously call into question the notion that the synoikism of the communities that were situated distantly from Demetrias was anything but political. Spalauthra, lying about three-fourths of the way down the Magnesian peninsula at modern Chorto on the western coast,[214] is almost 50 km from the urban center of Demetrias, while Glaphyrai, in the plain north of the western spur of Pelion, on the shore of the ancient lake Boebe, was at least 33 km away. Three of the other communities, listed as participating in the synoikism, were even further afield, the

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[211] Stählin 1924: 123; Arvanitopoulos 1906: 3-24.
[212] Papakhatzis 1960: 6, fig. 2.
[213] Papakhatzis 1960: 8, fig.5 and 11, fig. 6. *C.f.*: van Buren 1926: 44.
[214] The akropolis of Spalauthra was probably located on the hill of Chortokastro, where the church of Ayios Nikolaos appears to be built on the foundations of an ancient temple (Sokolowski 1969: 140).

polis Olizon being located on the southern neck of the Magnesian peninsula, Sepias a *polichne* somewhere on the cape, and the polis Rhizous, on the far northeastern coast of Magnesia. While these clearly became demes of Demetrias, gave up their political independence, and ceased to mint coinage, it does not seem that they contributed greatly to the initial population of Demetrias, nor were they subject to any physical transference. Where there is evidence, it seems that these settlements persisted as discrete urban centers, though firmly brought into the administrative and religious community of Demetrias.

IG IX 2 1111, a decree of the demos of Spalauthra, provides rare evidence for an active urban center among the *komai* of Demetrias. The document was found somewhere in Magnesia, but ultimately transferred to Istanbul where it was discovered in a private collection.[215] It must have been found in Demetrias originally. The document honors a certain Lysias, son of Epiteles, a Demetrian and *strategos* of the Magnesian *koinon*, for his benefactions and attention to the interests of the Spalauthrians (l. 10-25). The publication clause (l.29-34) of the document reads as follows:

> ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὴν στήλην ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾶι πα[ρὰ]
> τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Σωτείρας, ἵνα δὲ
> παρακολουθήσῃ τὴν τοῦ δήμου εὔνοιαν, ἀπο-
> στεῖλαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνδρας δύο τοὺς ἀναδ[ώ]-
> σοντας αὐτῶι τοῦ ψηφίσματος [τούτου] τὸ ἀ[ν]-
> τίγραφον

> [the demos of the Spalauthreans decreed] to set up the stele in the agora beside the sanctuary of Artemis Soteria, so that he may trace the good will of the *demos*; to dispatch to him two men to give to him a copy of this resolution.

The *hieron* of Artemis Soteria is presumably that of Artemis Iolkia, the chief poliadic deity of Demetrias, whose sanctuary was located in the center of the city in the middle of the *hiera agora*.[216] This was the publication site of many of the important inscriptions of Demetrias, among them the decrees of the Magnesian *koinon*, and seems to have served as the public archive as well. We see in this inscription the level of involvement of the officials of Demetrias in the affairs of the demes, but also the vitality and continued independence of some urban centers like Spalauthra. The deme seems to have a number of civic institutions in place, and a further detail in the document highlights some aspects of Spalauthra's continued existence as a urban center, as the demos also resolved: ὅταν παραγένηται εἰς Σπάλα[υ]- / θρα, καλέσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια (34-35). Aside from showing conclusively that Spalauthra was an independent site and not just a constituent urban deme of Demetrias, as seems to have been the case with Pagasai, Amphanai, Neleia, etc., the document confirms that it had the infrastructure to offer *xenia* to a visiting official.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Mapping the changes in settlement patterns across several regions in Greece and Asia Minor reveals how profoundly the imprint of Macedonian empire affected regional political and social structures. Understanding that almost all of the foundations of the Hellenistic kings were not actually *ex novo* creations, but either the refoundation of an existing city or the centralization of populations scattered among smaller cities and villages, and approaching these foundations

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[215] *Editio princeps*: Mordtmann *AM* 14 (1889), 195.5.
[216] For the sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia, see below Chapter 3.

methodologically as *synoikismoi* entails important advances. Investigating how the process of merging multiple cities into a single community works, its limits and negotiations, sheds important light on the dynamic of the urbanization and imperial processes of this period. The literary sources stress the destructive process involved in creating these new settlements, which is often described as involving the razing of ancient cities and forced population transfer. This historical *topos* overshadows what was in reality a much more complicated process. We have seen that there is good archaeological and epigraphic evidence that many of these sites persisted as urban centers after they were supposedly destroyed or abandoned, and only in a small minority of cases is there actually verifiable evidence for destruction.

The centralizing efforts of the diadachoi also stand in stark contrast to the imperial prototype of Athens. J. Ma has recently pointed to the potential of analyzing the development of Athenian imperialism alongside the imperial forms of the Hellenistic world, yet surprisingly little work has been done in this area. In many ways, the "surrender and grant" model derived from recent scholarship on the Hellenistic world is equally applicable to the Athenian model.[217] However, as attractive and as potentially fruitful as comparative work between the Athenian model of empire and the Hellenistic is, it is necessary to distinguish between a major differential between the imperial strategies of the entities. The Hellenistic kings, as I have argued, preferred to exert their control through the enforced centralization and urbanization of their populations, not, as in the Athenian case, through the fragmentation and dispersal of population. This model was in large part followed by Philip II, but by the time of the successors, the model of power through centralization was predominant. These two models represent opposite poles of political control.

It is only through a detailed treatment of these foundations that a more nuanced picture of the process of *synoikismos* and foundation can be achieved. Establishing the outline of the important structural changes that took place across northern Greece and Asia Minor in this period provides an important backdrop to exploring issues of economic, cultic, and social responses to Macedonian hegemony, which remain surprisingly understudied. The following chapters will explore these issues in detail.

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[217] Ma 2009: 125-148, esp.125-129.

2
URBANIZATION, CENTRALIZATION, AND THE REGIONAL AND ROYAL ECONOMIES

1. INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter sought to establish patterns for the ways in which royal foundations or refoundations in the early Hellenistic period affected regional landscapes and redefined settlement patterns. It was the contention of that chapter that the predominant process at work in this period is best described as urbanization; that is, a reorganization of existing populations and settlements into larger, modernized nucleated settlements, rather than colonization based on an influx of new settlers and foundations on completely or relatively virgin sites. This process often accords conceptually with the ancient Greek term *synoikismos,* a common process throughout Greek history but carried out on a massive scale in this period. Further, even though many of the original constituent communities remained as second-order settlements after the initial foundation or synoikism, as the review presented in Chapter 1 demonstrated, a new political and economic entrepôt became the new focus of these areas, dramatically realigning the local and regional economies of the regions. Lacking any real demographic data for growth or shifts in population densities, this process is not easily quantifiable; nevertheless, the focus on urban development emerges structurally as a key and defining aspect of Macedonian imperialism. That such large-scale urbanization processes had dramatic effects for the economies of the period is inevitable. However, despite early and sustained interest in the foundations of the Hellenistic period,[1] the role of the intensification of urban settlement in the Hellenistic economies of the northern Aegean and western Asia Minor has received relatively little detailed or systematic investigation. Handbooks on the period routinely indicate the importance of cities, particularly new cities, to the Hellenistic period, but lack rigor in defining the precise scale, character, or consequence of these foundations.[2] The present chapter seeks to sketch some of the possibilities for the importance of expanded urban centers for Hellenistic economies and to place these foundations in the broader context of royal policy in the period of the *diadochoi* and securely within a model of the dynamic interaction between king and city in the Hellenistic age.

Urbanization, Demography, and Economic Models

Current scholarship on ancient demography rightly cautions against lending credence to facile claims of population growth without very good evidence, especially considering the limits on secular growth in ancient societies.[3] Thus, while survey data for the late fourth century and the early Hellenistic period seem to show a growth in population in northern Greece and western Asia Minor,

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[1] The fundamental work by Tscherikower (1926) is essentially a catalogue of the urban foundations of the Hellenistic period. Likewise, Cohen 1995 and Cohen 2006, while providing a wealth of detail, essentially update Tscherikower and provide little systematic analysis. Aperghis 2004 and Aperghis 2005 (discussed in detail below), concerned with the role of cities in the tax structure of the Seleukid empire are unique in posing a model for the economic role of urban foundations. However, the myopic focus on the role of cities for the monetization of the Seleukid economy elides much of the complexity and ambivalence of the economic effects of urbanization.
[2] *E.g.* Billows 2003 and Reger 2007.
[3] Scheidel 2007: 74-80.

caution is due here. Nevertheless even without major expansion of population numbers, urbanization of populations and a shift to larger cities can entail a wide variety of economic consequences and challenges that have the potential to restructure regional patterns of exchange.[4] The exact correspondence between urbanization and economic growth is somewhat ambivalent, and in principle the process of urbanization can carry with it both stimuli and hindrances to economic development. Increased urban settlement has attendant risks: the challenges of supplying the city, the inherent nature of a city as a population sink due to decreased life expectancy, a strain on the productive capacity of the hinterland, *etc.* Yet these very problems also have the potential to yield technological advancements, expanded infrastructure, increased networks of mobility and connectivity of goods and manpower, the development of complexity and flexibility in social and economic institutions, craft and trade differentiation, and can be a means of alleviating the pressures of population in the countryside, as well as promoting agricultural efficiency as demand increases.[5] Most importantly in this period, in the context of an overarching imperial power structure, developed urban centers provided key stations for a larger network of taxation, trade, mobilization of resources, and exploitation, and this imperial network has important benefits (along with obvious detriments) that carry over to non-state economic activity.

In sum, while no means unequivocal, urbanization has a definite correlation to economic growth. This chapter maintains that the Hellenistic kings pursued a conscious policy of centralization and urbanization in order to achieve a variety of goals, not least of which was intensification of trade, agricultural exploitation, and maximization of revenues, but simultaneously the royal authorities and their representatives were concerned with establishing viable independent poleis, large and stable enough to meet the demands of a competitive, multi-state ecology. This strategy thus operated at a number of economic levels: concern for having defensible and productive independent poleis, for developing and expanding under-utilized and under-urbanized regions, for establishing effective regional hegemonies or sub-hegemonies, for initiating a broader network of exchange and connectivity, and ultimately for constructing an overall royal economy. Centralization of population and urban development lay at the center of this policy, distinguishing the structure of Hellenistic empire from Athenian and Achaemenid models of imperial control and revenue extraction.

Centralization and Power

The case studies presented in chapter 1 focused on individual regions that, while displaying very different political and organizational features, had in common that they were broadly characterized by a dispersed pattern of settlement, small polis centers controlling a limited *chora*, and a lack of

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[4] Scheidel 2007:81: "More generally, urbanization may be envisaged as the outcome of any one of four processes: the concentration of a previously dispersed non-agrarian population of rentiers, craftsmen, traders, and even farmers in cities, without concurrent changes in population density or productivity; increasing population density at constant per capita output, creating a larger cumulative surplus that sustains larger, urban, settlements for the non-agrarian population; increasing per capita output at constant population levels, expanding the relative share of the non-agrarian sector and encouraging urban residence; and, finally, concurrent increases in population and productivity."

[5] See Scheidel 2007 82-85. This is not the place to enter the long-standing debate over the "producer" vs. "consumer" models of the ancient city. However, the trend in recent scholarship to view the ancient city as embodying both parasitical and productive tendencies that are neither mutually excusive nor separable has added considerable nuance to the question, and this study is in broad sympathy with this perspective. The case studies below provide conflicting evidence for this question. For an overview, see Horden and Purcell 2000, 105-108; Erdkamp 2001; Mattingly and Salmon 2001; and, in a Roman context, Parkins 1997.

strong regional hegemonies or corporate political bodies. A major logistical challenge facing the successors of Alexander, who inherited such large and disparate areas, was the task of integrating these regions into manageable and productive bases of power and resource extraction. Whether we are dealing with the decentralized region of Magnesia, whose maritime economic potential was dominated by more powerful Thessalian neighbors to the west, the dispersed settlements of the Thermaic gulf, the Aiolic or Ionian poleis, still recovering from the decentralizing processes resulting from centuries of domination by the Persian and Athenian empires, or the fragmented interior of western Asia Minor still largely arranged *kata komas* and dotted by elite Persian estates, Alexander and his successors grappled with similar issues of how to strengthen their hold on these areas while simultaneously negotiating complex local traditions, rivalries, and politics. Investigating the economic implications of urban foundations and synoikismoi necessitates looking at various levels of this process of centralization. The merging of cities must be considered alongside the restructuring of land tenure and the expansion of the *chora* of these urban centers. Further, the role of cities in broader regional networks and hierarchies should be considered, as well as the extension of networks of connectivity, trade and taxation. In addition, some account must be made of the costs of these projects and the immediate economic drain on cities and monarchs that this extensive building and reorganization represented, along with the potential for long-term growth.

2. THE CONCERNS AND COSTS OF *SYNOIKISMOS* AND URBAN FOUNDATION

A basic preliminary question must address what, in concrete economic terms, was involved in uniting several communities or founding a new settlement. In her comprehensive study of *synoikismos* and *metoikisis* in Archaic and Classical Greece, N. Demand maintains that there is no case of either of these phenomena ever taking place for purely economic motives.[6] While our sources, such as they are, indeed never explicitly make such a claim, Demand's silence on the economic aspects of "urban relocation" conceals the broad economic impact of such unions and the wide-ranging costs, difficulties, and opportunities of moving, accommodating and integrating populations into a fundamentally new urban center.

If we consider the case of the proposed synoikism of Teos and Lebedos, for which we have the fullest and best-known documentary evidence, the letters of Antigonos to Teos (*RC* 3-4 = *Syll.*[3] 344) are replete with details shedding light on the economic concerns of the king as well as reflections of the concerns and pressures to which the communities themselves were subject. Pausanias, reporting on the *chora* of Lebedos, informs us that the polis lacked nothing in terms of natural resources, advantageous location, and other raw materials for success before Lysimachos included it in the synoikism of Ephesos.[7] No source indicates that Lebedos had a reputation for poverty, *oliganthropia*, or serious weakness, such factors as may have motivated, for example, the *sympoliteia* of Myous with Miletos in a later period after Myous had lost its access to the sea.

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[6] Demand 1990: 166-168. For criticism of this point see Mackil 2004: 496.

[7] Pausanias 7.3.5: Λεβεδίοις δὲ ἐποίησε μὲν Λυσίμαχος ἀνάστατον τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα δὴ συντέλεια ἐς μέγεθος τῇ Ἐφέσῳ γένοιτο· χώρα δέ σφισιν ἔς τε τὰ λοιπά ἐστιν εὐδαίμων καὶ λουτρὰ παρέχεται θερμὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἥδιστα. *C.f.* Hekataios *Frag.* 219; Herodotos 1.142; Thucydides 8.19. Pausanias' use of the word *sunteleia* in this context is interesting. In the Hellenistic period the use of *sunteleia* to describe a union of cities is mostly confined to the description of larger koina like the Achaian koinon (*c.f.* Polybios 5.94.1 and Pausanias 7.15.2). For a discussion of the terms *sunteleia / suntelein* in the context of fourth-century Boiotia and the hegemony of Thebes, see Bakhuizen 1994: 307-330.

Antigonos' concerns were clearly distinct from simply shoring up a faltering polis and we must look to a more complex motive. The costs of such a venture would surely be substantial. When the letters were written, the details of projected synoikism were not fully decided. The synoikism was to take one of three forms: *a.* either the polis of Teos was to remain in its present location and the people of Lebedos would be absorbed into it over a period of four years (a quarter of the population of Lebedos moving into the city each year *RC* 3.17, *cf.* 4.9) and one third of the houses of Teos would be provided to the people of Lebedos while new housing was constructed in the city; *b.* Teos would be completely torn down and in the meantime half of the old houses of Teos would be left temporarily, one-third of which would go to the people of Lebedos and two-thirds to the people of Teos while the new city was being constructed (presumably the excess population would be encamped at the new site working on the city?); finally *c.* part of the city would be left in its present location while the Teans and the Lebedians would be crammed into the part of the city that is not being torn down until new houses are being constructed or some of the old houses would be left until they could be phased out (*RC* 3 § 2). The costs of scenarios *b.* and *c.* would clearly be substantial, as they would involve not only the construction of the most number of houses, the greatest import of timber, bricks, and costly roof tiles (provisioned for in *RC* 3) but also either a completely or partially new circuit wall, new public buildings, and potentially new harbor works. Moving Teos further down the peninsula (option *b*) seems to be the preference of Antigonos, who may have seen this as the most strategically and commercially advantageous location, and the options may indicate behind-the-scenes negotiations with the envoys of Teos and Lebedos, who may have been more resistant, which are only partially visible in the document. In addition to the building expenses, the cost of feeding the city during this four-year period of disruption would have been substantial. The wrangling over the importation of grain (*RC* 3 § 11) clearly highlights the centrality of this issue.

In sum, the costs, both to city and king, would have been substantial, especially considering the scale of other such ventures that a king would have been involved with simultaneously. So what of the economic benefits? Modernization of the civic infrastructure would have certainly been a boon – a city wall suited to third century siege methods, modern houses and street networks, enlarged civic architecture, new harbor facilities, *etc.* From the perspective of the king, the synoikism would have potentially solved a number of other problems endemic to fourth-century poleis. First, Antigonos' initial *diagramma* instructs both parties to resolve all of their personal lawsuits within two years and for both poleis of Teos and Lebedos to resolve their disputes with one another, subject to the arbitration of Mytilene if necessary (*RC* 3.30). Further, the public debts of Lebedos were to be taken over by Teos and paid for with common funds (*RC* 3 § 3). Antigonos is clearly frustrated by the backlog of court cases in the two cities that has led to a standstill making successful resolution of suits in court impossible and leading to a situation where interest compounds indefinitely on debts where the contracts are subject to dispute. Antigonos proposes a simple solution: if the debtors pay willingly, the debts shall not exceed twice their original value; if it is necessary to go to courts the debtors will have to pay three times the value. The synoikism is thus an opportunity to clear the dockets of the courts, eliminate both civic and private disputes and debts, and resolve the friction between these two neighboring states, as well as to make headway in eliminating the public debt of the future synoikized Teos. In light of this clear concern, we may perhaps view with somewhat less suspicion Antigonos' policies on the importation of grain. The king's claim that he was unwilling initially to allow for the earmarking of fourteen hundred staters from the civic revenues to be allotted as security for private individuals to borrow for the importation of grain and more while the synoikism was taking place (*RC* 3 § 10), because he wished to keep the cities free of debts and because there was plentiful royal land nearby (φορολογουμένης χώρας) from which grain could

be imported, has been met with almost universal suspicion as the predatory economic policy of the king seeking to profit off a monopoly on grain importation. While Antigonos, at pains to ensure that there is no private profit for him in the arrangement (ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ἰδίαι ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος οὐδὲν γί[νεται ἡμῖν, γινώσκετε] / [ὑ]μεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, ἀλλὰ συντάσσομεν ταῦτα θε[ωροῦντες ὅπως ὧν ὀφ]είλουσιν αἱ πόλεις ἐλευθεραι γένωνται *RC* 3 86-87), perhaps protests too much, and although it is certainly easy to see how such an arrangement would be profitable for the king, it does not necessarily follow that his concerns for eliminating public an private debt as much as possible were not central and mutually advantageous. As discussed further below, synoikism also provided an opportunity to reassess the lands of the *chora* and to redistribute estates and consolidate royal land. The two operations are inseparable and economically linked.

On the other side of the equation, the projected synoikism posed major challenges to civic finances both of the poleis individually and of the future synoikized polis of Teos. Greek cities were chronically cash-poor and such a venture, even with royal support, would require the city to muster a substantial amount of money for a short period of time, straining the civic finances of Teos. An initial problem was the merging of the elites of the city and dealing with the expected contributions from them. Antigonos' letter stipulates that those who have performed the *choregia*, triarchy or any other liturgy in either city should not be expected to perform the same liturgy, and the Lebedians, as the party subject to a great burden in the synoikism, should be exempt from liturgy while the synoikism is ongoing. Another detail offers exemption from liturgy for any of the Teans who would move out to the peninsula (*RC* 3 l.70-72). Here Antigonos appears to be explicitly providing an incentive for moving to a more commercially favorable location in order to stimulate trade. Likewise rights of proxeny, *etc.* are to be shifted from Lebedos to Teos (*RC* 3 § 5). We may imagine difficulties with the merging of elites, but a greater and more immediate problem was financing the building works and strain of that outlay. The second letter of Antigonos is almost entirely concerned with this point. Antigonos stresses that completing this as quickly as possible is his main concern, but the nature of Greek civic finance made raising capital quickly from income on revenues impossible. Antigonos thus ordered the Teans to pay the Lebedians the price of their former houses immediately at a value established by the arbitrators from Kos, and the burden should fall on the "wealthiest" 600 Teans, who would make advance contributions towards the expenditure of the houses and be repaid within a year from the city's revenue (*RC* 4). The burden on the city, as well as on the elite, is impressive. One would of course like to know how the individuals themselves reacted to these propositions. In the short term the elite would have to front a considerable amount of money, but perhaps there were perceived opportunities to be had after the synoikism was completed.

One striking feature of the letters of Antigonos to Teos is the complete absence of any prescriptions for defense or security. Of course these concerns may underlie many of the objectives of the documents, and a strong city would certainly promote at least internal security, but these documents do not feature the preoccupation with control or security that historians usually attribute to the motivation for the urban works of the successors. Practical, legal, institutional, and economic concerns dominate, and the documents display the complexity of the economic planning of the royal authority and the circumspection of both king and city in these matters. A new document from Herkaleia by Latmos[8] records very similar concerns in the Karaian satrap Asandros' enforced union of the poleis of Latmos and Pidasa in the late fourth century, evincing concerns over this important

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[8] *Editio princeps* Blümel 1997:137. For commentary on the document and textual variants see also Jones 1999:1-6; Wörrle 2003: 121-143; and Reger 2004, 152-154.

region on the route between Miletos and the capital of Karia, Mylasa. The document records the forced transplant of all of the Pidasians into Latmos, along with provisions for their housing in Latmos, and the harsh provision for limiting marriage to only that between a Pidasian and a Latmian and vice versa for a period of six years, in an effort to efface any distinct identity between the two poleis. The civic finances of the two cities were to be united, with nothing belonging solely to one city (ἴδιον δὲ μηθὲν εἶναι μηδετέραι τῶν πόλεων l.16-17) and the Pidasians should have a right to build a house in Latmos or on the public land as they wished. The synoikism did not work, and it appears that Latmos was moved and refounded a short time later, probably by an agent of Antigonos before being refounded again by Pleistarchos, the brother of Kassandros in the 290s.[9] In a later iteration of Pidasa's troubled history, it was finally absorbed into Miletos in the 180s, when the former *astu* of Pidasa was transformed into a fort in the expanded territory of Miletos and used as a military outpost exerting control over the *chora* (*Milet* I.3 149 § 4). Expanded infrastructure was also needed, as these two cities became one: a clause in the *sympoliteia* of the cities provides for the construction of a new road to connect the urban center of Miletos to the land of former Pidasa, enabling continued access to fields, farmsteads, *etc.* and providing for the economic linkage of these two states.

Examples such as these could be multiplied, especially from the details provided about civic finance from the sympolity agreements in the later Hellenistic period not designed by kings, which similarly reveal financial complexity but some different concerns.[10] Defense and consolidation were certainly goals of this centralization, but commerce and access to the sea, where possible, and the commercial revitalization of the cities of western Asia Minor were of chief interest. Antigonos' efforts in the construction of the new city and circuit wall in Kolophon between 311 and 306 and the tremendous outlay and cost associated with that project (Meritt no. I = *SEG* 19 698)[11] did not prevent Lysimachos from attempting the more ambitious project of incorporating the population of Kolophon into Ephesos in an attempt to create a single regional center, despite the perfectly defensible position of Kolophon. The independent financial health of the cities and a preoccupation with ensuring that they had the infrastructure and proper siting necessary for taking a place within a larger network of exchange were the chief economic goals of the royal authorities in those rare instances in which the documents provide us with insight into their motives.

3. THE CITY AND THE LAND

Too often the study of the interaction between cites and Hellenistic monarchs fails to take into consideration the importance of the productive hinterland of the poleis and the dramatic effects that the restructuring of land tenure had on the *chora* of the independent poleis of northern Greece and Asia Minor. The following section explores this aspect of the economy of ancient cities in western Asia Minor and, to a lesser extent, Macedonia in an attempt to draw out the importance of the reorganization of the countryside and the granting of large estates to high-ranking *philoi* of the kings on the economies of individual poleis, linking this activity to a large model of royal urban policy.

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[9] See Cohen 1995: 261-263.
[10] *E.g.* the sympoly of Magnesia and Smyrna (*OGIS* 229, 77) and Medea and Stiris (*Syll.³* 647).
[11] Merrit 1935: 359-372.

Achaemenid control of Asia Minor never embraced a policy of extensive colonization or urban restructuring. Systematic investigation of settlement in Achaemenid Asia Minor has stressed the relatively low numbers of Iranian personnel involved in the government of the satrapies.[12] Achaemenid control was usually mapped onto the administrative centers of its predecessors, *e.g.* the replacement of Lydian control at Sardis or Daskyleion without major initiatives toward new urban foundations. These urban centers had a certain degree of Persian elite culture at the highest levels, particularly in terms of luxury goods, but it would be misguided to speak of any significant level of Iranization throughout most of Asia Minor. The impact and presence of the Achaemenid empire was for the most part visible in the rural landscape. Achaemenid exploitation of Asia Minor and redistribution of landed wealth to Iranian or local elites took the form of rural estates centered on the fortified manor (τύροις) of the landlord, controlling a large tract of royal land leased out and also encompassing several villages, from which revenues were also extracted.[13] The recent Granikos River survey now provides some of the most detailed archaeological data for the effects of Macedonian conquests on the patterns of land tenure and settlement in Hellenistic Asia Minor. The surface pottery in the Granikos valley, near the satrapal capital of Daskyleion, indicates dense settlement centered around estates in the period of Persian domination, with the land intensively cultivated. 41% of the ceramic material collected in the survey dates to the late sixth through the early fourth century. By contrast, there is a sharp decline in the Hellenistic period, with only 5% of the datable artifacts belonging to this period, and of that most are Early Hellenistic. By the early Roman period the percentage is reduced to a meager 1%, and settlement in this region would only begin to rise again in the Late Roman period (29%).[14] The conquests of Alexander would have resulted in the vacancy of these estates and vast amounts of land would have been available for redistribution. The sharp drop in surface pottery indicates that, while cultivation of this land did not necessarily reduce dramatically, settlement did. These data accord well with epigraphic evidence of land grants from the Hellenistic period that clearly show a distinct royal policy of attaching land to poleis in official grants. This has been viewed as a basic innovation of the Hellenistic kings and a sharp departure from the practice of the Achaemenids, as grants of this kind bestowed full title and transfer rights to the possessor and became part of the territory of the polis to which they were attached, thus being subject to civic taxes and necessarily being removed from the private *basilike ge* of the king.[15] Recent studies have called into question this sharp legal distinction between only two

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[12] For detailed studies of the individual satrapies of the Achaemenid Asia Minor see Sekunda 1985 (Lydia); Sekunda 1988 (Phrygia); and Sekunda 1991 (Karia, Lykia, and Greater Phrygia). *Cf.* Robert 1963. For an overall treatement of Achaemenid government in Asia Minor see: Weiskopf 1987 and Weiskopf 1982. See also: Briant 1985 and Briant and Francis 2006.

[13] For a description of the form of an Achaemenid τύροις see Xenophon's description of the estates Persians Asidates and Itamenes in the Kaïkos near Pergamon (*Anabasis* 7.8.9-23) or the estates of the Greek exiles Gongylos of Eretria and Demaratos the Spartan (*Hellenika* 3.1.6). Xenophon's description of Daskyleion is a good example the relationship of a satrapal capital to the surrounding estates. See further Schuler 1998: 66-69.

[14] Rose et al. 2007: 106-107. The data are perhaps somewhat skewed by the fact that much of the focus of the 2004-2005 campaigns was on the tumuli, but 17 actual settlement sites were located and seem to bear out this pattern.

[15] Capdetrey 2007: 151-153; Papazoglou 1997: 100-112. See also, Funck 1978. Thonemann 2009: 375 n.47, however, adduces the example of the fifth-century gift of a Persian king of Dor and Joppa to the king of Sidon in perpetuity as an example of this practice in Achaemenid times (*SSI* III no. 28); however, such a transfer to a client king is surely on a different order and cannot be taken as indicative of Achaemenid policies for landholdings of private individuals within the Achaemenid empire.

categories of property (*i.e.* civic *vs.* royal),[16] but in principle the documents we have do attest to a policy of bestowing land grants that became part of the civic territory in the period of the successors.

Macedonian Land Grants and The Urbanization of Asia Minor

Peter Thonemann's recent reconsideration of the well-known document pertaining to the estate of Kateuas (*Syll.³* 302) points to strong administrative continuity with Persian practice during the lifetime of Alexander.[17] The document, the only example of a land grant in Asia from the reign of Alexander, is dated precisely to the 11ᵗʰ regnal year of Alexander (326/5 or 325/4) and dated eponymously (in purely Achaemenid fashion)[18] by the satrap Menandros (Μένανδρ / ου σατραπεύοντος l. 4-5), though also by the eponymous prytane of the nearby polis of Gambreion (ἐπὶ πρυτάνιος Ἰσ / αγόρου l. 6-7). The document records the transfer, *i.e.* subletting, of the estate from Kateuas, to whom Alexander had granted the land, to a third party, Aristomenes. The estate consist of a plot of arable land (γῆν ψιλὴν ἀγρὸν l. 9) that Aristomenes can settle on, and a nursery (φυτόν l. 11) planted by Krateuas; there are also 170 *kyproi* of seed on the land, building plots, and a garden (κῆπος), for which a tribute (*phoros*) of one gold stater *per annum* has been levied (l. 11-18). The land is not given to Krateuas as a patrimonial possession, as many other documents from the Hellenistic period stipulate. The land remains subject to the king and classified as *basilike ge* and subject to tribute in kind and coin.

What is particularly salient about this document for our purposes is the precise relationship of the land to the polis of Gambreion. The dating of the document by the eponymous prytane naturally indicates that the land lay in the civic territory of that polis, a fact that appears to contradict the usual understanding of a bipolar division between royal and civic territory. Yet the fiscal liabilities of Aristomenes do not appear to include any responsibility for civic taxes, just the phoros due to the king. Now documents from the Chalkidike from the reigns of Kassandros and Lysimachos confirming grants in the area given to subordinates in the time of Alexander and Philip attest to land-grants given as patrimonial possessions;[19] likewise a decree from Kalindoia, a polis in the northern Chalkidike, records the grant of the villages in the area to "the Macedonians" to be refounded as a Macedonian polis.[20] Thus, it is clear that there is ample Macedonian precedent for land grants that fully alienated the land and resulted in its attachment to a polis before the conquest of Asia. The case of the estate of Krateuas, then, appears to fall into a transitional period, reflecting Alexander's policy, which was in keeping with Achaemenid practice, before reforms by the successors shifted in favor of fully attaching such land grants to cities.

The well-known dossier detailing Antiochos I Soter's grants of land to Aristodikides of Assos *ca.* 275 (*RC* 10-13) illustrates the common procedure of granting parcels of land to subordinates in the Hellenistic period and underscores the basic connection of the process to a wider program of urbanization, a stark shift from Alexander's policy in Asia. The dossier consists of three letters of Antiochos to Meleager, the *strategos* of the Hellespontine satrapy, forwarded to the

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[16] See: Schuler 2004: 514-519 and Schuler 1998: 159-194; also Mileta 2002: 157-175 and Mileta 2008.

[17] Thonemann 2009.

[18] Thonemann 2009: 373.

[19] *Syll.*³ 332 = *SEG* 38.620; *comm.*. Hatzopoulos 1987; *SEG* 38 619, see also *SEG* 47 940, in which Kassandros grants fiscal immunity to a certain Chairephanes, a Macedonian landholder in the territory of Kassandreia. Also *SEG* 47 893, fiscal immunity granted to Hippokles by Philip II and renewed by Antigonos Gonatas.

[20] *SEG* 36 626.

city of Ilion and preceded by a cover letter by Meleager explaining the contents and providing instructions for the city. The royal letters record three stages of a land grant to Aristodikides of Assos, a *philos* of the king (*RC* 11.12). The first document records a grant of two thousand *plethra* of cultivatable land (*ge ergasimos, RC* 10.3), specifically to be derived from the royal land bordering on the territory of the poleis of Gergis or Skepis and to be attached (προσορίσαι) only to either Ilion or Skepsis (*RC* 10.6-8) following the grant of ownership. Presumably following some lapse of time or change of circumstances, Aristodikides met with the king again and made a new request, which resulted in a modified grant, confirming Aristodikides' request for the *chorion* of Petra,[21] along with fifteen hundred *plethra* of cultivatable land attached to that place, as well as another two thousand *plethra* of land in addition to the original grant. This document also granted him the right to attach this land to *any* city in the territory controlled by Antiochos and in alliance with him (*RC* 11), presumably a significant detail increasing Aristodikides' bargaining power for honors and exemptions from cities competing for the land. In the interval between the second and third letters, Aristodikides again had an audience with the king, informing him that Petra had actually already been granted to someone else (in fact, the Seleukid naval commander Athenaios) and asking for the same amount of land elsewhere, as well as an additional two thousand plethra. Antiochos again assented to the request, ordering that Meleager make this grant from the *basilike ge*, and allowing him to attach the land to any city in alliance with the king (*RC* 12). All told, Aristodikides was granted either 6,000 or 8,000 *plethra*,[22] and Meleagar's cover letter indicates that Aristodikides had decided to attach his grant to Ilion, "because of the sanctuary of Athena and his goodwill toward the Ilians" (διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν πρός ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν, *RC* 13.10-11).

The connection of these grants to the poleis of the Troad and the urbanization of this region is instructive. The royal land earmarked in the grant bordered on the territory of the poleis of Gergis and Skepsis, both of which lie in the central Troad, but in the original grant, Antiochos indicated that the land should only be attached Ilion or Skepsis after it has been granted to Aristodikides. This specific clause, indicating that *only* Skepsis or Ilion should be augmented by this grant, and not Gergis or Rhoteion or any of the other poleis in the region, is significant, and Antiochos's later amendment of this stipulation, granting Aristodikides the right to attach his land to any city in alliance with the Seleukids, should be interpreted as a meaningful expansion of privilege in accordance with the overall better terms of the subsequent grants. As we have seen in chapter one, Ilion was utilized as a regional urban focal point as early as Alexander and Antigonos, along with Antigoneia/Alexandreia on the coast, and in this dossier we see the mechanisms of this process continuing. The king clearly sees it as in his best interest to increase the largest poleis in the region rather than to allow the land to be attached to any polis, and the policy evident in these documents is in full accordance with a general policy of elevating some cities at the expense of others. The eventual downfall of Gergis as an independent polis at the hands of royal authorities is already discernible in these documents. New lands were prioritized for the regional centers, and eventually citizens of Gergis were transferred for a new settlement by Attalos I,[23] and following 188 the slow

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[21] The *chorion* of Petra is otherwise unknown. It was evidently not a village, but some sort of fortified settlement. Welles 1934: 65 suggests this location may be what is called a βᾶρις in other documents, *e.g. RC* 18, detailing a similar grant of land. Or perhaps it is an existing fortified estate (τύρσις) of the type common in the Achaemenid era and confiscated from an Achaemenid or Antigonid landlord. As a secure place of residence it would have had additional value as well as a source of a workforce of peasants.

[22] Depending on whether the 2000 plethra in *RC* 11 and *RC* 12 should be interpreted as separate grants or repetition of the same grant.

[23] They were transferred to a new settlement, a village called Gergitha, near the sources of the Kaikos, after Attalos

decline of Gergis finally resulted in its incorporation into Ilion.[24] Lest this all seem too planned, too modern, however, it is important to note the relatively decentralized form this process took. Commentators from Welles on have registered shock at the lack of knowledge Antiochos seems to have had about his own land registry.[25] The initial grant of the *chorion* of Petra was made without either party knowing whether this land had already been granted to someone else. Only after Aristodikides looked into the matter was it evident that it had already been assigned (at that to an important Seleukid commander). Although this lack of control may be surprising, it is important to remember that this grant took place still in the early years of Seleukos' control of Asia Minor, and by the time of Antiochos II, land grant documents show a much greater familiarity on the part of the king (*e.g. RC* 18). In this case the king also left room for individual action on the part of the poleis to bid for the land to be attached to their city, and this process clearly also benefited the landholder as well as preserving some autonomous action for the poleis.

The City, the Land, and the Economy

The detailed critiques of de Callatäy, Mileta, Houghton and Bringmann of the fiscal model proposed by G. Aperghis[26] have repeatedly shown the importance of collection of tax in kind in the to the royal economies of the Seleukids and Antigonids in Asia Minor, as well as the importance of raw materials to the euergetism and benefactions of Hellenistic monarchs, significantly weakening Aperghis' arguments for a highly monetized Seleukid royal economy.[27] Moreover, Thonemann's recent stress on the fact that the tribute on estates in Asia Minor was frequently levied both in kind and in cash – the *phoros* levied by Alexander on the estate of Krateuas (*Syll.³* 302) was assessed in kind on the arable portion of the land and in cash on the garden, where the small yield and highly perishable nature of the crops would have made collection in kind impossible (and this was a requirement) – stresses the essentially pragmatic approach to assessment and redistribution.[28] The dismantling of Aperghis' arguments for a high level of monetization in the royal economy in turn casts some doubt on his model of city foundations.[29] Aperghis' model, though not elaborated in great detail, essentially argues that the prime motivation for city building in the Seleukid empire was not defense and control, but economic stimulus. The two are, of course, not mutually exclusive, but Aperghis's model posits a very specific role for the cities of the Seleukid empire. Not only are they a means of promoting increased agricultural exploitation of underutilized regions such as northern Syria (where foundations were particularly thick on the ground) but more importantly they served the very specific purpose of providing a market at which to convert raw materials into silver coin, which then could flow into the coffers of the royal treasury. Aperghis' model at best simplifies the

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destroyed the polis -- Strabo 13.1.70: ἐγγὺς δὲ τῶν πηγῶν κώμη Γέργιθα ἔστιν, εἰς ἣν μετῴκισεν Ἄτταλος τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τρῳάδι τὸ χωρίον ἐξελών.

[24] (Livy 38.39).

[25] Welles 1934: 66: "Striking is the lack of knowledge possessed by the central government of its land in the Troad."

[26] Aperghis 2004.

[27] de Callatäy 2004; Houghton 2004; Bringmann 2005; Mileta 2008. See also: Bringmann 2001.

[28] Thonemann 2009.

[29] Aperghis 2005.

function of cities and increased urbanization in the Hellenistic east, and more specifically misconstrues the ties of the city to the land.

4. ROADS, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONNECTIVITY

> There were, of course, outbreaks of warfare from time to time between neighboring or rival cities, but even such hostilities – so common in the archaic and classical eras – were mitigated in the Hellenistic era by the quickness of other cities to intervene with offers of arbitration. In general, one may say that the world of the Hellenistic Greek cities was one of considerable, peaceful interconnectedness.[30]

This rather sanguine image of peace and cooperation based largely on the development of institutionalized interstate relationships like *proxenia, asylia,* third-party arbitration, and *isopoliteia,* so often cited as characteristic of the Hellenistic period can easily be countered by the portrait of Hellenistic society as characterized by the continued vitality of inter-polis warfare recently championed by Ma.[31] A model that stresses a sharp and distinct shift in interstate relations between the classical and Hellenistic periods is clearly misguided, especially considering the constant warfare of the Hellenistic kings that also embroiled the independent poleis and the continuing interests of poleis in expanding their own territory at others' expense. Connectivity, however, in the sense of physical interconnectedness based on an expanded network of roads, harbors, and trade is a more nuanced question. As explored above, there is evidence that connectivity was a clear and highly prioritized goal of the Macedonian kings, and the expanded foundation of nucleated urban settlements encouraged the expansion of connectivity. As we have seen above, the restructuring of land tenure, the greater unification of polis and *chora,* and the consolidation of more land around a centralized polis had important effects for the economy of northern Greece and Asia Minor in this period. Merging these individual projects of strengthening regions into a network of cities was also a priority of the post-Alexander monarchies. New focal points like Demetrias in Magnesia, Thessalonikeia on Thermaic gulf, Kassandreia on the Chalkidike, or Ephesos, Smyrna, and Alexandreia Troas in Asia Minor, created commercial entrepôts and clearing-houses that could only thrive through continued and profitable interconnection with local and long-distance markets.

That is not to say that the synoikism of many of these places did not have the potential to cut down on friction between states. One motivation for synoikism seems clearly to have been to reduce the disputes between neighboring states that constantly squabbled over borders and territory. Likewise *sympoliteia* agreements between two independent poleis are almost always preceded by disputes over territory and frequently by situations that required arbitration, *e.g.* Miletos and Myous.[32] As we have seen above in the case of Teos and Lebedos, the royal authority clearly was concerned with eliminating disputes and debts between the cities and simplifying interstate relations.[33] However, the synoikism of states that had experienced friction could potentially cause as many problems as it could forcibly solve. Many *synoikismoi* were the products of states traditionally hostile to one another or at least highly competitive, and frequently poleis of different ethnic makeup (*e.g.* the case of Demetrias, which was composed of traditionally Thessalian and traditionally Magnesian

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[30] Billows 2003: 197.
[31] Ma 2000.
[32] Arbitration: *Syll.*³ 134; *Sympoliteia*: *Milet* I.3.150.
[33] *RC* 3 § 6.

poleis,[34] the Aiolic *vs.* Ionian constituents of Alexandreia Troas or the Macedonian, Greek, and Thracian components of Thessalonikeia and Kassandreia) were merged into a single city. Citing the authority of Demetrios of Skepsis, a passage from Strabo on the foundation of Alexandreia Troas sums up the basic problem of uniting these communities:

> And, he continues, the poet mentions "Kebriones, bastard son of glorious Priam," after whom, as one may suppose, the country was named—or the city too, which is more plausible; and Kebrenia extends as far as the territory of Skepsis; and the Skamander, which flows between, is the boundary; and the Kebrenoi and Skepsians were always hostile to one another and at war until Antigonos settled both peoples together in Antigoneia, as it was then called, or Alexandreia, as it is now called; now the Kebrenoi, he adds, remained with the rest in Alexandreia, but the Skepsians, by permission of Lysimachos, went back to their homeland.[35]

In this case, the synoikism of Kebrene and Skepsis (*et al.*) did no go completely as planned, and Skepsis regained its independence in the power vacuum following the defeat of Antigonos, but Kebrene did not, and the synoikism ultimately did achieve some measure of what its architect planned.

    In addition to the great expansion of harbors and maritime traffic that resulted from the urban restructuring of the *diadochoi,* another aim was the extension of overland connections, and here great economic effects of foundations and urban consolidations can particularly be observed, especially in Asia Minor, where the greater political unification of the Aegean and the interior of Anatolia and the development of urban infrastructure connected the ports of western Asia Minor to the interior of Asia Minor and beyond. The archaeological evidence for the economic effects of the shift from Achaemenid to Macedonian imperial control in Asia Minor have been briefly considered above, overall showing a greater differentiation in the sources of imports. Foundations in the interior of western Asia Minor provided key links to the newly expanded harbors of the coast. Royal roads and routes were famously developed by the Persians, but they did not develop large-scale infrastructure along them and although surely used for commerce the chief concern was always communication and the movement of troops. The Hellenistic kingdoms went farther in developing urban centers along major routes extending East--West. Strabo's description of the "common road" (κοινή ὁδός) reads as a long linking of Hellenistic foundations, mainly dating to the early Seleukid period. Beginning (or ending) with Ephesos, the cities of Seleukeia Tralleis, Nysa, Antioch on the Maeander, Laodikeia on the Lykos, Apameia Kelainai, Metropolis, Philomelion, Laodikeia Katakekaumene, Eusebeia near Argaios and Ariartheia, all Hellenistic foundations or refoundations, lay on this route:

> Since there is a kind of common road constantly used by all who travel from Ephesos towards the east, Artemidoros traverses this too: from Ephesos to Karura, a boundary of

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[34] See Chapter 3 below for further of discussion of this issue.

[35] Strabo 13.1.33: λέγειν τε τὸν ποιητήν "Κεβριόνην νόθον υἱὸν ἀγακλῆος Πριάμοιο," ὃν εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐπώνυμον τῆς χώρας ἢ καὶ πόλεως, ὅπερ πιθανώτερον· τὴν δὲ Κεβρηνίαν διήκειν μέχρι τῆς Σκηψίας, ὅριον δ' εἶναι τὸν Σκάμανδρον μέσον αὐτῶν ῥέοντα· ἔχθραν δ' ἀεὶ καὶ πόλεμον εἶναι τοῖς τε Κεβρηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς Σκηψίοις, ἕως Ἀντίγονος αὐτοὺς συνῴκισεν εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Ἀντιγόνειαν νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· τοὺς μὲν οὖν Κεβρηνιέας συμμεῖναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τοὺς δὲ Σκηψίους ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιτρέψαντος Λυσιμάχου.

Karia towards Phrygia, through Magnesia, Tralleis, Nysa, and Antiocheia, is a journey of seven hundred and forty stadia; and, from Karura, the journey in Phrygia, through Laodikeia, Apameia, Metropolis and Chelidonia. Now near the beginning of Paroreios, one comes to Holmoi, about nine hundred and twenty stadia from Karura, and, near the end of Paroreios near Lykaonia, through Philomelion, to Tyriaion, slightly more than five hundred. Then Lycaonia, through Laodiceia Katakekaumene, as far as Koropassos, eight hundred and forty stadia; from Koropassus in Lycaonia to Garsaura, a small town in Kappadokia, situated on its borders, one hundred and twenty; thence to Mazaca, the metropolis of the Kappadokians, through Soandon and Sadakora, six hundred and eighty; and thence to the Euphrates River, as far as Tomisa, a place in Sophene, through Herphai, a small town, one thousand four hundred and forty. The places on a straight line with these as far as India are the same in Artemidoros as they are in Eratosthenes. But Polybius says that we should rely most on Artemidoros in regard to the places here. He begins with Samosata in Kommagene, which lies at the river crossing and at Zeugma, and states that the distance to Samosata, across the Taurus, from the boundaries of Kappadokia round Tomisa is four hundred and fifty stadia.[36]

To take just one of these foundations as an example, by the Roman period at least, owing to its strategic position at the confluence of the Marsyas and Maeander rivers and at the crossroads between Phrygia and Pamphylia and Lydia and Ionia, Apameia Kelainai had developed into the largest *emporion* in Asia Minor after Ephesos. The Hellenistic city was founded by Antiochos I by the forced transfer of the native inhabitants from the nearby hilltop settlement Kelainai.[37] Kelainai had already been an important administrative center under the Achaemenids, and Xenophon informs us that it was the location of a fortified palace and a *paradeisos*,[38] and under Alexander Antigonos was installed here as the satrap of Phrygia. By the time of Antiochos' refoundation of the city, there is already evidence for a substantial Greco-Macedonian contingent present at Apameia and the urbanization processes carried out by Antiochos, as so often, were probably already begun by Antigonos.[39] The refoundation of the city as a polis in the fertile plain below and its insertion into an elaborated network of connectivity transformed the settlement from a fortified satrapal capital to a thriving commercial center. The simultaneous development of both Ephesos and

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[36] Strabo 14.2.29: ἐπεὶ δὲ κοινή τις ὁδὸς τέτριπται ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐξ Ἐφέσου, καὶ ταύτην ἔπεισιν. ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ Κάρουρα τῆς Καρίας ὅριον πρὸς τὴν Φρυγίαν διὰ Μαγνησίας καὶ Τραλλέων Νύσης Ἀντιοχείας ὁδὸς ἑπτακοσίων καὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίων: ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ Φρυγία διὰ Λαοδικείας καὶ Ἀπαμείας καὶ Μητροπόλεως καὶ Χελιδονίων: ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Παρωρείου, τοὺς Ὄλμους, στάδιοι περὶ ἐνακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι ἐκ τῶν Καρούρων: ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πρὸς τῇ Λυκαονίᾳ πέρας τῆς Παρωρείου τὸ Τυριαῖον διὰ Φιλομηλίου μικρῷ πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, εἶθ' ἡ Λυκαονία μέχρι Κοροπασσοῦ διὰ Λαοδικείας τῆς κατακεκαυμένης ὀκτακόσιοι τετταράκοντα, ἐκ δὲ Κοροπασσοῦ τῆς Λυκαονίας εἰς Γαρσάουρα, πολίχνιον τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων αὐτῆς ἱδρυμένον, ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν: ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ εἰς Μάζακα τὴν μητρόπολιν τῶν Καππαδόκων διὰ Σοάνδου καὶ Σαδακόρων ἑξακόσιοι ὀγδοήκοντα: ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μέχρι Τομίσων χωρίου τῆς Σωφηνῆς διὰ Ἡρφῶν πολίχνης χίλιοι τετρακόσιοι τετταράκοντα. τὰ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ εὐθείας τούτοις μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ αὐτὰ κεῖται καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ ἅπερ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἐρατοσθένει. λέγει δὲ καὶ Πολύβιος περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ μάλιστα δεῖν πιστεύειν ἐκείνῳ. ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ Σαμοσάτων τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς, ἣ πρὸς τῇ διαβάσει καὶ τῷ Ζεύγματι κεῖται: εἰς δὲ Σαμόσατα ἀπὸ τῶν ὅρων τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῶν περὶ Τόμισα ὑπερθέντι τὸν Ταῦρον σταδίους εἴρηκε τετρακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα.

