

Introduction

Located on a fertile mountainside amidst boulders, springs and pine trees, the site of the shrine of Zeus at Labraunda is now an idyllic retreat from the bustle of urban Milas and the highways that carry traffic from Bodrum to Izmir. The peaceful setting of the sanctuary, however, belies the power of the place when it was a hub in the Hekatomnids' network of territorial control in the fourth century BC, and a century later, when it became contested space between the resident priests, the civic body of Mylasa, and a local governor under the Seleukid kings. The question of who Labraunda belonged to is one that has many different answers, all of which involve its sacred landscape and the people whose lives were invested in its fortunes.

Sanctuary, landscape, and community are three intertwined strands that are central to this research, which seeks to understand their role in the processes of urbanization that were characteristic of the Hellenistic period in Asia Minor. Towns sprang up almost overnight, yet were from the start under the protection of a deity that was well established in the vicinity. As religious centers, places of cult in Asia Minor could take on many different forms, reflecting the needs and especially the composition of the societies to whom they belonged. This could vary from a local 'specialist' shrine, to a common center for a cluster of regional settlements, to a major complex at the heart of a theocratic community. Landscape was an important part of the equation as the location of shrines resonated with the desires and perceptions of the community. Whether on hilltops, in valleys, along coasts, near rivers or thoroughfares, sanctuaries were centers of their own sacred landscapes, shared by settlements, farmsteads, or cities, and connected to them by routes, pathways, and sightlines. These sanctuaries were tightly bound to their countries, in every physical, social, and political sense.

This research examines four such 'country sanctuaries' in Karia, in southwest Asia Minor, as case studies to interpret the larger transformations that took place at such local or regional shrines in the Hellenistic period, a time when many of them were turned into major civic sanctuaries. The turbulent period that Karia underwent as it passed in the fourth-century from rule of the Hekatomnids, satraps of the Persian rulers, to later rivalling Hellenistic kings may be read in the biographies of its major sanctuaries, as at Labraunda, but also at the shrine of Sinuri, both near Mylasa, and the sacred centers of Hekate at Lagina and Zeus at Panamara, both near Stratonikeia. Each of these

cult places are extremely well documented and the transformations that they underwent shed light on the pivotal role of sanctuaries in helping local communities come to terms with their new position in an expanding world of cities, shifting allegiances and hierarchies of power. As such, each case forms a microcosm that allows us to identify issues that were surely relevant to other areas of Asia Minor as well.

In the wake of Alexander the Great, Asia Minor underwent an unprecedented wave of urbanism as the Greek city, or *polis*, became the common denominator in a globalizing world. This world also found itself confronted with new and colliding superpowers; new *poleis* were founded to anchor their rule to their territory, while older communities wishing to keep up with the times often reinvented themselves through Hellenic institutions.¹ Several of these communities were restructured along the political and spatial format of the Greek *polis* while others were created as military colonies or administrative centers, or even as new centers of regional power. That many of these *poleis* are still major cities in modern Turkey today is a testimony to the effectiveness of their transition.

In a world in which politics and religion were tightly interwoven, the incorporation of the gods already embedded in the sacred landscape of the region was surely integral to the success of these new or restyled cities. Several of these gods were adopted as protective deities that stood symbol for the rising city. In return, their sanctuaries were monumentalized and made the venues of great civic festivals – a symbiosis clearly took place between both entities as they merged into one. This makes it all the more interesting to observe that several of these sanctuaries were located well beyond the confines of the urban centers of the *poleis* that they came to represent (Figure 1.1 and Table 1.1, p. 4–5).

In this book I argue that these sanctuaries embodied this urban transformation. They were used to forge the identity of the developing *polis*, accommodating local communities while redirecting the new civic focus. Gods that were local or regional began to appear on civic coinage, received grand festivals and processions, and their once rustic shrines took on the shape of urban space. As the rising *polis* took its identity from these gods, so the gaze of the gods was shifted towards the new community, and their sanctuaries reorganized to meet its aspirations. But what exactly happened to these places of cult, why were they so important to the *polis*? How were landscape, space, and especially ritual implicated in this transformation? These are some of the larger questions addressed by this present investigation.

¹ E.g. Gauthier (1984), also (1987–1989); Savalli-Lestrade (2005); van Nijf (2008); Mileta (2009b); Cohen (1995).

