

*SOME THOUGHTS ON THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFICATION OF DEMES: THE ANCIENT
BOZBURUN PENINSULA*

DEME'LERİN KİMLİK SORUNLARI ÜZERİNE BAZI DÜŞÜNCELER: ANTİK

BOZBURUN YARIMADASI

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Abstract: The Bozburun Peninsula, lying in southwest Anatolia, facing the island of Rhodes, was originally acknowledged as being a part of Carian territory. It was only during the IIIrd-IInd centuries B.C. that the Classical Peninsula which was equivalent to a *polis* and conurbated through a *koinon* of *komai*, was transformed into a periphery, reorganized under the protectorate of Rhodes and became an incorporated-Hellenized part of the island until the Roman takeover.

Although it may seem that the newly introduced constituents of the Hellenistic mainland, the *demes*, were the equivalents of *ktoina* reflecting egalitarianism and having their form within the island's administrative pattern, they were possibly the later forms of the ancient territorial model formed by a long-settled and decentralized network of Carian *komai*. Problems with the identification of *demes* and the *nuclei* thereof have caused long standing debates amongst scholars. This paper aims at reassessing the problem of identity in view of the natural and social *territoriums*, in respect to the available knowledge to date and the results of recent surveys carried out between 2009 and 2012 which encompassed the area beginning from the horizontal line between modern Deliktaş Bay and Bayır Village in the north and stretching down to the isthmus in the south.

Keywords: Bozburun Peninsula • Carian Chersonesos • Peraea • *demes* • Identification • *Territorium*

Öz: Güneybatı Anadolu'da, Rhodos'un hemen karşı yakasında yer alan Bozburun Yarımadası, esasen Karya topraklarının bir parçası olmasıyla özdeşleşmiş idi. Klasik Dönem'de, fiziksel büyüklüğü ve kendisini tamamlayan en az 7 (yedi) *kome*'nin oluşturduğu federatif yapıyla bir *polise* denk sayılan Yarımada, M.Ö. III.-II. yüzyıllar boyunca ve Rhodos'un hamiliğinde yeniden örgütlenmek suretiyle tamamen bir periferiye dönüştürülmüş ve Romalıların egemenliğine girene kadarki uzun Helenleşme sürecinde adanın ayrılmaz bir parçası haline gelmiştir.

Hellenistik anakaranın yeni tanımlan unsurları olarak *deme*'ler, her ne kadar temelleri adanın yönetsel şablonlarında var olan ve eşitlikçi anlayışı yansıtan *ktoina*'lara karşılık geliyor gibi görünse de, bu yerleşimler olasılıkla uzun zamandır bölgede yerleşik ve merkezietçi anlayıştan uzak Karya'lı *kome* şebekelerince oluşturulmuş antik teritoryal modelin daha geç formları idi. Bölgeye ilgi duyan gezginler ve bilimadamları, *deme* ve merkezlerinin tanımlanması konusunda uzun süre meşgul olmuştur. Bu makalede, Hellenistik dönemden itibaren yükselişe geçen *deme*'lere ilişkin kimlik sorunu, fiziksel ve sosyal sınırlar gözetilmeye çalışılarak ve; bugüne kadar üretilen bilgiler ve kuzeyde modern Deliktaş Koyu-Bayır Köyü arasındaki sınır hattından başlayıp daha güneydeki kıstağa kadarki alanda (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı'nca verilen izin kapsamında) yürütülen 2009-2012 sezon çalışmalarından elde edilen sonuçlar ışığında yeniden irdelenmektedir.

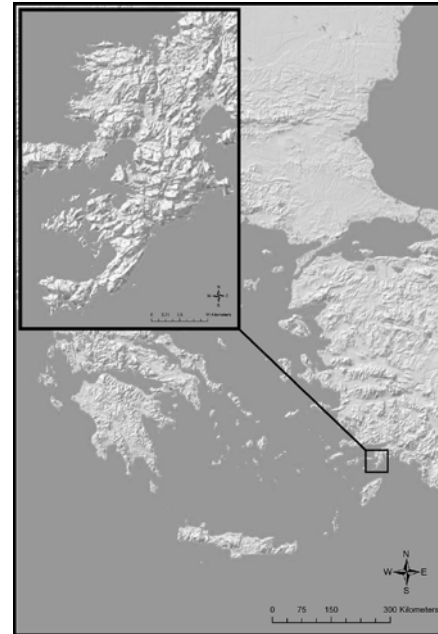
Anahtar Kelimeler: Bozburun Yarımadası • Karya Khersonesos'u • Pera • *deme*'ler • Tanımlama • Teritoryum

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Introduction

The Bozburun Peninsula is situated on the south-western coast of Anatolia, within the modern borders of Turkey (Map 1). The natural boundaries within which we mainly investigate concerning the *demes* in this paper, begin from Hisarönü near Dağça (ancient Cnidus)-Bozburun crossroad, extend towards the middle and end near Bozuk Village in the very south, facing the northern sector of the island of Rhodes. Originally being Carian, the mainland was acknowledged as the Carian Chersonesos during the Classical era. It was possibly following the synoecism of Rhodes in 408 B.C. that the Rhodian State began gradually to take a formal interest in the mainland. The entire area was fully incorporated around 166 B.C. albeit there was the clash of interests and continuous struggles between the Diadochi until the early IInd century B.C.¹ The interest of Rhodes opened the way to the enjoyment of power in Carian territories that the island must have turned into an advantage by the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C. If a successful diplomacy² of Rhodes had never been there, the Peninsula as part of the newly introduced “Rhodian Peraea” would not perhaps have fallen into the periphery and been controlled for a longer period than expected. I shall not debate here some different conceptualizations about the Rhodian Peraea regarding the two separate status- namely the Incorporated and Subject Peraea in which matter Fraser & Bean, Jones and van Bremen have contributed a great deal to the discussions³. We take it for granted that the readers are familiar with both, and that the questioned area is covered by the Incorporated Peraea which stretches to Physcus and Cedrae further north.

The Carian territories were quite familiar with Archaic type hilltop settlements and *komai* in the plain areas⁴. But, anyone who takes a flash back to the history of settlement may see that the organization of the Carians predates the Iron Age, however, these were predominantly concentrated in the northern sector, around the Meander with a handful of sites (e.g. Aphrodisias). Although the settlement patterns in the Early Iron Age do not present a compact picture, the period down to the VIth century B.C. is, to an extent, informed with some degree of identity expressed in a limited image of *koina* life⁵ and of partly settled *komai* forms (thereafter) which, however, began to decline by the beginning of the IVth century B.C., due to the destructive results of the Peloponnesian Wars and ratification of the King’s Peace in 378 B.C. The subsequent peaceful atmosphere showed its effects in a change in the settlement patterns⁶. Rural life was



Map 1. Location of the Bozburun Peninsula

¹ Torr 1885, 19-20; Reger 1999, 77-78, 81-87.

² Strab. XIV. 2. 5 c. 652.

³ Fraser – Bean 1954, 53; Jones 1983, 49; van Bremen 2009, 109.

⁴ Şahin 1976, 27.

⁵ Marchese 1989, 27.

⁶ Tuna 1999, 477-478.

gradually altered by the time the famous satrap Mausolus invited mountain people to the newly designed cities to become merged with Greek cultural and political life⁷. He put synoecism in effect by incorporating the Lelegian *komai* into the domain of Halicarnassus; it was probably him who let the other *koina* co-exist and compiled all of them for the creation and development of the *poleis*. He transformed inland Caria into a territory where *komai* and *poleis* co-existed, forming a half-*polis* pattern. Some early inscriptions (e.g. Hyllarima) disclose hints such that co-habitation also applied to the coastline⁸. As Caria developed in the Hellenistic era (following the decline of Mausolus' and his successors' power), we may speak of reorganization in the sense of *dioikismos*, such that the remote memory of the Carians were rekindled via community reflexes inherited from the Early Classical period. In other words, the *demes*, as the newly introduced practices of Rhodes on the mainland as early as the Hellenistic period, might have recalled the historical experiences attributable to past ways of living in the form of *komai*.