[37] Strabo 12.8.15: Ἀπάμεια δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον μέγα τῆς ἰδίως λεγομένης Ἀσίας, δευτερεῦον μετὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον· αὕτη γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποδοχεῖον κοινόν ἐστιν.

[38] *Anabasis* 1.2.7-8. Epigraphic evidence shows there was a significant Iranian presence in the city, see: Robert 1963: 348-349.

[39] See further Billows 1990: 296.

Apameia, and the clear causal relationship between the interdependent development of all of these cities along the common road, shows the importance of the overall network in the economic development of Hellenistic Asia Minor, and the clear planning of the foundations underscores the importance of the complexity of royal economic behavior and the centrality of cities and urbanization.

The precise role of the Persian road system and its use for trade and commerce has been the subject of some debate. The famous Royal Road, for which we are best informed, linking Sardis to Susa, with its highly developed infrastructure and personnel, represented the most sophisticated network of overland communications in the Classical period, but scholars have been reluctant to assign it a great economic impact beyond the exaction of tribute and the movement of troops and materials through various parts of the empire.[40] The so-called "travel-ration texts" of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets provide insight into the activities of many individuals, both private and official, engaged in a variety of activities, from messengers, hired laborers, people transporting goods and money, pilgrims, and "caravan leaders" to officials called "road controllers,[41]" "express messengers,[42]" and "traveling companions[43]" etc. The Greek and Roman sources further attest to the details of a highly developed postal and message system, with relay points, riders and horses stationed at intervals, and the use of fire, mirrors and other devices for communication over shorter distances.[44] On balance, the bulk of our attestations for the use of these roads is official and military, and even the private individuals attested in the Persepolis texts had business with the royal court. Near cities, these roads were particularly well developed and substantial, as archaeological evidence has shown. A section of the Royal Road was excavated at Gordion in the 1950s, extending west from the city and weaving its way between the Phrygian tumuli. The section of the road identified at Gordion is 6.25 m wide, with a hard-packed gravel paving and a curb of flat stones set on edge on either side of the road.[45] Elsewhere evidence for milestones has been uncovered.[46] This network certainly must have encouraged private commerce, along with its primary goal of exacting tribute and moving officials, information, and troops, and this meshes well with recent data that quantifies some of the economic benefits of Persian imperial superstructure.[47] From Gordion itself, to continue with this example, the renewed excavations in the last twenty years have produced important new data that has allowed quantifiable study of imported wares from securely dated strata. Analysis of the Greek transport amphorae from these excavations has shown distinct patterns in the economy of Gordion from the transition from independence to Persian domination. Before its conquest in 546, there is little evidence for any freight trade between the Aegean world and Gordion. While there are Greek fine wares in these levels, they do not represent systematic trade and transport amphorae are almost non-existent.[48] Between this period and 480, after the

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[40] For the Persian road system, the fundamental treatments are Briant 1991, Debord 1995, Graf 1996, and French 1998: 15-48, with some comment on the economic implications of the network.

[41] PFa30: *datimara*. Road watchmen (ὁδοφυλάκες) are also mentioned by Herodotos (7.239).

[42] PF 1285: *pirradaziš*.

[43] PF1363, 1409, 1572: *barrišdama*

[44] Fire signals: Herotodos 9.3, [Aristotle] 398a; Relay Posts: Diodoros 19.17.6; Mirrors: Herotodos 7.115; Relay riders: Herotodos 8.98, Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7.6.17, Nikolaos of Damaskos: *FGrHist* 90 F4.

[45] Young 1956: 19. See also, Young 1963: 350, with photo. A section of the royal road has also been excavated near Pasargadae, see: Stronach 1978.

[46] Lewis 1978: 159-161.

[47] For the general argument for the benefits of Persian rule, see Briant 1986, Briant 1991, and Briant 2002. In particular, Briant highlights the positive economic consequences of Persian military campaigns and military supply.

[48] Only three amphorae fragments are known from the period before 525: Voigt 1997: 21.

development of Persian road system and after the Achaemenid empire had established greater control over Aegean exporters, contacts between Gordion and the Aegean expanded substantially, with Chian and Lesbian amphorae appearing in large numbers, with a lesser, but still well-represented, number of amphora from Samos and Miletos, and a very small number of northern Greek amphorae (Thasian, Macedonian, etc.).[49] Moreover, the excavators have pointed to a distinctly Achaemenid trend in the percentages of the imports. While Chian amphorae are very common both in the Aegean and at Gordion, the northern Greek amphorae, common in the Aegean, are not well represented in Gordion or within other sites in the Persian empire. Similarly, Lesbian amphorae, not common in contemporary Aegean sites, are common at Gordion, and seem to indicate a trade route through the Hellespont, rather than through the Black Sea markets, as witnessed by the lack of amphorae from Klazomenai and the North Aegean.[50] As at sites in Ionia, numbers of imports then decline in the later fifth century and increase in the fourth, with a greater equalization of the source of imports, perhaps indicating a relaxation of Persian control on the routes of commerce. Overall, the data from Gordion suggest that Persian infrastructure and political control had a very definite link to the increase in long distance trade at this site.[51] Possible patterns of the imperial direction of this commerce are also notable.

But as most recent economic studies indicate, most trade, particularly overland trade, moves in short, regional networks, and the absence of extensive urban settlements along these roads in Asia Minor, suggests that this was a limiting factor for the economic development. Vice versa, the roads and development of roads were necessary for the success of the city, and it is this attention to the symbiotic development of cities and the infrastructure of mobility that distinguishes Hellenistic Asia Minor. The development of roads and the infrastructure of overland trade must also be considered in tandem with the attention paid to the development of the coastal cities and the foundation of significant new harbor cities. As we have traced in chapter one, a major feature the foundations and synoikisms of the period was focusing populations and resources on coastal outlets and moving cities from inland akropolis settlements down to the sea. The simultaneous enlargement of polis territories by synoikism also ensured that the interior agricultural base would not be separated from the maritime polis center. The greater integration of the Aegean and the interior, particularly of Asia Minor, was a major consequence of urban restructuring undertaken in this period, and greater attention should be paid to the regional effects of these economic shifts.

5. Harbors, Customs, Routes and Trade

> [I]t is not appropriate to use the language of determinism about the development of communities in the zones favoured in the geography of connectivity. The place did not somehow spontaneously generate the entrepôt: Bacchid Corinth, post-synoecism Rhodes, Delos after 166 were in suitable places, but their response to the advantages was the result of the political choices of elites, inside or outside the community.[52]

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[49] Voigt 1997: 21-22.
[50] Voigt 1997: 20-21.
[51] There is a correspondingly high level of luxury items in ivory, stone, *etc.* from this period.
[52] Purcell 2005: 209.

The overview of the reorientation of settlement presented in chapter one has consistently stressed a movement toward incorporating the regions under review into a wider Aegean network of commerce and mobility. But what did this mean in practice? Recent studies of the ancient economy have stressed the importance of not overlooking the primarily regional focus of most ancient economies and have pointed to the danger inherent in making general claims about economic trends across regions in a given period.[53] This study is in full sympathy with these reservations, and attempts to sketch some of the major shifts in regional economic alignments directly associated with major instances of planned urbanization and development of infrastructure. The case studies that follow will seek to demonstrate some of the trends that can be gleaned from the analysis of the material culture from several recent excavations, and how planned urbanization and the overarching imperial structures to which cities were subject affected long-distance trade and regional economies.

The Port of Hellenistic Demetrias

The Pagasitic gulf, as one of the few Thessalian outlets to the sea, was always the major center of Thessalian commerce. Pagasai in the Classical period, when it served as the *epineion* of the polis of Pherai,[54] is attested as dealing in substantial trade of grain, slaves, and meat.[55] The foundation of Demetrias in 293 was designed both to capitalize on this strategic location at the head of the Pagasitic gulf, but also to draw on this commercially important region. As we have seen in chapter one, however, this foundation drastically reoriented the regional alignment of this region. Pagasai had always been firmly rooted in Thessaly and the commercial products of the rich Thessalian hinterland. Particularly after the extension of Pheraian hegemony over the polis at the beginning of the fourth century at the latest,[56] Pagasai was firmly entwined in the economic life of Pherai and subsequently with that of the *koinon* of the Thessalians. Philip II's removal of Pagasai from Thessalian hands, and the subsequent consolidation of the areas on the western shore of the Pagasitic gulf under Demetrios Poliorketes, shifted control of this commercially central area to Macedonia and geographically realigned this area with Magnesia. The question we must seek to answer is how planned Macedonian development and firm political control of this area affect the economic orientation of the region.

The commerce of the Pagasitic gulf and its commercial connections were traditionally oriented southward. The literary evidence cited above for Pagasai suggests this trend in broad outline, attesting commercial contacts with Attica and the Peloponessos. If, as most scholars suggest, the site of Sorós is to be identified with ancient Pagasai,[57] the ceramic material recovered from the excavations also bears out this general picture of southern trade contacts.[58] The

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[53] *E.g.*, for Greece: Reger 1994, and, most recently, for Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor: Elton and Reger 2007.

[54] Thepompos, *FrGHist*. 115 f.53.

[55] Grain: Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.56: μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασὰς ἐπὶ σῖτον δέκα τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὠρεόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν σῖτον συνεω; Slaves: Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 521: κερδαίνειν βουλόμενός τις ἔμπορος ἥκων ἐκ Θετταλίας παρὰ πλείστων ἀνδραποδιστῶν. Meat: Plutarch, *Moralia* 193D-E.

[56] The precise moment when Pherai extended its hegemony over Pagasai is unknown. However, we know that by the start of the fourth century a brother of Jason of Pherai was installed in Pagasai and appears to be directing the affairs of the city on behalf of Pherai (Polyainos 6.1.6).

[57] See chapter 1 for a discussion of this problem.

[58] For reports on the ceramic material from Sorós, see: Milojčić 1974; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2009; Mazarakis Ainian 2009; and Vitos and Panagou 2009.

excavations from other major centers along the western shore of the Pagasitic gulf, especially the major Bronze-Age settlement at Pevkakia Magula, the settlement mound at the northern end of the site of Demetrias, also show the same kinds of firm links southward, particularly with Euboia and the southern Aegean.[59] This trend appears to have been fully reversed following the foundation of Demetrias, and the emergence of that port as the entrepôt of the Pagasitic gulf. The German excavations of the Anaktoron of Demetrias have recently provided us with quantifiable evidence for the trade of Hellenistic Demetrias. The assembled amphora fragments and amphora stamps from the securely dated construction fills and foundation trenches of the Anaktoron, dating between the foundation of the city in 293 and the construction of the building in *ca.* 220-200 provide important insights into the economic contacts of the city in the period of firm Antigonid control. Analysis of this material shows a distinctly northward orientation of trade in this period, with the overwhelming majority of the amphorae originating from Thasos, the "Parmeniskos Group," and a far lesser proportion originating from the Black Sea area and the Islands (**Table 1**).[60] By contrast, nearly contemporary deposits from the fills of the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora (beginning of the second century) show a distinctly different priority of trade contacts, with 59% of the amphorae coming from Rhodos, only 4% from Thasos, and .3% from the Parmeniskos Group (**Table 2**).[61] In the very comparable site of Pella, which was also the seat of a Macedonian palace, Furtwängler has demonstrated that the evidence for commercial contacts of that city in the third century has a very divergent pattern. While it has similar percentages of Thasian and Permeniskos Group amphorae as Demetrias, the number of Knidian and Rhodian amphora stamps are much higher in Pella, indicating, in Furtwängler's view, a much more open, liberal trade policy than Demetrias enjoyed.[62]

Table 1: Imported *Amphorae* in Hellenistic Demetrias (adapted from Furtwängler 1992)
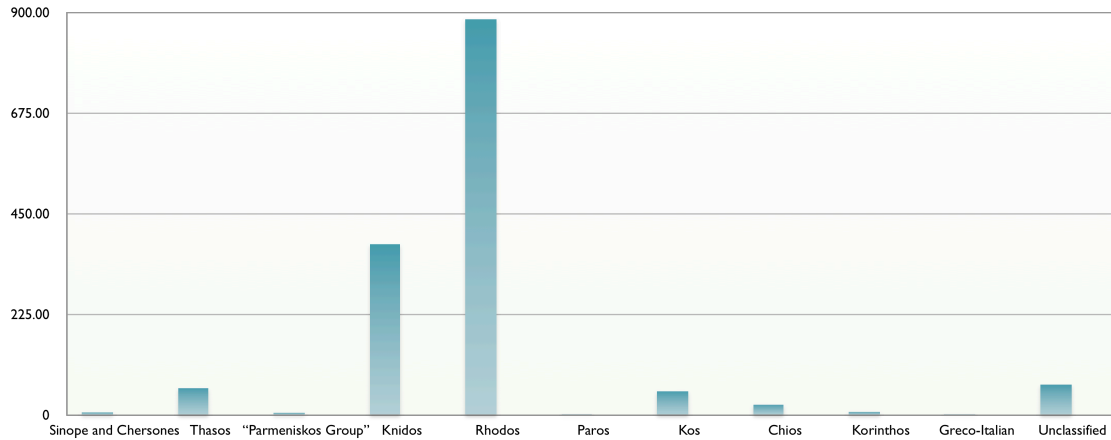

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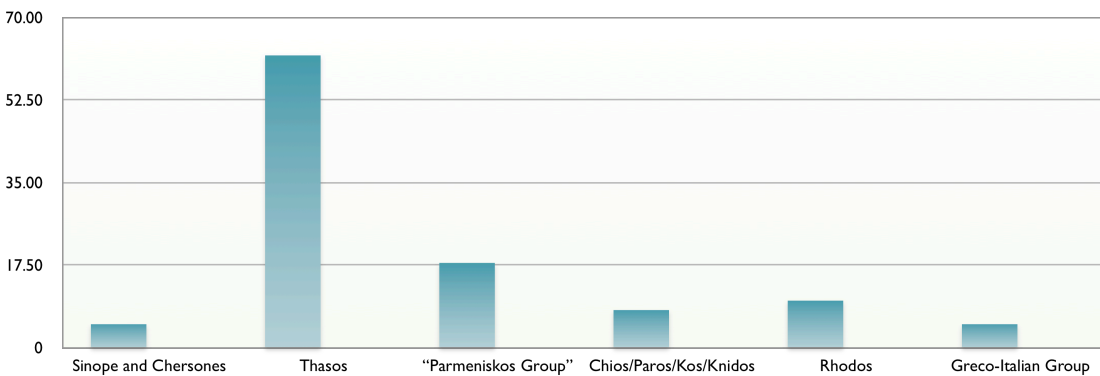
[59] Hauptmann 1989.
[60] Furtwängler 1992: 366-369. See further, Furtwängler 1990 (*non vidi*).
[61] Furtwängler 1992, 367. For the amphorae from the Athenian Middle Stoa, see Grace 1985.
[62] Furtwängler 1992: 367. For the amphorae from Pella, see: Makronas 1960: 82.

Table 2: Imported *Amphorae* from the Athenian Middle Stoa (Grace 1985: 6)

The coins from the fills of the Anaktoron in Demetrias support the same picture of the orientation of trade and contacts in this period. The coinage (**Table 3**) shows limited contact with southern Greece and the Aegean. Most conspicuous is the almost complete lack of trade and contact with the important port of Histiaia on Euboia, a traditional point of contact with the Pagasitic gulf, even though in the third century, Histiaia was in Antigonid hands.[63] Only two coins from Histiaia were found in the excavations of the Anaktoron, and these may even belong to the fourth century.[64] This lack inescapably refutes, as Furtwängler has shown, Louis Robert's programmatic statement that "Histiaia est le relais indispensable de Démétrias, c'est comme l'avant-port de la Thessalie."[65] Finally, Furtwängler has also pointed to the overwhelming lack of contact between the two ports of Demetrias and that of Phthiotic Thebes, the other major port on the Pagasitic gulf that emerged by synoikism from Pyrasos and Phylake in the late fourth century. No coins from Phthiotic Thebes have been found in Demetrias, whereas numerous coins from Histiaia have been found in the regions of Achaia served by the port of Phthiotic Thebes.[66]
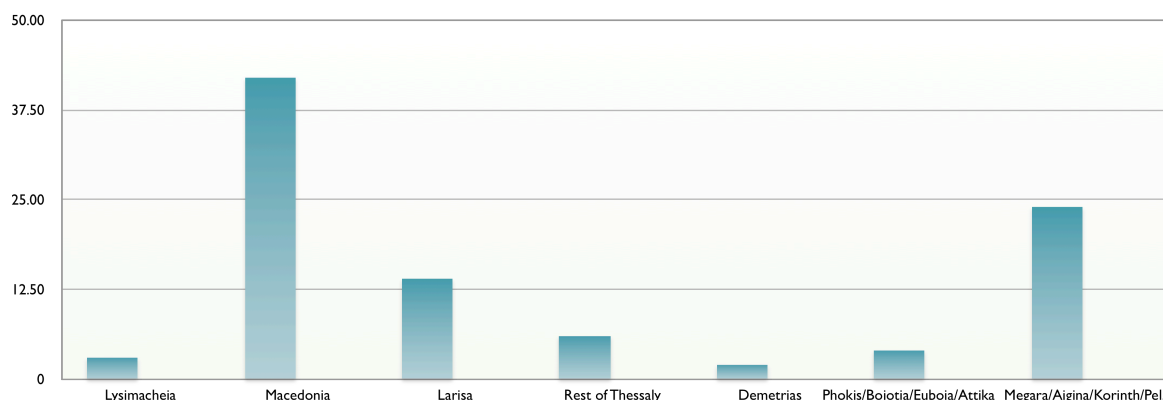
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[63] Picard 1979: 269.
[64] Furtwängler 1992: 369.
[65] Robert 1951: 178.
[66] Furtwängler 1992: 369; Almyros/Volos Museums: Picard 1979: 320; Halos: Reinders 1995; Reinders and Prummel 2003; Reinders 2004; and Reinders 2009.

The patterns are striking. In the third century, the trade of Demetrias, and with it, the bulk of the northern Pagasitic gulf and the Thessalian hinterland it served was redirected northward, away from its traditional connections and is natural geographic orientation. This development speaks to a high degree of involvement in the economic activity of the royal authorities in the city. Interestingly, the excavation and survey of Goritsa, the short-lived late fourth-century Macedonian foundation on the opposite shore of the Pagasitic Gulf from Demetrias, produced many coins from Histiaia, indicating extensive trade with Euboia.[67] The synoiksim of the region, therefore, and the foundation of Demetrias seem to mark the shift in this policy. Whether the impetus came from Demetrios Poliorketes or his successors is unknowable, but this economic behavior appears to be in line with a general picture of Antigonid policy. Unfortunately, the published reports from the excavations of Demetrias do not provide statistics of amphora types from good, datable deposits from the period of the city's history when it was a free city and the center of the *koinon* of the Magnesians. It would be interesting to know whether the orientation of trade was realigned in the absence of Macedonian control. Our only indication of this kind of evidence from Magnesia may be prosopographical, stemming from the extensive number of painted grave stelai discovered by Arvanitopoulos in the early twentieth century built into a fortification tower of the city's enceinte.[68] These stelai are usually thought to have been reused in the tower in the context of the enlargement of the fortifications of Demetrias in 168, during the Third Macedonian War,[69] providing and early second century *terminus ante quem* for their manufacture, and a look at the demographic composition of the Macedonian city. However, Bruno Helly has recently argued for a down-dating of these stelai, preferring to place the remodeling of the walls of Demetrias in the context of the Mithridatic wars, that is to 88-87.[70] Adjusting the date down to the first century gives us a chance to see some of the changes in the city's residents, many of whom are foreigners, in the period after Macedonian control. The painted stelai preserve the ethnics of a great number of the city's inhabitants, and while there are still a large number of north-Greek or Macedonian origin, there area also a large number of foreigners of Levantine origin, particularly from the cities of Phoenicia and cities like Askalon and Gaza on the

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[67] Bakhuizen and Te Riele 1972a; Bakhuizen and Te Riele 1972b; Bakhuizen 1992; Bakhuizen 1992
[68] Arvanitopoulos 1928.
[69] Arvanitopoulos 1928; Stählin et al. 1934.
[70] Helly 1992.

southern coast of the Levant.[71] This is of course no more than a general suggestion of a greater openness to commercial connections to the south and cannot be compared directly to the data derived from quantifiable transport amphorae from closed contexts, but nonetheless it is a tantalizing look at the later economic life a major Hellenistic port.

Contemporary ceramic evidence from Hellenistic Korinthos points to a corresponding level of economic control over the commerce of the city emanating from the authorities in place at the Antigonid garrison. The recent excavations in the Panayia Field have yielded a number of important Hellenistic deposits, and current study of this material has shed considerable light on both the chronology of Korinthian Hellenistic pottery and the shifts in imported fineware in Korinthos over the course of the Hellenistic period.[72] Quantification of the fine ware imports in Korinthos from these deposits has shown distinct patterns in the level of importation. From 300-250, the percentage of fine ware imports is relatively low, 10-15%. By 250-200 it has become much higher, reaching as much forty times the amount of fine ware imports present in contemporary Athens. As this level of importation increased, there are also several other discernable trends. Thasian amphorae, imported in the highest quantities in the early third century, from 320-250, drop off completely following 250. Thus the high level of Thasian imports in the early third century mirrors to some extent the trade network of Demetrias in the early third century, as we have seen, but the complete drop around 250 seems to indicate some sharp reorientation of trade. At the same time Athenian imports into Korinthos steadily rise, defying the usual trend of a decline of Athenian imports at most sites after 270.[73] The level of importation of Athenian fine ware and the rise of these imports as the level of other imports falls, strongly indicates a distinct interconnectedness between Macedonian garrisons and a controlled supply route between these nodes of Antigonid power. In the period of 200-150, after the Macedonian garrison had been expelled, imports in general declined, as local production increased, but the network of trade contacts also expanded considerably, with a distinct reorientation of trade with primarily Rhodes and Knidos.[74]

Economic Patterns in Hellenistic Ionia and the Hellenistic Troad

Ever since J. M. Cook articulated the "problem" that Classical Ionia presents to the archaeologist and historian,[75] there has been little controversy among scholars that Ionia did witness a substantial material decline in the fifth century; the reasons for this economic stagnation and concomitant period of urban and cultural decline, however, have been the subject of greater debate. The question remains of great interest because it casts such a direct light on the interaction between empire and city and the economic dynamics at play in this relationship. Over the course of the fifth century, Ionia swung politically from Persian control, to independence, to membership in the Athenian empire before returning to Persian dependence again, and the economic patterns that are beginning to become discernable from recently published ceramic assemblages shed new light on the nature of these imperial powers' effects on the economies of Greek poleis. Tracing these patterns is in turn useful for placing this aspect of polis, regional and royal economies in context as we investigate the transition from Achaemenid to Macedonian empire in Asia Minor and look for the links between city building, synoikism and empire in this period.

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[71] Arvanitopoulos 1952.
[72] James
[73] See, *e.g.* Rotroff 2005.
[74] James 2010.
[75] Cook 1961.

Cook's argument for the economic decline of Ionia in the fifth century pointed to the evident lack of sculpture, schools of vase painting, new city layouts, and monumental building in the fifth century, all of which flourished in the sixth, as well as the near invisibility of fifth-century domestic architecture and inhabitation in the cities of Ionia in excavation and surface survey.[76] For Cook this was surprising, given the fact that this was the century that coincided with freedom from Persian rule and given that membership in the Athenian empire should have some commercial advantages.[77] Although Cook took into account the likely loss of some important overseas markets in the fifth century, an argument put forward already by Roebuck,[78] his main argument for the cause of the economic decline of Ionia in this period was the condition of dual dependency that many of the Ionian poleis found themselves in, and the concomitant bifurcation of the city and the hinterland in this period that resulted. Cook maintained that many of the poleis of Ionia paid tribute to Athens as maritime cities, while most of the arable land was subject to taxation as king's land, crippling the economy of the cities. In part this was also the result of political divisions in Ionia. The oligarchic-leaning families that had large landholdings essentially turned toward the Persians, while the democratically aligned cities were dependent on Athens. Subsequently scholars have offered various explanations, including an overwhelming level of economic competition between Greek poleis in the region or, once again, the loss of overseas markets.[79] Specialists in Achaemenid history have been reluctant to see this as a result of oppressive measures brought on by the Persians, but have rather attributed the decline in East Greek prosperity mainly to Athenian competition[80] or active Athenian intervention in the economies of the cities of Asia Minor.[81]

This picture of decline in fifth-century Ionia must be tempered by some of the methodological objections that Osborne has recently put forth. In approaching the question of the decline of Ionia in the fifth century, Osborne takes a step back and asks the important question of whether we can really even speak of an "archaeology of empire," in other words, questioning how visible the economy is in the material record and how good of an indicator of absolute economic vitality building and artistic production are.[82] While pointing to the fact that Cook minimized some of the evidence for Ionian building,[83] Osborne's primary methodological objection is that a reduction in building does not necessarily correlate with economic conditions, and he ascribes the flurry of building, especially temple building, in the sixth century to intra-Ionian cultural competition better described by the model of peer-polity interaction than a general state of economic prosperity. With the ascendance of Athenian cultural hegemony, according to Osborne, the motivation for competition on this level between Ionian poleis declined, but this, importantly, is not a good

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[76] Cook 1961: 9.

[77] Cook 1961: 9-10.

[78] Roebuck 1959.

[79] Murray 1988.

[80] Dandamaev 1989.

[81] Balcer 1984; Balcer 1985; Balcer 1988; Balcer 1991.

[82] Osborne 1999: 330: "For Cook and his followers, lack of archaeological evidence of fifth-century activity in Ionia and elsewhere in the Athenian empire is evidence of oppression. That interpretation is, I have tried to show, revealed as essentially baseless by comparison with the behaviour of cities outside the empire. It is hard enough to explain why people do things, harder still to explain why they fail to do things." For objections to Cook's use of the Samian evidence, see Shipley 1987, and for a critique of putting too much stock in the tribute lists as indicators, see Kallet-Marx 1993.

[83] See Osborne 1999: 321 for an overview of recent archaeological discoveries from fifth-century Ionia.

indicator of a loss of the ability to build.[84] The other main support of his argument is that the lack of fifth century building in Ionia actually fits in with a decline of building across the Greek world in the period, including areas not included in the Delian league, from Sicily to Asia Minor.[85]

Although Osborne's argument perhaps presents a few methodological problems of its own, his wider point about the limits of archaeology for measuring economic prosperity is important. The debate over the use of archaeological evidence for economic history has been especially charged since Finley, who resolutely maintained that archaeological material was of little use for the study of the ancient economy.[86] In the case of Ionia, if we return to the question of the pattern of its economic fortunes in the fifth through third centuries, recent work on the amphora assemblages from securely datable contexts excavated in the Tetragonos Agora at Ephesos shed important new light on the pre-Hellenistic economic patterns of the city. Analysis of all the fragments of imported amphorae, both stamped and unstamped, has confirmed the picture of economic stagnation from the 490s down to the end of the fifth century. In this period, the imports are confined mostly to the central-eastern Aegean. In the late fourth century, however, the sources for imports broaden dramatically along with the quantity of imports, and a large number of north Aegean amphorae appear.[87] This pattern is mirrored in broad outline by the amphorae recovered at Klazomenai, Didyma, Halikarnassos and Miletos, although the retention rate from some of these excavations is probably too small to be completely relied upon in detail.[88]

Contemporary evidence from newly excavated deposits in Ilion show a similar pattern. The new excavations in sector D9 have yielded a stratified sequence of terrace fills with rich finds of transport amphoras. D9 is located south of the akropolis, below the akropolis wall, and is characterized by a sequence of terraced retaining walls, built to check the settling of the soil against the citadel wall. Its proximity to the akropolis suggests that the assemblages found here are likely refuse from use on the akropolis, deposited here as fill for the terracing; moreover, the condition and sorting of the amphora fragments (small fragments with few joins) suggests that these were used and discarded elsewhere and moved, likely from the adjacent akropolis. As such the deposits are good indices of the commercial and ritual activity on the akropolis. In the mid to late sixth century, the number of imported transport amphoras in these deposits is relatively low, though some importation did occur, overwhelmingly from a limited, nearby region, especially Lesbos. This suggests that commerce with the wider Aegean was limited, more so than at other sites, and products imported in storage jars were drawn from only a small regional area. However, locally produced storage jars are well represented, indicating an agricultural surplus and a market for the export of agricultural products, and the forms of the local transport amphoras in this period imitate Lesbian amphorae, emphasizing the restricted, regional, yet healthy character of the economy. The

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[84] Osborne 1999: 322-323. Cooks' argument, however, involves more than just the ability to build. Osborne does not adequately answer Cook's points about the decline of ceramic output or the general indications of surface survey.

[85] This argument of course does not take into account the degree to which Athenian imperialism affected trade networks across the Aegean, as Osborne himself states, "Athenian imperialism in the fifth century directly or indirectly affected all cities of mainland Greece and the Aegean" (1999: 319)

[86] For a discussion of Finley's view of archaeological evidence, see Morely 2006: 14. For recent discussions of general methodological frameworks for archaeological approaches to the ancient economy, see, principally, Hopkins 1983; Davies 2001a; Archibald 2005a; Greene 2006: 109-137

[87] Lawall 2005a, 253-255. While the amphorae Lawall presents are only a small sample of those found in excavation, the pattern accords well with the patterns from the earlier, less systematically studied material from the excavations in the Agora.

[88] See Lawall 2005a: 253 n.722. See further: Halikarnassos: Radt; Didyma: Schattner; Miletos: Voigtländer, and Klazomenai: Ersoy 1993.

excavators of Ilion consider the proximity to the Lydian and Persian empires the key factor for this period of economic vitality, as participation in this wider network provided a consumer base of Ilion's agricultural products. As at Ephesos, the fifth century is a period of steep decline in the production of local storage jars and imported amphoras. After Persian withdrawal from this area in 478, Mytilene dominated Ilion until 428, when Athens exerted its control until *ca.* 410. In this period there are no amphora fragments in the excavations in D9, that date to the first three quarters of the fifth century, and only a few fragments that date to the last quarter of the fifth. This gap in amphora fragments in D9 confirms a general lack of fifth-century material across the site. Recovery only begins at the very end of the century and really only picks up in the fourth century. By the middle of the fourth century, local storage jars are being produced in fairly high levels again, and the range of imports has expanded substantially, indicating broader Aegean contacts and an increasing role of the Troad as a mediator between the Aegean and the interior of Asia Minor.[89] By this time the Troad was again paying tribute to Persian satraps, and tribute and requisitioning of supplies from the Troad is a definite factor for this increase in transport amphorae. What is important though, is that this does not appear to be evidence only of increased pressure on Ilion. The general incorporation of the city into a broader network also brought commercial benefits. When taken along with the other evidence in fourth century Ilion (fineware imports, architecture, ritual activity in the sanctuary of Athena,[90] *etc.*) the overall picture of the of expanding economic contacts also corresponds with prosperity for at least a segment of Ilion's population.

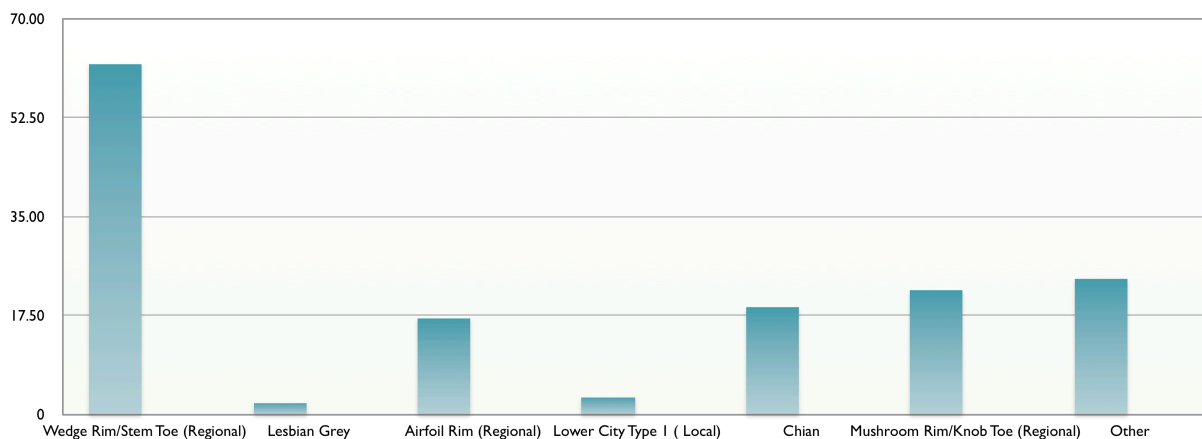Table 4: Imported *Amphorae* from 550-500 BCE Strata from Sector D9, Ilion (adapted from Lawall 2002: 205)

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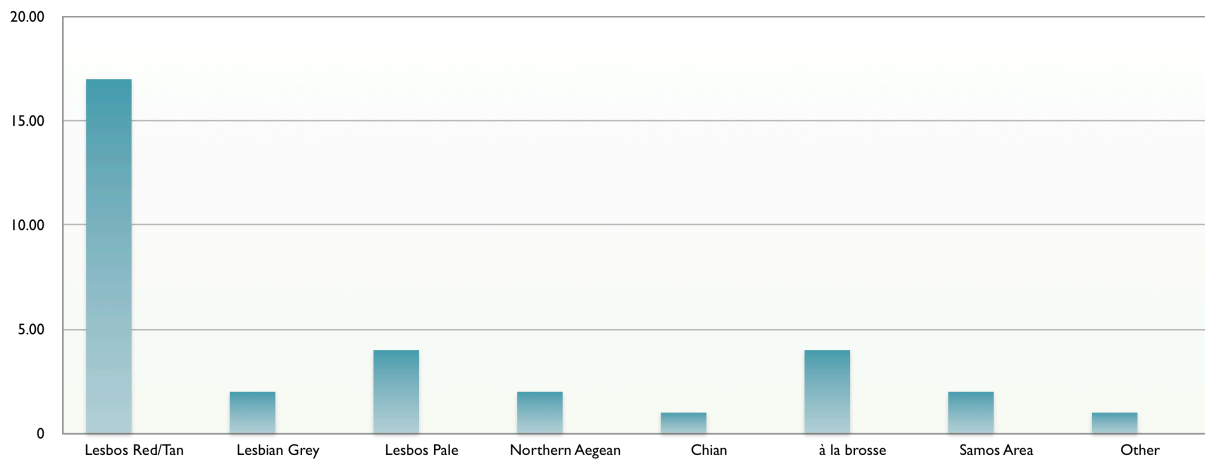
[89] Lawall 2002
[90] Contemporary ritual deposits provide important evidence for substantial external patronage of the sanctuary of Athena Ilias.[90]

In the Hellenistic period this prosperity reached its peak. By the late third century, in the period exactly contemporary with the construction of the new circuit wall and the new temple of Athena, the quantity and range of imported amphoras in deposits from the lower city of Ilion (the domestic area) increases dramatically, giving us the picture of considerable prosperity in the city in this period. Unfortunately, the transport amphoras from the Hellenistic levels in D9 have not yet been published, so no direct comparison with the material from the fourth century can be made. However, in the lower city, the area of new domestic housing built in the Hellenistic period, quantifiable stratified deposits have provided important new evidence for the commercial connections of the Hellenistic city. This area itself represents an important expansion of the city, as well as a probable increasing population. The site was originally a quarry, and it continued to be used as such in the late fourth century and early third; thus evidence for the early Hellenistic period is skewed by the fact this was still a work area in this period and not a place of habitation, significantly reducing the numbers of amphoras that would be present.[91] Nevertheless, in phase H1, the early- to mid-Hellenistic phase, there is still evidence for an expansion of the types of amphoras imported, with specimens from as far afield as the southeast Aegean and Chios, evidence paralleled in the city center. This picture of economic vitality in the early third century, especially when taken along side the epigraphic evidence of regulated, long distance commercial contacts centered on the *koinon* of Athena Ilias,[92] goes a long way toward refuting Bellinger's hypothesis that competition from Alexandreia Troas led to economic depression in Ilion in the third century.[93] In phase H2 (225-130), which followed the major construction phase of this domestic area of the city, we see the widest range of imports and the largest variety of locally produced amphora types. Locally produced

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[91] Lawall 1999:187-188.

[92] *E.g. I.Ilion* 3, an honorific decree for an *agoranomos* from Parion for making commercial arrangements (grain and "other things") for the temple.

[93] Bellinger 1961: 17. His observation was based on the minting activity of the two cities. A parallel disruption of Ilion's minting activity also occurred in 228-159BCE, a period for which the amphora record in the lower city show a time of particular prosperity (Lawall 1999: 216). The lack of correlation that frequently occurs between the minting history of a city and the ceramic record is a problem, potentially suggesting that coinage is not necessarily a reliable index for measuring economic conditions.

type-II amphoras from Ilion begin to appear in Assos, local stamped amphorae have been found at Pergamon and at numerous sites along the west and North coasts of the Black sea.[94]   Imports span the Aegean: northern Greek, Lesbian, Chian, Southern Aegean, Koan, Rhodian, and Chersonesan amphoras are all represented.[95]   Thus, both exports from the region of Ilion and imports expand dramatically in the late third century. This follows the period of the greatest building in Ilion, the city wall, the new temple, and the expansion of the domestic area.[96] Epigraphic evidence for this period also shows a great deal of activity in the *koinon* of Athena Ilias.[97] While early third century evidence for the economic life of Ilion is largely lacking, this lacuna should not be taken as an indicator of a low state of prosperity in this period. All indications of later third century prosperity are linked principally to processes put in motion in the later fourth century with the *synoikismos* of Ilion and the establishment of Ilion as a regional power at the head of the *koinon* and the site of a major panhellenic sanctuary.

6. KOINA, REGIONAL ECONOMIES, AND TAXATION

The foregoing sections have argued that resources, population, and power were localized in specific poleis by the process of synoikismos and urban foundation, and an important corollary to this policy was to further consolidate regions and map out regional hegemonies through the creation of koina, which had significant implications for polis economies, regional patterns of exchange, and the dynamic between kings, cities, and regions.[98] The diadochoi were directly responsible for instituting or reviving a number of major koina in the late fourth century, the koinon of Athena Ilias, the Ionian koinon, the koinon of the Islanders (Nesiotic league) and, probably, a koinon of the cities of Achaia Phthiotis. In fact all of these were probably set up by the first Antigonids, either Antigonos himself or his son Demetrios in the case of the koinon of Achaia Phthiotis. The economic significance of these koina is an extensive topic, and the following section will briefly deal with the economic impact of one of these koina, the koinon of Athena Ilias, or the κοινὸν τῶν πολέων, as it is called in the documentary sources, and its structural relationship to the process of centralization and urban renewal in the early Hellenistic period. The koinon of Athena Ilias is relatively well attested in the documentary sources, and the fact there is also a solid amount of archaeological and documentary evidence associated with the synoikism of Ilion, makes exploring the intersection between these two processes particularly fruitful in this case.

The koinon of Athena Ilias is usually considered to have been set up under the guidance of Antigonos at some time before 306, since *I.Ilion* 1 (F), the earliest decree of the koinon, names Antigonos without the royal title, and *I.Ilion* 1 (E) refers to "the king." This would logically put the

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[94] Lawall 1999: 216.

[95] Lawall 1999: 199-213.

[96] For the major third-century building at Ilion, see further: Aylward 1999; Tekkök 2000; Aylward and Wallrodt 2003; Rose 2003; Hertel 2004 (*contra* Rose 2003); and Aylward 2005.

[97] See below for further discussion of the economic role of the *koinon* of Athena Ilias.

[98] *Cf.* Purcell 2005: 216. "This constant renegotiation of autonomy had much more famous consequences for Greek history; but it also took the form the invention of expedients for regulating the economic competition and interaction of communities within a network. It is important to recognize that the customs regime (*sensu lato*) of a community was a crucial locus for the negotiation of dependence of freedom. Even in a world of notionally equal cities asymmetric privileges in this domain mapped out a hierarchy in exquisitely delicate penmanship. Where a hegemony existed, whether of a dominant city, or of a kingdom or league, which might dictate elements in the customs regime, the pattern of immunities and liabilities enunciated propositions about the relations of power in more explicit terms."

creation of the koinon before 306, when Antigonos assumed the royal title.[99]   The synoikism of Ilion is assigned to Lysimachos by Strabo,[100] but as we have seen in chapter one, his description is confused and development of the city as a regional power clearly began with Alexander and continued with Antigonos, suggesting that both measures were likely part of the same overall design of setting up Ilion as a regional focal point in the northern Troad.

The economic impact of the koinon is evident from its first attestation in the documentary record. The series of decrees in honor of Malusios of Gargara attest to the extensive building activity undertaken by the koinon in its early years, financed by Malusios, the representative of the polis of Garagra, on the southwestern coast of the Troad, in the *synhedrion* of the koinon. Rostovtzeff assumed the Malusios must have been a retired officer of one of the diadochoi, but there is no direct evidence for this royal connection besides the level of his wealth.[101]   Malusios provided interest free loans for the construction of a theater for the *panegyris* of the koinon (*I.Ilion* 1 F l. 10, 1450 gold staters), the *skene* for the theater (E l. 28), and "other buildings" associated with the theater and sacrificial animals (D l. 39-40). In addition, he provided funds for an embassy to Antigonos on behalf of the cities of the koinon, in order to discuss the "freedom and autonomy of the cities" participating in the koinon (E .24-25). In return Malusios was voted honorary crowns in the gymnastic contests worth 1000 drachmai and freedom from taxation both in buying and selling for both himself and his ancestors (F l.16-18).[102] Malusios clearly reaped important financial benefits from his outlay: in this document we see the important role the koinon played in dispensing commercial privileges. Of chief interest in these decrees also is the role of the koinon in collectively sending an embassy to Antigonos.   If the common assumption that Antigonos set up the koinon himself is correct, we must look for a scenario of mutual benefit for this kind of activity. From the perspective of the cities, greater unity held the promise of greater bargaining power with the king. For Antigonos, dealing with the koinon as a whole would have simplified administration of the area and possibly routed some taxation through a corporate body, while centralizing resources and manpower the king could draw on. The stock phrase "freedom and autonomy" is so generic that the actual business of the embassy could have been almost anything, but inevitably one of the issues must have been the negotiation of tribute, exemptions and privileges.

Malusios' activities within the koinon are paralleled by other honorary decrees of the koinon in later periods – see, for example, the honorary decree for Kydimos of Abydos from the third century (*I.Ilion* 2)[103] – but perhaps more instructive is the third-century decree in honor of an

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[99] F. Verkinderen (1987) has argued for reversing the order of the dossier, reading the reference to the "the king" in text E chronologically earlier than text F, making it impossible for this to be a reference to Antigonos after he assumed the title. This, in Verkinderen's view, necessitates revising the date of this document to 334, identifying the reference to the king as Alexander, with Antigonos acting on his behalf. Frisch, the editor of *I.Ilion,* also preferred reading the inscriptions in this order, but did not argue for the change of date. However, Verkinderen's hypothesis has not met with general acceptance, and there is no internal reason that the documents must be read in this order; further, it is much more likely that Antigonos, given his other activities in the Troad, was responsible for the creation of the koinon and possibly even the initial plans for the synoikism.

[100] Strabo: 13.1.26.

[101] Rostovtzeff 1941: 117.

[102] For a general treatment of fairs and *panegyreis* in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, see: Chandezon 2000: 70-100. For interesting ethnographic comparisons for the economic role of regional religious festivals in modern Greece see: Forbes 2007: chapter 9.

[103] A new decree of the koinon, dating to the last quarter of the third century, recently ploughed up in a field near Hisarlık, now adds greater depth to the activity of the koinon in this period. See: Özhan and Tombul 2003: 109-113. Commentary: Gauthier 2004; Habicht 2004: 91-94. For the date see: Ma 2007.

agoranomos from Parion (*I.Ilion* 3). Parion lay outside of the Troad in the Propontis, but by the third century, it had been included in the koinon of Athena Ilias.[104] The inclusion of Parion shows the vitality of the koinon in the early Hellenistic period and its ability to continue to expand its ties beyond its original regional conception. The document praises a citizen of Parion, elected by his city to be an agoranomos for the koinon and the great Panathenaia. The agoranomos distinguished himself by securing the grain supply for the festival at the cheapest rate, caring for the other things that need to be purchased (τῶν ἄλλων ὠνίω[ν] l.14), and also provided a doctor to care for the sick at the festival (l. 15-17). The document highlights two important facets of the koinon in this period. It shows the ability of the koinon to extend its reach, augmenting its power and resources by including new cities outside the Troad. Importantly, it also demonstrates the extent of the network of ties between civic elites that surely translated into financial gain for those involved.

By the third century the koinon had also included more of the Propontic cities, namely Myrleia and Kalchedon, as attested by the debtor list *I.Ilion* 5. This document and others like it (*I.Ilion* 18, 300 BCE) call attention to an important aspect of the process of expansion. The indebtedness of member cities to the koinon highlights the progression of economic dependence in the region. L. Robert long ago pointed to the underlying economic realities of the koinon of Athena Ilias[105] and the commercial importance of the fairs and festivals associated with the Panathenaia that necessitated the striking of coins on the Attic standard in the name of Athena Ilias alone.[106] These coins provided a standard of exchange for activities related to the koinon and its festivals, but it also provided a common currency for other economic activity in the region. Although the documents' language stresses the religious importance of the koinon (τῶν πόλεων τῶν κοινωνουσῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως is a phrase commonly used by the cities when referring to themselves) we must not overlook the importance of the economic activity that the association engendered. We have argued for the link between the synoiksim of the city of Ilion and the establishment of the koinon as a means of setting up a dual mechanism of centralization, intensification of land and resources, and forging a common identity in the region. The evidence for the economy of Ilion culled from the recent publication of the transport amphorae found in the lower city attests to a markedly increased prosperity in the city, particularly coinciding with the period of the greatest activity of the koinon documented in the epigraphic sources. This is also the period of the greatest amount of construction in the city of Ilion itself – the new city wall, the new temple of Athena, the propylon, *etc.* are all finished in this period. The prosperity is thus not only evident in the religious and civic buildings, but it is also visible in the domestic contexts of the lower city.

Turning briefly to some of the other koina set up by the Diadachoi, it is worth comparing some of the features of the koinon of Athena Ilias we have seen to the evidence for the koinon of the Islanders and the koinon of the cities of Achaia Phthiotis. The evidence for the koinon of the cites of Achaia Phthiotis is far less substantial than that of Athena Ilias, and in fact the existence of a koinon itself it based only on a series of coins found at Halos, Larisa Kremaste and some of the other poleis of Achaia Phthiotis that bear the monogram AX.[107] The coins' appearance, however,

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[104] The inclusion seems to have been preceded by ties to Skepsians, with whom the Parians had and agreement of *isopoliteia* (Robert, *Bull.* 1972: 371).
[105] Robert 1966: 38.
[106] For the coins, see Robert 1966: 22–46
[107] Reinders 2009. For the *koinon* see Reinders 2004; Reinders 1995; Stählin 1924.

coincides with the refoundation of Halos (a polis destroyed by Philip II for its defiance in 346),[108] which has been convincingly linked to the operations of Demetrios Poliorketes in the area *ca.* 302,[109] and the appearance of a common coinage in this region fits neatly with the Antigonid precedents of concomitantly refounding or synoikizing cities and establishing leagues to shore up regions. The fact that no documentary evidence comes down to us from this koinon, however, does not prevent us from drawing some general conclusions about the economic significance of the league. As we have seen in discussing the evidence for the economic life of Demetrias, Achaia Phthiotis was served by the other major port on the Pagasitic gulf, Phthiotic Thebai, itself the result of the synoikism of Phylake and the harbor city of Pyrasos. As we have seen, the commercial ties of Demetrias in the period of Antigonid control of the city were directed almost entirely northward, leaving the historical trade routes connecting the Pagasitic gulf to southern Greece and the southern Aegean largely to Achaia. The numismatic evidence from Phthiotic Thebes and its environs in this period point to flourishing contacts with Euboia and the southern trade networks[110] and the grave stelai from the cemetery do display a prosopography of distinctly international character.[111] In sum, the patterns detectible from this region seem to put it more in line with the evidence from the Troad.