1 Major Urban-Oriented Sanctuaries in the Countryside in Asia Minor

The phenomenon of urban-oriented sanctuaries located beyond the civic center was fairly common in Hellenistic Asia Minor. As the map in Figure 1.1 and corresponding table both show, at least 30 cities are known to have had major sanctuaries that were situated beyond the limits of the town proper. Some of these sanctuaries were 'extramural', located just outside the city walls or perimeter. Others were farther away marking critical places in the countryside, such as federation sanctuaries in neutral spaces (e.g. Xanthos, Kastabos), oracular shrines at natural features (e.g. Didyma, Klaros, Patara), shrines along a vital passage of access (e.g. Labraunda, Meter Steunene at Aizanoi), or peak sanctuaries that dominate naturally commanding positions (e.g. Meter Theon near Pergamon, Men Askaenos near Pisidian Antioch, Zeus Stratios near Amaseia). This list of cities with major sanctuaries at a distance is not exhaustive yet does give an indication of their distribution. Roughly half of these cities were new ruler-driven foundations (or refoundations of older cities) in the Hellenistic period, with several appearing in the more inland regions, especially Mysia, Lydia, and Karia.² Others were autochthonous *poleis*, i.e. local communities or agglomerations of communities with a long-established presence in Asia Minor that underwent a major phase of urban development or expansion in the Hellenistic period. Several were a combination of both top-down and bottom-up initiatives.

The question is how pre-existing sanctuaries, with their local or regional appeal, came to be urban-oriented, or rather, why they were so crucial to the cities that took hold of them. This book focuses on such new or developing *poleis* that grafted their identity onto an existing sanctuary and its god(s) in the wider region of the territory of the central settlement. Specifically it centers on Karia, a landscape that harbored many smaller hilltop communities that found themselves confronted with the reality of wave of urbanization in the period after Alexander the Great. The sanctuaries of Zeus Labraundos and Sinuri, both drawn into the orbit of the rising *polis* of Mylasa (no. 15 on the map), and the sanctuaries of Hekate at Lagina and Zeus at Panamara, who became the two poliadic deities of the Seleukid foundation of Stratonikeia (no. 16), especially highlight important dynamics in the transformation of a sanctuary and its community. The selection of these will be discussed in more detail below.

In studies of Archaic and Classical Greece and Magna Graecia, such sanctuaries are generally qualified as 'rural' or 'extra-urban' and are often interpreted

² Cohen (1995).

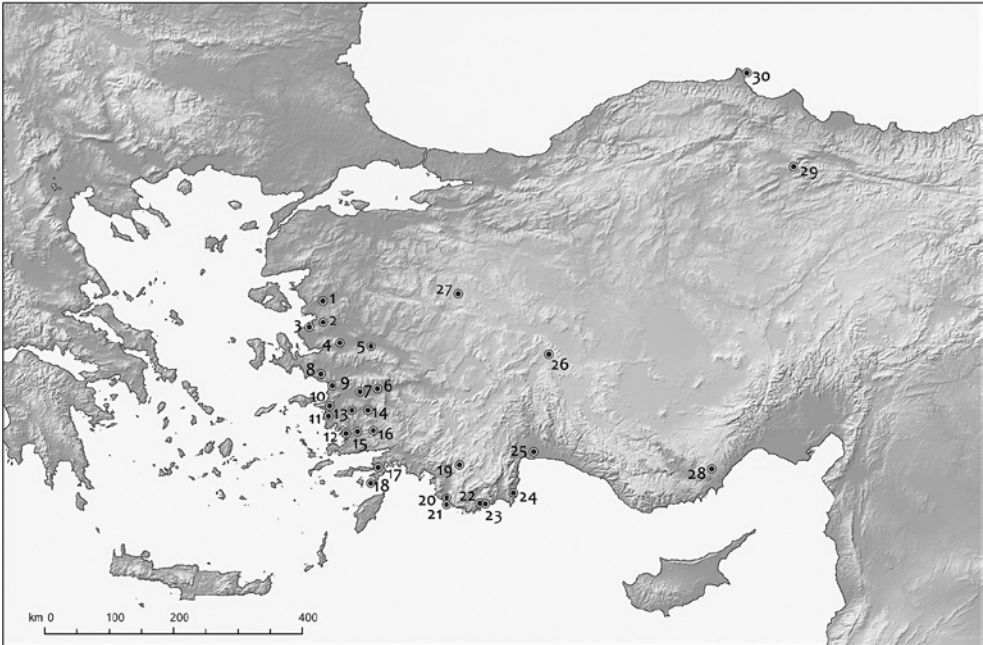


FIGURE 1.1 Map showing cities with major country sanctuaries in Asia Minor, corresponding with Table 1.1

TABLE 1.1 List of cities and their major country sanctuaries, corresponding to the map in Figure 1.1

No.	Polis	Sanctuary	Distance to urban center
1	Pergamon ^a	Meter Theon (<i>Mamurt Kale</i>)	>30 km SE
		Meter (<i>Kapıkaya</i>)	6.5 km NW
		Asklepios	5 km SW
		Athena Nikephoros (extramural)	?
2	Aigai	Apollo Chresterios	c. 3 km E
3	Kyme	Meter	Extramural
4	Magnesia under Sipylos ^a	Meter Sipylene	c. 7 km E
5	Sardis ^a	Artemis	1 km SW
		Apollo Pleurenos	?
6	Nysa ^a	Kore & Pluton (<i>Acharaca</i>)	c. 6 km W
7	Tralles ^a	Zeus Larasios (<i>Larasa</i>)	?

