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## SOME NOTES ON AEOLIAN NEONTEICHOS AND TEMNOS AİOLİSLİ NEONTEİKHOS VE TEMNOS ÜZERİNE BAZI NOTLAR

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## SOME NOTES ON AEOLIAN NEONTEICHOS AND TEMNOS *AIOLİSLİ NEONTEİKHOS VE TEMNOS ÜZERİNE BAZI NOTLAR*

Esra ATCI

### Abstract

According to Herodotus, the Aeolians, who migrated to the coast of Western Anatolia in waves, established 12 cities in the region. Among these, Neonteichos and Temnos played key roles in terms of geostrategic importance, especially during the rule of the Pergamon Kingdom. These settlements later became strongholds during Persian attacks. However, Neonteichos, situated between the cities of Temnos and Larisa, did not have a significant presence in historical events and is therefore rarely mentioned in ancient sources. The fact that the raw material for the coins minted in Neonteichos was copper indicates the city's passive development, as it remained overshadowed by its neighboring cities. Neonteichos was initially founded as a military base to capture Larisa, which hindered its growth into a well-established urban center. In contrast, Temnos gained a well-deserved reputation as a garrison city frequently mentioned in historical geography. Its strategic position overlooking the Hermos River, the absence of powerful nearby cities, and its location on important routes from the

### Öz

Herodotos'un verdiği bilgilere göre, silsileler halinde Batı Anadolu kıyılarına gelen Aioller burada 12 kent kurmuşlardır. Neonteikhos ve Temnos, özellikle Pergamon Krallığı'nın egemenliği sırasında jeostratejik açıdan kilit bir rol oynamıştır. Ancak bu yerleşimler Pers saldırıları sırasında bölgenin kaleleri haline gelmiştir. Öte yandan Temnos ve Larisa kentlerinin ortasında yer alan Neonteichos, genel olarak tarihsel süreçte ciddi bir varlık gösterememiş, bu nedenle de antik kaynaklarda adı nadiren geçmiştir. Nitekim kentte basılan sikkelerin hammaddesinin bakır olması, yerleşimin bu kentlerin gölgesinde kalarak pasif bir gelişim sergilediğinin en önemli göstergesidir. Aslında kentin Larisa'yı ele geçirmek için bir üs olarak kurulmuş olması, köklü bir kentin özelliklerinin bu yerleşime aktarılmasını engellemiştir. Neonteikhos'un aksine Temnos, Hermos Nehri'ne hakim konumu, çevresinde güçlü bir kentin bulunmaması ve sahilden doğuya giden yolların geçiş güzergahında yer alması nedeniyle tarihi coğrafyada adından sıkça söz ettiren bir garnizon kenti olarak haklı bir üne sahip olmuştur. Bu durum kentin ekonomisini olumlu yönde etkilemiştir. Kentin aynı zamanda Apollon Kynneios kültürünün tapınma merkezi olması, yerleşimi Aioli Birliği'ni bir

coast to the interior positively influenced its economy. Additionally, the city was the center of worship for the cult of Apollo Kynneios, which elevated its status to a level that could rival the city of Gryneion, a key city of the Aeolian League.

This article analyzes the developmental trajectories of Neonteichos and Temnos—cities for which there is little comprehensive information in historical sources and which have not been sufficiently studied in modern literature due to the lack of archaeological research—focusing on their socio-cultural, economic, and political dimensions.

**Keywords:** Aeolians, Western Anatolia, Neonteichos, Temnos, Hermos Vallery.

arada tutan Gryneion kentiyle rekabet edebilecek düzeye yükseltmiştir.

Bu makalede, kaynaklarda hakkında kapsamlı bilgi bulunmayan ve modern literatürde arkeolojik çalışmaların eksikliği nedeniyle yeterince değerlendirilmemiş olan Neonteichos ve Temnos kentlerinin gelişim süreçleri sosyo-kültürel, ekonomik, politik ve siyasi açılardan incelenmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Aioller, Batı Anadolu, Neonteikhos, Temnos, Hermos Vadisi.

## Introduction

During the great migrations known as the Aegean Migrations, which spread over hundreds of years, the Aeolians settled on the western coasts of Anatolia and made this region their home.<sup>1</sup> Strabo mentions that the Aeolians were of the Hellenic origin and that the migration of the Aeolians was longer and more dispersed than that of the Ionians.<sup>2</sup> It is known that the Aeolians, who settled in the northern part of Western Anatolia as a result of the migrations, actually originated from Northern Greece.<sup>3</sup>

After the great migration, the settlers, who generally colonized the west coast, established around 30 cities in this area. The Aeolians were among them, and just like the Ionians and Dorians, they gathered regularly to remember their origins. The Aeolians who made western Anatolia their home gathered around a common religious center. The gathering place of this religious unity was Gryneion, located in the north of Cyme, where there is a cult area dedicated to Apollo. This cult, which constitutes the religious unity of the Aeolian society, stands out more as a furnace of divination.<sup>4</sup> In addition, detailed studies have recently been carried out on the location of the temple and the remains of the wall with column drums were found in a quadrangular area measuring 100x100 on the Temaşalık Cape. During the investigations, it

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, 1991: 289.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, XII.1. 3; XIII. 1.3; Thomson, 1991: 289.

<sup>3</sup> Schwertheim, 2009: 31; for detailed information on the Aeolian migrations see Rose, 2008.

