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ON HERODOTUS 5.121: WHERE DID THE KARIANS DEFEAT THE PERSIANS IN 497/6 BCE, AT LELEGIAN PEDASA/GÖKÇELER, AT HER COLONY PIDASA-ON-GRION, OR AT KARIAN PIDASOS/PIDASON NEAR STRATONIKEIA? AND WHERE DOES THE 'KARIAN HIGHWAY' RUN?

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito
Vergil, *Aeneis* 6.95

in memoriam Adnan Diler (1956–2023)

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Keywords: *Karian Highway, Karkışa-Karia, Lelegians, Pedasa/Gökçeler, Pedasa-on-Grion, Pidasos/Pidason*

Abstract: According to Herodotos (5.117–121), in 497/6 BCE in the beginning of the Ionian Revolt, the freedom-loving Karians fought the invading Persian army three times. After two devastating defeats in open battles in the northern Marsyas/Çine Çayı valley, a third nighttime ambush was victorious and resulted in the total annihilation of the Persians, leading to a stalemate which lasted until 494 BCE. The place of this battle is contested to date. As argued here, it is neither on the road at Lelegian Pedasa/Gökçeler near Halikarnassos, nor at her colony Pedasa-on-Grion near today's Danişment, but at Karian Pidasos/Pedason on the 'Karian Highway' north of *Atrıya*-Idrias-Stratonikeia. The site is once mentioned by Strabo (13.1.59 [C611]) as a 'very little city' (*polychnion*). It is likely to be identified with today's Börükçü, where rescue excavations in an open lignite mining area have revealed a small settlement dating from Geometric until the early Byzantine Period (8th century BCE–7th century CE). In the course of this article, the historical topography of central Karia since the Late Bronze Age is critically reviewed by reconstructing the main north-south running 'Karian Highway' with the help of Hittite and later ancient Greek texts and the archaeological evidence.

HERODOT 5.121: KARIALILAR MÖ 497/6'DA PERSLERİ NEREDE YENDİLER, LELEG YERLEŞİMİ PEDASA/GÖKÇELER'DE Mİ, KOLONİSİ GRİON'DAKİ PİDASA'DA MI, YOKSA STRATONİKEİA YAKINLARINDAKİ KARİA YERLEŞİMİ PİDASOS/PİDASON'DA MI? VE 'KARİA YOLU' NEREDEN GEÇİYORDU?

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karia Yolu, Karkışa-Karia, Lelegler, Pedasa/Gökçeler, Grion'daki Pidas, Pidasos/Pidason

Öz: Herodotos'a göre (5.117–121), MÖ 497/6'daki İon Ayaklanması'nın başlangıcında özgürlüklerine düşkün olan Karialılar işgalci Pers ordusuyla üç kez savaşmıştır. Kuzeydeki Marsyas/Çine Çayı vadisinde yapılan meydan muharebelerindeki iki yıkıcı yenilgiden sonra, zaferle ve Perslerin tamamen yok edilmesiyle sonuçlanan üçüncü bir gece baskını, MÖ 494'e kadar süren bir çatışmasızlığı beraberinde getirmiştir. Yeri bugüne kadar tartışmalı olan bu savaş, burada belirtildiği üzere, ne Halikarnassos yakınlarındaki Leleg yerleşimi Pedasa/Gökçeler yolu üzerinde, ne de bugünkü Danişment köyü yakınlarındaki kolonisi Grion'daki Pidas'a da değil, *Atriya*-İdrias-Stratonikeia'nın kuzeyindeki 'Karia Yolu' üzerindeki Karia yerleşimi Pidasos/Pedason'da yapılmıştır. Strabon (13.1.59 [C611]) tarafından bir kez 'çok küçük bir kent' (*polychnion*) olarak anılan bu yerin, açık linyit madeni sahasında yapılan kurtarma kazılarında Geometrik Dönem'den Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne (MÖ 8. yüzyıl–MS 7. yüzyıl) kadar uzanan küçük bir yerleşimin ortaya çıkarıldığı bugünkü Börükçü ile özdeşleştirilmesi muhtemeldir. Bu makalede, Geç Tunç Çağı'ndan itibaren merkez Karia'nın tarihi topografyası, Hitit ve daha sonra antik Yunan metinlerinin ve arkeolojik kanıtlarının yardımıyla kuzey-güney yönünde uzanan ana 'Karia Yolu' yeniden inşa edilerek eleştirel bir şekilde gözden geçirilmiştir.

1. INTRODUCING THE LELEGIANS AND KARIANS OF PEDASA/GÖKÇELER ON THE BODRUM PENINSULA: FACT VERSUS FICTION

There is rarely a region in today's Türkiye, where the recent progress in archaeological research has such an impact on our historical knowledge as in the southwest of Asia Minor/Anatolia. There a nearly unknown civilisation, the Karian one, is now revealed step by step. This is due not least to the work of the late Adnan Diler¹.

Diler was especially proud of his excavation-project in Pedasa/Gökçeler, the former quasi-capital of the tiny land of the Lelegians on the Halikarnassos/Bodrum peninsula, a people closely connected to the Karians². Over the years, with his inimitable energy and persuasiveness, he succeeded in the establishment of a protected archaeological zone in spite of the extremely difficult circumstances in one of the most touristic places in Türkiye (Fig. 1).

¹ I dedicate this piece on Lelegian-Karian historical topography to the memory of my dear colleague and friend Adnan Diler, the Nestor of Lelegian-Karian archaeology. Adnan went from this world much earlier than he had hoped, being unable to finalise many of his projects, a task now left to his successors. When I met Adnan the last time in November 2023, a few weeks before his untimely death, he was happy to show me photos of the newly built excavation house in Pedasa/Gökçeler. For an obituary, see e.g. Bulut – Özer 2024. An earlier version of my article, delivered in October 2024, was supposed to appear in a memorial publication for Adnan, but was subsequently declined by the editors for its length in May 2025.

² For Karian-Lelegian relations, see Rumscheid 2009b; Diler 2019; Herda 2020a, 20 f.; Herda 2020b, 166; Herda in preparation, chapter VI; below section 3.



Fig. 1: Adnan Diler at the just restored stepped road leading from the gate at tower 5 of the outer fortifications to the acropolis of Pedasa (Lide). (photo author, 21.9.2017).

At the same time, he and his team of colleagues and students managed not only to establish systematic excavations in Pedasa and the surrounding territories, the *Pedasis*³, but also to undertake rescue excavations in the other Lelegian settlements of the peninsula⁴, combined with systematic intensive as well as extensive surveys⁵.

Another, in the true sense of the word 'monumental', outcome of these efforts, initiated and coordinated by Diler, are the four heavy volumes of the *Muğla Kültür Enventari* (I, 2007 – III.2, 2013), documenting the rich cultural heritage of the Bodrum peninsula from ancient to modern times⁶.

On the Halikarnassos/Bodrum peninsula, Diler and his team most successfully continued the pioneering survey work of Charles T. Newton, the first scholar to have identified the Lelegian necropolis of Termera/Asarlık in 1857⁷, and of George Ewart Bean and John M. Cook in the 1950s, and Wolfgang Radt in the late 1960s⁸, which they complemented by excavations preparing the

³ See e.g. Diler 2020a; Diler et al. 2021; Diler – Topaloğlu 2021. For the *Pedasis*, see Kallisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 25 = Strabo 13.1.59.

⁴ The most important Lelegian settlements were according to Strabo 13.1.58–59 and Pliny *HN* 5.107 (see Bean 1980, 91–110 with map fig. 15): Pedasa, Syangela-Theangela, Myndos, Termera, Side, Madnasa, Ouranion, and Telmissos. See also below n. 38.

⁵ See e.g. Diler 2019; Diler – Gümüş 2023.

⁶ Diler 2007; Diler 2008; Diler 2013.

⁷ See Newton 1863, 583–588 (he believed Asarlık to be Syangela instead of, correctly, Termera), see e.g. Carstens 2002, 392, 406 Anm. 62; Diler 2019; below section 3 with n. 65.

⁸ Bean – Cook 1955; Radt 1970; Radt 1978; Radt 1992.

scientific ground to define the characteristics of Lelegian culture from its first appearance in the transitional period from Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age to its final merging with the Karian culture of the hinterland in Archaic times⁹. As Radt has stated in the conclusion of his monumental, extended PhD study entitled "Siedlungen und Bauten auf der Halbinsel von Halikarnassos unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der archaischen Epoche"¹⁰:

"Augenblicklich bietet unsere Halbinsel, was die frühe Geschichte der Bau- und Siedlungsformen betrifft, mehr und besser bekanntes Material als irgend eine andere Region der kleinasiatischen Westküste. Und dieses Material zeigt ein so geschlossenes, charakteristisches Bild, daß der Schluß naheliegt, dahinter eine einheitliche Bevölkerung — eben die Leleger, wie Strabon sie nennt — zu sehen, mag diese Bevölkerung auch ursprünglich wieder eine Mischung heterogener Stämme und Volksteile gewesen sein."

It is therefore shocking and beyond comprehension to see a recent, purportedly archaeological publication neglect the existence of the Lelegian culture because of an alleged "questionable success" of field archaeology to define "distinctly 'Lelegian' forms of material culture"¹¹. The author Jana Mokrišová continues: "some modern scholars still find it useful to attribute *the regionally specific forms of material culture* [emphasis A.H.] to the Lelegians"¹². She goes further and applies the usual 'steamroller tactics' by declaring that A. Diler and other scholars before and with him (I am also included, A.H.)¹³, who attribute these existing "specific forms of material culture" to the Lelegians, fall victim to "ancient narrative frameworks (...) even if the terms employed now represent different entities from their past meanings."¹⁴. As a consequence, she rates the Lelegians as a pure 'invention' of Late Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Imperial authors, as a people that had never existed¹⁵!

I suspect the opposite, that Mokrišová herself fell victim to modern narrative frameworks denying the natural human desire to build communities with a collective identity on the grounds of common kinship, language, social organisation, housing, economic system, military, religious beliefs, funeral rites, myths, music, material culture, hence a common culture in the broadest sense, distinguishing a particular community from others! This assumption of mine is proven by the fact that Mokrišová is not the first to deny the historical reality of the Lelegians. She refers to a co-authored study of the ancient historian Pernille Flensted-Jensen and the archaeologist

⁹ See e.g. Rumscheid 2009b; Özer 2018; Özer – Şimşek Özer 2017; Diler 2016; Diler 2019; Diler 2020a; Herda 2020a, 20 f.; Herda in preparation, chapter V–VI.

¹⁰ Radt 1970, 11 ("At present our peninsula offers more and better-known material than any other region of the western coast of Asia Minor as far as the early history of building and settlement forms is concerned. And this material presents such a coherent, characteristic picture that it is reasonable to conclude that behind it lies a unified population—the Lelegians, as Strabo calls them—even if this population was originally a mixture of heterogeneous tribes and ethnic groups." English translation by the author).

¹¹ Mokrišová 2023, 99 (see already in her PhD of 2017 at the University of Michigan: Mokrišová 2017, 199–201).

¹² Mokrišová 2023, 103.

¹³ Mokrišová 2023 cites Herda – Sauter 2009 and Herda 2013 together with publications of Diler, Rumscheid and Özer – Şimşek. She does not, however, cite my recent summary on *Karkiša*-Karia and the Lelegians in: Herda 2020a. In the meantime, see also the revised, second Turkish-only edition: Herda 2024c, as well as Herda 2024b, 65 with n. 235, p. 79 f.

¹⁴ Mokrišová 2023, 103.

¹⁵ See her conclusions in: Mokrišová 2023, 121 f.

Anne Marie Carstens in 2004, where the existence of the Lelegians is declared a later (ancient) construct and that the Lelegians were part of the Karian people instead¹⁶.

This attitude appears to be a trend in Western scholarship especially since the early 2000s (9/11), first of all among ancient historians, who gladly ignore the aforementioned archaeological realities. In 2001, the ancient historian Raymond Descat labelled the Lelegians “un fantôme d’Urvolk”, a ‘ghost of Urvolk’¹⁷. Even though his argumentation is *ex silentio* in regard to the language, as we know nearly nothing about Lelegian due to the fact that the Lelegians never adopted writing for their language, and is also proven wrong regarding the archaeological evidence, Descat was followed in his approach by his compatriot Alain Bresson and others¹⁸.

Accordingly, the ancient historian Naomi Carless Unwin has recently stated in her otherwise very stimulating book on *Caria and Crete in Antiquity. Cultural Interaction Between Anatolia and the Aegean* of 2017, that “it is not possible to detect any subdivision in the material record between Carian and Lelegian populations”¹⁹. This is certainly true for the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, where the Lelegian culture had merged into the Karian one, both already — since Archaic times — highly influenced by the East Ionian and Dorian Greek cultures. It is, however, not the case for the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages down to the Late Archaic Period, when Lelegians and Karians were direct neighbours and still sticking with their own indigenous cultures, evidenced in the archaeological record (see also below sections 3–4).

What is currently done to the ancient Lelegian culture, namely the unjust denial of its historical existence, is also happening to the Karians, though in a different way. The ancient historian John M. Cook first declared *ex silentio* in the third edition of the influential *Cambridge Ancient History*, that “The origin of the Carians is archaeologically inscrutable. At Miletus a Mycenaean settlement has been discovered; and, south of this, late Mycenaean finds have been reported near Mylasa. But otherwise, this coast is almost blank on the map of the second millenium BC, and the interior of Caria seems to have been virtually uninhabited throughout prehistoric times.” He came to the conclusion that “the Carians cannot then have been occupying Caria”²⁰.

After the ongoing archaeological as well as historical research in Karia has proven Cook to be wrong in neglecting an autochthonous Anatolian, Karian culture in historical *Karkışa*-Karia

¹⁶ See e.g. Flensted-Jensen – Carstens 2004, 120 (“But nothing in the archaeological evidence supports a theory of a subdivision of the peoples in Karians and Lelegians.”). This publication is cited by Mokrišová as a reference. See also e.g.: Carstens 2008; Carstens 2011, 483 (see further below).

¹⁷ Descat 2001, 169.

¹⁸ See Bresson 2007, 213 f., citing for this Descat 2001 and Flensted-Jensen – Carstens 2004: “Outre que la différenciation entre Cariens et Lélèges n’est qu’un mythe (même si ce mythe remonte à l’Antiquité), il faut remettre en cause l’idée qu’il aurait existé un type de construction typiquement «carien», i.e. «barbare» – donc implicitement inférieur –, par opposition à des techniques de construction plus sophistiquées, donc grecques: ainsi, le type de construction de la péninsule d’Halicarnasse identifie un type de société, un peuple de pasteurs et d’agriculteurs, mais pas un ethnos spécifique (le supposé ethnos lélège).”; Bresson 2009, 112 with n. 33 (“Zu Recht hat R. Descat vorgeschlagen, daß die Leleger mehr eine gedankliche Konstruktion der griechischen Mythographen und Geschichtsschreiber als ein tatsächlich existierendes Volk waren.”). See also: Marek 2010, 163; Santini 2016, 28 f. with n. 87.

¹⁹ Carless Unwin 2017, 58 with n. 156.

²⁰ Cook 1975, 794 f. Cook refers for this to Barnett 1975 in the same volume, where Barnett however correctly stated p. 439 that the Karian language “is possibly of Hittite-Luwian origin”, and that the Karians “claimed to be autochthonous inhabitants of Anatolia” (see for this Herodotos 1.171)

since the later Bronze Age²¹, Karian culture is now, in a new assault, characterised not as indigenous, but as faceless 'mixed culture' ('Mischkultur') which developed in the Late Bronze Age out of (Karian?) locals, Mycenaean, Hittites, and since ca. 1100 BCE, immigrating Greeks. The already mentioned archaeologist A.M. Carstens has, since 2002, introduced the anachronistic terms 'hybridisation' and 'creolisation' to describe Karian 'mixed culture'²², which she also labels a "multiethnic melting pot society"²³. She is followed in this by several other scholars²⁴. As a result, some ancient historians go now so far as to even neglect the deep connection between mountainous coastal Karia as a physical region (see Fig. 2), and the ethnogenesis there of the autochthonous Anatolian people of the Karians²⁵.

But the ancient historian Jeremy LaBuff tops them all: he declares the ethnic 'Karians' to be "an overgeneralizing tradition inherited from Persia, who called the inhabitants *Karka*"²⁶. Similarly absurd is his claim that "without the Achaemenids, there would be no Karia, or at least not the Karia known to historians"²⁷. He further declares that "the coexistence of 'Greek' and 'Carian' names [in Halikarnassos] suggests rather the irrelevance of the onomastic evidence for ethnic identity"²⁸. The exact opposite is the case²⁹! He then continues to claim that it is "dubious" and "inevitably circular", "to distinguish Karians from Ionians in the Early Iron Age through distinct ceramic styles", in other words, he declares one of the basic methodological instrumentaria of archaeology as nonsense³⁰! He crowns his fact-free 'analysis' by the statement: "Indeed, one has to wonder how many Karians would have shared our bird's-eye view of stylistic differences, which depend on a transregional set of comparisons that few ancients would have been interested in or able to pursue"³¹. However, if you believe we have 'already' reached the limits of his 'historical' imagination, you are proven wrong: most recently he applies wokeness and 'post-

²¹ See the works of Adnan Diler, and those of the author, e.g. Herda 2009; Herda 2013; Herda 2020a; Herda 2024b; Herda 2024c; Herda in preparation; Herda – Sauter 2009, and also this paper.

²² Carstens 2002; Carstens 2004; Carstens 2008; Carstens 2009a/b; Carstens 2011; Carstens 2013a/b. For the concept of 'creolisation', Carstens 2013b, 211 f., 214 is referring to U. Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, Peoples, Places* (London 1996).

²³ Carstens 2013b, 211.

²⁴ See e.g. Gagné 2006, 22 ("creolized descendants of the Carians"), 23 n. 110 ("Halikarnassian ethnic hybridity") citing Carstens – Flensted-Jensen 2004, and especially Nunn – Simon 2023, 172 (without citing Carstens explicitly): "In Karien, der heutigen westtürkischen Gegend im Hinterland von Bodrum und Marmaris, entstand eine für Westanatolien typische Mischkultur. Ihre Hauptelemente vereinigten die lokale, spätbronzezeitliche Kultur mit mykenischen und hethitischen Einflüssen, so wie solchen der zwischen 1100 und 800 v.Chr. eingewanderten Griechen." In Nunn – Simon 2023, 172 n. 21 the authors (i.e. Zs. Simon) just declare that Herda 2020a on the history of *Karkīša*-Karia 'does not correspond to the state of research' ("entspricht dem Forschungsstand nicht"), without presenting any argument to back this claim. This is pseudo-science at its best! See on the matter below section 3 with n. 67.

²⁵ See e.g. Reger 2020, 4: "in a sense, however, the identification of Caria as a region was circular: it was Caria, because a people called Carians lived there".

²⁶ LaBuff 2021a, 275. On the autochthonous Anatolian (Luwic) etymology of the ethnic 'Karian', related to the Hittite country name *Karkīša*, see instead Herda 2009; Herda 2013a; Herda 2020a; Herda 2024c; Herda in preparation.

²⁷ LaBuff 2017, 38; see also LaBuff 2022, 26. Is this meant as a self-referential remark?

²⁸ LaBuff 2021b, 638; see similar also LaBuff 2021c, 638; LaBuff 2022, 28 f.

²⁹ See below section 3 with n. 108.

³⁰ LaBuff 2022, 30 with n. 109 f., referring for this to Carstens 2009, 102 f.

³¹ LaBuff 2022, 30. This kind of unscientific statements of non-specialists become more and more popular these days. How such a slim and unscientific paper of 92 pages text (LaBuff 2022) can be published as a *monograph* by the renowned publishing house Brill remains an enigma to me. For further problematic statements of scholars, see also below n. 72.

existence of an ancient Greek cultural identity or consciousness, or even the existence of an ancient Greek civilisation in the broadest sense!

This kind of hypercritical, pseudo-scientific 'argumentation', replacing the concept of cultural diversity with that of faceless hybridity-'cultures', and 'creolisation', is en vogue in our capitalist-globalist times, and was recently also applied to question the fact of the Greek migration movements into western Asia Minor in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages³³. It comes as no surprise that J. LaBuff also disbelieves the historical reality of the 'Aiolian Migration' to Asia Minor³⁴, or that A.M. Carstens, who doubts the existence of a Lelegian people on the Halikarnassian peninsula, because the region is supposed to be part of ancient Karia, and the Lelegians are supposed to be the 'first' Karians³⁵, declares in regard to all Greek migrations to Asia Minor (Aiolian, Ionian, Dorian): "Whether these migrations actually took place *remains a question of belief* (accentuation by A.H.), but they were treated as a political fact by the 5th century. This indeed may tell us more of the societies where the tradition was established than of the historical fact they may or may not represent."³⁶

To make my point clear: there is no way to leave this matter to any kind of 'belief', or other political ideologies, instead it is a matter of critically discussing the hard archaeological (including, in the case of Karia: inscriptional) facts in the light of the ancient historical sources available, to fulfill the needs of a scientific approach. Every theoretical approach creating a 'cognitive dissonance' in the professional academic as well as in the amateur audience/reader is to be rated as an attempt at manipulation for ideological and/or personal reasons, but not as science. Finally, when an order like "Don't do your own research, follow the science!" is given out by the propaganda machinery of today, especially since 2020, this cannot be science at all, as in science, as opposed to religious beliefs (dogmas) or political propaganda, every position is a contested opinion, and always only 'the latest state of error', up for an open debate. This is called a 'good scientific practice'³⁷.

For me it is beyond question that Adnan Diler followed the rules of 'good scientific practice'. One of his latest publications is an article on the "Preliminary Evaluation of the Fortification and Defence Structures of the Lelegian Peninsula in Karia", where he demonstrates the specific network of the eight Lelegian fortified settlements which dominated the Bodrum Peninsula until the time of Maussollos's *synoikismos* to form his new capital Halikarnassos: Myndos, Termera,

³³ I will answer this kind of stance critically and more detailed in another occasion. See for now on the 'Ionian Migration', Herda 2006a; Herda 2009; Herda 2013a; Herda 2024b; Kerschner 2006.

³⁴ LaBuff 2021c, referring to the highly questionable articles of Rose 2008 and Parker 2008. Accordingly, LaBuff 2021d declares Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros to be not Aiolian, as is indicated by its naming after Magnesia in Thessaly, but "ethnically distinct from the Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian cities". His argument is that Herodotos (3.90.1) lists the *Asian Magnetes* as an extra ethnos within the first satrapy of the Persians, besides the aforementioned three Greek ethne, as well as the Karians, Lykians, Milyians and Pamphylians. But this treatment by Herodotos is due to the isolated geographical position of Aiolian Magnesia in the Maiandros plain, surrounded by Ionian, Lydian and Karian neighbours. For Magnesia's Aiolian origin, see now Herda 2024b, 26 f., 44–46.

³⁵ See her final statement in: Carstens 2011, 493: "But who were the people living and dying on the Halikarnassos peninsula? Migrating Dorians, left-over Mycenaeans, Anatolian-rooted Karians? Well, I prefer to name them Karians, simply because they lived in Karia and right from the beginning, they show a particular faculty of cultural mixture." How she reconciles this with Herodotos 1.171, where the historian claims that the Karians were first called 'Lelegians' and lived on the Aegean islands, providing the crews for the ships of Cretan-Minoan king Minos, remains her secret.

³⁶ Carstens 2011, 492.

³⁷ For conducting science in a proper way, see for example the Kodex "Leitlinien zur Sicherung guter wissenschaftlicher

Telmissos, Side, Ouranion, Madnasa, Pedasa, and Syangela-Theangela³⁸. An overall study on the archaeology of the Lelegian culture, meant to be his legacy and crowning his decades-long research, was in an advanced state of finalisation, when the Greek *Moirai* cut his thread of life, or more consistent with Diler's research interests, the Anatolian, Luwian-Hittite Fates, the GUL-šeš/*Kuwa(n)šeš* deities, stopped him from continuing writing on the Lelegians³⁹. Let us hope his legacy will be fulfilled by the next generation of archaeologists and historians, Diler helped to build up!

2. THE KARIANS DEFEATING THE PERSIANS IN 497/96 BCE: FOUR ALTERNATIVE LOCATIONS

In the following, I want to deal with the Verortung ('localisation') of an event which took place in central Karia in the course of the so-called Ionian Revolt against the Persian supremacy between 499 and 494 BCE (Fig. 2)⁴⁰. The Karians had taken—also in their own interest—the side of the freedom-loving Ionians⁴¹, who acted under the leadership of Miletos, the only Ionian city which had not been conquered and subdued by the Persians after they had smashed the Lydian Empire of Kroisos in 547/6 BCE⁴². To finance the Karian participation in the Ionian Revolt, perhaps a special silver coinage, the 'Ketos coins', was minted in Halikarnassos in high numbers, following the Milesian standard (*hektai* or diobols) and depicting the head of a sea monster (*ketos*) on the obverse, a geometric star-pattern resembling that on Archaic Milesian silver coins on the reverse⁴³. In the spring of 498, after a first success when the Ionians, reinforced by Athenian and Eretrian attachments sent from the Greek mainland, had taken and burnt the lower city of Sardis, but were unable to conquer the satrapal seat and former Mermnad royal palace on the acropolis, the Persians quickly reorganised their forces and drove the Ionians and their allies into the sea at Ephesos. Shortly after, they also managed to defeat a rebellion of the

Praxis" of Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) of 1998, revised in September 2019: <https://www.dfg.de/de/grundlagen-themen/grundlagen-und-prinzipien-der-foerderung/gwp/kodex> (in English: <https://www.dfg.de/en/basics-topics/basics-and-principles-of-funding/good-scientific-practice/code-of-conduct>).

³⁸ Diler – Gümüř 2023. The six cities, whose populations were integrated into that of Halikarnassos were Syangela-Theangela, Side, Madnasa, Pedasa, Ouranion, and Telmissos. Only Myndos and Termara stayed independent, see Pliny *HN* 5.107. According to Strabo 13.1.59, who gets more credit from modern scholars, the two settlements remaining independent were Myndos and Syangela-Theangela, see Radt 1970, 14 f.; Bean 1980, 92–95 (relocated Myndos), 103–110 (Syangela-Theangela); Demand 1990, 124, 133, 135–137 (Myndos), 137 f. (Syangela-Theangela). In the Attic Tribute Lists (*ATL*) of the second half of the 5th century BCE are included six of the eight Lelegian cities: Myndos, Termara, Madnasa, Ouranion, Pedasa, and Syangela, missing are Side and Telmissos, see *ATL* I, 554 fig. 191 ("The Karian Syntely", however, with Pedasa located mistakenly in the Grion mountains [= Pidasa-on-Grion], instead of—correctly—near Halikarnassos [= Pedasa-Gökçeler], see for this mistake below section 3 with n. 89); Bean – Cook 1955, 151.

³⁹ For the GUL-šeš/*Kuwa(n)šeš* deities, whose name is derived from the Hittite verb GUL-š-, Cuneiform Luwian GUL-zā(i)-, meaning "to write, to draw", and referring to writing in Luwian hieroglyphs, see Waal 2019.

⁴⁰ On the 'Ionian Revolt', described in Herodotus 5.35–55, 97–126; 6.1–32; see e.g. Murray 1988; Georges 2000; Kienast 2002; Briant 2002, 146–156 (to my knowledge the best analysis of the political motives; my absolute dates for the events are taken over from Briant); Briant 2020, 42; Hornblower 2013 (especially pp. 18–20 on the chronology, I do not share in part); Hornblower – Pelling 2017; Herda 2019; Hyland 2019; Wartenberg 2020; Köster 2020.

⁴¹ Herodotus 5.103, 117.

⁴² The fall of Sardis is now fixed in 547/6 BCE thanks to the confirmed reading of the Neo-Babylonian Nabonidus-Chronicle: van der Spek 2021.

⁴³ Ashton – Konuk 2019; Konuk 2020, 241 f. fig. 3. However, see my reservations below, section 3.

Greek cities on the island of Cyprus (497? BCE), even though the Ionians had sent their combined fleet to assist⁴⁴. At the same time, the Persians took back the cities at the Hellespont which had come under Ionian control the year before. After this, the Persian general Daurises, a son in law of king Dareios, turned southwards with a great land force against the Karians. Not fearing Persian numerical superiority, the Karians, famous for their martial arts⁴⁵, heroically fought—but lost—two subsequent open field battles in the Marsyas valley, today's Çine Çayı. In the second open battle, a detachment the Milesians had sent to assist the Karians, suffered the greatest losses⁴⁶. If you thought that this would have broken the Karian will to resist, you were wrong! A third battle using asymmetric 'guerilla-tactics' took place when the Karians learned that the Persians were preparing for the final assault on their cities. It brought a Karian victory instead⁴⁷:

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρῶμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνεμαχέσαντο οἱ Κᾶρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμέαται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης· σὺν δέ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυλασσεύς.

"The Karians, however, rallied and fought again after this disaster, for learning that the Persians had set forth to march against their cities, they beset the road with an ambush at Pidasos/Pedason. The Persians fell into this by night and perished, they and their generals, Daurises and Amorges and Sisimakes. With these fell also Myrsos, son of Gyges. The leader of this ambush was Herakleides of Mylasa, son of Ibanollis."

The location of this Karian victory in a night ambush in 497/6 BCE remains contested to date. This is not the least due to the name of the place. The preserved Herodotos-manuscripts are inconsistent in regard to the toponym. A and B have ἐν Πιδάσῳ, C has ἐμπιδάσῳ, M^{pp} have ἐπὶ δάσῳ, while d offers ἐπὶ λασοῖσι(v), and B²DSV ἐπὶ Δασοῖσι⁴⁸. Since the great Late Renaissance printer-scholar Henri Estienne's (*Henricus Stephanus*, ca. 1530–1598 CE) edition of Herodotos' *Histories* of 1570, the toponym conjectured in most standard editions to is ἐν Πηδάσῳ⁴⁹,

⁴⁴ See Briant 2002, 147 f. with map 1, who dates the Karian campaign to 497/96 BCE. Hornblower 2013, 20, following Macan 1895, II 68 f., wants to date the first battle at the Maiandros in 496, and the second at Labraunda (as well as the third, final one) one year later, in 495 BCE. I hold this for unlikely, see below. Bresson 2019, 233 dates Daurises' campaign into Karia "in 498/7, or in 497". At Bresson 2019, 233 n. 20 he states that a date as late as 496 "cannot be accepted".

⁴⁵ See Herda 2013, 442–447.

⁴⁶ Herodotus 5.117–120.

⁴⁷ Herodotus 5.121 (here and in the following, all English translations of Herodotos follow those of by A.D. Godley (*The Histories. Herodotus, with an English translation*, Cambridge, MA 1920, although slightly modified, if necessary). The Greek Herodotos text is given here in the East Ionic dialect, in which the Halikarnassian will have written his work originally: Bowie 2013, 10, 20, 260; Herda 2013a, 422 n. 5. Therefore, Herodotos will have originally pronounced his own name as *Erodotos*, see Herda 2024 a, 128–133.

⁴⁸ See the critical apparatus in Hude 1970, Rosén 1997, 76, and Wilson 2015a, 505, see Blümel 2018, 67; Bresson 2019, 238. For the transmission of the Herodotos manuscripts, see e.g. Wilson 2015b, XI–XXVI.

⁴⁹ Stephanus 1570, see also e.g. Powell 1960, 305 s.v. Πήδασα; Hude 1970; Rosén 1997, 76; Peek 2018, 148. An exception is Hornblower 2013, 90, 304 f., who prefers to read ἐν Πιδάσῳ, see also Bresson 2019, 238. For their reasons, see critical in sections 4 and 5, below. Hornblower is however followed now by Wilson 2015a, 505, who prints ἐν Πιδάσῳ (in Wilson 2015b there is no discussion of this reading).

depending on the ethnic οἱ Πηδασεῖς more often used in the *Histories*⁵⁰. In the following it will be demonstrated that Estienne's conjecture is to be preferred.