TABLE 1.1 List of cities and their major country sanctuaries (*cont.*)

No.	Polis	Sanctuary	Distance to urban center
8	Notion/Kolophon ^a	Apollo Klaros	c. 13 km to S
9	Ephesos ^a	Artemis	c. 2.3 to NE
10	Priene ^a	Poseidon (Panionion)	10/27 km to N
11	Miletos	Apollo Didyma	20 km to S
12	Iasos ^a	Artemis? (<i>Çanacık Tepe</i>) NW extramural sanctuary	c. 3 km N Extramural
13	Amyzon ^a	Artemis	?
14	Alabanda ^a	Artemis	Extramural
15	Mylasa ^a	Zeus Labraundos Sinuri (<i>Tarla Tepe</i>)	13 km N 12 km SE
16	Stratonikeia (Karia) ^a	Hekate (Lagina) Zeus (Panamara)	c. 13 km N c. 12 km S
17	Bybassos	Hemithea (Kastabos) Oyuklu Tepe	c. 2 km E Extramural
18	Loryma	Apollo	c. 0.5 km S
19	Oinoanda ^b	Leto	?
20	Xanthos	Leto	c. 3.5 km W
21	Patara	Apollo	Extramural
22	Trysa	Zeus & Helios	Extramural
23	Myra ^b	Apollo (Sura) Moskar	c. 4.5 km W 5 km N
24	Olympos ^b	Hephaistos (Chimaera)	c. 4 km N
25	Perge	Artemis Pergaia	?
26	Pisidian Antioch ^a	Men Askaenos	c. 3.5 km SE
27	Aizanoi ^b	Meter Steunene	2.3 km SW
28	Olba Diokaisareia & Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos ^a	Zeus Olbios (<i>Uzuncaburç</i>)	c. 32 km to NW
29	Amaseia ^b	Zeus Stratios	c. 10 km E
30	Sinope	Zeus Dikaiosyne (<i>Asar Tepe</i>)	c. 6 km SW?

a Cities listed in Cohen 1995 as Macedonian (re)foundations in the Hellenistic period.

b Autochthonous cities that were either newly founded or underwent a major developmental phase in the Hellenistic period.

as signaling liminal locations, particularly political borders.³ In Asia Minor, however, many of these 'extra-urban' shrines were initially major centers in their own right, pre-dating the cities that later came to absorb them.⁴ The term *country sanctuary* is a much better qualifier as it is more neutral and implies a rural but not necessarily remote setting, while carrying territorial overtones. Embedded in a different kind of social and economic structure, these sanctuaries were often a common point of connection for several spatially distinct and otherwise autonomous communities. As the Greek urban system became projected onto the wider landscape of Asia Minor, however, these communities either were forcibly incorporated into new *poleis* or voluntarily reorganized themselves in terms that accorded with this model. This phenomenon can especially be observed in Karia where such country sanctuaries had a visibly vital role in this process.

2 Country Sanctuaries and the 'Second Rise' of the *Polis* in Asia Minor

A defining characteristic of the Hellenistic period is the wave of urbanism that rose in the wake of Alexander the Great. In Asia Minor alone, over a hundred new *poleis* were founded in this era.⁵ Cities were administrative centers and hence key instruments of territorial control, allowing for structured rule and transactions (especially taxation) between local populations, colonies and garrisons (e.g. salaries for military troops) and the royal seat.⁶ Besides providing channels of hierarchical access, urbanization also facilitated communications among peer communities. The urban network in the Hellenistic world was one of the greatest avenues for the exchange of ideas as well as trade, ensuring the rapid 'globalization' of the *polis* culture and the spread of common knowledge as it penetrated into regions well beyond the Mediterranean and the Hellenistic kingdoms.⁷

3 E.g. de Polignac (1995), the contributions in Alcock and Osborne (1994); studies regarding this issue are discussed at length below in Chapter 2.

4 Much like the regional cults 'which have a topography of their own', in Werbner (1977), ix.

5 Cohen (1995) counted 150 *poleis* in Asia Minor that were founded, or refounded, in the Hellenistic period (not all of these have been located); also Fraser (1996); Miletta (2009a) and (2009b).