<sup>4</sup> Schwertheim, 2009: 32; Çekilmez, 2019: 51.

was emphasized that these remains could belong to a temple and it was thought that this sacred area could be the temple of Apollo.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to this strong cultural bond, many settlements in the southern part of the Aeolis region, including the cities of Neonteichos and Temnos, which are located in our study area, experienced a period of great turmoil until the Peace of Antalkidas (387/386 BC) around the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>6</sup> The people of the region settled in high places because they prioritised protection. As a matter of fact, it is known that this type of settlement area in the Southern Aeolis region started to grow in size as of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>7</sup>

Herodotos lists the Aeolian cities in Western Anatolia as follows: Cyme (the city of Phrikon), Larisa, Neonteichos, Temnos, Killa, Notion, Aigirossa, Pitane, Aigaia, Myrina, Gryneia. These are the eleven ancient Aeolian cities the twelfth and the last one, Smyrna, was separated from the confederation by the Ions.<sup>8</sup>

There is another city in the region called Tisna, which Herodotos did not mention among the cities of Aiolis.<sup>9</sup> Tisna (Uzunhasanlar),<sup>10</sup> which has come to the fore with recent comprehensive studies and is frequently mentioned, is located at the center of the cities in the list of unions mentioned by Herodotos.<sup>11</sup>

### Neonteichos

The migratory groups first landed around Cyme, then encountered strong Pelasgian resistance there. For this reason, they turned back to Larisa, and since it would have negative consequences in organizing attacks to capture the city, they established the city of Neonteichos, preferring a closer area instead of Cyme, which is quite far from here.<sup>12</sup> This settlement, located 5-7 km away from Larisa and named Neonteichos (New Fortress/Wall/Fortress) by the Greeks, initially served as a base for them.<sup>13</sup> As the name suggests, it is known from the ruins found in the city that the fortress status of this settlement continued in the Greek and Roman periods.<sup>14</sup> In this context, the Greeks, who started to spread from this base, organized raids to the surrounding regions and as a result of these raids, they caused the city of Larisa to weaken significantly and then founded the city of Cyme.<sup>15</sup>

In contrast, the localization of Neonteichos is highly problematic. G. Bean locates Neonteichos at Yanıkköy based on the assumption that Aristides

<sup>5</sup> Yüksel – Avcı, et. al. 2018: 301.

<sup>6</sup> Erkanal-Öktü – İren, 2004: 260.

<sup>7</sup> Erkanal-Öktü – İren, 2004: 260.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotos I. 149; see also Bérard, 1959: 12; Sacks, 1985: 2 footnote 5; Malay, 1992: 6; Vardar – Yavaşlı, 2016: 166; Aydaş – Erdan, 2019: 201 footnote 7.

<sup>9</sup> Aydaş – Erdan, 2019: 201.

<sup>10</sup> For more detailed information about the localization of the city, see, Aydaş – Erdan, 2019: 201-204.

<sup>11</sup> Erdan, 2020: 15.

<sup>12</sup> Ramsay, 1881: 302; Doğer, 1998: 19.

<sup>13</sup> Strabo XII.3. 3; Sayce, 1882: 225; Von Gerkani, 1957: 377; Bean, 1997: 78-79.

<sup>14</sup> Ramsay, 1881, 283.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo, XIII.3.3; Bean, 1997: 78.

crossed the Hermos River around Emiralem (fig.3), where it was shallow enough to be crossed by car, on his route from Smyrna to Pergamon for his health, and on the data from excavations carried out in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, G.E. Bean argues that Aristides' statement that he crossed the river after sunset caused confusion, which led to confusion in the localization of Larisa and Neonteichos.<sup>17</sup> The author also states that there is an ancient paved road in the village and that the road extends from the village to the hill beyond.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the matching of Neonteichos=Yanikköy is accepted by many scholars.<sup>19</sup>

W.M. Ramsay suggests an idea for the localization of the city and claims that the settlement was located on the foothills of Mount Sardene (Dumanlı Dağ) and near the Hermos River.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, E. Doğer points to Cenevizkale for the localization of the city.<sup>21</sup> The author also indicates that Homer, while migrating from Smyrna to Cyme, crossed the Hermos (Gediz) plain and then came to Neonteichos on his way to Cyme, where he lived for a while.<sup>22</sup>

However, the information provided by ancient writers and modern studies show that the cities of Larisa and Neonteichos cannot be considered separately from each other.<sup>23</sup> In the historical process, Strabo mentions a struggle between the cities of Neonteichos and Larisa and that the Neonteichos occupied the city of Larisa (Buruncuktepe):

“According to the legend, the people who moved from Mount Phrikios in Locris, above Thermopylai, landed where Cyme now stands, encountered the Pelasgians, who were in a bad situation because of the Trojan Wars, but who dominated Larisa, seventy stadion from Cyme, and marked their borders with the fortress called Neon Teichos. Then, having captured Larisa, they founded Cyme and settled the few survivors of the Pelasgians here”.<sup>24</sup>

The settlement known as Buruncuktepe, located to the northeast of Larisa, is characterized by polygonal fortification walls.<sup>25</sup> A. Erkanal-Öktü and K. İren state that if such an occupation was real, the actual location of the city of Neonteichos should have been the area in question, not the Genevizkale in Yanikköy, due to the favorable location of this settlement.<sup>26</sup> Recent excavations in the settlement have proved that the settlement dates back to the Late Neolithic period and therefore the settlement has a more deep-rooted history contrary to popular belief. As a matter of fact, among the earliest archaeological materials belonging to this period in the city, ceramic finds

<sup>16</sup> BMC Neonteichos: lxi.

<sup>17</sup> Bean, 1997: 80.

<sup>18</sup> Bean, 1997: 83.

<sup>19</sup> Doğer, 1998: 19; Sevin, 2001: 79.

<sup>20</sup> Ramsay, 1881: 280.

<sup>21</sup> Doğer, 1998: 17.

<sup>22</sup> Ramsay, 1881: 280; Ludwich, 1916: 49.

<sup>23</sup> Ramsay, 1881: 280.

<sup>24</sup> Strabo, XIII.3.3.