The dative Πηδάσῳ belongs to either an o-declension feminine ἡ Πήδασος, or a neuter τὸ Πήδασον, both genders are possible. The feminine form is attested as early as Homer, who in his *Iliad* locates the city Πήδασος in the Troad, at the Satnioeis river, being one of Troy's most important allies against the Achaean Greeks (see below section 3)⁵¹. The geographer Strabo (1st century BCE/1st century CE) also uses the feminine form, although some editors and commentators of Strabo prefer the neuter (see below section 5)⁵².

But it gets more complicated: The toponym is quite frequent in Anatolia as it stems from Proto-Indo-European **pédom*, 'place'; comparable are for example Hittite *peda-*, Lykian *pddēn-*, and Greek πέδον⁵³. It also occurs in the neuter plural forms τὰ Πήδασα and τὰ Πίδασα, which equal the name of the Hittite land (KUR) ^{URU}*Pitašša/Pedašša*⁵⁴. Further, the Luwic compound place name *sar-pedon(t)*, 'high place', perhaps occurs as the feminine and masculine personal names *sa-ra-pe-da* and *sa-ra-pe-do* of Luwic speaking Anatolians in the Linear B palace archives of Pylos⁵⁵. This would attest direct Luwic influence on Late Bronze Age Greek and helps to clarify the true origin of the hero *Sarpedon*, who is traditionally declared to be Minoan-Lykian, as well as the Anatolian origin of the Greek toponym ἡ Σαρπηδών designating capes and steep promontories⁵⁶.

Both *Pedasa* and *Pidasa* are attested for Karia (see below), as well as a third toponym of this class, **Πεδανασσός* or **Πιδανασός* in the southern Milesian peninsula⁵⁷, where Lelegians are reported to have settled in 'old times' (see below section 4). This has caused

⁵⁰ See the remark of How – Wells 1928, 65 and Blümel 1997, 139 n. 5 (they give the example of 6.20.1 Καρσί Πηδασεῦσι). For more appearances of the ethnic in Herodotos, as well as the toponym, see below n. 62. The ethnic οἱ Πηδασεῖς as well as the place name Πίδασα are not attested in Herodotos. It is decisive that J. Enoch Powell in his *Lexicon to Herodotus* (Powell 1960, 305) has a lemma Πήδασα, but not Πίδασα, as he reads with Stephanus/Estienne ἐν Πηδάσῳ in 5.121 and reconstructs the toponym as "Πήδασος, ἡ".

⁵¹ Homer, *Iliad* 6.30–35, 20.90, 21.85–89; see Ruge 1937a; Cook 1973, 245 f. (against identification with Assos), 267 (probable identification with Şahin Kale at the Koca Çay); Zgusta 1984, 489 f. § 1054–2 Πήδασος. According to e.g. Schwertheim 2000; Rumscheid 2009b, 181 with n. 51 and the very useful website "Topos text" Pedasos in the Troad is "unlocated to-date": <https://topostext.org/place/396369UPed> (accessed: 25.05.2025).

⁵² Strabo 13.1.59 (611), see e.g. Ruge 1937b, no. 2.

⁵³ Adiego 2007, 336 f.; Hawkins 2013, 10; Carless Unwin 2017, 50; Bresson 2019, 238; Blümel 2023, 188 s.v. Πεδανασσός/. Zgusta 1984, 489 § 1054–1 Πήδασα, Πίδασα tentatively compared the Cuneiform toponym *Petassa*; and 489 f. § 1054–2 Πήδασος the Cuneiform toponym *Pitassa*. Instead, I. Yakubovich (Yakubovich 2017) now argues that the Luwian term for 'place', written with the Hieroglyphic-Luwian logogram Laroche *201 (TERRA/LOCUS) is unrelated to PIE **pédom* and Hittite *pēda-* (n.), 'place'. He refers for this to Kizzuwatna Luwian */arlanuwa-il* 'to replace, relocate' and Lydian *aril(i)-* 'belonging to the homestead, household', to suggest the reconstruction of **ar(a)-* 'place' at an earlier stage of the Luwian language.

⁵⁴ For the Hittite region of *Pitašša/Pedašša*, see Zgusta 1984, 490 § 1054–2 Πήδασος; de Martino 2003–2005; Adiego 2007, 336; Hawkins 2020, 339, 340, 344, 354, 356, 361, 365 (map with assumed location in central Anatolia, south-western part of *Hatti*, neighbouring *Mira-Kuwaliya* and *Tarhuntašša*).

⁵⁵ *Sa-ra-pe-da*: PY Un 718.1; *sa-ra-pe-do*: PY Er 880.2; see Nikoloudis 2008, 51 f.; Bachvarova 2015, 171 with n. 95.

⁵⁶ Bachvarova 2015, 171 f.; Herda in preparation, chapter XI.

⁵⁷ The toponym can be reconstructed from the Apollo epikleseis Πεδανασσεύς and Πιδανασεύς, attested by a boundary stone-inscription (*I.Didyma* 70: τέμενος Ἀπόλλωνος Πεδανασσεῶς, 4th century BCE) and a dedication (*I.Didyma* 77: [Ἀπόλλωνι Πιδανασεῖ, not dated): Zgusta 1984, 492 § 1059–2 Πιδανασσός// (with map 394); Blümel 2023, 188 s.v. Πεδανασσός; see Herda 2009, 92 with n. 373. For the location, see Wilski 1906, map, grid square G9; Lohmann 2006, 236 s.v. **Pedanassa* (**Πεδανασσα*); Herda 2013b, 90 fig. 20. See below section 4 with n. 180, Fig. 16.

confusion in scholarship on where to locate the night ambush of 497/6. There are three quite different proposals. I will discuss them one by one to find out which one has the highest likelihood. They are:

(a) Diler's Pedasa (τὰ Πήδασα) north of Halikarnassos at Gökçeler (below section 3)⁵⁸

(b) Pidasa (τὰ Πίδασσα) in the Grion Mountains, a colony of Pedasa/ Gökçeler, founded after 494 BCE (below section 4)⁵⁹

(c) Pidasos/Pedason (ἡ Πήδασος/τὸ Πήδασον) near Idrias-Stratonikeia (below section 5)⁶⁰.

A fourth proposal by Benjamin Dean Meritt, Henry Theodore Wade-Gery and Malcom Francis McGregor is excluded here, as it is the least likely from a geostrategical standpoint (see section 3 and 5), as well as that it necessitates a substantial emendation of the passed-on texts of Herodotos. The American and British scholars who edited the Athenian Tribute Lists (ATL), proposed to locate the ambush on the sacred road from Labraunda to Mylasa, and wanted to emend *Histories* 5.121 τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδὸν to τὴν ἐπὶ <Μυ>λάσσοις ὁδὸν, like the Dutch scholar Petrus Wesseling in his 1763 critical edition of the *Histories*⁶¹.

3. WHY NOT PEDASA/GÖKCELER?

I start with Diler's Pedasa (τὰ Πήδασα, neuter plural) in today's Gökçeler some 6 km northwest of Halikarnassos⁶². The near-by village Bitez may preserve the ancient toponym⁶³. This main dwelling place of the Lelegians was founded according to Adnan's earliest finds from the settlement and the cemeteries in phase Late Helladic III C Middle, that is the 12th/11th

⁵⁸ So e.g. Bean – Cook 1955, 150; Radt 1973/4, 169 f.; Bean 1980, 95; Müller 1997, 364–367; Gorman 2001, 46 with n. 75; Rumscheid 2009b, 178; Ashton – Konuk 2019, 266 n. 35.

⁵⁹ See Hornblower 2013, 304 f.; Blümel 2018, 67; Blümel 2023, 189 s.v. Πίδασσα with n. 136; Bresson 2019; Baron 2021. Ruge 1937b, 27; Briant 2002, 147 map 1.

⁶⁰ See ATL I, 522, 537 with n. 4, p. 604, following Petrus Wesseling's conjecture of 5.121 (Wesseling – Valckenaer 1763). They do not even discuss the possible location of the third battle at Pedasa near Halikarnassos (a), while they hold Pidasa-on-Grion (b) and Pedason near Stratonikeia (c) for "no doubt possible; (...). But we like neither." (ATL I 537). Against their view and conjecture convincingly argue Bean – Cook 1955, 155, who instead favour Pedasa near Halikarnassos (a). But this is likewise unrealistic, see below section 3.

⁶² For the toponym τὰ Πήδασα designating today's Gökçeler near Halikarnassos, see Strabo 13.1.59, C611.11 ed. Radt; Stephanus Byzantius π 134 (ed. Billerbeck); see Zgusta 1984, 489 § 1054–1 Πήδασα, Πίδασσα; Blümel 2023, 188 f. s.v. Πήδασα. The Attic Tribute Lists (ATL) have the ethnic in nominative plural Πεδασεῖς, see e.g. IG I³ 259.III.5 (454/3 BCE); ATL I, 376–377 (list of all payment entries, but the first entry for 454/3 is missing!), 535–538 s.v. (they transcribe Attic Πεδασεῖς into Ionic Πηδασῆς), below n. 89. The list of 425/4 has ΠΙΔΑΣΕΣ instead (see ATL I, 115 fig. 166, pl. 23; 157, list A 9.II.149 [= IG I³ 71.II.149], Meritt et al. however emend to Π<ε>δα<α>σεῖς) which is to be corrected to Πιδασεῖς instead, see Blümel 2018, 68 [T 3]. The *Pidasēs* are mistakenly attributed by ATL as well as by Blümel and A. Bresson (Bresson 2019, 236, 237, 238, 239) to Pidasa-on-Grion. Blümel and Bresson adduce this from the spelling with iota which would separate them from the *Pidasēs* of the older lists, which they identify with Pedasa/Gökçeler. But variations in the spelling of ethnics are other than Bresson 2019, 238 declares more frequent in the lists (compare e.g. Ἰδυμῆς versus Ἰδυῖς, see Blümel 2023, 171 s.v. Ἰδυμῶν). Herodotos does not use the toponym Πήδασα or Πίδασσα (however, both toponyms are listed in the new "Herodotus Encyclopedia" of Wiley – Blackwell without proper commentary: Chiaï 2021 [Pedasa]; Baron 2021 [Pidasa]), but only the ethnic Πηδασεῖς in Ionic nominative plural οἱ Πηδασεῖς (1.175.1, 1.176.1, 8.104.1), genitive plural Πηδασέων (8.105.1), dative plural τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι (8.104.1), respectively Καροῖ Πηδασεῦσι (6.20.1), or in accusative singular γένος Πηδασέα (8.104.1). See also Pedasa's bronze coins with the Ionic Greek genitive plural Πηδασέων, Fig. 7.

⁶³ Paton – Myres 1896, 193 f.; Bean – Cook 1955, 149 with n. 263; Ruge 1937b, 27 (with reservations); Zgusta 1984, 489 § 1054-1 ("unsicher: die stimmhaften Konsonanten werden normalerweise nicht stimmlos").

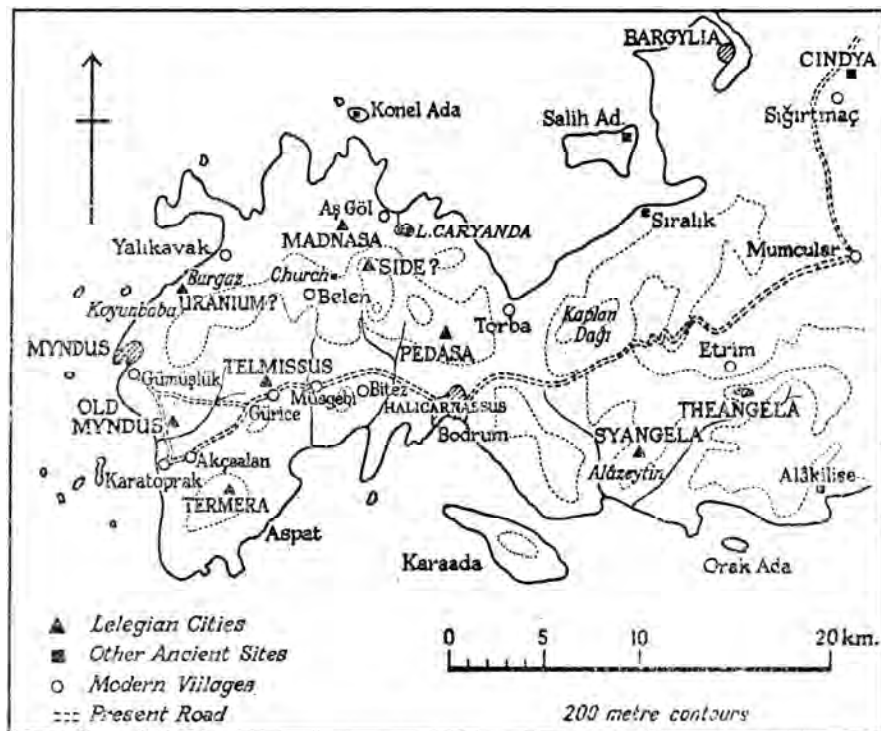


Fig. 3: The Lelegian Peninsula with its main settlements in capitals (Bean 1980, 91 fig. 15).

century BCE, the time of the 'Sea Peoples'⁶⁴. During this period, groups of Lelegians arrived from the north by boat and took possession of the Bodrum peninsula (Fig. 3).

The most famous of all Lelegian Sea Peoples' leaders was Termeros, the legendary founder of Termiera/Asarlık near Myndos, whose necropolis likewise starts in Late Helladic III C, as Diler has proven⁶⁵. The brutality of the Termerians, "the first to practice piracy" (πρώτους ληστεῦσαι), was so notorious in antiquity that a Greek proverb was shaped: Τερμέρια <κακά> τὰ μεγάλα, 'Great Termerian (evils)'⁶⁶.

The Lelegian occupation of the former Karian coastal lands was likely facilitated by the fact that the native Karians themselves were part of the 'Sea Peoples' and took part in their migration movements to the Levant and Egypt, leaving Karia or *Karkiša/Karkiya*, as it was called

⁶⁴ See e.g. Diler 2016, 465 f.; Diler 2019, 519, 544 fig. 46 (typical 'Sea Peoples' Pictorial style vase from platform cremation burial), 545 fig. 48 (typical 'Sea Peoples' spool shaped loom weights from houses); Diler 2020a, 256–267 figs. 4–6 (one-room houses, partly built in a row, with joining walls), figs. 12–13 (LH III C Middle/Late pottery from platform cremation burial 1, MP 66).

⁶⁵ Termiera is securely to be identified with the extended fortified settlement of Asarlık above the related harbour site of Çeşmebaşı/Aspat at the southwestern edge of the peninsula, ca. 9 km south of New Myndos-Gümüşlük, see e.g. Bean 1980, 91 map fig. 15 (= Fig. 3), 98 f.; Diler 2019. The finds in the tumulus/platform necropolis of Asarlık start in LH III C Middle/Late, like in the necropolis of Pedasa, see Özer 2018; Diler 2016, 465 f.; Diler 2019, 509–512, 530–533 figs. 11–16; Diler 2020a. For the location of Cape Termerion, today's Koca Burun southwest of Aspat, see Talbert – Bagnall 2000, map 61, grid E4.

⁶⁶ Philippus of Theangela *FGrHist* 741 F 3 = Scholium Euripides, *Rhesus* 509, see Bean 1980, 99 (on the proverb); Rumscheid 2009b, 177 (on Termeros); Paradiso 2010 on F 3/3a (also for the proverb and with more ancient texts and English translations).

by the Hittites⁶⁷, in great numbers⁶⁸. Most renowned of these Karian 'Sea Peoples' may have been a certain *Wljat/Wliat* of Gath/Tell es-Safi, one of the cities of the *Palastin* ('Philistine') pentapolis. As *Glyt/Γολιάθ*, a later namesake fights the Jewish future king David in the Bible⁶⁹.

The small dimensions of the Halikarnassos Peninsula, ca. 30 km from east to west and 20 km from north to south, as well as the mountainous landscape with only a few good harbours made it easy to defend for the newcomers, whose main subsistence was animal husbandry, olive and wine production, and piracy. From Homer's epic *Iliad* (late 8th century BCE) we learn that the Lelegians (*Leleges*), besides the Pelasgians (*Pelasgoi*), the Paionians, Kaukones and the Karians (*Kares*) of Miletos, were allies of the Trojans defending them against the attack of the Late Mycenaean-Achaean Greeks⁷⁰. Originally settling around *Pedastos* and *Lyrnessos* at the foot of Mount Ida on the river Satnioeis in the southern Troad⁷¹, the Lelegians of *Pedastos* were allegedly expelled by the Greek hero Achilleus and migrated to coastal northwestern *Karkiša*-Karia at the end of the Bronze Age (12th–11th centuries BCE)⁷². Outstanding of the Lelegian settlements—besides Termera—was *Pedasa*, today's Gökçeler, which bore the name of the 'mothercity' *Pedastos* at Mount Ida, home of Altes, king of the "war-loving *Leleges*" (Λελέγεσσι

⁶⁷ For Karia to be identified with Hittite *Karkiša/Karkiya*, see Herda 2009; Herda 2013; Herda 2020a, followed now by e.g. Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 156. The doubts cast on this identification by Simon 2015; Simon 2016a; Nunn – Simon 2023, 172 n. 21 and others (see e.g. Schürr 2018; Oreshko 2019; LaBuff 2022, 61) will be refuted *in extenso* in Herda in preparation.

⁶⁸ For *Karkiša*-Karians as part of the 'Sea-Peoples' migrating to the Levant, see Herda 2013; Herda 2020a; Herda in preparation a, chapter IV.

⁶⁹ 1 *Samuel* 17; *Sirach* 47.2–11. For a 10th/9th century graffito from Gath in proto-Canaanite alphabet, featuring the Karian name *wlt* = *Wljat/Wliat*, see Vernet Pons 2012; Herda 2020a, 19–21 with fig. 5; Herda 2024c, 21 f. fig. 5; Herda in preparation, chapter V.

⁷⁰ *Iliad* 10. 428–429. Strangely, the Lelegians are not listed by Homer in the 'catalogue of the Trojan Allies' in Book 2 of the *Iliad*. Strabo explains this (13.3.1) as follows: "However, the poet has omitted them in the *Catalogue*, not considering their organisation sufficient to have a place in it, or else including them under the command of Hektor because they were so closely related". See also with an alternative explanation: Herda – Sauter 2009, 65 n. 75.

⁷¹ *Iliad* 6.34–35, 20.90–92, 21.86–87; Strabo 7.7.2, 13.1.58–59, 14.1.3; cf. Ruge 1937a; Rumscheid 2009b, 175 f., 177 fig. 1, 181 f.; Fowler 2011b; Bresson 2019, 238 with n. 52.

⁷² Strabo 13.1.58, 7.7.2; see Soldan 1835, 122; Bean 1980, 2 f.; Herda – Sauter 2009, 64 f. with n. 74; Rumscheid 2009b, 177 f., 181 f.; Santini 2017, 128 f.; Herda in preparation, chapter VI. Instead, Bryce 2006, 220 lists them as "legendary Troad people" in his index, and Bresson 2019, 238 n. 52 holds "this hypothesis" (the migration of the Lelegians from the Troad to the Halikarnassos Peninsula) for "not necessary", as he also doubts, like other contemporary 'archaeologists' and historians, the historical existence of the Lelegian people as a whole (see above section 1 with n. 11 f.). However, exactly this migration is attested by Strabo 13.1.58 and 7.7.2, and the archaeological evidence also attests to an immigration in the Bodrum peninsula in the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age (see above), thus it is hardly to be rated as a pure 'hypothesis'. Likely unconvincing is the argumentation of Carless Unwin (2017, 57) that "the possibility arises that a group in Caria identified themselves as 'Leleges' and developed a distinct identity in the history of the region". This presupposes a late ethnogenesis of the Lelegian people on the Halikarnassos peninsula only, again contradicting the ancient sources and the archaeological evidence which on the contrary speak for an early immigration and later merging of the Lelegians with the Karians. Finally, H. Lohmann (2019, 161) now refuses to identify the "clearly defined cultural province" ("klar abgegrenzte Kulturprovinz") of the Bodrum peninsula as 'Lelegian', because this would result in a "fall back into the conceptions of the 19th century" ("Rückfall in Vorstellungen des 19. Jhs."), referring for this to the theories of the German philologist, Indo-Europeanist, and prehistorian Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931). Kossinna had developed a useful combination of settlement archaeology and cultural ethnology ("stammesgeschichtliche Kulturkreislehre"), but in his later years he combined it with nationalistic theories which served the German national-socialist racist ideology. The latter wrong way does not, however, invalidate Kossinna's idea of clearly defined cultural provinces and the significance of migrations, as is now also indicated by archaeogenetics, see Heyd 2017. See also above section 1 with n. 16 f.

φιλοππολέμοισιν) and father in law of Priamos⁷³. It has therefore to be identified as one of the initial Lelegian settlements on the Halikarnassos Peninsula, if not *the* initial one.

In the Early Iron Age, the late 12th to 7th centuries BCE, the Lelegians established their own cultural enclave, which however maintained close contacts with the Karian hinterland and the Dorian-Greek foundation of Halikarnassos, Pedasa's closest neighbour, as well as the Dorian settled island of Kos right opposite Termera/Aspat. In the long term, the autochthonous 'Luwic'-Karian culture prevailed, itself strongly influenced by the neighbouring East Greek Dorians and Ionians. The Lelegians gradually disappeared as an independent *ethnos*. According to some ancient sources, they were partly subdued by the Karians and made their servants (*helotes* respectively *oiketaj*, or in Karian: *mno-*)⁷⁴. But this can only count for a minority of them: the *synoikismos* of Halikarnassos, initiated by the Hekatomnid Maussollos ca. 375 BCE to create the new capital of the satrapy of Karia, made the people of Pedasa and five other Lelegian cities its citizens, together with Karians from the suburb Salmakis and the Karians and Dorian Greeks of Halikarnassos⁷⁵. At that time, the Lelegian language, likely a member of the Indo-European 'Luwic' languages of western Anatolia (Luwian, Lydian, Karian, Lykian, Milyan, Pisidian and Sidetic)⁷⁶, because of which the Greeks called them *Leleges*, (unintelligible) 'babblers, chatterers'⁷⁷, as they onomatopoetically called the Karians 'blabla-speakers' (*barbarophonoi*)⁷⁸, had already been replaced by Karian and East Ionic and Doric Greek in spoken and written language as can be demonstrated by coin legends and stone inscriptions as well as graffiti⁷⁹. It

⁷³ Homer *Iliad* 6.30–35 (location at Satnioeis River), 20.90 (conquered by Achilleus), 21.85–89 (Altes, king of the "war-loving" *Leleges* of *Pedatos*, father of Laiothoë, secondary wife of Priamos, mother of Trojan princes Lykaon and Polydorus, see also 22.46–55); Strabo 13.1.58, p. 611 (ed. Radt); see Zgusta 1984, 489 f. § 1054–2 Πήδασος. See Bean 1980, 2 f.: "One of them [the cities founded by the Lelegians on the Halikarnassos Peninsula, A.H.] bears the name Pedasa, an obvious echo of the city of Altes."

⁷⁴ Philippus of Theangela *FGrHist* 741 F 2 = Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 6. 101; Plutarch, *Questiones Graecae* 46 (= *Moralia* 302a-b); see Hornblower 2003, 38; Flensted-Jensen – Carstens 2004, 110; Herda – Sauter 2009, 65 n. 76; Rumscheid 2009b, 179; Paradiso 2010 on F 2; Zurbach 2019, 254. For *mno-* being Karian for 'servant', not 'son', see Schürr 2013, 28 f.; Herda in preparation, appendix 1. See also below with n. 87.

⁷⁵ Bean – Cook 1955, 143–155, 169; Hornblower 1982, 78–105, 238, 352; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1108 f.; Herda et al. 2019, 16 f. with n. 105; Herda 2020b, 21; Herda 2024b, 57–60; Konuk 2021 (ca. 375 BCE). For the Karian toponym *Salmakis*, see Zgusta 1984, 529 § 1150–1 Σαλμακίς; Blümel 2023, 192 s.v. Σαλμακίς. For the original, Karian toponym of Halikarnassos, *Alos karnos*, see below with n. 100 f.

⁷⁶ For this language group, see e.g. Melchert 2003.

⁷⁷ For the Greek ethnic *Leleges*, stemming in a folk-etymology from λαλέω or λαλαγέω, 'babble, chatter', see Rumscheid 2009b, 180. The true etymology of the ethnic may be the Luwian ethnic *Lulahi*, which does not mean 'barbarians' (so Rumscheid 2009b, 180 with further bibliography in n. 49), but (semi-nomad) 'mountain-dwellers', see Herda in preparation, chapter VI.

⁷⁸ For the Καρῶν βαρβαρόφωνων, 'Karians speaking in an unintelligible language', first mentioned by Homer, *Iliad* 2.867, who in this way coined the term 'barbarian' for the first time in Greek written language, see Herda 2009, 44 n. 108, p. 69; Herda 2013, 428 f.; Herda in preparation, chapters II, XIII. That the Karians were "uncouth of speech" (see most recently Bourogiannis 2020, 153 n. 2) is a misunderstanding of the term βαρβαρόφωνοι, already to be found in Strabo 14.2.28, see Herda 2009, 44 with n. 108; Herda – Sauter 2009, 56 with n. 35.

⁷⁹ For the use of the Karian alphabet (and language) in Lelegian cities, see e.g. a Late Archaic name(?) graffito in Karian from Myndos: Şahin – Şahin 2019, 584 no. 8 fig. 13 (Attic Red-figure skyphos with graffito on inner black-glazed side reading from left to right *oand[---]*). Of course, this can have been written by a Karian also. Neighbouring Termera minted Persian silver sigloi with Doric Greek inscriptions in the early 5th century BCE under the tyrant Istiaios, son of Tymnes, who was one of the *strategoi* of the Persian fleet arrested by the Ionians in the beginning of the Ionian revolt 499 BCE (Herodotus 5.37; overlooked by Köster 2020, 188 with n. 34), see "Historia Numorum Online":

is not accidentally that Herodotos of Halikarnassos, the son of the Karian Lyxes and an East Ionian-Greek mother, named Dryo or Rhoio⁸⁰, mentions the Lelegians only once(!) in his *Histories*: according to the Cretans, they had lived on the eastern Aegean islands at least since the time of king Minos, and had been the ancestors of the Karians. Later, they were expelled by the incoming Dorian and Ionian Greeks and settled on the Anatolian mainland. Herodotos adds hastily that the Karians themselves (correctly) insist to be Anatolian autochthones (αὐτόχθονας) and that their ethnic *Kares* (Κᾶρες) is the original one⁸¹. He continues by remarking that the Karians welcome the Mysians (= Phrygians?) and Lydians as their brothers in the ancient shrine of Zeus Karios in Mylasa, "but none of any other *ethnos*, even those which speak the same tongue (ὁμόγλωσσοι) as the Karians"⁸². As I suspect, the latter group is to be identified first of all with the Lelegians, not with Karian speaking Greeks, as the Lelegians of the Halikarnassos peninsula were indigenous Anatolians like the Karians, Mysians or Lydians, but not of the stock of the brothers Kar, Mysos and Lydos⁸³. With this assumption would match that when Herodotos refers to the Lelegian cities on the Halikarnassos peninsula, first of all Pedasa, he never calls them 'Lelegian', but only 'Karian'⁸⁴. The impression arises that he deliberately conceals the Lelegian ethnic in Karia⁸⁵. Later tradition, beginning with Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander, and

<http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=2167>; <http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=2378> (on reverse: I - Σ - TI - A, ca. 490–480 BCE). See also the coins of a Tymnes, likely the son of Istiaios: <http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=2377> (on reverse: TVMN - O [genitive singular], obverse: TEPMEPIK - ON [genitive plural ending written with omicron, not Ionic omega], ca. 480–460 BCE); Diler 2019, 508, 527 fig. 1; Konuk 2020, 242 f. fig. 4; Meadows 2021, 193, 208 no. 87, 218 fig. 9.10, 87 (Istiaios). In contrast, Pedasa minted bronze coins with Ionic Greek inscriptions: <http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=958> (on reverse: ΠΗΔΑ|ΣΕΩΝ, ca. 400–380 BCE), see below with Fig. 7. Likewise, Syangela minted as member of the Delian Attic League from ca. 450 to 375 BCE in silver and bronze with the Greek legends ΣΥ, ΣΥΑ, ΣΥΑΓ: <http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=445> (bronze, reverse: ΣΥΑΓ, ca. 400–375 BCE) (all accessed: 25.05.2025).

⁸⁰ For Herodotos' parents, first of all his Greek mother, who likely stemmed from Ionian Samos, see Herda 2024a, 128–133.

⁸¹ Herodotus 1.171.5: κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν ("This is the Cretan story about the Karians; but the Karians themselves do not subscribe to it, but believe that they are aboriginal inhabitants of the mainland and always bore the name which they bear now").

⁸² Herodotus 1.171.5-6: ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσσοις Διὸς Καρίου ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καροῖ· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλοι ἔθνη ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καροῖ ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα ("And they point to an ancient shrine of Zeus Karios at Mylasa, whereto Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Karians (for Lydos and Mysos, they say, were brothers of Kar), are admitted; but none of any other *ethnos*, even those which speak the same tongue as the Karians").

⁸³ See Herda in preparation, chapter VI, and appendix 1. That Herodotos referred to Karian speaking Greeks instead, is assumed by Carless Unwin 2017, 48; 2019, 55. That the Leleges of the Troad had originally migrated there from the Balkans around 1000 BCE, assumed by Gschnitzer 1999, 40, seems rather unlikely to me, first of all for chronological reasons.

⁸⁴ For the 'Karians' of Pedasa, see Herodotus 1.175 f., 6.20; see Herda – Sauter 2009, 65 with n. 76. Herodotos further mentions the admiral Istiaios, son of Tymnes from Lelegian Termera (5.37, see above n. 79 on his coins), as well as the personnel of the Lelegian Apollo oracle of Tel(e)messos/Telmissos, the *Telmessees* (1.78, 84), without referring to neither Lelegians nor Karians. Herodotos is the earliest attestation of the Lelegian ethnicon *Telmessees*, *pace* Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1134 on no. 936 Telemessos, who seems to prefer Lykian Telmessos/Fethiye instead, which does not seem convincing to me, see Zgusta 1984, 608 f. § 1314 Τελμησσός, Τελμισσός, Τελεμεσσός, Τελεμησσός, Telebehi; Herda in preparation, chapter VI.

⁸⁵ Rumscheid 2009b, 179 suspects that Herodotos kept silent about the Lelegians because he was first of all interested in the prehistory of the Karian people and that in his time the Lelegians had already lost their character as an independent people.