6 Along with the cities is the increase in use of the monetary system, rather than exchange in goods, see Aperghis (2000) and (2005).

7 Sperber (1996); Ober (2008). For the 'globalization' of Hellenistic culture, Ma (2003); van Nijf (2012); Pitts and Versluys (2014). Further discussed in Chapter 2.

Religion was at the heart of the ancient Greek city.⁸ Tightly woven into the fabric of its topography, sanctuaries embodied the pleasure of the gods and the *polis* at its finest, and were the channel of civic pride. State-of-the-art technology was often used in their architecture, renowned sculptors were hired, magnificent urban festivals and processions with music and performances were planned with precision – the *polis* put itself on display at these shrines and their festivals were clearly designed to impress.⁹ That these highly focused areas are often found at remote locations, far beyond the confines of the inhabited center, demands an explanation, especially to the modern academic and urban mind. This seeming paradox between prime urban space located not in the heart of the city, but in its distant countryside, is the undercurrent throughout this present research.

The phenomenon of liminal religious centers is an important theme in anthropology, with significant studies by Victor Turner who views them as a counterbalance to political centers. In his conceptualization of pilgrim shrines, the ‘centers out there’, they form an important pendant of ‘anti-structure’ to the structure of the city.¹⁰ Such sacred centers offer a degree of inclusion that transcends the exclusive divisions of the city, fostering what Turner designates as *communitas* – a spontaneous, intensive kind of bonding, typically revolving around a common religious focus, and that is in sharp contrast to the pragmatic organization of the city.¹¹ Ritual practice is essential to this sense of cohesion but liminality, in fact, is key to Turner’s theory, as the distance and seclusion of such outlying sacred centers emphasizes their separateness from political authority. Pilgrimages to such remote spots are a central element of initiation rites, especially rites of passage, and so according to this view it is no wonder that we find major sanctuaries at distances from urban centers. This structuralist polarity of civilization-versus-wilderness is also a common theme among scholars of ancient Greek religion, expressed via rituals and myths, e.g. the link between young men, their sojourns, even including werewolves at the mountain shrine of Zeus Lykaeos in Arkadia.¹² Inversion of the norm is the core business of such liminal places, where “the individual replaces the group as the

8 E.g. Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) and (1988); Kindt (2009); Strootman (2014); van Nijf and Williamson (2016).

9 Chaniotis (1995) and (2013); also van Nijf (2012).

10 Turner (1973) (slightly modified in Turner (1974b), under the name ‘Pilgrimages as social processes’, 166–230); also Werbner (1977) who adapts it somewhat.

11 Turner (1969), further developed in Turner (1974b).

12 Buxton (1992), Burkert (1997). On sanctuaries as liminal spaces, see e.g. Polinskaya (2003); McInerney (2006). Discussed at length in Chapter 2.

crucial ethnic unit” as Turner states.¹³ Experiencing pilgrimage is a second key to this theory, in the presumption that sacred travel was predominately undertaken in isolation, with heightened awareness, and that rituals at the shrine created new social groups that had little to do with the pragmatic institutions of the city.¹⁴

While rituals at rural shrines surely promoted the kind of intimate bonding that Turner understands as *communitas*, this model cannot account for the highly organized festivals and processions that brought entire populations out to sanctuaries in the ancient world. Typically organized by the urban elite, these festivals in fact (re)produced the fundamental structure and social hierarchies that made up the very fabric of the city – they embodied the city.¹⁵ Moreover, the model cannot account for the dramatic increase in such urban rituals at remote sanctuaries in post-classical Asia Minor, nor their role in generating collective identity and a sense of belonging.

Scholars of early Greece, on the other hand, envision this phenomenon as being intertwined with the very rise of the city itself. The separation of administrative and sacred centers and their connection through ritual and physical presence is considered by some to be essential to the definition of the *polis* and its territorial claims; the ‘bi-polar’ model developed by François de Polignac is the example cited most often.¹⁶ Major shrines in the distant *chora*, or countryside, serve as ‘frontier sanctuaries’ in this model, marking and defending the borders of the emerging Greek city-state in the face of rivalling communities during the later Geometric and Archaic periods in Greece. This theory generally presupposes the coeval emergence of cities and great ‘extra-urban’ sanctuaries in early Greece.¹⁷ Problematic with this view is the supposition of a blank landscape onto which political territories could readily be mapped via sanctuaries.¹⁸

While the widespread urbanization of Hellenistic Asia Minor certainly signals a ‘second rise’ of the Greek city, the situation and context is very different

13 Turner (1973), 215.

14 E.g. Brown (1971). On pilgrimage in the ancient world, see esp. Elsner and Rutherford (2005); Luginbühl (2015); Kristensen and Friese (2017).