<sup>25</sup> Bean, 1997: 83

<sup>26</sup> Erkanal-Öktü & İren, 2004: 259.

found in a hearth are considered to be very important remains. On the other hand, it is stated that the archaeological data from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC to the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC is quite insufficient.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, the 7<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC is accepted as the date when the city entered the construction process.<sup>28</sup> In the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the city fell under Persian rule like all the cities on the western Anatolian coast, and in the second half of the century it came under the rule of Athens. However, it is suggested that the city was abandoned during the Galatian invasions around the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>29</sup>

It is clear that the city of Neonteichos, which was proved to be surrounded by walls as a result of archaeological studies,<sup>30</sup> needed strong defense. The sloping wall in the north and northeastern part of the acropolis in the city of Neonteichos, of which 14 rows are still standing today, has a unique place since it has a very regular workmanship in rectangular form and there is no similar structure anywhere in the whole Neonteichos. Moreover, although there is no information about the purpose of this important architecture, it is considered that these walls may have been built for defense purposes.<sup>31</sup> In addition, most of the walls whose remains can be seen in the city today are defined as the second period city walls surrounding the acropolis.<sup>32</sup> Polygonal stone blocks were used in the construction of these walls.<sup>33</sup> This type of fortification technique is unique to Aeolis.<sup>34</sup>

As for the development of the city in the historical process, it is not clear whether Neonteichos was affected by the dynastic and king changes in the Lydian State around 680-640 BC. In this period, Gyges, who came to the throne by putting an end to the Heraclid dynasty in Lydia, established the Mermnad dynasty and pursued an aggressive policy against the city-states in the west of his country.<sup>35</sup> However, the king's seizure of the Manisa strait is considered a great possibility to pose a danger to the Southern Aeolian, and thus to both the cities of Neonteichos and Temnos.<sup>36</sup>

The data related to the position of the city during the Persian rule is not sufficient enough but it is known that the Persians had a period of sovereignty that lasted for 200 years and taxed the cities in the region during this period, as was the case in other Western Anatolian cities. However, the Persians, who tried to establish absolute authority in this way by appointing tyrants to the administration of each city, shaped the cities as autonomous structures and governed them under the administration of satrapies. In this process, the

<sup>27</sup> Öztürk Akan – Saner, 2024: 150.

<sup>28</sup> Öztürk Akan – Saner, 2024: 150.

<sup>29</sup> Külekçi – Saner, 2022: 24; Mater – Saner, 2023: 221; Öztürk Akan – Saner, 2024: 150.

<sup>30</sup> Akkurnaz 2013: 87.

<sup>31</sup> Doğer, 1995: 66; Akkurnaz, 2013: 92-93.

<sup>32</sup> Akkurnaz, 2013: 87.

<sup>33</sup> Akkurnaz, 2013: 87.

<sup>34</sup> Erkanal-Öktü & İren, 2004: 259.

<sup>35</sup> Herodotos, I.14; Doğer, 1998: 21,22.

<sup>36</sup> Doğer, 1998: 22.

entire Aeolian region was administered under the Ionian Satrapy, whose center was Sardis.<sup>37</sup>

During the Hellenistic period, the city of Neonteichos continued its existence under the rule of the Pergamon Kingdom. For this reason, our knowledge about the city is quite limited and there is almost no information in the ancient sources about the status of the city during this period. On the other hand, copper coins minted by the Neonteichos mint around the 4th century BC provide an impression of the city's status during this period. The depiction of the head of the goddess Athena on the obverse and the owl on the reverse of the copper coins minted in the city during this period (fig. 1) is quite remarkable.<sup>38</sup> As a matter of fact, the use of copper as a raw material in the minted coins indicates that the economic structure of the city was quite weak and that the ruling class could not display a strong political stance by remaining in the shadow of the Pergamon king politically. Moreover, the fact that no other coins minted in any other period other than these coins have been found until today strengthens this hypothesis.

Although it can be determined from the pottery found here that Neonteichos was still inhabited during the Roman period, there is no information on the status of the city during this period in any ancient source.<sup>39</sup> In addition, there is no evidence that coins were minted in the city during the imperial period.<sup>40</sup>

It is also possible to find detailed information about a catastrophe experienced by the Aeolians in ancient sources. In this context, thousands of rats invaded the Aeolian region and caused the harvest period here to be unproductive by eating crops that were not yet ripe. As a result of this event, the Aeolians appealed to Delphoi and the god told them that if they offered sacrifices to Apollo Smintheus, they would get rid of this negative situation. The Aeolians, who followed the god's instructions, thus managed to get rid of the wrath of the rats and obtain a bountiful harvest:<sup>41</sup>

“And those who live in Hamaxitus in the Troad worship a mouse, and that is why, according to them, they give the name of Sminthian to Apollo whom they worship, for the Aeolians and the people of the Troad still call a mouse 'sminthos', just as Aeschylus too in his *Sisyphus* [fr. 227 N] writes

“Nay, but what sminthos of the fields is so monstrous? “

And in the temple of Smintheus tame mice are kept and fed at the public expense, and beneath the altar white mice have their nests, and by the tripod of Apollo there stands a mouse. And I have also heard the following mythical tale about this cult. Mice came in tens of thousands and cut off before they ripened the crops of the Aeolians and Trojans, rendering the harvest barren for the sowers. Accordingly the god at Delphi said when they enquired of him, that they must sacrifice to Apollo Smintheus; they obeyed and freed

<sup>37</sup> Doğer, 1998: 23.

<sup>38</sup> Ramsay 1881: 283; BMC Neonteichos; lxi.

<sup>39</sup> Doğer, 1998: 276.

<sup>40</sup> BMC, Neonteichos: lxi; BMC Aeolis, no 1-3.

<sup>41</sup> Ögün, 2009: 116.



themselves from the conspiracy of mice, and their wheat attained the normal harvest.”<sup>42</sup>.