The koinon of the Islanders, (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν),[112] was set up by Antigonos and Demetrios around 313.[113] The koinon centered on Delos and the sanctuary of Apollo, into which religious festivals for Antigonos, and later in 307, Demetrios were inserted.[114] Ostensibly the koinon served to protect the political freedom of the Islanders and to bind them together in a common cultic association, but the documentary evidence points to the burden of taxation imposed upon the islanders by the Antigonids. In fact Migeotte has suggested that many of the loans taken out by poleis in the early third-century Kyklades (*e.g. Milet* I 3 138) were used for the payment of taxes to the newly imposed monarchs.[115] After the defeat of Demetrios Poliorketes in 286 BC, Ptolemy Soter took over the *koinon*, and instituted certain changes, among them reducing the amount of the contribution (*syntaxis*) (*IG* XII 7, 13), extending citizenship and *proxenia* in all the cities of the *koinon* (*IG* XI 4, 1038; 1040), and appointing a Ptolemaic official called the νησίαρχος to govern the *koinon* alongside the *synhedrion*.

What is particularly of interest for our purposes is how this political reshaping of the Kyklades intersects with the economic history of the region. G. Reger has traced the regional economy of Delos in this period in great detail, and his work has provided interesting results for the effect of the political realignment of the early Hellenistic period on the price histories of commodities in the temple accounts of Delian Apollo. Although the Kyklades have always formed

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[108] Strabo 16.60.8.

[109] Reinders 2009.

[110] See above n. 68.

[111] Stählin 1924: 173.

[112] *IG* XI 4.1036.2

[113] Diodoros 19.62.9: Diodoros uses the term συμμαχία for the alliance; the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν first appears in *IG* XI 4.1036.2, for which the dating is controversial. See: Buraselis 1982: 67-75.

[114] Antigoneia: *IG* XI 4.1036.4–5. Demetriada: *IG* XI 4.1036

[115] Migeotte 1984: 156-156. See also Reger 1994: 37-38: "the Nesiotic League required contributions as early as 307 (*IG* XI 4.1036.12–16 = *Choix,* 13), even though the document attests explicitly only to funds used for religious purposes. These contributions were called *syntaxis* (l. 44). Demetrios's imposts no doubt rose after Ipsos; his exactions were sufficiently resented for Ptolemaios I to brag that he had 'abolished (or reduced) the contributions' (*IG* XII 7.506.16 = *SIG*³ 390) when he took control of the Kyklades. … [T]here can be no doubt that the Kyklades paid dearly under the Antigonids."

a natural region, through much of the fifth and fourth centuries the Kykladic economy, particularly that of Delos, was intertwined with foreign powers. The advent of Macedonian hegemony and the creation of the koinon effectively severed the Kyklades from the rest of the Aegean and reoriented it toward the center at Delos.[116] Politically hegemony was still exercised by foreign powers, the Antigonids and the Ptolemies in turn, but unlike Asia Minor and Northern Greece, the Islands were mostly used as strategic way stations linking together disparate parts of empire and were never subject to any large-scale colonization or urban development, while tax revenue continued to be extracted from them. The Ptolemies founded or refounded a number of settlements named after Arsinoe, particularly during the time of the Chremonidean war, but these were mostly quickly withdrawn and the overall economic effect seems to have been overwhelmingly negative.[117] With the Kyklades turned in on themselves, Reger was able to track the effects of this political disruption and reorientation of trade networks on the prices of key commodities on Delos.[118] The first quarter century, as Reger has shown, was marked by high prices and economic downturn. It is only in the 290s that prices begin to stabilize. Recovery proceeds through the third century, with some growth beginning in the last decades of that century. The economy, as Reger has demonstrated, was largely confined to local networks of exchange, and the differences in the trajectory of this region as compared to the Troad are interesting. The political realignment undertaken in the Troad pushed a greater integration of city and land, connections between cities, and the concentration of resources into two major centers, Alexandreia Troas and Ilion. This process fostered growth in both the regional economy and long-distance trade. The opposite pattern is detectable in the koinon of the Islanders. The creation of new political entities exerted greater pressure on the region and cut ties between the islands and broader economic networks.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The present discussion has necessarily been selective in both the regions and cites and the economic themes it has explored. There are, of course, many other crucial economic features of Hellenistic foundations that could be discussed in greater detail, from the taxation regimes, to institutional innovations, to the more specific economic consequences of buildings and palaces.[119] Yet through a

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[116] Reger 1994: 253.

[117] See, for example, the case of the Arsinoe founded at Koressos on Keos, discussed in detail in chapter 3 (below), which seems to have severely weakened the polis and precipitated its absorption into neighboring Ioulis. Ptolemaic presence on Thera, which seems to have had a positive impact on the local economy, for which there is evidence for prosperity in this period, is exception, since the Ptolemaic garrison was intended to guard the important route to Krete, and unlike the other Ptolemaic foundations in the Kyklades, this was a long-term settlement.

[118] These first few decades of Delian independence also saw the evolution of the Kyklades into an economic unit focused on Delos. While the archipelago certainly always formed something of a region, during the fourth century many of the islands enjoyed important relations with the outside world independent of their links to Delos. The western islands in particular cultivated relations with western neighbors, including the cities of Euboia and Athens. Especially before 350 B.C., Athens played an important role, running the second Athenian sea league, to which most Kykladic states belonged, and controlling the temple of Delian Apollo. Sometimes allies like the Andrians participated in this Athenian control, and individual citizens of other Kykladic states also sometimes benefited from it. The establishment of the Nesiotic League in 314 B.C., however, entailed a marked reorientation of the Kyklades toward their center at Delos and away from the outside world" (Reger 1994: 252-253).

[119] As Davies (2005) has shown, Hellenistic palaces were potentially important economic entities, as major building projects, major consumers, employers, and potentially redistributive agents. Davies has attempted to estimate the outlay for the cost of the initial building of a Hellenistic palace, demonstrating that the expense would have been immense. The

sustained focus on the development of urban centers and the economic potential for creating centralized centers of population, important patterns have emerged. This chapter has stressed the importance of both an expanded hinterland on which to draw for resources and raw materials and the integration of cities into wider regional networks of mobility and exchange. Also crucial in this period is the development of infrastructure and regional trade networks that sought to intensify the connection between the Aegean and the interior of northern Greece and Asia Minor. These foundations and synoikisms constituted an effective response to the fragmentation of the landscape that characterized these regions in the classical period, reducing the risks and transaction costs of long distance trade and facilitating the mobility of material and labor. The concrete economic results of some of these processes can be traced in the archaeological record by documented increases in the volume of trade and the differentiation of the sources of imports. Urbanization has also been investigated as part of a larger process of regional integration and interdependence. Koina emerge as an important strategy of creating broader links between communities and forging shared infrastructure such as coinage, loans and banking, religious centers, and mechanisms of common defense. Yet despite structural similarities, it is important to keep in mind sharp divergences in some of this data. The evidence from Antigonid Demetrias and Korinthos points to a high degree of royal interference with the local economies of these two important centers. Patterns of trade appear to be orchestrated in large part by the central imperial authority and natural connections have been severed. Wider economic latitude appears to have been given to the cities of the Troad and Ionia. No single model fully explains the role of centralized urban settlements in the royal economy in this period, and the constant flux of city statuses and shifting political circumstances must be born in mind. Nevertheless, the place of urbanization as a defining feature of Macedonian imperialism, distinguishing it from the Athenian and Achaemenid models of empire, underscores the importance of looking at urban development as a structural framework for approaching important aspects of the Hellenistic economy.

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construction of palaces is closely linked to the overall centralizing polices of the Hellenistic kings. The quasi-peripatetic nature of Hellenistic kings necessitated establishing kingdoms that were both centralized and multi-focal. Unlike Achaemenid palaces, however, many of which were frequently constructed outside of major urban areas, Hellenistic places were far more integrated into major cities, particularly coastal cities with good ports. Palaces were complicated centers of royal power, functioning simultaneously as fortresses, the headquarters of the imperial bureaucracy, storehouses, and visual manifestations of royal power, royal self-representation, and royal wealth and splendor. For full treatments of Hellenistic palaces, see now the three comprehensive studies that have recently appeared: Hoepfner and Brands 1996; Kutbay 1998; and Nielsen 1999.

3

Cult, Polis, and Hellenistic Empire

1. Introduction

How are matters of religion affected by the extensive political and social upheaval caused by a synoikism? For the Classical period, we have several cases in which the religious consequences of uniting communities are richly documented by the literary sources, but for the royally-directed synoikisms of the Hellenistic age, the literary sources rarely address such issues. The review of the evidence for settlement shift and continuity and discontinuity of poleis in regions affected by major Hellenistic foundations in Chapter 1 attempted to show the dramatic change that the overarching imperial presence of the Hellenistic kings brought to the political and urban landscape of Central and Northern Greece and Asia Minor in the early Hellenistic period. The emerging patterns stress the unparalleled scale of urban reorganization and the intensification of urbanization in this period, but also highlight the continuity and persistent reemergence of ancient polis centers despite royal efforts to the contrary, stressing the overwhelming importance of attachment to a physical place and set of traditions for constructing political and corporate identity. Building on these data it is a more tenuous and difficult task to trace the effects of the massive settlement shift and centralization of this period in redrawing and reorienting the religious landscape of Greece and Asia Minor. The present chapter will look at religion as an ordering principle in the Hellenistic city, both as a reflection of individual and corporate self-expression in the wake of considerable change and as a tool of innovation by Hellenistic monarchs and a means of incorporating their presence into the physical fabric of the Hellenistic city. The incorporation and transference of established civic and extra-urban cults and sanctuaries into newly founded or synoikized communities is an issue that has received only cursory attention but is of critical importance in understanding the tension between and reaction of city and empire in the Hellenistic period.

The following pages consider the role of both ancient and novel cults in the creation of new polities in the Hellenistic period and the strategic employment of ritual to bridge the discontinuity of population movement, settlement shift, and political change. This is viewed both at the level of the elites of the poleis themselves and the strategies of the kings to create urban centers that suited their ends. This artificial pressure towards centralization and urbanization of these sites had far-reaching consequences for the cities and towns utilized as the base of these new foundations and in many cases dramatically redefined and reoriented regions, traditional ethnic divisions, and regional power structures. The result in many cases was a physical landscape that quickly bore no resemblance to the traditional, often ancient, orientation of these areas. With careful consideration of the evidence it is possible to piece together important indications of how traditional cultic and religious identities intersected with innovation in this period of intense change. Exploring the ways that communities and kings alike shaped the cultic identity of these new communities powerfully reflects a process of dialogue, negotiation, and social response that is otherwise irrecoverable.

In this context, religion and established cults constituted a challenge to the authority of the Hellenistic kings, but the potential for using religious symbolism and ritual to forge a collective political identity also represented an opportunity for building consensus. As such, examining the extent to which cults can survive this process and how the Hellenistic kings used religious symbolism and ruler cult is a critical aspect of the dynamic interaction between king and city. How

exactly does religion operate within this context? Does it limit or enable the Hellenistic monarchs? Is it a tool of empire or does it serve to limit its reach? Can cults weather such political changes, or do they in some ways determine its framework? These are central considerations for this period, and the following chapter will seek to draw out conclusions and approaches to these questions.

Beginning with several case studies of Classical *synoikismoi* well documented by literary sources, chiefly Pausanias, I first try to draw out the significance of the challenge that individual religious identities level against political unity, but also the ways the religion, and in particular ritual action, can be employed to overcome these very difficulties. Proceeding next to several case studies from the Hellenistic period, I weigh the methodological issues involved in studying religious change solely through archaeological evidence, including the relative values of archaeological survey and excavation. From there I return to the main case studies developed in the previous chapters and attempt to map the religious landscape of these regions before and after the synoikisms, highlighting instances of continuity and discontinuity and considering how and why particular cults survive or die out in a synoikism and what this means for the kind of community being built. Having considered the locations of religious activity, *i.e.* sanctuaries, I consider the role of the Hellenistic kings in promoting certain cults, inserting the figure of the king into the cultic identity of the new communities, and how these factors relate to the overall goal of building empire. Finally, I consider what religion does in the polis: how ritual activity and symbolism binds people of disparate backgrounds together and how it simultaneously accommodates distinctiveness within a unified political community. Concluding sections examine issues such as priesthoods, calendars, before attempting to pull together the many dimensions of the religious implications of synoikism into a more cohesive model for approaching synoikism and religion.

2. Cult and *Synoikismos* in Classical Greece: Literary Perspectives

According to Pausanias, the Achaian polis of Patrai crystallized from the synoikism of Aroe, Antheia, and Mesatis, three formerly Ionian villages bound by the common worship of Artemis Triklaria (of the three divisions), a goddess whose epithet is a direct reference to the composite communities of Patrai.[1] The mythical tradition surrounding the worship of this deity and the correction of the cult preserves an account of the foundation of the urban center of Patrai and the incorporation of the cult of Artemis Triklaria and three villages into the polis. The process of this synoikism seems to have been particularly fraught with problems of negotiating the place of the traditional identities of the original villages within a unified polis.[2] Pausanias' account of the original ritual of the cult of Artemis Triklaria and its emendation through the agency of Dionysos

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[1] Pausanias. 7.19.1: Ἰώνων τοῖς Ἀρόην καὶ Ἄνθειαν καὶ Μεσάτιν οἰκοῦσιν ἦν ἐν κοινῷ τέμενος καὶ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος Τρικλαρίας ἐπίκλησιν, καὶ ἑορτὴν οἱ Ἴωνες αὐτῇ καὶ παννυχίδα ἦγον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

[2] Archaeological survey of the area demonstrates that into the Classical period, the original settlements were not abandoned, even as the polis center of Patrai became increasingly urbanized and the polity expanded and incorporated further demoi (Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994: 203). Rural sites in the *chora* actually become more numerous in the classical period, and the continuity of nucleated settlement in the countryside through the Classical period and into the Hellenistic period is evident from Herodotos' use of the plural city ethnic Πάτρεες in his list of Achaian *merea* and the temporary abandonment of the polis center of Patrai and the return to the *polismata* following the Gallic invasion in 279 (Herotodos 1.145). Moggi 1976: 89-95 considers the further *polismata* incorporated into Patrai (Pausanias 7.18.6) indicative of a second process of synoikism that took place in either the late sixth or early fifth century.

Aisymnetes (the corrector)[3] and the hero Eurypylos provides rich detail for the functional role of ritual in shoring up the collective identity of a polis following a synoikism.[4] The details of the myth and the subsequent historical ritual elegantly bear out the potential crisis of the union of Patrai and the capacity of religion and ritual for effecting a resolution to political problems.

The myth begins with a problematic union, undoubtedly referential to the problems of the synoikism: the priestess of Artemis Triklaria, Komaitho, a parthenos of outstanding beauty, fell in love with an equally handsome youth, Melanippos, but when their marriage was forbidden by both of their parents, the couple resorted to using the sanctuary of the Artemis as their bridal chamber, angering the virgin goddess. Famine and disease resulted, and when the Patraians consulted the oracle at Delphi, the god ordered the sacrifice of the offending pair and the annual sacrifice of the most beautiful virgin and unwed boy of Patrai to Artemis Triklaria. This oracle thus explained an earlier prophecy that foretold the arrival of a foreign king bringing a foreign god (βασιλεὺς ξένος παραγενόμενός σφισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ξενικὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος δαίμονα) that would end the sacrifice to Artemis Triklaria. Eurypylos, a Greek hero wandering around Greece in a state of madness since his return from the Trojan war, duly arrived in Patrai carrying a chest containing an image of Dionysos created by Hephaistos and originally given to the Trojan hero Dardanos. Eurypylos had found the chest in Troy and upon opening it and beholding the image lost his sanity. He then consulted Delphi and received a prophecy, saying he would recover his sanity when he found a people conducting a strange sacrifice (θυσία ξένη) and both settled the chest there and made a home for himself (ἱδρύσασθαί τε τὴν λάρνακα καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι). Arriving in Aroe, the future site of Patrai, as the human sacrifice for Artemis was about to commence, Eurypylos instituted the cult of Dionysos Aisymnetes, simultaneously recovering his sanity and putting an end to the cult of human sacrifice, at which time the river flowing past the sanctuary was significantly renamed from Ameilichos (implacable, relentless) to Meilichos (mild, gentle).[5]

The historical ritual observed by Pausanias involved the symbolic recreation of these mythical events, as well as a physical procession that reenacted the process of the synoikism of Patrai. During a festival for Dionysos Aisymnetes, local youth from Patrai processed to the sanctuary of Artemis Triklaria on the banks of the Meilichos river adorned with garlands of grain. After placing these before the goddess, they bathed in the Meilichos, placed garlands of ivy on their heads and processed back to the sanctuary of Dionysos Aisymnetes in the urban center of Patrai between the agora and the sea.[6] As part of the same ceremony, three images of Dionysos were brought into the sanctuary of Aisymnetes, one for each of the *demoi* of Patrai and named after each of them (ἴσοι τε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίσμασι καὶ ὁμώνυμοι· Μεσατεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἀνθεύς τε καὶ Ἀροεύς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα),[7] symbolically linking the countryside and the urban center of the polis. The ritual, as scholars have noted, at once encompasses an initiation ritual for the city's

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[3] See *LSJ⁹ s.v.* αἰσυμνήτης. The term has the sense of a corrector or regulator, or judge at games (as *Odyssey* 8.258) or an elected monarch, with powers like the Latin *dictator*, (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1285a 31, 1295a 14).

[4] A basic interpretive challenge of this myth is unraveling the various layers of invention that may be at play. Our source (Pausanias) is quite late and it is not a straightforward task to separate what parts of the ritual are genuinely associated with the Archaic/Classical synoikism and what parts of the myth may be later Hellenistic elaboration or even innovation following the institution of the Roman *colonia* in Patrai. However, sculptural fragments recently found near the banks of the Melichos river, the site of the sanctuary of Artemis Triklaria, that date to the fifth century and the identification of the foundations of a contemporary temple seem to point conclusively to the monumentalization of a sanctuary in the period contemporary with the urbanization of Patrai in the Classical period, confirming the core ritual significance of the myth and its links to the synoikism (See: Petropoulos 1991; Osanna 1996: 125-126, 130-131).

[5] Pausanias 7.19.1-9.

[6] Pausanias 7.20.1-2.

[7] Pausanias 7.21.6.

youth, while also emphasizing the purification of the polis from the terrible rites of Artemis Triklaria. The corrected form of worship initiated by Dionysos Aisymnetes and Eurypylos through ritual bathing, is marked by the transition from one cultic attribute (the garlands of wheat) to another (the garlands of ivy).[8] It also reenacts the unification of the original settlements through the procession of the youth across the territory of Patrai, and while maintaining the unique identity of the individual demoi, emphasizes the political unity of Patrai through the common bond of cult.[9] The hero Eurypylos was also included in this festival, receiving yearly ἐναγισμός as the founding hero (*ktistes*) of Patrai.

If the case of Patrai provides us with a model for how a myth, cult, and a hero-founder (*ktistes*) can serve to enable the process of polis formation from rural villages to a unified polity through the creation of a common ritual identity that maintains a sense of continuity with local traditions, the synoikism of Megalopolis provides a kind of prototype for the foundation of a mega-city on the scale of the Hellenistic foundations that incorporated a large number of polities, from poleis to villages. There a centralized authority took specific steps maintain the traditional cults and create a religious life in the urban center that blended many of the religious traditions of Arkadia. Megalopolis was founded either after Leuktra in 371/0 or after the Tearless Battle in 368/7, as a measure to strengthen Arkadia against the Lakedaimonians.[10] The Theban *strategos* Epaminondas was intimately involved in the project, providing security for the foundation and being considered, as Pausanias remarks, an honorary *oikistes* for the city, although formally the foundation was orchestrated by a board of ten *oikistai* elected from Arkadian communities, two each from Mantineia, Tegea, Kleitor, the Mainalians, and the Parrhasians.[11]

Arkadia, with its rugged topography, was conspicuous for its dispersed pattern of settlement, its multiplicity of sanctuaries, and its fragmented identities, and the task of urbanizing and uniting this region, especially on the scale of such as foundation a Megalopolis, must have constituted a formidable challenge. The archaeological evidence for the religious life of the Arkadian communities absorbed into the great city points to a conscious effort at both maintaining a continuity of these cults and fashioning a link between these cults and the urban core of the polis

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[8] Massenzio 1968 interprets the myth from as primarily concerned with initiation, whereas Nillson 1906: 294-297 emphasizes the importance of purification to the episode. Baudy 1997 argues that the importance of agriculture to the myth should be put on par with initiation, but his arguments that this is a major concern of this ritual are not persuasive.

[9] See Polignac 1995: 68-71.

[10] For the sources for the synoikism of Megalopolis see Moggi 1976: 293-325; see also, Demand 1990: 111-118. For a discussion of Pausanias as a source see Jost 1973. For a concise discussion of the problem of the date of the foundation see Hornblower 1990: 71-77; see also the discussion in the *Inventory:* Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 520-521, who suggest that the apparently irreconcilable conflict between the date provided by Pausanias and that of Diodoros can be resolved by the fact that Pausanias describes the decision to go forward with the synoikism, which came later, while Diodoros describes the actual event, which took place in 368/7.

[11] Pausanias 8.27.2: γνώμῃ μὲν τοιαύτῃ συνῳκίζοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, τῆς πόλεως δὲ οἰκιστὴς Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καλοῖτο ἄν· τούς τε γὰρ Ἀρκάδας οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἐπεγείρας ἐς τὸν συνοικισμὸν Θηβαίων τε χιλίους λογάδας καὶ Παμμένην ἀπέστειλεν ἡγεμόνα ἀμύνειν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν, εἰ κωλύειν πειρῶνται οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν οἰκισμόν. ἡρέθησαν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἰκισταὶ Λυκομήδης καὶ Ὁπολέας καὶ Τίμων τε καὶ Πρόξενος, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ Τεγέας, Λυκομήδης δὲ καὶ Ὁπολέας Μαντινεῖς, Κλειτορίων δὲ Κλεόλαος καὶ Ἀκρίφιος, Εὐκαμπίδας δὲ καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ἐκ Μαινάλου, Παρρασίων δὲ Ποσσικράτης τε καὶ Θεόξενος. The extent of the synoikism is unclear; Pausanias (8.27.3-6) claims that the synoikism was planned to include thirty-nine poleis, including some belonging to formerly Spartan perioikic communities, but that the scale was later reduced after some rebelled. Diodoros however only mentions twenty *komai* from the Mainalians and the Parrhasians making up the city, and it may be the case that Pausanias is compressing a later expansion of the territory of Megalopolis into the period of its foundation.

itself.[12]   In communities that were wholly depopulated by the synoikism, in many cases the polis maintained the sanctuaries after the settlement had decayed into ruin, as the in the case of Basilis in Parrhasia, where Pausanias tells us the cult of Demeter Eleusinia was still observed in the second century, and Akakesion, where Hermes Akakesios was still worshipped and whose cult statute could still be observed.[13]   Other communities, like the distant Gortys, that served as outposts for Megalopolis witnessed an increased prosperity of their sanctuaries that can be detected archaeologically after the synoikism; likewise the sanctuary of the Great God at Theisoa and the suburban temple of Petrovouni at Methydrion also prospered following the synoikism, demonstrating the scale of material investment of the polis in religious life of its countryside.[14] Indeed, the only known case of collapse and abandonment of a religious site is at the sanctuary of Pan at Berkela, but this may be explained in part by its extremely peripheral location.[15]

In the city itself, the other side of this integration is even more visible.   As M. Jost has demonstrated, the effort to integrate the cults of the synoikized communities into the cultic identity of Megalopolis itself spawned a number of cultic "doublets," an arrangement whereby the sanctity of the original sanctuary was respected and a subsidiary branch of the cult was set up in the urban center of the city.   The most conspicuous and central example of this was that of the major Parrhasian sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios, worshipped at Glanitsa on the very top of Mt. Lykaion on an ash altar demarcated by monumental golden eagles.[16]   The sanctuary became the chief cult of Megalopolis,[17] and there was significant investment in the lower sanctuary in the Kato Kanos valley, pointing to an expansion in the attendance of the festival and games of the Lykaia in this period.[18] Back in the city, Pausanias tells us there was a stone *peribolos* demarcating the *abaton* of Zeus Lykaios that contained altars, two tables, two eagles and a marble statue of Pan Sinoeis.   As at Lykaion, Zeus is here worshipped alongside Pan, and the sanctuary exactly replicates the sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion, with the *abaton* corresponding to that on Mt. Lykaion, the altar replacing the ash altar, and the eagles mirroring those on the sacred way to the mountain.[19]   Likewise, in the agora of Megalopolis, there was a temple of Hermes Akakesios, mirroring that at the *kome* of Akakesion, and a copy of the cult statue was made for the urban cult, while the rural sanctuary kept the original.   These cults where not actually transferred; rather this process set up a succursal, or subsidiary, branch of the cult, ritually translated into the city by means of an *aphidruma*,[20] but always maintaining a conscious sense of connection and subordination to the original cult. In only one instance in the synoikism of Megalopolis was a cult actually physically transferred to the city; following the rebellion of Trapezous, Megalopolis brought the actual *xoana* (cult statutes) to the city, thus effacing the cult and the identity of Trapezous, a harsh and drastic act.   The alternative process typified by Trapezous

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[12] Preliminary results from archaeological survey in some areas of the *chora* of Megalopolis have demonstrated that nucleated settlement continued in the countryside after the synoikism, but the scale was overall reduced. See: Roy et al. 1988.

[13] Pausanias 8.29.4; 8.36.10.

[14] Jost 1986: 146-158.

[15] Jost 1994: 226.

[16] For the site, see now Romano 1997 and Romano 2005 for reports on the current and ongoing excavations on Mt. Lykaion and the lower sanctuary. For the early excavations see Kourouniotis 1903 *Prakt.,* 50-2; 1904a. *Prakt.*, 32-4; 1904b. *ArchEph*, col. 153-214; 1905. *ArchEph* 161-78; 1905. *Congrès d'Athènes* 255-6; and 1909 *Prakt.,* 185-200.

[17] The civic coinage of Megalopolis after 360 bore the image of Pan on the obverse and Zeus Lykaios on the reverse Head, *HN*[2]: 445.

[18] Jost 1994: 227.

[19] Pausanias 8.30.2-3.

[20] For a discussion of the definition and function of *aphidrumata*, see: Brunel 1953; Robert 1965; Gras 1987; Malkin 1991; Anguissola 2006a; Anguissola 2006b.

demonstrates the power of the treatment of cults and its importance to central powers exerting influence on a broad region.[21]

Still, the harmonious picture created by the careful tending of the cults of southern Arkadia of course obscures the fact that to a large extent the synoikism of Megalopolis was executed by force. After agreeing on the union, many of the communities that were combined into the city found life in the new city difficult and attempted to return to their original settlements shortly after the synoikism.[22] Diodoros describes the conflict, with these communities enlisting the aid of the Mantineans and the Elians to aid them against Megalopolis, while the great city was compelled to recall the Theban forces to check the rebellion.[23] In the end, it was through force of arms that the city was reconstituted, reminding us of both the limits of the bonds created by these kinds of cultic associations, but also the fact that the religious policy an the creation of cultic ties constitutes a long-term policy that sought to forge common consensus.

3. PRELIMINARIES: CULTIC VISIBILITY IN THE LANDSCAPE

From a methodological standpoint, measuring religious change is a highly problematic venture. Before attempting to model the effects of Hellenistic foundations on the religious landscapes into which they were inserted, it is necessary to consider the kinds of sources and problems associated with this approach. The case studies considered in the introductory sections above have explored instances of foundation and synoikism well documented by literary and epigraphic sources, in some cases augmented by archaeological or preliminary survey evidence. For the period this chapter focuses on, however, many instances are not as well documented, and reconstructing the settlement patterns and religious life of these regions is a matter of carefully piecing together very fragmentary literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence. On the other hand, none of the above cases have anything like a complete set of survey data associated with the region. Thus, the unevenness or in many cases complete absence of data from modern archaeological surveys conducted in the regions under consideration in this chapter is an unfortunate yet inevitable lacuna in assessing the effects of urban destruction, creation, or synoikismos on the religious landscape.

The methodological question this section seeks to explore is just how visible the cults of a given community are to archaeological survey. In other words, in cases where we have good empirical data for settlement patterns, can we map cultic change on to this with equal accuracy? The following section will explore the data provided by recently completed survey projects that have

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[21] Compare this process of setting up subsidiary cults resulting in this kind of "doublet" to the conspicuous use of this strategy in Attike, where the close relationship of the demes to the urban center of Athens was cemented through cultic ties of subsidiary urban sanctuaries in Athens itself that mirrored major deme sanctuaries: the city Eleusinion or the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia to name but a few. Athens, of course, also had a yearly festival of unity, the Synoikia, to celebrate and reinforce the original synoikism of Theseus. On the importance of cultic doublets for the relationship between demes and the polis of Athens, see Osborne 1985: 154-177. On the role of mythology in the synoikism of Athens see Gouschin 1999.

[22] Pausanias tells us that most of the Arkadian communities willingly joined the foundation, motivated by their hatred of the Spartans, but two communities had second thoughts. The inhabitants of Trapezos were ultimately compelled to flee the Peloponessos *en masse* while Lykosoura was allowed to remain a dependent polis out of respect for the venerable sanctuary of Demeter, while Trikolonoi was compelled to join Megalopolis after resisting.

[23] Diodoros 15.94.1.

covered areas that witnessed significant episodes of polis destruction or synoikism in the Hellenistic period, providing a useful test case for outlining certain parameters of what these processes look like over a large area and over time. Reviewing the results of studies that have covered the broad region of a single polis, its *chora*, and parts of the territory of neighboring poleis and settlements may then form a control, to which certain characteristics of our regions may be fruitfully compared or from which broader conclusions may be extrapolated. The cases of Halies and Koressos will be considered below, and the results of each of these projects can be vetted against the other to provide a general framework for the process and visibility of settlement shift in the religious landscape. In addition to providing important cases studies, they can serve to establish an interpretive frame by which we can measure the data from more intensively restructured regions. While we cannot reconstruct the precise motivation for the abandonment and synoikism of these population centers, the most likely scenarios indicate situations of opposing agency: in the case of Halieis, the population appears to have been forced to leave the site under the directive of a Hellenistic king or some other external power, whereas at Koressos, the initiative appears to have come either from within or from the polis into which it was incorporated.

Halieis, Southern Argolid

Since 1950 extensive and intensive survey work conducted on the southern tip of the Akte in the Argolic peninsula has produced a rich set of data for reconstructing the cultic landscape of the Classical poleis of Halieis and Hermion.[24] In the early Iron Age, the tip of the Akte was dominated politically by three major central settlements: Halieis, at the southern extreme of the peninsula, Hermion on the western coast, and Mases, on the eastern coast (**F1**). While Mases was of such antiquity as to be mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships,[25] and to have had an important archaic temple, it does not seem to have developed into a full-fledged polis.[26] It is clear that by the Classical period Hermion and Halieis had emerged as two distinct poleis, although Hermion controlled a far more extensive territory and had several nucleated, second-order settlements below it in its territory. The settlement pattern of Halieis, by contrast, has been described by its excavators as "mononuclear," that is, having virtually no subsidiary villages or hamlets in its territory.[27] At some point between 300 and 280 BCE the polis center of Halieis witnessed some kind of destruction, the traces of which are archaeologically recognizable on the akropolis, and the city seems to have been entirely deserted and never resettled.[28] There is no evidence for the agent of this destruction, but the time frame strongly suggests Macedonian involvement. The strategically positioned port of Halieis had been a locus of contention between large forces, particularly Athens and Sparta, for centuries, and in the midst of the struggle of the Successors for control of the Peloponnese, Halieis' port had to be controlled. Whoever was responsible for the destruction of the polis, whether Demetrios Poliorketes, Antigonos Gonatas, or the Spartans, as the excavators suggest,[29] the design seems to have been to consolidate the population of the Southern Akte in order to control the port as part of a greater strategy of controlling the Argolid. What became of the population of Halieis cannot be said for certain, but the most likely scenario is that it was simply absorbed into neighboring

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[24] Intensive survey campaigns were conducted in 1972 and 1979-1982 in the region of Halieis and Hermion. For an overview of the scope and methodology of the project see Jameson et al. 1994: Chapter 4.
[25] *Iliad* 2.562.
[26] There is no attestation of Mases as a polis: Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 601. *Cf.* Jameson 2004: 149: "…we seem to have a candidate for polis status that did not make the grade."
[27] Jameson 2004: 149.
[28] Jameson 2004: 149.
[29] Jameson et al. 1994: 386.

Hermion, an interpretation bolstered by the fact that the survey was able to detect evidence for the continuation of farming but not habitation in the former chora of Halieis.[30] This disruption of settlement and movement towards the concentration of population in the southern Akte in the polis center of Hermion had significant consequences for the regional cults of Halieis, and the thoroughness of archaeological exploration of the area makes it an ideal case study for testing the visibility of cultic disruption and transference.

Extensive excavation in Halieis coupled with intensive survey of the wider region has revealed a tantalizingly complete picture of the cultic landscape of the polis and its chora.[31] The general picture that emerges is one of nearly complete cultic disruption following the destruction of the polis center and the abandonment of the site. Yet, there are some intriguing indications of lingering reverence for the sites and some possible evidence for the transference of the most important cult, that of Apollo Pythaieus, to neighboring Hermion. Of the thirteen cult sites identified so far through excavation and survey, the majority shows a definite break in use *ca*. 300 BCE, when the polis center was destroyed and abandoned. At the heart of the urban center itself (**F2**), this process can be traced easily in an ancient and important shrine on the akropolis, tentatively attributed to Athena by the excavators, predominantly on the basis of the character of the votives.[32] The shrine consists of a large altar, a base with a rectangular cutting, probably for the cult statue, and another block that may have served as the base for an offering table. The earliest votive deposits date to the 6th C, and the shrine may be associated with a neighboring building of 5th- 4th C date that was the site of ritual dining.[33] The dating of the later-period votives, particularly the mold-made terracotta figurines, demonstrate that the sanctuary was in use through the 4th C, but none of the figurines dates to post-300.[34] The evidence for cultic discontinuity in Halieis can also be seen on the level of private cult in a domestic context in the Lower Town. In private House E (Room 6-24), two limestone blocks were excavated inscribed with ϜΑΝΑ (i.e. Ἄναξ or Ἄνακες, one or both of the Dioskouroi). Although moved from their original position, they were evidently still in use, and at the level of the last Classical floor (period A), and in use in the last half of the 4th C.[35] They were found in association with two miniature kotylai and at the same floor level as a black-glazed bolsal, strongly suggesting that food offerings and libations were part of the domestic cult.[36] In this private context, we again confront the same sharp break in inhabitation and abandonment of private cult, as on the akropolis. Where good datable evidence is available for other sanctuaries and cult sites of Halieis, most bear out this same picture of complete abandonment contemporary with the destruction of the akropolis in 300. A sanctuary of Demeter about 100 m east of the city walls of Halieis seems to have been abandoned at this very period and the ceramic material does not date to later then end of the 4th C.[37] Likewise, the open-air shrine of Zeus at Stavros, 2.25 km north of the

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[30] Jameson 2004: 149-150.

[31] For a convenient overview see the "Catalogue of Sites" appended to Jameson 2004: 167-183. For the excavations see Jameson et al. 2005 and Ault 2005. One major caveat is that the agora has never been found, greatly limiting our knowledge of the city center and many potential cults. See Jameson 2004.

[32] The attribution to Athena is based on the mainly female character of the offerings, some with a distinctly military character, the close association of the shrine to the city wall, the identification of one terracotta figurine (HC 72) as a standing female holding a shield, and the likely provenance of a 5th C bronze tablet (*IG* IV 554) recording the lending of the assets of Athena to this area. See Jameson 2004: 168, Jameson 1974a, and Petit 1980: 37-38. For an analysis of the votives, see also Dengate 1988: 176.

[33] Jameson 2004: 168.

[34] Jameson 2004: 168; Dengate 1988: 176.

[35] Jameson 2004: 168-169.

[36] Jameson 2001 and Jameson 2004: 169.

[37] Jameson 2004: 169.

polis center of Halieis, probably on the main road between Halieis and Hermion, produced no pottery datable to the period after the 4th C.[38] Despite the antiquity of this site, with evidence for dedications going back to the 7th C (a late-geometric krater fragment), its importance did not survive the demise of the polis center of Halieis. The positioning of this shrine, on the crossroads of major inter-polis route between Halieis and Hermion, attests to its normalizing function between the two cities and suggests that with the demise of one, such a shrine ceased to have any sort of functional value.

Despite this general picture of cultic break following the destruction of the polis center of Halieis, and the general divestment of religious significance of many ancient shrines and sacred places throughout the landscape of Halieis and its chora, there are important exceptions in the material record that point to the continuity of religious observance across the moment of political collapse in Halieis. Perhaps not surprisingly, the sanctuary of Apollo, the chief deity of the polis of Halieis and the main sanctuary of the city, affords the best evidence for this issue.[39] The sanctuary, situated *extra muros* 1 km north of the city near the shore of Porto Kheli harbor,[40] consists of two adjacent temples oriented N-S and an 18m-long altar on the same orientation. A racetrack with foundations of viewing stands was also identified, along with possible dining rooms. The first temple, a narrow, 100 foot long structure with a pronaos with single column *in antis* and two additional chambers with engaged wooden columns, and a line of columns along the center, seems to date to the end of the 8th C BCE.[41] The second, wider temple dates to the later 7th C. [42] The earlier temple was destroyed in the second quarter of the 5th C, but the temple appears to have been revived in the late 4th C on another plan. A row of wooden posts datable to *ca.* 400 was preserved by the sea, and fragments of the cult statute, stylistically dated to the later 4th C have also been recovered.[43] There was also pottery found in the structure that is dated with certainty to the Hellenistic period, suggesting that veneration of the site continued after the destruction of the polis of Halieis.

Adding to this picture is evidence that may suggest that the cult of Apollo Pytha(i)eus[44] centered at this sanctuary was eventually transferred along with refugees of Halieis to the neighboring polis of Hermion following the destruction of Halieis. Pausanias mentions three temples and three cult statues of Apollo in Hermion, one with the epithet Pythaeus, adding the detail that the epithet came from the Argives.[45] This may in fact point to the origin of the cult in Hermion as having come from inhabitants of Halieis who brought their most important cult with them after the destruction of the city.[46] Indeed, remains of a Late Classical/Early Hellenistic site,

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[38] Scully 1962 and Jameson 2004: 172.

[39] The sanctuary also served as at least one place of publication for official documents of the city (*IG* I³ 75, 33-34).

[40] The site is now underwater. For accounts of the excavation see Jameson 1969, Jameson 1974b, and Jameson 1982.

[41] Jameson 2004: 170-171

[42] Jameson 2004: 170

[43] Jameson 2004: 170-171. The date of the Apollo statue is controversial due in part to the water damage it suffered. Some have dated it to the Roman period, which would seem to suggest a renewed interest in the cult in this period. However, Pausanias makes no such mention and there is little evidence for any other Roman presence in the area.

[44] The epithet of Apollo at Halieis is attested in Bacchylides (*Paen* 4.59). See also Barrett 1954: 42-44. On the cult of Apollo Pythaeus in the Argolid as a whole, see Kowalzig 2008: Chapter 1.

[45] 2.35.2: Ἀπόλλωνος δέ εἰσι ναοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα τρία: καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίκλησις, τὸν δὲ Πυθαέα [οὕτως] ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Ὅριον τὸν τρίτον. τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Πυθαέως ὄνομα μεμαθήκασι παρὰ Ἀργείων: τούτοις γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοις ἀφικέσθαι Τελέσιλλά φησι τὸν Πυθαέα ἐς τὴν χώραν Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα ὄντα: τὸν δὲ Ὅριον ἐφ' ὅτῳ καλοῦσιν, σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν, τεκμαίρομαι δὲ περὶ γῆς ὅρων πολέμῳ σφᾶς ἢ δίκῃ νικήσαντας ἐπὶ τῷδε τιμὰς Ἀπόλλωνι Ὁρίῳ νεῖμαι.

[46] Jameson 2004: 180.

clearly founded in one phase in a regular, orthogonal pattern in Petrothalassa, in the territory of Hermion, may point to the site of the settlement of at least some of the refugees of Halieis.[47] If this material has been interpreted correctly, the evidence for the absorption of some of the people of Halieis and their most important cult following the destruction of the polis provides telling evidence for the process of cultic transfer in a period of political collapse.

In addition to the likely continuation of the veneration of Apollo after the demise of Halieis, one rural, hilltop shrine in the chora of Halieis seems to have also retained some significance following the abandonment of the polis. The sanctuary appears to have been open-air, perhaps enclosed by a limestone peribolos wall, traces of which have been recovered. The character of the votives precludes any definitive identification of the divinity worshipped. There is, however, material of certain Hellenistic date, as well as material from the Middle Roman period, possibly indicating a revival of the cult in this period, or at least some renewed occupation of the site.[48]

In sum, there are only two identifiable instances of the continued use of sanctuaries after the destruction of Halieis, and these do not seem to have persisted for more than a few generations after the demise of the polis. The chief cult of Apollo seems to have been carried over into a new settlement near Hermion. What is most dramatic about the case of Halieis, from a methodological standpoint, is the fact that of the cult sites detected and discussed here, none was found through intensive survey. Thus, while we are well informed about the religious life of the polis, and the detail of our knowledge of the settlement history of the site is exemplary, there is a basic limitation in how visible smaller cult sites are to archaeological survey, demonstrating a fundamental differential between the understanding the settlement patterns of a site and mapping the cultic landscape.

Koressos, Keos

The results of the survey of Koressos,[49] a polis on the northwestern coast of the Cycladic island Keos (**F3**) that underwent synoikism with the inland polis of Ioulis at some point toward the end of the third century BCE,[50] constitute important comparanda to the evidence from ancient Halieis. Like Halieis, the data provided by the Koressos survey are particularly valuable because the entirety of its polis center and chora have been intensively surveyed, and both the birth and the dissolution of the polis and the changing relationship between the urban center and its hinterland can be traced through the material record.[51] As with Halieis, there is little literary or epigraphic evidence about Koressos but we do know that Koressos was renamed Arsinoe by the time of the Chremonideian war and that this probably involved actual physical refoundation as a Ptolemaic base rather than a simple honorific name-change, though at the current state of exploration this refoundation is not archaeologically visible.[52] By the late third century, Koressos had been absorbed

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[47] Jameson 2004: 172. The pottery dates generally indicate a Late Classical – Hellenistic (350-250) date of occupation, with little pottery of an exclusively Hellenistic date, making the identification of this as a definitely post-ca.300 settlement somewhat insecure. Future reassessment of this material after the pottery chronology of the Hellenistic period in the Peloponnese has been refined should shed light on this issue.

[48] Jameson 2004: 171-172.

[49] The survey was conducted in 1983-1984. For an overview of the project and its goals see Cherry et al. 1991a.

[50] Cherry et al. 1991a: 240-241.

[51] Cherry et al. 1991b: 328.

[52] Robert 1960: 146-160. Patroklos, the Ptolemaic general, used the island as a base, and Keos received a Ptolemaic *epistates* (Vanderpool et al. 1962: 52, Bagnall 1976: 141-142, Davis and Cherry 1991). It is unclear when Koressos reverted to its old name, but the name Koressos is attested on a Delphic *theorordokoi* list dated alternatively to either 245 (Daux 1980:120-123) or the first quarter of the 2nd C (Robert 1960: 160-173). Adding to this chronological difficulty is *Syll.*[3] 564, a decree from Magnesia on the Maeander from ca. 205 that may refer to Koressos as Arsinoe.

entirely by the inland polis Ioulis,[53] and all that remained at the site of Koressos was a small settlement that served as the port of Ioulis and, according to Strabo, had "not even the population of a village."[54] The material record reflects the picture given by the literary sources, and the survey data confirm the synoikismos with Ioulis and demise of the polis center soon after 200 BCE.[55]

As at Halieis, the settlement pattern of the territory of Koressos can be described as largely "mononuclear," with only a very small percentage of the population residing in the chora of the polis.[56] The effects, then, of the demise of the polis center extended to the entire population of Koressos, and the survey data indicate that as the population of the urban center of Koressos became severely restricted in the Hellenistic period, the exploitation of the land reduced dramatically. As the center shifted to Ioulis, old patterns of land tenancy and distribution seem to have been entirely disrupted, apparently with little continuity of ownership or cultivation.[57] These data are instructive: rather than maintaining the patterns of land use by the population after being incorporated into Ioulis, what had been rather intensively-worked farmland in the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods seems to have been given over to grazing and transhumance or to have simply lain empty.[58]

Unfortunately, we know little about the cults of Koressos, and still less about their transference or eclipse following the synoikism with Ioulis. A temple of the Dioskouroi mentioned in a fourth-century inscription[59] has not been identified, nor a possible Hephaisteion.[60] Additionally, a temple of Apollo is epigraphically attested,[61] which may be identical to the temple of Apollo Smintheus that Strabo describes as πρὸς τῇ Κορησίᾳ Σμινθαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν καὶ πρὸς Ποιηέσσῃ,[62] but the site of the temple has not been located, and there is no archaeological evidence for its period of use. Moreover, *IG* XII 5 1101, found near Poieessa, suggests that the temple was in fact more likely located in the chora of that polis.[63] Strabo's (Artimidoros') description suggests that the temple was still in use by the late second century, along with the sanctuary of Nedusian Athena, probably located in the chora of Poieessa, since he describes the state of the polis of Poieessa as "ruins," i.e. already absorbed into Karthaia.[64]

The only instance in which we have solid archaeological evidence for cult in Hellenistic Koressos may be the well-known prehistoric site of Ayia Irini, just across from Koressos on the northeastern shore of the Bay of Ayios Nikolaos.[65] Excavated levels from a shrine first in use in the

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[53] Strabo 10.5.6: Κέως δὲ τετράπολις μὲν ὑπῆρξε, λείπονται δὲ δύο, ἥ τε Ἰουλὶς καὶ ἡ Καρθαία, εἰς ἃς συνεπολίσθησαν αἱ λοιπαί, ἡ μὲν Ποιήεσσα εἰς τὴν Καρθαίαν ἡ δὲ Κορησία εἰς τὴν Ἰουλίδα.

[54] Strabo 10.5.6: ἐπίνειον δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῆς τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἵδρυτο ἡ Κορησία κατοικίαν οὐδὲ κώμης ἔχουσα. Strabo's source here is in all likelihood Artimedoros, providing a *terminus ante quem* for Strabo's description of the late second century BCE (see Lasserre 1971:15).

[55] Cherry et al. 1991a: 241.

[56] Cherry et al. 1991b: 335-337. The authors consider most of the components detected in the countryside to be associated with the cultivation of agricultural land than permanent residence.

[57] Cherry et al. 1991b: 340.

[58] Cherry et al. 1991b: 342-344. This may also be partially explained by the concentration of landholding in fewer hands, but that can only go so far in light of the severe reduction in artifact scatters and components.

[59] Robert 1960: 132-145.

[60] Pridik 1892: 137-141.

[61] *IG* II² 1128; *cf.* Athenaios 10.456ff.

[62] Strabo 10.5.6.

[63] [Ἀπόλ]λωνι Μελαν[θίωι].

[64] Strabo 10.5.6: μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν τῆς Ποιηέσσης ἐρειπίων τὸ τῆς Νεδουσίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἱδρυσαμένου Νέστορος κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Τροίας ἐπάνοδον.

[65] Ayia Irini was extensively excavated from 1960-1975 under the direction of J.L. Caskey. For an overview and summary of the excavations see Caskey 1971 and Caskey 1972.