15 See among many others: Chaniotis (1995) and (2013); Chankowski (2005); Luginbühl (2015); Stavrianopoulou (2015).

16 De Polignac (1984), *Le naissance de la cité grecque*; later revised in the English edition, de Polignac (1995), *Cults, territory, and the origins of the Greek city-state*; but also Vallet (1968); Asheri (1988); Graf (1996); also several contributions in Alcock and Osborne (1994). These and other theories concerning remote, or ‘extra-urban’ sanctuaries, are discussed in Chapter 2.

17 See especially the discussion in Malkin (1996).

18 Polinskaya (2006); Mackil (2013a), 149.

from Archaic Greece. New cities were planted by rulers in landscapes that were already richly articulated with religious centers and communities, often with mixed populations that had long been exposed to Greek customs, as in Karia. Some of these communities had already acquired the label of *polis*, perhaps for lack of better term. Others began to centralize and develop in the direction of the Greek urban model, adopting its institutions and democratic form of government. Rather than creating themselves *ex nihilo*, these emerging cities typically grew by absorbing older local communities through processes of *synoikism* (uniting several villages or towns into a larger community) or *sym-politeia* (joint citizenship) whether this was voluntary or enforced from above. The once autonomous communities were turned into suburbs of the new city, often as *demes* (districts) or *phylai* (tribes).¹⁹

Studies of religious institutions in Hellenistic Asia Minor have had to deal with a different model, that of a persistent Anatolian theocratic society whose currents were thought to underlie the temple economies visible in several Hellenistic cities.²⁰ This monolithic view, proposed by W.M. Ramsay, was categorically taken apart by Pierre Debord, who carefully examined the many institutional, social, and economic roles that sanctuaries could take on in the Hellenistic era as sacred centers met the changing needs of their communities.²¹ His view has since been refined and even refuted by others.²² While these and other studies take urbanization into account, their main concern is economy. They do not address the role of landscape and territory in their assessment of sanctuaries, nor do they adequately address ways that sanctuaries and their rituals fostered social cohesion among the changing and heterogeneous groups that formed the population base for the new *poleis*.

3 Creating Identity

Starting with Émile Durkheim, scholars of religion have observed the innate capacity of religion to reflect social structures, but especially to produce them,

19 Discussed e.g. in Gauthier (1987–1989); Houby-Nielsen (2001); Eich (2004); Reger (2004); Walser (2009); Schuler (2010); Schuler and Walser (2015); LaBuff (2016).

20 Ramsay (1911), esp. 18.

21 Debord (1982) *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine*, Leiden.

22 Boffo (1985) *I re ellenistici e i centri religiosi dell'Asia minore*, Pisa, dividing the roles into several categories. Dignas (2002a) *Economy of the sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford interprets temple autonomy in ways reminiscent of Ramsay's model. These studies are discussed in Chapter 2.

as Clifford Geertz stressed.²³ Yet how this actually works is rarely analyzed. Emily Mackil noted the tendency to view religion as “a black box through which individuals pass and then exit as an integrated community.”²⁴ She cites Barbara Kowalzig as a trailblazer in understanding ways that religion articulated but also mediated several levels of contact in the Greek world,²⁵ and in her own work Mackil maps in detail ways of interpreting community-forming processes at the level of federated sanctuaries.

Forging several distinct communities into a single political entity was surely a formidable task.²⁶ The main challenge would have been one of coordination.²⁷ A critical step in this process is creating a shared identity, i.e. a common goal that each member can relate to and embrace. Most of the new foundations or refoundations under discussion here seem to have gone peacefully, implying a large-scale willingness to take on the new identity of the *polis*.²⁸ Several factors would certainly have been at work and the agents of change would have had to succeed at different scales: the interpersonal level, with individual contacts; the social level, especially with regard to status and class; the political level of urban councils, and the decisions taken in their efforts to turn a collection of people into an urban body; and finally the larger scope of peer cities at the regional level or beyond, who had to acknowledge this new identity. All of these levels could simultaneously be addressed via festivals. It is because of this multi-strand process that the term ‘urban’ is used, invoking a cultural concept that goes beyond the ‘civic’, usually more focused on institutional realities.

Creating a new social group as a *polis*, or redefining a group as a democratic *polis*, would have brought a number of challenges of its own. In the first place, the surrounding landscape in which many of its new citizens already worked and lived would have to be incorporated as territory. In the second place, there was already a pretty good idea in circulation as to how a Greek *polis* should behave and what it should look like, as well as a strong desire to conform to this idea so as to be recognized as such by other *poleis*.²⁹ Finally and most crucially,

23 Durkheim (1912); Geertz (1980).

24 Mackil (2013a), 148.

25 Kowalzig (2007b).

26 Eich (2004); Reger (2004); Mackil (2013a).

27 The field of rational choice theory and evolutionist studies, e.g. Glaser (2010); Tomasello (2009); Chwe (2001). The arguments are laid out succinctly in Turchin (2006a).