We do not know whether Neonteichos was affected by the rat infestation, but detailed information about the belief system of the Neonteichos society has started to become clearer as a result of recent surveys and excavations in the region. Accordingly, based on the rock relief found in Neonteichos and known as Serden Cliffs,<sup>43</sup> Cybele and Aphrodite can be counted among the cults worshipped in the city.<sup>44</sup> As a matter of fact, this relief shows a four-columned temple façade with three steps.<sup>45</sup> The relief depicts a woman riding a lion and a lioness in an upright position on a square base. On either side of this depiction are two tigers leaping towards the depiction of the woman in the center. Accordingly, the goddess Aphrodite depicted riding on a goat and Cybele depicted with a lion are combined.<sup>46</sup>

### Temnos

Temnos which is now localized in modern Görece,<sup>47</sup> is settled on a rugged terrain overlooking the Hermos River (fig. 3) and thus strategically important.<sup>48</sup> It is recorded that the plain between the acropolis in the south and Çerkezçam Tepesi in the north constituted the main expansion area of the city.<sup>49</sup> In addition, we do not have clear information about the extent of this region since the lower city is under the ground today and the vegetation cover is dense. Furthermore, the theater with a seating capacity of 750 to 1000 people, located on the northern slope of the acropolis and covered with trees, is relatively well preserved.<sup>50</sup> Again, a city wall with a length of 300 m and a height of 3 m on the steep slopes to the west of the acropolis, where the polygonal wall technique was applied, is among the important remains of the city that have survived to the present day. The city wall is known to have been built around the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC and it was reinforced during the events that took place in the Hellenistic period, the details of which are described below. Inside the city walls are an agora and a bouleuterion unearthed through illicit excavations.<sup>51</sup> On the eastern part of the acropolis, there are numerous building remains.<sup>52</sup>

The foundation of the city is mostly based on mythological elements. For example, Stephanos Byzantinus mentions that Temnos was founded by a leader named Malaos in consultation with the oracles. Malaos, who was undecided about the location of the city, was told by the priests to "continue his migration and build the city where the axle of the chariot broke". Thus, the

<sup>42</sup> Aelian, XII,5.

<sup>43</sup> Erdan et al. 2020: 6 footnote 17.

<sup>44</sup> Erdan et al. 2020: 6.

<sup>45</sup> Doğer, 1998: 277; Kaya, 2019: 38.

<sup>46</sup> Doğer, 1998: 277.

<sup>47</sup> Robert, 1933: 498; Bean, 1997: 80.

<sup>48</sup> Strabo XIII.3. 5; Ramsay, 1881: 286; Thomson, 1991: 289.

<sup>49</sup> Ramsay, 1881: 286-287; Ragone, 2008: 434.

<sup>50</sup> Doğer, 1998: 274.

<sup>51</sup> Doğer, 1998: 275; Ragone, 2008: 433.

<sup>52</sup> Ramsay, 1881: 288.

city would have been broken in the area of Görece, the steepest place of Sardene, and the city was built here.<sup>53</sup> Pliny, who gives information about the location of the city, states that the settlement was located at the mouth of the Hermos,<sup>54</sup> and gives a detailed description of the location of Neonteichos and Temnos:

“Aeolis comes next, formerly known as Mysia, and Troas which is adjacent to the Hellespont. Here, after passing Phocæa, we come to the Ascanian Port, then the spot where Larisa stood, and then Cyme, Myrina, also called Sebastopolis, and in the interior, Aegae, Attalia, Posidea, Neon-tichos, and Temnos. Upon the shore we come to the river Titanus, and the city which from it derives its name. Grynias also stood here on an island reclaimed from the sea and joined to the land: now only its harbours are left”.<sup>55</sup>

Temnos,<sup>56</sup> the home of Hermagoras, the master of rhetoric, has no meaning in the Hellenic language, but the city was also called Tamnos.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, it is also suggested that the city may have taken its name from the local people who lived there long before the Aeolians migrated here. However, the archaeological findings in the city do not indicate the existence of a settlement in the city in the pre-Hellenic period.<sup>58</sup>

Unlike Neonteichos, we have quite detailed information about the political development of Temnos. Accordingly, the city of Temnos was among the Aeolian cities that resisted the Persian domination in 547 BC. The city not only resisted them but also maintained its independence.<sup>59</sup>

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, the region in the southern part of the Hermos valley was significantly affected by the political instability resulting from the great struggles between the Persian and Spartan armies. For this reason, measures were taken in Temnos to maximize the security of the city in particular and the hinterland of the region in general. These measures included the strengthening of the fortifications of the city walls surrounding the city or the renovation of the walls.<sup>60</sup>

During the turbulent period around the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the settlements along the Hermos valley gained great importance. In addition to the fortified settlements on the north and south sides of the river, the Southern Aeolis Region also took precautions against threats with observation posts. Temnos, the largest of these settlements, should be considered as a strategically important city due to its location on the northern side of the Hermos River.<sup>61</sup>

During the eastern campaign of Alexander the Great, the cities of Aeolis surrendered to him without resistance. In this event, Parmenion's capture of Gryneion (Yeni Şakran-Temaşalık), the common cult site of the Aeolian unity,

<sup>53</sup> Steph. Byzan. *Ethnica*, s.v.Temnos.

<sup>54</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, V. 119.

<sup>55</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, V. 32.

<sup>56</sup> Strabo, *Geographika*, XIII. 3.5; Bérard, 1959: 26.

<sup>57</sup> Ramsay, 1881: 291.

<sup>58</sup> Doğer, 1998: 271.

<sup>59</sup> Pliny, V.31; Xenophon Hell. IV. 8.5; Ramsay, 1881: 291; BMC Temnos lix; Sezgin, 2013: 96.

<sup>60</sup> Doğer, 1995: 66; Doğer, 1998: 28; Akkurnaz, 2013: 92.

<sup>61</sup> Doğer, 1998: 28.

in a raid and taking its inhabitants as captives was quite effective.<sup>62</sup> Thus, the region came under Macedonian sovereignty, and after Alexander's death, it came under the rule of Antigonos Monophtalmos and then Lysimachos.<sup>63</sup> In a decree dated to this period, it is understood that the demos and boules of Pergamon made the agreements of Isopoliteia (equal citizenship) and Isoteleia (equal taxation) with Temnos:<sup>64</sup>

