evidence for urban development in the introduction, emphasizing the fact that, according to a topographic survey conducted by W. M. Murray, many of the region's civic circuit walls were constructed in the late fifth or early fourth century (p. 9). He is right to draw attention to the organizational implications of these major projects. The silver coinage of the region also points to the existence of common exchange agreements. D.'s definitions of federal status will not satisfy many constitutional historians. The development of collective institutions is difficult to trace, and doubtless involved a series of changes, as D. admits. He makes good use of epigraphic evidence to explore the identities and affiliations of officials, including the college of *strategoi*, *synedroi*, hipparchs, and other named magistrates. This discussion makes a very useful contribution to the current revival of scholarly interest in the socio-political structures of *ethne* (pp. 240–65, 270–5).

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THE CARIAN UPLANDS

P. Debord, E. Varinlioğlu (edd.): *Les hautes terres de Carie*. With A. Bresson, P. Brun, R. Descat, K. Konuk (Ausonius Publications, Mémoires 4.) Pp. 329, maps, pls., ills. Bordeaux: Diffusion de Boccard, 2001. Cased, €73. ISBN: 2-910023-20-6.

This splendid publication deals with a little known and underexplored region: the part of Karia north of the Keramic Gulf, between Keramos and Idyma in the south, and Muğla, Pisye, and Panamara in the north, with a slight sideways bulge to the west to allow for inclusion of the site of Sekköy (equidistant between Mylasa and Keramos, and arguably belonging more to that western part of Karia in which Mylasa dominated than to our 'hautes terres'). Visited by few travellers (on whom see R. Descat, pp. 21–2) and archaeologically underexplored, these mountainous uplands of central Karia are often dismissed as having no great historical interest because of the lack of major cities, the forbidding and steeply mountainous coast of the Keramic Gulf which makes access to its hinterland virtually impossible (see e.g. Fig. 1 on p. 11; the photo on p. 3, Fig. 4, shows not the Karian Chersonnese in the background but the northern shore, i.e. it looks north, not south, with the Bay of Gökova on the right = east), the very few routes through to the Maeander Valley, and the poverty of the small upland plateaus. The present book, the fruit of many years of systematic exploration and recording in the late 1980s and early 1990s by a French–Turkish team (P. Debord, A. Bresson, P. Brun, R. Descat, and K. Konuk all of Bordeaux University, joined by E. Varinlioğlu of Antalya University), does much to dispel such notions and succeeds spectacularly well in bringing out the region's density of settlement (even along the coast) and its complex infrastructure. Most of the evidence is presented in two main sections, which together form the core of the book: **3**: 'Les Sites', written largely by P. Brun with the collaboration of Debord, Bresson, and Descat on some of the sites; and **5**: 'Inscriptions grecques et latines', by A. Bresson with P. Brun and E. Varinlioğlu (**4** contains a brief overview of the coinage found in the region by K. Konuk). The site descriptions are extensive, well-illustrated with excellent photographs, maps and line drawings. Many of these sites have been seen and described before, in particular by W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres ('Karian Sites and

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Inscriptions', *JHS* 16 [1896], 188–236 and 260–1) and by P. M. Fraser and G. Bean (*The Rhodian Peraia and Islands* [Oxford, 1954]), but the Bordeaux team improves in almost all cases on those earlier descriptions, either by seeing more (e.g. at Bağyaka, pp. 50–1: where Paton saw a tower on a hill above the village, our team found a fortress consisting of three separate structures, or at Aldıran Asarı, where they describe the spectacular fortified citadel with its circuit wall of 1000 m interspersed with fourteen towers: pp. 27–9), or because they describe and illustrate in detail what previously had only been noted (e.g. the extraordinary fortified complex on the citadel at Sarniç near the coast: pp. 57–64). There are entire sites not previously known (at and around Sekköy, which, it is argued, was the location of a city of some importance: pp. 68–71 and 224–7).