What about the toponomical expressions in Caria, hence the peninsula? Unsurprisingly, the geographical boundaries of Caria can be imperceptible due to the survival of multiple races across the Meander line. We may well opt to bank on the views focusing on ethnic identity, rather than the physical limits⁹ as may be valid for the case of the Classical Peninsula. Chersonesii, just as referred to in the Athenian Tribute Lists (ATL), was the adjoining part of the Cnidian Chersonesos¹⁰. Although there remain unknown sites paying tribute in Caria, the Carian Chersonesos was mentioned as Χερρονήσιοι (Cherronesioi) being almost at the end of the list¹¹. The ethnonym was Cherronesioi¹²/Chersonesios (Χερρονήσιος) while the toponym was recorded as Chersonesos (Χερρόνησος). XEP is readable on the coins of 500 B.C. Flensted-Jensen puts it (Chersonesios) into the status of a *polis*. The reason seems that it appeared in ATL from 452/1 to 429/8 B.C. It is registered twelve times, twice completely restored, and paid a *phoros* of 3 talents until 447/6 B.C. From 444/3 to 441/0 B.C., the payment decreased to about 2 talents. It repaid a tribute of 3 talents in 433/2 B.C.¹³. With additions and corrections, the nearest approximations made by Meritt *et al.* show that 2 talents (4200 drachmae) were paid by the Carian Chersonesos in the Vth century B.C. The situation is, however, a little contradictory since it was an original member of the Delian League in 478/7 B.C., was reassessed in 450 B.C., and stood in the quota list of 454/3 B.C. and was defined as “*part of the city of Cnidus*”¹⁴. Taking the whole Peninsula as a *polis*, the status may be owed to the internal organization of the Chersonesos *Koinon*¹⁵ made up of the Carian *komai*.

Difficulty in fixing names for a number of settlements arises from the Carian language which still has not been completely deciphered; however, the origins of some settlements have been questioned at the same time. Uyguç underscores that names containing SS, ND and ASA (e.g. Bybassos,

⁷ Cook 1962, 148-149.

⁸ Hornblower 1982, 53-57, 63-67.

⁹ Reger 2007, 92.

¹⁰ Jones 1983, 29.

¹¹ Meritt *et al.* 1939-1949-1950-1953, vol.1, 458.

¹² Cherronesioi is another variant of Χερρονήσιοι used in the lists depicting a Carian land. Chersonesos in the Black Sea is given as Cherronesitai and distinguished under this name with a slight difference in script (Meritt *et al.* 1939-1949-1950-1953, vol.1, 26).

¹³ Flensted – Jensen 2004, 1114.

¹⁴ Meritt *et al.* 1939-1949-1950-1953, vol. 2, 122-123; *ibid.* vol. 4: 26.

¹⁵ Held 2005, 86-96.

Halicarnassus, Thyssanous, Kolossia) find etymological expression in Anatolian languages¹⁶. We also have reasons to judge whether a site could be of Carian origin by looking at onomastics as a strong adoption of ethnic identity - if locals made up the vast majority. Reger draws attention to the use of dual names in Greek and Carian during the Hellenistic period and that co-usage could even continue into Roman times. Notable examples come from cities like Mylasa and Stratonicea where local Carian names such as Thyssos, Silbou or Koldoba have been recorded¹⁷.

The Peraea- Successor of the Chersonesos

Following her synoecism with the three old *poleis*, Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos¹⁸, the new federal country of the Rhodian State designated herself with numerous *demes* which were allocated to either *polis*¹⁹. Under a stable constitution and the efficient state organisation of the island, these *poleis* together with their *demes* were treated equally on political grounds²⁰. Over time, the Peraea and the islands became subject during elections to the procedures of the federal law, as attested in the early IIIrd century B.C. Kamiran decrees²¹. The situation continued even after the declaration of Delos as a free port but the entire Peninsula was lost with advent of Pompey in 67 B.C.²². Inscriptions also illuminate the Rhodian way of ruling; for instance, along with information about the Carian troops under the command of Rhodian generals, some Carian cities, by decision of another Carian league - the Chrysaoric *Koinon*, are known to have made alliances with the island during the Second Macedonian War (200-197 B.C.). Hence, this period of warfare was also a critical turn for the full recognition of the Rhodian mainland. It seems that the Carian Chersonesos may now be extended a few generations earlier, as also of Rhodian descendants, which was perhaps officially acknowledged by the end of the IIIrd century B.C.²³. Although the former administrative and political framework of Caria is rather reflected through a network of *koina* which developed into the Hecatomnid era, the territorial system of the Peraean *demes*, based on the notion of *ktoina*, also had roots in the governing model of the three old mother *poleis* before the synoecism process on the island of Rhodes²⁴. Early organic relations, thus possible amicable relations before the Social War (357/6 B.C.) might provide an alternative answer. It is also likely that the Peraeans were not alien to the notion of *synoecism* or it could not have been very unusual, since that of Mausolus and Rhodians could be treated at least within a similar context²⁵- cultural and political unification (excluding the conditions rooted in the genesis), vis-à-vis the practices of some others, e.g. Megalopolis, which experienced it in physical terms. Mention by Polybius about the “*already there*” landholdings of Rhodian citizens in Caria and Lycia after 164 B.C.²⁶ might further aid the chronological puzzle to some extent.

¹⁶ Uyguç 1992, 57.

¹⁷ Reger 2007, 91.

¹⁸ All are assumed to be Dorian Greek *poleis*.

¹⁹ Hornblower – Spawforth 2003, 1316.

²⁰ Papachristodoulou 1999, 29-30.

²¹ Gabrielsen 2000, 193-195.

²² Torr 1885, 27-28, 66.

²³ Aydaş 2010, 31-39.

²⁴ Hornblower 1982; Ma 1998; Şahin 1976; Held 2005; Berthold 1984; Fraser – Bean 1954; Gabrielsen 2000.

²⁵ Hornblower 1982, 84.

²⁶ Polyb. VI. 31. 4; Hornblower 1982, 83-84.

The Problem of Generic Identification

Inspired by the standard image of an Archaic city, *demes* of the Classical period were typical rural elements of the countryside²⁷. *Demes* can be traced as far back as Solon and Cleisthenes, at the close of the VIth century B.C.²⁸. The last sub-tribal division of the *demos* was the *deme*, no further²⁹. In explaining the term *deme*, Hornblower & Spawforth refer to “local territorial districts-villages, in effect - in Greece, and, by extension, the inhabitants or members thereof”. Obviously, *deme* structures varied greatly according to size, from hamlets to larger towns³⁰. Also defined as a geographical and political unit, a *deme* could have possessed more than one type settlement, each having its own *necropolis*³¹. If we turn back to the Peraea- a “peninsula settlement” in nomenclature, it was a network of rural sites and a conurbation of at least 9 (nine) *demes* which began to be explicitly recorded from the IIIrd century B.C. These were most possibly Bybassos, Amos, Hydas, Syrna, Hygassos, Tymnos, Thysannous, Phoinix, Casarae. The thing is, as may be inferred from the compiled work of Bresson³² on the rich epigraphic inventory of the Peraea, a *terminus post-quem* for their commemoration (as retaining a Hellenized *deme* character) corresponds to the period 300-250 B.C.