28 But see Ager (1998), who gives an example of a less smooth synoikism between Lebedos, Teos, and Ephesos under Antigonos I, in which the Lebedians clung to their own communal identity.

29 Twentieth-century studies speak of ‘civic culture’ after Almond and Verba (1963) (see also the critique in Pateman (1980)). This concept may be applied to the *polis*, with a similar

religion, particularly the local cult and especially the way in which it was practiced, would be central to this idea of *polis* and hence to its vitality.³⁰

While Greek cities had a pantheon of gods, one would serve as a patron, or poliad, deity with whom they had a special and intimate bond. This god or goddess cared about the city, watched over its community and protected them from harm. This is the deity who typically came to symbolize the *polis* on its coinage and in its political dealings with others, and whose festivals were used as prime political events, the focus of civic pride and the avenue of contact with other *poleis*. It is now recognized that this phenomenon is on the increase in the later Hellenistic period.³¹ This coincided with the new wave of urbanization, as cities sought to anchor their identities through religious logic. Yet how these divine guardians were selected is not always clear. Pre-existing communities often already had a principal cult of their own, so as they were absorbed into larger urban entities the question arises as to whose god or goddess was chosen as poliad deity. Significant factors in this are sanctuary location and the formation of civic territory, the capacity of a local or regional cult to foster urban identity, and how the cult itself was affected by the new status. A number of theories, discussed in Chapter 2, will be used to address these issues, but especially two areas of study stand out as having a direct bearing on the overlap of urban and religious identity. The first pertains to ritual and its capacity to create a shared focus of attention that innately generates common knowledge, the preconditions for any kind of cooperation or joint action.³² The second area is the study of regional identity, within the field of social geography, which emphasizes the role of territory, boundaries, symbolism, institutions and external recognition. The model of these stages as developed by Anssi Paasi is particularly helpful in understanding the processes of urban identity in the Hellenistic world, so much so, that for the purposes of this study

awareness and 'socialization' into the political context and institutions of the city, see Herrmann (1984); Chaniotis (1997); van Nijf (2012).

30 Weingast (1995). Benedict Anderson, in his seminal *Imagined communities*, Anderson (1983 [2006]), 5 considers religion, and kinship, more than ideology, as one of the binding forces in the idea of nationality; see also Eric Hobsbawm's now classic *The invention of tradition*, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992), 1–15, and the contributions in *Religious identity and 'the Invention of Tradition'*, van Henten and Houtepen (2001).

31 Chaniotis (1995); Meadows (2018).

32 I conflate the conceptual approaches regarding: cognitive ritual – McCauley and Lawson (2002) and (2007); collective memory – Halbwachs (1992); Connerton (1989); and 'rational rituals' – Chwe (2001). These are all discussed separately and in more detail in Chapter 2 and assessed in the conclusion in Chapter 7.

I equate his model of regional identity with that of urban identity, with a few important modifications discussed at the end of this volume.³³

4 Indicators of Urban Identity – the Framework of Analysis

Of course, not all cults in a sacred landscape were concerned with fostering urban identity. The disparity of literature and wealth of sources on sanctuaries in Hellenistic Asia Minor made it quickly clear that a systematic and comprehensive analysis was needed to avoid the pitfall of cherry-picking aspects that would support a preconceived model or interpretation. Both in identifying the urban engagement of shrines, but especially in analyzing this relationship, several factors had to be taken into account, such as history, landscape, architecture, rituals, administration, and finally material evidence of their use in mediatization strategies. Subsequently a framework of analysis was developed, if only as a check-list, in order to ensure that conclusions are not only data-driven but that these factors are taken into account as well.

This framework includes a historical overview that functions as a site biography, based to a large extent on literary or epigraphic sources. This is followed by an assessment of the wider physical environment of the sanctuary, including its vistas, and the potential of its landscape to have attracted the interest of the *polis* in the sanctuary. Turning into the sanctuary itself, the framework separates categories of analysis into domains of: monumental space (architecture, public space, and processional routes); ritual performance (festivals, banquets and games if applicable); legal administration (priesthoods and other offices, the local community, and economic resources); and urban mediatization (including scope or network, civic decrees, the use of iconography). These areas especially require careful attention as they all reveal different dimensions through which urban involvement can be manifested. Because of this, there will inevitably be some overlap in the presentation of the data within each case study. Nonetheless, it is the rigorous application of this framework to each case study that allows for the changes that took place at each sanctuary to surface most clearly, highlighting the specific areas of transformation, while providing a base for comparative analyses of the different case studies.