Middle Cycladic period indicate unbroken cultic activity into the Hellenistic period.[66] When the town was destroyed by an earthquake in the period of LM IB and LH II, most of the town was not reoccupied in LH III, but the temple was rebuilt almost immediately.[67] In the historical period the deity worshipped in the shrine was Dionysos,[68] and worship of this god probably continued on into the Hellenistic period. Viticulture was an important part of the economy of Keos, and coins from Classical Ioulis and Poieessa depict the head of Dionysos on the obverse and a bunch of grapes on the reverse, while Karthaian coins have a wine amphora on the obverse.[69] The excavator, J.L. Caskey, believes the pre-Hellenic deity worshipped at the site probably also had some association with wine, and the character of the cult had continuity from the Middle Cycladic period to the Hellenistic.[70]

What is more problematic is the date of the latest pottery in the shrine. A final study of the Hellenistic levels has not appeared, but it is clear that some of the material dates to the Hellenistic period. Many of the uppermost levels of the temple were disturbed by modern activity on the site, but the preliminary reports suggest that there were some stratified deposits of Hellenistic date. Some material is clearly comparable to that found at the single-phase Ptolemaic base at Koroni, *i.e.* the period of the Chremonideian war.[71] Coins of Ptolemy Philadelphos and Antigonos Gonatas also seem to be in evidence but are not clearly identifiable.[72] Some of the pottery illustrated in the preliminary reports also appears to belong to a later date, possibly as late as *ca.* 200, about the time of the demise of the polis of Koressos.[73] At this state of preliminary publication the evidence is difficult to interpret with any certainty. The date of the pottery seems to suggest that the latest period of use of the shrine was contemporaneous with the synoikism of Koressos and Ioulis. If this is the case, it suggests that a shrine of obvious spatial importance and such antiquity as to have been tended for millennia, died suddenly with the collapse of the urban center of Koressos. On the other hand, it may be the case that the reported disturbance of the upper layers of the shrine has precluded the preservation of later material. Nevertheless, Ayia Irini is a striking case of the demise of an ancient shrine along with the polis center with which it was associated.

The cases of Halieis and Koressos demonstrate some of the possibilities and limitations of attempting to measure religious change following a dramatic political realignment and major settlement shift from purely archaeological evidence. In both of these cases, we have detailed knowledge of the settlement patterns of the regions and the complete cessation of inhabitation of the polis and chora of these sites after the destruction or synoikism of the sites. While Halieis provides evidence for the continued agricultural exploitation of the chora, Koressos does not, unless it was devoted to transhumance, but this difference does not seem to have prolonged the attention to the religious sites in either case. Both sites demonstrate a similar pattern: after the abandonment of the polis, veneration of some of the main and most ancient cults seems to have lingered, but not for longer than a generation or two. Halieis does suggest that the cult of Apollo may have been

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[66] Sutton, et al. 1991: 99. For a stratigraphical description of the levels of the "Temple" see Caskey 1971: 384-386. For a plan of the temple see Caskey 1964: 318 and 327. Butt 1977 has suggested that there may have been a second shrine elsewhere on the site on the basis of pottery evidence.

[67] Caskey 1982: 15.

[68] Caskey 1964: 333: As a graffito on the bottom of a dedicated Attic skyphos from *ca.* 500 attests ΕΥΧΣΑΜΗΝΟΣ ΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ ΔΙΟΝ[Υ]ΣΟΙ ΑΝΕΘ[Η]ΚΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΥΛΙΚΑ ΤΗΝΔΗ.

[69] Caskey 1982: 16.

[70] Caskey 1982: 16.

[71] Caskey 1982: 15, 211.

[72] Caskey 1982: 210.

[73] Sutton, et al. 1991: 99.

transferred to Hermion or that a subsidiary cult may have been set up, but no such information survives from Koressos. In each of these cases, however, detailed survey evidence independent of excavation has not proved successful in detecting new sites of cult or tracking changes in the religious landscape.

4. Cult and *Synoiksimos* in Hellenistic Foundations: Tracking Cultic Continuity, Discontinuity, and Innovation

The survey of settlement patterns presented in chapter 1 demonstrated that the *synoikismoi* carried out in preparation for the royal foundations of the early Hellenistic period involved a good deal of population movement, major shifts in political and urban centers, and large-scale changes to the regional landscape. Yet I have also argued that a certain degree of continuity in settlement and resistance to centralization should not be underestimated in these *synoikismoi*. To what extent can this be traced in the sphere of religious and cultic activity? These shifts of population and evacuation of polis centers naturally had serious consequences for the cults, sanctuaries, and sacred spaces of the associated cities, villages, and worshipping communities. How far were these traditions carried over into the new foundations and to what extent were they incorporated, transformed, or abandoned throughout this process? The following section seeks to explore this issue in detail, determining to what degree we can trace religious continuity, discontinuity, and innovation across the process of *synoikismos*. This exercise will lay the groundwork for understanding how religious communities function in the process of forming a political community, and I will argue that the process of accommodating and negotiating the multiplicity of religious and cultic groups, identities, and traditions provides both a challenge and an ordering principle for forging a new community.

Demetrias

As we have seen, the settlement distribution of the Pagasitic gulf was substantially altered by the foundation of Demetrias and the traditional borders of Magnesia and the Thessalian tetrad of Pelasgiotis were redrawn in such a way that the western shore of the Pagasitic gulf became Magnesian. The urban center appears to have drawn on all of the communities involved in the synoikism to a greater or lesser extent, with the most peripheral of the demes perhaps the least affected. The Pelasgian cities and the Magnesian communities near Demetrias, on the other hand, seem to have been completely absorbed into the new polis. Uniting Thessalian cities and perioikic Magnesian communities with a very different political and linguistic history to form a single polity was a major historical event. At the same time Magnesia was deprived of its place in the Delphic amphiktiony, a major blow to its religious identity. A special prominence seems to have been given to the local cults of Magnesia, possibly at the expense of the cults of Thessalian origin. In gauging how these disparate communities, most of which became demes of the large city, negotiated their individual and corporate identities, maintained their traditional cults and adapted to religious innovations, we can to some degree track the process of synoikism and an empire in this newly central region. The following section will look individually at some of the constituent communities synoikized into Demetrias before attempting to reconstruct a picture of the intersection of religious

traditions and the religious life of the city as a whole in the early Hellenistic period.

The Thessalian polis of Pagasai had a central role in the mythology of the region. Hesiod mentions an ἄλσος καὶ βωμὸς Ἀπόλλωνος Παγασαίου,[74] and it is in this area that most sources locate the myth of Apollo and Kyknos.[75] In addition to the Kyknos myth, Pagasai was also of major mythological significance as the place from where the Argonauts constructed the Argo and set sail, the event that by some accounts gave its name to the site,[76] and founded a sanctuary to Apollo Aktios or Embasios before their departure.[77] Though it may not be surprising that the city itself did not survive the synoikism, what of the extramural sanctuary and its cult? If scholars are right to identify the extramural sanctuary at Soros with the venerable sanctuary of Apollo Pagasaios, we certainly have a sanctuary of much more than local significance. Regardless of the identification, the material assemblages found within it indicate an important sanctuary of supra-regional importance, and recent excavations have provided solid data for the use and date of the structure and indications concerning the fate of this cult following the synoikism.[78]

The sanctuary consists of a *naos* 22.4 x 8.33 m in length, with a wooden, axial colonnade running down the center. In the interior, a stone *eschara* was uncovered between the fourth and fifth column bases (δ and ε). Along the east, south, and west walls of the *cella* ran a low bench, which must have accommodated dining, and there is a side door in the long wall of the *cella* opening toward the north. In form it is closely paralleled by the Oikos of the Naxians at Delos, also dedicated to Apollo.[79] The character of the pottery, the bones collected (mainly sheep) on the benches, along with the bench itself, and the presence of a hearth all strongly indicate that ritual banqueting took place within.[80] In a later phase, a small *pronaos* (1.25 x 3.15 m) was added to the eastern end of the *naos*. It was here that the first excavations uncovered most of the important finds of the sanctuary, deliberately deposited in a heap just below the floor level. The finds include a votive relief, three sculptures of young boys, one of the temple-boy type, seven bases of statues, two of which were inscribed, and fragments of inscribed *kioniskoi*, and large fragments of a Panathenaic amphora dating from the archonship of Pythodelos (336/5).[81] It is interesting that the temple was expanded with the addition of this *pronaos* in the period following Philip's control of the city, possibly indicating that the sanctuary was given some new significance in this period.

In addition to the temple, two adjacent structures connected to the southern wall of the temple (rooms Γ and Δ) were excavated. The undisturbed levels of both of these rooms were sealed by stones and Lakonian tiles from the temple, indicating that these materials date to before the temple went out of use.[82] Below the destruction layer was a thick deposit down to the bedrock

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[74] Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles* 69-70.

[75] Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles* 57-138 and 318-480*;* Hyginos, *Fabula* 31; Apollodoros, 2.7.7; Diodoros, 4.37. See also: Meyer 1942. Euripides, *Herakles* 389-393, identifies Kyknos with Amphanai: ἄν τε Πηλιάδ' ἀκτὰν / Ἀναύρου παρὰ πηγὰς / Κύκνον ξεινοδαίκταν / τόξοις ὤλεσεν, Ἀμφαναί- / ας οἰκήτορ' ἄμεικτον.

[76] Strabo 9.15.5: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ναυπηγίας τῆς Ἀργοῦς καὶ Παγασὰς λέγεσθαι μυθεύουσι τὸν τόπον, οἱ δὲ πιθανώτερον ἡγοῦνται τοὔνομα τῷ τόπῳ τεθῆναί τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν αἳ πολλαί τε καὶ δαψιλεῖς ῥέουσι: πλησίον δὲ καὶ Ἀφέται ὡς ἂν ἀφετήριόν τι τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν.

[77] Apollonios Rhod. I 359 f 403 f *schol.* I 407; Kallimachos *Fg.* 545b in Hygin *Atron.* II 37; Arvanitopoulos 1928: 77.

[78] Milojčić 1974; Mazarakis Ainian 2009.

[79] For its plan and function see further Courbin 1980.

[80] For a discussion of the pottery from the excavation of the sanctuary see Vitos and Panagou 2009.

[81] A further body fragment of the Panathenaic amphora found in 1973 was found by the Greek excavations in 2005 in the NE corner of the *cella* in the area adjacent to the bench and the threshold between the *naos* and the *pronaos*, completing the vessel and confirming the name of the archon Pyhthodelos. Mazarakis Ainian 2009: 275.

[82] Some of the terracotta superstructure bore sculptural decoration -- a leafy anthemion on one and a spear-bearing horseman on another belonging stylistically to the later Archaic to the Early Classical period

that contained large amounts of ceramic vessels (mostly cooking pots and storage jars), miniature vessels, lamps, fragments of standing female terracotta figurines of late Classical – Early Hellenistic date, and several bronze and glass pieces of jewelry and other small items. The overall chronological range for this material extends from the late archaic to late classical periods, and is firmly in line with the dating of the grave goods from Soros.[83] The interpretation of the use of these auxiliary rooms is important to the overall function of this temple complex. The character of the small finds – votives along with cooking and domestic wares – points to either the disposal or storage of dedications from the temple in these rooms and almost certainly to the preparation and/or storage of food for ritual dining within the temple. These finds bolster the evidence for dining found within the temple, and identify this sanctuary as a *hestiatorion* similar to the Oikos of the Naxians with near certainty.[84]

In terms of the identification of the deity worshiped in the sanctuary, the material evidence points to two possible candidates. The inscription on one *kioniskos* from the *pronaos*, written in archaic letterforms, records a dedication to Poseidon and the name of the artist: Ποτιδᾶνι ἀνέθεκε Απ[….] / Ἐπιτέλες ἐπόεσε.[85] On the other hand, the votive relief found in the same deposit depicts a youthful, divine figure wearing a *himation*, alongside a smaller, clearly mortal, female worshipper. The god holds his right arm, bent at the elbow, above his head and touches a single braid on the center of his head with his fingers (an ephebic characteristic). The youthful iconography suggests either Asklepios or Apollo, but the latter, perhaps with a kourotrophic aspect, is to be preferred on the basis of the epigraphic evidence.[86] The latest preserved inscription on a statue base is to Apollo, stoichedon, with letterforms dated by Habicht to the fourth century and so roughly contemporary with the date of the votive relief.[87] Thus the balance seems to be in favor of Apollo, especially if the identification of the site with Pagasai holds.

In light of these detailed findings, how do we account for the demise of this important sanctuary in the early Hellenistic period? There is no evidence that the cult was transferred and incorporated into Demetrias, as happened with many of the other cults of the synoikized poleis, and indeed of Pagasai itself, for inscription on a small *naiskos* found in Demetrias records the dedication of a certain Dunatis to Artemis Pagasitis.[88] The reason for this may in fact lie in the character of the cult itself. First, the significance of this somewhat strange cult of Apollo may have been overshadowed by the panhellenic and oracular significance of the cult of Apollo Koropaios, whose

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[83] Mazarakis Ainian 2009: 276. A small hoard of 4 staters of the Thessalian league was found in the rubble covering room Γ, but these were almost certainly deposited here after the abandonment of the sanctuary. See S. Psoma in Mazarakis Ainian 2009: 281-282.

[84] These structures seem to have replaced ritual dining in private households that was common in the Iron Age down to the Late Geometric period, and with the rise of the polis, this ritual became housed in a public edifice. See further: Sinn 2004: 38-46. Besides the Oikos of the Naxians at Delos, such sanctuaries survive into the Hellenistic period at Naxos (Yria), Andros (Hypsile), and Thasos.

[85] Milojčić 1974: 74, in the edition of C. Habicht.

[86] Leventi 2009: 296-302. The iconography of the Apollo in the votive relief and the accompanying sculptural assemblages clearly characterized by representations of young boys is somewhat out of place, and would at first suggest a healing sanctuary associated with Asklepios. Leventi argues that the Apollo worshiped at Soros had a healing and kourotrophic function, and that we may accordingly interpret the above inscription as a dedication of a father on behalf of his sons, a interpretation that would accord well with the sculptures of the young boys found in the pronaos. Further, dedications of this sort to Apollo at Sorós are paralleled by the worship of Apollo on Cyprus and the cult of Eshmun/Apollo at Sidon. As a major Aegean port, it may well be the case that Sorós was in a position to be influenced by these traditions.

[87] Milojčić 1974: 74: Φιλοκράτης / ὑπὲρ Εὐκτήμονος καὶ Ἱπποκράτους / Ἀπόλλωνι.

[88] *IG* IX 2 1123 = *SEG* 44:456: Δυνατὶς Μελανθίου Ἀρτέμιδι Παγασίτιδι νεβεύσα[σα]. See also, Hatzopoulos 1994: 25, 621.

presence on Pelion became central to the polis life of Demetrias.[89] Second, the worship of Asklepios is attested at Demetrias, and it may be that the healing function of the cult of Apollo at Soros was subsumed by the more customary healing cult of Asklepios.[90] Finally, we must also consider the significance of ritual dining to the sanctuary. Temples that functioned as *hestiatoria* are relatively rare in the Classical period, and it may be the case that the cult depended on the participation of the civic elite of Pagasai, and that, with their eclipse and incorporation into the wider state identity of Demetrias, the cult's significance could not be sustained.

However, the popularity of the goddess Ennodia, a traditionally Thessalian divinity originating in Pherai, seems also to point to the continued religious identity of the Pelasgiotan communities. Of the many inscriptions found at the sanctuary of Pasikrate/Ennodia, the most intriguing is a dedication to the goddess that reads: Ἐννοδίαι / Πατρ<ώ>α (*IG* IX 2 358). The epithet "*patroa*" (of our fathers, hereditary) is significant. It is indicative of the identity of the worshipping group, distinctly pointing to a continuity and tradition that marks it out from other cults, perhaps indicating the origin of the cult in one of the Thessalian poleis and the transfer of the cult into Demetrias.[91]

Other communities on the western shore of the Pagasitic gulf also appear to have been completely absorbed into the foundation of Demetrias, and seem to have become the basis of urban demes, perhaps organized analogously to Athens. We have seen that demotics of both Pagasai and Amphanai existed in the city, and the same seems to have been true of Neleia. Neleia should probably be identified with Pevkakia Magula, a settlement mound at the northern edge of Demetrias and fully incorporated into the city.[92] But a cult of Neleia lived on in Demetrias, as evidenced by a lone dedication (*IG* IX 2 1125) of an Antiphanta, who had been the priestess of the cult of Neleia Aphrodite, which attests to its continued observance in the second century BCE: Ἀντιφάντα / Πόλκου(?) / ἱερητεύσασα / Ἀφροδίτηι / Νηλείαι.[93] Although the stone was immured in a Turkish fort near Volos, and its original provenance is insecure, it almost certainly came from Demetrias.

There is evidence for the continuing sanctity of Iolkos and the continued observance of the cults of Iolkos in their original location after the foundation of Demetrias. Whether this suggests that the site persisted as a significant urban center is less clear. Strabo only rather laconically reports that ἡ δ᾽ Ἰωλκὸς κατέσκαπται μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ (Iolkos was utterly destroyed of old),[94] but it is unclear precisely to which period he refers. Iolkos had long been directly controlled by the Thessalians and severed from Magnesia, as the Thessalians' offer of the site to the Athenian tyrant Hippias at the beginning of the fifth century clearly indicates.[95] Unfortunately, we know relatively little archaeologically about the city and sanctuaries of Iolkos.[96] Scholarly consensus places the site

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[89] The cult of Apollo Koropaios is discussed in detail below.

[90] *ΑΔ* 23 B (1968) 269.5.

[91] For the sanctuary, see Arvanitopoulos 1912: 50-64; and Arvanitopoulos 1915; and Papakhatzis 1958: 53, fig. 2. For Ennodia as a typically Thessalian goddess and her origins in Pherai see: Chrisostomou 1990 and Chrisostomou 1998 :85-100. For the meaning of the epithet Patrios/Patroos, see: Höfer 1992: 1684-1690 and W. Aly, *s.v.* "Patroioi Theoi." *RE* 18.4, 2254-2262.

[92] For the final report of the German excavations, see: Hauptmann 1989, and for the excavations of Theocharis see: Theocharis 1973.

[93] *Editio princeps*: Wilehm *AM* 15, 1890 303.12 (text).

[94] 9.5.15

[95] Herotodos 5.94.1

[96] Staïs 1892, 229-232; Arvanitopoulos 1912, 141; Arvanitopoulos 1914, 119-130; Theocharis 1956; Theocharis 1957, 49-59; Theocharis 1960; Theocharis 1961: 45-54.

of historical Iolkos at the large mound at Kastro (Ano) Volou.[97] Graves in the area of Kastro Volou dating from the sixth through fifth centuries have been identified,[98] and there are scanty remains of a temple, in all likelihood that of Artemis Iolkia, the patron divinity of Iolkos.[99] Arvanitopoulos also found poros fragments of triglyphs, metopes, and Doric capitals used as spolia in a house on the east side of the hill.[100] These fragments almost certainly belong to the temple and suggest a classical date. However, due to the extremely poor publication of this temple, its precise period of use is unclear. On the west side of the hill, a marble base was found with a late second-century dedicatory inscription to a priestess of Artemis Iolkia (*IG* IX 2 1122; see below), and a late second-century dedication to Artemis Pagasitis (*IG* IX 2 1123) was built in to the Byzantine fortification wall encircling the Kastro. Due to the limited excavation that has taken place in the area, it is not possible to make any secure judgment as to whether Iolkos continued in any meaningful way as an urban center. The cemetery seems to be mainly archaic – classical, but it has not been fully explored, and what physical remains have materialized are all connected with the sanctuary of Artemis.

Literary and epigraphic sources provide us with some intriguing insights into the religious life of Iolkos.   Strabo mentions a *paneguris* still held on the shore of Iolkos in his time: καλεῖται δὲ καὶ συνεχὴς αἰγιαλὸς Ἰωλκός· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν Πελαϊκὴν πανήγυριν συνετέλουν (and this continuous coastline is also called Iolkos: and here also they held the paneguris for Pelias).[101] The festival, held in honor of Pelias, the mythical king of Iolkos, whose famous funeral games are well represented in myth and art,[102] is an important point of continuity with the mythical past of Iolkos. As intriguing as Strabo's report is, it becomes even more salient when coupled with an early Hellenistic inscription from Iolkos (to be discussed in detail below) that may shed further light on how this festival fared following the synoikism of Demetrias, and may elucidate the dynamics and social actors at work in its preservation. Meyer rightly pointed to the possible relationship of the *paneguris* mentioned by Strabo with the *agones* mentioned in a decree of the demos of the Iolkians dating from the reign of Antigonos Gonatas (276-239), which shows Antigonos reinstituting the *agones*.[103]   Most significantly, a new sanctuary to Artemis Iolkia was constructed in the center of Demetrias, and this divinity represented the polis on its official seal and coinage.

Korope, as the site of the renowned sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios, one of the major oracular shrines of the Greek world, was of central importance to the discussion of the religious life

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[97] Arvanitopoulos 1910. The Bronze Age settlement was located at Dimini.

[98] Intzesiloglou 1994: 709.

[99] Giannopoulos first reported the find as the temple of Apollo Embasios: *Θεσσαλία,* Volos: 18 April 1900 (newspaper); *AM* XXV 1900: 117. Arvantiopoulos preferred the identification as the temple of Artemis Iolkia: Lauffer 1989; Arvanitopoulos 1908.   See also: Stählin in *RE* IX 1853.

[100] Arvanitopoulos 1909.

[101] 9.5.15. Unfortunately this important passage is marred by a textual problem. The adjective Πυλαϊκὴν "Pyliac" (denoting the spring/autumn meetings of the Delphic-Anthelic Amphiktyony at the temple of Demeter in Thermopylae) in Strabo's text must be rejected, as such a designation for a festival of Iolkos makes little sense in this context or this location and Strabo was perfectly aware of where the Pylaia took place (9.3.7). Moreover from Philip's conquest of Magnesia until 196, when it was declared free and autonomous by the Romans, Magnesia was effectively Macedonian, and *hieromnemones* (representatives) from Magnesia do not appear on the lists of the Delphic Amphiktiony, so if the this paneguris took place during the Early Hellenistic period, it cannot have been associated with the Pylaia (see: Lefèvre 1998). However, by accepting Groskurd's emendation of Πυλαϊκὴν to Πελαϊκὴν "Peliac," we seem to be on much firmer ground (Groskurd 1831-1834: *ad* Strabo 9.5.15; *cf.* Jones 1924: *ad loc.* Although Meyer had reservations about this emendation, on the basis that the funeral games of Pelias are always referred too as a one-time celebration it seems the most plausible of the alternatives (Stählin et al. 1934: 184). See also Radt 2002: 117.

[102] For representations of the funeral games of Pelias, see: Roller 1981.

[103] Stählin et al. 1934: 366-376. Meyer 1936.

of Magnesia after the synoikism of Demetrias. The sanctuary is well attested epigraphically in the Hellenistic period through a long *lex sacra* dealing with the proper protocols for consulting the oracle and regulations for the maintenance of the shrine (*IG* IX 2 1109), as well as through a number of documents from Demetrias, and the site has been conclusively identified and partially explored.[104] The classical settlement of Korope itself seems to have been located on the peak of Petralona, about one kilometer east of the sanctuary. Based on the pottery, this settlement appears to have been abandoned in the Early Hellenistic period. The sanctuary, however, continued to flourish and seems to have been expanded.[105] The cult of Apollo Koropaios became one of the central state cults of Demetrias, which controlled its shrine, as the *lex sacra* eloquently demonstrates, and the city elected an eponymous priest alongside the priest of Zeus Akraios, the famous cult on the peak of Pelion. What is immediately apparent is that the sanctity of the original site of the oracle was assiduously maintained and cultivated. Like the cult and temple of Artemis Iolkia, which was partially incorporated into the city of Demetrias (see below) as a succursal sanctuary, there may have also been small sanctuaries of Apollo Koropaios and Zeus Akraios in the city, but if their shrines were duplicated in the city, they were emphatically not replaced. The presence of the priests of these cults in Demetrias is of clear symbolic importance, securing the approval and power of these divinities and incorporating their presence in the city. The cults stress continuity with the sanctity of the landscape, and it seems clear that cults with such clear attachment to a physical location (Pelion / Korope) could certainly not be severed from their original location.

More distant Magnesian communities continued to function with some degree of nucleated settlement. Though dependent on Demetrias, they seem to have functioned somewhat as the rural demes of Athens, and the demotics appear in decrees of the polis of Demetrias in the time of the Magnesian *koinon*. Spalauthra and Glaphyrai were two of the most peripheral of the communities brought into the synoikism for which we have any evidence in the Hellenistic period. Spalauthra, lying about three-fourths of the way down the Magnesian peninsula at modern Chorto on the western coast,[106] is almost 50 km from the urban center of Demetrias, while Glaphyrai, in the plain north of the western spur of Pelion, on the shore of the ancient lake Boebe, was at least 33 km away. Where there is evidence, it seems that these settlements persisted as discrete urban centers, but they were firmly brought into the administrative and religious community of Demetrias. *IG* IX 2 1111, a decree of the demos of Spalauthra, although unprovenanced, must have originally been found in Demetrias.[107] The document honors a certain Lysias, son of Epiteles, a Demetrian and *strategos* of the Magnesian *koinon*, for his benefactions and attention to the interests of the Spalauthrians (l. 10-25). The publication clause (l. 29-34) indicates that the stele should be placed in the agora, beside the sanctuary of Artemis Soteria. The *hieron* of Artemis Soteria is presumably that of Artemis Iolkia, the chief poliadic deity of Demetrias, whose sanctuary was located in the center of the city in the middle of the *hiera agora*.[108] This was the publication site of many of the important inscriptions of Demetrias, among them the decrees of the future Magnesian *koinon*, and seems to have served as the public archive as well. We see in this inscription the level of involvement of the officials of Demetrias in the affairs of the demes, and the centrality of the main shrine of the city as both a religious and political center. It also demonstrates the vitality and continued independence of some urban centers like Spalauthra. The deme seems to have a number of civic institutions in place, and a

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[104] Bakhuizen 1996: 123; Arvanitopoulos 1906: 3-24.
[105] Papakhatzis 1960.
[106] The akropolis of Spalauthra was probably located on the hill of Chortokastro, where the church of Ayios Nikolaos appears to be built on the foundations of an ancient temple (Sokolowski 1969: 140).
[107] *Editio princeps*: Mordtmann *AM* 14 (1889), 195.5.
[108] For the sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia, see below.

further detail in the document highlights some aspects of Spalauthra's continued existence as a urban center, as the demos also resolved: ὅταν παραγένηται εἰς Σπάλα[υ]- / θρα, καλέσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια (34-35). Aside from showing conclusively that Spalauthra was an independent site and not just a constituent urban deme of Demetrias, as seems to have been the case with Pagasai, Amphanai, Neleia, etc., the document confirms that it had the infrastructure to offer *xenia* to a visiting official. Glaphyrai likewise has yielded an important document for the sacred history of the region. *IG* IX 2 1099, a document regulating the sacrifices for the cult of the founders (*archegetai* and *ktistai*) in Demetrias (for further discussion see below). The document, so important to reconstructing the religious life of Demetrias following the synoikism, indicates that the polis center ordered copies of important cultic regulations to be sent to all of the constituent demes, even those as distant as Glaphyrai.

Thessalonikeia

The recent rediscovery and publication[109] of the foundations of a late archaic temple in the historic center of Thessaloniki (**F9**) have recently provided critical new information for the location of the pre-Hellenistic settlements of the Thermaic gulf and the incorporation of the religious traditions of the preexisting *poleis* into the foundation of Thessalonikeia. The structure is located in what is now commonly referred to as the area of the sanctuaries (περιοχή των ιερών), due to the proximity of a Serapeion excavated in 1920 and 1939 on Odós Dioiketeríou[110] and a putative center of imperial cult in the Roman period, as suggested by a concentration of statues of Roman emperors found in the area.[111] The scattered architectural fragments of the Roman renovation of this late arcaic temple were found spread across various parts of the city, but most were found near the intersection of Odós Dioiketeríou and Odós Kristálli, near where temple is located. The *krepidoma* and stylobate were discovered in this area during the construction of a building in the last century, but were hastily covered and the precise location of the foundations were never noted. Prior to the excavation of the temple, G. Bakalakis had already assembled the *disiecta membra* of an archaic Ionic temple, which can now be attributed to this structure, and argued strongly for the identification of the site of Therme with Thessalonikeia.[112] Bakalakis associated the sanctuary with the worship of Dionysos Thermaios, reinterpreting the name of Therme as being derived not from the presence of thermal springs in the area, but the "internal fire" of Bacchic worship, ultimately derived from an indigenous Thraco-phrygian cult later associated with Dionysos.[113] The temple in its present form was renovated in the early Roman imperial period, and the Roman mason marks on the capitals and

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[109] Tasia et al. 2000.

[110] C. Makaronas, "Ανασκαφή παρά το Σαραπείον," *Μακεδονικά* 1: 464-465.

[111] I. Vokotopoulou, *Οδηγός Αρχαιολογικού Μουσειου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessaloniki, 1995): inventory number 1065 (statue of Augustus); and 2467-2468 (Claudius and Tiberius) These were found southwest of Odos Dioiketeriou on Odos Strategou Doubiote in the 1930s and 1950s; three sculptures from the time of Hadrian identified as the emperor himself: 1527-9 (Hadrian); 1528 (fragment of a male togate figure); and 1526 (an over life-sized figure of a female goddess, probably Roma); these were all found on plot Stergiopoulou, on Odos Dioiketeriou in the 1930s.

[112] G. Bakalakis, "Therme-Thessaloniki," *Antike Kunst* Beiheft 1 (1963): 30-34; G. Bakalakis, "Θερμαῖος," *AE* Μερός Α': 221-229; G. Bakalakis, "Ιερό Διονύσου και φαλλικά δρώμενα στην Θεσσαλονίκη," *Αρχαία Μακεδονία* 3: 31-34.

[113] Bakalakis suggests that the toponym Therme is in actuality the Greek translation of the indigenous toponym Τίνδη (which city is attested by Stephanos Byzantios as Θράκης Χαλκιδική πόλις and on the ATL as a city of the Krousis) rather than being derived from the presence of thermal spings in the area. See further: M. Zahrnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier (Vestigia 14)* (Munich, 1971): 247. O. Höfer (*RE s.v.* Thermaios) adduces a further association with a possible river god from Apameia Kibotou in Phrygia, whose coinage bears the legend ΘEP, restored as Θερ(μαίος), and the representation of four river dieties.

other architectural pieces indicate that the temple was reassembled at some point after its construction. These features have led Voutiras to suggest that the temple was moved in the Roman period, on the model of other "wandering temples" which are known to have been moved by the Romans, such as the temple of Ares moved from the countryside of Attica to the agora of Athens. Voutiras further suggested that we should identify this temple as the temple of Aphrodite that originally stood in Aineia and was moved in the time of Augustus to celebrate the emperor's divine lineage from the goddess and to serve as the locus of imperial cult.[114] This assertion he based on the concentration of imperial portraits found in the area were found southwest of Odos Dioiketeriou on Odos Strategou Doubiote in the 1930s and 1950s. Portraits of Hadrian, and an over life-sized figure of a female goddess, probably Roma, have also come to light in this area, all of which were found on a plot on Odos Dioiketeriou in the 1930s.[115] This theory of a wandering temple, however, can no longer be entertained as the reports of the foundations of the archaic temple rest on earlier limestone foundations, which appear to represent an earlier phase of the temple at the same location. It is oriented SE by NW, off the grid of the Hellenisitic city, another piece of evidence that it was not moved in the Roman period. The stylobate and five-step *crepidoma* are built of archaic blocks, with Roman marble paving overlaying it. Much of the marble paving survives intact, except in the center of the stylobate, where it was heavily disturbed by the footprint of the modern building. The damage done to the temple is also apparent from the over 100 marble architectural fragments from the temple that were reused in the basement walls of the modern building. One Ionic column base on a square plinth was found *in situ*.[116]

As all of the evidence points to this temple being in its original location, the presence of an archaic temple of such obvious importance provides critical evidence for the significance of the future site of Thessalonikeia. The question remains, however, to what god this temple was dedicated and to what polis it belonged. In addition to the architectural fragments of the temple, two fragments of archaic sculpture have been found in the immediate vicinity that probably come from this temple and may shed light on its attribution. The first is a fragment of a relief, probably from the frieze of the temple, depicting a young man with tight curls. Second, an archaic marble votive of a *phallos*. The phallos, if it can be associated with the temple, points strongly in favor of identifying the temple with Dionysos, an attractive association given evidence we have already surveyed that suggests that Dionysos was an important deity in the pre-Hellenistic settlement at Toumba and the generally popularity of Dionysos in Thrace. The cult of Dionysos, as we have seen, was one of the central cults of the later city, as the great number of altars and dedications from the Roman period attest, and, as a small inscribed altar from the Roman period indicates that the polis and its officials made dedications to Dionysos, highlighting the centrality of the god in the state religion of Thessalonikeia. We also know that there was a tribe of the city named after Dionysos. I believe, therefore, that we can assign the temple to Dionysos with a fair level of certainty. As to the relationship of the sanctuary or sanctuaries in this area to the settlements in the area, the archaeological evidence I have surveyed appears to present another solution. Rather than positing the location of the archaic temple within one of the settlements, it seems clear from the distribution of settlement sites in the area that the sanctuary lay outside of an urban area. Situated approximately midway between the settlements at Toumba and Sindos, as well as at a significant distance from second-order sites like that at Trapeza Lembet, the sanctuary appears to have been extramural, located either at the edge of the territory of Therme, or outside the control of any one polity. Its

[114] Vouturas 1999.
[115] Vokotopoulou 1995.
[116] Tasia et al. 2000.

size and embellishment point to a sanctuary of wide regional significance, perhaps shared by many of the communities of the Thermaic gulf. As such it was a perfect monument around which to build the core of the new settlement.

The other archaeological indication of pre-Hellenistic ritual activity in the area of what was to become Thessalonikeia has a somewhat more complicated story. In 1980 a collection of ceramic material was found in a small room off the stairwell of the church of the *Panayia Achiropietos*. This material, stored in an unmarked container, in all likelihood originated from one of the excavations in the area conducted after the Second World War and before the construction of the archaeological museum, when the church was frequently used for the storage of archaeological material by the Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities. From this unpromising context however, emerges a potentially very significant find. This is the only other pre-Hellenistic material to be found at the site of Thessaloniki. There are several indications that the ceramic material, which spans several centuries, is not just a random collection of sherds, but comes from a homogenos deposit, in all probability associated with a sanctuary. First, much of the material joins. More indicative, however, are the shapes of the vessels. The assemblage is overwhelmingly represented by drinking vessels (*skyphoi, kylikes,* and *kraters)* across several centuries. Vessels suited for libations and votive dedications. Local iron-age pottery, followed by Protogeometric, Korinthian and Ionic imports, and finally black and red figure Attic pottery, as well as black glazed wares. The similarity of the forms represented across these time spans points to a common context for the pottery, specifically a ritual or votive deposit. This bit of detective work suggests that this material was originally found in the votive pit associated with a sanctuary of some kind. There are no records of Classical material being discovered in the excavations that took place at the site of the church of the Achiropietos, but it would not be surprising if material excavated here was stored in the church. In the Roman period inscriptions from this area attest to the worship of Dionysos, and an inscribed *bomiskos* dedicated to Dionysos was discovered just to the West of the church, apparently *in situ*. Another candidate is the church of Ayios Demetrios in the Northern section of the city, where the records of excavations in the 1950s report that the Greek archaeologist Xungopoulos found ceramic material from the 5th and 4th centuries which was subsequently lost. Finally, it is possible that the material came from the early excavations in the area of the late archaic temple we have discussed above. If this reconstruction of the original context of this material is correct, the continuity of dedication across such a length of time clearly points to an important cult, as does the quality of the imported pottery. The earliest material, all locally made, additionally points to the early and indigenous origin and orientation of the cult.[117]

The important indications of ritual activity in the area of what was to become the city of Thessalonikeia strongly points to the important place that sanctuaries and cults held in new polities in the Hellenistic period and the strategic employment of ritual to bridge the discontinuity of population movement, settlement shift, and political change. This artificial pressure towards centralization and urbanization of these sites had far-reaching consequences for the cities and towns utilized as the base of these new foundations. They dramatically redefined and reoriented regions, traditional ethnic divisions, and regional power structures. The result in many cases was a physical landscape that quickly bore no resemblance to the traditional, often ancient, orientation of these areas. With careful consideration of the evidence it is suggests that traditional cultic and religious identities intersected with innovation in this period of intense change. Exploring the ways that communities and kings alike shaped the cultic identity of these new communities powerfully reflects a process of dialogue, negotiation, and social response that is otherwise irrecoverable.

[117] Tiverios 1990.

Lysimacheia

Our best evidence for the religious life of early Hellenistic Lysimacheia consists of Appian's report of the burial of Lysimachos in a *heroon* called the Lysimacheion: τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ τοὺς Λυσιμαχέας ἐνθέσθαι τῷ σφετέρῳ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Λυσιμάχειον προσαγορεῦσαι.[118] The Lysimacheion constitutes an important comparandum for the possible *heroon* of Demetrios in Demetrias, as well as the *heroon* known to have been constructed for Seleukos Nikator in Seleukeia Pieria. Since 2006, a German team has resumed archaeological work in the area, mapping the stray finds, surface remains and setting up a grid for future survey and geophysical prospection of the site. Among the surface finds, the team has clearly identified the remains of a Doric temple on the akropolis of the city, based on some visible portions of the foundations and a geison block from the building, and the dimensions of the temple appear to be on the same order as the temple of Athena Ilias at Ilion. Doric columns have been found in quantities elsewhere on the site in such numbers as to suggest that the main order of the civic construction was Doric.[119] As we have seen in the case of the temple of Artemis Iolkia at Demetrias, the choice of this order for the temple at Lysimacheia may have been motivated by a desire to maintain a "conservative" element to the architecture of an old cult. The same dynamic can probably be seen at work in Alexandreia Troas (see below). In the case of Lysimacheia, of course, there is absolutely no evidence for the diety to whom the temple was dedicated, but Lysimacheia may have the potential to provide a parallel to Demetrias and Alexandreia.

THE TROAD

We have already seen in chapter 1 that the polis of Ilion received a substantial increase in territory and population in the late fourth/ early third century and that as the religious center of the Troad and the seat of the *koinon*, it was invested with powerful new symbolic significance. Yet the elaboration of the sanctuary and the fortification of the city was clearly a slower process than previously thought, and the city was clearly of less importance to Lysimachos than Alexandreia Troas. Just how much so is unclear. Rose has argued that the new date of the temple and fortification wall, coupled with the well-known inscription against tyranny (*I.Ilion* 25) demonstrates that Lysimachos neglected Ilion and that there may have in fact been a hostile relationship based on a perceived tyrannical policy of Lysimachos.[120] Such an interpretation, however, seems unlikely. As demonstrated above, it is probable that Lysimachos added Sigeion and Kokkylion to Ilion, augmenting the power of the city. As it continued to be the head of the *koinon*, it would hardly have been in Lysimachos' interest to weaken Ilion, and the symbolic power of the place was to valuable a commodity to squander. Indeed, the lack of any evidence for the archaic temple, makes it impossible to determine what sort of embellishment Lysimachos undertook prior to the construction of the new temple in the 230s.[121] It is more likely that with two bases of power in Lysimacheia, just across the Hellespont and Alexandreia Troas to the south, Lysimachos may have felt that an extensive fortification wall was unnecessary.

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[118] Appian, *Syriake* 64. See further: Leschhorn 1984: 257 and Habicht 1970: 140 n.12.

[119] Lichtenberger, Nieswandt, and Salzmann forthcoming. Preliminary reports of the project can be accessed at http://www.poliskultur.de/6601_Die%20hellenistische%20Residenzstadt%20Lysimacheia.html.

[120] Rose 2003.

[121] The complete absence of any blocks from the archaic temple suggests that they were entirely recycled for the construction of the new temple. See Rose 2003.

Our knowledge of the ritual life of the sanctuary of Ilion between the sixth century and Alexander's arrival is slight, but recent excavations have shed important new light on the "dark age" of the sanctuary in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. There are very few literary references to Ilion or the sanctuary in this period, and the scarce contemporary testimony that does exist gives the impression that Ilion was almost completely abandoned.[122] The material record from the fifth and fourth centuries at Ilion is scant. In the sanctuary of Athena Ilias on the northern half of the akropolis, there are no finds from this period, although it can assumed to have been in operation based on Polybios' record of the annual service of the Lokrian maidens and the description of the temple provided by Strabo.[123] Likewise, in the so-called West Sanctuary, a sacred complex with multiple altars and a temple, there are numerous finds from the late-seventh through sixth centuries, but no traces of cult in the area in the fifth and fourth centuries, and the religious structures appear to have fallen out of use.[124] Only scant finds from the upper city have been located in the northeastern end of the agora below the later bouleterion, but these date no later than the early Classical period. In the lower city, there is no evidence for occupation in the classical period.[125]

An important new ritual deposit helps to close this gap. This deposit was excavated in 1998 in the area below and south of the Troy VI akropolis wall. This area contains a sequence of terraced retaining walls, built to check the settling of the soil against the citadel wall. The two earliest of these walls (Terrace 1 and 2) are founded on fills dated to the early- and mid-sixth centuries respectively, the third cuts through this deposit, while the latest walls are dateable to the mid third and later second centuries. The latest material in the foundation trench of wall 3 dates to the last quarter of the fourth century, suggesting that the terrace wall dates to a period of construction in the late fourth century, probably associated with the establishment of the koinon by Antigonos. The foundation trench of wall 3 cut a large fill of pottery and other artifacts in the area between wall 2 and the Troy VI akropolis wall. The excavated units termed "deposit 3"contain material from the robbing trench of wall 2, the level area abutting wall 2, the foundation trench of wall 3 and the makeup of wall 3 itself. The excavators consider this to be a single deposit on the grounds that almost all the datable pottery comes from the brief chronological range between the second and third quarters of the fourth century; there is a disproportionate percentage of fine table vessels,[126] every unit contains Attic imports; many of the fragments are large some almost half of the vessels; and 13 of the 30 units contain fragments that join to fragments in other units.[127] The preponderance of table vessels and the other artifacts (numerous loom weights, lamps, and graffiti) strongly suggests a ritual context and it is probable that this debris originally came from the sanctuary of Athena Ilias above and was cleared out and deposited as a fill in the area below the akropolis wall. The dates of the vessels, coins, and lamps in the deposit demonstrate a consistent dedicatory record from *ca.* 380-375 and continuing through the fourth century. Analysis of the associated artifacts rounds out our picture of the ritual context of this deposit. The deposit included 15 loom weights and four spindle whorls, and based on the other evidence for the ritual context for the deposit, along with the shape,

[122] Lykourgos 1.62: ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσαι πώποτ' ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, εἰ καὶ παλαιότερον εἰπεῖν ἐστι, τὴν Τροίαν τίς οὐκ ἀκήκοεν ὅτι μεγίστη γεγενημένη τῶν τότε πόλεων καὶ πάσης ἐπάρξασα τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς ἅπαξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεσκάφη, τὸν αἰῶνα ἀοίκητός ἐστι; Dorothy Thompson descrived Ilion as "virtually stagnant in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C." Thompson 1963: 3.
[123] Polybios 12.5.7; Strabo 13.1.40. See also the Lokrian maiden inscription *IG* IX² 1.3.706; *SEG* 30.511.
[124] Berlin 2002, 133. See also Rose 1997: 76-92; Rose 1996: 97-101; Rose 1995: 82-97; Rose 1994: 76-86, Rose 1993: 98-105, and Lawall 2003.
[125] Berlin 2002: 133. See further: Rose 1999:40 and Berlin 1999: 74 and 144.
[126] The deposit contains fragments of 187 table vessels, 25 cooking vessels and 43 serving vessels. This is a ratio of 8:1 table to cooking vessels and 4:1 table to service vessels.
[127] Berlin 2002: 133-135.

production techniques, and decoration of the artifacts themselves, Wallrodt has suggested that this provides evidence for ritual weaving at the sanctuary of Athena Ilias in this period.[128]

Ilion is a striking example of the power of the symbolic and practical function of cult and religion in the process of reorganizing settlement. The studies of Berlin and Wallrodt point to a distinct spike in the ritual activity at Ilion in the mid-fourth century that demands explanation. Berlin has put forward the appealing hypothesis that this rise in the fortunes of the sanctuary was associated with the acitivity of two rogue Athenian generals who sought to consolidate power in the Troad and legimate their power. In 360, the Athenian Charidemos seized Ilion along with Kebrene and Skepsis. Berlin has pointed out the obvious strategic function of Kebrene and Skepis, but Ilion could have only had symbolic power in this period. Likewise in the second half of the fourth century after another Athenian Chares, who seized control of Sigeion in 355 and held it until Alexander's arrival, there is also evidence for renewed cultic activity in Ilion.[129] This strong correation between the political background and the ritual activity indicated by Deposit 3 constitutes a clear precursor to the kind of activity that took place at Ilion in the Hellenistic period. Ilion was one of the weakest settlements in the region at the time of the synoikism, with other poleis having already absorbed its territory, but it was its symbolic power, its connection to the Greek past, that made it such a valuable possession for legitimating power.

Elsewhere in the Troad, Lysimachos later founded an Asklepieion in the vicinity of the river Heptaporos and the village of Melaina, near modern Çan, in the center of the Troad.[130] A new inscription, an inscribed altar dating from the second century from the village of Çavusköy, near the city of Çan, probably indicates the location of this sanctuary, and the presence of thermal springs in the area bolsters this interpretation.[131]

Alexandreia Troas

Our information about the religious life of Alexandreia Troas and its constituent communities after the synoikism has been increased substantially by recent archaeological investigations in the region. There were already two major sanctuaries of regional significance in the region before the foundation of Alexandreia Troas. The temple of Apollo Smintheus, an extra-urban sanctuary at modern Gülpınar, ancient Chrysa, that had been under the control of the polis Hamaxitos for as long as the polis existed, became the religious centerpiece of the new foundation. The cult of Apollo, with his distinctively Troadic epithet Smintheus, was of importance throughout the Troad, mentioned already by Homer,[132] and had associated games called the Sminthia.[133] When Hamaxitos was absorbed into the massive new settlement of Alexandreia Troas, it was the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus that was selected for use as the public archive for the city, and many of our most important documents come from there. We may assume that it was duly embellished at the foundation of Alexandreia, but as with Ilion, the temple was not completely rebuilt on a new,

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[128] Wallrodt 2002.
[129] Berlin 2002:145-147.
[130] Strabo 13.1.44.
[131] Körpe and Körpe 2005: 205-208. The altar was actually found decorating the outside of a coffee house in Kufal, near Çan, but the residents said it came from the site of recent mining operations in Çavusköy. If this was the site of the Asklepieion built by Lysimachos, its remains have likely been destroyed by the mining. Residents also mentioned other architectural members found in Çavusköy, but none were preserved. Körpe and Körpe 2005: 205 report having observed tile graves in the scarp of the mining area and pottery dating as early as the second century BC.E Roman material (terracotta pipe, mosaic, and glass fragments, some pices of stone architecture) was also found nearby.
[132] *Iliad* 1.37–39.
[133] *IG* XXII 1876.

grander scale until the mid-second century, and this phase of construction obscures any early elaboration of the sanctuary that may have taken place at the time of Alexandreia's foundation.[134] As we have seen, there is no evidence that Hamaxitos continued as a settlement after the fourth century, and what settlement continued in the Hellenistic period was centered at Chrysa, near the site of the Smintheion. We may envision cultic personnel, temple staff, and perhaps enough infrastructure to accommodate the needs of the visitors, but it is clear that the Smintheion was fully incorporated into Alexandreia Troas and became one of its principal shrines. The use of the Smintheion underscores the way that sanctuaries could serve as the focal points of new settlements and evidently had a significant functional role in creating a collective identity for a synoikized community.

Neandreia, too, ceased to have any real settlement in the Hellenistic period, but the fate of its cults, though known only in part, casts important light on the process, possibilities, and limitations of incorporating the religious life of an ancient polis in to a new Hellenistic foundation. Neandreia was the site of a venerable cult of Apollo, with an elaborate temple in the heart of the city dating back to the sixth century.[135] It is likely the case that the temple built by Lysimachos in Alexandreia was intended to house this deity, which was to be transferred from Neandreia and set up as the poliadic deity of the new foundation. The remains of a Doric temple, mentioned by the early travelers and recently reinvestigated by members of the Neandreia team, has been shown to have been set up on almost an exact East-West orientation, with the front of the temple oriented directly towards the akropolis of Neandreia, to which it is connected by a clear line of sight.[136] The most likely reconstruction of the temple, despite its poor state of preservation, is that of a 6x11 peripteros with a *pronaos*, *naos*, and, unusually for Asia Minor, an *opisthodomos*.[137] Several factors point to its early date: the use of the Doric order, the material (a shelly limestone), and the modest dimensions (14.11 x 27.40m). It is impossible to pinpoint the exact date of the temple without further excavation of the temple and analysis of the material in the foundation trenches of the structure, and it is possible that it dates to the mid-Hellenistic period.[138] However, taking the evidence for an early construction, the orientation and traditionalism of the construction along with the testimony of Strabo for Lysimachos' construction of a temple of clear importance for the city, this structure is the best candidate at the site of Alexandreia Troas to date. Pohl has pointed to the suitability of using the Doric order to house an ancient and venerable cult in a new foundation, and it is this "conservative" element of the temple that perhaps points to its association with the cult of Apollo of Neandreia. Neandreia and Hamaxitos were clearly of special significance to Alexandreia; the new foundation based its coinage on the types traditional to these poleis, and it seems clear that the cults and traditions of these cities were central to the identity of the new city.