On this subject matter, a constructive view was previously brought by Held who had limited the number of *demes* to 10 (ten) in the Chersonesos *Koinon*. Up to this point, nothing unusual concerning the spatio-temporal framework he had assigned to the *demes* of the Peninsula or anachronous to what is discussed herein below. The reason for my delimitation to somewhat more than two centuries (300-67 B.C.) is the full *deme* character that we can trace through the epigraphic database. A nuance unavoidably occurs when he uses the term *deme* in the earlier context, as being the *komai* of a sub-regional league/the heirs of now representable rural settlements, and formulates a list of the Chersonesos *Koinon* within which Loryma is included. He must be implying the continuation of the “*demes*” into the Hellenistic period; however the primary reason for stepping on a number like ten without tossing out Loryma (which was most possibly attached to the Hellenistic *deme* of Casarae) appears to be that his criterion is based on the fortified settlements of the Peninsula³³.

A crux is that different sources recall different Peraean names, hence *demes* which in the end raise problems in their assignment to the three old *poleis*. The views of Papachristodoulou and Jones seem to be the most explanatory on this subject matter. Accordingly, there is evidence on the number of Rhodian *demes* listing 55 certain names and 12 possible or uncertain names. Out of these, 33 were located on the island of Rhodes, 13 in the Incorporated Peraea, seven on the islands while the rest remain unidentified. It is quite certain that Lindos had 12 *demes*. We are not, however, able to decide whether this number could be raised if part of the missing *demes* is reconsidered in favor of the island. But there is almost no doubt that Ἄμιοι and Κάσαρεις situated in the Peraea and Βρυκούντιοι were attached to her. From out of the 19 *demes* of Kamiros, five belonged to the

²⁷ Crielaard 2009, 351-353.

²⁸ Hornblower 1991, 156-158.

²⁹ Osborne 1990, 269-271.

³⁰ Hornblower – Spawforth 2003, 446-447.

³¹ Papachristodoulou 1999, 31.

³² Bresson 1991.

³³ Held 2005, 86.

Kamiran territory in Rhodes, six *demes*, with certainty, to the Incorporated Peraea and one in Chalke. The remaining seven *demes* were probably located on Rhodes. Casarae was previously attached to Lindos but in late periods becomes obscured precluding any thorough assignment. The situation is very debatable for Ialysos where the new *asty* was founded within the city of Rhodes during synoecism. It was determined that nine *demes* were located on the island while two remained on the mainland. No *deme* has been evidenced for the dependent islands. Of these two, Cryassus has been identified in favour of the Rhodian Peraea with certainty but has not been satisfactorily located. Tracing inscriptions, the location of Patyreis has been reported for the same region, as well. In any case, the location of the *demes* of Ialysos in the Peraea is problematic. In spite of various tenets, Papachristodoulou suggests that Ialysos had a total number of 12 *demes* and that the 12-*deme* model applicable to the island might be a start, based upon equal representation³⁴. Accordingly, should egalitarianism be the criterion for the three old *poleis* in all respects, each could have possessed the same number of *demes* in the Peraea, as well. Nothing new has supported this hypothesis. Notwithstanding, let's posit for a while that all had the same number of *demes* (taking into account the number of at least 13 *demes* except for the unknown or fixed), there must have been at least six *demes* allocated to each *polis* due to the certitude regarding Kamiros.

Limited to the Peninsula (considered with some other associated *demes*, having a close proximity or still lacking identification), the issue of the generic identification of *demes* or any other relevant (e.g. *demos*) may be tackled through tracing them from the north to the south. A *deme* of Lindos in the IVth century B.C., Physcus formed the core of the Rhodian Peraea, as the largest *deme* with a spectacular harbour. The *Acropolis* is associated with the remains of Hellenistic and earlier walls in the northern part of where modern Marmaris now lies³⁵. A purely Carian *demos* and possibly retaining the most civic tradition on the mainland³⁶, Cedrae was an important base where the first settlements have been dated to the Vth century B.C. Known through the inscriptions, Hellenisation in Cedrae with sanctuaries, a theatre and *agora* originally built in the Rhodian fashion, was completed by the IIIrd century B.C. It was then subjugated by the Rhodians in the IInd century B.C. following the unrest between Rome and the Seleucids³⁷. There lay Bybassos and Amos to its south, and the others in the central and southernmost part of the Peraea. The status of Euthena (attributable to a peak called Altınsivrisi) is doubtful, although it occurred in the demotic lists of the Kamirans. Similarly, the *deme* of Amnistos, reported to be on a promontory near Karacasöğüt Village between Physcus and Cedrae, was possibly attached to the same *polis*³⁸. Marked as a *polis* by Stephanus Byzantinus, Amos (modern Turunç) was a Lindian *deme* (s.v. Ἄμος)³⁹ which was much later incorporated into the Rhodian domain. Fraser & Bean and; Sherk⁴⁰ restore two names, Cryassus (speculated to be around Taşyaka in the west of the Gulf of Fethiye) and Erine to Ialysos⁴¹

³⁴ Papachristodoulou 1999, 32-40; Jones 1987, 243, 245, 249.

³⁵ Fraser – Bean 1954, 57, 79.

³⁶ Bean – Cook 1957, 68; Bean 1971, 154.

³⁷ Diler 2007, 9, 32.

³⁸ Fraser – Bean 1954, 80; Bean 2000, 163-164.

³⁹ Rice 1999, 46.

⁴⁰ Fraser – Bean 1954, 55-56, 80-81; Sherk 1990, 285.

⁴¹ The *demos* of Erine must have been spelled on purpose by Sherk, regardless of its former errant locations in lieu of Bybassos.

while Meyer locates Erine to Lindos⁴². It was later corrected by Cook that Bybassos was the *deme* situated near Rena (Erine) Bay⁴³ in modern Hisarönü. The status of Hygassos is uncertain, but is probably associated with either of the three *poleis*. Along with some others (e.g. Cedrae), it could have maintained a special situation by virtue of its late incorporation⁴⁴. Regarding the *deme* of Hydas, there is one thing to consider in favor of the two *poleis*, as a tomb recorded in a cave below its *Acropolis* showed parallels with those detected in Kamiros and Ialysos of the VIth century B.C.⁴⁵. However, it remains uncertain until new evidence is presented.

Thysannous and Tymnos were Kamiran *demes*⁴⁶. Mention of Kleinias, the son of Epigonos, as the eponymous official (*hierothytas*) in a religious decree (probably from the Ist century B.C.) found in Tymnos has caused scholars to associate this *deme* with its dependency on Rhodes. The Rhodian word κτοίνα may validate this status⁴⁷. Meyer and Fraser & Bean assume that Phoinix was also attached to Kamiros, being the second largest *deme* after Physcus⁴⁸. On writing about a Hellenistic epigramme from Lycia, Robert (1983) distinguishes between two similar ethnics in reading, “L’ethnique Τλώιος chez Etienne de Byzance repose sur une confusion. Les Τλώιοι sont fréquents dans les inscriptions de Rhodes et on les classait à la ville de Tlos. La question fut résolue par Hiller von Gaertringen: c’était une subdivision de Kamiros située dans la Pérée rhodienne et qui groupait les gens de la région de Phoinix. Le «ctétique» est confirmé par des papyrus qui parlent de l’ail de Tlos, σχόρδα Τλωίχά”. From the lines, Tloans of the Peraea could have belonged to the lineages of Phoinix as attached to Kamiros since Tloans appear in the list of *damiourgoi*, priests with demotics⁴⁹. Also, inscriptions mentioning Athena and Zeus Polieus in the *deme* put it to the Kamiran side⁵⁰.