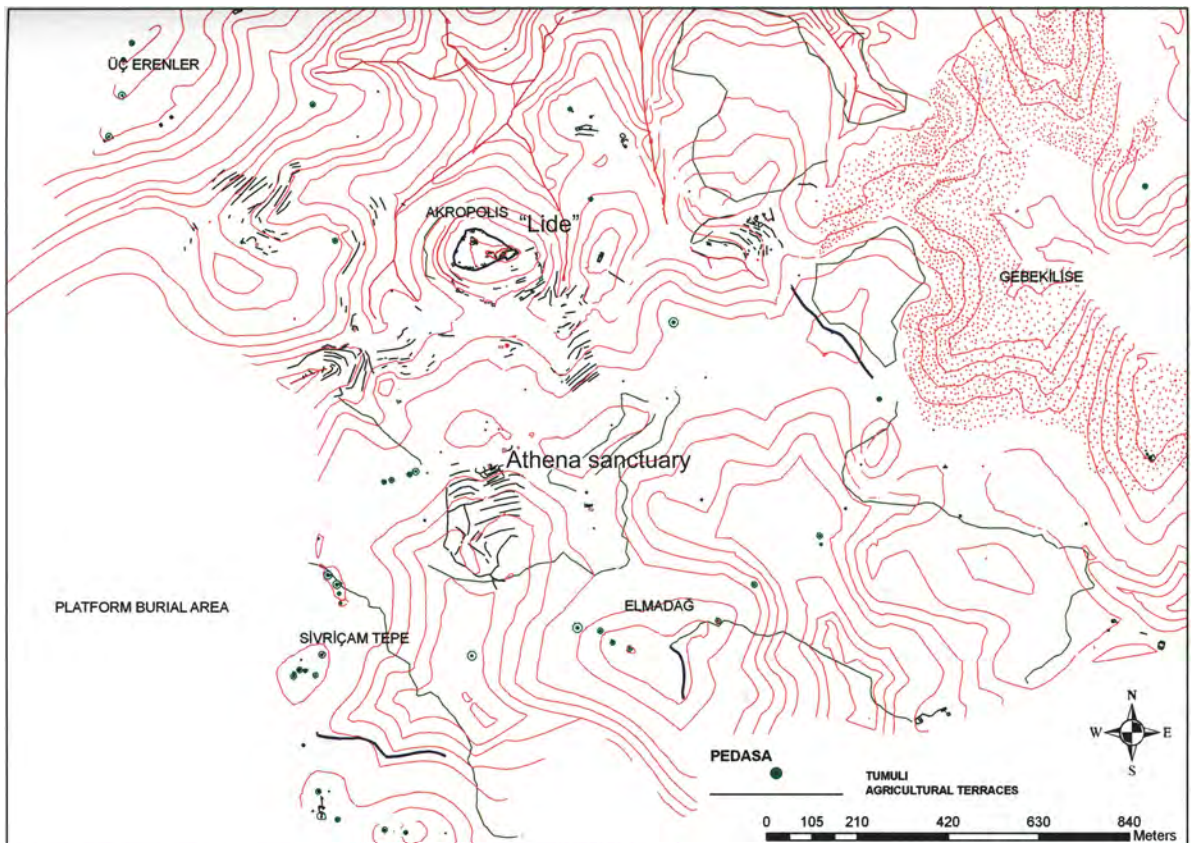


Fig. 4: The Lelegian settlement center at Pedasa/Gökçeler with fortified acropolis of "Lide" and Athena sanctuary, surrounded by farmsteads ('compounds'), agricultural terraces, outer fortifications and extended platform and tumuli necropoleis (author after Diler 2016, pl. 213 fig. 2).

the Alexander biographer Kallisthenes, has the Lelegians disappearing by merging into the Karian ethnos⁸⁶, likely as the underprivileged group of *oiketai*, 'servants, slaves', that Philippos of Theangela called them in the 3rd century BCE⁸⁷.

In the 6th and early 5th century BCE however, Lelegian Pedasa was still a strong and self-confident community, leading an amphiktyony of settlements⁸⁸, that later became a member of

⁸⁶ Strabo 7.7.2 (321-322 = imprecise citation of some of the *politeiai* of Aristotle and his school), 13.1.59 (C611 = Kallisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 35), see Rumscheid 2009b, 179 who adds Pausanias 7.2.8 declaring the Lelegians to be a "part of the Karians" (τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοῖρα), see also Rumscheid 2009b, 176.

⁸⁷ *FGrHist* 741 F 2, see Rumscheid 2009b, 179; above with n. 74.

⁸⁸ Herodotus 8.104: ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτύοσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπὸν ("when anything untoward is about to befall those who dwell about their city"); see *ATL* I 537: "from VIII, 104 we infer that the Athena temple was the centre of some sort of amphiktyony". This amphiktyony may well have served as forerunner of the *synoikismos* of Halikarnassos by Maussollos, as argued by *ATL* I 538. On the basis of Kallisthenes' information (*FGrHist* 124 F 25 = Strabo 13.1.59 [611]) that the *Pedasis* included all eight Lelegian cities between Myndos in the west and Bargylia in the east of the peninsula, as well as Herodotus 8.104, Kuhn 1878, 252 f. contemplated that the Pedasean amphiktyony existed already in the 6th century BCE, see Rumscheid 2009b, 182 with n. 61, who follows this argumentation. Similarly, Radt 1970, 13 f. stresses that the concentration of elite monumental tumulus graves around Pedasa/Gökçeler and the sanctuary of Athena speaks for Pedasa as the Lelegian power center. He is followed by Diler 2016, pl. 213 fig. 2; Diler – Topaloğlu 2021, 285 fig. 1.

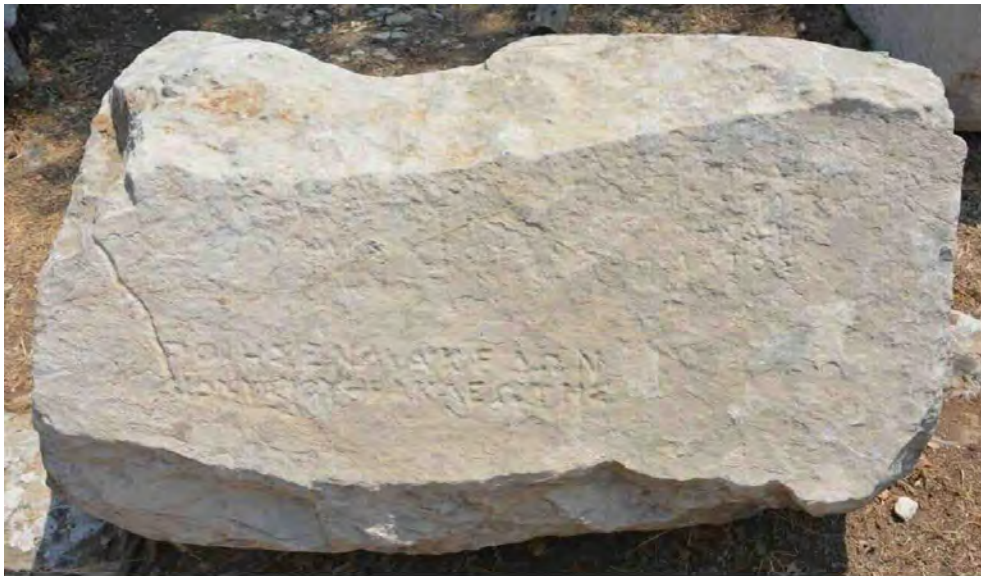


Fig. 5: Pedasa/Gökçeler, statue basis with *Koine* Greek inscription for Athena, naming *inter alia* the dedicator Hebiades the *Malieus*. Below in larger letters the signature of the sculptor Makedon of Herakleia-under-Latmos. Late 4th century BCE. (photo G. Ünver, in: Diler et al. 2021, 231 fig. 4).

the Delian-Attic League, paying a tribute (*phoros*) of 3,000 drachmas to two talents between 454/3 and 425/4 BCE⁸⁹. It was this Pedasa which, for a while, resisted the first Persian invasion into Karia under general Harpagos in 544/3 BCE, by fortifying a high place called *Lide* (Figs. 1, 4).

But according to Herodotos the besieged Pedaseis had finally to submit to Harpagos⁹⁰. Most famous of all Pedasean cults was that of warlike Athena, to be equated with the Luwian-Lelegian-Karian protective river and mountain goddess *Maliya/Malija*⁹¹, whose priestess allegedly

⁸⁹ See Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1131, who however mistakenly attributes these payments to Pedasa's colony Pidasa-on-Grion instead (Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1131 f. no. 925 Pidasa), as did first most influentially *ATL* I, 535 f. arguing that a *phoros* of one to two talents in the first and second period would have been too high for a settlement so close to Halikarnassos (they are however followed by Radt 1973/74, 170; Blümel 1997, 139 [tacitly corrected in Blümel 2023, 188, but see Blümel 2018, 68 [T 3] where he mistakenly identifies the Πιδασεῖς paying a *phoros* of 3000 drachmai in 425/4 BCE (*IG* I³, 71.II.149, see above n. 62) with the people of Pidasa-on-Grion, as does now also Bresson 2019, 236, 237, 238]; Lohmann 2000; Lohmann 2006, 240 s.v. Pidasa; Wörle 2003, 1368, 1371 f. n. 45; Baron 2021, 1131). This was already rightly rejected by Bean – Cook 1955, 150 f. and Cook 1961, 95 f.; see also: Robert 1978, 491 n. 3. During the membership in the Attic-Delian League, the amphiktyony was dissolved, as a *phoros* was paid not only by Pedasa, but also by Myndos, Termera, Madnasa, Ouranion, and Syangela, see Kuhn 1878, 269 (he only has the Madnases, Myndioi, Pedases, Syangela, as the *ATL*-edition was not out yet), and above n. 38.

⁹⁰ Herodotus 1.175 f.; see Bean 1980, 95. For *Lide*, to be identified with the fortified hilltop-settlement of Pedasa/Gökçeler, see below with n. 73. Herodotos first, in 1.174.1, states that "the Karians did nothing notable before they were all enslaved by Harpagos" (Οἱ μὲν νυν Κάρεις οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου). But then, in 1.175.1 he stresses that the Pedaseis "were the only men all round Karia who held out for long against Harpagos, and they gave him the most trouble" (οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Κάρην ἀνδρῶν μόνοι τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλεῖστα). It seems that Herodotos wanted to allude here to the Lelegian, non-Karian origin of the Pedaseis. According to Xenophon (*Cyropedia* 7.4), Karia which after the Persian conquest "was immersed in revolutions and internal wars", was finally 'pacified' by Kyros' general Adousios, see Briant 2020, 42.

⁹¹ For *Maliya*-Athena of Pedasa, see Herda 2024 b, 52–57; Herda in preparation, chapter XIII.



Fig. 6: Sanctuary of Athena seen from North. Remains are partly overbuilt by Late Roman/Early Byzantine structures (photo author, 20.9.2017).

grew a long beard in case of danger⁹². A late 4th century BCE dedication to Athena on a statue base, found at Gökçeler in 1895, enabled William Roger Paton and John Linton Myres who conducted systematic surveys of the region⁹³, to identify the place as ancient Pedasa (Fig. 5)⁹⁴. One of the dedicators bears the ethnic *Malieus* which is, like the related place name *Malia*, derived from the theonym of Lelegian-Karian *Malija*⁹⁵.

Both the extraurban sanctuary of *Malija*-Athena as well as the nearby fortified hilltop-settlement of *Lide* have been identified and excavated by Diler's team (Fig. 6)⁹⁶.

⁹² Herodotus 1.175, 8.104.

⁹³ It is most interesting to find out that Myres worked for the British military intelligence in Greece and Türkiye during WW I (and certainly after), applying his survey techniques, especially "to map country with the minimum of equipment" in Türkiye "to bring in news and cattle for the [British] Navy, much as patriotic Ionians must have harried the Persian coast": Dunbabin 1954. J.L. Myres of Cambridge University was not the only British archaeologist serving the Empire's interests in the Near East in the course of the systematic destruction of the Ottoman Empire. Other more famous names, this time Oxford graduates, were David G. Hogarth, T.E. Lawrence ('L. of Arabia'), Gertrude Bell ('queen of desert'), and Leonard Woolley, see Meskeil 2023, who identifies "the initial stirrings of an early military-industrial-academic complex" (2023, 260), in other words the precursor of MI6.

⁹⁴ Paton – Myres 1896, 215 f. no. 4; *CIG* 2660 (= *SGDI* III 5731 = *CEG* II 867); see *ATL* I 537 n. 1 (all date it to the 5th century BCE); Robert 1978, 500 no. 42 (dating corrected to the Early Hellenistic period); Hallof – Kansteiner 2014 (late 4th century BCE); Diler 2020a, 254 (findspot near now excavated sanctuary of Athena, southwest outside the fortified zone of the acropolis of Lide); G. Ünver in: Diler et al. 2021, 190 f., 231 fig. 4 (again mistakenly dated to the 5th century BCE); Blümel 2023, 182 s.v. Μαλυ/α/ (dated mistakenly in 5th century BCE); Herda 2024b, 54 f.

⁹⁵ See line 2: Ἡβιάδης Τηλέμαχου Μαλιεύς Ἀθηναίῃ δεκάτην ("Hebiades, son of Telemachos the Malieus [has dedicated] a tithe to Athene"). For the ethnic *Malieus* and the Lykian place name *Malia* to be related to the goddess *Malija*, see already Zgusta 1984, 359 § 756–2 Μαλυ/α/.

⁹⁶ Bulut 2013; Bulut 2019; Özen-Kleine 2016; Diler 2020a; Diler 2021; Diler – Gümüş 2023, 15–19; Adıgüzel – Yıldız 2023.



Fig. 7: Bronze chalkous of Pedasa/Gökçeler (diameter 11 mm). Obv.: Head of Athena to right, wearing crested Attic helmet. Rev.: ΠΗΔΑ|ΣΕΩΝ on either side of Athenian owl in 'old' style standing right, head facing, ca. 415–375 BCE. (photo courtesy Historia Numorum Online [HNO]: http://hno.huma-num.fr/_PHOTOS/6316.jpg).

The helmeted head of *Malija*-Athena was the badge of Pedasa's bronze coinage ca. 415–375 BCE, before the synoikism with Halikarnassos ended her independence and coin emission around 375 BCE (Fig. 7)⁹⁷.

Rumscheid 2009b, 184 does not want to relate *Lide* to a specific fortification, but to the fortification system of the whole peninsula which according to him implies a "superordinate organisation". This unlikely view depends on his realistic conception of the *Pedasis* as an amphyktyony under the lead of Pedasa, encompassing the whole peninsula, see above n. 88. It also ignores the fact that from the wording in Herodotos 1.175 ὅρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Λίδη, as well as in SEG 43, 713.a38 γῆν ἐν Λίδηι (Halikarnassos, 5th/4th century BCE) clearly results that *Lide* (Λίδη) is an Anatolian place name designating a hill in the territory of the Pedaseans, close to Halikarnassos: Zgusta 1984, 341 § 712-1 Λίδη; Blümel 2023, 181 s.v. Λίδη.

⁹⁷ For Fig. 7, see http://hno.huma-num.fr/_jumi/photo.php?id=6316 (= SNG Kayhan II, 1665) (accessed: 25.05.2025). For Pedasa/Gökçeler's coinage, see Konuk 2012, 341–347 figs. 1–3 (dated 400–375 BCE). Bresson 2019, 237, who follows Konuk in the attribution, remarks that the letter forms "could even date back to the end of the 5th century". The eye of Athena depicted in full profile resembles the early fourth century Athenian silver tetradrachms: Kroll 2011, 4 figs. 1A–B, p. 10, 11, 15, 16, pls. 1–5. But eyes in perspective side-view already appear on Early Classical coins from neighbouring Halikarnassos (see below Fig. 8), and in Late Archaic Milesian Fikellura vase painting: Herda 2019, 107 f. with n. 92, fig. 7. For more related coins of this type, see https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?term=pedasa&category=1-2&lot=&date_from=&date_to=&thesaurus=1&images=1&en=1&de=1&fr=1&it=1&es=1&ot=1¤cy=usd&order=0.

For the beginning of bronze coinage in Karia in the late 5th century BCE, see Ashton 2006. It is remarkable that Athens herself started issuing silver-plated bronze coinage as an emergency measure at the end of the Peloponnesian War in 406/5 BCE: Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 813–829, see Kroll 2011, 6 f. As is the case with the *phoros*-payments for the Delian-Attic League (see above with n. 89), the coinage of Pedasa/Gökçeler was mistakenly attributed to Pidasa-on-Grion and dated in the Hellenistic period instead, see von Aulock 1975 (coins dated 196–175 BCE), followed by Robert 1978, 490 fig. 24, 496, 500; Herda 2009, 82 with n. 310; Herda – Sauter 2009, 65 n. 78; Bremmer 2013, 67 with n. 57; Parker 2016a, 13.

The attribution of a rare, early 4th century BCE bronze coin emission with a female head on the obverse and the legend ΠΙ on the reverse to Pidasa-on-Grion, as proposed by Konuk 2012, 347 f. fig. 4, who is followed by <https://hemiobol.wordpress.com/2012/09/30/pidasa-the-town-which-dissolved-itself/>, and Bresson 2019, 236 with n. 39, is hypothetical. Richard Ashton (Ashton 2006, 7) has instead stressed that there are several possibilities of identifying the mint. He proposed either Pitane in Mysia, Pidasa-on-Grion, Pisye, or Pisilis in Karia, or Pinara in Lykia. A related unique silver fraction of ca. 400 BCE, showing a female head with hairnet (*sakkos*) on the obverse and the initials ΠΙ in incuse square on the reverse has been tentatively attributed to Pitane or Pidasa-on-Grion: <https://hemiobol.wordpress.com/2012/11/>.

While the helmeted Athena and the owl of 'old' style are clear references to the tetradrachms of Athens as dominant power of the Delian-Attic League⁹⁸, the alphabet of the coin's legend is definitely East Ionic, not Ionic-Attic Greek, indicated by the use of the letters eta and omega. It illustrates the strong cultural influence of Ionia since Archaic times. This is also to be recognised in imported East Ionian course and fine wares, found during the excavations in Pedasa. Especially Milesian trade amphorae and drinking vessels decorated with the Wild Goat and Fikellura styles of the 7th and 6th century BCE dominate, accompanied since the 6th century by Northern Ionian imports. The high demand of Ionian pottery led the local Lelegian-Karian potters to imitate forms and decorations⁹⁹.

The adoption of the East Ionic language and alphabet is likewise to be seen in the Dorian-Greek 'foundation' Halikarnassos¹⁰⁰, where since at least the early 5th century BCE, public inscriptions are written in Ionic Greek¹⁰¹. It is therefore remarkable to see that under Persian rule, between ca. 480–466 BCE, and then from the end of the Peloponnesian War (after 410/9 BCE) until the beginning of Hekatomnos' satrapal rule around 392 BCE, when the western coast of Asia Minor had become Persian again, Halikarnassos issued silver tetartemoria and hemiobols of the Milesian standard with the Karian legend Αῤ(Ο), ΑΙ(Ο)¹⁰². These are obviously the initials of the Karian toponym behind the Graecised place name *Halikarnassos*, *Alos ĩarnos*, 'high fortress' or 'fortress of the deep (sea?)',¹⁰³ as has recently been demonstrated by Ignacio Javier Adiego (Figs. 8–9)¹⁰⁴.

⁹⁸ The reason, Robert 1978, 500 gives for the 'ancient Athenian style' of the coins, namely that the Athena-type is influenced by coinage of Herakleia-under-Latmos, is obsolete, as Robert mistakenly dates them, following herein von Aulock 1975, in the 180s BCE and attributes them to Pidasa-on-Grion (see previous footnote). The true reason for the Athenian style of the coins, imitating silver tetradrachms of the late 5th or early 4th century BCE (for the type see Kroll 2011), in fact dated likely in the last years of Athenian dominance before 410/9 BCE, will have been that minting Pedasa/Gökçeler had become, like Halikarnassos, a member of the Delian-Attic League after Kimon's campaign in 466 BCE, see Bresson 2019, 237, and below on the impact of this event on the silver coinage of Halikarnassos.

⁹⁹ See Özer 2019. Besides Ionian (mainly Milesian) imports, Corinthian fine wares are relatively frequent in Pedasa from ca. 640 to 580 BCE, superseded by Attic black-figure pottery since the second quarter of the 6th century BCE (unfortunately no absolute numbers are given!).

¹⁰⁰ The Dorian foundation of Halikarnassos can only be secondary: the Greek Linear B-toponym was likely *ze-pu₂-ra₃*, in Classical antiquity *Zephyrion* (Strabo 14.2.16, see e.g. Kuhn 1878, 262 f.), which attests to the presence of Mycenaean Greeks in the 13th/12th century BCE (see Del Frio 2009, 58 with n. 114; Herda – Sauter 2009, 54 n. 26; Herda 2013a, 440 n. 79; for Mycenaean pottery finds from the Crusaders Castle, see Pedersen 2020, 344–346 fig. 2 [kylix? with whorl-shells, LH III C Early?]), while *Halikarnassos*, Ἀλικαρνα(σ)σός (Doric)/Ἀλικαρνησός (Ionic) is likely the Graecised form of the Karian toponym *Alos ĩarnos*, see Zgusta 1984, 62 § 44–7 Ἀλικαρνασός; Adiego 2007, 255, 279, 315, 351; 2019; Blümel 2023, 164 s.v. Ἀλικαρνασός. For the etymology, see below with n. 103.

¹⁰¹ Bresson 2009, 111; Herda 2013a, 434 f.; Abe 2014–2015, 147–150.

¹⁰² See e.g. Hemiobol ca. 480–466 BCE (= Fig. 8): <http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=943> (mistakenly attributed to Kasolaba and dated 480–460 BCE) (accessed: 25.05.2025); Hemiobol ca. 392–377 BCE (= Fig. 9): <http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=2161> (mistakenly attributed to Kasolaba) (accessed: 25.05.2025).

¹⁰³ For the etymology of *Alos ĩarnos*, see Herda in preparation, chapter XIII, and appendix 2.

¹⁰⁴ For the coins, the reading of their legend as ΑΙ(Ο) and attribution to Halikarnassos, see now Adiego 2019. These coins, showing the head of a ram on the obverse and the head of a youth plus the legend on the reverse, are Milesian-standard hemiobols or tetartemoria. The legend was formerly read as ΑΖ(Ο) and the coins therefore attributed to the Karian city of Kasolaba, see Descat 1994, 66–68; Konuk 2007, 476–479 M12–M21 (all hemiobols), pls. 1–2; Konuk 2009; Konuk 2020, 244 f. fig. 8 (= Konuk 2007, 477 pl. 1 M12, earliest issue, dated by Konuk to ca. 480–450 BCE); and Konuk in *HNO* s.v. Kasolaba (accessed: 25.05.2025). Konuk's identification is mentioned by Piras 2009, 238



Fig. 8: Silver hemiobol of Milesian standard of Halikarnassos, ca. 480–466 BCE (diameter 7 mm). Obverse: ram head, reverse, in *incusum*: head of youth, Karian legend from right to left ΑΘ = Al(os karnos). (photo courtesy HNO: http://hno.huma-num.fr/_PHOTOS/6092.jpg).



Fig. 9: Silver hemiobol of Halikarnassos under Hekatomnos, ca. 392–377 BCE (diameter 7 mm). Obverse: Persian hero-king to right, in running-kneeling position holding bow and dagger; reverse: head of youth, Karian legend from left to right ΑΘΟ = Alo(s karnos). (photo courtesy HNO: http://hno.huma-num.fr/_PHOTOS/7750.jpg).

However, after 466 BCE, when Halikarnassos had become member of the Delian-Attic League¹⁰⁵, the city also minted silver obols and hemistaters of the Aiginetian and Attic standard, bearing the Greek legends ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ or ΑΛΙ(ΚΑΡ)[ΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ/ΝΗΣΣΕΩΝ], written in the East Ionic alphabet¹⁰⁶. This illustrates best the Karian-Greek bilingualism if not multilingualism

with n. 38, who however remarks that most coins of this type with a known findspot stem from around Halikarnassos, wherefore H.A. Troxell (1984, 249) had already contemplated Halikarnassos as mint. For a rare Halikarnassian tetartemorion, dated ca. 395–377 BCE with the Karian legend *al* on the reverse besides the head of the youth, see https://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/caria/halikarnassos/BMC_43.jpg (accessed: 25.05.2025). An anonymous reviewer states that the *Al(o)*-coins "were found in large numbers around Mylasa and are today kept in the Archaeological Museum of Milas. Moreover, over a hundred of these coins were discovered in the Demeter sanctuary of Kaunos (published). This does not make them a coinage of Kaunos!" Exactly! They are neither from Mylasa/Milas, nor from Kaunos, nor from Kasolaba, but from *Alos karnos*/Halikarnassos.

¹⁰⁵ See below with n. 119 for the possible date of entry into the league after the Karia-campaign of Kimon in 466 BCE, following the victorious battle of Eurymedon in Pamphylia.

¹⁰⁶ Ashton – Konuk 2019, 264 f., 279, 287 nos. A.1.a–E.1.d. The coins show a winding sea monster (*ketos*) on their obverse, and a framed star pattern on the reverse. See also a silver obol of the Attic standard, depicting the forepart of Pegasos on the obverse and the forepart of a goat with Greek legend ΑΛΙ (ΛΙ in ligature) on the reverse, dated ca. 450–400 BCE by K. Konuk: <https://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pid=9248> (accessed: 25.05.2025); HNO 64 (<http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=64>) and more frequently (nos. 1964, 2278). This coin

spreading in Karia since the Late Bronze Age¹⁰⁷, resulting also in double-naming of persons, gods and places¹⁰⁸.

The city is later proud of Herodotos “the pedestrian (i.e. prose) Homer of historiography” (Ἡρόδοτον τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὀμηρον), writing in East Ionic Greek¹⁰⁹, as well as of his Karian uncle *Panyassis*, “the glorious lord of verse” (ἐπῶν ἀρίστημον ἄνακτα) who was famous for composing a 9,000-verse epic on Herakles, the *Herakleia*, and even more relevant, a 7,000-verse elegiac *Ionika* on the Early Iron Age Ionian (not Dorian!) migration to Asia Minor¹¹⁰. The ‘Ionisation’ of Dorian-Karian Halikarnassos may therefore have been the true reason why the city was excluded from the Dorian Hexapolis sometime in the late 6th or early 5th century BCE¹¹¹. This made it much easier to become, like Pedasa, a member of the Delian-Attic League, after the league had been ‘offensively’ founded in 478/77 BCE against the Persian threat¹¹². The ideological justification for the foundation of the league had been the tradition of the Athenian origin of the Ionian settlers of Asia Minor, first of all the *Neleidai* of Miletos, praised by Panyassis in his *Ionika*¹¹³.

However, not all Karian cities revolted from the Persians and joined the league from its beginning. The historian Diodorus reports that some of the coastal cities of Karia “which had been settled from Greece”, had joined the league before 466, when the Athenian admiral Kimon campaigned after the victorious battle of Eurymedon with the complete naval forces of the

type was first introduced ca. 465–450 BCE as hemihektai of around 1.00–1.10 g, see Ashton – Konuk 2019, 266, 288 figs. 4–5 (dated ca. 465–450 BCE). They must be related to Halikarnassos’ entry into the Delian-Attic League after the campaign of Kimon in 466 BCE.

¹⁰⁷ On this phenomenon, see e.g. Herda 2013a, 434–441, 467–471; Abe 2014–2015; Carless Unwin 2019.

¹⁰⁸ For Karian-Greek double-names (*Zweitnamen*) of individuals, see Chaniotis 2013; Adiego 2013, 16 f.; Adiego 2023, 19–21; Carless Unwin 2019, 53. For the pairing of Karian and Greek theonyms, see e.g. *Maliya*-Athena, *Trqδ*-Zeus, or **Sanda(s)*-Herakles, see Herda 2024 b.

¹⁰⁹ See the phrasing in an epigram, the ‘Pride of Halikarnassos’ or ‘Salmakis epigram’, found in Halikarnassos-Bodrum 1995 *in situ* in the sanctuary of the local nymph Salmakis, Aphrodite, Hermes and Hermaphroditos, and dated to the later 2nd century BCE: Lloyd-Jones 1999, 2 line 43 (he translates “Herodotus, the prose Homer in the realm of history”). For Herodotos writing in East Ionic Greek, the dialect which dominated in Greek prose literature in the Archaic period, see above n. 47.

¹¹⁰ Panyassis is referred to in the ‘Pride of Halikarnassos’, line 45: ἔσπειρεν Πανύασσιν ἐπῶν ἀρίστημον ἄνακτα, “she was the mother of Panyassis, the glorious lord of verse”, see Lloyd-Jones 1999, 11. On Panyassis’ epic *Herakleia*, composed in hexameter in the Aiolic-Ionic ‘Kunstsprache’, see e.g. Matthews 1974, 21–26; Hornblower 1982, 14 n. 69; Isager 2004, 230. On the ‘pentametric’ elegy *Ionika*, composed in 3,500 distichs/couplets, see Matthews 1974, 26–31.

¹¹¹ Hornblower 1980, 14 n. 69; Bresson 2009, 111. However, Herodotos (1.144.3), himself a product of the ‘Ionisation’ of Halikarnassos, gives another, more prosaic reason for the exclusion, see Gagné 2006, 21; Bresson 2009, 111; Herda 2013a, 424 f.; Herda 2024a, 131 with n. 361.

¹¹² See Briant 2020, 43: “Like all western Asia Minor, Caria was the subject of a fierce competition between the Achae-minids and Athens during the period following the defeat of Xerxes. The offensive foundation of the League of Delos under the Athenian authority led many cities and dynastic Carians of the coast to pass, willingly or not, to the side of Athens, following for example the campaign of Cimon around 466”.

¹¹³ See Matthews 1974, 29. The same argument was brought forward in the Athenian citizens’ assembly by the Milesian tyrant Aristagoras in 499, to assure their support of the Ionian revolt: Herodotus 5.97. For Miletos as Athenian colony, see also Herodotus 1.146.2–3, 1.147, 6.21.2. In the famous Late Hellenistic Salmakis epigram dealing with the subsequent foundations of Halikarnassos (Lloyd-Jones 1999, 8 lines 27 f.), is mentioned a ‘Pelasgian’ foundation under Kranaos and the ‘sons of Kekrops’ from Athens, predating the ‘Dorian’ foundation by Anthes from Peloponnesian Troizen, see Gagné 2006, 23 n. 109; Bresson 2009, 110; Bremmer 2013, 68 f.; Herda 2013a, 424 f. with n. 15, p. 472; Herda 2024b, 60 with n. 206.

league in Karia to enlarge the member numbers (and the *phoros*). Diodoros will have referred first of all to Dorian-Greek Knidos, colonised by Sparta. Halikarnassos, colonised from Troizen¹¹⁴, could be another candidate. But Diodoros also states that "the cities whose inhabitants spoke two languages (*diglottoi*) and still had Persian garrisons, he [Kimon] had to recourse to force and laid siege to them; then, after he had brought to his side the cities of Karia (...) by taking additional ships from the allies, who were continually added, he still further increased the size of the fleet"¹¹⁵. Halikarnassos was more likely of the latter group. In the battle of Salamis 479 BCE, the "Karian virago" and Lygdamid tyrant Artemisia of Halikarnassos fought with five ships on the side of Xerxes¹¹⁶. After the catastrophic defeat, Artemisia, who had fought 'like a man'¹¹⁷, as well as the eunuch Hermotimos of Pedasa/Gökçeler, "who held among the eunuchs the first place with the king", were personally chosen by Xerxes to escort his children back to Ephesos by boat¹¹⁸. This close relationship between the local elites of Halikarnassos and Pedasa/Gökçeler, and the Persian king likely excludes that the two cities joined the Delian Attic league early on. Both their payments of the *phoros*, attested by the first tribute list on the *Lapis Primus* for 454/3 BCE, form a safe *terminus ante quem*, while the Karia-campaign of Kimon of 466 after the battle of Eurymedon may deliver the *terminus post quem*¹¹⁹. Halikarnassos' issuing of the silver hemistaters of the Aiginetian or Attic standard with Ionic Greek legends ca. 460–410/9 BCE¹²⁰, replacing the silver coins in the Milesian standard with the Karian legend, is therefore best to be explained by her changing sides and entering the Greek league.

Due to its warlike city goddess *Malija*-Athena and her heroic resistance against the Persian general Harpagos in 544/3 BCE, not to forget the "war-loving *Leleges*" (Λελέγεσσι φιλοπολέμοισιν) of Homer's Pedasos in the Troad, the mother city of Pedasa¹²¹, Pedasa/Gökçeler has most often been identified as the place of the nighttime ambush "on the road at Pedasos/Pedason" of 497/6 BCE, where the Karians under the leadership of Herakleides of Mylasa annihilated the army of Persian Daurises¹²². As additional argument for

¹¹⁴ See previous footnote.

¹¹⁵ Diodorus 11.60.4-5, see Hornblower 2011, 21 f.; Briant 2020, 43 with English translation. See also Figueira 2023 ("general comments" on "Caria" at the beginning of the "Table of Delian League Allies"). Figueira's online article in Harvard's *Classics@ Journal* is a perfect example for a labyrinthic, nearly non-citable online publication, as they become more and more common these days.