Δημή[τριος Π]οσειδίππου  
 Ἐλαί[της] *vac.*  
 γνώμα [—ca.8—]τος, Γορδίω·  
 ἐπειδὴ Δ[αμάτριος Π]οσειδίππῳ  
 5 Ἐλαίτας [άνηρ καλός] καγαθός  
 ἐστι κα[ὶ εὐεργετε]ῖ(?) τὰμ πόλιν  
 τὰν Ταμ[νιτᾶν· ἀγαθᾶ]ι τύχαι· δε-  
 δόχθαι [τᾶι βουλᾶι καὶ] τῷ δάμῳ·  
 δεδόσθ[αι αὐτῷ πολιτ]είαν καὶ  
 10 προξενί[αν καὶ οἰκία(?)]ς ἔγκτη-  
 σιν καὶ ἀ[τέλειαν πάντῳ(?)]ν· ἐπι-  
 κλαῶσ[αι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐ]πὶ φυ-  
 λὰν ἅγ κ[α βόλληται· τὸ δὲ ψάφισ]μα  
 τοῦτο ὁ[νγράφαι τοὺς —ca.6-8—]  
 15 εἰς στάλ[αν λιθίναν καὶ θεῖναι]  
 εἰς τὸ ἱρὸν [τ—ca.8—· τὸ δὲ ἀνά]-  
 λωμα δο[ῦναι τοὺς —ca.9-10—]  
 καὶ λογίσ[ασθαι — — —].

*Vacat*.<sup>65</sup>

Demetrios of Elaia, son of Poseidippos (for).

[Gordios' motion: Since Demetrios of Elaia, son of Poseidippos, is a good and beautiful man, and has done good for the city of Temnos, let him be blessed: The Boule and the Demos have agreed to grant him citizenship and the enjoyment of public rights, the right to own property and to be exempt from taxation, and the privilege of enrolling him in the phyle (tribe) of his choice. Let this decision be inscribed on a stone stele and erected in the temple of [---]; let [---] pay for it and calculate [---]<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Bean, 1997: 91.

<sup>63</sup> Doğer, 1998: 33.

<sup>64</sup> Malay, 1993: 27.

<sup>65</sup> Robert, 1933: 492-493.

<sup>66</sup> I would like to thank Associate Professor Dr. Mehmet Alkan for his help in translating the text from Greek.

Similarly, a treaty between Pergamon and Temnos states that the citizens of both cities will have equal rights. This treaty is a decree that guarantees not only equal voting rights but also the right of citizens living in both cities to own private property and thus the right to property:

- 1 [ἔγνω βο]υλή καὶ δῆμος· γνώμη στρατηγῶν·  
[ἐπεὶ ὁ] δῆμος ὁ Τημνιτῶν οἰκειῶς διακε[ί]-  
[μενος] τυγχάνει τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Περγαμην[ῶν],  
[ἀγαθ]ῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή-  
5 [μῳ]· ἀποστεῖλαι πρεσβευτὰς δύο, οἵτινες παρα-  
[γε]νόμενοι ἐμφανιοῦσι τὴν τε εὐνοίαν ἣν ἔχων  
[δι]ατελεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος ὁ Περγαμηνῶν  
[κα]ὶ διαλεγῇσονται ὅπως ψηφισθῇ ταῖς πόλεσιν  
[ἀμ]φοτέραις ἰσοπολιτεία. ἐὰν δὲ φαίν[η]ται  
10 [Τη]μνίταις ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι συνθεῖναι περὶ τ[ο]ῦ-  
[του], τοὺς ἀφισταλμένους αὐτοκράτορας [εἶναι].  
[αἶρε]θέντες Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀπελλέος, Η[.....]  
[Ἐρ]μίππου. ἀγάθαι τύχαι· ἔδοξε Ταμν[ίταισι]  
[κ]αὶ Περγαμήνοισι ἐπὶ πρυτάνιος τῷ μ[ετὰ Ἡρα]-  
15 [κ]ληίδαν τὸν Δίτα μῆννος Ἡράω, ἐν [Περγάμῳ]  
ἐπὶ πρυτ[ά]νιος Ἀριστοκράτεος τῷ Ἱερα[.....]  
μῆννος Ἡράω· ἔμμεναι Ταμνί[ταισι ἐν Περ]-  
γάμῳ πολι[τ]εῖαν καὶ Περγαμήν[οισι ἐν Τάμνῳ]  
μετεχόντ[ε]σσι ὧν οἱ ἄλλο[ι πόλιται μετέχοι]-  
20 σι καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἰκ[ία]ς ἔγκτησιν ἔμ[μεναι τῷ Ταμνί]-  
τα ἐμ Περγάμῳ καὶ τῷ Περγα[μήνῳ ἐν Τάμνῳ. ψᾶφον]  
[δ]ὲ φέρην τὸν Ταμνίταν [ἐμ Περγάμῳ καθάπερ ὁ Περ]-  
γάμηνος φέρει κα[ὶ] τὸν Π[εργάμηνον ἐν Τάμνῳ καθάπερ]  
[ὁ] Ταμνίτας φέρει [—————]  
25 [σ]τείχην ἢ ἐπὶ συ[—————]  
[—————]Σ.ΤΑΙ[—————].<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Fränkel, 1890-1895: Nr.5.

The Boule and the Demos (of the Pergamenians) have decided; the petition of the commanders: Since the demos of Temenos has been friendly to the demos of Pergamon, let it be so. The Boule and the demos decided to send two ambassadors, who will present the goodwill of the Pergamon demos towards them and negotiate a decision on isopoliteia (equal citizenship) for both cities. If it is agreeable to the Temenos to agree to this, their ambassadors will have full authority. Apollonides, son of Apelles, and H[---], son of Hermippos, were elected ambassadors. Good luck to them. The Temenos and Pegamonians have decided: [---] in the month of Heroos, in the time of his priesthood; in the month of Heroos, in the time of the priesthood of Aristocrates son of Hiera[ks](?) in Paergamon. That the Temenosians were given the right of citizenship in Pergamon, and the Pergamenians in Temenos, and even the right to participate in everything that other citizens participate in, and that the Pergamanian in Temenos and the Temenosian in Pergamon had the right to own land and houses. Also, the Temenos in Pergamon has the same right to vote as the Pergamonian, and the Pergamonian in Temenos has the same right to vote as the Temenosian. ---<sup>69</sup>.