Sherk assumes that Casarae was a Lindian *deme*⁵¹. In one inscription, there appeared a name, Aristomachus who was the priest of Athena Lindia but adopted the son of Telestes who was of Casarae origin. Apparently, regarding Aristomachus of Casarae origin⁵² would prove futile. A reality is that adoption was often practiced in Rhodes and the Peraea⁵³. Although such instances are rather elusive, we have no way but to refer to a close interest from the *polis* of Lindos, and the inscriptions about the status of the neighboring site (of Loryma) noted shortly below. Syme (Sömbeki) and Elaeoussa (Kızılada) all fall within the borders of the Incorporated Peraea, as well⁵⁴. It is Plutarch who informs us of the “Athenian fleet of 180 triremes” that landed on Elaeus in the Chersonesos⁵⁵. Except for Elaeoussa Island, Loryma and Physcus, almost none of the *demes* or sites

⁴² Meyer 1925, 51.

⁴³ Bayrak 1961, 62.

⁴⁴ Fraser – Bean 1954, 81; Papachristodoulou 1999, 38.

⁴⁵ Benter 2001, 177-179.

⁴⁶ Meyer 1925, 50-51; Jones 1987, 251; Dmitriev 1999, 250.

⁴⁷ *I.Peraia*, no. 201; Bresson 1991, no.102 (I. 1); for the word ktoina see *ibid.* (I. 5). Also see Sherk 1990, 287. *Hierothytas* was probably the eponymous official before incorporation to Rhodes (*ibid.*).

⁴⁸ Meyer, 1925, 50; Fraser – Bean 1954, 80.

⁴⁹ Fraser – Bean, 1954: 80; Robert, 1983, 257; Bresson, 1991, 139.

⁵⁰ Flensted-Jensen, 2004, 1110.

⁵¹ Sherk 1990, 285.

⁵² Fraser – Bean, 1954, 79.

⁵³ Rice 1988, 138-142; Rice 1999, 51-52.

⁵⁴ Sevin 2001, 128.

⁵⁵ Plut. *Lys.* IX. 4.

in the Peraea are pronounced by Strabo. He conveys that, with a perimeter of eight stadia, Elaeoussa lies on the opposite side of modern Taşlıca, about 120 stadion from the island of Rhodes and four stadia away from the fortress of Phoinix (XIV. 2. 1-4, 14). From this viewpoint, Elaeoussa possibly had a relation with Phoinix as the island lying directly to her east. Syme⁵⁶, not holding a *deme* status, was attached to the Peraea in the late Hellenistic period⁵⁷. The island needs to be discussed according to the datable documents (one of the 1st century B.C.). It is a possibility that the Symaeans were attached to the administration of Casaræ using the demotic Κασαρεύς also because it has never been evidenced until now that the demotic Συμαίος was articulated by the Rhodian State⁵⁸. Lindos inscriptions have revealed that Loryma was attached to Casaræ⁵⁹. Hence, we are only left with the assumption that the site was indirectly attached to a mother *polis* which was presumably Lindos, during the Hellenistic era.

In the views of Calder & Bean, the *demes* of the western Peraea belonged to Kamiros, while those lying in the east were attached to Lindos⁶⁰. If so, easy access to the bays and locations for harboring facilities could have been the fundamental reason for such designation. Considering the above-mentioned and the availability of *deme* information, the possible relations are tabulated as follows:

Ialysos	Lindos	Kamiros
Hydas?***	Physcus	Euthena?
Cryassus?	Amos	Amnistos
Bybassos?	Syrna?	Hydas?
Hygassos?	Casaræ	Tymnos
	- Syme	Thysannous?
	- Loryma	Phoinix
		Hygassos?*** ⁶¹

Table 1. Possible Status of Demes and Mother Poleis

Locations and Settlement

Obviously, there appear to be problems with the Peraean toponyms and their possible extensions all over the Bozburun Peninsula. Divergent information conveyed by ancient writers is particularly weak or unsatisfactory. The ancient sites of the Bozburun Peninsula recorded in the 1973 Annals (Muğla Province) are incomplete and far from reliable, the relevant map inside depicts the modern center of Bozburun as Loryma. It is due to the authorities that Taşlıca Village (Phoinix/Fenaket) is correctly located. Generally speaking, Bean's views have greatly encouraged scholars to take steps toward catching up with debates on the approximate coordinates of the Peraean *demes*.

In order to picture the Peninsula, we need to begin with divergent appellations and scripts whereby the first case is that of Kiepert who restores the Peraea to Sinus Doridus⁶². On one side,

⁵⁶ Hansen – Nielsen 2004, 1314. Code Syme as a “collective external” under the city-ethnic.

⁵⁷ Cook, 1961, 59.

⁵⁸ Fraser – Bean, 1954, 86; Papachristodoulou, 1999, 38; Jones, 1987, 250-252.

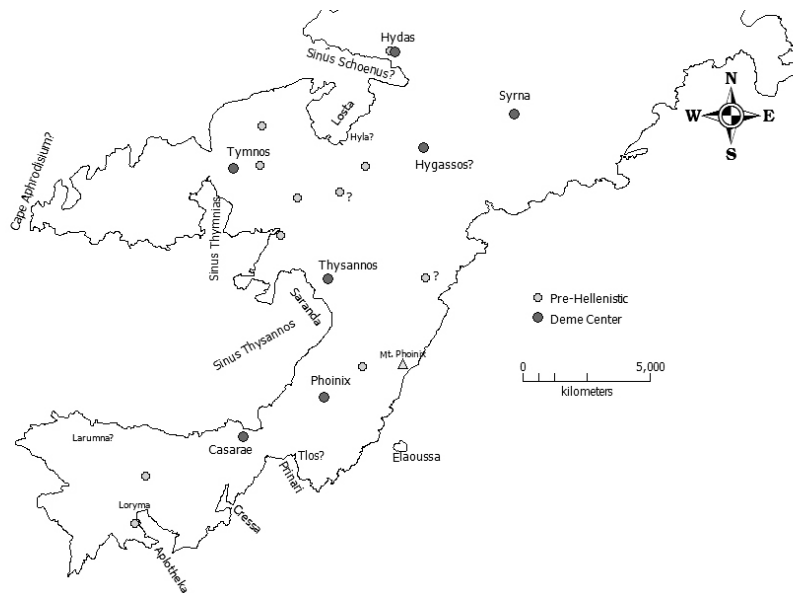
⁵⁹ Meyer, 1925, 51; Bean, 2000, 167.

⁶⁰ Calder – Bean 1958.

⁶¹ The *demes* of Hydas and Hygassos may be dissociated, as having belonged to either *deme*, Ialysos or Kamiros.

⁶² Kiepert 1898, V. Gi.

Mela's Peninsula rolls around three bays⁶³. He mentions two ports of Rhodian colonies: Gelos (Cressa (Oplothiki) and Thysannous. Between these lay Larumna and Pandion Hill stretching into the sea. Then comes the bays: "Thymnias, Schoenus and Bubassius". As he notes, the Aphrodisium Cape belongs to Thymnias Bay, Schoenus is associated with the Hyla settlement and Bybassos relates to Cynos. It was perhaps the Aphrodisium Cape which separated Sinus Thymnias and Sinus Schoenus⁶⁴ since different forms of script are elusive for interpretation. Foss & Reger fix Roman Sinus Schoenus to Deliktaş Bükü⁶⁵. Equally telling is an anecdote transmitted by Burgett *et al.*⁶⁶. However, the bay is occasionally acknowledged as Hyda or Hylas, in the southeastern part of Losta Bay⁶⁷. Further in the south, called the Portus Cressa and the Κρήσαι Λιμὴν of Ptolemy in the Classical world, the unfortified Serçe Bay acted as the harbour of Casaræ, and may even have served Phoinix during the Rhodian protectorate⁶⁸. Foss & Reger deem Cressa- Serçe Bay a Roman inlet Foss & Reger⁶⁹ (Map 2).