¹¹⁶ Artemisia: Herodotus 7.99.1–2, 8.68–69.2, 87–88, 93, 101–103; Hornblower 1982, 8 n. 38, 10 n. 49, 20, 22, 24 (citation), 25, 26, 135, 268, 271 ('Lygdamid'), 322 f., 349 n. 161, 359; Hornblower 2013, 301; Carless Unwin 2017, 14; Bresson 2019, 229; Briant 2020, 43; Herda in preparation, chapter XIII. Shortly before 466 BCE (entry of Halikarnassos in the Delian-Attic League), under the rule of Artemisia's grandson Lygdamis who acted as tyrant, Herodotos was forced into exile in Samos, while his uncle Panyassis was executed: Suidas s.v. Ἡρόδοτος (H 536 ed. Adler); s.v. Πανύσσις (Π 248 ed. Adler), see Jacoby 1913, 209–232; Stoessl 1949, 872–875; Matthews 1974, 5–20; Herda 2024a, 131.

¹¹⁷ Herodotus 8.88.3 has Xerxes saying in relation to Artemisia: οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γέγονασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες ("My men have become women, and my women men"); compare also Polyaeus, *Strategemata* 8.53.5.

¹¹⁸ Herodotus 8.103–104, see Bresson 2019, 229; Briant 2020, 43; Herda in preparation, chapter XIII.

¹¹⁹ *IG* I³ 259.IV.13 (*Halikarnassēs*), III 5 (*Pedasēs*), see above with n. 89, 97 f. See Figueira 2023 in note 250 of the "Table of Delian League Allies" on Halikarnassos: "Halikarnassos lay under a puppet (at least, formerly pro-Persian) regime for much of the period between Mykale and Eurymedon". For the *Lapis Primus*, on which were inscribed the tribute lists *IG* I³ 259–272 (454/3–440/39 BCE), see e.g. Tracey 2013.

¹²⁰ See above with n. 83. In 410/9 BCE, Halikarnassos was still a loyal ally of Athens: *IG* I³, 103 (Athenian honorary decree for Halikarnassos), see Bresson 2019, 237 with n. 46.

¹²¹ Homer *Iliad* 21.86, see above section 2 with n. 51.

¹²² How – Wells 1928, 65; Bean – Cook 1955, 150 (passage cited below); Radt 1973/74, 169; Bean 1980, 95; Zgusta 1984,

Pedasa/Gökçeler, the numismatists Richard Ashton and Koray Konuk now argue “that it would be natural for Daurises to penetrate further south into Karia after their victories at the Marsyas river and near Labraunda”¹²³. However, there are two problems with their reconstruction of the events: firstly the location of the preceding second lost battle of Karians and Milesians against the Persians near Labraunda is highly questionable in regard to the preserved texts of the Herodotos-manuscripts as well as for geostrategical reasons (see below), and secondly the localisation of the third victorious battle in Pedasa/Gökçeler serves Ashton – Konuk’s hypothesis that the so-called *Ketos* coins were minted in near-by Halikarnassos to finance the “Karian hostilities against the Persians, whether for the procurement of equipment or the payment of soldiers”¹²⁴. It goes without saying that the second argument is circular: even if the *Ketos* coins were indeed minted in Halikarnassos, which has some likelihood¹²⁵, their deployment as emergency coinage to finance Karian participation in the Ionian Revolt is hypothetical and cannot be used as argument for a Persian advance against Halikarnassos and the Halikarnassian peninsula in 497/6 BCE¹²⁶.

An even more serious problem is created by their hypothesis that the second battle took place near Labraunda. This hypothesis is clearly motivated by the course of events in Herodotos who reports that the Karians retreated after their first defeat at the confluence point of the Maryas and Maiandros rivers¹²⁷, and assembled in the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios, the Zeus ‘of the army’, in Labraunda. While they condiered whether to submit to the Persians or evacuate their homelands, Milesian forces and their Ionian allies appeared. The Karians thereafter decided to fight the Persians a second time, together with the Ionian reinforcements¹²⁸:

Βουλευομένοισι δέ σφι ταῦτα παραγίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοι τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κᾶρες ἐβουλεύοντο μετῆκαν, οἳ δὲ αὖτις πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο. καὶ ἐπιούσι τε τοῖσι Πέρσησι συμβάλλουσι καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλεόν ἢ πρότερον ἐσώθησαν· πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλησιοὶ ἐπλήγησαν.

“While they took counsel, the Milesians and their allies came to their aid, whereupon the Karians put aside their former plans, and prepared to wage a new war over again. They met the Persian attack and suffered a heavier defeat in the battle than the first; many of their whole army fell, but the Milesians were hardest stricken.”

489 §1054–1 Πήδασα, Πίδασσα: “dazu auch ἡ ἐν Πιδάσῳ ὁδός Hdt. 5, 121: wohl die Landschaft (so mit Rehm zu Milet 3, 149)”; Müller 1997, 364–366; Gorman 2001, 46; Rumscheid 2009b, 178; Roller 2018, 768 (commentary on Strabo 13.1.59, C611); Ashton – Konuk 2019, 266 with n. 35.

¹²³ Ashton – Konuk 2019, 266 n. 35.

¹²⁴ Ashton – Konuk 2019, 266.

¹²⁵ See mid-5th century BCE silver obols and hemistaters of Halikarnassos with a winding, *ketos*-like sea monster, bearing the legend ΑΛΙ(ΚΑΡ)[ΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ]: Ashton – Konuk 2019, 264 f., 279, 287 nos. A.1.a–E.1.d, see above with n. 106.

¹²⁶ The other main arguments are a) the relatively high estimated amount of this coinage (ca. 1.160.000 or 100 Attic talents, ca. 2.6 tons of silver) and b) the short period of striking, indicated by the absence of wear on the coins, and the careless preparation of flans (Ashton – Konuk 2019, 258). Reservations about the interpretation of the *Ketos* coins as Karian emergency coinage were also expressed by Ute Wartenberg (New York/Athens) in personal communication. Wartenberg has likewise refuted a similar Ionian ‘emergency coinage’ during the Ionian Revolt, this time in electrum: Wartenberg 2020.

¹²⁷ See Herodotus 5.118–119.

¹²⁸ Herodotus 5.119–120.

Herodotos does not specify, where exactly this battle took place¹²⁹. However, since Petrus Wesseling's critical Herodotos edition of 1763 at the latest, commentators of the Halikarnassian historian have assumed that the second battle took place near Labraunda. This assumption subsequently led Wesseling, to conjecture the wording of the Herodotos manuscripts in regard to the location of the third battle: instead of the τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν, "on the road at Pedasos/Pedason", as assumed since Henry Estienne's edition of 1570¹³⁰, he now restored τὴν ἐπὶ <Μυ>λάσοισι ὁδόν, "on the road to Mylasa", likely identifying it with the famous ca. 14 km long sacred road, connecting Labraunda with Mylasa¹³¹. He will have been encouraged in this by the fact that Herodotos has a certain Herakleides from Mylasa, son of Ibanollis, thus a local person knowing the terrain best, leading the nighttime attack on the road¹³².

Wesseling's hypothesis was taken over by Albert Rehm in 1914¹³³, and as already mentioned, by the editors of *ATL* in 1939¹³⁴. But in 1955, the latter were rejected by G.E. Bean and J.M. Cook: "We cannot believe this view to be right". Their arguments are worth to be cited in full¹³⁵:

"From Labraunda, of course, the road leads straight to Mylasa, but we can hardly suppose that after the battle the Persians remained idle at Labraunda, instead of marching down to take Mylasa. After the defeat the city can hardly have been defensible, and we must surely suppose that the Persians took it. Secondly, the Persians fell into the ambush *by night*. To allow this to happen on the few hours' march from Labraunda to Mylasa would argue a quite exceptional incompetence on Daurises' part. Thirdly, Herodotus' words πυθόμενοι ... ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις φρέων imply that previously there had been doubt about Daurises' intentions, that is, there was some reasonable alternative open to him. But after the Battle of Labraunda what alternative was there to a march on Mylasa? The Persians could hardly be expected

¹²⁹ See Hornblower 2013, 304 on 5.120: "unfortunately Hdt. gives no indication where in Karia this even greater defeat happened. The answer would help with the problem of the Pidasos road". Similar Bresson 2019, 232: "But nothing invites us to suppose that the Milesians joined them there [in Labraunda, A.H.] and that this was also the place where they awaited the Persian assault – they would have been foolish indeed to do so".

¹³⁰ Stephanus 1570, see above section 2.

¹³¹ For the processional road which was paved with stone slabs under Maussollos, see Strabo 14.2.3; Baran 2011. Sadly, most of its remains are now destroyed by heavy trucks of Turkish and international mining companies who relentlessly exploit feldspar and other minerals in the unique Latmos-landscape and transport it to the export harbour at Güllük west of Bodrum airport.

¹³² Herodotus 5.121: τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυλασσεύς ("The leader of this ambush was Herakleides of Mylasa, son of Ibanollis"). For this Herakleides (or with East Ionic psilosis: Erakleides), who is likely also mentioned by Skylax of Karyanda, *FGrHist* 709 T 1, see Hornblower 2013, 306, and below section 6 with n. 281 for the 'Karian Themistokles'.

¹³³ In his commentary on a *sympoliteia*-decree between Pidasos-on-Grion and Miletos of 188/7 BCE (*I.Delphinion* 149, see on this inscription below section 4): *I.Delphinion*, p. 354 with n. 1. In the following discussion, Rehm wants to identify the sacred road from Labraunda to Mylasa with the τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν of Herodotus 5.121, and even equates the Zeus Stratios sanctuary of Labraunda as starting point of the self-offering she-goat procession which according to Aristotle, *Mirabilium auscultationes* 844a34–b8 ended in Halikarnassos. Rehm's first hypothesis will be rejected below, the second is likewise wrong as the goat-procession took place between the *Trquδ*-/Zeus-sanctuary of Pedasa/Gökçeler and that of Zeus A(s)kraios in Halikarnassos, see Gagné 2006, 12 f.; Graf 2009, 337; Santini 2017, 128, 131; Herda 2020, 166 f.; Herda in preparation, section VI. On Rehm's topographical commentary, see further below section 4 n. 149 and section 5 with n. 215.

¹³⁴ Wesseling – Valckenaer 1763; *ATL* I 537, see above section 2 with n. 61.

¹³⁵ Bean – Cook 1955, 150.

to exploit their victory by turning round and retreating northwards. After the fall of Mylasa, on the other hand, there might well be uncertainty as to Daurises' future plans. Short of going back the way he had come, he might proceed in three directions: north-west towards Miletus, east towards Lagina and the later Stratoniceia, or south-west towards Halicarnassus. And it may be said that in each of these directions there was a Pedasa. The first two are mentioned in *ATL*, without approval, as possibilities; the second is adopted by Ruge in *RE*, though on no stronger grounds than that the Persian route from the north to Labraunda 'führt in die Gegend von Stratonikeia'. The third, which finds no mention in these two works, we should judge to be unquestionably the right solution. Daurises' choice of route is defined by Herodotus in the words ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις φρέων. What is the natural meaning of this? There were no doubt Carian settlements of some sort in every direction from Mylasa; but the principal concentration of cities (at least after Mylasa had fallen) was surely that in the Halicarnassian peninsula, the country of the Lelegian octapolis where the notable Carian chieftains were located.[note 269: Herodotus does not distinguish Carians and Lelegians (cf. I 171)] The purpose of the Persian expedition was to suppress the revolted Carians; on the last occasion of the sort, the chief resistance to Harpagus had been offered by the Pedasans of Gökçeler; it is surely unlikely that Daurises would turn away leaving this Pedasa unmolested. The country north and west of Gökçeler is very difficult for an army; once the Persians had crossed the Karaova they might easily get benighted, even on what their guides would recommend as a possible day's march. We cannot doubt that 'the road near Pedasa' means the Gökçeler road.[note 272: Since Herodotus (VIII 104) calls the city Πήδασα, we should be inclined to read ἐπὶ <Πη>δάσοισι in the text of V 121, but certainty is impossible.] As was said above, Pedasa in Herodotus' mouth should be presumed to mean Gökçeler till the contrary is demonstrated."

The main point of Bean – Cook's critique on *ATL*'s reconstruction of the events is therefore that the night battle did not take place on the road to Mylasa, but on the road to Pedasa/Gökçeler. Like Wesseling and *ATL*, they conjecture the Herodotus text to fit their location of the night battle. But what is most crucial: as their forerunners, Bean and Cook assume that the foregoing second battle had taken place near Labraunda and that the Persians advanced into Karia via the sacred road from Labraunda to Mylasa. This is, why their reconstruction is, other than what they declare, *not* to be judged "to be unquestionably the right solution"—to the contrary!

4. WHY NOT PIDASA-ON-GRION?

In his commentary of Book 5.118 f. of Herodotus' *Histories*, the grandmaster of Karian Studies, Simon Hornblower, has made an important point regarding the location of the second battle, after the Ionians joined the Karians in Labraunda to fight the Persians again: "unfortunately Hdt. gives no indication where in Karia this even greater defeat happened. The answer would help with the problem of the Pidasa road (...). It would be natural to suppose that the battle, like that at 119.1, took place in the region of the river Marsyas, north of Labraunda where the deliberations took place"¹³⁶. Hornblower was not the first who had this idea. Already

¹³⁶ Hornblower 2013, 304 on *Histories* 5.120.

in 1928, W.W. How and J. Wells in their commentary on 5.118 f. first evaluated Herodotos' tactical understanding of the first battle at the junction of Maiandros and Marsyas rivers without mincing matters: "H., as usual, shows complete ignorance of tactics; he really thinks that an army should fight where no retreat is possible."¹³⁷ The next statement on 5.119.1 demonstrates their own judgement of the situation: "The Carians apparently were defeated on the low ground near the junction of the Marsyas and Maeander. They retreated towards Mylasa, but rallied to defend the sanctuary of Labraunda, perhaps disputing the pass from the basin of the Marsyas to that of Mylasa near Alinda."¹³⁸ For the latter, they refer to Paton and Myres topographical study of 1896¹³⁹. These tactics would have resulted in the Karians retreating from the Marsyas valley via the mountain road connecting Alinda with Labraunda, simultaneously blocking it to hinder the Persians from going after them. But according to the understanding of Paton – Myres, as well as How – Wells, the Karian tactics did not work out and the second battle was lost near Labraunda, opening the road to Mylasa for the Persians¹⁴⁰.

Hornblower, however, does not follow this reconstruction of the events. Starting from his idea that the second battle as well took place "in the region of the river Marsyas", he argues that the scenario of Bean and Cook of a second battle near Labraunda and the third, final battle on the road at Pedasa/Gökçeler "would have made poor military sense", because it was "a long way south of the military theatre in which Hdt.'s fighting took place", that is the two battles Hornblower locates in the Marsyas plain. The alternative he offers allegedly "makes good military sense here". He continues that the third battle "could have happened in the wild and difficult terrain in which Amyzon and Alinda were situated (...) perfect for an ambush". Without elaborating on the exact course of the road, he hypothesises that its terminal point was Pidasa-on-Grion, which he supposes to have already existed in 497/6 BCE¹⁴¹. The spelling with iota, not

¹³⁷ This is actually a blatant (and arrogant) distortion of the facts: Herodotos stresses (5.118.2) that it was the idea of Pixodaros, son of Mausolos from Kindye, to fight with the Maiandros in back, that is north of the river, and without a possible easy retreat, to motivate the Karians to fight desperately. Instead, it was finally decided (likely because they "were too badly outnumbered", see Bresson 2019, 230) to let the Persians cross the river before fighting them. These tactics failed and gave Herodotos the opportunity to remark that the plan of Pixodaros was in his opinion (as historian knowing the catastrophic outcome of the alternative plan) the better one: συλλεχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν ἐνθαῦτα ἐγίνοντο βουλαι ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μουσώλου ἀνδρὸς Κινδυέος ("When they had gathered together, many plans were laid before them, the best of which, in my judgment, was that of Pixodaros of Kindye, the son of Mausolos").

¹³⁸ How – Wells 1928, 64.

¹³⁹ Paton – Myres 1896, 192: "The Karians gave battle on the low ground southwest of the junction of the Marsyas and Maeander. They were beaten, and retired south [on Mylasa], but rallied and gave battle again at Labraunda, to defend their national sanctuary, and dispute the pass (via Alinda?) from the Marsyas basin to that of Mylasa. Here they were beaten again".

¹⁴⁰ For this scenario, see further also Müller 1997, 318–322; Briant 2002, 147 map 1.

¹⁴¹ Hornblower 2013, 304f. The road ran from Alabanda and Alinda via Amyzon and then had to cross the Latmos Mountains, today's Beşparmak, in a southern direction via the Anadolu Pass (Anadolu Geçidi, 863 m a.s.l., see <https://tr.wikiloc.com/gezi-yuruyus-rotalari/wonderland-anadolu-pass-to-bagarcik-77592774> [accessed: 25.05.2025]) north of today's village of Sakarkaya. From there it descended to meet the Mylasa-Miletos road west of today's Selimiye. To Pidasa-on-Grion above the modern village of Danişment, it was another 5 km in western direction, towards Miletos. An alternative ancient route leads from Sakarkaya in western direction via Karahayıtlı and Gölyaka/Bucak, and from there southwards to Bafa/Çamiçi where it meets the Mylasa – Miletos road (see Fig. 17). Either of these roads could have been used by the Hittites when attacking *Millawanda*-Miletos in the 14th and 13th centuries BCE, see below section 5 with n. 240. On the ancient road system in the Latmos Mountains, mostly paved with large stone slabs in



Fig. 10: Map of southern Ionian and northwestern Karia. Coastlines of c. 700 BCE. Light grey: max. extension of the sea in the Late Bronze Age. As dotted lines are indicated important road connections (map by author and Ö. Vapur).

the 4th century BCE, see Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a, 128–136, map in back cover; Peschlow-Bindokat 2020, 176 fig. 7; Höhfeld 2019, Beilage 1 (Latmos – Beşparmak. Topographische Karte des Beşparmak-Berglandes/ Beşparmak dağlık arazisinin haritası, 1: 50,000). Bresson 2019, 233 mistakenly claims that Hornblower located the ambush of Herodotus 5.121 “in the rugged terrain between Alinda and Alabanda” which is not rugged at all, but plain.

eta "is guaranteed by inscriptions"¹⁴², thus he reads in *Histories* 5.121 τὴν ἐν Πιδάσῳ ὁδόν¹⁴³, not τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν, as it is conjectured since Henry Estienne¹⁴⁴. However, a quick look on the map of northwestern Karia (Fig. 10) immediately reveals, that Hornblower's alternative is likewise a strategical stillbirth. Why on earth should the victorious Persians, when their plan was to subdue all the Karian cities, as Herodotos states¹⁴⁵, march first on a difficult mountain road towards a little polis in the remote, northwesternmost corner of Karia, a polis which likely did not even exist in 497/6 BCE, because at that time its territory was still part of Miletos' mainland territory, τὰ ὑπεράκρια, 'the uplands' of the *Milesie* (see below)?

Wolfgang Blümel, with Louis Robert one of the most renowned epigraphists and connoisseurs of Karia¹⁴⁶, who follows Hornblower's argumentation in regard to the identification of Pidasa-on-Grion as the one 'on the road' in Herodotos 5.121, specified the location for the second and third battles differently from Hornblower. According to Blümel, the second battle had not taken place in the Marsyas Valley, or close to Labraunda, but in the plain north of Mylasa¹⁴⁷. From there the Persian army would have marched northwards on the road from Mylasa to Miletos, to attack the latter and take revenge on the Milesians for helping the Karians in the second battle. After a day's march of ca. 20 km, they would have reached Pidasa-on-Grion where they were surprised by the ambush.

The site is located on the eastern flank of Grion Mountain, today's İlbir Dağı, 1.5 km south of today's village of Danişment, 2 km west of Eğridere, and 2.5 km west of Kurudere. It is named Cerit Osman Kalesi, 'fortress of Cerit Osman', after a 19th century brigand who used it as his retreat. It consists of two fortified acropoleis in the west (max. 820 m a.s.l.) and east (max. 690 m a.s.l.) which flank the settlement on the saddle in between them, equipped with a strong well, itself protected by a single standing tower. The whole west-east extension of the complex amounts to ca. 1.4 km¹⁴⁸. The two acropoleis of Cerit Osman Kalesi were first provisionally identified as Pidasa-on-Grion by Louis Robert on his first two trips to Karia in 1932/33¹⁴⁹. A

¹⁴² Hornblower 2013, 304 refers to *I.Delphinion* 149.15 and *SEG* 47.1563; for more see Blümel 1997, 139; Blümel 2018, 67–81; Blümel 2023, 189 s.v. Πιδασα.

¹⁴³ Hornblower 2013, 90, 304 f., see also A. Rehm in *I.Delphinion*, p. 352 n. 5; Blümel 1997, 139 with n. 5; Blümel 2018, 67; Blümel 2023, 189 with n. 136 s.v. Πιδασα; Bresson 2019, 238–240; Baron 2021.

¹⁴⁴ Stephanus 1570, see above section 2 with n. 49.

¹⁴⁵ See Herodotus 5.121.1: οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων ("the Persians had set forth to march against their cities"). According to Herodotos, this Persian planning had come to the ears of the Karians after the second lost battle, which made them fight the third one in despair.

¹⁴⁶ For Louis Robert (1904–1985), see <https://prosopo.ephe.psl.eu/louis-robert>; <http://ancientworldonline.blogspot.com/2015/10/louis-robert-publications-online.html>. For Wolfgang Blümel, see his websites: <http://www.wolfgang-bluemel.de/Home> (accessed: 25.05.2025); <https://uni-koeln.academia.edu/WolfgangBluemel>.

¹⁴⁷ Blümel 2018, 67: "Die zweite Schlacht mit den Persern hatte wohl nicht in dem gebirgigen Gelände bei Labraunda stattgefunden, sondern in dem Flachland nördlich von Mylasa."

¹⁴⁸ For the unfailing well west of the eastern acropolis, see Paton – Myres 1896 ('Kurun Dere'), 214; Cook 1961, 94, 95 ('Cerit Osman Kalesi'). For its proper location in between the two acropoleis, see the map sketch (without scale) in: Radt 1973/74, 171 fig. 1, 172 f. ("Brunnen" north of tower "D"). The west-east extension is measured in "Google Earth", from the SW-corner of the western acropolis (WGS84-coordinates 37° 24' 16" N, 27° 33' 34" E, at 786 m a.s.l.) to the SE-corner of the eastern acropolis (37° 24' 15" N, 27° 34' 25" E, at 690 m a.s.l.).

¹⁴⁹ The eastern acropolis was actually first described by Paton – Myres 1896, 214 ("Kurun Dere"). In 1939, it was "hypothetically" identified with Pidasa-on-Grion by *ATL* I 537. The editors of *ATL* likely, but not explicitly, depend on Louis

quarter of a century later, the eastern acropolis was surveyed, described and sketched in a map by John Cook and his son Michael in 1959 (Fig. 11).

Cook incorrectly declared himself the discoverer of Pidasa-on-Grion¹⁵⁰. In 1966, Wolfgang Radt was the first to visit both acropoleis with the settlement in between, and was the first to publish a description and a plan sketch of the whole arrangement (Fig. 12)¹⁵¹.

His plan sketch of the western acropolis was later improved by Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat, who also found out that the settlement between the acropoleis was fortified with a ring wall made of flat crushed stones, and that there were two more outer defense walls west of the western acropolis of Cerit Osman Kalesi (Fig. 13)¹⁵².

This feature of an outer fortification line was also recognised by Cook and Radt east of the eastern acropolis¹⁵³. Peschlow-Bindokat further noticed a likely older fortification on a ca. 430 m a.s.l. high spur called Asar Sirt some 1.5 km to the east, above the villages of Eğridere and Kurudere¹⁵⁴. This fortress was studied by the accomplished survey archaeologist of southern Ionia, Hans Lohmann, who recently published a report with a sketched map (Fig. 14)¹⁵⁵.

Robert, who during his first travels in Karia in 1932 had rediscovered “deux ruines helléniques”, one of them the “fort de Kurudere” of Paton – Myres, see Robert 1935a, 159; Robert 1935b, 338, 339 f.; Robert 1936, 279; Robert 1978, 491 n. 7, 493–496 with fig. 25 (later? photos, first published in 1976). In the *American Journal of Archaeology* 1935, Robert already proudly declared (Robert 1935b, 340): “Pidasa, le Pidasa septentrionale, était située dans le Grion, à une endroit que j’espère avoir déterminé”; see Laumonier 1958, 547 with n. 1: “effectivement L. Robert déclare avoir identifié le site en 1933, dans le mont Grion”, see on the matter also Robert himself: 1978, 491 with n. 7. Robert’s interest in the matter had been provoked by the edition of the sympolity decree between Miletos and Pidasa-on-Grion (*I. Delphinion* 149), in particular the commentary of the editor Albert Rehm on the topography (*I. Delphinion*, p. 352–357) which Robert after his first travels in the region rated as “entièrement fausses” (Robert 1935b, 338) and “une monstruosité topographique” (p. 340). It is therefore a misrepresentation that L. Robert, like Akarca – Akarca 1954, 137, assumed the settlement of Pidasa to be not identical with the ruins above Danişment, Eğridere and Kurudere, but to be located in a lower position towards the plain of Euromos to the north. However, this is, what Cook 1961, 94 with n. 13 declares, referring for this also to Robert 1957, 9. By doing so, Cook could present himself to be the first to connect the ruins at Cerit Osman Kalesi with Pidasa-on-Grion. Cook is politely corrected by Robert 1978, 492 f. with n. 18; see also Kızıl et al. 2015, 390, who rehabilitate Robert.

¹⁵⁰ See Cook 1961, 90–96 figs. 1–2, pls. 15–16, esp. 94 with n. 13, where he dismisses Robert as the first discoverer (see previous footnote); however, he is followed in his claim by Radt 1973/74, 169; von Aulock 1975, 126; Müller 1997, 368; Wörrle 2003, 1366 n. 21, 1368 n. 29; Wörrle 2004, 791 with n. 1; Rumscheid 2009b, 189; Lohmann 2019, 201 with n. 138, p. 204.

¹⁵¹ Radt 1973/74 (besides Cook 1961, Radt refers to a visit on the eastern acropolis of Cerit Osman Kalesi by a group of the Miletos excavation in 1964 which is documented by Peter Hommel in the unpublished excavation diary “Milet 1964/1”, 37–44; Radt 1973/74, 169–172 with n. 3); see correctly Lohmann 2000, 1008 (“oberhalb Danişment mit zwei Akropolen”). See now also Kızıl et al. 2015, 373 fig. 2 (map, but without indication of two acropoleis), 390, where they announce another article “sur la structure et l’organisation du territoire pidasien”. To my knowledge it has not appeared yet.

¹⁵² Peschlow-Bindokat 1986, I 393 f. II 158 fig. 7 (plan sketch); 1989, 82, 83 n. 17, figs. 11 (photo of ring wall), 12 (plan sketch of Cerit Osman Kalesi). See also below with n. 172 f. for her dating.

¹⁵³ Cook 1961, 94 mentions a “line of rubble suggesting an outer circuit” ... “about 50 metres down the slope on the east and south”. This fortification is an outer fortification wall east of the eastern acropolis, as stated by Radt 1973/74, 172 with n. 19 (it is also drawn in his map, 171 fig. 1, while it is not to be found in the plan sketch of Cook).

¹⁵⁴ Peschlow-Bindokat 1986, 394; Peschlow-Bindokat 1989, 82, fig. 11; see Lohmann 2019, 201 fig. 38 (= Fig. 14). WGS84-coordinates of the northwest-corner after “Google Earth”: 37° 24' 02" N, 27° 35' 26" E at 430 m a.s.l.

¹⁵⁵ Lohmann 2019, 201–205 figs. 38–40; see also below with n. 177.

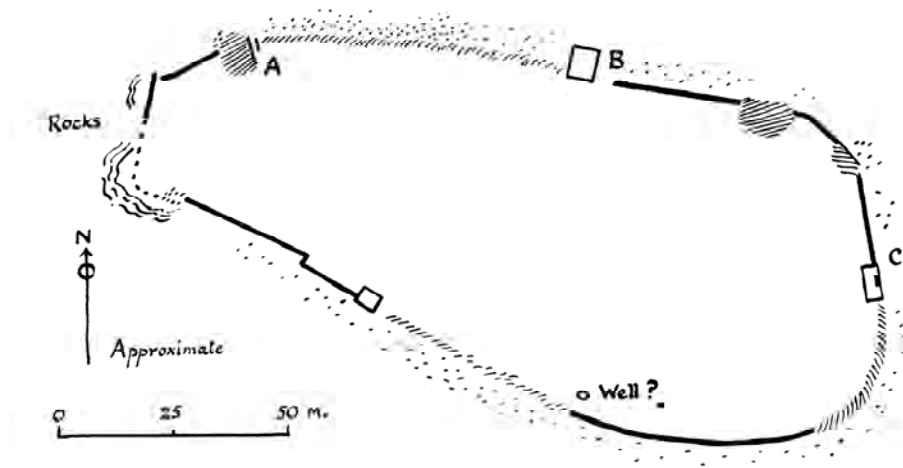


Fig. 11: Pidasa-on-Grion. Eastern acropolis. Sketch by M.A. Cook (Cook 1961, 93 fig. 2).

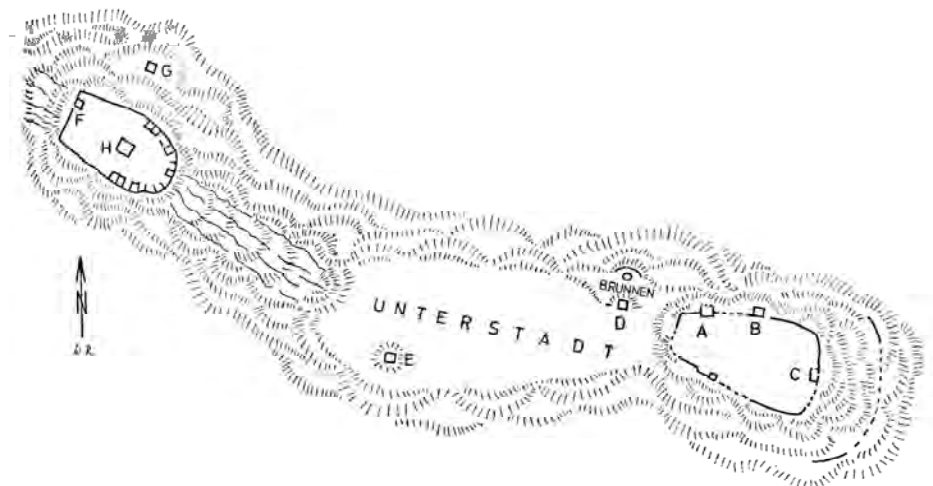


Fig. 12: Pidasa-on-Grion/Cerit Osman Kalesi with eastern and western acropoleis as well as lower town with well. Sketch by W. Radt (Radt 1973/74, 171 fig. 1).

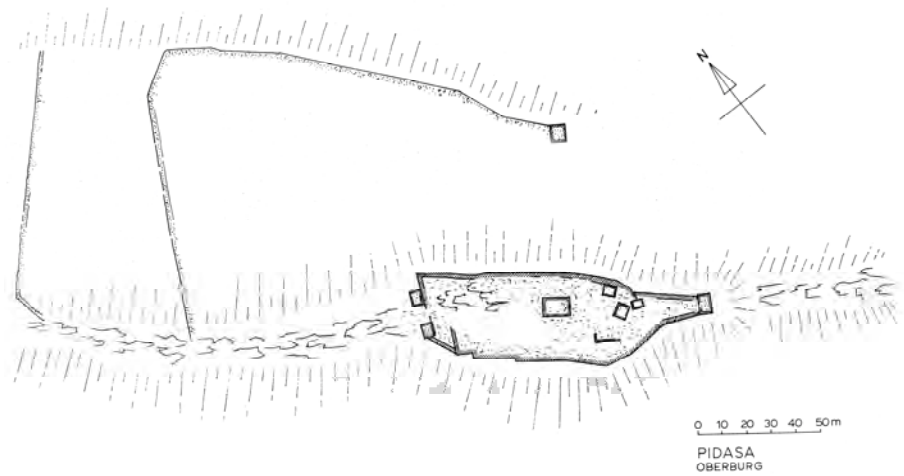


Fig. 13: Plan sketch of the western acropolis of Pidasa-on-Grion with outer western fortification walls by A. Peschlow-Bindokat (Peschlow-Bindokat 1986, II 158 fig. 7).