In 278 BC, with the support of the Galatians' passage to Anatolia by Nicomedes I of Bithynia, large-scale Galatian invasions occurred in this region and the cities in the Aeolian Region were also affected by these destructions. At this time, Larisa was sacked by the Galatian Tolistobogoi, but we have no clear data on whether the city of Temnos was affected by these attacks.<sup>70</sup> Although it is known that cities such as Cyme and Myrina (Kalabasar) were under the control of the Kingdom of Pergamon during the reign of Eumenes I (263-241 BC), the status of both Neonteichos and Temnos in this period is not clear.<sup>71</sup>

After the invasive activities of the Galatians in the region were put an end during the reign of Attalos I (241-197 BC) and these people were expelled from the region, the Seleucid danger emerged in Aeolis as in all western Anatolian cities. Although the Seleucids, who started their campaigns under the leadership of Akhaïos, captured all the cities of Aeolis, this success did not last long. Taking advantage of the struggle for the throne between Akhaïos and Antiochos III, the Pergamon king Attalos I recaptured many Aeolian cities, including Temnos.<sup>72</sup> This success of Attalos I did not last long and Antiochos III made another attempt to establish dominance in the region and as a result, Antiochos III's army was defeated in the battle between Attalos I and Antiochos III in Magnesia ad Spylum with the support of Rome. One year after this event in 189 BC, the Peace of Apameia was signed between the parties and with this treaty, the Seleucids withdrew to the south of the Taurus line. The territories obtained as a result of the treaty were divided among the allies who were the effective power in the war and Rome was a strong factor in the division. Accordingly, cities such as Cyme, Aigai (Nemrut Kale) and Smyrna within the

<sup>69</sup> I would like to thank Associate Professor Dr. Mehmet Alkan for translating the text from Greek.

<sup>70</sup> Doğer, 1998: 33.

<sup>71</sup> Doğer, 1998: 34.

<sup>72</sup> Fränkel, 1890-95: X; Malay, 1992: 34; Jones, 1998: 47,48.

borders of the Kingdom of Pergamon, which were pro-Roman in the war, were given freedom, while Temnos, which supported Antiochos III, was decided to maintain its dependence. The status of Neonteichos in the division is not clear.<sup>73</sup>

It is known through two letters sent by the king to the city that Eumenes II (197-159 BC) made donations while the city was under the rule of the Kingdom of Pergamon. Since the letters are badly damaged, it is not known in which areas the donations were made. However, the fact that the king granted such a great favor to the city may be due to the strong political structure of the city. In addition, these donations may also be interpreted as the king's attempt to keep the city standing against attacks from the east since Temnos was an important garrison city located in a dominant position in the Hermos Valley:

[A] in the month of ..... when Herakleides, son of Hermagoras, was prytanis. King Eumenes [greet]s the [people] and assembly of Temnos [greetings] Your [ambassadors you sent me ..... Apollas, Theodoros, Athenaios [and] ..... first delivered to me your good and faithful decision in which you detailed the privileges previously granted to your city [by my ancestors] ..... the gratitude of the people ..... as far away as possible ..... that I rule ..... [and that you insist on] bringing [benefits for you in the future] .....

[D] . . . for the administration of the city and ..... in accordance with what is written in the decision ..... I also ..... donate the money from there ..... you will give part of it ..... in the tenth month of each month ..... in accordance with each year ..... Bomitis ..... in common with you ..... and in such a way that the measure of the land can be located as urgently as possible ..... I have written to Pyrrhos with reference to what we have agreed with your ambassadors to contribute to the payment of taxes in a manner beneficial to the city, and the relevant ..... will be inscribed as they wish ..... steles will be erected at ..... and at Ephesos ..... . Peace be with you. <sup>74</sup>

During the reign of the Attalos II Philadelphos of Pergamon (159-138 BC), the Aeolis region was subjected to attacks by the Bithynian king Prusias II. The city of Temnos was also damaged during the attacks and the city lands were looted. Besides, the Temple of Apollo Kynneios, which is also located within the borders of the city, did not survive the attack. The advance of the Bithynian army in the region ended with the mediation of a delegation from Rome, and with the treaty concluded in 154 BC, Prusias II had to pay compensation for the losses suffered by Temnos along with the other cities he plundered. Finally, it is considered that Neonteikhos and Temnos may have been among the cities that supported the rebellion during the Aristonikos uprising in the Hellenistic period.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Malay, 1992: 62-63.

<sup>74</sup> Arslan, 2019: 154.

<sup>75</sup> Malay, 1992: 79; Doğer, 1998: 35-36.

During the Roman period, Temnos was included within the borders of the Province of Asia. There is no precise data on the extent to which Rome interfered or did not interfere in the internal affairs of the cities here in the early days of the province. On the other hand, Cicero provides detailed information about the administration and assembly of Temnos. Accordingly, the Temnos assembly was not a body whose members were determined by lot and changed from year to year, as seen in ordinary Greek practices, but an important assembly with permanent membership like the Roman senate and governed by a proconsul:

“The principal man in stirring up all the Greeks,—he who is sitting with the prosecutors,—Heraclides of Temnos, a silly chattering fellow, but (in his own opinion) so learned, that he calls himself even their tutor, and so ambitious, that he salutes all of you and of us every day. Old as he is, he has not yet been able to get admission into the senate of Temnos; and he, the man who professes himself able to teach the art of speaking to others, has himself been convicted in some very discreditable trials. [43] Of similar good fortune was Nicomedes, who came with him as a deputy, who was not allowed to enter the senate on any terms, but had been convicted of theft, and of defrauding his partner. For Lysanias, the chief man of the deputation, obtained the rank of senator; but as he showed himself rather too much devoted to the riches of the republic, he was convicted of peculation, and lost his property and his title of senator. These three men tried to render the accounts of even our own treasury false. For they returned themselves as having nine slaves, when they had in reality come without one single companion. I see at the first framing of the decree Lysanias was present, he, whose brother's property was sold by public order during the praetorship of Flaccus, because he did not pay what he owed to the people.”<sup>76</sup>