Map 2. *Deme Centers in the Peraea*

For Bean, Hyda/Hyla is identifiable as Sinus Schoenus/Reedy Bay, which is modern Selimiye. Sinus Schoenus covering Hyda might be modern Orhaniye, too⁷⁰. Küçükveren calls Selimiye Uda, namely Hyla/Hyda⁷¹. With a slight difference in the reading, Peschlow-Bindokat marks it as Hydas⁷². No matter whether Sinus Schoenus indicates a reedy place, no such area is known hereabouts.

⁶³ Mela I. 16.

⁶⁴ Plin. *nat.* VI. 29.

⁶⁵ Foss – Reger 2000, 946, G4. The authors use Hydas interchangeably with Hylas (*ibid.* 941).

⁶⁶ Burgett *et al.* 1984, II. 1010.

⁶⁷ Sevin 2001, 128.

⁶⁸ Carter 2004, 13.

⁶⁹ Foss – Reger 2000, 943, G4.

⁷⁰ Fraser – Bean 1954, 63; Bean 1971, 162; 2000, 168.

⁷¹ Küçükveren 2007, 123.

⁷² Peschlow-Bindokat 2003, 11.

Completely referring to the location of inscriptions, Bresson assumes that Selimiye is to be included within the borders of Tymnos⁷³. Benter almost puts an end to this equivocality as he describes the core of the *deme* of Hydas at an elevation of 270 m above the sea level embraced with an agricultural hinterland stretching across a valley to the northwest of Turgut Village⁷⁴.

Ancient literature proves very little about some others, if all *demes*. Yet, Hygassos (Ygassos) has not been located correctly. Stephanus Byzantinus recalls Ἰγάσσειον πεδῖον, as situated in a plain area whereby speculation goes as far as Syrna. Also marked as Βουβασσός Κξυασσός, another name Ἰγασσός, is indicated as a *polis/location* in Caria. Κξυασσός meaning “Khrysaoris” leads to the idea that Hygassos could be a location which was conspicuous enough to be nominated as a rural type settlement, perhaps bigger than that (*s.v.* Ἰγασσός)⁷⁵. On the one hand, there is a piece of information (acquired through the inscriptions found at the Sanctuary of Hemithea in Kastabos near Hisarönü) commemorating the Hygassians. Accordingly, the Hygassians were registered among the list of donors to the mentioned temple⁷⁶. Foss & Reger consider that it was a Hellenistic settlement on Losta Bay⁷⁷. Bean makes a mark on its association with modern Selimiye Bay addressing Sinus Schoenus⁷⁸. To Cook, it could be nearby Bybassos in the vicinity of Pazarlık Plain, which is related to the Sanctuary of Hemithea. An epitaph of two Hygassians found in Syrna and another evidenced at Rhodes still remain as two enigma for a precise appointment to any location⁷⁹. Küçükveren assumes that it might be near Orhaniye and Turgut villages⁸⁰. Interestingly, Hygassos is located to the south of Turgut by Peschlow-Bindokat⁸¹. Not that far, Benter calls attention to Köklüdağ, which exhibits settlement remains up on 450 m elevation, in the vicinity of Turgut. Regarded as a *deme* by Umar, it is left to the south of Hisarönü, near Turgut, right on a temenos wall on Bozburun road. The inscription found in Kastabos (noted above) presumably biased the author towards these environs. Perhaps bordered with the temenos wall, the original name of the *deme* could have been inherited from “Ygeia/Hygeia” - attested as the goddess of health. Already known from the Peraea, the goddess attributable to the cult of *Asclepius* has links with Syrna. Although the discussion is rather distractive, Benter deems that the fortified island on the opposite side of Orhaniye might be associated with Hygassos⁸². Such confusions in ancient names mask the generic problem of identification.

An *acropolis* high above Kızılköy, called Asarcık is a valuable site about which limited information is provided by scholars⁸³. All around the site situated along a valley descending to the east, regularly dressed walls and large building blocks (which many scholars regard as tombstones)

⁷³ Bresson 1991, 94-101.

⁷⁴ Benter 1999, 307, 310; 2001, 177-179; 2010, 659-661. Occupation between Geometric and Early Archaic periods was evidenced with fibulas, comparable to those at Ialysos (*ibid.* 311).

⁷⁵ Citizens were called Ἰγάσσιοι or Ἰγασσεῖς.

⁷⁶ Bean 1966 58-65; Bresson 1991, no. 37-38.

⁷⁷ Foss – Reger 2000, 941, G4.

⁷⁸ Bean 2000, 168.

⁷⁹ Cook 1961, 64. The epitaph found in Rhodes appeared with the name Ἐπιναίς who was married to a man from Hygassos (*ibid.*); Cook – Plommer 1966, 159-161.

⁸⁰ Küçükveren 2007, 15.

⁸¹ Peschlow – Bindokat 2003, 11.

⁸² Benter 2010, 663; Umar 1999, 187, 195-196.

⁸³ Fraser – Bean 1954, 43; Bresson 1991, no. 65; Diler 1994, 442-443.

are visible. A settlement markedly reflecting Hellenistic fashion was there along the slopes of Asarcık, possibly during the early Roman period. However, it has never been thought this site could have belonged to a core settlement, perhaps a *deme* center, justifiably, due to a lack of satisfactory data concerning provenance or an ethnic identity except for a dedication made to the cult of Aphrodite at the front terrace of a public building, a possible sanctuary. Regardless of this fragmentary material (a votive plaque) addressing the Roman epoch⁸⁴, we conceive that it could be Hygassos? stretching to the coastal land as far as Losta or relate to any part thereof.

Situated on the east of the Peninsula, Syrna was identified from the Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions⁸⁵. A problem with Syrna occurs with the status of the ancient settlement in the readings of Bean when he states that it was not a Rhodian *deme* however, it was attractive enough with its *Asclepion* as evidenced through an inscription⁸⁶. TAY pinpoints it as a Roman settlement⁸⁷. An inscription found on the way to modern Çiftlik Bay implied a *ktoina*, recalling the Syrnioi. The reason why Bresson⁸⁸ questions the situation of Syrna as a *ktoina* is explainable with the hints found on a stele (101/300 B.C.) in Bayır Village, belonging to a Hygassian couple. Although nothing was thoroughly addressed, it is debatable whether the *ktoina* related to the Hygassian territory (90-92). The situation becomes complicated as to whether “*ktoina*” was employed in lieu of a subdivision of a *deme* or for any other territorial unit attached to the either three *poleis*.