In Neandreia itself, despite its clear abandonment except as a *phrourion* and station for the maintenance of the aqueduct system of Alexandreia, there is clear evidence of cultic continuity beyond the synoikism. Although all known inscriptions and coins from the site date to the fourth

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[134] For the date and reconstruction of the temple of the second century, see: Bingöl 1991; Weber 1966b; Bingöl 1990; Özgünel 1990; Rumscheid 1995; Özgünel 2003.

[135] For the original excavation of the temple and the reconstruction see Koldewey 1891. For new finds from the recent excavations and a reassesment of the structure see Wiegartz 1994: 117-133.

[136] Pohl 1999: 85-93.

[137] Pohl 1999: 89-90. Alternatively the temple could be reconstructed as prostyle with 4 columns *in antis* and an opisthodomos with 2 columns *in antis*, or amphiprostyle with 4 columns *in antis*.

[138] Indeed, its nearest comparanda are the temple of Athena Ilias (for the revised date of which see above) and Pergamene temples with a similar front staircase (Pohl 1999:92); these, however, do not provide anything like precise dates for the temple.

century or earlier,[139] deposits associated with ritual activity conspicuously stand out as the only material that dates to after the synoikism. Unfortunately the present state of exploration precludes any definitive statement as to whether any cultic activity persisted at the site of the Apollo temple. However, recent excavations have found evidence for the persistence of a Demeter cult in the city, well beyond the date of the date of the synoikism. The analysis of a disturbed assemblage of pottery found in a corner of the city wall, evidently amassed as the result of illicit excavation in the area, revealed a great number of miniature-hydriai and terracottas dating into the third century.[140] Based on the hypothesis that a Demeter sanctuary might be present in the area a trench was dug, revealing an offering pit containing stratified deposits of miniature-hydria, *kernoi*, and female terracotta figurines (mostly of the hydrophore and peplophore types) dating as early as the seventh-sixth centuries and as late as the second half of the third century. The assemblages point in all likelihood to a votive pit for Demeter, and this must point to an undiscovered Demeter sanctuary in the immediate vicinity.[141] The date of the latest material is surprising. It points to continued use of an ancient Demeter cult with virtually unbroken activity almost a century after the synoikism.

IONIA

Antigonos' consolidation of his control of Ionia is best represented by the series of royal letters providing for the synoikism of Teos and Lebedos in 303 (*RC* 3-4). While these documents provide some of the best evidence for the economic and strategic interests the successors had in merging populations and creating larger urban centers and most fully document the process of preparing for this physical transfer (see *infra,* Chapter 2), they are of interest here mainly for the few religious concerns they preserve. Antigonos decreed in the beginning of the first preserved letter (*RC* 3) that the Lebedian representative to the Panionion was to set up his tent and celebrate (σκηνοῦν καὶ πανηγυραζεῖν) with the Tean representatives and be called Tean. Unfortunately this detail is the conclusion of religious prescriptions that presumably preceded it in the lacuna of the document.

Smyrna and Ephesos

With the refoundation of Smyrna and Ephesos, Lysimachos made his greatest contribution to reshaping the settlement patterns of Asia Minor. Smyrna at the time was still in a dismal state after having suffered destruction at the hands of Alyattes in the sixth century, and the literary sources describe the former site of Old Smyrna as settled *kata komas*.[142] Alexander took an interest in the revival of Smyrna,[143] but Antigonos and later Lysimachos seem to have actually synoikized the villages on a new site, and constructed a circuit wall, and Lysimachos renamed the site Eurydikeia.[144] The late literary sources are unanimous in calling Alexander the founder of Smyrna, and romantic myths grew around his association with the city.[145]

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[139] Schwertheim 1999; Pohl 1994.
[140] Filges and Matern 1996.
[141] Filges and Posselt 1999: 43-86.
[142] Pausanias. 7.5.1
[143] Pausanias 7.5.1; Aelius Aristides 20.7.20; Pliny *NH* 5.118;
[144] Wall: Cadoux 1938: 102 ff. *IG II²* 663; Renamed Eurydikeia: based entirely on numismatic evidence, Minnet *Suppl.* 3: 77-78; Borrell *NC* 3 (1841) 135-137.
[145] Pausainas 7.5.2-3

At Ephesos, Lysimachos moved the site, which no longer had access to the sea due to silting of the Kayster river, and incorporated the populations of Lebedos and Kolophon, as well as Phygela. It is likely that Lysimachos planned to have this be his imperial capital in Asia. Strabo reports the unwillingness of the residents of Ephesos to move their city and tells the story of how Lysimachos blocked the drainage of the city during a heavy rainstorm and forced the Ephesians to move after their city had flooded.[146] The story is likely apocryphal and indeed Stephanos of Byzantium mentions the flood as a natural disaster.[147] A flood may indeed have occurred, but we need not dispense with Strabo's information that the Ephesians resisted the *metoikisis* of their city. Recent archaeological findings at the new site of Ephesos have revealed that the site had been used as the cemetery of the city during the archaic period.[148] This religious concern for the integrity of the cemetery was likely behind the unwillingness of the Ephesians to relocate. The flood, whether natural or engineered, may have been the impetus needed, and eventually the Ephesians moved; however, following the relocation, the superiority of the layout of the city and the site were universally recognized by the Ephesians.

Lysimachos received cultic honors in Ephesos, briefly renamed Arisinoe after his wife, and was evidently honored as the hero-founder of the city. A series of statues of Roman date dedicated to divinities included a statute of Lysimachos, reinforcing the notion that he continued to be acknowledged as the *ktistes* of Ephesos even after his death.[149] Another monumental sculpture of Lysimachos has been discovered, rounding out the picture.[150] In addition the so-called mausoleum at Belevi, sixteen km north of Ephesos has been dated at its earliest phase to the end of the fourth/beginning of the third century, suggesting that it may have been commissioned by Lysimachos and served as his cenotaph, or at least the burial site of some closely affiliated royal dignitary.[151]

In order to supplement the population of Ephesos and fill the monumental dimensions of the new capital, Lysimachos transferred the populations of Lebedos (possibly detached from Teos), Kolophon, and the coastal polis of Phygela. Pausanias tells us that these poleis were destroyed and lay in ruins in his time,[152] yet they continue to resurface and Kolophon in particular minted coinage from time to time.[153] The religious life of these poleis after their incorporation into Ephesos is difficult to reconstruct, but there are some details that shed light on how the corporate identities of these communities persisted after their transference.

Phygela

The details of a late fourth-/early third-century document elucidate the situation of the cults and religious festivals of Phygela, a small polis included in Lysimachos' synoikism of Ephesos. The document is an honorary decree of Ephesos for a certain Melanthios, a royal officer (l.2) and citizen of Karian Theangela (l.10), to whom the Ephesians voted honors for his protection of the land and people of Phygela and his aid in tending the cults. Lines 1-9 provide the relevant details:

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[146] Strabo 14.1.21.

[147] Stephanos *s.v.* "Ephesos."

[148] Vetters 1978: 20 and 1979.

[149] Only the bases and dedicatory inscriptions survive: *I.Ephesos* 29 = *OGIS* 480; *cf.* Leschorn 1984: 255-256 and Habicht 1970: 40-41.

[150] E. Atalay and S. Turkoglou, *JÖAI* 50 (1972-1975) Beiblatt 123-150.

[151] The monument is controversial. See: C. Praschniker *Das Mausloeum von Belevi (Forschung von Ephesos 6).* Vienna 1979: 109-120 and Lund 1992: 177.

[152] Pausanias 1.9.7 *cf.* 7.3.4-5.

[153] Milne 1951: 5-9, 63-81, nos. 101-179.

ἐπειδὴ Μελάνθιος
ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς ἐμ Φυγέλοις
πᾶσαν εὔνοιαγ καὶ προθυμίαμ παρεχόμενος διατελεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ
τὴμ φυλακὴν τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῶμ πολιτῶν τῶν ἐμ Φυγέλοις κατοι-
κ[ού]ντων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενος καὶ τῶν νεωποιῶν τῶν ἀπο-   5
στελλομένων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐμ Φυγέλοις μετὰ πά-
σης εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας χρήσιμός ἐστιν καὶ περὶ τούτων οἱ νεωποῖαι
προγραψάμενοι δελέχθησαν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ ἐξήγγειλαν τὴν εὔνοιαν
καὶ προθυμίαν τὴμ Μελανθίου. . . (Robert 1967: 36-40 = *I.Ephes.* 1408)

This brief document provides a wealth of information about the mechanisms of absorbing a polis and its citizens in a synoikism and the measures taken to incorporate the traditional cults of Phygela into the religious life of Ephesos. The king mentioned in l.2 must be Lysimachos, and his officer Melanthios seems to be stationed in Phygela, possibly where a royal outpost or fort was located. There are clearly still people living in Phygla, despite the fact that the poleis synoikized into Ephesos were supposed to have been destroyed. Nevertheless it does seem greatly reduced. The document makes it clear that the people living there are now citizens of Ephesos, and Phygela no longer has either any civic or religious infrastructure of its own. The *neopoiai* charged with conducting the sacrifices in Phygela are envoys of Ephesos, dispatched there to perform the sacrifices. We know from Strabo that there was an ancient and venerable sanctuary of Artemis Mounychia in Phygela,[154] and its continued importance is attested in the second century when it was a refuge for slaves and citizens fleeing marauding pirates (*IG* XII 3 1286). The royal officer in this document, Melanthios, has clearly taken an interest in facilitating the observance of religious traditions of Phygela, and it is the *neopoiai* themselves who recommended him for the honors voted by the *boule* of Ephesos. Whether Melanthios's actions reflect a royal policy enjoined by Lysimachos is difficult to say, but it is not unlikely. What the document elides, however, is the fate of the lesser cults of Phygela. As we have seen, major sanctuaries could not simply be abandoned, and they stood a much better chance of being included in the religious life of a new city. Thus, while this document at first glance reads as an affirmation of the continuity of cults through a synoikism, and the concern of all involved parties – the Ephesians, the former Phygelians and the King and his officers – to maintain the religious life of an eliminated polis, this document may simply gloss over what was in fact a period of significant cultic break for the many minor cults of Phygela.

Kolophon

As we have seen with Kardia and Ephesos, the centralizing policies of the *diadachoi* were not infrequently met with significant displeasure from the poleis they sought to eliminate. Kolophon was to become something of a symbol of resistance to these efforts. An ancient polis, Kolophon seems to have clung particularly fiercely to its independence. Pausanias tells us that there was a battle between Lysimachos' forces and the Kolophonians, notably augmented by some troops from Smyrna, and that there were graves of the Kolophonians who died in this confrontation still visible in his day on the road from Kolophon to Klaros.[155] Graves have in fact been located here, identified by Schuchhardt as the monuments for those Kolophonians who fell in this battle, but this has not

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[154] Strabo 14.1.20 : εἶτα Πύγελα πολίχνιον, ἱερὸν ἔχον Ἀρτέμιδος Μουνυχίας, ἵδρυμα Ἀγαμέμνονος, οἰκούμενον ὑπὸ μέρους τῶν ἐκείνου λαῶν: πυγαλγίας γάρ τινας καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ κληθῆναι, κάμνοντας δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καταμεῖναι, καὶ τυχεῖν οἰκείου τοῦδε τοῦ ὀνόματος τὸν τόπον.
[155] Pausanias 7.3.4.

been confirmed by excavation.[156] Before Lysimachos' synoikism of this city, Kolophon had already received attention from Antigonos, pointing to a perceived weakness of this site and strategic concern for the wider area. An inscription from Kolophon dating from the late fourth century, somewhere between 311 and 306, seems to indicate the hand of Antigonos in motivating the unification of the *palaia polis* of Kolophon with the new area of settlement higher up on the akropolis.[157] Although this inscription is usually treated foremost as a *Mauerbauinschrift,* it actually details not only the building of a new city wall, but also the layout of the new polis center. The inscription details the election of a ten-man board (l. 22) to oversee the planning of the wall construction, choose an architect, find additional money from foreign donors (χρήματα ξενικά) (l. 25), and lay out the roads and building lots (l. 25-26), as well as the agora, workshops, and other public buildings (καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα δημόσια) (l. 26-27). Of greatest importance for our purposes are the religious prescriptions included in the document. Before this work was to be initiated, the decree stipulates that certain religious observances must be completed. Lines 6-21 of this document are worth reproducing in full:

ὅπως ὁ δῆμος φαίνηται, ἐπειδὴ παρέδωκεν αὐτῶι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ Ἀντίγονος, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον φιλοτιμούμενος δια-
φυλάττειν τὴν τῶμ προγόνων δόξαν, ἀγαθῆι τύχηι καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι παντὸς
τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Κολοφωνίωμ ἐψηφίσθαι τῶι δήμωι τὴμ παλαιὰμ πόλιν ἣν τῶν

θεῶν παραδόντων τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν κτίσαντες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ναοὺς καὶ
βωμοὺς ἱδρυσάμενοι παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἦσαν ἔνδοξοι σ[υ]ντειχίσαι
πρὸς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν· ἵνα δὲ συντελῆται κατὰ τάχος τὸμ μὲν ἱερέα τοῦ
Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερέας καὶ τὸμ πρύτανιν [με]τὰ
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἀποδειχθέντων ἐν τῶιδε τῶι ψηφίσματι καταβάντας

εἰς τὴμ παλαιὰν ἀγορὰν τῆι τετράδι ἱσταμένου τοῦ εἰσιόντος μηνὸς [ἐπὶ]
τοὺς βωμοὺς τῶν θεῶν οὓς ἡμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι κατέλιπον εὔξασθαι τῶι Διὶ τῶι
Σωτῆρι καὶ τῶι Ποσειδῶνι τῶι Ἀσφαλείωι καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Κλαρίωι καὶ
τῆι Μητρὶ τῆι Ἀνταίηι καὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Πολιάδι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς
πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οἳ κατέχουσιν ἡμῶν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν

χώραν ἐπιτελῶγ γενομένων τῶν ἀγαθῶν πρόσοδον ποιήσεσθαι καὶ θυσίαν
 καθότι ἂν τῶι δήμωι δόξηι·

> in order that the *demos* seem zealous to maintain the glory of their ancestors in every way, when King Alexander granted freedom to it and Antigonos, with good fortune, and for the salvation of the whole demos of the Kolophonians, be it resolved to enclose in a common wall with the present city the ancient city, which, when it had been bestowed by the gods to our ancestors, they founded it and established temples and altars and were held in esteem with all the Greeks. In order it may be accomplished as quickly as possible the priest of Apollo and the other priests and priestesses and the prytaneus with the boule and those chosen this decree will go down to the old agora on the fourth day of the coming month to the altars of the gods that our ancestors handed down to us and will vow to Zeus Soter and to Poseidon Asphaleios, and to Apollo Klarios, and Mother Antaia, and Athena Polias, and all the other gods, as well as all the heroes who occupy our city and land, that, when all our blessings have been completed, we will make a solemn procession and sacrifice however it seems best to the *demos*.

These prescriptions are perhaps the fullest expression of the religious concerns involved with moving a traditional settlement. The *demos* of Kolophonians characterizes the *palaia polis* as the gift of the gods to their ancestors, and ties the importance of the cults to a wider pan-hellenic

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[156] Schuchhardt 1886: 414-415.
[157] B. Meritt, *AJP* 1935 359-372 no. I = *SEG* 19 698.

significance integral to the fame of the city itself. In reality the fortunes of the city had been in steep decline over the preceding centuries, and the fourth century was the beginning of recovery. The creation of the new polis center required, for the Kolophonians, the symbolic unification of the *palaia polis* and the new urban center through procession, sacrifice and due attention to the traditional cults. Although the *palaia polis* has not been identified securely, it was probably just down the hill from the new city on the akropolis and in no way actually outside of the dimensions of the polis, especially considering that a single wall was to include both of the settlements. Nevertheless the document highlights a fundamental facet of Greek religion, the deep connection of deities and heroes to physical spaces, and the symbolism invested in ancient locales, structures, and rituals. The obvious disruption that the relocation of the civic center posed to the religious life of the Kolophonians clearly raised significant concerns for the demos. Nothing, we may imagine, would prepare them for the much more significant challenge to their civic and religious identity that was to arise with Lysimachos' synoikism in just a few years. Indeed, despite the destruction of this new city, which is archaeologically visible on the akropolis[158] there seem to have been a few attempts in later periods to resettle and reestablish Kolophon, and the temple of Meter (the Metroön), the publication site of this inscription and the city archive and central public building, appears to have seen continued use after the synoikism.

Conclusions

The survey of case studies across Greece and Asia Minor demonstrates the profound consequences synoikism for poleis and regions incorporated into royal foundations. In the case studies presented in detail in this chapter, there is no clear-cut verdict that can be passed on discontinuity *vs.* continuity of cults. There is rather a spectrum in every instance. While many cults disappear with the destruction of poleis in the early Hellenistic period, there is a dramatic flexibility in how cults and sanctuaries were incorporated into newly founded cities and cities that emerged through the process of synoikismos. The question that remains is how individuals, communities, and supra-polis actors like monarchs and leagues interact in the religious sphere. While instances of subjection, destruction, and imperialism inevitably affected the religious life of communities throughout Greek history, the issues involved have never really been subject to exploration in a systematic way. The evidence presented in this chapter has demonstrated the striking ways in which communities adapted and responded to the rupture of religious life brought on by Macedonian domination. An effort to preserve a sense of continuity in religious and ritual life is attested in almost all of these instances, along with a sobering degree of discontinuity and disruption that was the inevitable effect of profound changes ushered in by conquest and urban restructuring.

5. MEDIATING CULTIC IDENTITY: ROYAL POWER AND RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

How does the king, as founder and real holder of political power, fit into the articulation of a religious community within a synoikized royal foundation? The question is difficult, and the often-fragmentary evidence from these foundations makes the practical dynamics of this situation a challenge to reconstruct. This section will focus on Demetrias, which once again provides the richest evidence, with some comparative observations from other foundations.

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[158] Holland 1944.

Demetrias' status as a royal capital, eponymously named for Demetrios Poliorketes, the location of a Macedonian *anaktoron*, and a royal governor (*epistates*),[159] meant that it was a central forum for the expression of royal power and a focal point of the Antigonid empire. The city itself was a complex combination of polis institutions and direct royal power, and as such the creation of unified identity was a considerable challenge. The epigraphic evidence indicates a high level of royal control over specific cults in the city of Demetrias. At the same time as the foundation of the city, there was a clear effort to organize the city around a coherent body of cultic symbolism. That this was a clear design of the Antigonid founders is evident from the architectural design of these sanctuaries, located at the core of the urban center and constructed as distinct focal points around which the main centers of royal and civic power were organized.

Demetrias is striking in that the foundation incorporated a common cult to multiple founders, centered on a common shrine in the polis center. This cult of the *archegetai* and *ktistai* of Demetrias is attested by several fragmentary inscriptions and poses some difficult interpretive questions. An opisthographic stele was found by Arvanitopoulos in 1915 in Áyios Onúphrios, an area of Kastro Volou, the site of the citadel of Iolkos, recording two important decrees of the demos of the Iolkians. The stone is broken down the center, preserving only about half of the document on each side, and restorations of the text have been somewhat imaginative. Meyer's restoration of the text (*RhM* 85 (1936) 367) provides the most cautious readings, with some caveats, and documents record the following resolutions of the Iolkians:[160]

<div align="center">

A

ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἰωλκ   [ίων — — — — εῖπεν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ βα]-
σιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος ἔν τε τ[ῶι πρόσθεν χρόνωι ἀεὶ φανερὸς ἦν]
διαφυλάσσων τήν τε πρὸς τ[ὸν δῆμον προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς]
τοὺς αὐτοῦ προγόνους ε[ὐσέβειαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμε]-
νος καὶ κοινῆι τῆς πόλεως [καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἰωλ]-[161] 5
κίων καὶ ἀναμιμνησκόμε[νος τούτων ἐνέτυχε τῶι δήμωι]
τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὁρμώμεν[ος συντελεῖν καθάπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐ]-
τοῦ Δημήτριος θύσας [τὰς πατρίας θυσίας τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι]
καὶ τῆι Λητοῖ καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλ[ωνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ ἥ]-
ρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὸν [δῆμον τῶν Ἰωλκίων ἔπαυσεν ἃ δια]-   10
[τ]ετέλεκεν κακὰ [πάσχων ὁ δῆμος — — — — — — — — — —]

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The demos of the Iolk[ians resolved. ---- proposed: since ki]ng Antigonos [was always conspicuous in former times in] maintaining [good will towards the people and reverence] for his ancestors and taking care both for the common good of the city [and the individual good of the demos of Iol]kos and being mindful [of these things] he found the *agones* [for the demos at an end], he set up [just as his father] Demetrios [the customary sacrifices for Artemis] and Leto and Apoll[o and the other gods and h]eroes who dwell among the [demos of the Iolkians he st]opped the evils [the demos was suffering . . .

<div align="center">

B

[— — — εῖπεν· ἔδοξεν τοῖς Ἰωλκί]οις· ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν κοινὰ
[τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν καὶ κτιστῶν ἱερὰ[162]] βραχέα ἐστίν, θυσίαι δὲ

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[159] See: Intzesiloglou 2006: 103-106.
[160] *Editio princeps:* A. Arvanitopoulos, *Polemon* I 4 1929 (1934), 207 ff.: photos and squeezes; see also supplements by Y. Béquignon, *BCH* 1935, 74ff. The stone is now lost.
[161] Kravaritou (forthcoming), has plausibly suggested to restore this line καὶ κοινῆι τῆς πόλεως [καὶ ἰδίαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι Ἰωλ]/κίων.

[ἄλλαι οὐκέτι ποιοῦνται, κατ]ὰ τὰ πάτρια θύειν τὸν
[δῆμον τὸν Ἰωλκίων τοῖς ἀρχη]γέταις καὶ κτίσταις
[τοῦ δήμου¹⁶³, ὅπως μηδέν τι ἐκε]ῖθεν μήνισμα γίνηται   5
[τῆι πόλει ὀλιγωρουμένων τῶ]ν ἡρώων, ἀλλὰ ὑγιαίνον-
[τες οἵ τε πολῖται καὶ οἱ ξένοι οἱ σ]υνοικοῦντες μετ' αὐτῶν
[τὸ λοιπὸν οἷοί τε ὦσιν τήν τε π]όλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τὸ
[βέλτιον συναύξειν τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντες το]ῖς θεοῖ[ς]
[καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν — — — — — — — — — — — — —]   10

[--- proposed: the Iolkians resolved]: since the common [rites of the *archegetai* and *ktistai* are] infrequent and the [other] sacrifices [are no longer being done, that the demos of the Iolkians] in accordance with the customs,] sacrifice to the *archegetai* and *ktistai* [of the demos, so that] there may be no wrath [in the city] because the heroes [are being slighted], but putting the rites in order [both the citizens and the foreigners] coming together with them [that they may be able in the future to join in increasing both] the city and the land [for the best doing what is proper for the] gods [and the heroes. . .

    These resolutions, of course, do not explicitly identify the *archegetai* and *ktistai* or indicate that the Macedonian kings were honored alongside the gods and heroes as founders. There can, however, be little doubt that this was the case, based on the documentation from other poleis (particularly the honors bestowed on Demetrios as founder in Sikyon)¹⁶⁴ and Demetrios' clear role as the founder of the city.¹⁶⁵ Further, Plutarch's description of Antigonos Gonatas' theatrical conveyance of Demetrios' ashes back to the city of Demetrias for burial,¹⁶⁶ possibly in the *archegeiteon*, and a similar cult building for Kassandros in the heart of his eponymous foundation Kassandreia,¹⁶⁷ bolster this interpretation.

    Despite its fragmentary state, this document powerfully demonstrates the process of the negotiation of religious authority between civic communities and kings in the synoikized polis. Side A records an honorific decree for Antigonos Gonatas, praising him for caring for both the city of Demetrias and specifically Iolkos. The context of the decree clearly falls after some period of warfare, famine, or other political or economic difficulty (κακὰ) that has afflicted the Iolkians and disrupted the observance of some of the rites of the deme, either through lack of funds (if we are right to supply *chremata* in line 5 of side B) or some other exigency. The decree praises Antigonos for having put a stop to these things and taking care to restore the sacrifices to Artemis, Apollo, and Leto, the chief deities of Iolkos, as well as all of the specifically Iolkian deities and heroes that inhabit the land of the demos. The concern is clearly to restore the traditional observance and sacrifices for the heroes and gods of Iolkos after some kind of break in the rites. While Antigonos is praised for his actions, the initiative may have originated with the Iolkians themselves, who appeal here to the privileges given to them by Antigonos' father Demetrios to reassert their cultic identity. Side B, however, may display more of the interests of the king or at least the corporate religious life of the polis of Demetrias. It would seem that along with the rites of the Iolkian cults, the *koina hiera* or *chremata* for the cult of the *archegetai kai ktistai*, presumably the cult of the common founders of the composite demes of Demetrias along with the Macedonian kings Demetrios and Antigonos, are

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¹⁶² Béquignon: χρήματα?
¹⁶³ Or, I think more probably, τῆς πολέως, referring to Demetrias rather than Iolkos.
¹⁶⁴ Diodoros 20.103.2.
¹⁶⁵ See further, Leschhorn 1984 and Habicht 1970 for parallels.
¹⁶⁶ Plutarch, *Demetrios*, 53.3.
¹⁶⁷ *SEG* 12 373 l.15; for the eponymous priest of Kassandros, see *Syll.*³ 332.

limited and some of the sacrifices are no longer being done. The document explicitly raises the concern for the wrath (*menisma*, a *hapax*) that might result from the neglect of the heroes of Iolkos, perhaps drawing a causal connection between the cessation of observance of the rites and the recent evils the demos has been suffering. Either way, the health and well being of the polis and *chora*, the document stresses, is dependent on the dutiful performance of these rites.

It has been suggested that this document also permits the interpretation that the *agones* mentioned in l.6 of side A do not refer to the *panegyris* for Pelias, the mythical king of Iolkos (see above), but rather to a festival for Demetrios, which his son Antigonos revived after the caesura of Macedonian rule in Demterias following Demetrios' death.[168] However, these decrees establish a dialogue between the demos of the Iolkians and the king alone, in contrast to other documents that include all of the demes. The focus therefore is on the cults of Iolkos, and these decrees show the power of these communities to still negotiate their local rites within the larger framework of a corporate cultic identity.

We know elsewhere that the official *archegeteion* in the city was the site where some civic decrees were published. This was probably the site of the tomb of Demetrios Poliorketes, (*IG* IX 1099, see *infra* below) where religious ceremonies were provided for by the archons, treasurer and the official *epi thi doikeisei* of the polis, an ox was sacrificed, and the ceremony was presided over by multiple priests, perhaps corresponding to representative priests of the *archegetai* of the demes.[169] This second document, found in Glaphyrai, one of the most peripheral demes, suggests that copies of decrees set up in the *archegeteion* were sent out to all the demes. The decree from Iolkos demonstrates the degree to which a corporate cult of hero-founders could be used as a tool of unity, emanating from a central shrine in the polis center, including all of the *archegetai* of the traditional communities, and placing the kings alongside them. Such a centralized expression of religious authority, such a clearly developed religious program embracing the polis and the demes is striking,[170] yet the other side of this relationship allows for the clear maintenance of a distinct cultic identity of the demes and the ability to use this language of shared cultic bonds to appeal for concrete benefaction and aid from the central authority. Iolkos, however, was of central symbolic importance to the city of Demetrias. The cult of Artemis Iolkia was duplicated in the center of the agora, the imagery of Artemis on the prow of the ship was copied onto the civic coinage of the polis and closely connected to the iconography of Demetrios Poliorketes himself, and its heroic pedigree was of clear interest to the Macedonian kings. In this regard, it is possible that it held something of a privileged place in this discourse.

A monumental structure located on a high hill (Höhe 84) in the center of the city was first excavated by Arvanitopoulos, who tentatively identified it as a sanctuary of Dionysos.[171] The monument, subsequently cleaned and restudied by German excavators, has been reinterpreted as the most likely candidate for the sanctuary of *archegetai* and *ktistai*.[172] The structure consists of a large (37.5 x 150m) rectangular platform on one of the prominent hills of the city, overlooking the theater, adjacent to one of the main routes into the city, and centrally located in the city plan. Marzollf has made the case for the symbolic importance to the orientation of the sanctuary, sited in line with the *anaktoron* and with a clear line of sight to the peak of Pelion.[173] On the center of the

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[168] Furtwängler and Kron 1978: 157.

[169] Kravaritou, forthcoming: 6, notes that *hiereis* in a context such as this is a *hapax* for Thessaly, suggesting that this is a particularly important ceremony.

[170] The monument and cult of the *eponymoi* in Athens is a forbearer worth considering as a possible model.

[171] Koder and Hild 1976: 14f. 80; Arvanitopoulos 1928: 96 f.

[172] Stählin et al. 1934; Marzollf 1987: 105-123.

[173] Marzollf 1996: 110.

platform was a rectangular monument 16.08 x 10.72 m of uncertain plan. There is an underground chamber built into the platform below the monument, interpreted as either a *bothros* or a burial chamber. Nearby, in the general vicinity of a lime kiln, Stählin found a number of fine architectural fragments of Parian marble, possibly originating from this structure, with two sculptural fragments of a lion and a deer, decorative motifs comparable to monumental funerary architecture from Asia Minor.[174]   It seems clear that the monument was never fully completed, though this does not necessarily mean that it was never in use. At least one inscription was set up there, though it is unhelpfully fragmentary, and a coin and some Hellenistic plain ware have been recovered by the German excavators, suggesting use of the structure.[175] The monument bears significant similarities to other known mausolea and its positioning and centrality make it likely that this was in fact the sanctuary of the *archegetai* and *ktistai* and the tomb of Demetrios Poliorketes.

If this identification is correct, this must the location where the document regulating the religious ceremonies for the cult of the *archegetai kai ktistai* (*IG* IX 2 1099) mentioned above was to be published. The text provides helpful insights into the character of the cult, and decrees the following:

[————————]ΡΟ[———————————]
[—————————]Ε[—————————————]
[———————————]ΟΥ[—————————————]
[—]ωΙ [——]ΟΥ[—]Ν [τ]ὴ ν ἱε[ρ]ου[ργίαν? ——]   5

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντα ς [——]Τ[————]
.ιομοτα ις ? τὸ [δὲ ἀνά]λωμα τὸ [εἰς] τὸν β οῦ[ν]
[δ]ιδόναι τὸ[ν] τ[αμ]ίαν [καὶ?] τὸν ἐπὶ τῆ[ι διοι]-
[κ]ή[σ]ε[ι ——]οντα[———]ο[—, τ]ῆς θυσίας [δὲ]
[ἐπιμ]ε [λεῖ]σθαι τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς   10

ἀρχείοις ὄντας, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν τῆ[ς]
ἑστιάσεως ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ·   `
ἵ[ν]α δὲ τούτων συντελουμένων ἦι ὑπό-
μνημα τῆι πόλει τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχηγ[έ]-
τας καὶ κτίστας εὐσεβείας, ἀναγράψαι   15

[τό]δε τὸ ψήφισ[μα τοὺς ἄρχο]ντας εἰς στή-
λην λιθίνην [καὶ ἀναστῆσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερ]ῶι
τῶν ἀρχηγ[ετῶν — — — — — — — — —]

[resolved]. . .that the archons take care for the religious service? . . . and that the *tamias* and the official in charge of finance provide the expenditure for the ox and that the treasurer --- of the sacrifice and take care for both the priests and those in the public records, and that the archons have care for the public feasting. And when these things have been done in order that there be a memorial for the city of the piety for the *archegetai* and *ktistai*, that the archons inscribe this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of the archeg[etai . . .

As observed above, this document was found, not in Demetrias, but in Glaphyrai, the northernmost deme of Demetrias, suggesting that multiple copies of the decree were made and disseminated to all

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[174] Marzollf 1996: plate XXI A. Arvanitopoulos 1909.
[175] Inscription: Arvanitopoulos 1909: 149: ΔωΡΟΝ. Coin: ΑΔ 364/375. Pottery: Marzollf 1987: 33-34.

of the *komai* of Demetrias. The level of expense involved in the celebration of the sacrifice and the importance of the officials clearly point to the fact that this was one of the central focal points of the religious life of the city. If the identification of the monumental structure on Höhe 84 with the *archegeteion* is correct, it formed a central symbolic focal point of the city. Poised over the *anaktoron* and the *hiera agora,* the monument is part of a series of consciously constructed and mutually reinforcing symbols stressing a common religious identity and integration through the authority of the Macedonian king.

Here it is important to stress that the Macedonian kings, Demetrios and Antigonos, are presented as the divine founders of the city and deliberately placed not alongside the hero-founders of the original communities that made up Demetrias but above them.   The Hellenistic kings were worshipped as gods, not as heroes, and the details of the sacrifice mentioned in *IG* IX 2 1099 (βοῦ[ν] / θυσίας) is a sacrifice appropriate to the worship of a god, not a hero. The decrees of the demos of the Iolkians (*RhM* 85 (1936) 367) discussed above clearly express concern for both the heroes and the gods in reference to the shrine of the *archegetai kai ktistai.*

The center of the civic cults of Demetrias seems to have been the *hiera agora.* Located directly beside the *anaktoron*, epigraphic evidence indicates that this was also the ancient name for this area (*IG* IX 2 1105-1107). These two structures, centrally located at the heart of the city, seem to have been planned as the symbolic centerpiece of the new settlement. At the center of the agora was a small early third-century peripteral temple. The temple was probably Ionic, and as such it is the smallest known peripteral temple in central/northern Greece, its modest proportions perhaps a kind of symbolic affirmation of the fact that, as a succursal sanctuary, it did not aim to replace the original sanctuary in Iolkos.   This was clearly the temple of Artemis Iolkia mentioned in inscriptions and this was the site for the publication of many of the important decrees of Demetrias. As we have already seen, a decree from the time of Antigonos Gonatas attests to continued concern for the cults of Iolkos, and it seems clear that from the very beginning of the city, Artemis Iolkia was conceived of as the main poliadic divinity of the city by the Macedonian founders. As the new center of Magnesia, this was a natural choice. As the main divinity of the venerable site of Iolkos and the central figure of Magnesian mythology, and associated with seafaring, Artemis was the obvious choice for a unifying symbol for a new naval and commercial headquarters of Demetrios Poliorketes, symbolism echoed on Demetiros' coinage and in his personal iconography. As we have seen, the original cult place of Artemis Iolkia did not go out of use in this period, but it rather seems to have survived in conjunction with the temple in the center of the *hiera agora* as a kind of *succursale*, or subsidiary branch of the cult, fully integrated into the urban landscape.

A further piece of evidence for the level of royal orchestration over the cultic life of Demetrias comes from a new inscription found in the south of the proscenion of the theater that attests to a sanctuary of Herakles and cultic officials called the *kunegoi* (huntsmen) of Herakles.[176] The document records a letter from Philip V to the *epistates* of Demetrias, Antipatros, concerning the dress of the *kunegoi*. The cult and its officials, the *kunegoi*, are attested in inscriptions from Macedonia, particularly from a series of letters from Demetrios II to the *epistates* of Beroia.[177] However, this is the first attestation of the *kunegoi* in Thessaly. The document clearly applies to all of the sanctuaries of Herakles Kynagidas in Macedonia (*hierois* l. 15). The document concerns the minutae of the regulation of this cult. The kunegoi are instructed to change the color of their *petasoi* and *chlamydes*, which had been colorful (χρωματίνου[ς]), to a mute shade of gray-black (πελλούς),

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[176]*Editio Princeps:* Intzesiloglou 2006: 103-106. A second document, *IG* IX 2 359a (Ἡρακλέου[ς]), though in secondary use, was found nearby, and it is likely that the sanctuary was located in this area.

according to the *historia* the king has conveyed to his cities (κατὰ / τὴν ἰστορίαν ἥν ὁ βα- / σιλεὺς εἰσηγεῖται πε- / ρὶ τοῦ πράγματος (l. 8-11). It is unclear what the precise significance of the directive was, but surely some symbolic meaning was invested in the shades of the *kunegoi's* dress. Most recently, Hatzopoulos has interpreted these officials as members of the Macedonian court, who were actually hunstmen charged with protecting royal forests and leading the royal hunts. They subsequently served as priests of Herkales Kynagides after their service and presumably also served as a kind of paramilitary force in Macedonian cities.[178] The document, along with the cultic regulations from Glaphyrai (*IG* IX 2 1099), underscores the concern of the Macedonian kings for maintaining a coherent and centrally-controlled religious expression in Demetrias and centrality of symbols of royal power in the city.

6. CALENDARS AND PRIESTHOODS

The civic calendars of Kassandreia, Demetrias, and Philippoi all demonstrate that the months were eponymous with the twelve gods. These similarities perhaps suggest that the founders of these cities were influenced directly by Platonic thought in approaching the creation of new civic constitutions and civic organization, as prescribed by *Laws* 828,[179] and councils of *nomophylakes* and *strategoi,* as well as the eponymous priesthood of the founders identified in these cities have a Platonic pedigree.[180] Tribes and civic subdivisions in these cities are also named after gods and heroes, conforming with Plato's model, and the Platonic prototype of the royal burials at Vergina has been stressed by Andronikos.[181] Thus the organizational potential of religion and cult in royal foundations was clearly a conscious consideration of the founders of Hellenistic empires, and while new foundations represented a chance to organize a city along rational lines and to integrate royal cults into the origins of the city, it also posed a vast problem for negotiating the traditional cults of the populations integrated into the city.

The importance of calendars extends to the important issue of the symbolic significance of calendars, schedules of sacrifice, the habit of civic dating by eponymous priests, and the critical issue of the dispensation of priesthoods in these cities. Dignas has recently presented the rich evidence for Rhodian priesthoods after the synoikism in 407 BCE, drawing on the uniquely detailed prospographical information preserved in the epigraphic corpus of Rhodes to reconstruct the carriers of priests and families of priests in the classical and Hellenistic period. She was able to show that, far from the axiomatic statements about Greek religion that it was a religious system without professional priests,[182] many of the Rhodian priests whose carriers are visible in the documents, followed a specific *cursus honorum* through tenure of different priesthoods culminating in the priesthood of Halios (Helios), the central deity of the Rhodian pantheon after the synoikism.[183] While evidence for Rhodian priesthoods is admittedly slim before the synoikism, the creation of a new city for the island of Rhodes and a symbolic center for pan-Rhodian identity focalized by the

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[178] Hatzopoulos 1994: 102 ff. For the importance of the *kunegoi* in other Macedonian cities and foundations see *EKM 1. Beroia* 3 and Malay 2007 no. 1.

[179] Hatzopoulos 1996: 158-160, citing an unpublished paper of Habicht. Kassandreia: Athenaion, Demetrion (Hatzopoulos 1996: Epigraphical Appendix nos 21 and 44); Demetrias: Athenaion, Areios, Artemision, Demetrion, Seios, Hermaion, Hestios, Hephaistion, Posideon (*BE* 1973 77: 69 and Knoepfler 1989: 23-58); Phillipoi: Aphrodision, Hermaion, and Hephaistion (Hatzopoulos 1993: 320-322).

[180] Piérart 1974: 122-208, 236-246; 321-323; *cf.* Hatzopoulos 1996: 159.

[181] *Laws* 947 d-e. Andronicos 1984: 65-66 and 229-232.

[182] Burkert: 95.

[183] Dignas 2003: 35-50.

expressly built sanctuary of Halios, created a unified "priestly group identity."[184] This intentional manipulation of the island's mythology to create a single cult that, although it did not exist and therefore had no ritual significance before the synoikism, became the chief cult of the island, bridged and united the local aristocracies of the three old poleis. Following the synoikism, the priests of the main poliadic cults of the old poleis Kamiros, Lindos, and Ialysos began to be less associated with a single cult and instead pursued a *cursus* through the various priesthoods, beginning at the polis level and ending with the priesthood of Halios. In this way, Dignas, has shown, the priesthood of Halios became the "stage that was shared by all three local aristocracies," a venue that strengthened local cooperation rather than competition.[185]   In this respect Rhodes was highly experimental in restructuring its local cults creating a system that was innovative and conservative at the same time, preserving a sense of stability while at the same time uniting communities and elites into a single state.

The evidence from Rhodes, while not wholly representative of how poleis negotiated the complex issues surrounding the adjustment of priesthoods after a synoikism, is a powerful reminder that any major political and urban restructuring constituted a direct challenge to the power of elite groups, as well as the priesthoods they occupied. At Mykonos, the late third century synoikism[186] of the two poleis of the island prompted the promulgation of a new calendar of sacrifices, detailing novel sacrifices and adjusting preexisting ones (*Syll.*[3] 1024; Sokolowski 1969: no. 96).[187]   The occasion for this is explicitly stated to be the synoikism, and the calendar clearly maps out the hierarchy of cults, culminating in the new chief cult of the synoikized polis, that of the *archegetes* of Mykonos before frustratingly breaking off (l.40). At Kos the foundation of the polis of Kos in 366/5 out of the synoikism of Astypalaia and Kos Meropis (and perhaps other unattested communities) on or near the much smaller settlement of Kos Meropis also seems to have occasioned the drafting of a new calendar, fragments of which survive (*RO* 62). The foundation entailed a large-scale transfer of population to the new site, and it is clear that the majority of the population came from the most important polis of the island, Astypalaia, and accordingly that the synoikism involved a major transfer of the cults, priesthoods and religious life of that polis to a new site.[188] The calendar, along with a contemporary document regulating the terms of office of the priest of Zeus Poleios and dealing with the cult of Apollo Delios (Sokolowski 1969: 156), clearly reflects post-synoikism efforts to integrate the chief cults of the formerly independent poleis into the new urban center. In the case of Kos, it does not appear that the cults represented in the polis center of the new city of Kos replaced the traditional rituals and sanctuaries of the deities, but rather replicated and duplicated them. As we have seen in the discussion of *aphidrumata* and the case of Megalopolis in section 1, this synoikism involved the creation of subsidiary cults in the urban center that were essentially urban representatives of the cults now residing in the demes. This seems to be the case for Apollo Delios, as well as Zeus Poleios and Demeter (*RO* 62A and Sololowski 1969: 156). The original cults continued to be tended in the demes and there is ample evidence that demes maintained extremely active, locally administered cults, *e.g.* the cult of Apollo and Herakles at Halasarna.[189] The reverse process also seems to have been the case, and it is clear that a new cult, that of Aphrodite Pandemos, whose epithet and lack of attestation before the synoikism suggest that

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[184] Dignas 2003: 50.
[185] Dignas 2003: 49.
[186] Reger 2001:161: puts the synoikism at between 230 and 200.
[187] The poleis were probably located at modern Palaikastro and Mikonos town, with the port city of Mikonos becoming the new urban center, but archaeological work has not progressed far enough to determine this with certainty.
[188] Diodoros 15.72.2; Strabo 14.2.19.
[189] Kokkoru-Aleura 2004: 27-82.

this cult was an innovation that was meant to foster a unified Koan identity, was celebrated on the same day in both the city and the demes.[190] It is likely that this is a case of the city exporting the cult to the demes rather than vice-versa. In addition, an innovation in the tribal system, which necessarily accompanied synoikismoi, also suggests an effort towards a coherent, unified identity. After the synoikism the traditional three Dorian tribes were used as fundamental subdivisions of the state, but there is evidence that local non-Dorian tribes also persisted in some of the demes. Based on the contradiction of having two tribal systems in one polis, it seems likely that the Dorian tribal system was introduced with the synoikism in 366 on an island-wide scale, accounting for the presence of both this schema and some holdovers persisting into the Hellenistic period.[191] This, along with the replication of cults and the fashioning of a new sacrificial calendar was yet another strategy for the constructtion an island-wide identity.

The dating formula at the head of a number of documents from Kassandreia provides some of the only information about the religious life of that city. *Syll.³* 332, which preserves the formulae ἐπὶ Κυδία / ἐφ' ἱερέως Κυδία, has been explained by Hatzopoulos in his edition as either the eponymous priest of Kassandros or, in a situation parallel to the inscription from Iolkos discussed above, the eponymous priests of the combined founders of Poteidaia, Olynthos, Kassandreia and possibly other Chalkidian cities included in the synoikism.[192] However, the inscription does not explicitly name Kydias as the priest of Kassandros, leading Alexander to doubt that he was exclusively the priest of the royal cult.[193] Indeed, a slightly later decree from Kassandreia, from the time when Lysimachos was in power, explicitly dates a decree (discussed below) by the eponymous priest of Lysimachos (ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ Λυσιμάχου Τιμησίου l. 1-2). I am inclined to agree with Alexander, that the priests of Kassandreia that head the dating formula represent priests of the combined founders of the synoikized city, as well as the priest of Kassandros, and this suggests the probability of an *archegeteion* in the city of Kassandreia, comparable to that of Demetrias, from an early date.

These documents also contain a number of other important details that are outside the scope of this chapter. *Syll.³* 332, the confirmation of a land grant to Perdikkas, reflects the challenges of creating a new city and incorporating the system of land-ownership into it. Perdikkas had been granted land from Philip and Alexander following the destruction of Olynthos, and the document deals with reassigning these lots from the urban territories from which they were previously attached to the new city of Kassandreia. The toponyms of the defunct poleis persist in the document, and another considerable challenge must have been how to incorporate the survivors of Poteidaia, Olynthos, *etc.* into the city alongside a new large landholding Macedonian elite. Clearly both were conceived of as vital to the city, and a number of similar documents attest to the economic importance of attaching landholders to a major royal foundation. Indeed this seems to have been a motivation for many of these foundations. Kassandreia, unlike Thessalonikeia, was conceived of as a traditional Greek polis, and its citizens regularly refer to themselves in inscriptions as *Kassandreus* rather than *Makedon* as in Thessalonikeia. The evidence of the eponymous priest of the city's founders stresses the role of traditional religious and mythical continuity in establishing the new city. One more detail of *SEG* 34 940 reinforces this point. The document preserves some of the name of one of the *gene* or *demoi* of Kassandreia following the name of an individual to whom the privilege

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[190] *C.f.* Parker 2009: 204 and Parker 2002: 152-156.

[191] Parker 2009: 203.

[192] An eponymous priest (ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἄρχωνος) in Kassandreia is also attested in 250-200 *SEG* 37 558 = D. M. Robinson, *TAPA* 69 [1938] 55-55. *Cf.* Hatzopoulos 1987: 26-28. The inscription's provenance is unclear; it may have come from Kassandeia/Poteidaia or the area of Olynthos.

[193] Alexander 1963: 128.

of *ateleia* was granted, Χαιρεφάνει Αἰσχυλου Ἱπποταδεῖ. Ἱπποτάδης is derived from the Herakleid Ἱππότης, the father of the founder of Korinthos (Poteidaia's *metropolis*), Ἀλήτης. This demotic likely reflects, as we have seen in the case of Demetrias, an effort to preserve a sense of collective identity for some of the constituent communities synoikized into Kassandreia. Along with these sub-communities would probably have been transferred some of the traditional cults and mythology of Poteidaia (and for that matter, Olynthos, *etc.*) into the new city. Although the evidence is slim, it is suggestive.

7: MYTH, RITUAL, AND RITES OF INITIATION

The evidence from Demetrias, although fragmentary, allows us to go beyond mapping the changes in the cultic landscape of the Pagasitic gulf and say something about the use of *ritual* in forming a community after the synoikism. Our best evidence comes from the incorporation of the myths and cults of Pelion into the polis. The cult of Zeus, situated on the peak of Pelion, as we have seen, became an important civic cult of Demetrias.[194] The third-century historian Herakleides Kritikos,[195] describes the following ritual observed every year by citizens of Demetrias:

Ἐπ' ἄκρας δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους κορυφῆς σπηλαιόν ἐστι τὸ καλούμενον Χειρώνιον καὶ Διὸς Ἀκταίου ἱερὸν, ἐφ' ὃ κατὰ κυνὸς ἀνατολὴν κατὰ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον καῦμα ἀναβαίνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμάζοντες, ἐπιλεχθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως, ἐνεζωσμένοι κώδια τρίποκα καινά· τοιοῦτον συμβαίνει ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ψῦχος εἶναι.

On the peak of the summit of the mountain is the cave named for Cheiron and the sanctuary of Zeus Aktaios,[196] to which, at the rising of the dog-star, when the heat of the day is at it height, the citizens of Demetrias who are the most distinguished and in the prime of their life, ascend, chosen by the priest and girded with new, triple-thick sheepskins: such is the cold on the mountain.