Around the 2nd century BC, Temnos is mentioned in an inscription concerning a border dispute with Klazomenai. According to the inscription in question, the borders of the temenos within the borders of Temnos, which was bounded by stelae, were violated by the Klazomenai and a war broke out between the two cities. As a result of the war that took place in the Gulf of Izmir, the arbitration of Knidos was applied to resolve the dispute and Knidos decided that the accusations of the Temnosians did not reflect the truth. Accordingly, it is thought that the border violation that caused the outbreak of war between the two cities was a pretext of the Temnosians and that the real issue stemmed from the struggle for dominance over the islands.<sup>77</sup>

In 88 BC, as a result of the expansionist policy of the Pontic king Mithridates VI, the region came under the king's rule. Not remaining indifferent to this situation, Rome sent L. Cornelius Sulla and Valerius Flaccus to the region in the same year, and these two commanders put an end to Mithridates VI's presence in the province of Asia. In the midst of all these negativities, the city of Temnos came to the fore with the extortion of high amounts of tribute. The city's support for Mithridates VI is shown as the

<sup>76</sup> Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 42-43.

<sup>77</sup> Ersoy & Koparal, 2007: 60-61.

reason for the high rate of the tax and its forced collection. Therefore, this situation is interpreted as a punishment.<sup>78</sup>

Around 70-50 BC, Rome made an arrangement in the region and divided the Province of Asia into 10 different administrative regions. Smyrna, the administrative center of one of these regions, included the cities of Cyme, Phokaia, Leukai, Larisa, Myrina as well as Neonteichos and Temnos.<sup>79</sup>

Temnos, which was not associated with any extraordinary events until the reign of Emperor Tiberius (14-27 AD), was devastated by a severe earthquake in the third year of the emperor's reign, along with 12 other cities in the region. In the face of this unfavorable situation, the cities in the earthquake zone were given the opportunity to recover with the emperor's cash aid and exemption from taxation for 5 years.<sup>80</sup> In order to express their gratitude for Tiberius' generosity, the cities, including Temnos, built a statue of the emperor and thus honored him.<sup>81</sup>

By the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, the most important source of information about the city is numismatics. As a matter of fact, a bronze coin dated to 253-268 AD (fig.2) was found during the surveys conducted in the area where the city was founded. The fact that the coin is made of bronze shows that the city had a stronger economic structure compared to Neonteichos. Moreover, the fact that coins were minted in the city during a politically problematic period when Velerian and Gallienus ruled the Roman Empire together suggests that the city was relatively less affected by the problems in the Roman throne.

Apart from the political structure of the city, we also have significant data on its cultural life. As mentioned above, the cult of Apollo Kynneios stands out when we look at the worship in this settlement.<sup>82</sup> The most important factor for the cult to be so important in the region is the merger of the cities of Kynna and Temnos and the population being the determining factor.<sup>83</sup>

We are also aware of the existence of this cult from the information given by Polybios about Prusias' attacks on the region:

*"... He not only plundered but also destroyed the temple of Apollo Kynneios near Temnos, and after these successes he returned to his country having declared war not only on men but also on the gods".*<sup>84</sup> Based on the information given here, it is estimated that the temple of the god was located outside the city.<sup>85</sup>

It is also known that gods and goddesses such as Aphrodite, Dionysos, Athena, Zeus Akraios, Heracles, Tyche,<sup>86</sup> Hermes and Sarapis were

<sup>78</sup> Doğer, 1998: 39.

<sup>79</sup> Doğer, 1998: 39.

<sup>80</sup> Tac. Ann. II. 47.

<sup>81</sup> Doğer, 1998: 40,41.

<sup>82</sup> Dethloff, 2003: 314.

<sup>83</sup> Kaya, 2019: 33.

<sup>84</sup> Polyb. XXXII. 15.12.

<sup>85</sup> Robert, 1933: 496.

<sup>86</sup> Ramsay, 1881, 291; Ünal, 2009: 413.



worshipped in the city.<sup>87</sup> Among these cults, Zeus Akraios has a very unusual structure. The origin of the cult is thought to be Arkadia in Greece.<sup>88</sup> There are depictions of this epithet of the god on the coins of Temnos (fig. 2) minted around the II-Ith century BC.<sup>89</sup> The coins of the city of Temnos, minted around the II-Ith century BC, bear depictions of the epithet of the god Akraios, proving that the cult was highly popular in the settlement and was now a prominent cultural value of the community.<sup>90</sup> The fact that this cult was worshipped in the city is closely related to the rugged terrain of the settlement and Dumanlıdağ/Sardene located to the northwest. The word Akraios means hill-peak in Greek.<sup>91</sup>

Apart from Zeus Akraios, it is also possible to obtain information about the worship of Aphrodite in the city. Pausanias reports the following on this subject:

“That Pelops and Tantalus once dwelt in my country there have remained signs right down to the present day. There is a lake called after Tantalus and a famous grave, and on a peak of Mount Sipylus there is a throne of Pelops beyond the sanctuary of Plastene the Mother. If you cross the river Hermus you see an image of Aphrodite in Temnos made of a living myrtle-tree. It is a tradition among us that it was dedicated by Pelops when he was propitiating the goddess and asking for Hippodameia to be his bride.”<sup>92</sup>

### Conclusions

Although both Neonteichos and Temnos were founded by people of the same ethnic origin, they did not experience a similar development process in history. Due to its geographical location, Neonteichos was founded as a fortress in order to capture the city of Larisa. It is also possible that this status of the city evolved over time and was used as a buffer zone against attacks from the eastern side of the Hermos Valley during the Persian invasion. This situation prevented a natural urban development process in the settlement. In addition, the city was not used as a outpost despite being located in the Hermos Valley is directly related to its location in the valley. In addition, Neonteichos, compared to the nearby cities of Larisa and Temnos, was less famous in the ancient world and therefore less important, with only a few mentions by ancient writers. This makes it difficult to follow a clear chronological sequence as in Temnos. In addition, the raw materials of the coins minted in the city and the inadequate number of coins are also important factors that prevent the interpretation of Neonteichos as a city. Thus, Further studies on the related site will play a key role in obtaining more comprehensive and precise results.