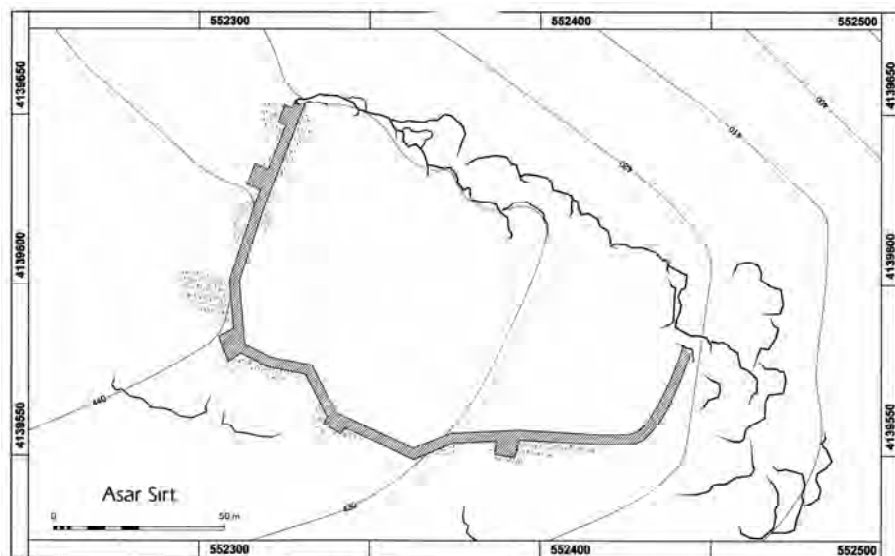


Fig. 14: Sketch map of the fortress of Asar Sirt east of Pidasa-on-Grion by H. Lohmann (Lohmann 2019, 201 fig. 38).

Pidasa's identification was not long ago confirmed by an honorary decree of 322/1 BCE found in 2011 during illicit diggings on a ca. 200 m lower plateau called Bozseki Mevkii directly east of the fortress of Asar Sirt, where it had been reused in some later construction (Fig. 15)¹⁵⁶. The decree had been issued by "the polis of the Pidaseis" (τὴν πόλιν τῆς Πιδασέων)¹⁵⁷.

On the Mylasa-Miletos road below the settlement, the Persians according to W. Blümel are supposed to have fallen victim to the night attack of the Karians¹⁵⁸. Again, this reconstruction has the same weak points as that of Hornblower. But even more, it is directly contradicted by the narration in Herodotos: the historian explicitly writes that the Persians were on their way to subdue the Karian cities, not Miletos¹⁵⁹. And: why should the Karians attack the Persians if they were going to attack not the Karian cities, but Miletos instead? And further: how did the Karians manage to be in (non-existent!) Pidasa-on-Grion before the Persians? Many unanswerable questions, too many ...

I now return to the most crucial problem with locating the night battle of Herodotos 5.121 in Pidasa-on-Grion: did the settlement already exist in 497/6 BCE?

According to the majority of scholars, including myself, it did not! The reason for this assumption is an event, again attested by Herodotos, this time in the context of the final Persian abolition of the Ionian Revolt, narrated in book 6. After defeating the Ionian fleet at Lade Island and having besieged and conquered Miletos in 494 BCE, the Persians did the following¹⁶⁰:

τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρας αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδοσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι.

"Of the land of the Milesians the Persians themselves held what was nearest to the city, and the plain, giving the uplands into the possession of Karians from Pedasa."

¹⁵⁶ Kızıl et al. 2015, 373–376 fig. 2 (map with find spot). On p. 390 the authors assume that the original place of the inscription, the sanctuary of the local deity *Toubassis* (see also below with n. 181–183), was close by and therefore lay outside Pidasa, extraurban so to speak (see also Bresson 2019, 236 n. 34: *extra muros*), compare the sanctuary of *Malija*-Athena in Pedasa/Gökçeler. Below the inscription is roughly incised the contour of a foot (see Kızıl et al. 2015, 374–376 figs. 3–5). This indicates that the originally upstanding anta block (preserved height 1.82 m, width 0.39 m, depth 0.62 m) was later used in a horizontal position, perhaps as some kind of pavement, or staircase/step. Such foot contours come into use in the Roman Imperial period (so-called *plantae pedum*), and are especially frequent in early Christian pilgrimage contexts, see Ohnesorg 2018. They also appear on the steps of the propylon and the Hekate temple in Lagina (Ruggieri 2009, 215 f. figs. 2–3; Hild 2014, 46 fig. 38), as well as on steps of the Hekatomneion in Mylasa, see Kızıl et al. 2015, 374; Diler 2020b, 395–401 fig. 29 f. ("last witnesses of the pilgrimage site of Hekatomneion"); Diler 2021, 102 f. fig. 7.20 b.

¹⁵⁷ Kızıl et al. 2015, 379 line 7; see the corrected edition by Blümel 2016; Blümel 2018, 77–80 no. 151.

¹⁵⁸ Blümel 2018, 67 f. He contradicts his own reconstructions of the events, when declaring that in the vicinity of Pedasa-on-Grion there was no road suitable for moving troops ("Truppenbewegungen") towards Miletos, and that such a road was only built after 188/7 BCE. This is wrong, as there existed a road useful for Hittite chariots to approach *Millawanda*-Miletos in the Late Bronze Age after crossing the Latmos mountains at Anadolu Geçidi, see above n. 141, and below section 5 with n. 240. He confuses the Mylasa-Miletos road with the road built for carts, leading from the territory of Pidasa-on-Grion to the nearby Milesian coastal harbour settlement Ionia Polis after 188/7 BCE: *I. Delphinion* 149.44 f., see above Fig. 9 and below with n. 184.

¹⁵⁹ See above with n. 145. This argument led Müller 1997, 364–367 to locate the ambush of Herodotos 5.121 not near Pidasa-on-Grion, but (likewise unfoundedly) at Pedasa/Gökçeler, following herein Bean – Cook 1955, see Bresson 2019, 232.

¹⁶⁰ Herodotus 6.20.



Fig. 15: Satellite photo of Pidasia-on-Grion and environs from south and 5 km height, with western and eastern acropoleis, fortress Asar Sirt, and the approximate findspot of the decree of 111 (Google Earth, imagery date of 27.7.2023, editing by author).

The Milesian ‘uplands’ or ‘highlands’ (ὕπεράκρια) can only be the northwestern part of the *Grion* Mountains, today’s Saplatan, Labada and İlbir Dağı, which rise up to 1080 m¹⁶¹. The geographical term *Milesie yperakria*, ‘Milesian heights above the plain’ respectively ‘uplands’¹⁶², in Herodotos separates it from the *Akron*, ‘Heights’, mentioned in the famous 6th–4th century BCE *Molpoi*-decree regulating the Apollo-procession from Miletos to Didyma¹⁶³. This *Akron* designates the in the 19th century CE so-called *Stephania*, an only 180–200 m high and 8 km long band of white limestone outcropping from the plain four kilometers to the south of Miletos. From there, a high plateau, partly covered by open deciduous oak and mixed woods, referred

¹⁶¹ For the ancient name *Grion*, see Herda et al. 2019, 33 with n. 205, p. 65. The modern names for the mountain range are taken from Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a, map in back cover; see also Höhfeld 2019, Beilage 1. Cook 1961, 92 gives alternative names: “The names that I received for the different parts of the mountain are: for the north corner opposite Heracleia ‘Koca Orman Dağ’; for the south-eastern part opposite Eurome ‘Kara Oğlan Dağ’; and in the south Kazıklı Dağ. But the mountain as a whole seems to be generally known as the İlbir Dağ”. For more alternatives, see Müller 1997, 368–370 (taken from Turkish road maps in scale 1 : 200,000).

¹⁶² For the meaning of the term ὕπεράκρια, see Liddell-Scott-Jones 1859 s.v. ὕπεράκριος 2.: “the ‘heights’ above the plain, the ‘uplands’”, referring to the very passage in Herodotus 6.20; see also Bresson 2019, 234 f.

¹⁶³ See Lohmann 2006, 219 s.v. Milesia; Lohmann 2019, 202, 204.

to as *drymos* ('woods') in the *Molpoi*-decree, slowly declines towards Didyma (80 m a.s.l.) in 18 km distance to the south (Fig. 16)¹⁶⁴.

10 km to the east of Didyma, on a small, partly submerged peninsula called Saplı Ada near today's holiday resort Akbük was located Miletos' border fortress (*phrourion*) *Teichiose*, 'the High-walled', controlling the access to the Milesian peninsula from the south landing by boat, or from the coastal road leading to the next neighbouring Karian city Iasos, ca. 30 km to the southeast of Miletos¹⁶⁵.

East of *Teichiose* rises the northern part of the Grion Mountains that formed the natural southern borderland of the *Milesie*, the Milesian mainland territories, separating it from the three neighbouring Karian cities to the east and south: Latmos-Herakleia, Euromos, and Iasos¹⁶⁶. In this contested land, there was no more space for another independent polis¹⁶⁷. The creation of Pidasa-on-Grion in 494 was instead an enforced Persian project, aiming at killing two birds with one stone: weakening the Milesians as instigators of the Ionian Revolt, as well as dividing

¹⁶⁴ *I.Delphinion* 133.27-28: ἔρχονται τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν πλατεῖαν μέχρι | Ἄκρο, ἀπ' Ἄκρο δὲ διὰ δρυμῶ ("they march the broad road as far as the *Akron* ['heights'] and from the *Akron* through the woods"), see Herda 2006b, 259–265; for a corrected edition of the text with East Ionic *psilosis*, as well as an English translation, see Herda 2011, 82–85. For today's maquis and phrygana secondary vegetation dominated by evergreen *Quercus ilex* and *Phillyrea* which degraded from formerly sparse deciduous oak and mixed forrests (*Quercus robur/cerris*, *Q. pubescens*, *Pinus*, *Olea*, etc.) according to pollen corings from the Lion Harbour of Miletos, and Lake Bafa (former *Latmikos Kolpos*), see Brückner et al. 2006, 79; Brückner et al. 2014, 57; Herda et al. 2019, 28, 43–55, 60–63.

¹⁶⁵ See Herda 2006b, 327–350 figs. 18, 20 on the Archaic seated statue of Chares (British Museum inv. 1859,1226.5, ca. 560/50 BCE), the (*phrour*-)*archos* of *Teichiose* (*I.Didyma* 6, p. 5–6, figs. 7–9: Χαρῆς εἰμι ὁ Κλέσιος, Τειχιόσης ἀρχός, ἄγαλμα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος). It formed the seventh station of the Apollo procession since ca. 540–520 BCE, see *I.Delphinion* 133.28–30 καὶ παιωνίζεται [...] παρὰ Χαρέω ἀνδριᾶσιν ("and a Paian is sung [...] at the statues of Chares"). For *Teichiose* and its correct location at Saplı Ada, see Voigtländer 1988; Voigtländer 2004; Lohmann 2001; Lohmann 2006, 246 f. s.v. *Teichioussa*; Lohmann 2007:365–371 pls. 41.3, 42; Rumscheid 2009b, 188; Hüllden 2020:155–157 figs. 57–59; Sarantidis 2020, 60; <https://topostext.org/place/374275UTei> (accessed: 25.05.2025). The Barrington Atlas has still the incorrect location of Bean and Cook at Doğanbeleni on the Kazıklı peninsula further south, see Bean – Cook 1957, 106–110 fig. 13; Cook 1961, 90 f. fig. 1, p. 98; Talbert – Bagnall 2000, Map 61 Ephesos, grid E3, and Map-by-map directory II 947 s.v. *Teichioussa*, referring to Stillwell 1976, 890 f. s.v. *Teichioussa* (G.E. Bean); Gorman 2001, 46 with n. 76, map. 3. See also Robert 1978, 491 n. 7 (referring to publications of his of 1957, 1958 and 1959), who is followed by O. Henry, map of Karia, in: Henry – Belgin-Henry 2020, XVIII–XIX. Undecided remains Pimouguet-Pedarras 1995, 91 (map), pp. 100 f., 105, 107 (p. 107 she speculates that the Geometric-Archaic site is on Saplı Ada, the Classical-Hellenistic site in Doğanbeleni). It goes without saying that Doğanbeleni fulfilled the function of a Milesian border fortress, like *Teichioussa* and later also *Pidasa-on-Grion*.

¹⁶⁶ On the *Milesie*, including the 'Milesian islands' (*Tragiae*, *Patmos*, *Lepsia*, *Leros*, and temporarily *Ikaria* and *Amorgos*), and the *peraiā*, 'the country on the other side (of the sea)', at *Thebai-on-Mykale*, and part of the *Maiandros*-plain including since 234/3 BCE *Myous-at-Maiandros*, see Haussoullier 1902; Wiegand 1929; Rehm 1929; Cook 1961; Percirka 1971; Piérart 1985; Pimouguet-Pedarras 1995; Lohmann 1995; Lohmann 1997; Lohmann 1999; Lohmann 2007; Konstantakopoulou 2007, 228–231; Herda et al. 2019; Sarantidis 2020. The territory of the *Milesie* as indicated in Hill – Koparal 2022, 174 fig. 2 (without any information on the time period in question, missing indication of the borders of Ionia with neighbouring *Aiolia*, *Lydia* and *Karia*, not to speak about the missing date for the shoreline reconstruction, missing locations of some of the places, like *Priene*, *Erythrai*, *Smyrne*, or totally missing places like *Phanai* on *Chios*, *Metropolis* near *Kolophon*, *Iasos* and *Euromos* south of *Miletos*, or wrong locations like the *Panionion*, missing indication for translocations of *Priene*, *Magnesia*, *Ephesos*, *Smyrne*!) is too small, as it does not include the *Kazıklı* peninsula, the southern shore of the *Latmian Gulf* (*Latmikos Kolpos*) with the Milesian settlement of *Ionia Polis*, as well as the northern part of the *Grion Mountains* with the later territory of *Pidasa-on-Grion*.

¹⁶⁷ See the characterisation of the geographical situation of *Pidasa-on-Grion* as landlocked and squeezed in between its mighty neighbours by Bresson 2019, 240 f. He takes over the labeling "city without a future" from M. Wörrle (Wörrle 2003).

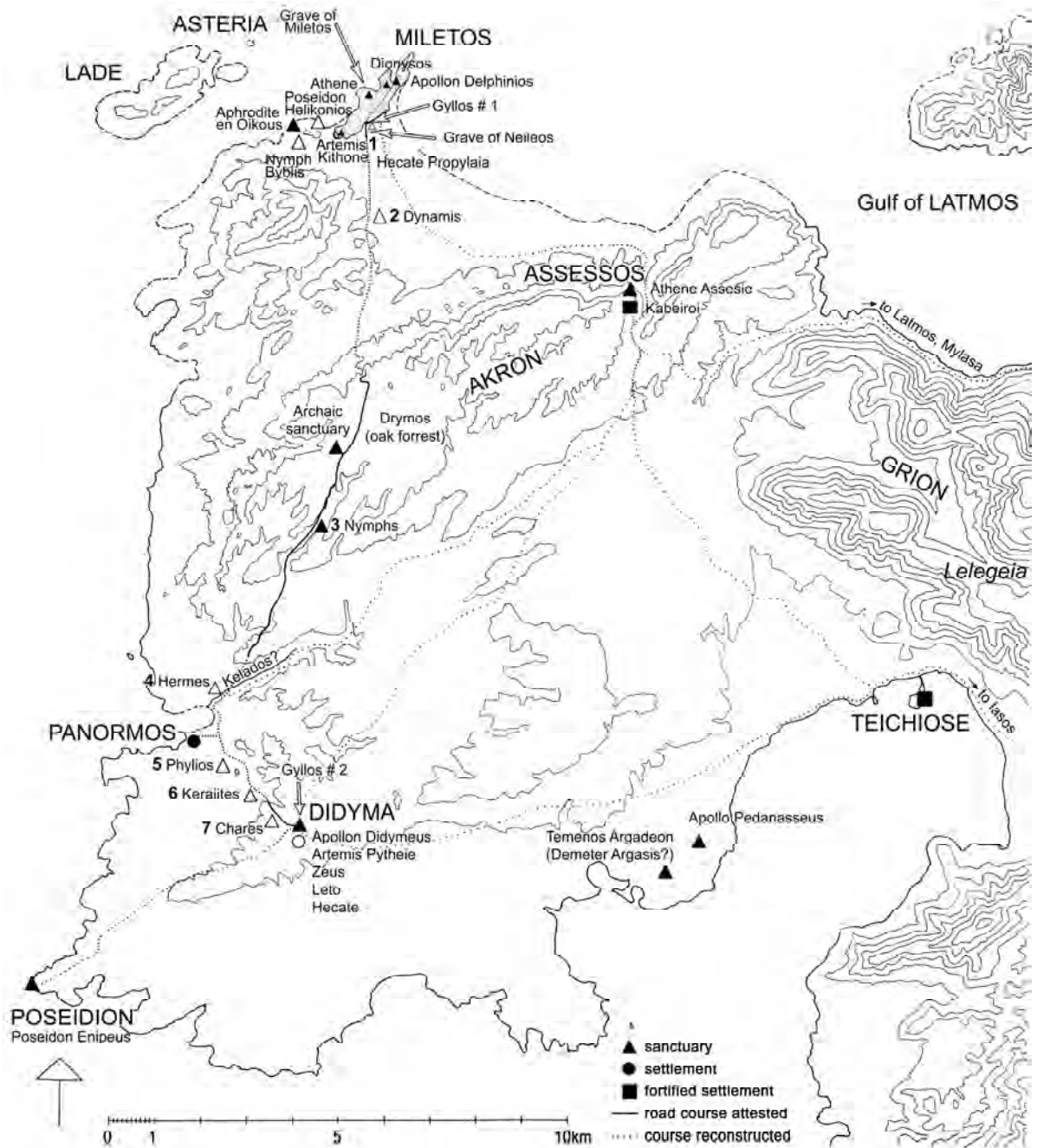


Fig. 16: Milesian peninsula with course of processional road to Didyma and other important cult sites. Nos. 1–7 mark the stops of New Year procession for Apollo. Also indicated is the Lelegian-Pidasian settlement zone (*Lelegeia*) (map by author).

the warlike Pedaseis who had already given Harpagos such a difficult time in 544/3 BCE. Pedasa/Gökçeler had to send settlers to newly founded Pidasa-on-Grion¹⁶⁸, which from now on controlled Miletos' main access to the Karian hinterland, the Mylasa-Miletos road¹⁶⁹, as well as the ancient road which traversed the Latmos mountains, connecting Miletos with Amyzon, Alinda, and the 'Karian Highway' through the Marsyas Valley¹⁷⁰. Ca. 3.5 km north of Pidasa-on-Grion, the road to/from Miletos crossed a pass at ca. 150 m a.s.l. Today, the course of the road is shortened by a 236 m long double tunnel running underneath the pass¹⁷¹.

The date of the foundation of Pidasa-on-Grion in 494 still needs to be confirmed by excavations in Cerit Osman Kalesi. However, so far the fortifications of the two acropoleis of Cerit Osman Kalesi are rated Classical-Hellenistic in date¹⁷², and there are also no surface finds clearly predating the 5th century BCE¹⁷³. Therefore, the testimony of Herodotos for the foundation of Pidasa-on-Grion by Pedasa/Gökçeler in 494 BCE stands firm so far¹⁷⁴.

¹⁶⁸ For Pidasa-on-Grion as Persian project to weaken Pedasa/Gökçeler, see ATL I 537 ("established by the Persians"); Bean – Cook 1955, 149 ("but the exact site has not yet been determined"); Cook 1961, 90–96 (allegedly first, identification with Cerit Osman Kalesi, but see above with n. 126 on L. Robert's discovery of 1932/33); Radt 1973/74, 169 f.; Olshausen 2000a, 466; Wörrle 2003, 1367 f.; Rumscheid 2009b, 178, 189. For weakening Pedasa as well as Miletos: Herda 2009, 60 f. with n. 173, p. 78, 91 f.; Herda 2019, 96 with n. 41; Herda – Sauter 2009, 65; Herda et al. 2019, 32 f. Bresson 2019, 228, 234 f. argues for a weakening of Miletos only, as he mistakenly assumes that Pidasa-on-Grion already existed before 494 BCE, see above. Lohmann 2019, 204 also argues for a weakening of Miletos only. In Lohmann 2000 he had declared Pidasa-on-Grion as old Karian settlement which was given the *Milesie yperakria* in 494, but in Lohmann 2019, 204 he now correctly refers to Pidasa as a foundation by Pedasa/Gökçeler in 494, see below n. 174.

¹⁶⁹ This strategic role of Pidasa-on-Grion was already recognised by Paton – Myres 1896, 214, who however did not notice that the "small Hellenistic fortress" at Kuru(n)dere is to be identified with the eastern acropolis of Pidasa, see above with n. 149. See also Radt 1973/74, 169 for the controlling position.

¹⁷⁰ For this road, which meets the Miletos-Mylasa road either ca. 5 km northeast of Pidasa-on-Grion, or ca. 5 km northwest of it in Bafa, see above with n. 141. For the 'Karian Highway', see the next section 5, Fig. 17.

¹⁷¹ The pass is marked in *I.Delphinion* p. 353 fig. 88 (however in 1914 Pidasa-on-Grion was still unlocated, see A. Rehm *I.Delphinion* p. 352); Cook 1961, 91 fig. 1. The height of the pass is taken from Höhfeld 2019, Beilage 1, who also indicates the course of the still preserved Ottoman paved road crossing the pass, likely identical with the ancient road. "Google Earth" gives 180 m for the height of the pass. The 236 m long tunnel is indicated as gap in the course of the road in the map in Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a, back cover; Peschlow-Bindokat 2020, 176 fig. 7; Höhfeld 2019, Beilage 1.

¹⁷² See e.g. the remarks of Peschlow-Bindokat 1989, 83 n. 17, fig. 12; Lohmann 2019, 204 with n. 150 (autopsy of the western acropolis in 1999).

¹⁷³ For roof tile and pottery finds of the 4th century BCE and Early Hellenistic period ("there is no sign of later Hellenistic or Roman wares"), see Cook 1961, 94. See also p. 95: "the period of occupation (to judge by the surface pottery, which does not come down into the late Hellenistic) fits excellently with the known history of Pidasa". See also Radt 1973/74, 170 f.; Pimouguet-Pedarros 1995, 106; Pimouguet-Pedarros 2000, 82, 108, 157 f. (no autopsy, she refers to Cook 1961; Akarca – Akarca 1954; Radt 1973/74). Rumscheid 2009b, 189, who visited the site in 2006, follows Cook 1961. The author of these lines briefly visited the eastern acropolis and the tower with the well to the west of it (see Cook 1961, 94) on September 6, 2014, and can only confirm Cook's, Radt's, Peschlow-Bindokat's, and Rumscheid's estimations that there are no Archaic finds visible on the surface.

¹⁷⁴ Initially, H. Lohmann (Lohmann 2000, 1008; Lohmann 2003, 146, 162; Lohmann 2006, 240 s.v. Pidasa) rated Pidasa-on-Grion as old indigenous Karian settlement, even though this is clearly contradicted by Herodotus 6.20, as well as the archaeological evidence, see Herda 2009, 60 f. n. 173; Rumscheid 2009, 189 n. 88. He tacitly changed his opinion in Lohmann 2019, 202–205, where he follows the *communis opinio* of a foundation in 494 BCE. However, Hornblower 2013, 304 f. and Hornblower – Pelling 2017, 109 in their commentary of 6.20 stick with the hypothesis of Pidasa-on-Grion already existing in 494 BCE, see also vehemently and declaratively, but self-contradictory Bresson 2019, 233, 240 as this hypothetical Archaic dating is crucial for his whole argumentation. See on Bresson 2019 below.

Due to its old-fashioned construction with walls built of rubble stones not ashlar masonry, the neighbouring fortress of Asar Sirt was initially held by its discoverer A. Peschlow-Bindokat to be an earlier Lelegian fortification and forerunner of Pidasa-on-Grion¹⁷⁵. The survey of H. Lohmann could not finally answer the question of its construction time. But Lohmann now dates the complex which has no visible buildings inside provisionally older than the 4th century, even though not much, as the walls are strengthened by five bastions which is a relatively developed element¹⁷⁶. Accordingly, he refers to the fortress of Asar Sirt either as possible refuge fort of newly founded Pidasa-on-Grion, or as Milesian outpost shortly before the new foundation in 494 BCE¹⁷⁷.

The strategic role Pidasa-on-Grion played for Miletos becomes most evident from the fact that it was 'swallowed' by the Metropolis in a *sympoliteia* around 188/7 BCE¹⁷⁸. The majority of the people, around 390 persons, were naturalised in Miletos and moved there. A certain part remained to cultivate the farmland (grain, olive, wine, honey), operate the animal herding, and maintain the sanctuaries in the *Pidasís*¹⁷⁹, the former land of the *Pidaseis*. One of the cults, the only one we know by name, except, perhaps, that of Apollo *Pidanaseus*/*Pedanasseus*¹⁸⁰, was that of *Toubassis*, likely Pidasa's main polis cult¹⁸¹. Zsolt Simon has convincingly derived the underlying Lelegian-Karian epiclesis **tubassi-* from the Luwian verb *tup(a)i-*, 'strike, attack', and

¹⁷⁵ See Peschlow-Bindokat 1989, 82. Though p. 80 she follows the opinion that Pidasa-on-Grion was founded by Pedasa/Gökçeler in 494 BCE.

¹⁷⁶ Lohmann 2019, 202.

¹⁷⁷ Lohmann 2019, 205.

¹⁷⁸ See the *sympoliteia* contract, found inscribed on a stele in the Delphinion of Miletos: *I.Delphinion*, 350–357, no. 149; *I.Milet* 1, 184–185, no. 149; see also Rumscheid 2009, 178 with n. 38; Herda 2009, 78, n. 290, 291; Herda – Sauter 2009, 78–79, n. 79; Herda et al. 2019, 33; LaBuff 2016, 93–103; Blümel 2018, 71–75 T 5. A. Rehm (*I.Delphinion*, p. 355) argues convincingly that from the wording in lines 45–50 there must have existed a slightly earlier *sympoliteia*-decree, and that no. 149 is only an addition to it. LaBuff 2016, 191–198 and Bresson 2019, 241 argue that the property elite of Pidasa-on-Grion had already come to terms with the Milesian elites to save their interest, when *I.Milet* 1, 149 was fixed.

¹⁷⁹ The continued maintenance of the sanctuaries is taken as indicator by A. Rehm that from now on the *Pidaseis* formed a deme within the Milesian demos: *I.Delphinion*, p. 357.

¹⁸⁰ See above section 2 with n. 57; below with n. 197. In 1964, members of the Miletos excavation team visited the eastern acropolis of Cert Osman Kalesi and found a Hellenistic (2nd century BCE) dedicatory inscription for *Apollon Didymeus Soter* erected by *strateusamenoi*. The dedicators were therefore not *Pidaseans*, but members of the Milesian garrison, stationed in the *phrourion* of Pedasa-on-Grion after the sympolity with Miletos in 188/7 BCE (see *I.Delphinion* 149.15–18): Radt 1973/74, 172; Peschlow-Bindokat 1989, 82; Wörrle 2003, 1366 n. 21, 1370 with n. 33; Blümel 2018, 81 no. 153.

¹⁸¹ See the honorary decree of "the polis of the *Pidaseis*" (τῇ πόλιν τῇ Πιδασέων) for three Greek *epistatai* installed by the satrap Asandros, dated in 322/21 BCE, which was found only in 2011 by robbery diggers: above with n. 157. The public decree was to be inscribed on a "stele" and erected in the sanctuary of *Toubassis*, thus this sanctuary was the main sanctuary of *Pidasa-on-Grion*: Blümel 2018, 77–80 no. 151, lines 15 f.: [στή]λην στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Τουβασσοῦ [καὶ] [ἀναγρ]άψαι τὰ δοκθέντα τῷ δήμῳ ("to erect a stele in the sanctuary of *Toubassis* [and to in]scribe what was decided by the demos"). Compare the Delphinion in Miletos as ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος τόπος τῆς πόλεως, "the most prominent place of town", where state decrees were publically inscribed, for example also the *sympoliteia*-decree for *Pidasa-on-Grion* (*I.Delphinion* 149), written on a stele: Herda 2011, 65, 67.

Actually the inscribed block found in 2011 is an anta of a building (likely a temple), not a stele, see Kızıl et al. 2015, 374–377 figs. 3–5: "pierre en forme de pilier", "élément de porte (peut-être d'un bâtiment sacré)", followed by Blümel 2018, 77. Kızıl et al. 2015, 390 assume the sanctuary to be originally located close to the findspot of the inscription, the plateau of Bozseki Mevkii, where H. Lohmann has found a "large Hellenistic tower farmstead and a monumental tomb": Lohmann 2019, 201 with n. 138 (however, he did not take notice of the important publication of Kızıl et al. 2015).

its substantive form *tupassali-*, and assumes a local weather or war god, 'he of striking'/'he of the battle'¹⁸². The cult will have been transferred from the mother city Pedasa/Gökçeler, and will be identical with a local Lelegian cult of the Anatolian weather god *Tarhunt*, Karian *Trqδ-*, to be equated with Greek Zeus¹⁸³. A Milesian garrison under the command of a *phrourarchos* was stationed in Pidasa-on-Grion, the fortifications restored, a road for carts was built connecting the *Pedasis* with the Milesian harbour settlement *Ionia Polis*, the 'Ionian City', in the southeastern part of the Latmian Gulf, demonstratively called 'Gulf of Ionia Polis' (Ἰωνοπολιτικός κόλπος) by the Ionian-Greek Milesians since at least Archaic times, to separate it from surrounding Karia.¹⁸⁴ Miletos had finally gained back full control over her southern territories and the access to the Karian hinterland to the south¹⁸⁵.

The Persian strategy of planting Lelegian-Karians from Pedasa/Gökçeler in the Milesian highlands as is attested by Herodotos (*Histories* 6.20) must have been an effective measure to weaken the Ionian metropolis in the aftermath of her defeat in 494 BCE, when the city was occupied by Persian-Phoenician forces until 478¹⁸⁶. This strategy testifies to a detailed knowledge of the regional specificities of cultural and ethnic rivalries between Ionian Greek immigrants and autochthonous Anatolians. Taking into consideration that the Persians as a third, foreign party had subdued Ionia and Karia half a century earlier, this comes as no surprise. During the following decades, Miletos had managed to retain a high degree of autonomy, watchfully observed by the Persian satrap in Sardis and the kings residing in Susa and Persepolis¹⁸⁷. It will not have escaped their notice that Miletos not only had an important share

¹⁸² Simon 2016b, 82 f., followed by Blümel 2018, 80; Réveilhac 2023, 273.

¹⁸³ See Herda in preparation, chapter VI.

¹⁸⁴ For *Ionia Polis*, today's Mersinet İskelesi, likely an Archaic foundation of Miletos, and the *Ionopolitikos Kolpos*, mentioned in a Milesian peace-treaty with Herakleia-under-Latmos of ca. 185/4 BCE (*I.Delphinion* 150.101) concluded directly after the sympolity-treaty with Pidasa-on-Grion (188/7 BCE), see Herda et al. 2019, 30 f. with fig. 8, p. 32, 70 with n. 462; for the location, see Fig. 10. The settlement functioned as harbour for the near-by marble quarries of Latmos-Herakleia and Miletos since Archaic times, see Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a, 147–159. That it did not exist in Archaic times, as Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1083 and Bresson 2019, 235 f. claim, is mistaken. The author himself found Archaic and Classical pottery at Belen Tepesi close-by, which is also confirmed by A. Peschlow-Bindokat's survey, where she also found Early Bronze Age pottery (3rd millennium BCE): Peschlow-Bindokat 2013, 289, 290, 294, fig. 17.6 no. 5; Herda et al. 2019, 31 with n. 188. Both sites are still unexcavated.