Efforts on the identification of *demes* also need to utilise from the recent discussions, e.g. from amphora finds⁸⁹ and social indicators. Unfortunately, ceramic evidence reported up to now barely throws light on ethnic origins; they are quite informative about the patterns of production represented by the typical Peraean amphora or Rhodian type manufactures revealing a well-established stamp system, as also through eponyms. No matter, some scholars often base their arguments on the genealogical traces leaning on a rich epigraphic inventory. A dedication (end of the IIIrd century B.C.) made by the Amians to a *hegemon* of the Peraea at Hisartepe is one good example which backed up their ethnic background⁹⁰. Likewise, an assessment on the original names is made by Meyer when he visualizes the Peraea according to the ethnic divisions. He locates Tymnos to modern Selimiye (ancient Losta), stretching toward modern Turgut and encompassing the environs of Kızılköy under the specific name of “Tymnioi”. Understandable from his writing, Tymnos was situated in the north of Thysannous, at the inner angle of Losta Bay while Thysannous lay in the inner angle of the Saranda Beach, at the opposite side of Syme⁹¹. A perplexity is that Stephanus Byzantinus notes Tymnos as a *polis* in Caria (*s.v.* Τύμνος)⁹². Mela locates this *deme* to the vicinity of Selimiye acknowledged with Thymnos Sinus,⁹³ while Pliny possibly associates the same

⁸⁴ I. Peraia 292; Bresson 1991, no. 65. The inscription is dated to the Roman era due to lettering, however the style of architecture in the immediate surroundings suggests the Hellenistic era (Bresson 1991, 94).

⁸⁵ Cook 1959, 28, 52; Foss – Reger 2000, 947, G4.

⁸⁶ Bean 2000, 166-167. Attached to Casarae, Loryma was not a Rhodian *deme*, either (*ibid.*).

⁸⁷ TAY 2007, vol. 7.

⁸⁸ Bresson 1991, no. 61.

⁸⁹ Constantakopoulou 2007, 244.

⁹⁰ Bresson 1991, 83, no. 52.

⁹¹ Meyer 1925, 50-51.

⁹² It is hard to establish a relation with the city named as Τύμνησσός, as also noted in Caria (Steph. Byz. *Ethnika*, Τύμνος).

⁹³ Mela I. 16.

with Bozburun Bay⁹⁴. Conversely, Tymnos is almost located to Thysannous in the Codex Kultur Atlas⁹⁵. Bean considers that the *deme* of Tymnos was central modern Bozburun where almost nothing has remained except some inscriptions⁹⁶. Some acknowledge it as “Tymnus” to the northeast of Bozburun⁹⁷. In the “Atlas of the Greek and Roman World in Antiquity”⁹⁸, it reappears in the identical location. Tymnos is described as ancient Bosporanos⁹⁹ by Aydaş and that it is 11 nautical miles from Rhodes¹⁰⁰. TAY identifies it as *demos* due to previously reported inscriptions about Tymnians¹⁰¹. It could be 3 km north, near Selimiye. However, due to some more inscriptions (found in Selimiye) mentioning the *koinon* of Tymnians, Fraser & Bean prefer to include Selimiye within the *territorium* of Tymnos, which implies that the borders of Tymnos could have extended as far as Selimiye. If Selimiye was the site of Hyla or Hyda, which was never mentioned as a Rhodian *deme*¹⁰², it would not be wrong to associate the ancient people of Selimiye with the Tymnians. But it is still hard to make a claim on that as a site named Gemecitdüzü neighboring the Avlana Village near Bozburun (on its east/northeast) but barely detachable from the sites described for the previously discovered epigraphic finds, is full of new questions regarding the probable early traces of settlement in the surroundings of central Selimiye.

For Küçükveren, Larymna was Bozburun, Tymnos was somewhere in the vicinity¹⁰³. The picture becomes unclear as Pliny spells Larumna and Loryma separately¹⁰⁴. If Larymna was Bozburun, then it must be the problematic side of Tymnos. A discussion on the toponymy has been brought by Umar such that the original Larymna could have been Lar(a)umna, as Fraser & Bean once suggested it to be Larumna. It stood on top of a moderate hill (Asartepe) in the northeast of Bozburun, with a *necropolis* facing the bay on the southwest slope. The location so described by the author is known locally as Kaletepe. Having parallels, Peschlow-Bindokat assume that Tymnos was exactly where Kaletepe stands in Bozburun, while Larymna has connection to the north of Loryma at the tip of the Peninsula, now known as Aziziye¹⁰⁵. Interestingly, almost none of the scholars (apart from the few cases mentioned above) have left a mark on Kaletepe up to now. It is also a place which deserves attention, with potsherds suggesting a wider time span including the Classical era. The site has a catchment area stretching to Avlana Village which is in connection with the Yeşilova Quarter of modern Bozburun and the agricultural enclaves known locally as Örteren in the west.

We see that Thymnos Sinus could be Sinus Losta in ATL. With such contradictory information to hand, it seems difficult to say that Larymna was the *deme* center of Tymnos- named due to

⁹⁴ Plin. *nat.* V. 29.

⁹⁵ Codex Kultur Atlas 1965.

⁹⁶ Bean 1971, 162.

⁹⁷ Bayrak 1994, 496.

⁹⁸ Hammond 1981.

⁹⁹ Chavias – Chavias 1911, 64-65; Fraser 1983, 137-139.

¹⁰⁰ Aydaş 2010, 4-5. The author names Selimiye as Tymnos (*ibid.* 11).

¹⁰¹ TAY 2007, vol. 7.

¹⁰² Fraser – Bean 1954, 62.

¹⁰³ Küçükveren 2007 119, 123. Küçükveren suggests that the meaning of Larumna comes from the people of sand in the Luwian language (*ibid.* 201).

¹⁰⁴ Plin. *nat.* V. 29.

¹⁰⁵ Fraser – Bean 1954, 59; Umar 1999, 216; Peschlow-Bindokat 2003, 11.

Bozburun Bay. It could well be somewhere between Gelos (if Serçe Bay) and Thysannous¹⁰⁶ or any other. Meanwhile, the name, Bosporanoi, was discovered on an Imperial period tomb inscription found near Bozburun. The reading was previously made by Chaviaras & Chaviaras taking the words Πύσποονρνου as Βοσπόρον. As brachygraphies used for the Rhodian demotics may be interpreted differently, it could be conflictive to claim Bosporonai as Bozburun, as the *deme* center of Tymnioi¹⁰⁷. Also, the ancient name derived from abbreviations as “Bosporus” is an open question as to where the strait stood¹⁰⁸. Turning back to the most controversial, two places called Larymna and Paridon by Pliny¹⁰⁹ makes the situation difficult to interpret, however, there is no hindrance, although it may sound absurd, to why we should not contemplate the idea that Cape Aphrodisias(um) (previously noted) could be modern Cape Ata(b)ol in the western tip of modern Bozburun as these names evoke each other apart from the nuances.

Fraser & Bean make a solid mark that on the east of Bozburun Bay, in modern Söğüt, there lies Thysannous¹¹⁰. Hearing from Pechlow-Bindokat, Thysannous is in Söğüt, Phoinix is located to the north of Taşlıca where the lower village (Fenaket) was probably disregarded by the scholar. Instead of Phoinix, the author prefers to call it Tlos/Gelos, which falls to the northeast of Casarae on the coastal band¹¹¹. Bean is not free from doubt about the *deme* center of Thysannous as he bases his argument on poor visible evidence. Anyway, he speculates that, traceable with the polygonal wall remains, Thysannous was up in Saranda Village¹¹². Debord & Varinlioğlu show Thysannous as “Thyssononte” exactly to the east of Bozburun and Phoinix to the southeast of Thyssononte¹¹³. All is full of new questions. But what Bean attests is persuasive since the *Acropolis* (Oyuktepe) having debris scattered high above Saranda Bay (the modern Cumhuriyet Quarter) and the lower settlement on the coastal area remain clearly visible today¹¹⁴.