Although Neonteichos has a deep-rooted history dating back to the Neolithic period, we mentioned that the development process of the settlement

<sup>87</sup> BMC, Temnus: lix, BMC, Aeolis: n.1-39; Robert, 1933: 496.

<sup>88</sup> Şahin, 2001: 11.

<sup>89</sup> BMC, Aeolis, Temnos n. 8; Baydur, 1995: 89; Şahin: 2001, 11.

<sup>90</sup> Baydur, 1995: 89; Şahin, 2001: 11.

<sup>91</sup> Sinanoğlu & Türkkan 1979: 179.

<sup>92</sup> Pausanias, V. 13.7.

was quite slow over a long period of time from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC to the 9th century. This may be the result of the destructive effects of the Luwian migrations in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC. In addition, the fact that the region was targeted by the expansionist policies of the Hittites, the dominant political power in central Anatolia, in the middle of the same period may have prevented the establishment of a stable structure in this area and thus led us to obtain limited data on the development of the settlement during this period. In addition, the heavy destruction and devastation caused by the great migration movement that occurred at the end of the period and rewrote the fate of the region may have been insufficient to determine the speed and direction of the settlement development between the mentioned periods.

On the other hand, Temnos has always maintained its geopolitical importance from the beginning of the first millennium BC until the end of the Roman period. In particular, the fact that it was built on a hill dominating the east-west and south-northwest road routes can be considered as a determining factor in increasing the importance of the city as a military base. As a matter of fact, the city became famous especially in the Hellenistic period in terms of the protection of the hinterland of the region thanks to its strong fortifications, thanks to its position controlling the Hermos Valley and the Sardane Mountain located just to the west. May be asserted that Temnos experienced a relatively more natural urban development process than Neonteichos did. The diversity in the raw materials of the coins found in the city and the number of coins must be regarded as a result of this natural development and the economic and political support of the settlement by powerful states. In addition, these coins give us an idea about the economic structure of the city in the historical process and whether or not it showed parallels with the development processes of the states to which it was affiliated from time to time. The most concrete example of this is the fact that Temnos was still able to mint coins around the 3rd century AD, while Rome was experiencing a period of double-headed administration and consequently instability, is the most concrete example of this.

Two important Greek inscriptions mentioning Temnos also show that the settlement was in close relations with both Elaia and Pergamon. In fact, in the decree related to Pergamon, Temnos citizens are given the right to own property in Pergamon and have the same rights as Pergamon citizens, which reveals the stable and powerful structure of Temnos over the cities in the region. Moreover, The donation letters of Eumenes II written directly to the city indicate that the city was important to the king. The underlying reason behind Eumenes II's efforts to strengthen the city through donations is undoubtedly the fact that it had been a garrison city for centuries and therefore the king was trying to guarantee the eastern and southern borders under his rule. As a matter of fact, stopping the attacks from these directions at Temnos or encountering an obstacle here would save time for the city of Pergamon to organize against the attack and for the royal family and the people to take preventive measures more quickly. However, all these data we have mentioned will become more precise thanks to new archaeological studies to be carried out in the region.

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## Figures



Fig.1: Neonteichus Coin 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Centruy-BC. Source: [https://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=11&pid=9638#top\\_display\\_media](https://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=11&pid=9638#top_display_media) ( a.d. 07.03.2024).

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Fig 2: Temnos Coin Time of Valerian and Gallienus. Source: [https://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=12&pid=15360#top\\_display\\_media](https://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=12&pid=15360#top_display_media) (a.d. 07.03.2024).

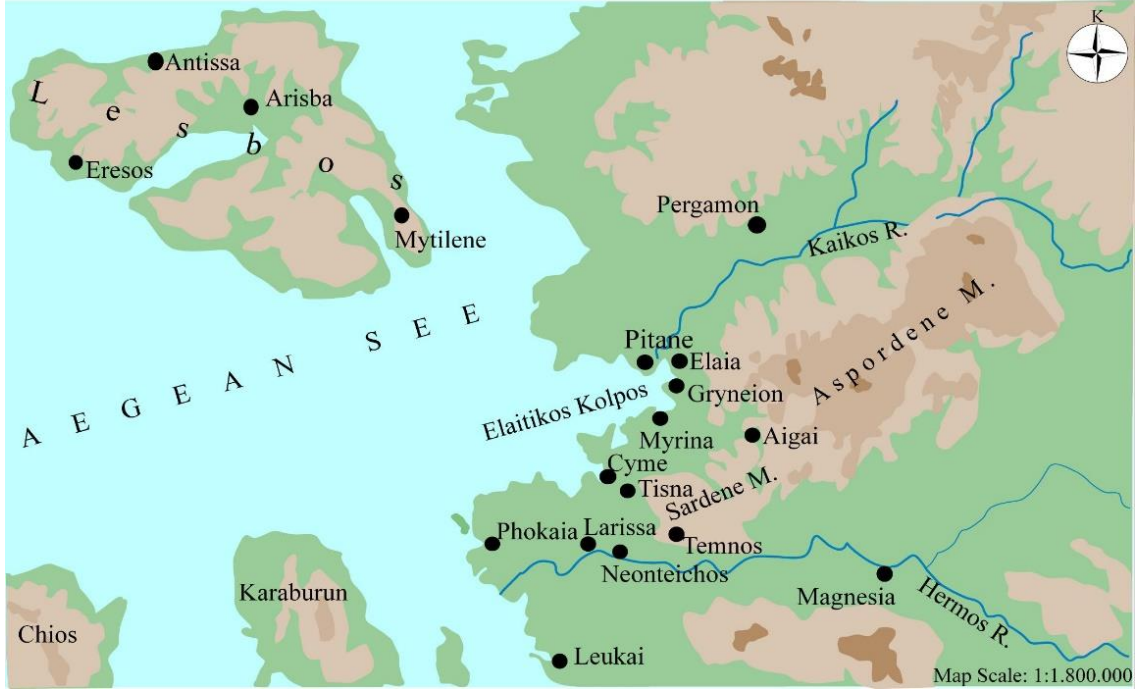


Fig. 3: Aeolis region and its surroundings.