¹⁸⁵ See Pimouguet-Pedarras 1995, 101. A. Rehm in *I.Delphinion*, p. 355 suspects that Pidasa-on-Grion had been temporarily conquered by foreign powers ("in fremde Hände gefallen", "in Feindeshand") shortly before. This could have taken place: (a) after Philip V of Macedon was forced by Rome, Pergamon and first of all Rhodes to evacuate his forces from Euromos, Pedasa, Bargylia and Iasos in 196 BCE (Polybios 18.44.4), see Lohmann 2019, 205 with n. 154; Bresson 2019, 239 with n. 65 (it is however disputed if the *Pedasa* in Polybios is *Pidasa-on-Grion*, or [less likely] *Pedasa/Gökçeler*); or (b) after the battle of Magnesia-at-Sipylos 190/89 BCE, where the Romans under Scipio defeated Antiochos III (Livius 37.39–41). The latter is most likely, as the *sympoliteia*-decree states (*I.Delphinion* 149.38) that the *strategoí*, installed by the Romans after the battle of Magnesia, had restored the territorial claims of the *Pidaseans* (against their neighbours, likely the *Herakleians* and *Euromeans*), now to be protected by the Milesians, see the commentary of Blümel 2018, 74 on line 38.

¹⁸⁶ For the Persian-Phoenician occupation of Miletos in 494–478 BCE, see Herda 2019. For the Persian overlordship in 411–332 BCE on the basis of the find of a 4th century BCE Phoenician ostrakon, the first of its kind in western Anatolia, see Herda – Gorea 2021.

¹⁸⁷ Most telling is that in ca. 510 BCE Dareios, following the advice of his general Megabazos, made the ambitious Milesian tyrant Istiaios, who was—*inter alia*—busy with establishing the Milesian colony Myrkinos at the Thracian Strymon River rich in silver, slaves and timber, his personal adviser at the court in Susa to better control him in a 'gilded cage': Herodotus 5.23–25, see Briant 2002, 153 ('gilded cage'); Herda – Gorea 2021, 282 with n. 109. Misleading is

of Karian-stemming population¹⁸⁸, but that in the southern parts of the *Milesie* lived other Anatolian minorities like the *Gergithes* and perhaps also some Lelegians (*Leleges*)¹⁸⁹. Social tensions (*staseis*) came up from time to time, like in the early 6th century with the *Gergithes*¹⁹⁰, and could easily be exploited by an external power¹⁹¹.

One of Miletos' early names was allegedly *Lelegeis* (Λελεγις)¹⁹². Further, in the first century BCE, the geographer Strabo reports "settlements of the Lelegians" (Λελεγίων κατοικίαι) and *Lelegeia*, ruins of Lelegian tombs, fortifications and settlements, in the Milesian territory and neighbouring Karia (Fig. 16)¹⁹³. However, these ruins, to be found in the southern territories close to the Milesian border fortress *Teichiose/Saplı Ada*¹⁹⁴, were most likely not of Late Bronze Age, or Early Iron date, but the leftovers of the Late Archaic colonisation-attempt by Lelegian-Karian settlers from Pedasa/Gökçeler, sent by the Persians to found Pidasa-on-Grion. These attempts were brought to an end by the Milesian democrats controlling, with Athenian backing, *Teichiose/Teichioussa* and Leros in the 450s, and paying the *phoros* to the Delian-Attic League separately from the oligarchically ruled city of Miletos, as I have argued elsewhere¹⁹⁵. It comes as no surprise that a generation later, during the Peloponnesian War in 412/11 BCE, *Teichiose/Teichioussa* was again a basis for the 'democratic' Athenians laying siege to Lakedaimonian-Persian occupied 'oligarchic' Miletos, with whom the illustrious Athenian general Alkibiades had sided in 412¹⁹⁶. Likewise, the cult of Apollo of *Pidanaseus/Pedanasseus*, attested for the 4th century BCE in the southern Milesian peninsula¹⁹⁷, may be rated as survival of the 'Lelegian' Late Archaic foundation of Pidasa-on-Grion.

Köster 2020, 184 who declares that Istiaios' "career shows that the power structure of the Persian Empire offered room for individual advancement". For the Persian express messenger (*pirradaziš*)-system during the revolt (years 27–28 of Dareios, 495–494 BCE), connecting Sardis and Persepolis as documented by the tablets of the Persepolis Fortification Archives, see Hyland 2019.

¹⁸⁸ See e.g. Ehrhardt 2006; Herda 2009; Herda 2013a/c; Herda – Sauter 2009.

¹⁸⁹ See Herda 2009, 36 with n. 55, 47 f. n. 116, 60 with n. 173, 63 f., 68 with n. 222, 72, 74, 84 n. 320, 103; Herda – Sauter 2009, 63–66; Herda 2013c (4); Rumscheid 2009b, 176.

¹⁹⁰ Herodotus 5.28–29; Heracleides Ponticus fr. 50 Wehrli (= Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 12.523f–524b); Plutarch, *Moralia* 298c–d, see Herda 2009, 78 f.; Herda 2013a, 433 with n. 47, 437 with n. 69; Herda 2013c, (4); Zurbach 2019, 249–254. Bányai 2019, 193 with n. 57 incorrectly claims that I personally hold the *Gergithes* for the "Urbevölkerung des karchischen Milet". But this is wrong! I am of the opinion that the *Gergithes* and *Leleges* of the Troad have originally nothing to do with the autochthonous *Karkiša*-Karians, but migrated from the Troad to the *Milesie* and the Peninsula of Halikarnassos-Bodrum in the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age, in the time of the 'Sea Peoples', before the 'Ionian/Dorian migrations', see here and Herda in preparation, chapter VI. The *Gergithes* are further incorrectly considered to be Karian by J. Zurbach, see Zurbach 2019, 251: "Gergithes ... a penestic population of Carian origin", p. 254: "the Gergithes bear a Carian name".

¹⁹¹ For this *diuide et impera* politics, see Bresson 2019, 235.

¹⁹² Pliny, *NH* 5.112; Stephanus of Byzantium s. v. Μίλητος, see Lohmann 2006, 207 f. s.v. Lelegeis; Rumscheid 2009, 176.

¹⁹³ Strabo 7.7.2, 13.1.59, see Rumscheid 2009b, 176, 180; Roller 2018, 768.

¹⁹⁴ Herda 2009, 94–96 fig. 10 (shepherd-'compound', typical for the 'Lelegian' Bodrum peninsula).

¹⁹⁵ See Herda – Sauter 2009, 66 with n. 84. Rumscheid 2009b, 180 argues that some of the ruins in the *Milesie* may indeed have been pre-Greek, and falsely attributed to the Lelegians. For imperial Athens interfering in the internal affairs of oligarchic Miletos ca. 445 BCE at the latest, pushing 'democracy' as power tool, see Herda 2016, 39 n. 99, pp. 59, 112; Herda 2019, 92 with n. 8.

¹⁹⁶ See Thucydides 8.24–28, esp. 26.3: Alkibiades rides on horse from Miletos to Teichioussa for negotiations with the Athenians in the name of the Spartans and the Persian satrap Tissaphernes, his protector and ally.

¹⁹⁷ See above section 2 with n. 57; above with n. 180. For the find spot of the inscription, see Fig. 16.

As described above, the Persian foundation of Pidasa-on-Grion kept being a thorn in Miletos' southern territories. For the very latest indicator of this Persian threat may count the presence of a Persian-Lyikian of Zoroastrian religion with the personal name *Kartakes*. According to his Greek(!) grave inscription found on a now lost stele in 1997 near Cert Osman Kalesi and which palaeographically dates to the late 4th century BCE, he was from Lykia (hence the ethnic *Lykios*)¹⁹⁸. Most likely he had been stationed in Pidasa as a high ranking officer of the Persian-Hekatomnid forces, likely the *Kardakians*¹⁹⁹, after Artaxerxes IV (338–336 BCE) had made the last Hekatomnid Pixodaros (ca. 341–336 BCE) the satrap of Karia and Lykia in June/July 337 BCE, documented by the famous trilingual Lykian-Greek-Aramaic inscription from the Letoon at Xanthos²⁰⁰. This was only three years before the conquest of Karia by Alexander III of Makedonia.

After having pointed out all these issues that matter here, I finally deal with Alain Bresson's recent substantial paper of 2019²⁰¹, in which he has again argued that Pidasa-on-Grion already existed in 497/6 BCE and that this is the place, where Herakleides, son of Ibanollis laid the ambush for the Persians (Herodotus 5.121).

First, and most important, as has been demonstrated above, there is no indication for Pidasa-on-Grion having existed before 494 BCE. Second, Bresson's scenario to bring in the Persian army to non-existent Pidasa-on-Grion in 497/6 BCE is desperate. After he has convincingly located, like Hornblower before him, the second battle in the Marsyas valley,²⁰² he continues²⁰³:

"After their two major victories, the Persians were strongly established in the Maeander valley, south of the river. They had now to penetrate into inland Karia. Given the rugged nature of the Karian landscape, and given that, so far, the Karians had managed to prevent the entrance of the Persians deep into the country, one may suppose that the invading Persians were coming from the lower Maeander valley and were trying to access inner Karia from the coast. The most logical road of invasion was, starting from the Latmic Gulf, to march east and, after passing the saddle between the Latmos and its southern continuation – modern Beşparmak

¹⁹⁸ Wörrle 2004 (inscription with dating around 300 BCE, see p. 795 fig. 1); Klingenberg 2022 (Persian name, Zoroastrian phrasing of inscription).

¹⁹⁹ That *Kartakes* was a military is proven by his personal name which refers to the 'Kardakians' (Κάρδακες/*Cardaces*), a heavy infantry elite unit (likely *hoplites*) of the Persian military, recruited first of all from Persians of ca. 20–30 years of age, and perhaps also foreign mercenaries: Briant 2002, 328 f., 924, 1036 f.; Klingenberg 2022, 121; Kambouris – Bakas 2022. The entry in *Liddell-Scott-Jones* 877 s.v. κάρδακες: "Persian name for 'foreign mercenaries'" has to be modified accordingly. For the presence of Persian military in Lydia, see Sekunda 1985; for the Phrygian(!) grave inscription of a Persian soldier named *Paršaparnas* from the region of Pergamon, who died in Gordion in the 270s BCE, see now Oreshko – Alagöz 2023.

²⁰⁰ TAM I 44c, 6-9 (= SEG 27, 942); Metzger et al. 1979. For Pixodaros' double satrapy of Karia and Lykia, see e.g. Hornblower 1982, 46–49; Briant 2002, 706–709, 767 f., 997, 1011 f.; Briant 2020, 48 fig. 4, p. 49; Funke 2008, 604–606.

²⁰¹ See also above n. 174 on Bresson 2019.

²⁰² Bresson 2019, 232: "In fact, it seems logical that the second battle also took place somewhere in the lower Maeander valley, as suggested by the support of the Milesian army – the first battle had taken place somewhat upstream, around the confluence of the Marsyas and the Maeander", however, without referring to Hornblower 2013, 304 f. Bresson 2019, 233 mistakenly declares that Hornblower "does not discuss the question of the supposed 'Battle of Labraunda'", but see instead above on Hornblower 2013, 303 f.

²⁰³ Bresson 2019, 232 f.

Dağları “Five Fingers Mountains”, or Menteşe Dağları – to the north, and Mt. Grion – modern Ilbira Dağ – to the south, to access the plain of Euromos. After this saddle, there were no further major natural obstacles around which the Karians would be able to organize their defense. The road towards Mylasa, Halikarnassos, and inner Karia would be open. Occupying the environs of Mt. Grion would also have had the advantage of cutting the land communications between Miletos and its Karian allies.”

Serving as basis for this misjudgement, that the Persians, after two victorious battles, did not continue their campaign southwards in the Marsyas valley, is his false claim that the Marsyas valley “was a dead end” for all traffic into inner Karia²⁰⁴. I will address this grave misunderstanding in the next section. Here, it is enough to evaluate the alternative route Bresson is offering to Daurises and his officers. The proposed “most logical road of invasion” from the lower Maeander valley along the southern coast of the Maiandros mouth towards the west, and then after passing Ionian Myous, Karian Naxia and Aiolian Pyrrha, turning south to follow the northern shore of the Latmian Gulf (*Latmikos Kolpos*) to reach the already mentioned pass of the Miletos-Mylasa road between Latmos and Grion mountains north of (later) Pidasia-on-Grion (see Figs. 2 and 10 for the topography in Archaic–Classical times), would have been an impossible undertaking, a strategical suicide, so to say: Myous was a stronghold of the Ionian fleet, which together with Priene and Miletos dominated the whole Maiandros mouth and was in high alert²⁰⁵. Further, the northwestern extensions of the Latmos mountains and the northern shore of the *Latmikos Kolpos* were under the control of Karian Naxia and Latmos²⁰⁶, while the northern Grion mountains including the area of later Pidasia-on-Grion (the *Milesie yperakria*), and the southern shore of the *Latmikos Kolpos* with the harbour settlement of Ionia Polis were Milesian territory in Archaic times (see above). I only remind of the fate of Athenian admiral Lysikles, who wanted to forcibly collect the *phoros* from the Karian members, like Latmos and

²⁰⁴ Bresson 2019, 232 n. 16.

²⁰⁵ Myous, not Miletos, was the base of the Persian-Greek fleet in 499 BCE, after the failed Naxos campaign. At the start of the Ionian Revolt, in the name of its mastermind, the Milesian tyrant Aristagoras, the Milesian commander Ieragores (see Hornblower 2013, 143; Günther 2017, 338 s.v. Ἰεραγόρης) arrested the Greek and Karian commanders to gain control of the fleet anchoring in Myous, see Herodotus 5.36–37. The fleet was in the following used to gain control over the Dardanelles and the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), respectively in the Cyprus campaign. In 497/6 BCE, the quickly available contingents of the fleet will have included at least those of Myous, Priene, and Miletos. Miletos’ fleet alone, besides that of Chios the largest of all Ionian member fleets, had ca. 100 triremes ready, see my remarks in Brückner et al. 2014, 69 f. In the sea battle at Lade in 494 BCE, Priene supplied twelve, and Myous three triremes, joining the Milesian contingent of 80 triremes (an unknown number, ca. 20, had gone with Aristagoras to Myrkinos in Thrace ca. 497/6 BCE, where they perished with him: Herodotus 5.124, 126, see Brückner et al. 2014, 69 with n. 78) on the right, eastern wing: Herodotus 6.8.

For Aiolian Pyrrha, see Herda 2024b, 45 f. with n. 139, p. 48, 79.

²⁰⁶ For the Karian polis of Naxia, which became member of the Delian-Attic League, but was in the 4th century BCE swallowed by Latmos-Herakleia, see Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1130 no. 917; Herda et al. 2019, 36, 74 f. (likely located only ca. 3 km southwest of Myous at Dereköy). The place name in the tribute list of 445/4 BCE (ATL I, 136, no. 10.III.29 = IG I³ 267.III.29) is therefore to be completed not to Ναχσία παρὰ Μ[υδ](όνα) (so ATL I, 180, 524, followed by IG I³ [D. Lewis], who equate Naxia erroneously with the site of Bağarcık Kale in the Latmos mountains, which is instead to be identified with Amyzon-at-the-Rock, see Herda et al. 2019, 75; Herda 2020b; Herda 2024b, 48; Herda 2024d, 152 f.), but to Ναχσία παρὰ Μ[υδ](να), see already Robert 1936, 276, now confirmed by Herda et al. 2019, 75; Herda 2024b, 48 n. 148. The reduced space for the entry in column III, see ATL I, pl. 10, makes it unlikely that the name of Myous (in accusative) was fully written out. For Archaic Latmos, the forerunner of Herakleia-under-Latmos, see Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a, 91–109; Peschlow-Bindokat 2005b; Peschlow-Bindokat 2007.

Naxia, in 428/7 BCE. After landing in Myous with a considerable force of 12 triremes, the Athenians marched inland and were annihilated by the Karians at the <Hyb>*andios Lophos*, "hill of Hybanda" or "hill of Hybandos", a former island only 4 km northeast of Myous, according to Thucydides²⁰⁷.

Again the question may be allowed, why the Persian commanders should have taken such a risky as well as circuitous route along the coast, without being shielded by the Persian-Phoenician fleet, when they had the plan to conquer the cities of the Karian hinterland, and not the Ionian strongholds Myous or Miletos?

5. WHY PIDASOS/PIDASON NEAR STRATONIKEIA, AND WHERE IT COULD BE LOCATED

At this point it should have become clear to the reader that Pedasa at Halikarnassos as well as Pidasa-on-Grion are out of question to be the location for the third, night battle between Karians and Persians in 497/6 BCE, described by Herodotos (5.121)²⁰⁸. That brings us to the third candidate, *Pedatos* or *Pedason* near Stratonikeia²⁰⁹. The site is mentioned only twice in the extant ancient sources, by Herodotos (5.121), and by the geographer Strabo who wrote in the late 1st century BCE and the early 1st century CE. When dealing with the history of the Lelegians in Karia, and the history of Pedasa at Halikarnassos in particular, he remarks²¹⁰:

Πήδασος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικέων πολίχνιον ἔστιν.

"There is also a (very) little town called Pedasos in what is now the territory of Stratonikeia".

The manuscripts of Strabo have consistently preserved the feminine form Πήδασος. However, this is usually emended to the neuter form Πήδασσ<ν> in the standard Strabo editions²¹¹. The comparative linguist of Anatolian languages and lexicographer Ladislav Zgusta has rightly refuted this attitude²¹². But all too quickly the same scholar gave up trying to locate

²⁰⁷ Thucydides 3.19.2; see also the Lykian inscription for the dynast Cheriga on the 'Agora pillar' in Xanthos, referring to the battle: TL 44a.53–55. The Thucydides manuscripts have Σανδίου λόφου, which is to be emended on the grounds of topographical reasons, see already A. Rehm in *I. Delphinion*, p. 442; now also backed by geoarchaeological data: Brückner et al. 2017, 877, 878, 879 f. figs. 1–2; Herda et al. 2019, 21 fig. 5, p. 34 f., 62, 73 f. Bresson (2019, 237 with n. 50) is aware of the event, but mistakenly locates the *Sandios Lophos* (he sticks with the manuscripts) close to Mykale mountains near modern Söke on the opposite northern side of the Maiandros plain, following herein the outdated older state of research, critically discussed in Herda et al. 2019, 73 f.

²⁰⁸ Murray 1988, 485 contemplated that the third battle at "Pedasus" took place one year later, after Daurises had regrouped his forces, but this makes little strategical sense, as it would likewise have given the Karians the chance to recover after the two already lost battles. For the chronology of the events, see also above n. 44.

²⁰⁹ The fourth proposal by Meritt et al. in *ATL I*, 537 with n. 4 was already repelled above, section 2.

²¹⁰ Strabo 13.1.59 (C611).

²¹¹ See e.g. Meineke 1877, 855 line 16; Radt 2004, 608 f. line 21; Radt 2008, 511. Roller 2014, 581 translates accordingly: "There is also a town named Pedason in the present region of Stratonikeia" (see Roller 2014, 869 the index entry "Pedason"), but he refrains from commenting on this in Roller 2018, 768.

²¹² Zgusta 1984, 490 with n. 541 on § 1054–2 Πήδασος: "Kramer emendiert Πήδασσον, wohl wegen Plin. 5,107, wo die Stadt Πήδασσα *Pedasum* genannt wird. Die Emendation ist kaum notwendig". For Zgusta and his exceptional biography as well as work, see Dolezal – Creamer 2006, IX–XIV. W. Blümel on the other hand ignores the place name Πήδασος/ Πήδασσον completely, as he wants to locate the night battle in Pidasa-on-Grion, thus he reads in Herodotus 1.121 in ἐν Πιδάσῳ, see Blümel 1997, 139 with n. 5; Blümel 2018, 67; Blümel 2023, 189 s.v. Πίδασσα; above section 4 with n. 147.

the settlement. He instead suspected a confusion in the ancient sources and an identity of Strabo's *Pedastos* with *Pedasa* at Halikarnassos²¹³. Frustrated, he sums up that he does not believe "that despite the efforts of Rehm (...) and Ruge (...) it would be possible to interpret the whole confusion of these variants, mix-ups, false ancient combinations etc. completely and flawlessly"²¹⁴. Regarding Albert Rehm's attempt to clear the jungle, he is definitely right, as Rehm in his commentary on the sympolity decree of Miletos with Pidasa-on-Grion (*I. Delphinion* 149) indeed produced "une monstruosité topographique", to use the words of Louis Robert²¹⁵. But the reflections of Walther Ruge (1865–1943) in his *RE*-article "Pedasa" of 1937 deserve a closer look²¹⁶. Ruge, whose father Sophus was a renowned geographer and historian of geography, became himself a specialist of Strabo's geography and the geography of Asia Minor, where he travelled in 1890²¹⁷. The results were published as an 'Archaeological Map of Asia Minor' in scale 1:2,500,000 in 1899²¹⁸. During his long professional life as a gymnasium professor, Walther Ruge wrote 1968(!) articles on the geography and topography of Asia Minor for the monumental *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, being its most prolific author—by far²¹⁹. This said, we notice that Ruge in his article "Pedasa" proceeds highly systematically. First, he excludes that all ancient sources on *Pedasa*, *Pedason*, *Pegasa*, or *Pidasa* refer to *one* place only²²⁰. Instead, he differentiates three places, as we did in section 2: first *Pedasa* at Halikarnassos, second *Pedason* near Stratonikeia, and third *Pidasa* near Miletos. Ruge was not the first in doing so: already Louis Robert had separated three Pedasas (*Pedasa*, *Pedason*, *Pidasa*) in Karia²²¹. This three-part differentiation was correctly taken over by *ATL*²²², and in *DNP*

²¹³ Zgusta 1984, 490: "Die Stadt ist sonst unbekannt; vielleicht haben wir es wieder mit einer Verwechslung in den Quellen zu tun, und dieses Städtchen ist mit Πήδασσα identisch".

²¹⁴ Zgusta 1984, 490: "Trotz Bemühungen von Rehm zu Milet 3, 149 und Ruge PW 19, 26 ff. glaube ich nicht, daß es möglich wäre, das ganze Durcheinander dieser Varianten, Verwechslungen, falschen antiken Kombinationen usw. restlos und einwandfrei zu interpretieren".

²¹⁵ Robert 1935b, 140, see above section 4, n. 149. On further 'monstrosities' of Rehm, see section 3 with n. 133.

²¹⁶ Ruge 1937b.

²¹⁷ On his journey in Asia Minor, see Ruge 1892. His PhD thesis written in Latin with the title *Questiones Straboniana* at the University of Leipzig 1888 is available online: <https://archive.org/details/quaestionesstra00rugegoog/page/n4/mode/2up> (accessed: 25.05.2025).

²¹⁸ Ruge – Friedrich 1899.

²¹⁹ For a short biography, see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walther_Ruge (accessed: 25.05.2025). A list of all his articles with links to the digitalised *RE* is given in: https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Paulys_Realencyclop%C3%A4die_der_classischen_Altertumswissenschaft/Register/Walther_Ruge (accessed: 25.05.2025).

²²⁰ Ruge 1937b, 26.

²²¹ Robert 1934, 525; Robert 1936, 279 n. 4; Robert 1937, 561 f. n. 4, see Laumonier 1958, 547 n. 1. They are followed by Bean – Cook 1955, 149, who in n. 265 however dismiss the significance of the differences in spelling of the three place names: "We take little account of the variant forms *Pedasa*, *Pedason*, *Pidasa*, which are to all appearances interchangeable". This statement is definitely a grave mistake as is shown here. However, it serves their location of the ambush of Herodotus 5.121 in *Pedasa*/Gökçeler, see below with n. 232. Similarly dismissive is also von Aulock 1975, who lists all three places, *Pedasa*, *Pedastos*/*Pedason*, and *Pidasa* under the same toponym *Pedasa* and declares the different spellings a result of the "uneinheitliche Wiedergabe des karischen Wortstamms im Griechischen" (inconsistent repetition of the Karian word stem in Greek). Müller 1997, 363–373 varies von Aulock's arbitrariness by using the uniform toponym *Pedastos* (Πήδασος). Blümel uses the 'oscillation' ("Schwanken") of the letters υ/η in inscriptions related to the toponyms *Pedasa*, *Pedastos*/*Pedason*, and *Pidasa* to defend his reading of τὴν ἐν Πιδάσῳ ὁδὸν instead of τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδὸν in Herodotus 5.121, which then serves him to locate the nighttime ambush on the road at *Pidasa-on-Grion*: see above n. 189.

²²² See *ATL* I, 536: "to bring out as clearly as possible the points in which we disagree with Ruge's admirably lucid article, we follow his division into three sites, 'Halikarnassian', 'Stratonicean', and 'Milesian'".

which has the lemmata *Pedasa*, *Pedason*, and *Pidasa*²²³. Ruge was partly aware of Robert's new insights as he refers to him in regard to Strabo's *Pedatos/Pedason* (Ruge preferred the neuter form *Pedason*), which had formerly been located in Karaca Hisar some five hours walk or 18 km south of Mylasa, including by Ruge himself²²⁴. During his first journey in Karia in 1932, Robert had found an inscription at the site, enabling him to identify Karaca Hisar with Hydisos instead²²⁵. It is irritating, however, that Ruge failed in his 1937-article to notice that Robert had also located *Pidasa*-on-Grion above Kurudere in the very year 1932²²⁶.

But his great achievement in the matter which moves us here is that Ruge identified the place of the nighttime ambush (Herodotus 5.121) with Strabo's *Pedatos/Pedason*²²⁷. He came to this conclusion by analysing the movement of the Persian forces and Karian counter attacks in regard to the topography: first the open battle at the confluence of the Marsyas and Maiandros rivers, the second open battle after the Karians reassembled in Labraunda, and the Persian army afterwards moving further south: "that leads to the area of Stratonikeia" for the third (ambush-) battle²²⁸.

Ruge's logical conclusion of a Persian advance southward along the Marsyas river into the Karian heartlands which I will back with more observations later, was all too hastily dismissed by the editors of *ATL* in 1939: "Any Stratonicean possession is too far east to concern us; we doubt if Ruge is right in associating this site with Herodotus, V, 121 (see below)"²²⁹. Afterwards Meritt et al. took over Wesseling's scenario of 1763 of an ambush on the sacred road between Labraunda and Mylasa, which is rejected in sections 2 and 3 above. Ruge's localisation of the night ambush was further dismissed by Bean and Cook, who wanted to have *Pedasa*/Gökçeler be the place. This is again refuted here, in section 3. Their argument against Ruge's reconstruction is that the existence of a *Pedason* in the territory of Stratonikeia "is apparently made by Strabo on his own authority, and this rather shadowy πολίχνιον is not certainly referred to elsewhere"²³⁰. To declare the testimony of the Late Hellenistic/Early Roman Imperial geographer Strabo, who studied as a pupil of the rhetor Aristodemos in Karian Nysa-on-the-Maiandros near the junction of the Maiandros and Marsyas rivers²³¹, to be doubtful or

²²³ Olshausen 2000a (*Pedasa*); Olshausen 2000b (*Pedason*); Lohmann 2000 (*Pidasa*). See also von Aulock 1975 (but all under the same toponym *Pedasa*, see previous footnote, though he rated "*Pedasa* bei Stratonikeia" that is the *Pedatos/Pedason* of Strabo, as likely non-existent ["ich halte es durchaus für möglich, daß die Stadt nicht existiert hat"]); Müller 1997, 363–373 (all under *Pedatos*, see n. 221 above).

²²⁴ See the map in Ruge – Friedrich 1899 ("*Pedasa*" with "?", mentioned by Robert 1978, 491 n. 4). Ruge 1937b, 27 and Robert 1978, 491 give more citations for this erroneous location, including for example also A. Rehm in *I. Delphinion*, p. 149.

²²⁵ Robert 1934, 525; Robert 1935b, 339–340, see Ruge 1937b, 27. Robert 1978, 491 f. also refers to more than 20 bronze coins of Hydisos, registered by him in 1934 and 1946 in the near-by village of Karaca Hisar. However, in his coin collection, now part of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris, are 67 coins designated to come from Hydissos: Callatay – Delrieux 2010, 27, 31 with n. 26, 32 map, 33 fig. 5, 34 fig. 6, 35 Appendix 1, 39 fig. 10. For Hydisos, see also Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1117 no. 889.

²²⁶ Ruge 1937b, 27 cites Robert 1935b, who p. 340 announced his discovery, see also above section 4 with n. 149.

²²⁷ See Ruge 1937b, 27: "Strabo. XIII 611 steht Πήδασον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικέων πολίχνιον ἔστιν. Auf denselben Ort ist die Angabe bei Herodot V 121 zu beziehen ...". Blümel 2018, 67 is definitely wrong when declaring that Ruge located the ambush near *Pedasa*/Gökçeler, like Bean – Cook 1955.

²²⁸ Ruge 1937b, 27: "Das führt in die Gegend von Stratonikeia".

²²⁹ *ATL* I, 536.

²³⁰ Bean – Cook, 1955, 149.

²³¹ See Herda et al. 2019, 10 f. with n. 61.

“shadowy”, is quite adventurous, to put it mildly. The other argument that *Pedasos/Pedason* is “not certainly referred to elsewhere” is definitely wrong as Herodotus 5.121 has the form *Pedasos/Pidasos* or *Pedason/Pidason*, not *Pedasa* or *Pidasa* (see above section 2). The importance of the differentiation in the spelling of the three place names is however neglected by Bean and Cook, who consider them “to all appearances interchangeable”. This bold claim is all too obviously meant to enable them to dismiss Ruge’s reconstruction²³². Finally, the two scholars, who want the Persians to march in a southwestern direction via Labraunda, Mylasa and Halikarnassos to reach *Pedasa/Gökçeler* as the assumed place of the ambush, reject Ruge’s *Pedasos/Pedason*-location near Stratonikeia because it rests “on no stronger grounds than that the Persian route from the north to Labraunda ‘führt in die Gegend von Stratonikeia’”²³³. With this—again incorrect—statement, they nebulise the intended main direction of the Persian advance in Karia, namely along the ‘Karian Highway’ from north to south (see below).

None the less, Bean and Cook were followed in their denial of Ruge by the banker and coin collector Hans von Aulock, who furthermore mistakenly attributed the Late Classical coinage of *Pedasa/Gökçeler* to Hellenistic *Pidasa*-on-Grion (see above section 4)²³⁴, as well as by Simon Hornblower²³⁵, who correctly located the second battle in the Marsyas valley, but then searched for the third and final one—with poor military sense—in the “wild and difficult terrain in which Amyzon and Alinda are situated” (see section 4).

Most recently the ancient historian and specialist of Karian epigraphy Alain Bresson, who like Hornblower correctly placed the second open battle not at Labraunda, but in the Marsyas Valley, refuted Ruge’s location of the third battle at *Pedasos/Pedason* near Stratonikeia, because he, like Hornblower and Blümel, identifies it mistakenly with *Pidasa*-on-Grion (see section 4)²³⁶. One of his counter arguments against Ruge’s reconstruction “that the third battle took place at the Pedason on the territory of the future Stratonikeia, in the upper Marsyas valley” deserves special attention, as it discloses an astonishing ignorance of crucial Karian topography. According to Bresson, Ruge’s “hypotheses would contradict everything Herodotus says concerning the progress of the military campaign”²³⁷. Further “one should suppose that the Persian army walked up the Maeander valley, and then the Marsyas valley, in order to bypass the Karian defense lines from the east. This very long detour seems an unlikely move for a large size army, and all the more so as it had already twice defeated the Karian army in northern Karia. Besides, the Marsyas valley was a dead end”²³⁸. Both counter-arguments are invalid: the “very long detour” of the Persian army via Maiandros and Marsyas valleys is exactly what Herodotos describes and what led to the first two open battles in the northern Marsyas valley, a scenario also accepted by Bresson himself! And second and most important: the Marsyas valley was not

²³² Bean – Cook 1955, 149 n. 265, see also above n. 221.