The ritual can only postdate the foundation of Demetrias. A primary concern is initiating and binding together the young elites of the city. The association of this ritual with the kind centaur Cheiron underscores this point. Although closely tied to a life in nature and associated with the rustic science of herbology and the healing arts of plants, Cheiron is a figure who in myth often initiates young heroes into their cultural tradition: Herakles, Achilles, Jason, and Asklepios all came of age under his tutelage. The procession from the city to the top of Pelion on the hottest day of the summer links the citizens of the polis to the most significant topographical feature in the *chora*. The contrast between the heat of the day and the cold of the mountain signals a transformation, and the richness of the sacrifice is heightened by the symbolism of the initiates clothing themselves in the skins of the freshly sacrificed animals. Here again the participants take on a firsthand connection of the landscape, identifying themselves with the livestock the land supports. While Buxton has argued that the ritual recreates a return to a pastoral life of transhumance,[197] Burkert

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[194] See *RE s.v.* Pelion, for the scant remains of the sanctuary on Pelion.
[195] *Floruit* ca. 294 -220 BCE. On Herakleides Kritikos, see Arenz 2006.
[196] This epithet is otherwise unattested; the inscriptions from Demetrias all mention Zeus Akraios.
[197] Buxton 1994: 93-94: "Once a year the citizen-group turns, through its representatives, into a community of shepherds, which practises what may be described as a one-day ritual transhumance."

emphasizes the aspect of purification.[198]   While there may be something to each of these interpretations, there is surely more at work in this myth.

The significance of Cheiron is elaborated by another fragment from Herakleides, which describes a kinship group in Demetrias that preserved the healing arts of Cheiron:

> Ταύτην δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἓν τῶν πολιτῶν οἶδεν γένος· ὃ δὴ λέγεται Χείρωνος ἀπόγονον εἶναι. παραδίδωσι δὲ καὶ δείκνυσι πατὴρ υἱῷ, καὶ οὕτως ἡ δύναμις φυλάσσεται, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος οἶδεν τῶν πολιτῶν· οὐχ ὅσιον δὲ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὰ φάρμακα μισθοῦ τοῖς κάμνουσι βοηθεῖν ἀλλὰ προῖκα. τὸ μὲν οὖν Πήλιον καὶ τὴν Δημητριάδα συμβέβηκε τοιαύτην εἶναι.

> One *genos* of the citizens of Demetrias, which is in fact said to be descended from Cheiron, understands this power. This knowledge is revealed and handed down from father to son, and thus the power is guarded, as no one else among the citizens knows it; it is sacrilegious for those possessing the drugs to aid the sick for pay; they must do it for free. This is what Pelion and the region of Demetrias are like.[199]

It is this testimony that likely explains a Roman period dedication (*IG* IX 2 1128) found at Ano Volou, the site of Iolkos, which records the following: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τειμασίθεος / Κενταύρι ος ὁ ἱερ[ε]- / ὺς τῷ Ἀκραίῳ Δι[ί] (Aurelios Teimasitheos / Kentaurios, priest, / to Zeus Akraios).[200] Kentaurios, otherwise unattested,[201] must be a title, surely in this context indicating this *genos* that is said to have perpetuated the healing secrets of Cheiron in Demetrias.

A final fragment sheds light on a citizen group of Demetrias engaging in rites of initiation following the synoikism. In this situation the focus does not seem to be on the overall solidarity of the community, but on the preservation of the old identity and tradition of one of the poleis eliminated through the foundation. This brief inscription records the dedication of Dunatis, a girl from Demetrias, who made a dedication to Artemis of Pagasai: Δυνατὶς Μελανθίου Ἀρτέμιδι Παγασίτιδι νεβεύσα[σα] (*IG* IX 2 1123 = *SEG* 44:456). The enigmatic participle *nebeusasa*, from νεβεύω, probably refers to a sacred initiatory race, a rite of passage dedicated variously to Artemis, Demeter, or Kore, which symbolizes the transition from puberty to adulthood.[202] These rites interestingly occur only in Thessaly, and in Demetrias this *rite de passage* is explicitly connected with a divinity of Thessalian origin. This is tantalizing evidence suggesting the perpetuation of rituals connected with the Thessalian identity of Pagasai, which resulted in distinct communities within the city, holding fast to their own traditional customs and rituals. We need not press this too far, but as we have seen in the case of the Thessalian goddess Ennodia, the survival and continued veneration of these cults and observance of these rituals does speak to conscious self-definition among worshipping groups, if not necessarily conflict within the city.

Demetrias preserves a surprisingly rich array of information about the religious identity of the city following the synoikism, and the manner in which this community formed out of many disparate communities. The cultic map of Demetrias and its *chora* is far from complete, but what we

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[198] Burkert 1983: The sacrificer identifies with his victim to the point of wearing its skin, tries in effect to undo his own deed'.

[199] *FrGHist.* 369A F2 12.

[200] *Editio princeps:* Wilhelm 1890: The stone is located in the tower of the church of the Panagia. Wilhelm was only able to read the inscription with binoculars, making the reading of the iota in Kentaurios somewhat insecure.

[201] Κενταύρειος appears, *e.g.* Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis* 706: οὗ φασι Κενταύρειον ᾠκίσθαι γένος;

[202] Hatzopulos 1994. Hatzopoulos rejects the possible connection with νεβρός (fawn), which would make it a rite of passage analogous to the ἄρκται of Brauron.

are able to reconstruct sheds considerable light on the priorities of the new community and the attention paid to marking out a coherent, unified religious and political community following a time of great change. The ritual action of the city, as preserved in the description of the procession to the summit of Pelion, cemented the elite youth of the city into a common cultic association, centered around the sacrifice to Zeus Akraios and the participation of Cheiron. Yet at the same time there was room for lesser rites of initiation perpetuated by individual groups within the city. The evidence shows the flexibility of religion to accommodate both cohesion and difference within a single political unit. There is, however, another vector complicating the picture: the incorporation of the founder: the Antigonid king and his successors.

Good evidence for the role of ritual in achieving unity while simultaneously maintaining distinctiveness also comes from Thessalonikeia. At the southern extent of the area incorporated into Thessalonikeia, the former polis of Aineia was maintained as a site of great religious importance. The site was supposedly founded by Aeneas on his wanderings after the fall of Troy, and Dionysios of Halikarnassos[203] writes in his *Roman Antiquites* that Aeneas founded a temple to his mother Aphrodite. Little else is known about the polis. It was originally inhabited by a group of Thracians called the Krouseans and seems to have been a substantial place in the classical period. As demonstrated in chapter 1, there is every indication based on the archaeological evidence that the foundation drastically reduced the population at Aineia and much of it was transferred to Thessalonikeia. There is, once again, no evidence for any kind of destruction, and indeed some suggestive evidence for the lingering importance of the site, especially in a sacred context. A previously unnoticed passage in Livy, here following Polybios, provides us with a key detail, which I believe explains a great deal about the relationship between Thessalonikeia and Aieneia following the synoikismos. The episode comes from the reign of Philip V, when a certain Theoxena, the wife of Poris, who is called a leading man *gentis Aenianum* and a citizen of Thessalonikeia, was attempting to escape the wrath of the king.   In the process of explaining their escape from the king, Livy records the following ritual of the Aineians:

> They set out from Thessalonica to Aenea to an appointed sacrifice which they make every year to Aeneas, their founder, with elaborate ceremony. Having spent a day there in the ritual feasts, when all were asleep, at about the third watch they went aboard a ship made ready in advance by Poris, as if to return to Thessalonica.[204]

The annual procession form the city of Thessalonikeia, to the incorporated center of Aieneia, in celebration of the *kitistes* marks the clear importance of incorporating the founder-heroes of the constituent communities into the religious life of Thessalonikeia. The ritual, probably held at the temple of Aphrodite, symbolically incorporates the protective gods of Aineia into the city and annually reenacts the union of this community with the others into Thessalonikieia.

One final piece of evidence from Thessalonikeia points the central civic importance of this kinship group of the Aineaians. A roman period funerary stele records an inscription to a deceased member of a guild of fish-sellers under the protection of the hero Aineas.   The relief shows a naiskos and a representation of the deceased within. He is shown as young, beardless, with a short chiton and bare feet and represented with attributes of his trade: a scale and basket of fish. The survival of the Hero Aeneas as the tutelary divinity for this guild of fisherman, in all likelihood members of the *genos* of Aineia, shows how long the individual identity of this local community

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[203] *Roman Antiquities* 1.49.4-5.

[204] Livy, *ab urbe condita*, 40.4.9-10: *proficiscuntur ab Thessalonica Aeneam ad statum sacrificium, quod Aeneae conditori cum magna caerimonia quotannis faciunt. ibi die per sollemnes epulas consumpto navem praeparatam a Poride sopitis omnibus de tertia vigilia conscendunttamquam redituri Thessalonicam.*

persisted in Thessalonikeia and its method of accommodation. The strength of this attachment was surely a challenge to forming common identity in Thessalonikeia -- it is through ritual action, and the co-opting of these communities identities – that a city on the scale of Thessalonikeia was achieved.

8. Modeling the Intersection of Religion and Politics the Synoikized Polis

Any discussion of the interconnectedness of politics and religion in ancient Greece must take into account the pervasive interpretive frame of "polis religion," a concept coined and most fully expounded by C. Sourvinou-Inwood.[205] Sourvinou-Inwood's most basic contribution was to stress the "embeddedness" of Greek religion in the polis as the fundamental political unit of Greek society. In Sorvinou-Inwood's formulation, Greek religion was completely interwoven with the polis since "the polis encompassed the fundamental, basic framework in which Greek religion operated," and, further, religion was in large part a *product* of the polis, inasmuch as "in the classical period the polis encompassed, symbolically legitimated and regulated all religious activity within the polis."[206] This inextricable connection with the polis is in turn visible both at a lower organizational level, as the religious cults and festivals were equally embedded in the subdivisions of the polis, such as demes, phratries, *etc.*, and at a higher level in panhellenic or amphiktyonic contexts, as the participation of an individual was mediated by the polis.[207] If this has been received as something of an overstated position, and emended views have continually emerged pointing to some obvious limitations to the model *e.g.* to explain continuities of cult from the Mycenaean period, to establish convincingly the priority of the polis over the central sanctuaries of the polis,[208] or fully to describe panhellenic religious participation, private or family cults,[209] "unauthorized cults" such as Orphism, or the role of pre-urban agricultural traditions,[210] the influence of the model has still proved pervasive. After reaching near orthodoxy as the primary framework for approaching the structural articulation of Greek religion in the past two decades, critical reassessment of the concept of polis religion as the leading interpretive model has only just begun to emerge in the scholarly literature, underscoring the need for a major reconsideration of our models.[211] On a basic level the claim that the social articulation of the polis was fully embedded in religion does not mean that expression of religious identity was completely embedded in the polis, and the polis religion model has received criticism for attempting to ascribe an unnatural structural coherence to Greek religion, denying its

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[205] Sourvinou-Inwood 1988; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990.

[206] Sourvinou-Inwood 1988: 259; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990: 322.

[207] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990: 20.

[208] This issue is at the heart of the discussion over whether the role of sanctuaries served as a means of demarcating the territory of the polis, suggesting the priority of the political development of the polis, as influentially formulated by Polignac 1995, or whether these sanctuaries served as a means of organization and group identity that aided in the formation of the polis, or for the matter an *ethnos*. In the case of the latter, see Freitag et al. 2007: 9: who point emphatically to the "stabiliserende Funktion von Heligtümern im politischen Formierungsprozess der Ethne." Indeed in many cases the archaeological evidence points to the fact that the sanctuaries preceeded the formation of the polis.

[209] See Burkert 1995.

[210] Kindt 2009: 6.

[211] As Kindt notes, critical discussion of the model of polis religion has reached a more advanced state in the field of Roman religion. See *e.g.*: Woolf 1997, for a discussion of the model in the imperial provinces; Rüpke; for general treatment of polis religion and Roman cult; and Bendlin 2006 for the discussion of "religious pluralism" in Republican Rome.

tendencies towards improvisation, inclusivity vs. exclusivity and its potential for inconsistency.[212] The rigidity of the polis religion model is particularly ill fitting for the less-urbanized parts of the Greek world organized more on the along lines of *ethne* than *poleis*, a major form of political organization that the model does not account for. In other words, the model of polis religion cannot explain everything about the intersection of religion and politics, and we must look for multiple intersecting zones of religious and political contact. Indeed, as Freitag *et al.* have rightly stressed in their study of supra-regional sanctuaries, the various "Identitätsebene" represented by participation in cultic communities at the amphictyonic, federal, or panhellenic levels are not competing, but complementary.[213]

Another major criticism of the model is that of the chronological limitations of its applicability. Kindt points to its failure to account for the momentous political shifts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[214] This objection, however, rests primarily on the misguided assumption that with the loss of autonomy, the polis was no longer a meaningful unit of organization in the Hellenistic period, a position recent scholarship has satisfactorily dispelled. The political changes and the wide geographical dissemination of the polis in the post-Classical period do present novel challenges in modeling the intersection of religion and politics, but they do not remove the centrality of the polis from this discussion. In short, the limitations of the polis religion model do not suggest that it is not still a useful tool for approaching Greek religion, but what remains is to incorporate a broader view of the various levels of political organization and religious identities into a narrative that explores some of the possibilities and patterns of the role of religion in political change.

Ritual Action and Synoikismos

An overriding difficulty in the models of ritual activity in the ancient world is the tendency to elide any competitive, contradictory tendencies within the religious life of the ancient city. This is a particular difficulty in the case of the Hellenisitic foundations considered in this chapter, generally the product of the synoikism of multiple poleis, along with smaller settlments, often with varying ethnic identities and religious traditions. The anthropologist Robert Levy in his case study of the "archaic" city of Bhaktapur in Nepal has powerfully demonstrated the complex, multi-layered, and competitive levels of a city that developed out of a process of urbanization of smaller communities. He draws out how the layers of symbolic meaning in the space of the archaic city coexist, what he terms "embedded" symbolism, that derived from the natural features or occurrences, and "marked" symbolism, that specifically set apart and sacralized.[215] Levy develops this complex relationship of religion to ancient polities further by describing the multivalenced way in which "communal" religion can be exploited as an organizational resource in the ancient city: "the integration of small

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[212] Kindt 2009: 4 and 6. Kindt, for example, makes the case for applying the sociological concept of "thin coherence" (vs. "thick coherence"), developed by W. Sewell and adopted by Ober 2005 to describe political participation in Athens, to the study of Greek religion as a means of subverting a false sense of homogeneity of religious participation and to retrieve some of the tensions between religious identities within the subsections of Greek society.

[213] Freitag et al. 2007: 9.

[214] Kindt 2009: 11-13. "During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the "world of the polis system" underwent profound changes and was gradually subsumed under new administrative and political structures. These structures were not rooted in the polis. In addition, new forms of religious beliefs and practices were introduced, such as worship of the emperor, and exotic cults like those of Isis and Sarapis. These new forms of worship took their legitimacy and their binding force from contexts of social and political life beyond the polis."

[215] Levy 1990: Chapter 7 and 8; *cf.* Jameson 1997: 485, who has pointed to the utility of Levy's work for the study of ancient Greek religion. *N.B.* "Archaic" is employed here in the anthropological rather than chronological sense.

component units into a complex city is the expansion and differentiation of dramatic, attention grabbing, deeply interesting and competing religious forms." Levy highlights the ways in which the religious forms are inherently competitive and interactive and the inherent challenge of integrating as smaller political units coalesce into a complex polity.[216]

As R. Osborne has acutely observed in the case of classical Athens, civic life was "shaped, and in many cases, dominated by rituals … success in public life depended on demonstrating mastery over the schemes and strategies of ritualization."[217] Religion enabled a formalized method of communication between the communities that made up the polis of Demetrias and the king. As we have seen in the striking case of Iolkos, appealing to the king through the cult of the *archegetai* and *ktistai* seems to have brought very concrete benefits that enabled Iolkos to perpetuate its local festivals. At the same time, manipulation of the cultic identity of Demetrias to some extent allowed the Macedonian kings to cloak their power in a set of religious symbols, enabling them to unify a wide, diverse area around a common cultic identity. However, we must be careful about over emphasizing the power of religion to build consensus in a political community. There is evidence from many foundations (Alexandreia Troas, Arsione Ephesos, etc.) that continuing attachment to a physical location and to particular cults prompted communities to break away from royal foundations, reminding us that religion can equally lead to resistance to a centralized authority. Kertzer, in his study of the role of ritual in constructing political authority and power, has provided an important caveat to the efficacy of symbols in organizing power. Responding to the Durkheimian tradition that ritual provides a cohesive, consensus-building force within communities, Kertzer has shown the potential for ritual to play an equally subversive role within societies. Further, Kertzer has emphasized the limits for the power of symbolic systems created to serve political or partially political ends. These, Kertzer stresses, must correlate to some sense of generally accepted reality, some common benchmark of credibility.[218]

We have also seen the power of ritual action, in the form of novel ritual practices, for creating new ways of incorporating a sense of continuity with a past religious identity within the new political framework of the synoikized polis in a way that neither obliterates the distinctiveness or traditions of the worshipping communities that preceded the foundation nor competes with the unity of the new political order. This is most clearly seen in the rituals processions that took place in Demetrias and Thessalonikeia, in the case of the former from the polis center to the peak of Mt. Pelion to the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and in the case of the latter, from the polis center to the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Aineia. In each of these cases rituals followed (a sacrifice/ ritual feasting) and the focus seems clearly to be the integration of the cults of the chora into the religious identity of the polis. This kind of ritual action has the power to effectively reconfigure potentially divisive attachments and realign them into an order that underpins rather than undercuts the new political order of the polis.[219]

9. CONCLUSIONS: RELIGION, POWER, AND CONSENSUS IN THE HELLENISTIC CITY

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[216] Levy 1997: 61.

[217] Osborne and Hornblower 1994.

[218] Kertzer 1988: 4, "That people perceive the world through symbolic lenses does not mean that people or cultures are free to create any symbolic system imaginable, or that all such constructs are equally tenable in the material world. There is a continuous interaction between the ways people have of dealing with the physical and social universe and the actual contours of that universe."

[219] For ritual action and "ritualization" see Bell 1992 and Bell 1997.

Over the course of this chapter I have argued for the complex, multifaceted relationship between religion, politics, and imperial structures in the setting of royal Hellenistic foundations. By casting a wide net, this study has attempted to move beyond the scattered testimony of religious protocols preserved in epigraphic documents, primarily the so-called sympolity agreements, that hint at how communities negotiated the maintenance of religious festivals and sacrifices after the merging of two communities. While useful, such documents are generally laconic, and give only a general, official sense of how communities negotiated the complexities of cult and ritual when forming a unified polity. Foundations on the scale of those considered in these pages also inevitably entail situations of far greater complexity than the merger of two formerly independent poleis, the sort of unions usually addressed by the documentary sources.

Perhaps the most difficult issue is the problem of continuity and discontinuity following a synoikismos. While I have argued that there is a wide spectrum of variation on this score precluding any general conclusions, it is possible to say that in every instance there are clear attempts to maintain a sense of cultic continuity from the constituent communities to the synoikized polis. Thus, the distinctiveness of the composite elements was not obliterated, and a wide variety of traditions, cults, and practices were incorporated into the new city. Nevertheless, there do seem to be clear cases of competition – instances in which certain cults were privileged over others, whether because of royal patronage, competition between civic groups, or rivalry between ethnic divisions. This is most clearly in evidence in Demetrias, where we have seen a general tendency towards the primacy of traditionally Magnesian cults and a corresponding decline of Thessalian cults.

In addition, the occasion of a synoikism was often negotiated by setting up a central deity or constellation of deities to represent the new city and provide a central religious symbol for the new polity. As we have seen in the case of Megalopolis, the venerable mountaintop sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios, replicated in the urban center, became the emblem for a pan-Arkadian religious identity following the foundation of that city. In Demetrias, Artemis Iolkia was selected, and again the temple at Iolkos seems to have persisted, alongside a new temple in the city center. In this case, Zeus Akraios and Apollo Koropaios were also brought into the city as central symbols of the new polis, and a sort of "triad" was formed that took central stage in the civic religion of the polis. Other synoikisms were more ambitious. The synoikism of Rhodes placed a new divine figurehead at the helm of the unified Rhodian state, one that had no previous cult anywhere on the island. Yet Helios was the perfect mythological symbol for a pan-Rhodian polity, as the father of divinities after whom the poleis of Rhodes were named.[220] Mykonos, in carrying out its synoikism, also seems have shown a similar willingness to use its mythology to invent a new central cult. Following the synoikism Mykonos set up a cult of the *archegetes,* a single founder culled out of its mythology.[221]

Sanctuaries, too, were a primary locus for the employment of ritual and religious symbolism in an effort to create a common identity around which a political community could coalesce. This took several forms. In the cases of Alexandreia Troas, Ilion, and Thessalonikeia, we have seen that preexisting sanctuaries of regional importance were used as focal points and sources of prestige for nascent communities. In other cases, synoikismoi were not created in the specific location of a renowned sanctuary, but subsidiary cults were brought into the polis from the chora to create a firm link with the traditional places of worship. Thus, the geography of sanctuaries formed an important consideration for the reorganization of the sacred landscape. Manipulation of these religious centers

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[220] Diodoros 5.56.4: ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις νομισθῆναι τὴν νῆσον ἱερὰν Ἡλίου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένους Ῥοδίους διατελέσαι περιττότερον τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τιμῶντας τὸν Ἥλιον ὡς ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν.

[221] See Reger 2001:179-180.

appears to have been a major mechanism for mobilizing populations to form a unified settlement and such considerations were taken seriously in the siting, layout, and expression of the new urban core.

The establishment of cults of the main deities of the integrated communities, within the city and with civic priesthoods, set up a clear link between the city and the constituent communities, integrating them into a common community of cult. This in many cases was furthered by a cult dedicated to the common cult of the founders of the *komai* and of the new foundation, with the king at its head. It is clear that the articulation of a religious identity was central to building a new royal foundation, and in turn, effecting and legitimizing the kings' political authority. There is accordingly a distinct limit to what kings can do with religion and to what extent they can consolidate their power around a coherent ritual authority. The experience of Demetrios Poliorketes' in Athens strikingly illustrates this point. His residence in Athens was fraught with the challenge of integrating a king with very real power into a democratic polis. The communication between the polis and the king was primarily negotiated through religious honors, most strikingly demonstrated in the Athenians' decision to treat Demetrios as an oracle.[222] Yet the religious strategies Demetrios employed in Athens ultimately brought him as much resentment and rejection as they did political advantage.

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[222] Plutarch, *Demetrios* 13.

4

ARCHITECTURE, COMMEMORATION, AND POLITICS IN THE SYNOIKIZED POLIS

1. INTRODUCTION

Pausanias, in his description of Lysimachos' refoundation of Ephesos, pauses briefly to reflect on the response of some of the native poets of Kolophon to the *synoikismos*:

> He also founded (*sunoikise*) the modern city of Ephesos as far as the coast, bringing to it as settlers people of Lebedos and Kolophon, after destroying their cities, with the result that the iambic poet Phoinix composed a lament for the capture of Kolophon. Mermesianax, the elegiac writer, was, I think, no longer living, otherwise he too would certainly have been moved by the taking of Kolophon to write a dirge.[1]

This notice, along with Pausanias' other indication that the historian Hieronomyos of Kardia was notoriously biased against Lysimachos because of his role in destroying Kardia in preparation for the foundation of Lysimacheia on the Thracian Chersonessos,[2] is really the only information we have of personal response to the social dislocation brought about by *synoikismos*. The *threnema* of Phoinix unfortunately does not survive, but the dirge, considering the traditions of the genre, may not be so difficult to imagine. Perhaps recording the glories of the city, and the heroic deaths of its defenders, the work of Phoinix placed the capture of Kolophon on par with the fall of other great cities of the past, translating personal grief to public commemoration. The Kolophonians also collectively left physical reminders of their faded civic identity firmly imprinted on the landscape: the massive tumulus that lay beside the road from Ephesos – the *polyandrion* of the war dead that fell in the battle with Lysimachos,[3] a monument still visible and remembered in Pausanias' time. Kolophon was later released from unity with Ephesos, but the centrifugal processes already in place drew it first into sympolity with Notion and still later ensured the eventual demise of the old urban center of Kolphon, and the former *Ionias trupheres astron* died out.[4] In a similar, but more resilient, vein, the old hatred between the neighboring poleis Skepsis and Kebrene could not be effaced by their temporary unity in Alexandreia Troas, and the more powerful polis of Skepsis, unable to countenance the loss of its civic identity, was able to break away and reconstitute itself successfully under Lysimachos.[5]

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[1] 1.9.7: συνῴκισε δὲ καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἄχρι θαλάσσης τὴν νῦν πόλιν, ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν Λεβεδίους τε οἰκήτορας καὶ Κολοφωνίους, τὰς δὲ ἐκείνων ἀνελὼν πόλεις, ὡς Φοίνικα ἰάμβων ποιητὴν Κολοφωνίων θρηνῆσαι τὴν ἅλωσιν. Ἑρμησιάναξ δὲ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα γράψας οὐκέτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περιῆν: πάντως γάρ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐπὶ ἁλούσῃ Κολοφῶνι ὠδύρατο.

[2] Pausanias 1.9.8: τῷ δὲ Ἱερωνύμῳ τάχα μέν που καὶ ἄλλα ἦν ἐς Λυσίμαχον ἐγκλήματα, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τὴν Καρδιανῶν πόλιν ἀνελὼν Λυσιμάχειαν ἀντ᾽ αὐτῆς ᾤκισεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Θρακίας χερρονήσου.

[3] The *polyandrion* has not been excavated, but for a description see: Schuchhardt 1886.

[4] *Anth. Pal.* 9.3.

[5] Strabo 13.1.33: λέγειν τε τὸν ποιητὴν "Κεβριόνην νόθον υἱὸν ἀγακλῆος Πριάμοιο," ὃν εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐπώνυμον τῆς χώρας ἢ καὶ πόλεως, ὅπερ πιθανώτερον: τὴν δὲ Κεβρηνίαν διήκειν μέχρι τῆς Σκηψίας, ὅριον δ᾽ εἶναι τὸν Σκάμανδρον μέσον αὐτῶν ῥέοντα: ἔχθραν δ᾽ ἀεὶ καὶ πόλεμον εἶναι τοῖς τε Κεβρηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς Σκηψίοις, ἕως Ἀντίγονος αὐτοὺς συνῴκισεν εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Ἀντιγόνειαν νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: τοὺς μὲν οὖν Κεβρηνιέας συμμεῖναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τοὺς δὲ Σκηψίους ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιτρέψαντος Λυσιμάχου.

The previous three chapters have explored landscape and settlement, economy, and religion as vectors for understanding the goals and means for establishing cohesive, extensive urban foundations in the early years of Macedonian power. While these inquires sought to elucidate the ideological and social effects of urbanization, as well as broad trends in the flow of material resources and goods, this chapter seeks to cast its focus more intently on the material fabric and spatial experience of the synoikized polis. How did architecture, monuments, urban layout, and physical symbols shape and embody new foundations? How do they register attempts to assert new identities and maintain a sense of continuity with the communities that united to form the new polis? How does the architecture of the city serve as a repository of the collective memory of its citizens? How do memory and selective forgetting merge in this experiment? There is necessarily a good deal of overlap between the subject of this chapter and the preceding investigation of synoikism and cult, as much architecture, monuments, and dedications in Greek society were inherently religious. This chapter is, then, in part retrospective, seeking to pull together the various strains of argument sustained throughout this study into a background for understanding the ways in which architecture, commemoration, and memory functioned in the context of royal foundations.

2. MEMORY AND THE POLIS

Social memory, collective memory, public memory, cultural memory -- a multiplicity of terms have been employed by scholars to describe the power of a collective consciousness of the past for motivating social action in the present.[6] The earliest formal studies of memory emerged, significantly, in the interwar period, with French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs' fundamental studies on collective memory.[7] Halbwachs' conception and description of collective memory depended heavily on the work of Emile Durkheim, particularly his concept of the "collective consciousness" and the power of social bonds to induce cohesion within society.[8] Halbwachs' theory of collective memory, specifically its force within society, thus falls victim to some of the same limitations of Durkheim's models – namely the absolute subordination of the individual to the collective and the emphasis on the cohesive, reinforcing nature of social memory over its potential to divide and pose conflict. Recent studies have emphasized the symbiotic role of individual and collective agency within the construction of social memory, providing an important corrective to some of Halbwachs basic assumptions.[9] Nevertheless, his emphasis on the dynamic processes at play within collective memory – its ability to evolve and be manipulated and his emphasis on the materiality of memory as embedded in monuments, places, topographies, personalities, things (*cadre*

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[6] Social memory: A fundamental study is Fentress and Wickham 1992; see also Olick and Robbins. On cultural memory in an ancient context see principally: Assmann and Hölscher 1988; Assmann 2002.

[7] Halbwachs 1925, followed by Halbwachs 1941, Halbwachs 1992.

[8] See, principally, Durkheim 1915.

[9] Cubitt 2007: "Society depends not just on memory, but on the capacity to communicate it. It depends on people being able to exchange remembered information, to produce it publicly at appropriate moments, to compare their own memories with those of others – to contribute, in fact, to socially available pools of remembered knowledge, from which members of society, individually and collectively, can draw out the elements of information that help them to construct identities and to plan and pursue courses of socially significant action. Reflection on this social need for communication reinforces the feeling that it is misleading to separate the concept of memory as an internal activity of mind for a consideration of its modes of external expression."

matériel in his terminology) – have left an important legacy, particularly for employing memory as an interpretive frame for archaeological studies.[10]

Pierre Nora's work on the symbols of French nationalism introduced the influential, and now pervasive, term *lieux de memoire* to the study of memory. The term importantly includes not just things – topographies, monuments — but also symbols of cultural identity -– songs, names, language. Nora's work is also important in that it emphasizes the fundamental grounding of modern concern for memory as motivated by the social trauma of the twentieth century:

> Our interest in *lieux de mémoire* where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn-but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists. There are *lieux de memoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory.[11]

But if Nora's work rightly underscores the role of tension, rupture, and upheaval in motivating interest in memory and occasioning active acts of memory, his attempt to isolate a historical moment in the recent past where societies have moved beyond a traditional state where social memory is seamlessly and naturally constructed and handed down, oversimplifies the conscious, competing acts of commemoration that took place in many ancient societies.[12] Such societies, conscious of their own experience of social rupture and dislocation, countered these experiences with constructed memorialization, and attempted to link the present to a sense of historical continuity in much the same way that Nora describes.

In attempting to delineate how the framework derived from memory studies is applicable to archaeological contexts, anthropologists have attempted to categorize types of memory. In an influential body of work, Connerton has drawn the distinction between "inscribed memory" involving texts, monuments, *etc.* and "embodied memory" involving ritual and behavior.[13] This bifurcation, however, does not take us far beyond Nora's distinctions, and often creates an artificial distinction between ritual, politics, monument and commemoration.[14]

Social memory is thus selective, malleable, constructed,[15] and performative: the product of specific acts of commemoration and omission. In no way is this more clear than the official decrees of the polis[16] – but it extends further, from civic institutions and communal rituals to monuments, art and architecture, the subjects of this chapter. It is this role of social memory within the ancient political community that takes on a constitutive force. Just as acts of memory can mobilize a very really agency on the part of political communities in an imperial context, they can also serve to "smooth over ruptures"[17] and underpin or legitimate authority. However, the other side of the coin is equally true. Just as memory can smooth over change and legitimate authority, in order for a

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[10] This emphasis is particularly evident in his study of the shifting landscapes of the Holy Land: see Halbwachs 1941.
[11] Nora 1989: 7
[12] See, for example, Loraux 1997 for the case of ancient Athens.
[13] Connerton and Connerton 2006.
[14] Loraux 1997 makes the insightful distinction between the "cold" anthropological city of rituals, images, and monuments, which is the selective product of the "hot" city of politics and history.
[15] Lowenthal 1985: 210.
[16] On the epigraphic habit and polis memory, see Ma 2000; Ma 2009: 249-253.
[17] Alcock and Van Dyke 2003: 3. Compare Alcock's work on the role of memory in several periods of great transition in antiquity: Roman hegemony in Achaia, Hellenistic and Roman Krete, and Messenia (Alcock 2002).

society to function, there needs to be a certain benchmark of continuity, an internal logic to which it can relate. Thus, there is a certain basic limitation on effectively much a new political order can be imposed on a social group. As Cubitt writes:

> Societies, like individuals, function best if their members (individually and collectively) are able to meet the challenge of fresh experience with a response that is grounded in structures of knowledge and action that have been matured and adjusted over a longer period of time. Societies need, therefore, to structure the passage of ideas and information in ways which permit a purposeful retention of certain kinds of experiential data, and the transgenerational consolidation of certain bodies of knowledge and practice.[18]

This chapter will attempt to apply these considerations to understanding the role of memory in the foundation a new city through *synoikismos*. The framework of memory – what it can and cannot achieve – provides particularly nuanced and developed parameters for understanding the process of negotiation between civic communities, and cities, and kings. In this encounter, so frequently cast in purely political terns, it is important not to lose sight of the detailed evidence that the use and treatment of the built and natural environment played in the individual experiences of subject communities, and how these considerations established parameters in which the discourse and relationship between imperial powers and local communities had to operate. Negotiating this rich landscape provides a key balance to the more structured rhetoric of inscriptions, royal correspondence, and the manifestation of raw military authority. The comparatively less well-theorized concept of selective forgetting, the eliding of details, is of added importance for our considerations. What was left out? How is agency portrayed within the civic community, refracted through monuments of selective commemoration and willfully elided discontinuity? The following sections will consider various aspects of the built environment of the synoikized city, and how the physical fabric of the city is closely tied to various strategies of commemoration, social memory, and politics, in an attempt to draw out these issues in a systematic way.

3. CITY FOUNDATIONS AND A NEW ARCHITECTURAL ORDER

Surely most powerful articulation of the 'constructedness' of the new civic and political community was the wholesale and *ex-novo* creation of a city layout. On the one hand this urbanistic project constituted a real opportunity for both the figures of authority (kings, elites, architects *etc.*) who were the driving forces of a synoikism to fashion an coherent statement of the identity of the new community, and work in a blend of continuity and innovation to shape an manipulate a new order, but it also constituted a distinct challenge. The kings could create city layouts expressly designed for defense, control, and service within a larger bureaucratic and economic network. Cities could function as hubs of resources and centers for royal palaces. But many of the facets of the physical and cultic landscape – the mountains, caves, and sanctuary sites that formed the sacred topography of a given community – that were so intimately intertwined with the identity and memory of the political communities that contributed to these unions were significantly challenged by the revision of traditional patterns of settlement. While the physical landscape was incorporated in many meaningful ways, on the balance physical dislocation must have been greater than the sense of continuity that the architects and kings were able to achieve. Likewise in the case of a synoikism,

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[18] Cubitt 2007.

various population groups, often with long traditions of hostility toward one another had to be combined into a functioning political community. Further, if these foundations to some degree could be cast in terms of royal patronage, neighboring cities, reduced, eliminated, or deprived of territory inevitably lost out, creating potential nodes of destabilization and resistance. But if the new polis was essentially an artificial construct it was open to dynamic reinvention in the realm of architecture and monumentalization; in other words, the new built environment could appeal to a sense of memory and continuity through new monuments that claimed and association with the past. As a community of citizens, the polis also was open to making firm statements through the organization of its inhabitants, the layout and articulation of domestic space, and the interaction between these two spheres of experience. This section will explore the evidence for how architecture was employed in this context to achieve a workable community and effect and manipulate social memory in order to reinforce the union. A detailed look at the physical fabric of some of these cities can also serve to isolate certain issues for which there is little direct evidence, but which must have lurked behind the decisions to establish urban space and architecture in a specific way.

The Issue of a "Conservative" Style in Monumental Architecture

To what extent can we isolate an effort to preserve the past in the Hellenistic present? To put the question another way, was there a deliberate conservatism or archaizing element in the construction of certain monuments to capture a sense of continuity through architectural and monumental construction? Could this be observed and internalized by the viewer? Archaizing in art and architecture is well known from the Roman period, particularly the retrospective and nostalgic *milieu* of the second sophistic, but no real attention has been paid to this issue in the late fourth/early third centuries, when a similar retrospection and reflexivity may have taken hold. To hearken back to another pivotal point in Greek history – the transition from the archaic to the classical period – a central monument of that period poses an analogous problem. The treasury of the Athenians at Delphi was built, according to the dedicatory inscription that spans the associated statute base, from first fruits of the spoils taken from the Persians at Marathon,[19] and Pausanias says that the building was dedicated at this time, not just the base and statue group, and thus 490 should be a strict *terminus post quem* for the construction of the treasury.[20] On stylistic grounds however, scholars have tended to believe that the architectural details of the treasury fit better in the period about a generation before. This disjunction, between the style of the building and the date suggested by the dedicatory inscription, has represented one of the most difficult cruxes in Greek architecture, with some scholars maintaining that the treasury was started before the Persian wars, some disassociating the base and the treasury, and some forwarding the argument that the treasury was purposefully built with archaizing details to hearken back to and earlier period and bridge the discontinuity of the Persian invasion and assault on Delphi.[21] Recent excavation has settled the matter conclusively: it is clear that a ledge 0.30 meters in width extends from the south side of the stereobate of the Treasury, which supports the inscribed Marathon base. Thus, the two are bonded, and the earliest phase of construction, supporting Pausanias' report and decisively showing that the

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[19] *FD* III 2:1: ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ Τ[Ο]Ι ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ[Ι ΑΠΟ ΜΕ]ΟΝ ΑΚΡΟΘΙΝΙΑ ΤΕΣ ΜΑΡΑΘ[Ο]ΝΙ Μ[ΑΧΕ]Σ.

[20] Pauasanias 10.11.

[21] For dating controversy see: Audiat 1933; Harrison 1965; Gauer 1980; Tölle-Kastenbein 1983; Büsing 1994, and now, Neer 2004 .

treasury was built after 490.[22] Thus, the archaizing features of the building must be deliberate, and it is suggestive that a monument of such importance for the city of Athens was specifically designed with such conservative details following such a period of disruption. We do not see this same trend in sculpture, and indeed, as A. Stewart has forcefully argued, the very opposite was true – the events of 480/479 ushered in a new style and occasioned the 'birth' of classical style.[23]

Several sites founded by *synoikismos* under royal authority in the early Hellenistic period have similarly disjunctive monuments built in the early third century – in this case exclusively in the realm of temple architecture. While little attention has been paid to the issue, the question of these monuments, particularly across space in the Hellenistic period, begs the same question as the Athenian treasury at Delphi: was this a deliberate conservatism? And if so, does this conservatism reflect a concern for reaching back to preexisting architectural forms somehow linked to the original settings of the monuments, thus symbolically bridging and effacing the dislocation of the *synoikismos*? Further, if these examples do constitute a reactionary "trend," how do they interface with the otherwise amply attested emphasis on modernizing trends in architecture – in fortifications, urban layout, domestic housing, public architecture, and royal palaces?

Let us first consider the symbolism behind a somewhat more clear-cut case, this time from late Classical Athens. The Pnyx, the site of the meetings of the *ekklesia* of Athens, was monumentalized in the late fourth century, in the time of Lykourgos or just before. In addition to shaping the bedrock of the natural hill and constructing stoas, a massive retaining wall was built at the base of the hill as part of this building program. What is so notable about this retaining wall is its striking masonry. The wall was deliberately built with massive polygonal stones –- almost cyclopean in size -- to hearken back to a sense of continuity with old Athens, perhaps even archaizing to a degree that would reference the original Kleisthenic reforms in a place so emblematic of the values of the democracy.[24] But the masonry is, in a sense, timeless; it is both archaic in style and prehistoric in scale, and it is this effect that invests it with such powerful symbolic import for anther period of transition – the time of Lykourgos and his reforms, where this spirit carried over into retrospective institutional reforms. The result is a smoothing over of change, a deliberate appeal to continuity, invested and expressed through subtle, yet powerful, architectural detail.

Temple Architecture

Interpreting temple architecture is a somewhat more difficult task, and one must be careful to balance the inherently "conservative" undercurrent within Greek temple architecture with an idea of deliberate archaism. Bearing this caveat in mind, there are some striking examples of temples whose architectural style may project some measure of studied conservatism. On the one hand they do bear a distinct contrast to the experimental styles of temple building that dominated the second half of the third century and later, which are notable for their focus on dramatic monumentality and the conscious avoidance of the Doric order.[25]

In Demetrias, the diminutive temple of Artemis Iolkia, sited in the center of the *hiera agora* was a central monument of the polis. However, the contrast between its spatial importance and its modest size (only 8.75 x 15.25m) is immediately arresting. Is this a purposeful design? The temple was first identified as belonging to Artemis Iolkia by Arvanitopoulos, who excavated the

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[22] For a summary of the excavation report see: Amandry 1998; see also Neer 2004: 67.

[23] Stewart 2008.

[24] Travlos 1971 *s.v.* Pnyx. See also: Mitchel 1970 and for the issue of the date, Camp II 2000: 45-46.

[25] See *e.g.* the views expressed by the great Hellenisitic architect Hermogenes (Vitruvius, *De Architectura* III, 2-6).

foundations and the adjacent architecture of the agora. Arvanitopoulos found scant remains of the superstructure and little else by which to date or identify the temple, but he based the association with Artemis Iolkia on a series of inscriptions that mention the *hiera agora* and a third mentioning Artemis.[26] This identification was in turn supported by Stählin and Meyer in their study of the city. Subsequently, Theocharis cleared the foundations and the German team has newly cleaned and studied the foundations and conducted new soundings.[27] Reinvestigation of the temple has yielded little new information about the temple -- excavations have shown only that it was founded on a sterile clay bed and little or no context pottery has been recovered. Theocharis found a terracotta anthemion probably belonging to the superstructure of the temple. The agora is sited centrally in the plan of the city, paired with the equally monumental *anaktoron* that flanks it immediately to the north. Its width is precisely the length of one *insula*. The agora itself was flanked by stoas, forming a large, open area with the small shrine in its center. Besides the small size of the temple, the sanctuary is notably oriented off the grid of the city, angled slightly to the SE and jarringly off the axial regularity of the rest of the city plan. Doubtless this orientation engages another monument or topographic feature, and it would seem that it establishes a clear line of sight towards Iolkos, specifically the akropolis of that former polis on the hill of Ano Volou, where the original temple of Artemis Iolkia was likely located.[28]

The precise plan of the temple cannot be determined with accuracy, due to the poor state of preservation. The foundations measure only {}, making the most likely reconstruction a 6 x 10 peripteral Doric or Ionic temple. The footprint would easily accommodate this plan. This would make it the smallest peripteral temple in Mainland Greece. The foundations and foundation courses were built of limestone, while the superstructure appears to have been of mudbrick and wood. There is some evidence for marble revetment, but fragments are slight. The temple is thus conspicuous for its modest expense – this does not appear to have been a particularly lavish monument, especially compared to the fine ornamentation of the adjacent *anaktoron* or the sanctuary of the *archegetai* and *ktistai* situated on the high hill to the east of the agora. The small size is most closely comparable to the temple of Zeus Sosipolis, also centrally placed in the large agora of Magnesia on the Maeander, where a very similar relationship and situation may be at work.[29] This temple, too, was built in the center of the newly laid out agora of the city after the polis underwent a *metoikisis*.

Given these features, we must consider the meaning behind the studied modesty of the structure, particularly in the milieu of the agora. One possibility is that the modest size intentionally does not compete with the original temple of Artemis Iolkia, given the fact that it is first and foremast a succursal, or subsidiary temple in the city, similar to the city Eleusinion at Athens or more analogously to the small sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus in Megalopolis after the *synoikismos*. In this case, the temple emphatically does not seek to replace the ancient sanctuary and its connection to the site and history of Iolkos, but the goddess is still present in the center of the city and a direct link is created between the incorporated center of Iolkos and the city of Demetrias. The quasi-archival function of the *temenos* and the agora reinforces the role of the goddess as protector of the city, and as the official emblem of the civic body, as expressed on the coinage and seals of Demetrias.[30]

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[26] Arvanitopoulos 1908b: 211 and Arvanitopoulos 1928: 92 note 1.
[27] Theocharis 1961: 171; Marzollf 1976: 47-58.
[28] Arvanitopoulos 1909.
[29] See Humann 1904: plate II-III.
[30] For the civic emblems and iconography of Demetrias, see Franke 1967; Furtwängler and Kron 1978, Furtwängler and Kron 1983.

The cult of Apollo at Neandreia has been discussed in detail in chapter 3. It was suggested there that the remains of a Doric temple at Alexandreia Troas in all likelihood built by Lysimachos was intended to house this deity, which was to be transferred from Neandreia and set up as the poliadic deity of the new foundation. The remains of a Doric temple, mentioned by the early travelers and recently reinvestigated by members of the Neandreia team, have been shown to have been set up on almost and exact East-West orientation, with the front of the temple oriented directly towards the akropolis of Neandreia, to which it is connected by a clear line of sight.[31] The most likely reconstruction of the temple, despite its poor state of preservation, is that of a 6 x 11 peripteros with a *pronaos*, *naos*, and, unusually for Asia Minor, an *opisthodomos*.[32] Several factors point to its early date: the use of the Doric order, the material (a shelly limestone), and the modest dimensions (14.11 x 27.40 m). It is impossible to pinpoint the exact date of the temple without further excavation of the temple and analysis of the material in the foundation trenches of the structure, and it is possible that it dates to the mid-Hellenistic period.[33] However, taking the evidence for an early construction, the orientation and traditionalism of the construction along with the testimony of Strabo for Lysimachos' construction of a temple of clear importance for the city, this structure is the best candidate at the site of Alexandreia Troas to date. Pohl has pointed to the suitability of using the Doric order for housing an ancient and venerable cult in a new foundation, and it is this "conservative" element of the temple that perhaps points to its association with the cult of Apollo of Neandreia. Neandreia and Hamaxitos were clearly of special significance to Alexandreia; the new foundation based its coinage on the types traditional to these poleis, and it seems clear that the cults and traditions of these cities were central to the identity of the new city.[34]

In Pherai the late fourth century Doric temple may nevertheless provide interesting comparanda. While it fell outside the urbanization work of the kings, it certainly fell victim of it. Philip II's capture of Pagasai, the *epineion* of Pherai, as discussed above[35] deprived the city, formerly the first city of Thessaly, of its most important possession – direct access to the gulf of Volos. Pagasai ultimately eliminated by Demetrios Poliorketes' synoikism and the foundation of Demetrias in 293, which marginalized Thessalian poleis like Pherai and established a major political and commercial competitor at the head of the gulf. However, it is likely that Demetrios had a hand in the construction of a new temple in Pherai *ca.* 300, dedicated either to Zeus Thalios or Ennodia – the central divinities of Pherai. We know that Demetrios was active in Thessaly at this time and seized the Pherai and expelled Kassandros' garrison in 302; given the waning fortunes of the polis in this period, it is difficult to imagine how this temple would have been financed without royal intervention.[36]

The architectural details of the temple contain several interesting features that may shed light on the issue of "architectural conservatism" analogous to the above cases, particularly the way in

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[31] Pohl 1999: 85-93.

[32] Pohl 1999: 89-90. Alternatively the temple could be reconstructed as prostyle with 4 columns *in antis* and an opisthodomos with 2 columns *in antis*, or amphiprostyle with 4 columns *in antis*.

[33] Indeed, its nearest comparanda are the temple of Athena Ilias (for the revised date of which see above) and Pergamene temples with a similar front staircase (Pohl 1999:92); these, however, do not provide anything like precise dates for the temple.

[34] Pohl 1999. For the context within the city, see Schwertheim and Wiegartz 1994, Schwertheim and Wiegartz 1996; Pohl 1999

[35] See chapter 1.