This framework of analysis serves as a lens through which each case study can be examined and evaluated. This will highlight the critical paths towards the evolving relationship between a city and a sanctuary, while revealing how unique this was and whether the beginnings of a larger pattern may be

33 See esp. Paasi (2009) and (2010), discussed further in Chapter 2 and assessed in Chapter 7.

discerned. The ultimate goal is not to develop yet another monolithic model, but to provide a methodological approach which is systematic enough to shed light on the nature of the relationship between country sanctuaries and their respective cities, yet dynamic enough to accommodate the many specific circumstances and variations in this relationship.

5 Case Studies – Four Sanctuaries and Two Cities in Karia

This research revolves around the sanctuaries of four Karian deities – Zeus Labraundos, Sinuri, Hekate at Lagina, and Zeus Panamaros – and how they were critical in the development of two cities in Karia, Mylasa and Stratonikeia, both of which underwent a remarkable process of urbanization and were two of only three cities in Karia that Strabo found worth mentioning.³⁴ Inland Karia is characterized in the pre-Hellenistic period by its hilltop communities that were often organized into wider federated bodies, or *koina*.³⁵ Typically these *koina* centered on a common sanctuary; two top-level federations include the Karian League, which met at the sanctuary of Zeus Karios near Mylasa, and the Chrysaoric League, based on the sanctuary of Zeus Chrysaoreus near (later) Stratonikeia. But these are only the tip of the iceberg, and Marchese and Debord have both revealed that this pattern repeated itself at several levels down the line – native Karia was a complex system of nested communities, that were also interconnected at multiple levels.³⁶ In this socially articulated landscape, dotted with hilltop settlements organized around sanctuaries, the impact of the Greek *polis* is especially visible through the wealth of evidence, much of which is epigraphic, that also illuminates several issues confronting evolving cities, and the various agencies that arose as a result. Taken together, the four case studies examined here provide a repertoire of situations and solutions that will overlap with several other areas of Asia Minor, although less well documented.

Mylasa and Stratonikeia are two neighboring *poleis* in west-central Karia that both exhibit the impact of the shift to the urban paradigm albeit in different ways. As home of the Hekatomnid dynasty, Mylasa had already been turned into a proper ‘city’ in the early fourth century BC by the satraps,

34 Strabo 14.2.22, with Alabanda as the third city of note.

35 On *koina* as sacred and political entities: Graninger (2011); Capdetrey (2012); Mackil (2013a); McInerney (2013); Freitag (2015); Constantakopoulou (2015).

36 Marchese (1989); Debord (2003); Rutherford (2006).

probably through a kind of synoikism of the surrounding communities.³⁷ Once it achieved independence by the Seleukid rulers in the mid-third century BC, however, it began to set its own course as an autonomous city with a democratic constitution. Roughly in the same period, the Seleukids founded a new 'city' or colony to the east, that of Stratonikeia, probably organized in part by local communities. Eventually the new *polis* engulfed the neighboring communities, a process that became more apparent after its own independence from Rhodes (by Rome) in the second century.

Their differing origins – Mylasa as a self-restyled *polis*, and Stratonikeia as a 'colony' – make these two cities good candidates for observing ways that community was integrated with landscape and sanctuary. Country sanctuaries were critical to the development and expansion of both cities. Mylasa laid claims to the high-profile sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos, some 14 kilometers to the north, and gained control over the area which included the sanctuary of the Karian god Sinuri, roughly 15 kilometers to the east. Stratonikeia absorbed the local cult of Hekate at Lagina, about 8 kilometers to the north, and eventually took complete control over the sanctuary of Zeus Karios at Panamara, about 10 kilometers to the south, turning both deities into its civic gods. Despite their differences there are important parallels. Both cities had a composite citizen base, and both may be shown to have embarked upon a policy of expansion following their autonomous status. Both cities also had important sanctuaries in the distant regions of their territories, and these sanctuaries seem to have been related to their territorial ambitions. But as it will be demonstrated in this research, this was only part of the story. Territory combined with ritual, perceptions of space and landscape, and contact with the extended inter-*polis* world were all parts of the primary role that each sanctuary fulfilled as it became a focal point for urban identity. The way in which this functioned is the object of the rest of this volume.