The epigraphical section confirms this picture of a region at last yielding its treasures: of the approximately 100 texts, about half are published here for the first time (these, too, with excellent photographs of the stones, squeezes, or, in a few cases, facsimile drawings). I list below the most important new texts and a few major republications:

1. This is in many ways the linchpin of the entire book and crucial for understanding the region's history and development (see below): a long list of subcribers, found recently at Yeşilyurt, the site of ancient Pisye. It lists financial contributions from a number of local communities to the building of dockyards on the coast at Akbük (ancient Pladasa, some of whose citizens had formed a *koinon* with the Pisyetai: pp. 101–3), referring specifically to this *koinon* in l. 5. The date is probably the mid-third century B.C., and the text raises questions about the involvement of Rhodes, an issue which the crucial but damaged first lines cannot resolve. One could restore, in ll. 2–3, where the purpose of and reason for the subscription are announced, *τῶν Ῥοδίων* after *δήμωι*: Rhodian interest in the establishment of dockyards at Akbük are surely highly likely (control of this headland together with Kedreai on the opposite side of the Gulf—clearly visible across the water—meant control of the entrance to the Gulf and implicitly access to the main route up to the Maeander valley: who other than the Rhodians would have been able to control these twin harbours?). **1**–**30** are all from the surroundings of Pisye/Yeşilyurt (a useful map on p. 26), showing the major importance of this *koinon* within the region: cf. the approximate boundaries of the larger *koina* suggested on the map on p. 87). **31**, from Tinaz, lists a number of smaller *koina*, several previously unknown. **36**: a long honorific decree for a Rhodian issued by the small *koinon* of the Leukoideis, based at Çırpı (*c*. 107–80 B.C.?) a *koinon* whose main official was a *κωμάρχης* (note that the neighbouring *koinon* of the Londeis—thus far unknown—had *archontes*: cf. discussion at no **39**; republication of *IStratonikeia* **8**). **38**: dedication of the Leukoideis for a Rhodian, who, among other things, had held the office of *οἰνοταμίας* of the *koinon*. **48**: republication of *ILabraunda* 3.2, 42: a fourth-century judgement of Eupolemos concerning the—then still—*polis* of Pladasa with extensive discussion of the city's history by A. Bresson. **55**, from Taşyeniçe (Thera?): a list of Rhodian names (late third century or somewhat later) inscribed on a rockface underneath a niche: a dedication? **61**: a third-century subscription found at Akçaova, north of Muğla and attributed to the *koinon* of the Tarmianoi by the eds. Long discussion of the nature of that *koinon* and its constituent communities on the basis of this text and of **62**, which lists the same communities, and has been redated by A. Bresson to the first century B.C. **84** and **98**: republication of two decrees for the Panamaran priest Leon, issued by the Kallipolitai and the Laodikeis respectively; discussion of the latter's identity and possible location. **90** and **91**: republication of two major inscriptions from the time of Mausolos, found at Sekköy, and discussion of the

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numerous small Karian *poleis* listed in them. On the major importance of these texts see also P. Debord, *L'Asie Mineure au IVe siècle (412–323 a.C.)* (Bordeaux, 1999), pp. 19–181; **92A** and **B**: list of contributors followed by a decree of the anonymous city located at Sekköy—both Hellenistic.

'The uplands of Karia'. Before this book had even seen the light, John Ma ('The Epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor: A Survey of Research (1992–1999)', *AJA* 104 [2000], 113) had already questioned the meaning of its—provisional—title: 'What does the Turco-French team mean when it speaks of "[les hautes terres de] la Carie du Sud"?' We find an answer of sorts in the introduction to §5. Here, on p. 81, Alain Bresson (having already taken notice of Ma's comments, such is the speed of modern academic exchange: see p. 81 n. 1) gives two answers: first, although mountainous throughout, in this central part of Karia the mountains are higher than those in the west, and this alone would justify the use of the term 'hautes terres'. But there is a political reason too, for during a large part of antiquity this region was more or less permanently under the control of Rhodes, a situation that has given rise to the now conventional designation of 'Rhodian Subject Peraia', a term first used by Fraser and Bean in their book of the same title. The region around Sekköy in the west was never, however, subject to Rhodes other than for a brief interval between 188 and 167/166, and so, for the sake of neutrality, it was decided to opt for the designation 'hautes terres de Carie'. So far Bresson. One might object that it was, of course, a deliberate choice to include the region around Sekköy in the first place, even though both in a political and in a physical sense it belongs more happily within another set-up (see above). The neutrality of the title, then, may be political in a different sense, in that it is one way of conveying a view of the extent of this region's 'Rhodian-ness' that differs markedly from those of earlier scholars, in particular Fraser and Bean, and of distancing oneself from the equally 'political' title of that earlier book (for a critical view of the Fraser–Bean view of Rhodian 'control' see most recently V. Gabrielsen, *C&M* 51 [2000], 129–83).