[36] Diodoros 20.110.6. There are also architectural similarities between the temple at Pherai and the temple of Artemis Iolkia in Demetrias, suggesting a possible connection between the craftsmen or architects of these two sanctuaries. See Marzolff 1994.

which the needs of an individual community interface with royal hegemony. The fourth century temple replaced an earlier, late sixth-century phase located outside of the polis center in the area of a geometric necropolis.[37] Portions of the stylobate of the eastern façade and a small section of the northern and southern flanks survive[38] along with enough architectural fragments (an architrave corner with taenia and regula, a geison block with mutulus and via, a section of the horizontal sima, and very small fragments of the columns) to reconstruct the proportions of the temple. 50 x 100 doric ft. with 6 x 12 columns, the façade is heavily dependent on the Periklean protoypes, particularly in the proportion of 2:3 between triglyph and metope. However there is a noticeable variation in the axial spacing between the façade and the flanks (due to the high degree of corner contraction) departing from the common solution of the period and has slight variations more common in archaic temples.[39] Other fifth century Attic details include the position of the columns on the joints between the stylobate blocks, the mission of the euthynteria, and the proportions of the krepidoma steps and geison blocks, particularly reminiscent of the proportions of the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. These same details occur in the late classical temple of Apollo at Delphi (completed *ca.* 330). In the case of Delphi the particularly long peristasis (6 x 15) probably reflects the archaic predecessor on the site, but otherwise the façade of the temple of Pherai is almost identical to the temple of Delphi, but reduced by 1/3. Both temples also have the disjunctive pairing of archaic-type Z clamps connecting the blocks of the *krepidoma*, along with the more current Π-shaped clamps, and the recently introduced horizontal pour channels for the introduction of lead, which appear first at Delphi and become popular in the Hellenistic period. The flanks of the temple at Pherai probably also reflect the dimensions of the archaic predecessor, giving the temple its elongated aspect. Finally, the profile of the geison blocks, with their high profile in comparison to their projection, are similar to fifth century styles, but the profiles of the nose, corona, and mutuli firmly indicate a date ca. 300.[40]

The polis of Pherai, formerly the first city of Thessaly, and its major economic center due to its possession of the *epineion* at Pagasai, lost almost all of its prestige and power following the death of Alexander of Pherai and the seizure of Pagasai by Philip II. After the synoikism of Demetrias, Pagasai, along with its population, who were formally citizens of Pagasai and ethnically Thessalian formed one of the largest contingents of the new city. The loss of Pagasai and a good amount of territory meant that Pherai was greatly reduced by the synoikism, although it remained an independent polis. The goddess Ennodia, who had emerged from Pherai over the centuries as the pan-Thessalian divinity *par-excellence*, owed her ascendance in part to the rise of the political hegemony of Pherai. The commissioning of this new temple to Ennodia preserved a sense of prestige in the city and commemorated the role of Pherai as a major religious center, if no longer a major political force in Thessaly. The attention to traditionalism invested in the architectural details of the city underscored this continuity and seems to have been expressly designed to convey a sense of legitimacy to the political reshuffling of the region under Demetrios. As we have seen, this strategy appears to have been employed, in different and nuanced ways, in many of the synoikized foundations of the early Hellenistic period. As central symbols of the civic community, the major

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[37] The temple was excavated by a joint French/Greek team in the 1920s and published by Béquignon 1937. The archaic predecessor is known only from architectural fragments reused in the foundations of the later phase building. See Béquignon 1937 for details.

[38] The foundations, local conglomerate and reused blocks from the archaic temple, are overlaid with local marble on the *krepidoma*. The temple notably does not have a *euthynteria*.

[39] Béquignon 1937. Østby 1994: 140.

[40] Østby 1994: 140, on the basis of L. Shoe's typology of geison profiles .

sanctuaries were particularly effective in terms of conveying links between the old civic order and the new and are conspicuous examples of how cultural symbols can be translated into monumental architecture.

Domestic Space

Is it possible to trace any similar phenomenon in the domestic architecture of the cities founded by *synoikismos*? In other words, does this phenomenon of mediating cultural disruption through architecture extend to this level of social organization. While the rigid regional divisions of domestic architecture based on a putative geographic and cultural preference for house types – the so called *prostas vs. pastas* styles – has been recently dismantled,[41] allowing for a wider distribution of these types, and variations on these plans, based on considerations of climate, topography, and local tradition, it is nonetheless indisputable that the type of housing a community chooses to build is a telling artifact of a given civic culture. Good evidence for securely-dated domestic contexts in the late fourth-early third centuries is surprisingly hard to come by, but there is evidence from three regions (the Troad, Thessaly, and Thessalonikeia) that is worth considering and attempting to place in the context of shifting material and architectural culture following a *synoikismos*. While the evidence permits only somewhat superficial claims, the caesura imposed on domestic life in the context of a *synoikismos* must have constituted on of the most profound challenges to the communities involved and certainly the most personal. Not only would domestic architecture have comprised the largest amount of building, planning, and provisioning necessary in the establishment of a new polis center, but convincing communities to abandon their homes and resettling them in rigidly structured patterns of a newly laid out community, presumably with its own neighborhoods, wards, civic sub-organizations, and officials was a major aspect of domestic life. A new homogeneity was imposed, especially in the instance of culturally and ethnically mixed communities that may have had different traditions of domestic architecture and organization.

We get glimpses of the problem from the epigraphic testimony of *synoikismoi* and *sympoliteiai* in this period. The housing solution proposed by Antigonos Monophthalmos in the case of the union of Teos and Lebedos has already been discussed in passing in chapter 2.[42] In that case, Antigonos left a notable amount of leeway to the citizens of Teos and Lebedos over how the two communities would be come to be one, particularly in terms of the siting of the new city and the issue of housing. The synoikism was to take one of three forms: either the polis of Teos was to remain in its present location and the people of Lebedos would be absorbed into it over a period of four years (a quarter of the population of Lebedos moving into the city each year[43] and one third of the houses of Teos would be provided to the people of Lebedos while new housing was constructed in the city; or Teos would be completely torn down and in the meantime half of the old houses of Teos would be left temporarily, one-third of which would go to the people of Lebedos and two-thirds to the people of Teos while the new city was being constructed (presumably the excess population would be encamped at the new site working on the city?); or, finally, part of the city would be left in its present location while the Teans and the Lebedians would be consolidated into the part of the city that is not being torn down until new houses are being constructed or some of

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[41] Tsakirgis. For the old geographic/cultural division between the *prostas/pastas* house see, principally, Drerup 1967; see also Hoepfner and Schwandner 1996 and Cahill 2002: 5.07.

[42] See chapter 2.

[43] *RC* 3.17, *cf.* 4.9.

the old houses would be left until they could be phased out.[44] Similar concerns are present in the documents concerning the *sympoliteia* of Miletos and Pidasa, where specific measures for accommodating the Pidasians in Miletos are made.[45] A concern for housing, naturally, dominates the details of the documents.

The question becomes somewhat more salient when the epigraphic sources are paired with the archaeological record from some of these sites. .[46] In the case of Thessalonikeia, I have argued in chapter 1 that while there was a distinct movement of people from almost all of the communities that contributed to the *synoikismos* for which we have archaeological evidence, there is a measurable lag of about 15 or more years at many of these sites. It is intuitive to assume that the process of building a new city and moving such huge numbers took some time, as indeed the epigraphic documents from Teos indicate, but in the case of Thessalonikeia, rescue excavations have provided particularly good evidence the orderly abandonment of the sites, as late fourth century houses were cleared of most of the valuable moveable objects and a variety of broken or unwanted artifacts were neatly cleared and deposited in large pits.[47] Sites such as Neandreia suggest similar processes, and destruction, as at Kolophon, appears to be the exception rather than the rule.[48]

In the Troad, evidence from domestic contexts securely dated to both the late classical and the early Hellenistic period have been emerging steadily since systematic excavations have been renewed in Neandreia, Ilion, and Alexandreia Troas. The domestic architecture so far uncovered in the Troad demonstrates that both traditions of the peristyle house – the *prostas* and *pastas* types – were employed in the poleis of the Troad; however, there was uniformity within cities, and regions within the Troas clearly followed their own traditions of domestic architecture.   In general, the *pastas* house predominates in the Aiolian Greek foundations of the Troad, and the *prostas* type is the most common in Ionia, but at one site in the Aiolian Troad, Neandreia, the *prostas* house is atypically dominant.[49] Evidence from Ilion shows traces of *pastas* types both before and after the *synoikismos* of the site, but at Alexandreia Troas, surface survey and geophysical prospection has revealed traces of *prostas* type houses.[50] It is notable, as Aylward points out, that the *prostas* house, atypical for the region, won out in the new foundation of Alexandreia Troas, and Aylward is probably right that the decision to build this type of house can be traced back to the contingent from Neandreia, which probably formed the largest contingent among the settlers.[51] What also deserves stress is how this cultural preference seems to indicate a position of dominance for the Neandrians (*qua* power, since even though they may have been the largest group, they cannot have been in the absolute majority) in the new city of Alexandreia Troas. Thus cultural artifacts like domestic architecture, can powerfully reflect larger issues of dislocation, dominance and cultural effacement otherwise not visible in the historical record. The evidence from Neandreia shows another dynamic in how architecture can work in a community. Unlike the evidence for temple architecture, the preference of the Neandreian type of house demonstrates the dominance of this population group and suggests a potential ground for cultural conflict or confrontation between groups within the city. Whereas

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[44] *RC* 3 § 2.
[45] *Milet* 1.3.149.
[46] Haagsma 2010: 105-116.
[47] See Kalliga 2004 for a good example of this process.
[48] For the late fourth/early third century destruction layer at Kolophon, see Holland 1944.
[49] Aylward 1999; Aylward 2005; *C.f.* Aylward 1999.
[50] Papenberg and Schrader 1999.
[51] Aylward 2005.

the more centrally-directed building programs focused on consensus and unity, there is a greater latitude in the realm of domestic architecture for the cultural dominance of a single group.

Social Organization and Politics

On a broader scale, the spatial organization of the constituent communities within the polis poses a similar issue of potential conflict and faction. How were communities housed? Did they mingle within the city or did groups from different poleis inhabit different areas or quarters within the city? While precision on this score is for the most part irrecoverable in the urban centers under consideration here, is precisely how the settlers were enrolled and accommodated within the city. We have seen that tribes and demotics, as well as religious associations and perhaps priesthoods served to maintain the distinctiveness of citizen sub-groups within the synoikized polis. But did this separation carry over to actual physical space? Evidence from our case studies is sparse, but comparanda from other cities founded under similar circumstances suggest that this may have often been the case. There was surely variation, as epigraphic evidence such as the document detailing the union of Latmos and Pidasa clearly shows – making mandatory stipulations of intermarriage between the two citizen groups for a period of 6 years specifically to eliminate the distinction between the two groups.[52] This drastic measure, however, seems to have been rare. The letters of Antigonos the Teos and Lebedos do not mention any such measure, and while they do seem concerned to make sure the Lebedeians, as the weaker party, would have a fair allotment of space to build housing, the very stress of this issue suggests that it was a potentially very real problem.

The issues arising from division within the polis are perhaps best illustrated by the *stasis* experienced in the fifth-century foundation of Thourioi in Sicily. In that case the city of Sybaris, after being destroyed by neighboring Kroton, sent an appeal to mainland Greece for new settlers to reestablish a city in the former territory of Sybaris. The call was heeded, new settlers duly arrived, and a new city site and name were chosen on the basis of an oracle from Delphi. *Stasis* however quickly arose because the former Sybarites held on to the best civic offices, religious honors, and land for themselves, at the expense of the other participants in the *synoikismos*. This conflict was only resolved by putting almost all of the original Sybarites to death and writing a new constitution and laws, as well as reassigning land and space for housing within the *asty* on egalitarian principles. Division was still the rule, however, as the city, divided into quarters by four broad avenues (*plateiai*) running the length of the city and three running its width, was organized with each of the citizen groups assigned to their separate quarters[53] and tribes, based broadly on their origin (Arkadian, Achaian, Eleian Boiotian, Amphiktyonian, Dorian; Ionian, Athenian, Euboian, or Islander).[54]

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[52] *Milet* I.3 149 l.16.

[53] The avenues were, significantly, named after divinities: Herakleia, Aphrodisia, Olympias, Dionysias, Heroa, Thuria, and Thurina.

[54] Diodoros 12.11: καλῶς κατεσκευάσθαι. ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ὁμονοήσαντες οἱ Θούριοι στάσει μεγάλη περιέπεσον οὐκ ἀλόγως. οἱ γὰρ προϋπάρχοντες Συβαρῖται τὰς μὲν ἀξιολογωτάτας ἀρχὰς ἑαυτοῖς προσένεμον, τὰς δ'εὐτελεῖς τοῖς ὕστερον προσγεγραμμένοις πολίταις· καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιθύειν τοῖς θεοῖς ᾤοντο δεῖν πρώτας μὲν τὰς πολίτιδας, ὑστέρας δὲ τὰς μεταγενεστέρας· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν μὲν σύνεγγυς τῇ πόλει χώραν κατεκληρούχουν ἑαυτοῖς, τὴν δὲ πόρρω κειμένην τοῖς ἐπήλυσι. γενομένης δὲ διαφορᾶς διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας, οἱ προσγραφέντες ὕστερον πολῖται πλείους καὶ κρείττονες ὄντες ἀπέκτειναν σχεδὸν ἅπαντας τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας Συβαρίτας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὶ κατῴκησαν. πολλῆς δὲ οὔσης καὶ καλῆς χώρας, οἰκήτορας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μεταπεμψά-καλῆς χώρας, οἰκήτορας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μεταπεμψάμενοι συχνούς, διενείμαντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπ' ἴσης ἔνεμον. οἱ δὲ

Similar divisions were common in newly founded cities in the Greek world, as at Tenos, a polis refounded *ex novo* after the old polis center was destroyed and its citizens enslaved by the Thessalian tyrant Alexander of Pherai in 362.[55] After the city's refoundation, its citizens were organized into *phylai* based on their origin (*i.e.* from the old *astu* or from surrounding villages) and enrolled into physical neighborhoods (*tonoi*) within the new city center after the *synoikismos*.[56] Evidence for a very similar practice is somewhat more plentiful for the Hellenistic period, but unfortunately less detailed, and it seems that it was relatively common for there to be a physical division, however permeable, within the citizen group between groups of different ethnic or linguistic origin, into quarters or wards (πλινθεῖα, ἀμφόδα, γειτονίαι) which usually had a corresponding religious element.[57] The meaningfulness and consequences of these divisions are difficult to interpret. On one level their function was purely utilitarian – a practical way of dividing the city for taxation, census, record keeping and defense – and we must be careful not to read conflict, ghettoization, or even permanence into these situations. But on the other hand, the establishment of these neighborhoods and corresponding religious symbols is a powerful example of a deeply embedded *leiu de mémoire* for the inhabitants of these cities and a touchstone of negotiation articulated into the physical organization of domestic space and the overall design of the polis.

Yet the political ramifications of such social organization within royal foundations go beyond simply the commemorative function of these traditional ties. The spatial separation of these contingents lent itself to factional or even stasis within the city, along the lines of Thourioi, and it is surprising that royal authorities would be willing to countenance this form of localization of

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διαμένοντες ταχὺ πλούτους μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας φιλίαν συνθέμενοι καλῶς ἐπολιτεύοντο. συστησάμενοι δὲ πολίτευμα δημοκρατικὸν διεῖλον τοὺς πολίτας εἰς δέκα φυλάς, καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἁπάσαις περιέθηκαν ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν, τρεῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου συναχθέντων ὀνομάσαντες Ἀρκάδα καὶ Ἀχαΐδα καὶ Ἠλείαν, τὰς ἴσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ὁμοεθνῶν, Βοιωτίαν, Ἀμφικτυονίδα, Δωρίδα,τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τέτταρας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν, Ἰάδα, Ἀθηναΐδα, Εὐβοΐδα, Νησιῶτιν. εἵλοντο δὲ καὶ νομοθέτην τὸν ἄριστον τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ θαυμαζομένων πολιτῶν Χαρώνδαν. .

[55] Demosthenes 50.4.

[56] The citizens of Tenos were also divided into 10 territorial *phylai* after the refoundation of the site ca. 362. The names of Tenian tribes are known from the phyletics added to name and patronymic from a large register of sales of land of the late fourth century (*IG* XII.5 872-875): Γυρα(ιεύς), (Δονα(κεύς); Ἐλειθυ(αιεύς); Ἐσχα(τιώτης); Ἡρακλείδης; Θεστιεύς; Θρήσιος; Ἱακινθεύς; Κλυμενεύς; and ἐκΠολεως. The tribe called ἐκΠολεως refers to Tenians registered in the former *polis* site at Xombourgo and may have included the majority of the citizens of the new city (see Étienne(1990) 22). Inhabitants were registered in one of at least eleven *tonoi*, neighborhoods, of the *astu* (*IG* XII.5 872.6, 21, 25, 36, 44, 72, 123 and Étienne (1990) 22–230.

[57]*IGLS* 4.1261 = *SEG* 27 979: (Laodikeia ad Mare); *SIG* 961.1 (Smyrna); *SEG* 4, 628; *ISmyrna* 613.b.: Inscription indicating *amphodon* to defend part of city wall from tower of Artemis to tower of Leto; *IStratonikeia* 1004: Inscription indicating territory of one division of city for defense, marked by a *rhopalon*; *MDAI*(A) 27.1902.47,71 **(**Pergamon). *SEG* 8 43, 44: Amphodou Demetrios and amphodou seitikes: *SEG* 26, 1906; *SEG* 2.839: Inscribed on a head of Athena - Ἀθηνᾶι ἀμφόδου ἕκτου Αὐαρηνῶν; *TAM* II 801**:** Lykia: καὶ ἀμφ]όδῳ Ἀρτεμᾶς Δάφνου; *IGLSyr* 7 4002**:** Arados: τὸ ἄμ]φοδον Διὸς Κρόνου; *IGR* I,5 1328: Berlin, Mus. (31 CE) =*SB* 5.8841: [Δι]ονύσιος ἄρχων καὶ φιλάγαθο[ς] [ἐ]πόησεν συνόδωι νεωτέρων ..[..][ἀ]μφόδου; *SEG* 30 1449 Amastris in Roman Pontos, funeral epitaph by amphodon (L Robert, *A Travers l'Asie-Mineure,* 151-159 and L. Robert *CRAI* 1951, 235 (Sacred quarter probably where the shrines of the main deities of the city were located); *SEG* 4 518 (Ephesos) *ca.* 100; Heliopolis Bambyce: Vic(i)n[i]a Macedonum = *IGLSyr* 6 2809 ic<i>n[i]a Maced(onum) and R. Moutarde *MUSJ* 36 (1959), 67-8; Puchstein *Baalbek* I1921 12 ad *CIL* II 2828 75 γι[τονία] Μακεδ[ό]νων, κτίσμα πύρ(γου) | σύν θ(ε)ῶι ΓΙ Μα | κεδώνων | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) | θ τ(οῦ) ζμθ C. Clermont-Ganneau, Etudes d'archeologie orientale 2 (1897), 147; *SEG* 35:1483 κατὰ πλινθεῖα Antioch, Roman period: D Feissel, "Deux listes de quartiers d'Antioche astreints au creusement d'un canal (73-74 après J.-C.). *Syria* 1985.

traditional polis communities with the new foundations. In contrast, Kleisthenes' reforms specifically did not make residence a requirement for enrollment in a deme, and the addition of cross-cutting civic subdivisions of phyle and trittys further disassociated these communities from location. Kleisthenes system, in other words, was designed to reduce conflict based on local associations, and it is surprising that these concerns do not figure more centrally in the design of the synoikized polis. In many of the cases were poleis synoikized in to a royal foundation broke away and reconstituted themselves, the communities that did so were the ones with traditions of strife with their neighbors (such as Kolophon).

Conclusions: City Layout and Urban Design

One goal of this study has been to demonstrate the multiplicity of strategies for accommodating the unique situation of merging populations; in other words, there is no single rubric for laying out the Hellenistic polis or one model for carrying out a *synoikismos*. Many discussions of the "city in the Hellenistic period" suffer from over-generalizations about the post-Classical polis and urban design. But while treatments of its political and civic culture have become more nuanced in recent decades, discussions of the urban layout in general have not. Typical of such simplifying treatments of the physical organization of space in the Hellenistic city is Green's pessimistic summation in one of the standard handbooks on Hellenistic history:

> Though Alexandria was the most extreme instance of the self-promoting megalopolis, the showcase of a royal dynasty, it by no means stood alone. Wycherley[58] writes of the 'mass-production of new Hellenistic cities in Asia which took place under Alexander and his successors,' their axial-grid plans as monotonously repetitive as those of the American Midwest, and it is clear that this was another recognized mode of acquiring prestige.[59]

While the foundation of urban centers was undoubtedly linked to the prestige, indeed even the royalty, of the Hellenistic kings, the idea of a prefabricated Hellenistic polis that could be rolled out ready-made anywhere throughout the Hellenistic kingdoms fails to recognize any of the complexities or complications inherent in political or social communities. The construction of a viable community following a *synoikismos* was a distinct challenge, and the design of these cities managed it in different ways.

4. CEMETERIES, FUNERARY MONUMENTS, AND POLIS MEMORY

In 2011, in the ancient town of Hasankeyf in Southeastern Turkey, opponents of a proposed dam project that would displace the residents of the town gained force. Citing the obliteration of over 10,000 years of cultural heritage, protesters of the project appealed to both the ancient history of the site and the current displacement of homes, families, and the local economy. In the conflict between the town of Hasankeyf and the state authority one local woman summarized what was at stake: "If the dam is constructed we will lose everything – our homes, this history and even the graves of those we have lost will go under the water."[60] The loss of association with the dead

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[58] Wycherley 196

[59] 1990: 160. *C.f.* similar treatments in Billows 2003.

[60] Emi Jozuka, "Opposition to dam remains strong in SE Turkey's Hasankeyf" *Hürriyet Daily News*, March 25, 2011.

constitutes a powerful break with the past. Cemeteries and *necropoleis* also serve as central, and powerful, repositories of both individual and collective connection to a place, that has received very little consideration in this context must be cemeteries. Inevitably funeral monuments must be brought to bear in any consideration of the topographies of memory in the Hellenistic polis. Perhaps less frequently considered is the geography of *necropoleis* and their relationship to the shifting pattern of settlement. On a basic, preliminary level, the movement of polis centers and the consolidation of populations meant that citizen and familial groups were physically cut off from the tombs of their ancestors. This, we may imagine, gave rise to issues of the maintenance of monuments, funeral offerings, etc. On a more dramatic level, the creation of new urban sites necessarily encroached on the physical space of ancient cemeteries. This physical intermingling has really never been considered but it must have been highly problematic. Several case studies from synoikized poleis illustrate this issue.

Soundings carried out in the 1970s in Ephesos in the excavations in the area of the agora of the new city have demonstrated that the area between the two main hills that dominate the topography of the site – Panayırdag and Builbiildag – was used as a processional way in the archaic period. This monumental street was lined with funerary monuments, as the three graves dating to the late archaic period confirm, and the excavation of a large archaic tumulus just in front of the east stoa of the agora of the Hellenistic city confirms the presence of monumental funerary commemoration along this important axis.[61] The processional way led from the archaic site, which lay further inland, to the Artemision. The new city was located directly between these two, with the central core of the settlement between Panayırdag and Builbiildag. Langmann has concluded from this fact that the presence of graves in this area can probably be linked to the refusal of the Ephesians to leave the site of the archaic settlement when Lysimachos proposed relocation at the time of the *synoikismos*. The story goes that Lysimachos then orchestrated a flood to force the citizens to relent, but whether this episode is apocryphal or not is a matter of debate.[62] The unwillingness of the Ephesians to relocate can not, of course, be directly linked to the disruption such a move would cause to the cemeteries of the archaic and classical city, and surely there was a nexus of attachments to the old site as well or indeed a reluctance to merge with citizens of neighboring poleis. Nevertheless, the disruption to the funerary landscape would have been potentially shocking and highly meaningful. Particularly in the case of Ephesos, where the *metoikisis*, at least for the Ephesians, was a relatively short trip and the main sacred center of the city – the sanctuary of Aphrodite – remained very much the focal point of the community, the disruption caused to the cemeteries and monuments of the cities ancestors may have been the most visible emblem of dislocation involved in the *synoikismos* and the greatest effacement of the communal memory of the ancient polis. In the case of Ephesos, the synoikismos was only achieved after the flood (whether the result of natural disaster or the machinations of Lysimachos) brought about a natural break with the continuity of the site. Once again, as we have stressed in chapter 1, it is of note that violent sacking of cities and forced transplantation of populations seems to have been less frequent than the literary sources would often have us believe. The issue of continuity with the past was central, and it was something of which both city and king were acutely aware.

This break with the past, so visible with the abandonment of traditional cemetery sites, monumental tomb-lined streets, and the symbolic connection with the ancestors of the polis, was a common experience for the participants of a synoikism. In the context of a Classical synoikism,

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[61] Vetters 1978: 20.
[62] Strabo 14.1.21.

recent work in the urban center of Patrai has demonstrated that this area was used at a necropolis before the *synoikismos* of the constituent *komai* in the fifth century.[63] This necropolis certainly predates the synoikism and must have belonged to one of the villages. Moreover, the new city often was built directly on top of former cemeteries, not only effacing them, but violating a central tenet of Greek civic life, that relegated cemeteries outside of the polis center to avoid pollution. The creation of a new order perhaps to some degree depended on this breakage, particularly in terms of moving away from privileging a single constituent citizen body over the other partners in the union. Indeed, while the maintenance of a sense of continuity was often appealed to by the kings and civic architects of the new foundations, as I have argued in depth in chapter 3, there is really no evidence that this was ever attempted through the use of funerary monuments or cemeteries. The treatment of topographies of funerary commemoration at times of political change has received extensive treatment, and deliberately orchestrated breaks with past sites of burial has been convincingly shown to have been consciously enacted, as episodes like the pillaging of the archaic cemetery in the building of the Themistoklean wall in Athens powerfully demonstrate.[64]

My analysis of the pre-Hellenistic topography of the area surrounding the Thermaic gulf presented in Chapter 1 has endeavored to show how cities, sanctuaries, and cemeteries interacted after the foundation of the major center of Thessalonikeia (founded 316/15 BCE). In all of the evidence reviewed for chronology of the pre-synoikism foundations, most of the necropoleis associated with a major population center continued in use following the synoikism, at least not without a significant break. Of the hundreds of burials published in preliminary form by rescue excavations, none of the burials dates to later than the end of the fourth century. However, the break at these sites is rearly immediate. At Trapeza Lembet, for example, the latest burial in this region is dated by a hoard of 88 coins of Kassandros (dating 316-306 BC) was found in one cist tomb.[65] This find suggests that while for a time the settlement persisted with the foundation of Thessalonikeia, it was gradually abandoned over the course of a decade or so. It may even suggest the lingering attachment for the site, where some of the original inhabitants still wished to be buried in their homeland after their transfer to Thessalonikeia.

In Demetrias too, it is clear that sections of earlier cemeteries from either the community of Neleia or Pagasai that preceded Demetrias were incorporated within the city wall of the Hellenistic city and built over. Arvanitopoulos and Stählin believed that this walled section of the southeastern city was actually the urban core of Pagasai, based on a perceived difference in the construction of the wall.[66] Marzollf's reconsideration of the fortifications have clearly shown that this wall does not belong to the classical fortifications of Neleia or Pagasai, but to the earliest phase of the walls of Demetrias, before the city walls were truncated as the city contracted in a later period.[67] The clarification of the fortifications puts a large necropolis extending from the Mycenaean to the archaic and classical periods squarely within the limits of the city of Demetrias. The details are somewhat difficult to trace due to the quality of the publication, but numerous graves were found by Wolters, Staïs, and Arvanitopoulos in the early years of exploration at the site.[68] In addition to this effacement of the classical *necropoleis* in the immediate area of Demetrias, there is definitive evidence for a sudden break in the use and tending of the cemeteries of the cities that contributed the *synoikismos,*

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[63] Petropoulos 1991; Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994.
[64] Knigge 1991.
[65] Soueref.
[66] Arvanitopoulos 1928, Stählin et al. 1934.
[67] Marzollf 1992, Marzollf 1994.
[68] Wolters 1889, af; Staïs 1901; Arvanitopoulos 1908a: 212.

just as we have seen at Thessalonikeia. The best evidence comes from Soros, the likely site of Pagasai, where there is no evidence for burials or dedications extending past the first decades of the third century.[69]

Thebes and Chaironeia

If funeral monuments have the power to generate resistance by engendering an attachment to place, a link to polis memory as a concrete attachment to ancestors, they also have a more active commemorative power and can function as a monumental statement of resilience and civic cohesion in the face of destruction and imperial control. The power of funerary monuments to communicate a resurgent, collective polis identity in the face of Macedonian imperialism has recently been articulated by John Ma's reconsideration of the date of Lion monument at Chaironeia. Ma considers the precise relationship of this well-known monument to the battle of Chaironeia in 338 (that watershed moment in modern historiography at which the classical polis died in the fields of Boiotia) to the monument of the Macedonian war dead. The Macedonian *polyandrion*, a massive tumulus 7x70m covered the mass grave of the Macedonian war dead, buried with considerable ceremony (if not lavish grave goods) following the battle. The tumulus, as Ma points out, had a secondary function – that of a victory monument – firmly planted in the topography of the Theban *chora* and a concrete reminder of the Macedonian victory.[70] The critical issue in all this, of course, is the date of the Chaironeia Lion and its commemorative purpose. Ma, like many scholars, accepts Pausanias' report that it is the *polyandrion* of the Thebans who fell at Chaironeia and specifically the grave of the Sacred Band. He further suggests that this was not only a monument founded on the site of the battle, but in a particularly meaningful locale: the site of the final effort of the Theban band to protect the retreat of the allied Greek states on the doomed left wing of the allied forces.[71] Additionally, the method of burial appears to be significant. The Thebans were interred, not buried, pointing perhaps to the lack of funds to conduct a grand funeral for the war dead in the wake of the battle. Ma notes the fact that this indicates a state of political weakness at the time of interment, but perhaps, does not press this point far enough: the initial burial was decidedly not monumental, not symbolic of anything but defeat. This is where the crucial issue of the date of the Lion monument comes in. Ma opts, plausibly, for a low date that postdates the *synoikismos* of Thebes by Kassandros. In this context, the decision to monumentalize the site of the mass burial of the Theban Sacred Band firmly commemorates the rising of the city of Thebes in the face of the Macedonian imperialism. The monument, Ma suggests, establishes a visible link between the *polyandrion* of the Thebans and the tumulus of the Macedonians. The vigorous torsion in the lion's physique -- a stark turn of the head toward this tumulus – aggressively challenges the Macedonian monument and establishes a competitive interaction between the two monuments similar to the sort of "inter-monumental mediation" so profitably explored by scholars such as Hölscher and Jacquemin in the context of the panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi.[72] This case powerfully underscores the ways in which monuments can be employed to perpetuate a firm message of civic autonomy, even in a situation where in fact the restitution of the city of Thebes was due to the agency of the current Macedonian king. In other words, monuments and commemoration can be selective in a unique way. The decision to monumentalize the modest tomb

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[69] Triantaphillopoulou 2000.
[70] Ma 2008: 83.
[71] Ma 2008: 84.
[72] Ma 2008: 85; Hölscher 1974; Jacquemin 1999.

of the Sacred Band effectively renewed the tradition of aggressive Theban defiance, and the selection of the *poylandrion* of those who fell at Chaironeia to do so is a prime example of how the treatment of a city's dead can speak for the civic community.

5. THE KING AND MONUMENT IN THE CIVIC LANDSCAPE

The preceding example of the lion monument at Chaironeia suggests that we may see in this commemoration a conscious transformation of a site of defeat and loss into a monument of victory that asserts the independence and power of the polis of Thebes in the face of Macedonian aggression. This monument, it we accept the date proposed above, would be roughly contemporary with the subscription list from Thebes (*IG* VII 2419=*Syll.*[3] 337), which records the donations of poleis, individuals, and, prominently, kings given to Thebes to rebuild its walls following the synoikismos. This document, likely prominently displayed on the Kadmeia, is in itself a remarkable example of selective commemoration, self-consciously eliding the role of the Macedonian king in resurrecting the polis and cementing its ties to its historical past through a monumental urban project with due tithes to the traditional deities of Thebes. These two acts, the lion monument and the subscription list, effectively write out the twenty-year rupture to the civic history of Thebes. This example shows the capacity for synoikismos and refoundation to be an act of thorough reversal, completely writing out the role of the king.

On the other hand, in many cases, *synoikismos* occasioned an opportunity to effect a similar insertion and incorporation of the king into the fabric of civic life of the new foundation. We have seen in chapter 3 the way in which the sanctuary of the *archegetai* and *ktistai* in Demetrias brought the founder heroes together in a common cult, together with the deified kings, blending continuity with tradition. Here, the architectural style of the *archegeiton*, a lavish marble building with embellishments reminiscent of the *mausolea* and tombs of the dynasts in Asia Minor,[73] stands out as a distinctly novel innovation. Perched above the lavish *anaktoron*, these monuments were balanced by symbols of continuity and tradition.

The image of the king in the synoikized polis was also pervasive. Unfortunately, few original monuments survive from the poleis, and much of what is left is limited to unprovenanced pieces or just inscribed statue bases. But the image of the king was firmly inscribed into the civic rituals of the polis, which proved to be a remarkably resilient feature of the Hellenistic city. The kings' image, was also often carefully incorporated into a milieu of civic images. As I have attempted to show above, the Hellenistic city and its design was not simply a mode of conveying royal power and prestige. It was certainly that, but the negotiation between royal hegemony and civic consent was much more delicately achieved. The king's image was intimately linked to the traditional symbols of the polis. Nowhere is this better shown than in the dedication of C. Vibius Salutaris in Ephesos. The dedication, from 104CE, included 31 statues, in silver and gold, which were to be used in a procession from the Artemision to the theater and back to the Artemision.[74] Along with representations of the emperors and Rome were personifications the *boule* and *demos*, the tribes and city of Ephesos, and, notably, a portrait of Lysimachos as the founder of the city.[75] The group

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[73] Marzollf 1996.
[74] *I. Ephesos* 29 (=*OGIS* 480) and CIL III 14195. See also: Rogers 1991.
[75] On the founder cult see Habicht 1970; Leschhorn 1984; Elsner 2007: 229-231.

bears a strong resemblance to the description of the statue group at Messene that included Epaminondas as the *oikistes*,[76] and although our evidence comes from a late period, it probably represents a relatively standard assemblage. Placing the image of the king alongside repetitions of the city, its gods, and it civic subdivisions, themselves the product of the synoikism, reflects the balance of creating a new civic identity, and the resilience of its forms.

The creation of two new tribes for Antigonos and Demetrias Poliorketes in Athens serves as the most explicit use of this kind of strategy in this period. In addition to all the other honors voted to the kings, it is these that so conspicuously incorporated them in to the very fabric of the social order of Athens. The addition of their statues to the statue group of the Eponymous Heroes in the center of the agora established physically alongside the traditional representations of the civic subdivisions of the polis.[77] Care was shown in adapting the image of the king to local circumstances and traditions, rather than a monolithic imposition of a royal image.

6. CONCLUSIONS

As I have argued throughout this study, there is surprisingly little evidence for the overt employment of violence and force to effect the reorganization of political communities in the building of Hellenistic cities, and empires, in this period. Rather, a process of co-opting subject populations through the careful manipulation of religious symbols, novel rituals, and appealing to continuity over innovation characterized the negotiation between kings and subject communities in the religious sphere, this same delicate balance translated into the treatment of space. Still from a phenomenological perspective, the experience of these *synoikismoi* must have been drastic, stark, and lasting. The abandonment of the sites, in most cases without systematic destruction, meant that the ruins of the abandoned poleis must have stood for several generations. From another period the text of Pausanias is replete with testimony of abandoned monuments, cities, and landscapes of ruin, and we perhaps need only imagine a similar, perhaps more even more sudden and traumatic, equivalent for this period. Comparative research has shown the resilience of abandoned sites in the social memory of societies. Hamish Forbes, in his ethnographic study of the modern Greek region of Methana, in the southern Argolid, effectively describes the power that abandoned sites continue to hold as markers of the Methanites' past. Forbes writes that the landscape of the Methana peninsula was dotted with abandoned settlement sites – some formerly seasonal inhabitations, some more substantial villages with standing multi-story buildings and associated churches – that remained points of reference for generations after their abandonment.[78] This chapter has sought to identify some of the principal ways in which the details of the lived environment – the articulation of the physical space of the city – attempted to employ and manipulate strategies of commemoration to smooth over these difficulties. As I have argued thought this study, these strategies met with varying levels of success, but isolating these details powerfully elucidates the rich evidence for

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[76] Pausanias 4.31.10: The statue group was placed in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Messene, the marble statues of the god, his sons, Apollo, the Muses and Herakles, as well as a representation of the polis of Thebes, Tyche, and Artemis Phosphoros. These, however, contrasted most clearly with the iron statute of Epaminondas himself. See further chapter 3 for a discussion of this statue group.
[77] See Mikalson 1998.
[78] Forbes 2007.

communities means of adapting to social change, the mechanisms of resilience, and the depth and texture of the process of negotiation between kings and their subjects.

CONCLUSION

Over the course of this study I have endeavored to show the advances that a synthetic, interdisciplinary approach offers the study of royal city foundations. These constitute a complex social, political, and economic phenomenon that was central to the broader structural changes of the Hellenistic period. Through a rigorous archaeological and epigraphic approach, I have attempted to explore broader issues of settlement, economy, religion, and civic expression, maintaining that a completely top-down approach, focusing on foundations as simply a facet of royal policy, misses a good deal of nuance in this crucial period in the history of the Greek *polis* and the interaction between kings and cities. In the context of kingdoms that did not operate under a strict territorial or constitutional architecture, cities and the villages and land under their control formed the lifeblood of empire. The fierce independence and continued focus on civic autonomy and civic pride that so characterized the Hellenistic period was in direct conflict with many of the goals and policies of the successors. And yet the power of the Hellenistic kings was very real, and understanding how their political authority intersected with civic communities greatly elucidates this pivotal time period.

This dissertation has focused on royal foundations that were the process of *synoikismos*. There are two reasons for this. First, such foundations, as I have argued, constitute the majority of the urban projects of the kings. This is a feature of royal policy and royal foundations that has not been fully appreciated. Cities that resulted from the amalgamation and reorganization of existing communities (poleis, *komai*, native, non-Greek villages and cities, *etc.*) faced distinct challenges in uniting disparate population groups, balancing local traditions, and establishing political stability. Recognizing that these foundations represent a complex negotiation between diverse citizen groups and between the city and the central authority is an important corrective. Secondly, focusing on such foundations provides an opportunity to contribute to the study of *synoikismos* as a wider phenomenon in Greek history – one that has been understudied and poorly understood. Thus, this study has sought to approach both a central issue of Hellenistic history and a wider phenomenon of the ancient political and civic experience.

I have suggested that understanding the phenomenon of *synoikismos* requires an interdisciplinary methodology. Traditionally this topic has been treated as a phenomenon of political history, and scholarship has focused on the literary sources, attempting for the most part to explain the agency behind such unions or fit different sorts of *synoikismoi* into a typology. The subject has also suffered from decentralization, as the rich epigraphic evidence has scarcely been considered synthetically but rather relegated to commentaries on specific inscriptions. The contribution of approaching this issue more holistically, considering the archaeological evidence for changing settlement patterns, tracking economic and cultic patterns, and looking in greater detail at the physical evidence is considerable. I have attempted to look at this phenomenon as a series of regional case studies, seeking to reconstruct broad patterns of motivation, modes of interaction, and methods of adaptation across time and draw out how drastically the experience of *synoikismos* affected the landscapes of the Hellenistic polis.

What emerges is how intimately intertwined the interests and agencies of civic communities, individuals, and kings really were in this process. While serious considerations of defense, control, productivity, and prestige motivated the Hellenistic kings to interfere with the patterns of urban settlement, the creation of these foundations was far from one sided. The formation of a united political community was an immense challenge, and the role of the constituent communities in

dictating the terms of these mergers cannot be underestimated. I have chosen to focus on this side of the city-king relationship in order to provide a corrective to the traditional historiography on this period, which is weighted heavily on the actions of kings and large regional power structures. Reasserting the importance of the local provides a level of detail for this crucial period that is otherwise unobtainable from our lacunose literary sources. Following these local details reveals the outline of broad patterns but also highlights distinctions between these cases, underscoring the fact that there is no single rubric for understanding this process.

Approaching these foundations from a regional perspective with close attention to the archaeological evidence provides a much finer precision for testing certain assumptions of the literary sources. Chapter 1 sustained the argument that there is surprisingly little evidence for destruction preceding these instances of *synoikismos*. Thus, although force inescapably lay behind many of these foundations, it was not as overt or manifest as the literary sources indicate. We must accordingly look for other mechanisms of coercion at work in this process. Particularly in the cases of the foundations of Kassandros and the Antigonids, these foundations seem to have involved more consensus on the part of the subject communities than is usually assumed. In sum, the only secure evidence for violence and destruction being employed to establish these settlements comes from the foundations of Lysimachos, and indeed here we have the cases of the least durable *synoikismoi*. Mapping the archaeological evidence over a wider regional area also produces interesting patterns. It is clear that the foundation of these cities involved serious movement of populations and increased urbanization. Although many sites persisted at dependent *komai* following the synoikism, they were in most cases seriously reduced, and there are many cases of significant polis centers being deserted or eliminated. This point deserves stress. Scholarship on the period of Alexander and the Diadachoi invariably highlights the kings as great founders of cities. This was a source of prestige and reputation and the prerogative of kings – certainly all true, but what is often omitted is the degree to which poleis were eliminated, subjected to other centers, and regional power structures were drastically altered. It is by and large not the case that there was a significant addition of city centers, but rather a consolidation. Finally, attention to settlement patterns reveals that the notion of a purely "political" *synoikismos*, which often appears in the scholarship, appears to be illusory, both in this period and probably throughout Greek history. These foundations always entailed the movement of populations, shifts in urbanization, major building projects, and new patterns of land tenure.

The economic consequences of synoikism were explored in detail in Chapter 2. The urbanization of regions and the widespread restructuring of land tenure had multiple aims. One, of course, was the maximization of tax revenue for the kings, by ensuring the productivity of civic and royal land and the free flow of goods across a productive nexus of urban centers, markets, roads, ports, and rural and urban infrastructure. Focalizing the productive land around fewer, larger cities reduced the fragmentation of the eastern Mediterranean and increased the capacity for markets to become diversified, be used by a wider commercial group of merchants, farmers and craftsmen, and increase the imports and export potential of productive regions. Attaching grants of royal land to select urban centers achieved the dual goal of augmenting these large centers, linking large swaths of the hinterland to cities with good access to the sea, and placing large landowners (frequently formerly in the service of the king) in a position of attachment to a city, ensuring the interests of the king and the elites of these important centers were further interconnected. This restructuring also augmented the power of these cities, making them increasingly viable, stable, and debt-free. Further, the concomitant establishment of *koina* in these regions enabled the use of a cooperative coinage across urban centers, further tying together regions, increasing coordinated economic activity, and

reducing the level to which the king had to involve himself with small, scattered entities. Through a careful review of the evidence of transport amphora, I attempted to show that there is measureable growth following these *synoikismoi*, the direct result of these centralization campaigns. While the demographic evidence is too imprecise to be of much help, it seems clear that these large urban centers rapidly grew and brought increased prosperity. What deserves stress as well is the degree to which the kings interfered with the economic life of their kingdoms. There is a degree of sophistication here that is often underplayed in discussions of the economic impact of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Royal initiative changed traditional patterns of commerce, and kings in some cases coordinated between their disparate landholdings to control imports and exports. Further, they specifically invested in infrastructure, urbanized key regional economic hubs, provided incentives for commercial expansion, and sought to unify regions to promote the efficient exploitation of land and resources.

In Chapter 3 I attempted to complicate the interaction between king and city further by undertaking a detailed exploration of the religious consequences of *synoikismos*. The role of religion and cultic identity in forging these new communities and the degree to which negotiating these ancient traditions established dialogue and tension between king and city and between the constituent communities of the foundation is a complex issue. Religion has the power to bind and legitimate, as well as smooth over transitions, but it also highlights differences between groups. This can present a fundamental challenge in a process that uproots populations' attachment to the traditional cultic identities embedded within their political community and local sacred topography, but it also has the power to preserve and protect local distinctions. I began by tracking the continuity and discontinuity of cults across the destruction and creation of cities, and isolated the importance of ritual, cult, and the manipulation of symbols for creating new polities, as well as the potential of these same factors to undermine political unity. Understanding continuity within cult reveals which cults were prioritized and patronized, strategies of integration, and possibly the relative strength of the population group that brought the cult into the city. Discontinuity by contrast sheds much light on the experience of dislocation and the challenges of integration. In every new royal foundation in this period there is evidence for the persistence of cults that were transferred to the new urban center from the old polis centers, many of which became the central cult of the foundation. However, there is also evidence for the continuing significance and attachment to cults in their original setting and a lingering importance to the landscape. This religious attachment, I argue, partially explains why so many of these synoikisms ultimately failed, resulting in the breakaway and reconstitution of the original cities. I also point to a number of instances where there is evidence for the complete abandonment of sites of cult after a population transfer, showing that a single rubric for understanding how cults are incorporated into a new foundation is not possible. After considering the mechanisms of cultic transfer, I highlight the central role of religion in creating a new, common polity and the degree to which it was a stage for negotiation and tension between city and king and between the communities themselves.

Chapter 4 shifted the focus to the more subjective aspects of the experience of *synoikismos*. Using the interpretive framework established by recent studies on collective memory, I attempted to show the ways that adapting to changed conditions and political and social statuses were refracted through architecture and monumental commemoration. Here the transition was registered in the way that monuments took shape and how the king inserted himself into the physical landscape of the synoikized polis. After exploring some of the main loci of dislocation (dissociation from cemeteries, sanctuaries, households), I attempted to show how the architectural expression of monuments like sanctuaries was deliberatively retrospective, even archaizing, which seems to be a

deliberate effort to bridge the discontinuity of the *synoikismos*. I also tried to isolate the physical segmentation between population groups and the potential for synoikism to create tension between the different constitutive communities and the possibility for the political and cultural dominance of one group. Chapter 3 isolated certain instances in which the cults of the strongest contingents appear to have been privileged, and here I explored the possibility that certain cultural preferences, such as styles of domestic architecture and household organization were also determined by the dominant groups. Evidence for the physical localization of original population groups within the city was also adduced, suggesting that this situation my have led to conflict and resistance within the city. Finally, the representation of the kings alongside traditional images and monuments was highlighted.

With a project of this size, there have been inevitable omissions. The political experience of the synoikized city has been partially relegated to the background, as have institutions, elites, and city statuses. I do not suggest that these factors are unimportant, but they have not been the particular emphasis of this study. The agency of the king as civic architect, very real and very powerful, has also been somewhat understated. This is partially deliberate, as the agency of the civic communities themselves still needs to be stressed. The final publication of this study will seek to elaborate these issues, and others, in greater detail. It is hoped that this study will fuel discussion of both the importance of centralization and *synoikismos* to the Hellenistic world and significance of the general phenomenon of *synoikismos* in all periods of Greek history. Understanding how political communities adapt to these kinds of drastic changes and unraveling the complex motivations of the agents of these unions provides fundamental insights into the machinery of political and social communities in the ancient world. This period sheds considerable light on the resilience of communities in periods of stress and collapse and lays bare the central role of the polis in building larger regional and supra-regional networks of power.