6 Road Map to This Volume

The approach to this topic is reflected in the structure of this volume. The first chapter frames the main question, beginning with interpretations of outlying

37 Rumscheid (2010), 97–98; Radt (1969/70), 168–169, n. 17. In the context of this research, the term 'synoikism' is used to describe the creation, or enhancement, of a *polis* through the centralized aggregation of the surrounding communities, without necessarily implying a simultaneous forced relocation or depopulation of the countryside; this process is especially apparent at Stratonikeia, Debord (2001a); van Bremen (2000); also Cavanagh (1991).

sanctuaries as part of the core-periphery model of the city and its hinterland, but focusing on the Archaic Greek world, and principally the Peloponnese or Magna Graecia. Scholars of Hellenistic Asia Minor, on the other hand, have had to deal with Ramsay's long prevailing view of shrines in Asia Minor as falling into one of two classes: either as Anatolian centers of an essentially theocratic society, or as Greek *polis* sanctuaries. The second section of this first chapter deals with some turning-point responses, even though they primarily address economic and administrative aspects of sanctuaries as they focus on degrees of autonomy rather than their shifting roles in the human landscape. Three principal views are assessed for their strengths as well as inadequacies in addressing the present research question. The third section then turns to a number of alternative theories drawn from other disciplines in the cognitive and social sciences that help shed light on the topic. Reconsidering some fundamental concepts, such as the role of memory, ritual, space with regard to collective identity can help show how critical these sanctuaries, their topographies, and their festivals were towards state formation and the creation of a new common identity. The concept of 'rational rituals', developed by Michael Suk-Young Chwe,³⁸ is used to explore ways that ritual generates the common knowledge necessary to foster social cohesion. Network models, currently popular as they relate to the phenomenon of social networks, are valuable in understanding how sanctuaries functioned as nodes in wider networks of communities based on ties of cult. Finally the concept of regional identity and especially the stages involved in its development, modeled by Anssi Paasi,³⁹ will be discussed as a tool for understanding the roles of landscape, architecture, festivals, priesthoods, civic decrees and iconography in the development of urban identity. These theories can help identify important domains of focus when analyzing the case studies. The final section in Chapter 2 outlines the methodology of this research, presenting a detailed discussion of the framework of analysis. This carries the overarching domains of history, environment, and a list of indicators of urban involvement at each sanctuary as well as the types of data that can provide answers. This includes physical data such as architecture, inscriptions, sculpture, ceramics, and coins, but also spatial information such as geography, elevations, and viewsheds. Epigraphy forms a major source, as it reveals important information on civic institutions and political, social, or economic concerns; literary sources, except for Strabo, are rare but mentioned where available. One of the strengths of this framework is that it highlights the multifarious changes that took place at each sanctuary as it was

38 Chwe (2001).

39 Paasi (2009), with more of an archaeological turn in Paasi (2010).

drawn into the urban network. As a tool this framework facilitates a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the relationship between a sanctuary and a city, going past the rubrics of '*polis* religion', 'frontier shrine' or 'temple estate', and into the underlying mechanisms and occasionally even the motivations behind their tightening bond.

In the following four chapters, the framework is applied to the prominent sanctuaries of the landscapes of Mylasa and Stratonikeia. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the relationships between Mylasa and the sanctuaries of Zeus Labraundos and Sinuri, respectively, while Chapters 5 and 6 discuss those between Stratonikeia and the sanctuaries of Hekate at Lagina and Zeus Panamaros, respectively. Each of these chapters opens with an overview of the history and data sources for each sanctuary, followed by an assessment of the environmental situation. The urban indicators are then reviewed according to the available data, divided in the domains of monumentalization, ritual performances, administration, and urban mediatization at each sanctuary that had a bearing on its role with regard to the *polis*. Each chapter ends with an interpretative analysis of the nature of the relationship between the sanctuary and its *polis*, and how this relationship came into being, as well as a discussion of the role fulfilled by the sanctuaries in the *chora* from the perspective of their corresponding *poleis*. This is a highly nested approach, thick with information; summaries are provided at the end to help the reader navigate to the most relevant parts.

The final chapter sets the individual studies in context and returns to the larger issues of this pursuit. This includes a side-by-side comparative analysis of the case studies, followed by an overall discussion of the most important factors that appear to have been at work in the relationship between city and sanctuary. An assessment of the methodology is given with an evaluation of the theories borrowed from other disciplines (discussed in Chapter 2) as to their overall usefulness and the modifications that were necessary to adapt them to these particular situations. Throughout this book it will become clear that country sanctuaries were powerful intersections of ritual, community, and landscape, as well as the many forms that this could take. It will also become clear that the sense of identity and place that they could provide is exactly what made them so vital to emerging urban centers, seeking to establish themselves in a rapidly expanding world of cities. This book will shed light on this phenomenon and will hopefully contribute towards new interpretations of such sanctuaries in future discussions.