In the thick volume of the inventory of Archaic and Classical *poleis*, Hansen & Nielsen provide a full version of the updated pre-Hellenistic settlements, none of which are characterized as a *polis* in the Peraea¹¹⁵. Probably having origins dating from the Vth century B.C., Phoinix is recognizable with a fortress (located in Fenaket) with different masonry types. The earliest inscriptions from the IIIrd century B.C mention a *damos*, a *naos* of Dionysos, a *prytaneus*, as well as the priests of Athena and Zeus Polieus¹¹⁶. Based on onomastic scrutiny, numerous funerary inscriptions found in Fenaket are now datable to the IVth- IInd centuries B.C.¹¹⁷. On the map visualized by Başgelen, Phoinix and

¹⁰⁶ Fraser – Bean 1954, 60-61.

¹⁰⁷ Chaviaras – Chaviaras 1911, 64-65; Fraser 1983, 137-139.

¹⁰⁸ Fraser – Bean 1954, 60-61.

¹⁰⁹ Plin. *nat.* V. 29.

¹¹⁰ Fraser – Bean 1954, 59.

¹¹¹ Pechlow-Bindokat 2003, 11.

¹¹² Bean 2000, 168.

¹¹³ Debord – Varinlioğlu 2001, 87.

¹¹⁴ Bean 2000, 168.

¹¹⁵ Hansen – Nielsen 2004.

¹¹⁶ Flensted – Jensen 2004, 1109-1110. For *damos* and construction of the *naos* of Dionysus, see: I. Peraia, 101; Bresson 1991, 149 (I. 1). For the priest of Athena and Zeus Polieus, see: I. Peraia, no. 103; Bresson 1991, no. 148 (II. 5-6). For *prytaneus* (*prytanis*), see: I. Peraia, no.'s 138; 153. For more on Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, refer to Haussoullier, B. (1880). Inscription d’Halicarnasse. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 4: 522-524.

¹¹⁷ Bresson 1991, 134-153.

Elaeoussa Island are situated in the vicinity of the isthmus¹¹⁸. Dürrbach & Radet pinpoint Phoinix as one of the main settlements in the Rhodian Peraea¹¹⁹. Fraser & Bean associate it with Barayüksek Dağ (Karayüksek Dağ, 536 m). Although no demotic of Phoinix has been witnessed up to now, the inscriptions have disclosed that it was a *deme* with a fortified *Acropolis* on top of a hill between the Lower and Upper Fenaket. The *Acropolis* could have been the center of Prinari Bay (Pınarlıbükü/Pınarbükü, modern Gedik Bay or ancient Tlos (possibly Gelos)¹²⁰, which was a Hellenistic and Roman site. Foss & Reger associate Tlos with Tracheia Mountain (Koresos) but no consensus has been reached on the precise name¹²¹. On the other hand, we are already informed of the ethnic name of Tloans attributable to the region of Phoinix¹²². Aydaş addresses an inscription (Ist century B.C.) which was found in Lagina, mentioning Tlos as the *demos* of Kamiros¹²³. Yet we need to remain skeptical as the pronunciation of the names might be deceptive, e.g. the two Lycian cities were “Pinara and Tlos” while we also have the names of “Prinari and Gelos” in Caria. If there was a locality called Tlos, Tloioi could have implied the sub-ethnic in a *territorium* whose center was Phoinix or the *deme* could have been based on the mentioned ethnic in that it could have been named thereafter.

The *Acropolis* of Phoinix was obviously Hisartepe standing in the former Fenaket Village, however another site known locally as Kaledağ to the east of the modern Taşlıca Village (northeast of the *Acropolis*) deserves special attention with its untouched ramparts. This site was possibly the robust fortress associated with the Phoinix Mountain by Strabo¹²⁴.

Casarae has been safely located to Asardibi, from the inscriptions found *in-situ* at Bozuk Village¹²⁵. Documented through the tombstones reported from Rhodes and Asardibi, the *deme* is depicted as a “Classical site” situated on the northern bay over the isthmus in the Peraea¹²⁶. Hicks conveys a further note that it lies 3 miles northeast of Loryma, the Bay of Aplotheka (most probably Oplotheki)¹²⁷. The site was essentially dated from pottery finds in Asardibi and underwater data from the northern harbour of Serçe Bay¹²⁸. Much work has been conducted with respect to Loryma, which falls into the borders of the *deme* of Casarae. Held clarifies its exact location near the promontory acknowledged as Karaburun. Regarding the political status, it lost the *polis* character after the Classical era¹²⁹. That is to say, the position of this small harbour settlement leaves no doubt when it is compared to many other sites in the Peraea. In Casarae, there is another site, now a dried up lake which is known locally as Kıran where the ruins (mainly recognizable from an altar and theatre-like edifice) suggesting the Archaic and Classical era which were surveyed by Kuban &

¹¹⁸ Başgelen 2005, 20-21.

¹¹⁹ Dürrbach – Radet 1886, 245. The definition of the site as Phenikeh (not situated on the coastline), goes as: “*a egale distance des deux rivages de la peninsule, au fond d’un sorte de cirque tres encaisse*” (*ibid.* 246).

¹²⁰ Fraser – Bean 1954, 58.

¹²¹ Foss – Reger 2000, 947, G4.

¹²² IG XII, 1 1449; Robert 1983, 257; Bresson 1991, 148, 150, 154.

¹²³ Aydaş 2010, 87-88

¹²⁴ Strabo XIV. 2.

¹²⁵ Fraser – Bean 1954, 59; Foss – Reger 2000, 942, G4.

¹²⁶ Flensted- Jensen 2004, 1109-1110.

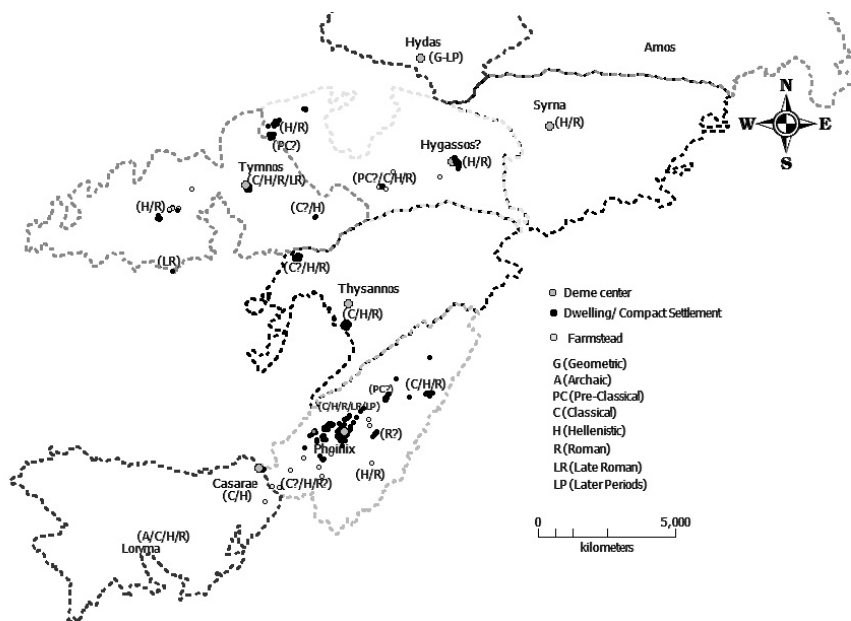
¹²⁷ Hicks 1889, 46-47.

¹²⁸ <http://nauticalarch.org>

¹²⁹ Held 2005, 96; TAY 2007, vol. 7.

Saner. The site neighbors Loryma in the northern sector of Casarae. Not that distant, the authors inform us of another site called Kumalani, which is still undated but noticeable with circular steles. Here is a plain settlement suitable for agriculture and easily watched by a hill (local Asar Dağ), namely Hisardağı¹³⁰. There must have been a connection between Kiran and Hisardağı¹³¹. We postulate that Larumna might be modern Kumalani (also basing the discussion on etymology, see note 103) which is situated half way between Loryma and Hisardağ, in which case Pliny might be right when he makes a straight discrimination between the two neighbouring sites of Loryma and Larumna.