²³³ Bean – Cook 1955, 150, citing Ruge 1937b, 27 (see above with n. 228).

²³⁴ von Aulock 1975, 125–128.

²³⁵ Hornblower 2013, 305: “Ruge ... believed in the existence of this third place, located it between Labraunda and the later Stratonikeia, and suggested that it was the site of Hdt.’s. But Bean and Cook 1955 called this city ‘shadowy’, cf. von Aulock 1975:124-5”. Actually, von Aulock doubts the existence of Strabo’s *Pedasos/Pedason*, see above n. 223. He even states (von Aulock 1975, 124) that the question, where the third battle took place, “is in this context rather meaningless” (“ist in diesem Zusammenhang eher bedeutungslos”). The opposite is true!

²³⁶ Bresson 2019, 231 f.

²³⁷ Bresson 2019, 232.

²³⁸ Bresson 2019, 232 n. 16.

"a dead end", but quite the opposite, so that it makes perfect sense that the Persians continued to follow it southward after the victorious second battle.

Actually, the Marsyas valley was part of the so-called 'Karian Highway' or 'Great Highway', a term coined by the magnificent orientalist and specialist of Hieroglyphic Luwian, John David Hawkins²³⁹. This strategically important east-west/north-south route is first attested in Hittite texts related to military campaigns of the 14th and 13th century BCE, where the Hittite armies several times invaded *Karkiša*-Karia, *Millawanda*/*Milawata*-Miletos, and *Lukka*-Lykia by first approaching westwards through the Maiandros plain, and then turning southwards and proceeding via the Marsyas valley. From there they either passed "as a diversion" of the 'Karian Highway' the Latmos Mountains (Beşparmak Dağları) via *Waliwanda*-Alabanda and *Iyalanda*-Alinda, Amyzon (= ^{URU}A-*ma-x*?[...]) and the 850 m high Anadolu Pass (Anadolu Geçidi) towards *Millawanda*/*Milawata*²⁴⁰, or, they followed the main 'Karian Highway' southwards via *Waliwanda*-Alabanda and *Atriya*, the later *Idrias*-Stratonikeia (see below). From there they continued southeast via *Ura*-Ula and *Utima*-Idyma at the Gulf of Keramos, to finally reach the city of *Telebehi*/Telmessos-Fethiye, Hittite *Attarimma*, the northern gate into the *Lukka*-lands, Classical Lykia²⁴¹. To secure this route through the Marsyas valley, the Hittites with the help of their vassal

²³⁹ See Hawkins 1998, 2, 26-28. He borrowed the term "highway" from Garstang – Gurney 1959, 79, who applied it to the section of the road from *Hatti* to *Lukka*-Lykia "between Sivri Hisar near Pessinus and the site of Alabanda". Alabanda was correctly identified by them with Hittite *Waliwanda*, see already Garstang 1943, 41 f. with n. 22, map XVII (see next note). David unfortunately passed away, like Adnan Diler, in December 2023, with 83 years. He leaves another great gap which will be difficult to replace: <https://www.bisi.ac.uk/news-events/john-david-hawkins/> (Mark Weeden) (accessed: 25.05.2025).

²⁴⁰ See e.g. for Muršili II's campaign against Miletos ca. 1315 BCE: Garstang 1943, 41 f. with n. 22, map XVII (with a lot of mistaken locations, including *Karkiša*, *Mira*-Arzawa and *Lukka*, but see the reconstructed road running west through the Maiandros plain to "A" [= *Atriya*, mistaken for Classical Tralleis], from there south through the Marsyas valley via "W" [= *Waliwanda*-Alabanda], from there west to "I." [= *Iyalanda*-Alinda] and further to *Milawataš* [= Miletos] on the west coast). J.D. Hawkins in one of his last contributions on the matter (2020, 365 [the text was actually written in 2010, but has addenda up to 2018]) delivered a map of Hattusili III's (ca. 1267–1237 BCE) campaign against the troublemaker Piyamaradu and his allies in *Millawanda*-Miletos, as described in the so-called Tawagalawa-Letter (*KUB* 14.3/*CTH* 181/*VAT* 6692), however without locating *Karkiša*/*Karkiya*-Karia, and the wrong location of "Attarimma (?) = Telmessos-Fethiye in northwest *Lukka*-Lykia (he places it at the site of *Utima*-Idyma in *Karkiša*-Karia instead, as he seems to hold Telmessos-Fethiye to be *Kuwalapassa*, see Hawkins 2020, 344 [but in Hawkins 1998, 26 with n. 163 he, in my opinion correctly, equates *Attarimma* with *Telebehi*/Telmessos-Fethiye [now given up in Hawkins 2020, 347 f.], and Hawkins 1998, 27 with n. 169 he correctly equates *Utima* with Idyma!). In Hawkins 2020, 345 he characterises the Hittite advance as follows: "the axis of the narrative is set initially between Hatti, specifically Sallapa [the mustering place for the Hittite army, A.H.], and Attarimma-Lukka, then diverted at Iyalanda to Millawanda and Ahhiyawa". Page 347 he again designates the route to *Millawanda* "as a diversion from the route to Lukka-Attarimma" that is the 'Karian Highway' down to Lykia. The toponym ^{URU}A-*ma-x*?[...], listed in the Tawagalawa-Letter (*VAT* 6692 I 47) as station on Hattusili's march from *Iyalanda*-Alinda to *Millawanda*-Miletos (see Hawkins' commentary 2020, 351 on III.4.9; p. 355 (3)), can only be the Bronze Age forerunner of Classical Amyzon. The existence of the shorter Latmos-route in the Late Bronze Age was finally proven by Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat's discovery in 2000 of Hieroglyphic Luwian graffiti of princes of *Mira* at Surat kaya, only a one hour footwalk or 3 km east of the Anadolu Pass: Peschlow-Bindokat – Herbordt 2001, 367; Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a, 82–89, map in back cover, no. 41; Herbordt 2019; Hawkins 2020, 348; Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 167; Herda 2020a, 14–17 figs. 2–3; Herda in preparation, chapter I (correcting my former detour reconstruction via Labraunda and Mylasa: Herda 2009, 55, see Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 167 with n. 120). For this shorter route, see also above section 4 with n. 141.

²⁴¹ For the 'Karian Highway', see Hawkins 1998, 26-28; Hawkins 2020, 339, 345, 347 (see also above n. 214); Niemeier 2007, 75, 81; Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 166 f.; Oğuzhanoğlu 2024, 68; Herda in preparation, chapter I, appendix 3. It is

kingdom of *Mira-Kuwaliya* (part of former *Arzawa* with the capital *Apaša*-Ephesos) established a fortified position in the ancient settlement of Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü in the 13th century BCE (Phase II, 1b), less than 3 km northeast of Classical Alabanda which is, since 2004, being excavated by Sevinç Günel and her team of Hacettepe University, Ankara²⁴². Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü, which was settled from the Late Neolithic Period (5th-4th millennium BCE) to the Late Geometric Period (beginning of the 7th century BCE), is likely Classical Alabanda's predecessor and to be identified with the *Waliwanda* of the Hittite texts²⁴³.

In the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman periods, as well as today, the Karian Highway was and is still (as state road [Kara yolları] no. 550 between Aydın and Muğla, and from there to Fethiye and Antalya as Kara Yolları no. 400) an important north-south route to connect the Maiandros/Büyük Menderes valley as main east-west axis of central western Anatolia with the Lykian south coast via the Xanthos valley (Eşen Çayı). It is mentioned by Strabo and Livy²⁴⁴, and finds of Roman milestones have enabled Friedrich Hild to reconstruct the Roman road network of Karia, in which the Karian Highway features as main north-south axis, labelled by him as 'route 4' (Fig. 17)²⁴⁵.

After crossing the Maiandros shortly before its confluence with the Marsyas, the road followed the Marsyas river along its eastern side to the south. Near *Waliwanda*/Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü and Classical Alabanda it crossed the Marsyas river and continued on its western side²⁴⁶. However, *Waliwanda*-Alabanda controls not only the crossing of the Karian Highway over the Marsyas river, but also the intersecting main west-east 'route 7' connecting *Millawanda*-Miletos via Amyzon, *Iyalanda*-Alinda and *Waliwanda*-Alabanda with *Wallarima*-Hyllarima²⁴⁷ and finally

missing in Garstang – Gurney 1959 (only shortly mentioned as "highway" on page 79, see above n. 214); Gurney 1990, XIV fig. 1; Pavúk 2015, 90 f. with map fig. 6, and Alparslan – Doğan-Alparslan 2018, 238. For identifying Classical Karia with Hittite *Karkiša*/*Karkiya*, see Herda 2009; Herda 2013a; Herda 2020a; Herda in preparation; see also above section 3 with n. 67. For identifying classical O(u)la, today's Ula, with Hittite *Ura*, see Herda in preparation, appendix 3.

²⁴² See e.g. Günel 2015; Günel 2020, esp. 36–39 fig. 11; Günel 2024, 35 f. figs. 10–11, 38 f. fig. 15 (Hittite fortifications and two Hittite seal impressions [*bullae*] with Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions as indicators of Hittite administration). For the *bullae*, see also Günel – Herbordt 2010, 5 f. figs. 4–6; Herbordt 2019, 150; Oreshko 2020, 96 n. 31 (corrected reading).

²⁴³ For the likely identification of Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü with Hittite *Waliwanda*, see also Herda in preparation, chapter I. Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 169 f.; Oğuzhanoğlu 2024, 68 f. independently comes to the same conclusion. Strangely, the excavator of Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü, S. Günel, does not recognise this obvious identification, even though she is aware of the ground-breaking geographical work of Hawkins 1998, relying itself on Garstang 1943, and Garstang – Gurney 1959. The first to identify Alabanda with *Waliwanda* was Garstang 1943 (see above n. 239) and Garstang – Gurney 1959, 78 f., followed by Hawkins 1998, 17, 25 f.

²⁴⁴ Strabo 14.2.29 (663); Livy 38.12.9–10, see Hild 2014, 45 with n. 349 f. It was used also by Suleiman the Magnificent and his army during their campaign against the Knights Hospitaller of Rhodes in 1522 CE: Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 166 with n. 116.

²⁴⁵ Hild 2014, 45–47, 103 fig. 56.

²⁴⁶ Hild 2014, 45 assumes the crossing near Cumalı, where a milestone has been found (see p. 17 no. 16). But the section of the Marsyas between Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü and Alabanda which are located opposite each other on either side of the river, makes more sense as location.

²⁴⁷ For *Wallarima* being identical with the ancient Karian-Greek toponym *Hyllarima*, see e.g. Garstang – Gurney 1959, 79; Hawkins 1998, 27; Adiego 2007, 240; Herda 2009, 45 n. 155, 47 fig. 4; Oreshko 2019, 178 f., 187–189 figs. 1–3; Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 157 f. Debord – Varinlioğlu 2018, 119 f., 154 stress that the Karian toponym *ylarmit*, preserved in a 4th century BCE inscription from Hyllarima (Adiego 2007, 135 C.Hy 1, B 2, p. 215, 305–308 with n. 32, p. 319, 433), "continues" Cuneiform *Wallarima* and forms a "bridge" to the Greek toponym (Debord – Varinlioğlu 2018, 120). New excavations since 2021 under the directorship of Bekir Özer (University of Muğla) have proven continuous settlement

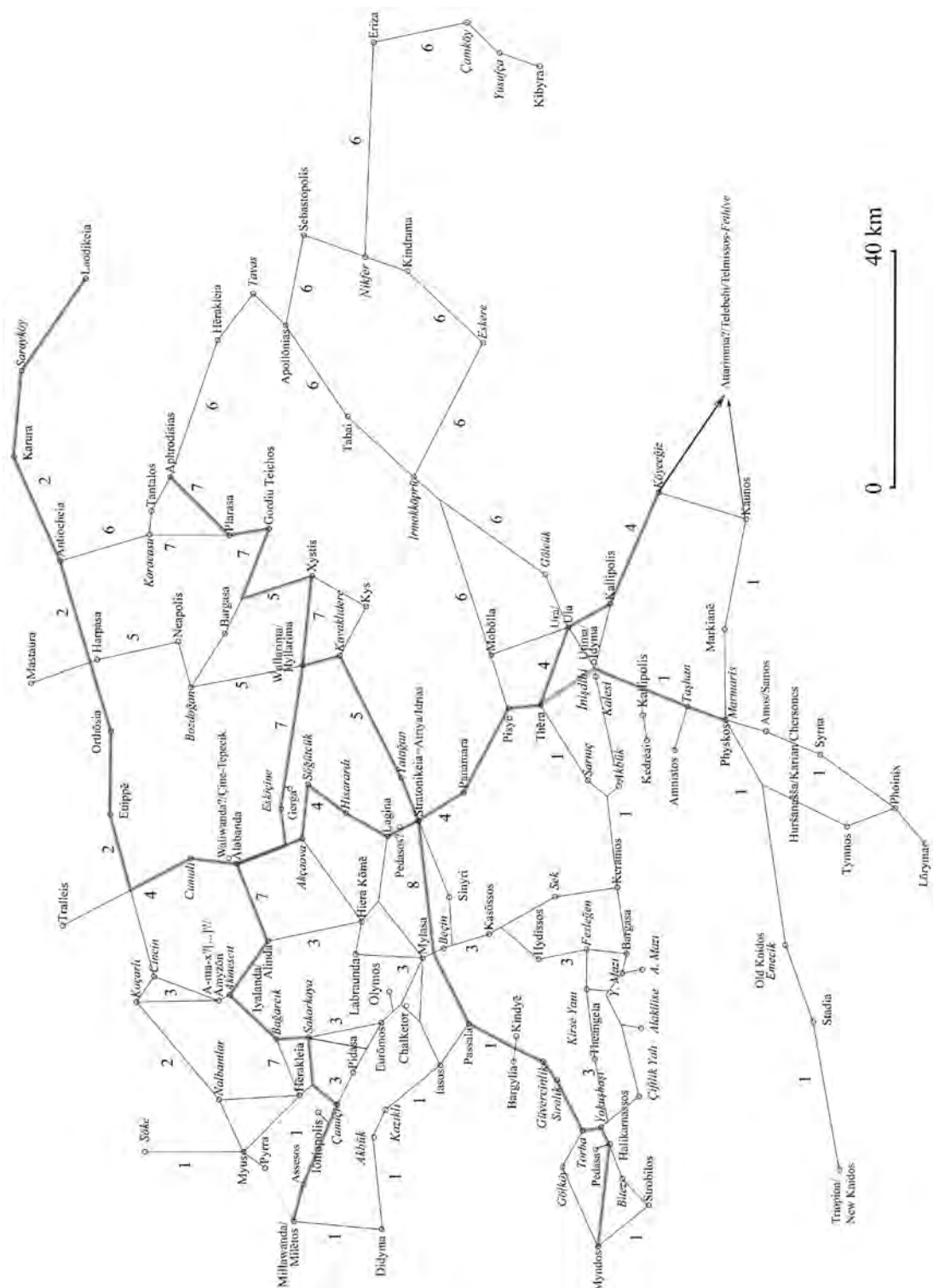


Fig. 17: Roman road-network of Karia, with indication of the main north-south and east-west routes. The north-south route of the 'Karian Highway' equals 'route 4'. (author and Ö. Vapur, modified after Hild 2014, 103 fig. 56 [provided by courtesy of F. Hild]).

Antiocheia-on-the-Maiandros in the northeast of Karia²⁴⁸, this is the “diversion” (J.D. Hawkins) of the Karian Highway, mentioned above. From *Waliwanda*-Alabanda, the Karian Highway climbed up south towards *Atriya-Idrias*-Stratonikeia, passing the eastern flank of the 1400 m high Gökbel mountain and the Hekate-sanctuary of Lagina, thus cutting short the winding course of the Marsyas valley located further to the east. The terrain in this part is quite mountainous and the road often coils like a serpent to keep its inclination even. Since the early 2nd century BCE at the latest, the 9.5 km long part between Lagina and *Idrias*-Stratonikeia temporarily functioned as processional route during festivals and was developed as a 3.5 m broad, stone-paved road²⁴⁹.

Stratonikeia was founded as a Macedonian stronghold in Karia by Antiochos I Soter in the 280s to 260s BCE, who named it after his stepmother-wife Stratonike²⁵⁰. Before that, the city respectively its territory was known as Karian *Idrias* (Ἰδριάς), respectively *Chrysaoris* (Χρυσαιορίς)²⁵¹. Most indicative, Herodotos starts his story of the three battles between the Karians and Persians in book 5 with the following remark²⁵²:

Καί κως ταῦτα τοῖσι Καροῖ ἐξαγγέλθη πρότερον ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσην ἀπικέσθαι·
 πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κᾶρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκάς τε στήλας καλεομένης καὶ ποταμὸν
 Μαρσύην, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρας ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ.

“It so happened that news of this was brought to the Karians before Daurises’ coming, and when the Karians heard, they mustered at the place called the White Pillars by the river Marsyas which flows from the territory of Idrias and issues into the Maiandros.”

The “so-called ‘White Pillars’” (Λευκαὶ στήλαι καλεομέναι) are likely identical with the enigmatic sanctuary site of *Gerga(s)/Gergakome*, an identification, first proposed with good arguments by the epigraphist Metin Çetin Şahin. Its 2nd/3rd century CE-dating by G.F. Bean, and most recently by Winfried Held is misleading, as the inscriptions at the site have to be dated to the 4th–2nd century BCE, not the 2nd/3rd century CE. They are further secondary; thus, they only constitute a *terminus ante quem* for the buildings, sculptures, stelai, and natural rocks they are written on²⁵³. For the identification of *Gerga(s)/Gergakome* with the *Leukai Stelai* the existence

activity in Asarcık Tepe 1.5 km south of Classical and later Hyllarima reaching back to the Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium BCE) or even Late Chalcolithic (4th millennium BCE). This site has to be identified with Bronze Age *Wallarima*: <https://arkeoloji.mu.edu.tr/tr/hyllarima-6899> (accessed: 25.05.2025); Özer 2024, 83 f. fig. 2, p. 85–92 fig. 3, p. 100 (English summary); Oğuzhanoğlu 2024, 69, 72 n. 61.

²⁴⁸ For the crossing of ‘route 4’ with ‘route 7’ at Alabanda, see Hild 2014, 45, 103 fig. 56; for ‘route 7’, see pp. 54–56.

²⁴⁹ For Lagina, see e.g. Laumonier 1958, 344–425; Söğüt 2019, 243–278; Gider Büyüközer 2020. The oldest finds connected to cult activity are so far of the Late Geometric period (8th century BCE): Söğüt 2019, 251. For the processional road, see Tirpan – Söğüt 2005, 52–54, 71; Williamson 2021, 285–291 figs. 5.20–5.23.

²⁵⁰ Şahin 2010, 1 (280s BCE). Riet van Bremen prefers a later foundation date in the 260s BCE, see van Bremen 2020a, 10–11 with n. 3; van Bremen 2020b, 22 with n. 3.

²⁵¹ Zgusta 1984, 193 § 363 Ἰδριάς; Blümel 2023, 170 f. s.v. Ἰδριάς. The name *Chrysaoris* (Χρυσαιορίς) of the settlement corresponds to the Karian personal name *Šaoyrkri* (Adiego 2007, 416). The toponym respectively ethnic personal name stands behind Zeus *Chrysaoreus*, whose sanctuary was located within the city’s environs, see Şahin 2010, 4–6.

²⁵² Herodotus 5.118.1.

²⁵³ For identifying *Gergakome* with the *Leukai Stelai*, see Şahin 1976, 13 f. n. 48; Harper 1978, 386–388; Marchese 1986, I 34, 104, 270; Marchese 1989, 38 fig. 13, p. 39–41, 50 f. fig. 16, p. 69, 102, 152 f.; Talbert – Bagnall 2000, Map 61



Fig. 18: The sanctuary of Gerga(s)/Gergakome, Herodotos' *Leukai Stelai*? Assembly place to the southeast of the two still standing roughly triangular stelai, the left bearing a monumental inscription reading ΓΕΡΓΑΣ, to be dated 4th–2nd century BCE (photo author, 2.10.2011).

Ephesos, grid G2 (with question mark), and Map-by-map directory II 941, 944; Bresson 2019, 230 n. 10 (location of *Leukai Stelai* "remains unknown" according to him, however); Bianconi 2020. I cannot follow G.E. Bean's hypothetical location of *Leukai Stelai* some 4 km east of Eskihsar (Bean 1980, 68, 71 n. 1), or the localisation directly at the rocky river bed of the Marsyas south of İncekemer by Müller 1997, 333, 334 f. fig. "Marsyas 2" (taken over, however, by Kaletsch 2002), neither Debord's identification with Panamara: Debord 2003, 118, see Fabiani 2015, 174 n. 34; or an identification with the sites of Stratonikeia, or Lagina (proposal by one of the anonymous reviewers). I also cannot follow Bean (Bean 1969, 179–182; Bean 1980, 171–176), Kaletsch 2002, and now W. Held (Held 2008; Held 2020) in dating the whole sanctuary in *Gergakome* in the 2nd–3rd century CE only. I hold this for much too late, see already Herda 2013a, 440 n. 80, where I argue for a dating of the—in my view secondary—Greek, and one Latin inscriptions, in the 4th–2nd century BCE, not in the 2nd–3rd century CE (Bean's and Held's dating of the inscriptions is however taken over by Blümel 2018, 127). The remarks of Hornblower 2013, 300 that "these 'White Pillars' have not been certainly identified, nor is it likely that they ever will be" is *certainly* too pessimistic. I will address the whole matter in my own chapter in Herda in preparation. I personally visited the site first for two days in 1990 with W. Held in preparation of his MA-thesis, and second, in 02.10.2011 with Eckart Sauter, and will present convincing arguments for identifying the site with the *Leukai Stelai* of Herodotos.

of a cult of the river god Marsyas at the site also speaks²⁵⁴. *Gergakome* lies close to the main west-east 'route 7' through Karia, and is rich in spring water made accessible by several fountain houses. These waters empty into the Marsyas river 3.2 km to the west of the site. It is located less than 18 km southeast of Alabanda, where 'route 7' crossed the 'Karian Highway' ('route 4') (Fig. 17)²⁵⁵. Therefore, it was the perfect meeting place for the Karian forces uniting from all over Karia, to stop the Persian army which was marching down the Maiandros plain on 'route 2', and predictably going to turn south towards inner Karia via the Marsyas valley respectively 'Karian Highway' ('route 4'). Accordingly, Herodotos has the Karians discuss during their assembly at the 'White Pillars', if they should attack the Persians on 'route 2' before they cross the Maiandros at the confluence with the Marsyas, or after, when they had turned to enter 'route 4' (Fig. 18)²⁵⁶.

In the plain not far to the southeast of Stratonikeia, the *Idrias* region, today's Yatağan Ovası ('Yatağan plain'), the Marsyas river had its sources. Systematic excavations in Stratonikeia, since 2008 under the guidance of Bilal Söğüt, have proven that the site was settled continuously at least from the Late Bronze Age. Two other Late Bronze Age sites, Taşavlu and Değirmendere, are grouped around it²⁵⁷. This would make it likely that Stratonikeia is to be identified with the central settlement of the Karian *Idrias*-region, Hittite *Atriya*, an opinion also shared by myself earlier²⁵⁸. These archeological observations corroborate the local historians of *Idrias*-Stratonikeia, who in the mid-1st century BCE, counted back 1505 years to the foundation of the city, at least according to an inscription of the rhetor Menippos, an acquaintance of the famous Roman rhetor and politician Cicero, on the bouleuterion wall of Stratonikeia. This would result in a foundation date in the late 15th century BCE, as M.Ç. Şahin has pointed out²⁵⁹. However, to be true, Late Bronze Age finds in Stratonikeia are very limited and any building remains are missing so far. Instead, the main Early/Middle to Late Bronze Age site of the region is Boz(h)yük Azarı/Kale Tepesi only 6 km to the southeast of Stratonikeia in the Yatağan plain²⁶⁰. After surveying the site, Aytekin Büyüközer has now made a strong point that this large fortified settlement in the center of the open plain is to be acknowledged as the main center, likely to be identified with Hittite *Atriya* (Fig. 19)²⁶¹.

The commanding position of Boz(h)yük Azarı/Kale Tepesi at the sources of the Marsyas river backs his assumption. It reminds of the similar location of *Waliwanda*-Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü

²⁵⁴ For the cult, see Held 2008, 32–36 figs. 35–42, p. 123, 144, 149 f., 151–153; Held 2020, 483 f. figs. 10–11 (fountain house II with monumental dedicatory inscription MAPΣ[Y]AΣ on the southern inner wall). This early evidence for the Karian Marsyas cult is overlooked by Parker 2016b.

²⁵⁵ For *Gergakome*'s topographical location in regard to the ancient road system, see besides Fig. 17 also Held 2008, 3–9 fig. 1.

²⁵⁶ Herodotus 5.118.2, see on these tactics above section 4 with n. 137.

²⁵⁷ Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 160–162, 177–183 figs. 3–9; Oğuzhanoğlu 2024.

²⁵⁸ Hawkins 1998, 26–28; Herda 2009, 47 f., 54 fig. 4; Oreshko 2019, 169 with n. 175, p. 188 fig. 2, p. 189 fig. 3; Söğüt 2020, 488–492 figs. 2–3, p. 502; Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 150–170; Oğuzhanoğlu 2024, 63–69.

²⁵⁹ See *I.Stratonikeia* 1044, a poem to memorize the number of days of each of the 12 months in the calendar of Stratonikeia. In the last, thirteenth line is given the date αφε' ("1505"): *I.Stratonikeia*, p. 148 f. ("dies bezieht sich vermutlich auf irgendeine [pseudo]-historisch-mythologische Ära, welche mit der Besiedlung Kariens in der mykenischen Zeit begann"); Şahin 2010, 5 n. 49 ("when we subtract at least 100 years from it we arrive at the year 1405 B.C."); Söğüt 2019, 63 f. fig. 32, p. 291 f.; Herda in preparation, chapter III.

²⁶⁰ Büyüközer 2022, 256 f.; Büyüközer et al. 2023, 193 f., 207 f. fig. 1 (map), 2 (pottery finds); Büyüközer et al. 2024, 286, 289 map. 1.

²⁶¹ Büyüközer et al. 2024, 286.

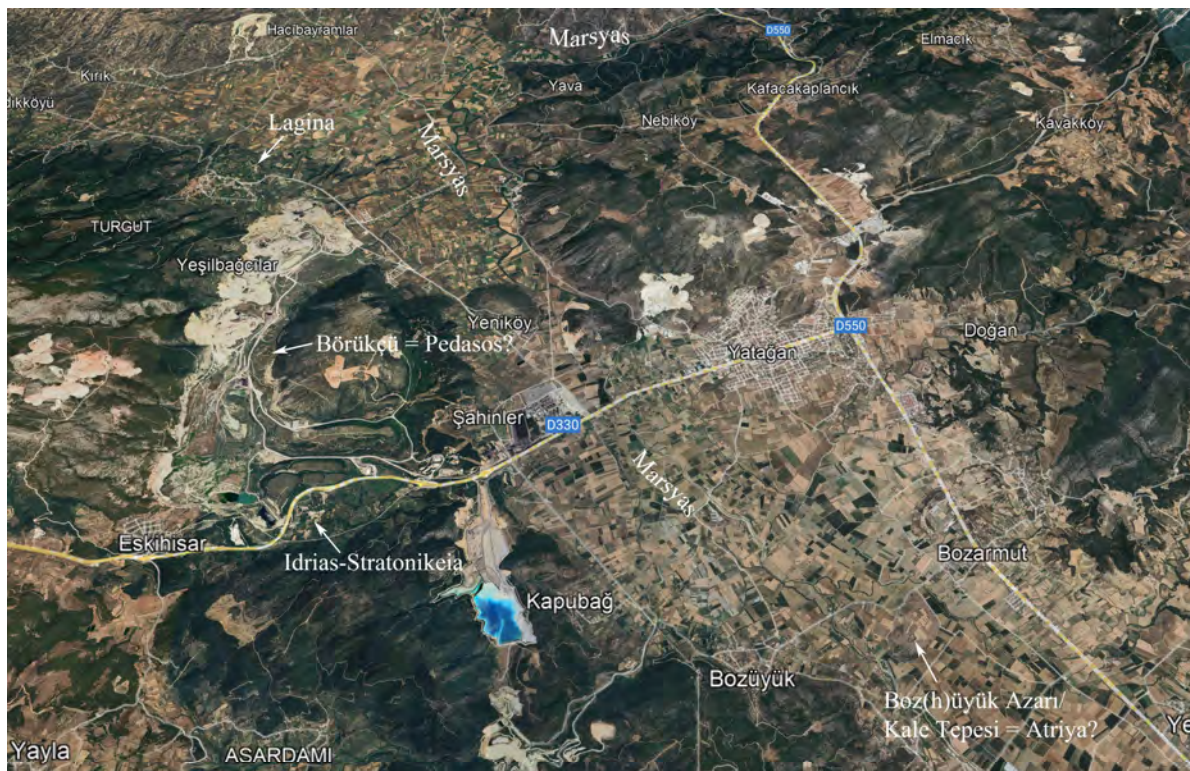


Fig. 19: Idrias-Stratonikeia and her environs with the sources of the Marsyas river. Indicated are the Bronze Age site of Boz(h)yük Azarı/Kale Tepesi (= *Atriya*?) and the Late Geometric to Early Byzantine site of Börükçü (= Pedasos?). Clearly visible in the 3D-view of 2024 from the south are the mountainous terrain and the giant open air (and closed) mining areas for lignite west of Yatağan Termik Santrali, where the landscape and its cultural heritage are nearly totally destroyed. North and northeast of Yatağan has recent marble quarrying the same effect. (Google Earth, imagery date of 27.7.2023, edited by author).

(see above). Systematic excavations may help to clarify this important question. It is high time because the site is used intensively for agriculture as can be seen in the satellite photo.

Most likely, the Iron Age Karian settlements around *Idrias*, later Stratonikeia, formed a *koinon*, a 'federation'. Its people are likely listed as Ἰδριεῖς in the Athenian Tribute Lists, paying a *phoros* of 2(?) talents in 425/4 BCE²⁶². Zeus *Idrieus*, attested by a mid-4th century BCE inscription from Iasos, is most likely the main god of this *koinon*. Derived from this ethnic/theonym is the homonymous Karian personal name *Idrieus*, whose most famous holders are Idrieus, the son of

²⁶² IGI³ 71 col. II. 143 (listed in a *synteleia* with Ὑμεσσεῖς and Κυρωμεῖς, paying 6 talents in total); ATL I, 483 f. (however they think it is a "vague term for the interior of Karia", which is misleading); Bean 1980, 68; Zgusta 1984, 193 § 363 Ἰδριεῖς; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1119 no. 892 Idrias (Edrieus) (region, without giving a precise location); Şahin 2010, 5 with n. 41 f.; Hornblower 2013, 301; Fabiani 2015, 175; Blümel 2023, 171 s.v. Ἰδριεῖς (with question mark, as he assumes, like ATL, two Idrias, one at Euromos, and a second at Lagina, referring for this to Stephanos of Byzantium). Oreshko 2019, 169 n. 175 recognises that the ethnic Ἰδριεῖς "is somewhat closer of Adriya", i.e. the Hittite toponym *Atriya*.

Karian prime father Kar and founder (*heros ktistes*) of Idrias, and Maussollos' brother ruling as Hekatomnid satrap of Karia 351–344 BCE²⁶³.