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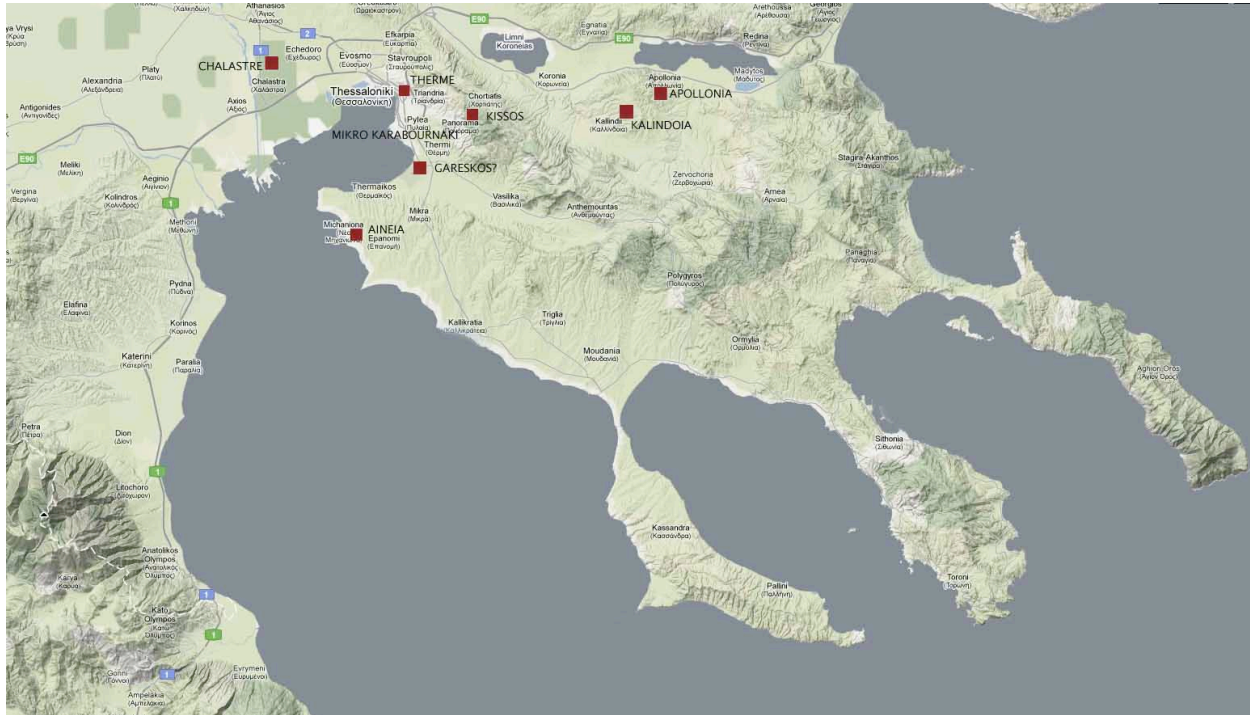# APPENDIX 1: FIGURES

Chapter 1

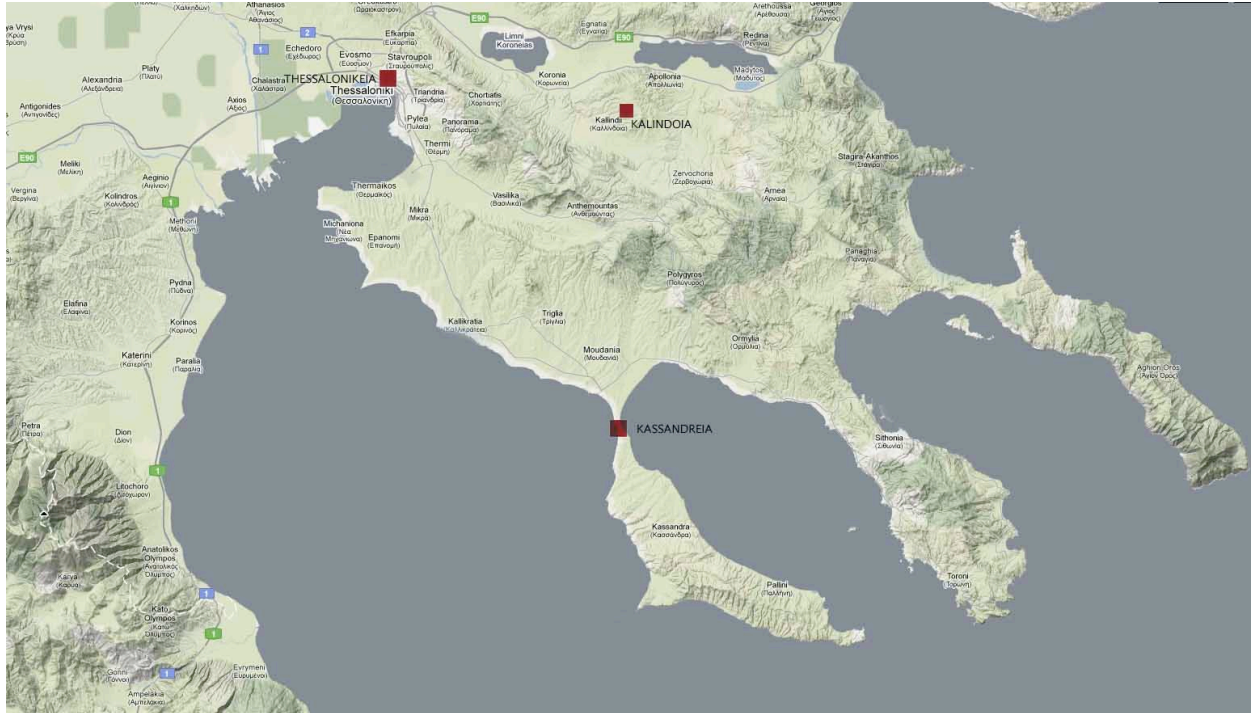**FIGURE 1A: Settlement Patterns around the Thermaic Gulf at the end of the 4ᵗʰ century.**

FIGURE 1B: Major Settlements around the Thermaic Gulf and Chalkidike in the 3rd century.
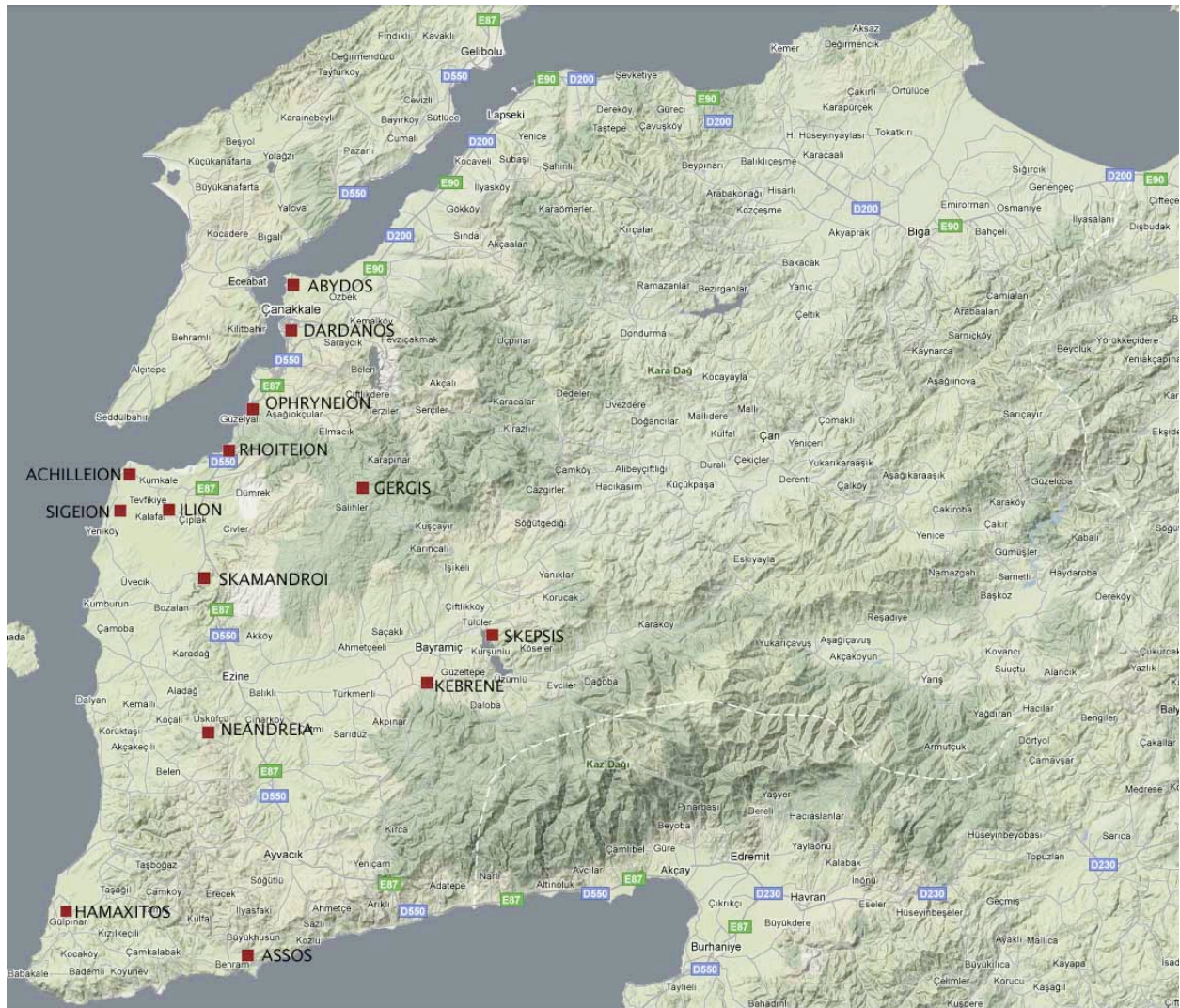
FIGURE 2A: Settlement Patterns in the Troad in the Late 4th century.
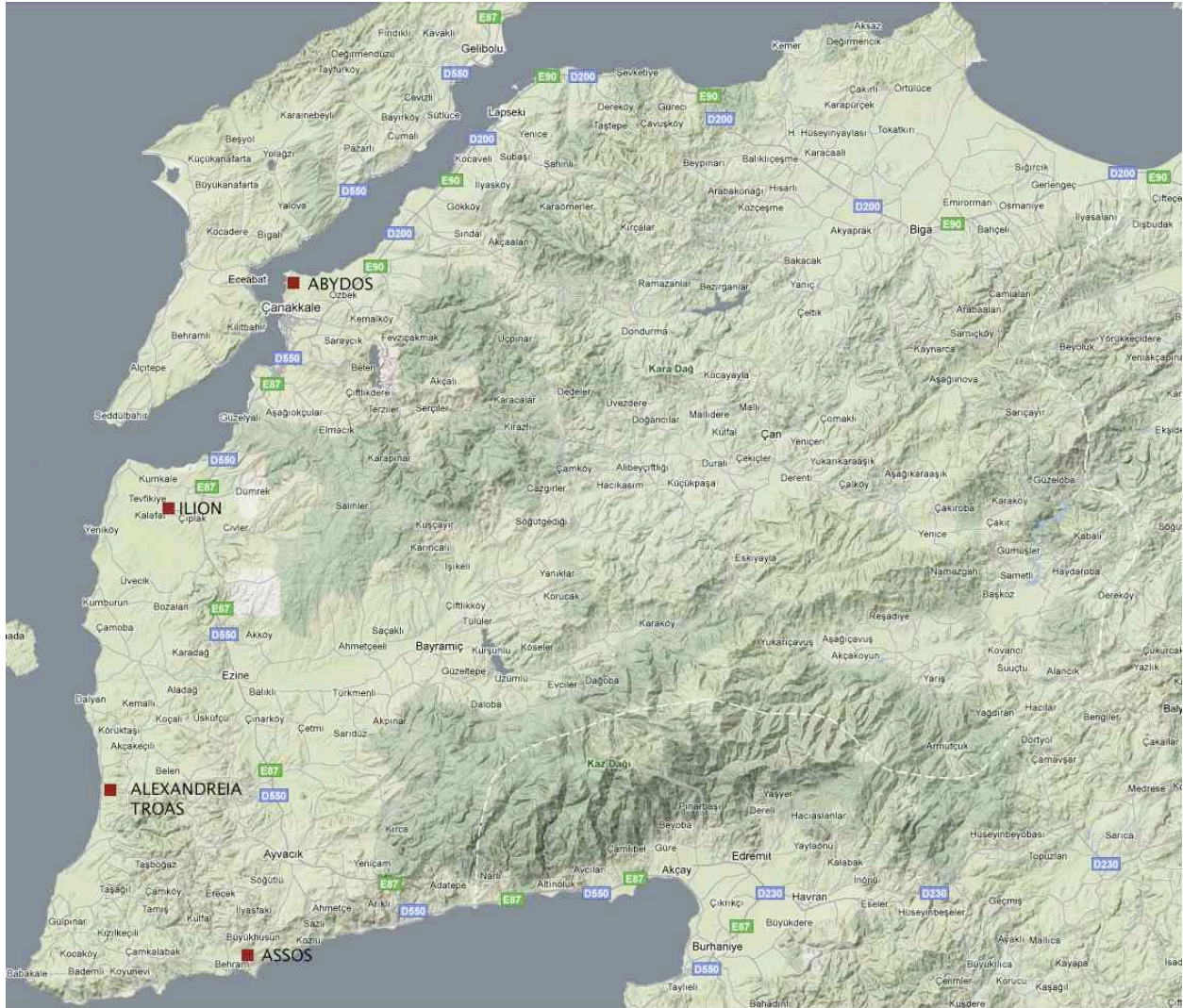
FIGURE 2B: Settlement Patterns in the Troad in the 3rd century.

FIGURE 3A: Settlement Patterns in Ionia in the late 4th century.
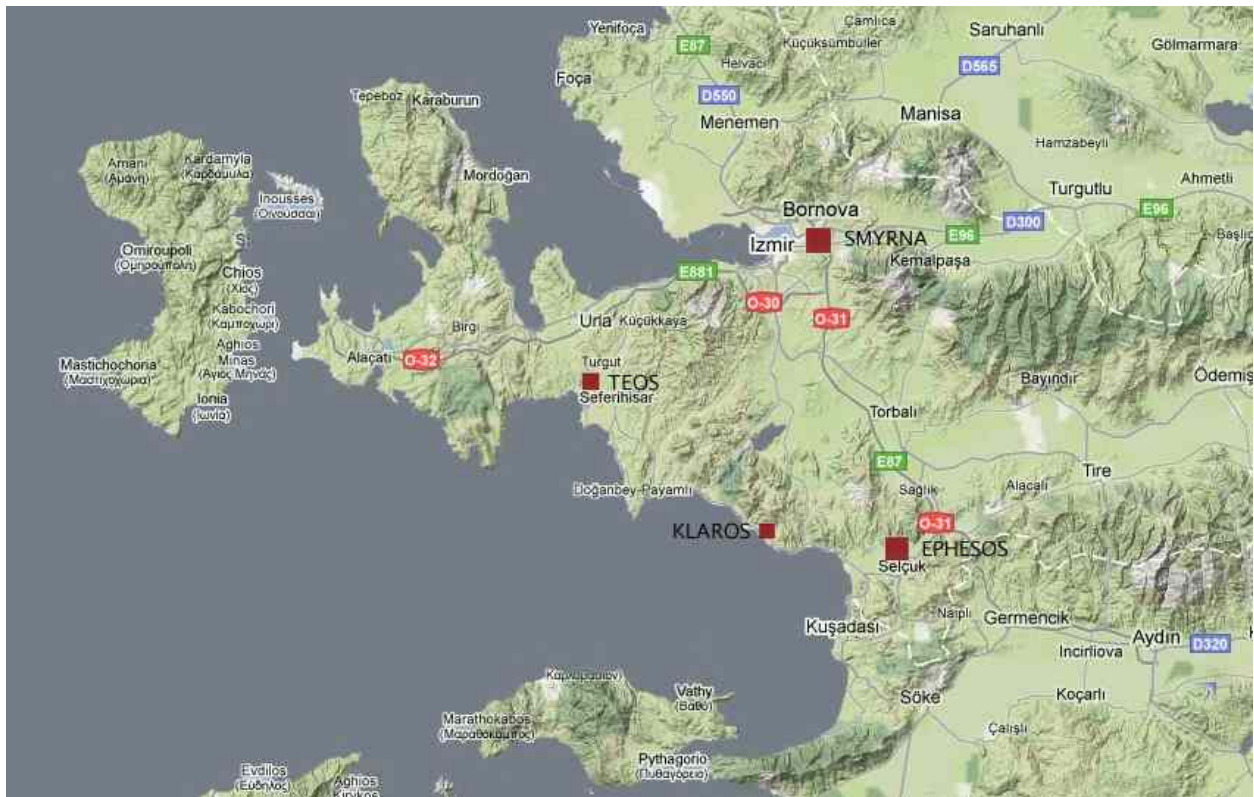
FIGURE 3B: Major Settlements in Ionia in the 3rd century.
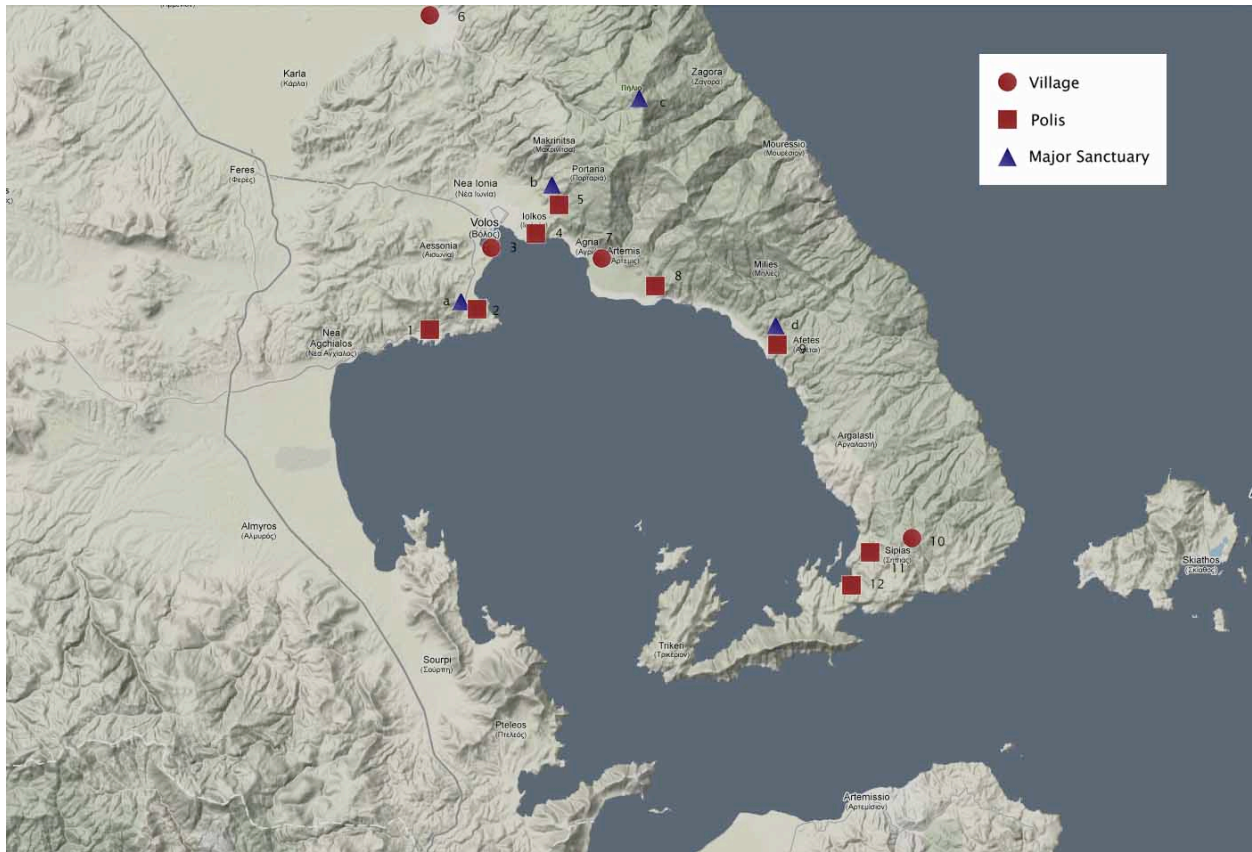
FIGURE 4A: Settlement patterns and principal sanctuaries around the Pagasitic gulf at the end of the 4th C.
1. Amphanai? 2: Pagasai 3: Neleia? 4. Goritsa 5. Iolkos 6.Glaphyrai 7: Ormenion? 8: Korakai 9. Korope 10. Sepias11: Spalauthra 12. Olizon.
A. Sanctuary of Apollo Pagasaios B. Sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia C. Sanctuary of Zeus Akraios/Cheiron D. Sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios
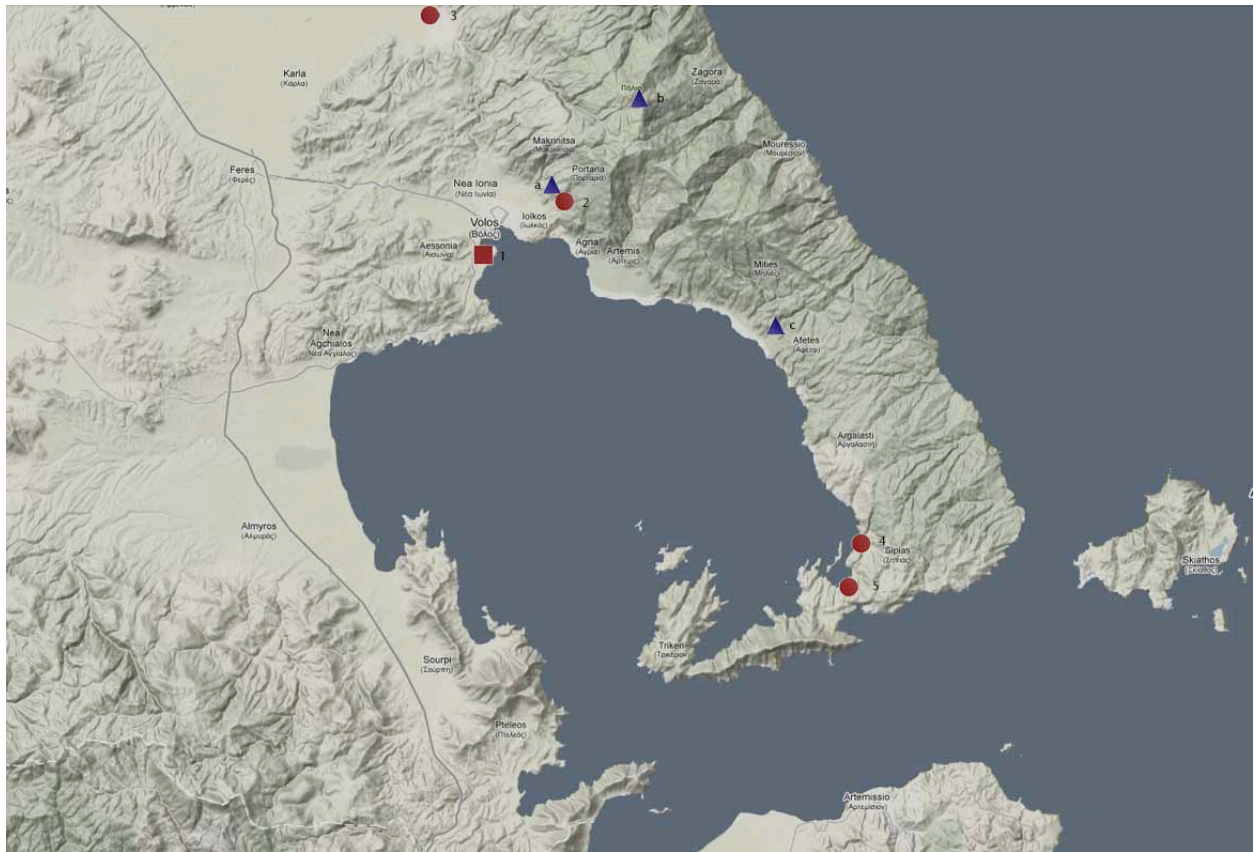
FIGURE 4B: Settlement patterns and principal sanctuaries around the Pagasitic gulf at the end of the 3rd C
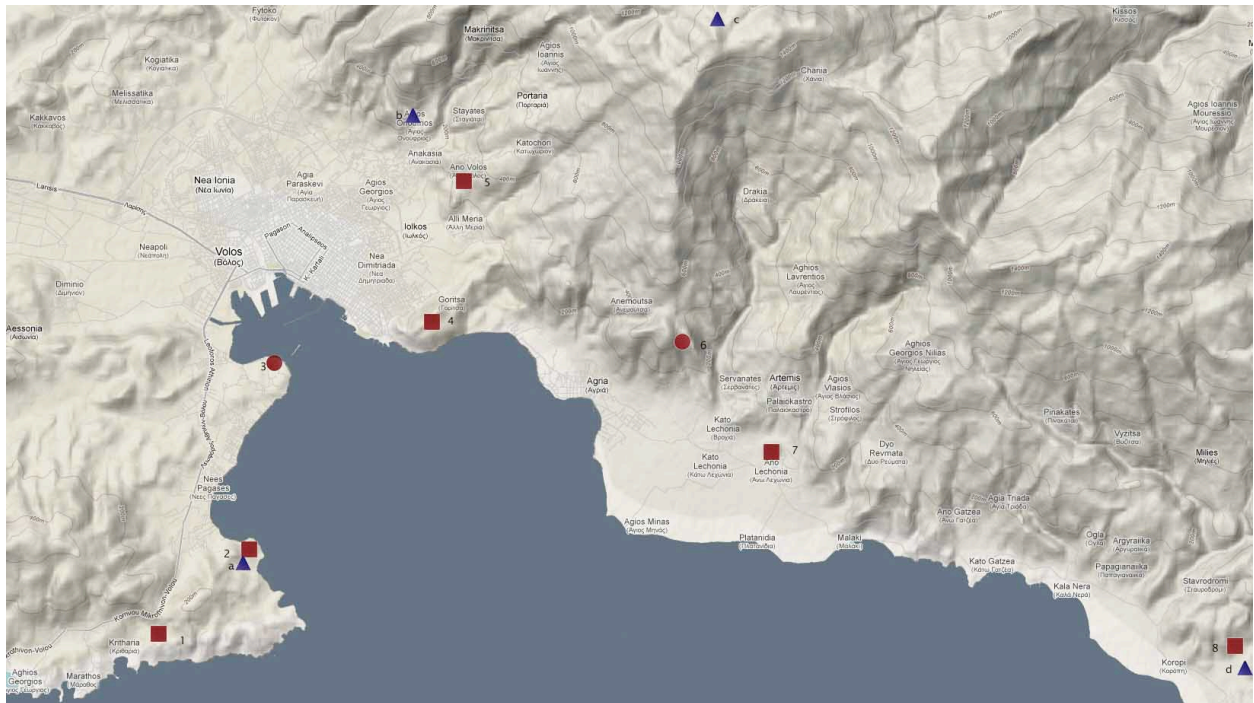
FIGURE 5A: **Settlement patterns and principal sanctuaries around the Pagasitic gulf at the end of the 4th century**.
1. Amphanai? 2: Pagasai 3: Neleia? 4. Goritsa 5. Iolkos 6: Ormenion? 7: Korakai 8. Korope
A. Sanctuary of Apollo Pagasaios B. Sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia C. Sanctuary of Zeus Akraios/cave of Cheiron D. Orac
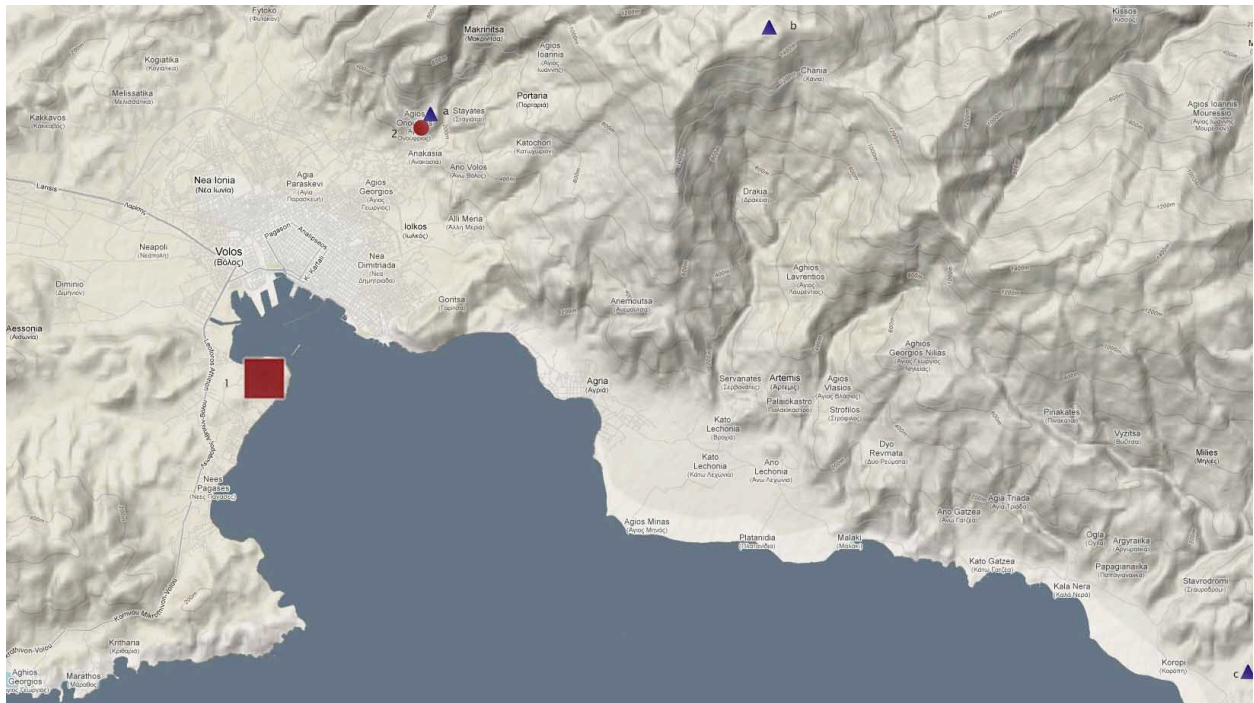
FIGURE 5B: **Settlement patterns and principal sanctuaries around the Pagasitic gulf at the beginning of the 3rd century.**
1.Demetiras 2: Iolkos A: Sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia B. Sanctuary of Zeus Akraios/Cave of Cheiron C: Sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios
A. Sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia B. Sanctuary of Zeus Akraios/cave of Cheiron C. Oracle of Apollo Koropaios

Chapter 3

FI: The Southern Argolid: The territories of Halieis and Hermion
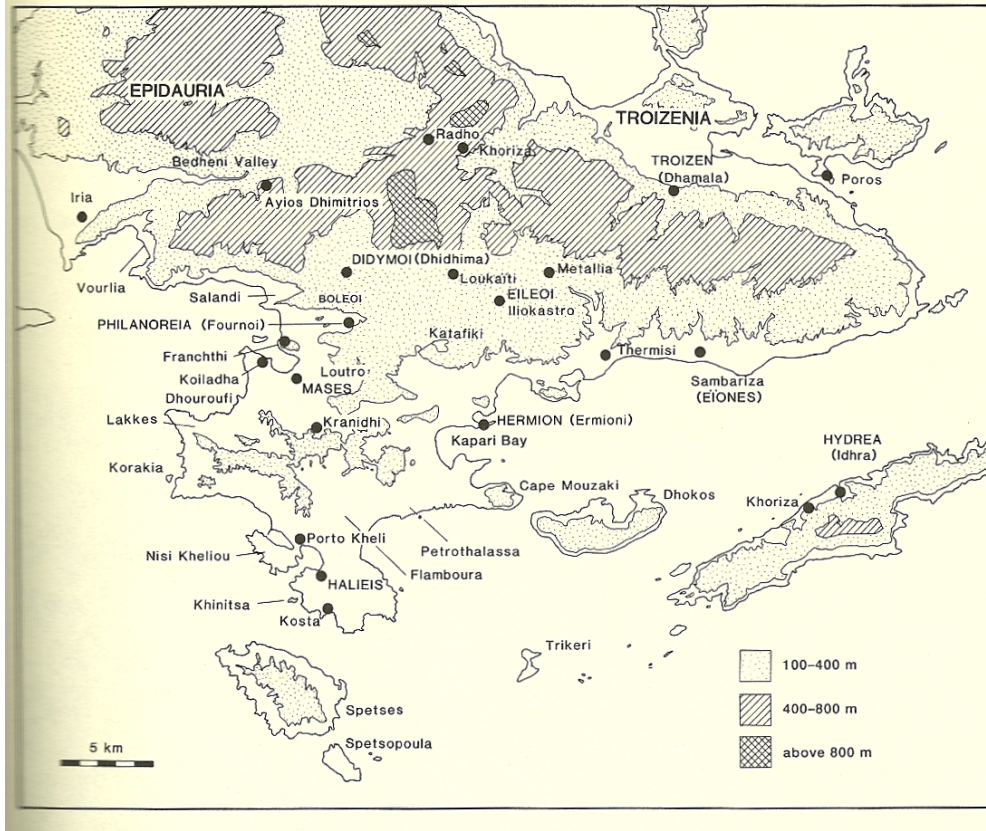
F2: Plan of the polis center of Halieis
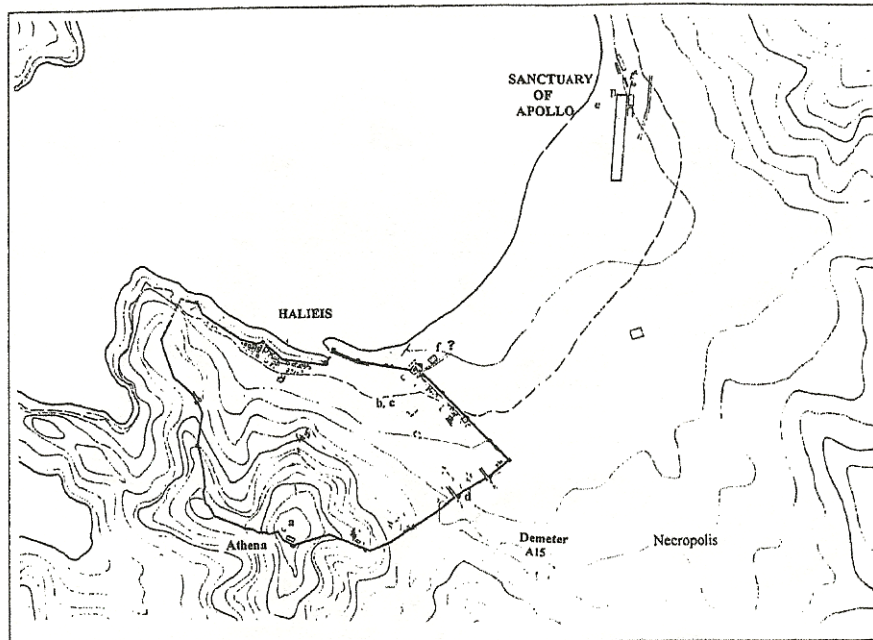
F3: Survey Area of Northern Keos
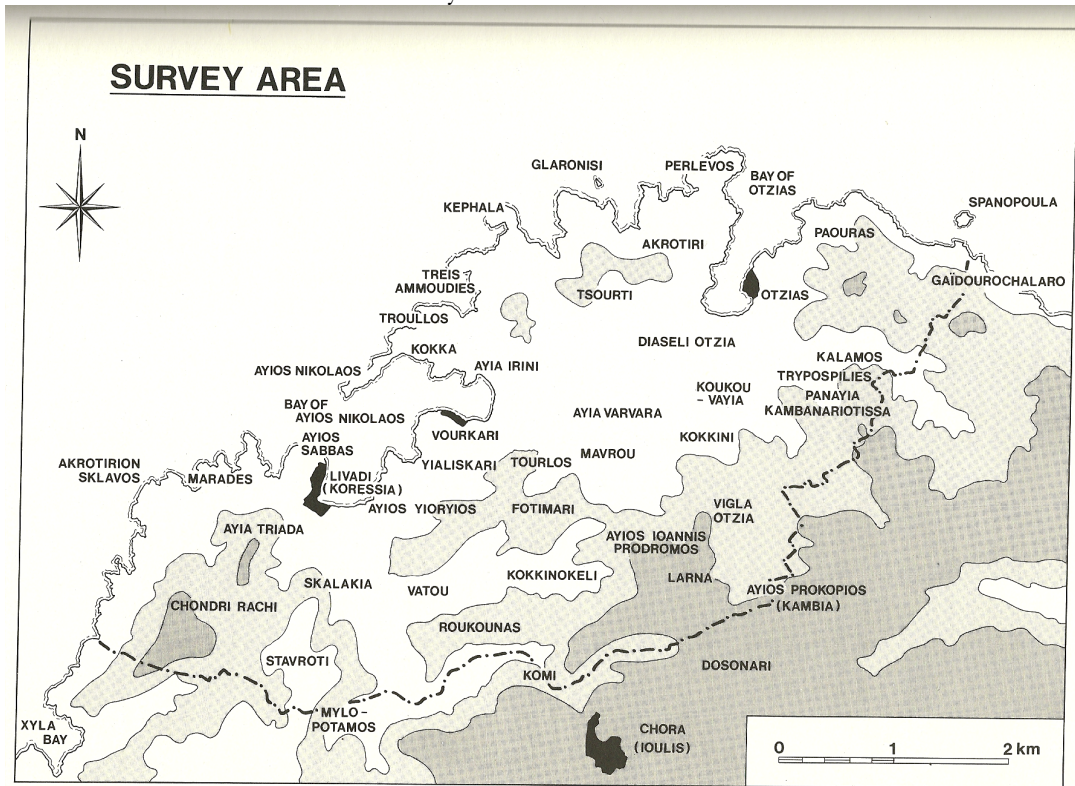
F4: Plan of the polis center of Koressos
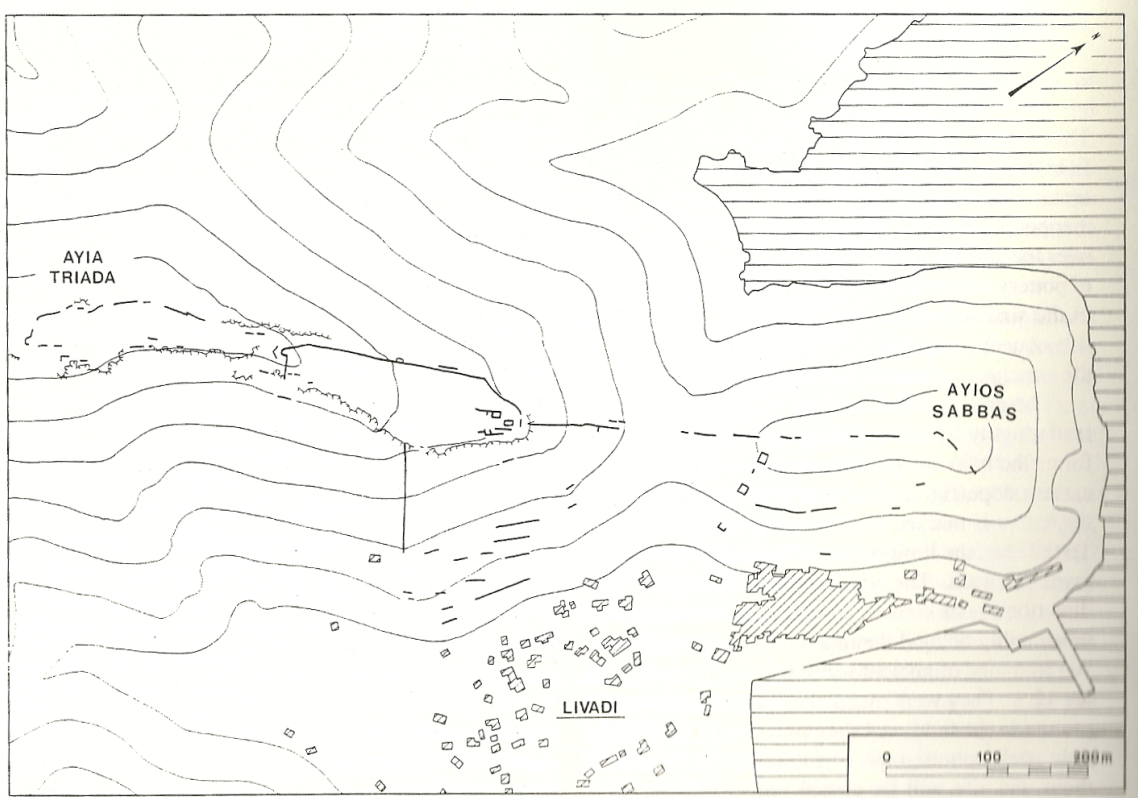
F5a: Plan of the Polis Center of Soros

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P5 -71- ARBEITSBLATT
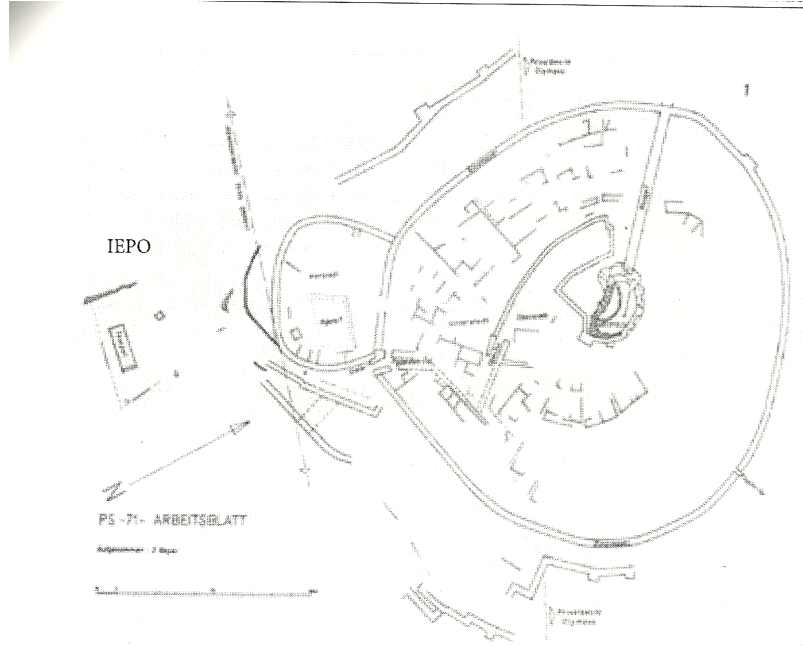
F5b: Plan of the Temple of Apollo, Soros

168
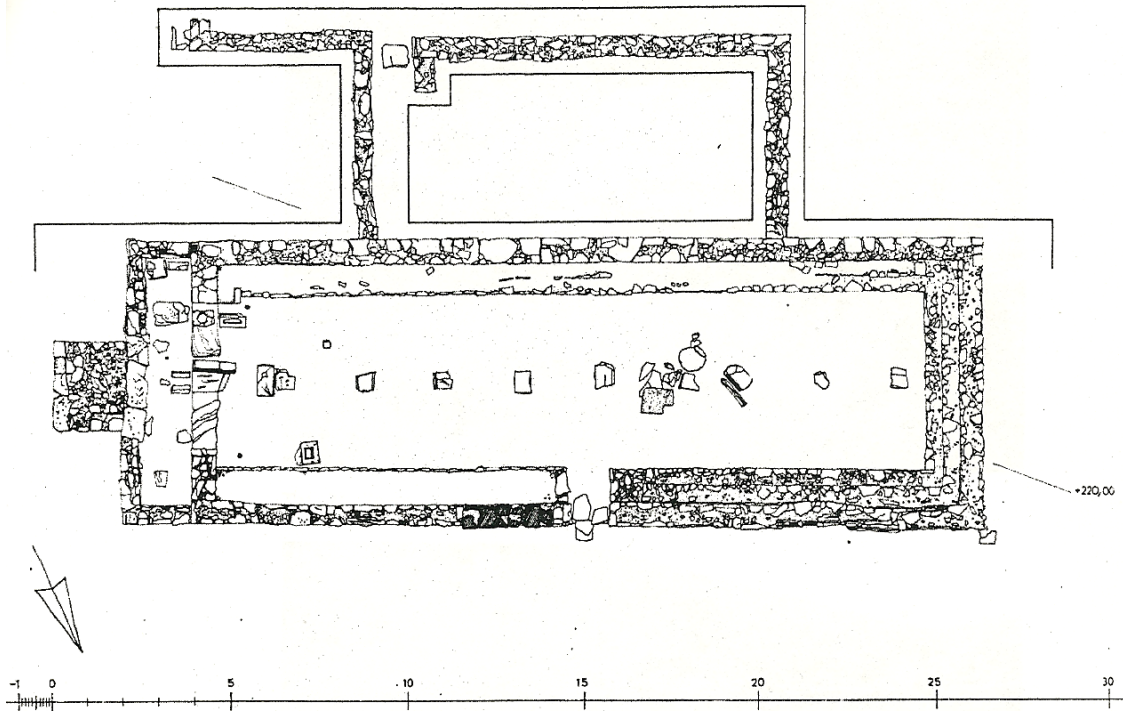
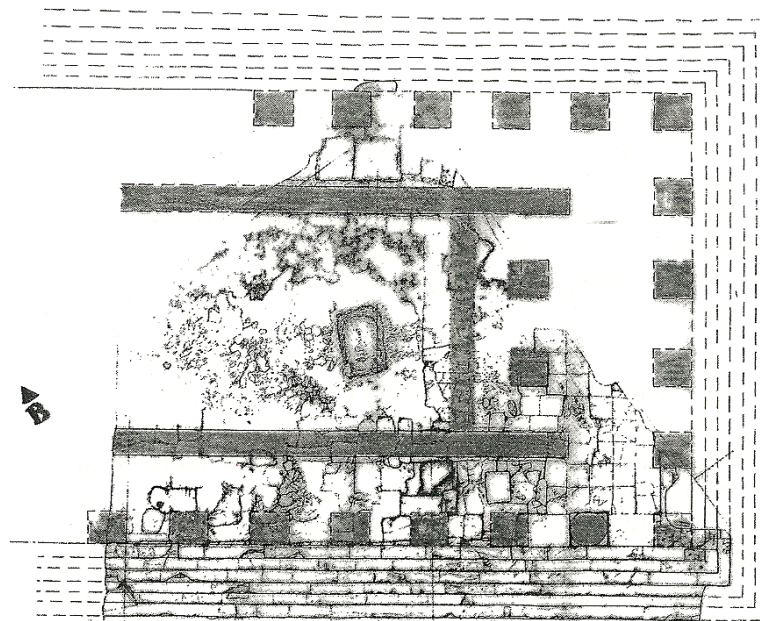**F6**: Finds *in situ* in the *pronaos* of the temple, Soros

F7: Plan of Demetrias
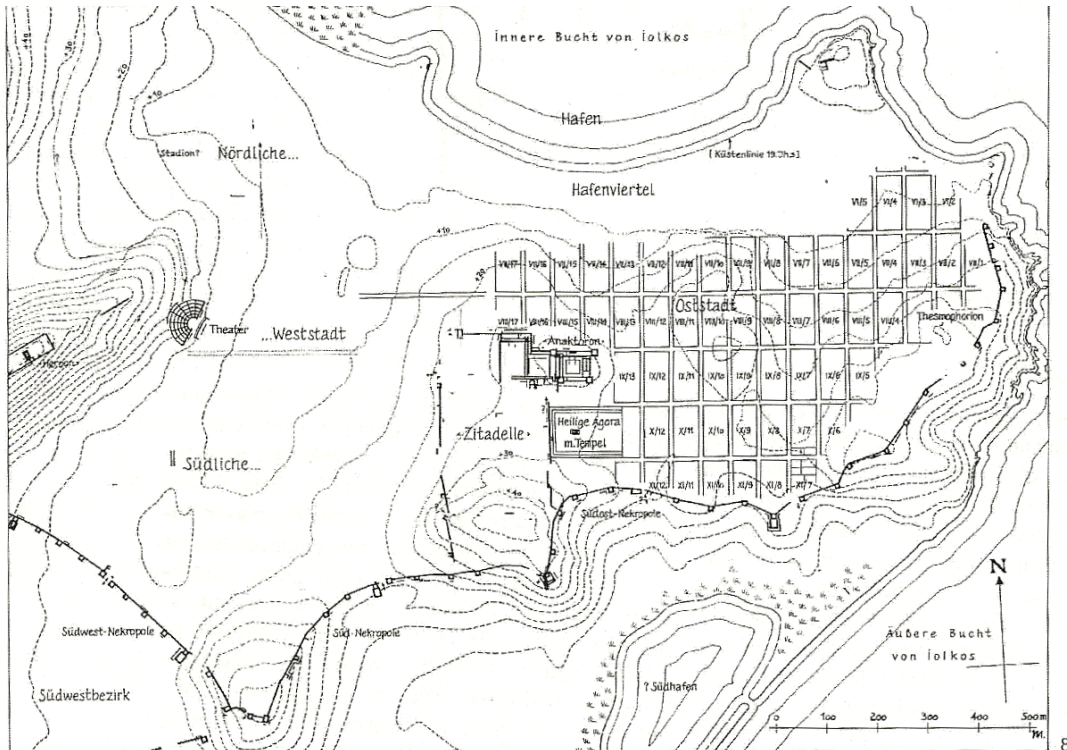
F8: Plan of the "Heroon" on Höhe 84
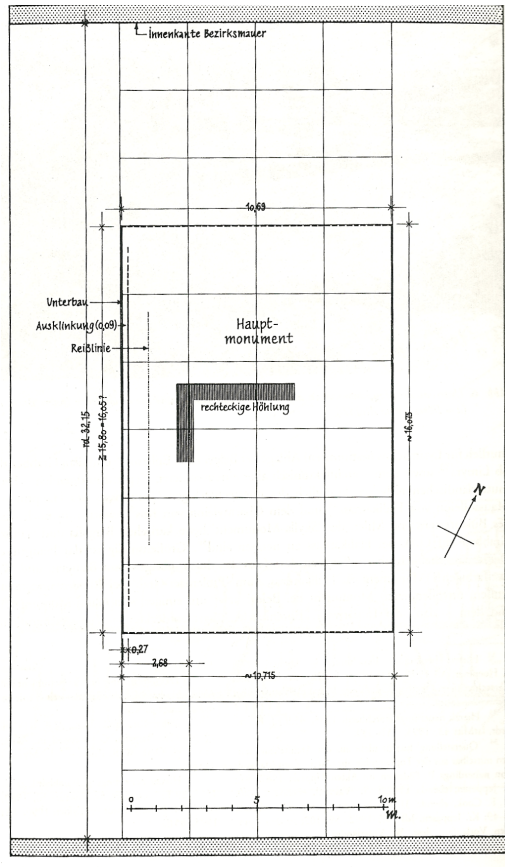
F9: Plan of the excavated portions of the Roman / Archaic Temple

N

0   200 m

Kefálosis

40

80

120

160

200

Byzantine
fort