When referred to the *Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations*, the positioning of the *demes* and some modern names are seen to be roughly given upon a blank sheet. Also, Casarae (Kasara) and Tlos (Phoinix) stand too close together so nothing is comprehensible for the latter. Despite the fact that, the epigraphical evidence, as elaborated through the hints about social and religious life¹³², help the reader to comment on some more realistic locations to some extent, the safest way to arrive at a consensus would be through referring to the survey results carried out until recently, in specific parts of the Peninsula. Hence, data relevant to a few locations are available in the reports of Held, Benter and Kuban & Saner¹³³. In the meantime, a contribution to the previous works was undertaken through the extensive surveys (practically limited to only five *demes* which are hypothetical Hygassos? associated with Losta; Syrna; Tymnos; Thysannous and Phoinix) conducted in 2009-2012, with a view to present additional data and to question the problem of period (subject to replenishment). A wide category of finds from the architectural remains to the



Map 3. Territorial Designation in the Peraea

¹³⁰ The authors use “Asar Dağ” instead of the official name-Hisardağı in this part of Casarae. They must be mentioning this same location.

¹³¹ Kuban – Saner 1999, 287-289; Kuban – Saner 2005, 401.

¹³² Fraser – Bean 1954, 122.

¹³³ Held 1996, 1999-2003, 2005-2006; Kuban – Saner 1999, 2000, 2005; Benter 1999, 2001, 2010.

typical masonry, ramparts, pyrgoi, hydro-works, ancient routes, farmsteads, pressing installations, burial remains and potsherds formed the set of criteria to reconstruct/reassess the possible *territoriums* of *demes* and trace them in view of the settlement context. To conclude, reading from (the map compiled by) Foss & Reger¹³⁴, referring to the survey results of the scholars noted above and incorporating the new data uncovered during the 2009 to 2012 campaigns, we can display the approximate and/or associated periods (Map 3), although we take account of a future revision under the recent silhouette. Obviously, epistemological problems, as well as ambiguities emanating from the epigraphical interpretations have left the mainland with a subtlety which has posed growing difficulties in designating spatial limits. Hence, a reassessment on the *deme* locations and estimation considering the physical and social boundaries (thus their scope of influence limited to the study area) about which scholars have not reached a clear agreement is also made and visualized through Table 2 and Map 3, respectively. The method of territorial designation and details of contextual data are not the concern of this paper, since it is deemed a different topic of discussion which has been undertaken. Map 3 also shows what is considered to be the approximate position of the peninsula, unless each *deme* interrupted another or aspired for the other, in part or in full. Based upon the presumptive *territoriums* and further study with sampling, it appears that the *deme* centers (often the *Acropoleis*) would not exceed 2-4 ha in essence but the natural restrictions define the possible limits for the *territorium* of each *deme*. A topical reference is also owed to the recent surveyors in that the values put forward (e.g., Benter (1999, 308) limit the size of the *Acropolis* of Hydas as 3.5 ha, enclosed by walls) by them have also been taken into account in the assignment of the range for the size of the centers of *deme*.

On the other side, there is one point that we chose not to skip: new traces of early settlement. These were observed in the vicinity of *demes* (particularly Losta/Hygassos?, Thysannous and Phoinix), which indicate the probable *terminus post quem* for the Carian occupation. Although it is contentious for the present, we can say, the secure positions of such enclaves on top of defensive hills having quite good visibility may address the original locations of the *demes*, forming some of the earliest *komai* (Map 2). The point is, we can barely bring up toponomical discussions in relation to the pre-Hellenistic habitations but can suggest all of them must have acted as the indigenous constituents of the Carian Chersonesos.

Deme Name	Location
Hydas	Turgut
Syrna	Bayır
Losta/ Hygassos?	Selimiye- Kızılköy
Tymnos	Bozburun
Thysannous	Söğüt
Phoinix	Taşlıca
Casarae	Bozuk

Table 2. *Demes of the Peraea*

¹³⁴ Foss – Reger 2000, G4.

Discussion

Evidently, colleagues have not reached unanimous agreement on the exact names and locations of the Peraean *demes* and/or sites, from the literary evidence. The recent picture, albeit with the destructive processes over the last few decades and the ambiguities in the scripts of the scholarly world over the last two centuries, show the modern settlements associated with the Hellenized *demes* are Turgut (Hydas), Kızılköy (hypothetical Hygassos complemented with Losta Bay), Bayır (Syrna), Bozburun (Tymnos), Söğüt (Thysannous), Taşlıca (Phoinix) and Bozuk (Casarae). It seems that the designation of the territorial boundaries of the *demes* was previously achieved as a result of the egalitarian atmosphere of the Classical period and continued thereafter. Regarding the general literature and field campaigns carried out in 2009-2012, the *deme* centers/*Acropoleis* of the mentioned *demes* are attributable to Kaletepe (270 m), Yancağz Tepe (200 m), Asarcık (410 m), Kaletepe (205 m), Oyuk Tepe (199 m), Hisartepe (222 m), Hisardibi (35 m)/the environs of Hisardağ (415 m)?, respectively.

Despite the weaknesses in the ancient literature¹³⁵ and discreteness in epigraphical evidence, the *demes* located in the west of the Peraea seem to have been attached to the mother *polis* of Kamiros, those lying in the east to Lindos, whereas the case is harder to tackle for Ialysos. More reasonably, the determinant factor must have been the position of natural harbors and auxiliary edifices leading the way to the most suitable corridors. For instance, Casarae apparently masters the east and the western tips of the Peninsula but her dependency on Lindos could have arisen from the advantageous positions of Loryma and Serçe Bay facing the east. A refreshed category for the known *demes* is that Tymnos and Phonix were the Kamiran *demes*; Phycus, Amos and Casarae were Lindian whilst the rest are still open to debate. If there were a total of 13 *demes* for the three old *poleis* on the mainland (except for the others yet undefined), this makes more than four *demes* allocable to each *polis*, providing that a complete egalitarian atmosphere prevailed in Rhodes during the Hellenistic “colonization”. But as the number of six *demes* was previously restored to Kamiros, we can propose that it is the cogent number. To date the relation of the Peraean *demes* to the three old *poleis*, or even discussions on their numbers have been questioned regarding some certain criteria, e.g. the distance effect as emphasized, defensibility, epigraphic evidence, etc. However, attempts at designating the *demes* to a mother *polis* according to their physical position on the Peninsula and endeavors to determine the number of the Peraean *demes* through counting the number of Peraean fortifications remain immature, until the list of *demes* is updated with the help of a complete record of epigraphical material at some point in the future. A similar approach prevails for this paper, as the territorial designation in view of the natural boundaries (but also based on egalitarianism) and the *loci* of archaeological finds (without the dismissal of previously reported sites), and the *deme* centers will need to be further investigated and cross-examined. Unless evidence supported contra-arguments are brought for the presently unknown *deme* of Hygassos, we may have to be content with renaming a long-neglected *Acropolis* (in the environs of Kızılköy) which has never been included to date in the list of scholars. No groundbreaking result is attempted. If not safe for the moment, we might well take it for granted that the “Hellenistic-Roman Hygassos” might have had a *deme* memory dating from the Classical era.

¹³⁵ But basically referring to the views of Meyer 1925; Fraser – Bean 1954; Bean – Cook 1957; Calder – Bean 1958; Jones 1987; Dmitriev 1999; Papachristodoulou 1999.

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