Like *Waliwanda*-Alabanda, *Atriya*-Idrias-Stratonikeia was a traffic knot of the Karian Highway since at least the Late Bronze Age. There, the main north-south 'route 4' towards *Lukka*-Lykia met the west-east 'routes 1-8-5', connecting later Lelegian Myndos at the western tip of the Halikarnassos peninsula via Halikarnassos and Passala, passing *Mutamutašša*-Mylasa to the south²⁶⁴, with *Wallarima*-Hyllarima, Harpasa and Antiocheia-on-the-Maiandros to the northeast. In the late 13th century, the Hittites controlled the main north-south 'route 4' from their stronghold *Waliwanda* alias Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü (see above). Another indication, besides the already mentioned attestation of Hittite presence in Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü, is the so-called *Milawata*-Letter of Tuthaliya IV (ca. 1237–1228, and again 1227–1209 BCE) to Tarkasnawa of *Mira*. In the letter the Hittite king rearranges the borders of *Milawata*-Miletos which after the collapse of the Mycenaean kingdom of *Ahhiyawa* in ca. 1220–1200 BCE had fallen to the Hittites and their vassal state *Mira*²⁶⁵. Part of the arrangements is the return of Ahhiyawan captives from *Atriya*-Idrias-Stratonikeia and *Utima*-Idyma who had been held in *Milawata*-Miletos, in exchange for Hittite captives (of Ahhiyawan agents?) from *Awarna*-*Arřna*-Xanthos and *Pina*/*Pinali*-Pinara in *Lukka*-Lykia²⁶⁶. It therefore turns out, that Hittite agents were at present in *Atriya*-Idrias-Stratonikeia as well as *Utima*-Idyma²⁶⁷, securing the Karian Highway 'route 4' to *Lukka*-Lykia.

²⁶³ For the cult of Zeus *Idrieus* (and Hera *Ada*) in Iasos in the time of the Hekatomnid Idrieus and his sister-wife Ada (*I.Iasos* 52.8 Διὸς Ἰδριέως καὶ Ἡ[ρας Ἀδας]), see Fabiani 2015; Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 165. Zeus Idrieus likely equals Zeus *Chrysaoreus*, derived from the alternative place name of Idrias, *Chrysaoris*, see Fabiani 2015, 175 with n. 36, referring to Debord 1994, 108 f.; Debord 2003, 128–131; above with n. 251. For Idrieus as son of Kar and founder of Idrias, see Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Ἰδριάς: πόλις τῆς Καρίας, ἡ πρότερον Χρυσαορίς, ἀπὸ Ἰδριέω παιδὸς Καρός. ὁ οἰκῶν Ἰδριεύς καὶ Ἰδριάς τὸ θηλυκόν ("Idrias: city of Karia, later (named) Chrysaoris, (named) after Idrieus, son of Kar. The (male) inhabitant (is called) Idrieus, the female Idrias"). In Euromos, mythical Idrieus counted for a son not of Kar, but of Chrysaor, and Euromos held, like Stratonikeia, the alternative name *Idrias* after him, see Stephanus Byzantius ε 172 (ed. Billerbeck): Εὐρωπός: πόλις Μακεδονίας ... ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Καρίας, ἣν Ἰδριάδα ἀπὸ Ἰδριέως τοῦ Χρυσαόροπος ("Europos: a city in Macedonia ... there is another one in Karia, Ἰδριάς, [named] after Idrieus, son of Chrysaor"). This is now proven by the fact that one of the *phylai* of Euromos was named *Idrias*, see Konuk 2023, 145–151 esp. 150 f. on an honorary decree of Euromos for Lakrines, the *strategos* of Philip V, ca. 210 BCE), recently found in the Zeus Lepsynos sanctuary of Euromos. See lines 45 f. of the decree: ἔλαχε φυλῆς Ἰδριάδος ("He received by lot the phyle Idrias").

²⁶⁴ For Mylasa = (*Muta*)*mutašša*, see e.g. Hawkins 1998, 27 with n. 167; Adiego 2007, 342; Adiego 2010, 164 f.; Herda 2009, 55, 47 fig. 4 (with wrong spelling *Mutamatašša*); Herda 2020a, 16, 17 fig. 3 (with wrong spelling *Mutamatasā*); Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 157 table 1, p. 167. It is very likely that the Karian ethnic name *Mdayn*/*Mwdon*-, to be found in Archaic Karian inscriptions in Egyptian Memphis, is to be understood as 'Mylasean'. This would fit well with the Hittite form of the place name, *Mutamutašša*/*Mutamudašša*: Adiego 2010, 164 f.; Adiego 2019, 25; see Herda in preparation.

²⁶⁵ For the downfall of the Mycenaean kingdom and its palace culture, see e.g. Jung 2018; Phialon 2020, 28–32, 37. For the chronology, see e.g. Jung – Kardamaki 2022. The palace of Pylos in southwestern Peloponnese whose Linear B-archive attests strong Anatolian contacts (see above section 2 with n. 55), was one of the last to be destroyed in LH III C Early 1 (ca. 1200 BCE): Vitale et al. 2022; Davis et al. in print.

²⁶⁶ *KUB* 19.55 + *KUB* 48.90/*CTH* 182, see Hawkins 1998, 27; Hawkins 2020, 350 f.; Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 152 f.; Herda in preparation, chapter III.

²⁶⁷ For Hittite *Utima* equaling Classical Idyma, see e.g. Garstang – Gurney 1959, 81; Hawkins 1998, 27 with n. 169; Oreshko 2019; Oğuzhanoğlu 2022, 157, 160, 168 with table 2, 170 with table 3. From *Utima*-Idyma, a side-branch of the Karian Highway ('route 1') headed via Physkos-Marmaris to (a) the Karian Chersones (Hittite *Hurřanašša*), or (b) the Knidian peninsula (compare the Mycenaean Linear B feminine ethnonym *ki-ni-di-ja* attested in Pylos, A series and Py An 292: Nikoloudis 2009, 47 f.), see Herda in preparation, chapter III, and appendix 3; Fig. 17. The Greek toponym *Knidos* (Κνίδος) is likely of Karian origin, compare Κινδύη: Bresson 2009, 113.

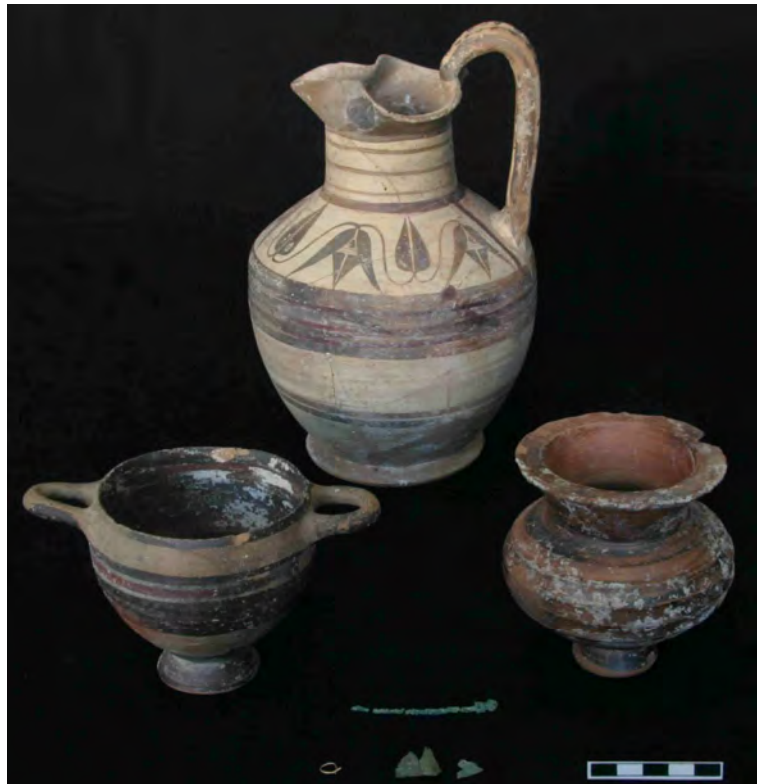


Fig. 20: Ensemble of Lydian ('Lydion' and kotyle in the front) and local Karian (in Milesian 'Fikellura'-style oinochoe in the background) vessels united in a grave (Tomb 03BM04) of the middle of the 6th century from Börükçü (Gider Büyükozer 2014, 122 fig. 12).

In 497/6 BCE, the part of the Karian Highway north of *Idrias*-Stratonikeia formed a perfect environment for a nighttime ambush. The Persian army had to march in outstretched order. There was no possibility to build up an open battle formation with centering hoplite units of *Kardakes*²⁶⁸, involving also the superior Persian cavalry at the flanks. Furthermore, the Karians could approach from hidden higher positions on both sides of the road. Herakleides, son of Ibanollis from Mylasa, choose the perfect place to destroy Daurises and his army²⁶⁹.

Today, this area is mostly ruined forever by open air lignite mining to the north of Stratonikeia/Eski Hisar which led to intensive surveys and rescue excavations conducted by Ahmet A. Tirpan and his team of Selçuk University in Konya. They investigated several locations of which one may meet with what we would expect for a place Strabo described as "a very little town called Pedasos in what is now the territory of Stratonikeia"²⁷⁰. The place is called Börükçü at a height of 550 m asl. It was an ancient settlement built on terraces directly east of the Karian Highway ca. halfway between Lagina and *Idrias*-Stratonikeia (Fig. 19). The site was occupied from the Late Geometric to the early Byzantine Period according to the finds from the

²⁶⁸ For the *Kardakes*, see above section 4 with n. 199.

²⁶⁹ For these tactics, see also Bresson 2019, 233, however with the wrong location on the road at Pidasa-on-Grion.

²⁷⁰ Strabo 13.1.59 (611), see above with n. 210.

settlement and the cemeteries. It flourished especially in the second half of the 6th century BCE, at the time of the battle we are dealing with. The frequent Lydian imports in the graves exemplify the trade connections of the site with Lydia and the Maiandros plain via the Marsyas valley road respectively the 'Karian Highway' (Fig. 20)²⁷¹.

The ancient name of the place is not known, but it definitely fits the term *πολίχνιον*, 'very little town', used by Strabo²⁷². The excavators believe Börükçü to be the later Stratonikeian *koinon/phyle* of *Koliorga*, but this is rather unlikely as a decree of this *koinon* was found written on the anta of a temple of Artemis found on Maltepe hill in Gurbet Köy some 7 km west of Stratonikeia on 'route 8' towards Mylasa²⁷³. Recent surveys by the Stratonikeia team have discovered more fortified Iron Age settlement sites around Stratonikeia which will have formed members of the *koinon* of Idrias-Chrysaoris in Archaic and Classical times, like Türk Kalesi south of Lagina, Kül Dağı Kale Tepe east of Stratonikeia, and Kavak Kale Tepe northeast of Yatağan. First of all, Türk Kalesi and Kül Dağı Kale Tepe may represent alternatives for the location of Pedasos/Pedason²⁷⁴.

6. CONCLUSIONAL PERSPECTIVES

In 497/6 BCE in the course of the Ionian Revolt against Persia, the Karians who had taken the side of the Ionians, assembled at the *Leukai Stelai*, 'White Pillars', near the Marsyas river (Çine Çayı), after learning about an approaching Persian army (Herodotus 5.118). The *Leukai Stelai* can be indentified with the enigmatic sanctuary site of *Gerga(s)/Gergakome* which is located near the Karian city of Alabanda, where the main Karian north-south route through the Marsyas valley meets a west-east route connecting the Aegean coast via crossing the Latmos mountains to the west, with Aphrodisias in northeastern Karia via the city of Hyllarima (routes 4 and 7 in Fig. 17).

²⁷¹ Göğebakan 2007–2008 (lamps from the necropolis, dated between the 6th century BCE and the 1st century CE); Göğebakan Demir 2010 (Geometric – Roman settlement); Gider-Büyükközer 2014 (mid-6th century BCE grave with Lydian and Karian fine ware pottery); Tirpan – Büyükközer – Gider-Büyükközer 2016 (late 6th century BCE finds from the settlement and necropolis); Büyükközer – Gider-Büyükközer – Tirpan 2019 (5th-4th century BCE pottery kilns). See this useful Turkish website with satellite photos: <https://kulturenvanteri.com/tr/harita/#16/37.33742/28.050927> (accessed: 25.05.2025).

²⁷² *πολίχνιον* is the diminutive of *πολίχνη*, itself the diminutive of *πόλις*, see *Liddell-Scott-Jones* 1435 s.v. *πολίχνιον*. The translation as "little fort" by Bresson 2019, 238 and others is mistaken.

²⁷³ Hypothetical location in Börükçü: Aydaş 2006, 111 (the Early Roman Imperial period grave altar published p. 112 no. 3 names actually a person from the *demos/phyle Hiera Kome!*); Tirpan – Büyükközer – Gider-Büyükközer 2016, 500 with n. 2, referring to an inscription from Alabanda, naming the five *koina/phylai* of Stratonikeia: *Koraia*, *Lobolda*, *Hiera Kome*, *Koranza*, and *Koliorga*, see Şahin 1976, 1–8, 23 f.; Şahin 2010, 1–8. Their localisation is however taken over by Williamson 2021, 242 fig. 5.1, 246 f. with n. 28, 286 fig. 5.20, see also p. 288 with n. 159, 383 n. 169. For the correct location of *Koliorga* in Gurbet Köy instead, see Şahin 2010, 7, followed now by Aydaş 2019, 173 with n. "i", and Büyükközer et al. 2023, 195 f., 207 fig. 1 (map).

²⁷⁴ See Büyükközer et al. 2024, esp. 289 map with location of sites and indicated extensions of open lignite mining. Aytekin Büyükközer was so kind to comment on my localisation attempts for Pedasos (email of October 22, 2024): "The topography of Börükçü and its surroundings has completely changed. However, I remember it before the coal mine. Frankly, there was no difficult topography in that valley that could ambush an army. Still, there was a valley there that was not very deep and we cannot completely ignore your idea. The Türk Kalesi near Lagina was used only for military purposes. It was probably part of the rural defense of the city of Koranza. Kül Dağı Kale Tepe is a much more interesting and special place and could be a good candidate for Pedasos due to its location. Finally, I would recommend that you also look at Delik Hisar near Kafaca. The archaeological data there is Classical and Hellenistic, but if excavated, earlier material may be found. However, considering its location at the entrance to the Marsyas Valley and its topography, it has the ideal topography to ambush an army."

In their assembly the Karians decided to fight the Persians after they had crossed the Maiandros river near its confluence with the Marsyas river. The open battle ended in a devastating defeat, followed by a second defeat, again in open battle in the northern Marsyas valley, even though an Ionian-Milesian force had come to the aid of the Karians. However, a third nighttime ambush was finally victorious and resulted in the total annihilation of the Persian forces, leading to a stalemate which lasted until 494 BCE²⁷⁵. The place of this battle is contested to date. As is argued here, the wording in Herodotos' *Histories* 5.121 τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν, first conjectured by Henri Estienne (*Henricus Stephanus*, ca. 1530–1598 CE) in his 1570 edition of Herodotos' *Histories*²⁷⁶, is to be preferred to all alternative readings like τὴν ἐν Πιδάσῳ ὁδόν, τὴν ἐν Πηδάσοισι/Πιδάσοισι ὁδόν, and conjectures which have been presented like Wesseling's τὴν ἐπὶ <Μυ>λάσοισι ὁδόν of 1763. τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν—though in Attic *koine* instead of the psilotic East Ionic dialect, originally used by Herodotos—is therefore rightly kept in the new edition of the *Histories* by Ph.S. Peek²⁷⁷. It refers neither to *Pedasa*-Gökçeler near Halikarnassos-Bodrum, a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age foundation of Lelegian settlers from *Pedason* in the Troad, the latter mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad* as ally of Troy against the Achaean Greeks (6.30–35, 20.90, 21.85–89), nor to *Pedasa*'s Late Archaic (494 BCE) sub-colony *Pidasa*-on-Grion at today's Danişment, once part of the Milesian 'highlands' (*Milesie yperakria*). Instead, it refers to a 'very small town' (*polichnion*) called *Pedason* (Πήδασος feminine o-declension, more likely), or *Pedason* (Πήδασον neuter, less likely), which was according to the geographer Strabo (late first century BCE) located near to the city of *Idrias*-Stratonikeia. The close resemblance of all these toponyms in the Troad, central Anatolia, and in Karia can be explained by their common Proto-Indo-European root **pédom*, 'place', as in Hittite *peda-*, respectively (KUR)^{URU}*Pitašša/Pedašša*, Lykian *pddēn-*, and Greek πέδον. A special case is formed by the Luwic compound *sar-pedon(t)*, 'high place', which was taken over by the Bronze Age Greeks of Pylos in the Peloponnese which can explain the true origin of the hero *Sarpedon* and the Greek toponym ἡ Σαρπηδών as a designation for capes and steep promontories²⁷⁸.

Inland Karian *Pedason* was located on the 'Karian Highway'. This strategically important east-west/north-south route is first attested in Hittite texts related to military campaigns of the 14th and 13th century BCE, where the Hittite armies several times invaded *Karkiša*-Karia approaching westwards through the Maiandros plain, then turning southwards and proceeding via the Marsyas valley (routes 2 and 4 in Fig. 17). From *Waliwanda*-Alabanda/Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü, they either approached *Millawanda*-Miletos via *Iyalanda*-Alinda and ^{URU}*A-ma-x*²[...]-Amyzon to the west, or continued southwards to *Atriya*, likely today's Bronze Age site of Bozüyük Asarı/Kale Tepesi some 6 km southeast of its Iron Age successor *Idrias*-Stratonikeia, and from there via *Ura*-Ula to the city of *Telebehi*/Telmessos-Fethiye, Hittite

²⁷⁵ See Murray 1988, 485 (however, he incorrectly dates the third battle at Pedason one year later, see above n. 208).

²⁷⁶ Stephanus 1570.

²⁷⁷ Peek 2018, 148, who has τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν without further comment. All reading variants are listed in the critical edition of Hude in the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* edition of Herodotos: Hude 1970, who likewise correctly prints τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν; see also the Teubner edition of Rosén 1997. This is however rejected by Hornblower 2013, 304, who wants to read ἐν Πιδάσῳ ὁδόν, depending on his reconstruction of the events in Herodotus 5.118–121, see contra section 4. He is followed by the new Oxford edition of the *Histories* by N.G. Wilson (Wilson 2015a), and Bresson 2019, see above section 2. Bresson's magisterial claim (2019, 238) "in fact, ἐν Πιδάσῳ should be introduced into the standard text of Herodotus 5.121, and not corrected into ἐν Πηδάσῳ" is to be declined.

²⁷⁸ See above section 2 with n. 56.

Attarimma, the northern gate into the *Lukka*-lands (Lykia)²⁷⁹, or via *Utima*-Idyma at the Gulf of Keramos to Physkos-Marmaris and from there to either the Knidian peninsula, or to *Huršanašša*, the Karian Chersones ('route 1').

The course of the 'Karian Highway' had not changed in more than 700 years, when the Persian general Harpagos marched it in 544/3 BCE to first conquer Karia, taking its last strongholds *Pedasa*-Gökçeler to the west, and *Kbid*-Kaunos to the very southwest, and advancing from *Kbid*-Kaunos and *Telebehi*/Telmessos-Fethiye to then crush the final Lykian resistance of heroic *Arñina*-Xanthos²⁸⁰.

In 497/6, the Karians had learned their lesson. Herakleides of Mylasa, the 'Karian Themistokles' (G. Schepens/A. Bresson)²⁸¹, chose *Pedastos* near Idrias-Stratonikeia for his ambush to stop the Persian advance on the 'Karian Highway' in time, before it could gain pace and reach its aim of conquering the Karian cities one by one. The site is perhaps to be identified with a small, recently excavated settlement at Börükçü, half way between Lagina and *Idrias*-Stratonikeia, directly east of the road²⁸². It was in use between the Late Geometric (8th/7th century BCE) and the Early Byzantine period (5th/6th century CE), and flourished in the second half of the 6th century, the time of the battle.

However, this Karian triumph was only short-lived: after finally crushing Miletos and the Ionian Revolt in 494²⁸³, Karia "at once" (αὐτίκα) came under Persian supremacy again²⁸⁴, and in large part stayed like this until the conquest by Alexander III of Makedonia in 334/3. The quick expansion into Karia after the conquest of Miletos enabled the Persians to force the Lelegian-Karians of *Pedasa*/Gökçeler to found *Pidasa*-on-Grion, weakening both themselves as well as Miletos, and to forget the failure of Harpagos at *Pedasa*/Gökçeler (*Lide*) in 544/3 BCE, and the embarrassing defeat of Daurises at *Pedastos*/Pedason north of Stratonikeia in 497/6 BCE.

Note also the here argued emendation of Thucydides 3.19.2 Σανδίου λόφου ('Sandios Hill') to <Υβ>ανδίου λόφου ('Hybandios Hill')²⁸⁵, identical with the former island of Hybanda at the Maiandros mouth, as well as reconstructing the entry in the Attic Tribute List of 445/4 BCE, *ATL* I, 136, no. 10.III.29 (= *IG* I³ 267.III.29), not as Ναχσία παρὰ Μ[υδ]ιάδα, 'Naxia-at-Mydon', but as

²⁷⁹ For the ancient road system around *Attarimma-Telebehi*/Telmessos-Fethiye, see now Onur – Tekoğlu 2020. However, in p. 16 fig. 39 they do not indicate the routes towards Karia in the north via Kalynda – Kaunos, and Hippoukome – Lyrnai(?).

²⁸⁰ See Herodotus 1.176.

²⁸¹ For Herakleides, the son of Ibanollis, who was honoured with a book entitled *On Herakleides, the king of Mylasa* by the Late Archaic Karian historian and geographer Skylax of Karyanda (*FGrHist* 1000 T 1; for Skylax see Herda 2013a, 423 f., 450 f., 474), and who later fought on the Greek side against the Persians in the sea battle of Artemision in 480 BCE (Sosylos *FGrHist* 176 F 1 III), see Bresson 2019, 234 referring for the 'Karian Themistokles' to Schepens 2004, 20.

²⁸² The place of the ambush is correctly indicated in Briant 2002, 147 map 1 ("Pedasus"), who obviously (but not explicitly) follows the reconstruction of the three battles by Ruge 1937b. Not correct, however, is Briant's (and Ruge's) location of the second battle at Labraunda in the same map (no mention of the location in the text, even though Briant 2002, 498 discusses the gathering of the Karians in Labraunda, reported in Herodotus 5.119), see above section 4. Bresson 2019, 231 n. 13 mistakenly claims that in Briant's map "Pedasos is located west of Labraunda", herein allegedly following Ruge 1937b! Instead, Ruge has located it southeast of Labraunda and near later Stratonikeia, as this is also correctly presented in Briant's map.

²⁸³ Herodotus 6.6–22.

²⁸⁴ Herodotus 6.25: Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσεως αὐτίκα Καρίην ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθελόντων τῶν πόλεων ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκη προσηγάγοντο ("After Miletus was captured, the Persians at once gained possession of Karia. Some of the towns submitted voluntarily; others were brought over by force."), see Bresson 2019, 233; Briant 2020, 42.

²⁸⁵ Above section 4 with n. 207.

Ναχσία παρὰ Μ[υῶ](ντα), 'Naxia-at-Myous'²⁸⁶. These latter two emendations were presented by the author in 2017 and 2019²⁸⁷, but are ignored in scholarship so far.

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²⁸⁶ Above section 4 with n. 206.

²⁸⁷ In: Brückner et al. 2017, 877, 878, 879 f. figs. 1–2; Herda et al. 2019, 35, 62, 73 f. (<Hyb>*andios Lophos*); 36, 74 f. (Naxia-at-Myous).

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This article, dedicated to the memory of Adnan Diler, is twofold: in a first methodological part will be critically discussed, in the light of the work of the late Adnan Diler, recent trends in Lelegian and Karian studies, namely the denial of the existence of an independent Lelegian culture on the Halikarnassos/Bodrum Peninsula in the Early Iron Age, as well as the denial of an Anatolian, autochthonous Karian culture in historical Karia since the Late Bronze Age.

The larger second part concentrates on certain political events taking place in Karia around 500 BCE: According to Herodotos (5.117–121), in 497/6 BCE in the course of the Ionian Revolt, the freedom-loving Karians fought the invading Persian army three times. After two devastating defeats in open battles in the northern Marsyas/Çine Çayı valley, a third nighttime ambush was victorious and resulted in the total annihilation of the Persians, leading to a stalemate which lasted until 494 BCE. The place of this battle is contested to date. As argued here, it is neither on the road at Lelegian Pedasa/Gökçeler near Halikarnassos, nor at her colony Pidasa-on-Grion near today's Danişment, but at Karian Pedasos/Pedason on the 'Karian Highway' north of *Atriya*-Idrias-Stratonikeia. The site is once mentioned by Strabo (13.1.59 [611]) as a 'very little city' (*polychnion*). It is likely to be identified with today's Börükçü, where rescue excavations in an open lignite mining area have revealed a small settlement dating from Geometric until the early Byzantine Period (8th century BCE–7th century CE). Consequently, the wording in Herodotos' *Histories* 5.121 τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν, first conjectured by the French printer and philologist Henri Estienne (*Henricus Stephanus*, ca. 1530–1598 CE) in his 1570 edition of Herodotos' *Histories*, is to be preferred to all later alternative readings.

In the course of this article, the historical topography of central Karia since the Late Bronze Age is critically reviewed by reconstructing the main north-south running 'Karian Highway' with the help of Hittite and later ancient Greek texts and the archaeological evidence. In its first part this 'highway' followed the Marsyas river/Çine Çayı up to *Atriya*-Idrias-Stratonikeia, from where it continued as far south as the *Lukka*-lands, ancient Lykia. Former identifications of Alinda with Hittite *Iyalanda*, Alabanda with *Waliwanda* (Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü), Idrias-Stratonikeia with *Atriya* (Boz(h)yük Azarı/Kale Tepesi?), and Hyllarima with *Wallarima* (Asarcık Tepe) are confirmed or proposed, as also the identification of the Karian national sanctuary of *Leukai Stelai* (Herodotos 5.118) with the site of *Gerga(s)/Gergakome*. The Marsyas river route was also used by the Persians in 497/6 BCE. Also discussed are certain aspects of the local coinage of Lelegian Pedasa/Gökçeler, Termera/Asarlık, and Karian Halikarnassos, including the new reading by Ignacio Javier Adiego of the Karian coin legend of Halikarnassos, *Al(o)*, derived from the indigenous Karian place name *Alos karnos*, 'high fortress', or 'fortress of the deep (sea?)'.

Further note the here argued emendation of Thucydides 3.19.2 Σανδίου λόφου ('Sandios Hill') to <Υβ>ανδίου λόφου ('Hybandios Hill'), named after the former island of Hybanda at the Maiandros mouth, as well as reconstructing the Karian entry in the 'Attic Tribute List' of 445/4 BCE, *ATL* I, 136, no. 10.III.29 (= *IG* I³ 267.III.29) not as Ναχσία παρὰ Μ[υδ](όνα), 'Naxia-at-Mydon', but as Ναχσία παρὰ Μ[υδ](ντα), 'Naxia-at-Myous'.

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Adnan Diler'in anısına adanmış bu makale iki bölümden oluşmaktadır: İlk metodolojik bölümde, merhum Adnan Diler'in çalışmaları ışığında, Leleg ve Karya araştırmalarındaki son eğilimler, yani Erken Demir Çağı'nda Halikarnas/Bodrum Yarımadası'ndaki bağımsız bir Leleg kültürünün ve Karya'da Geç Bronz Çağı'ndan itibaren Anadolu kökenli bir Karya kültürünün varlığının inkârı eleştirel bir yaklaşımla tartışılacaktır.

Daha geniş kapsamlı ikinci bölüm ise MÖ 500 civarında Karya'da meydana gelen belirli siyasi olaylara odaklanmaktadır: Herodotos'a göre (5.117–121), MÖ 497/6'daki İonia Ayaklanması sırasında özgürlük aşığı Kariyalılar işgalci Pers ordusuyla üç kez savaşmıştır. Kuzeydeki Marsyas/Çine Çayı vadisinde yapılan meydan muharebelerindeki iki yıkıcı yenilgiden sonra, zaferle ve Perslerin tamamen yok edilmesiyle sonuçlanan üçüncü bir gece baskını, M.Ö. 494'e kadar süren bir çatışmasızlığı beraberinde getirmiştir. Yeri bugüne kadar tartışmalı olan bu savaş, burada belirtildiği üzere, ne Halikarnassos yakınlarındaki Leleg yerleşimi Pedasa/Gökçeler yolu üzerinde, ne de bugünkü Danişment köyü yakınlarındaki kolonisi Grion'daki Pidas'a'da değil, *Atriya*-İdrias-Stratonikeia'nın kuzeyindeki 'Karia Yolu' üzerindeki Kariayerleşimi Pidasos/Pedason'da yapılmıştır. Strabon (13.1.59 [C611]) tarafından bir kez 'çok küçük bir kent' (*polychnion*) olarak anılan bu yerin, açık linyit madeni sahasında yapılan kurtarma kazılarında Geometrik Dönem'den Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne (MÖ 8. yüzyıl–MS 7. yüzyıl) kadar uzanan küçük bir yerleşimin ortaya çıkarıldığı bugünkü Börükçü ile özdeşleştirilmesi muhtemeldir. Bu sebeple, Herodotos'un *Tarihleri* 5.121 τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδὸν metninde yer alan ve ilk olarak Fransız matbaacı ve filolog Henri Estienne (*Henricus Stephanus*, MS 1530–1598) tarafından Herodotos'un *Tarihleri*'nin 1570 tarihli baskısında tahmin edilen ifade, daha sonraki tüm alternatif okumalara tercih edilmelidir.

Bu makalede, Geç Tunç Çağı'ndan itibaren merkez Karia'nın tarihi topografyası, Hitit ve daha sonra antik Yunan metinlerinin ve arkeolojik kanıtlarının yardımıyla kuzey-güney yönünde uzanan ana 'Karia Yolu' yeniden inşa edilerek eleştirel bir şekilde gözden geçirilmiştir. İlk bölümde bu 'Yol' Marsyas/Çine çayını *Atriya*-İdrias-Stratonikeia'ya kadar takip etmiş ve buradan güneye antik Lykia olan *Lukka* topraklarına kadar güneye ulaşmıştır. Alinda'nın Hitit *Iyalanda'sı*, Alabanda'nın *Waliwanda* (Çine-Tepecik Höyüğü), İdrias-Stratonikeia'nın *Atriya* (Boz(h)üyük Azarı/Kale Tepesi?) ve Hyllarima'nın *Wallarima* (Asarcık Tepe) olduğu onaylanmış veya önerilmiş, ayrıca Karia milli kutsal alanı *Leukai Stelai* (Herodotos 5.118) *Gerga(s)*/*Gergakome* ile özdeşleştirilmiştir. Marsyas/Çine Çayı güzergâhı MÖ 497/6'da Persler tarafından da kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca, Leleg yerleşimi Pedasa/Gökçeler, Termara/Asarlık ve Karia yerleşimi Halikarnassos'unun yerel sikkelerinin, Ignacio Javier Adiego'un Halikarnassos'un *Al(o)* sikke lejantının Karia yer adı "yüksek kale" veya "derin (deniz?) kalesi" anlamındaki *Alos karnos*'tan türetildiğini öneren yeni okumasını da içeren bazı yönleri tartışılmıştır.

Ayrıca Thukydides 3.19.2'deki pasajın düzeltmesine ilişkin tartışmaya dikkat ediniz. Σανδίου λόφου'nun ('Sandios Tepesi') adı Maiandros ağzındaki eski Hybanda adasından alan <Υβ>ανδίου λόφου ('Hybandios Tepesi') olarak değiştirilmiş ve MÖ 445/4 tarihli 'Attik-Delos Birliği Vergi Karia Listesi'ndeki *ATL I*, 136, no. 10.III.29 (= *IG I³* 267.III.29) *Ναχσία παρὰ Μ[υδ](όνα)*, 'Mydon'daki Naxia' olarak değil, *Ναχσία παρὰ Μ[υδ](ντα)*, 'Myous'taki Naxia' olarak yeniden yapılandırılmıştır.

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