Let me be more specific. Of the just over 100 entries in §5 (the inscriptions), about half either refer to Rhodians specifically or do so indirectly (e.g. **55** contains a list of Rhodian names; **26** is a dedication to Zeus Atabyrios). If we take out the fragmentary texts, milestones, simple dedications, etc. the proportion becomes greater still. The *neoria* subscription discussed above is crucial. If Rhodes was behind the building of the dockyards at Akbük, then the location of the inscription itself, at Pisye, some 30 km away, is noteworthy (see the maps on pp. 19, 86, and 87). This text is in fact the earliest to refer to the fact that the Pisyetai had formed a *koinon* with (some of) the Pladaseis on the coast. Therefore, Rhodian involvement in the formation of that *koinon* is a possibility. This in turn raises questions about the extent and date of Rhodian control over large areas of this part of Karia. This was certainly a region of *koina*, large and small: no cities developed in the course of the Hellenistic period, even though several of its larger *poljés*, or upland plains (on the word see Debord's introductory pp. 11–18), had all the attributes to achieve *polis*-status: so, for instance, the large plain of Muğla with that city's impressive acropolis, or the region around Pisye, modern Yeşilyurt (Fig. 18, p. 26), or Yerkesik (Fig. 30, p. 33). It is often repeated that the *koinon* (a loose federation of village settlements with a common political and religious structure) was a typical Karian phenomenon which somehow sprouted fully formed from the region's physical geography. But elsewhere, similar groupings of village settlements did turn themselves into *poleis* and developed *polis* institutions. That parts of Karia were already well on the way to adopting *polis* structures is shown in the fourth-century Sekköy inscriptions referred to above. In the 'hautes terres', this

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stunted development, as Alain Bresson convincingly suggests (p. 81), must therefore be seen as the direct result of Rhodian control: the status of *koinon* was essentially one of dependency; within the wider Rhodian federation (if that is what it was), the only *polis* and *demos* acknowledged were those of Rhodes itself.

This is a major feature of this entire region and one whose interest goes well beyond the merely political in that it must have had an effect on the economic, religious, and institutional functioning of a network of communities. Given all this, one would like to know in particular what was the impact of the Rhodian state, of whose controlling mechanisms we only catch glimpses in the inscriptions (*strategoi* and/or *hagemones* are explicitly referred to in four inscriptions: **58**, **63**, **69**, and **70**), on the physical development of these communities: the presence or lack of monumental buildings; the nature and location of any monumental structures; or the region's infrastructure.

At this point, one turns to the section containing the site descriptions. It is here, however, that the Rhodian question is approached with some considerable circumspection. Many of the—excellent—descriptions, drawings, and photographs show fortifications: walls, towers, entire fortified complexes, such as the acropolis at Aldiran Asari, part of the *koinon* of the Pisyetai (pp. 27–8), the citadel at Yerkesik (pp. 33–5), the fortresses at Çirpi whose strategic position *vis-à-vis* the adjoining territory of Stratonikeia is emphasized (pp. 44–5), the *tetrapyrgia* at Yeniköy (pp. 46–7), the fortress at Bağyaka (pp. 50–1), and in particular the string of fortifications along the valley of the Koca Çay, one of the access routes into the interior from Akbük on the coast (pp. 52–64). The dating of these structures is problematic and difficult, and to date and attribute confidently where there is no certainty would have been wrong; much more work would need to be done to develop a proper chronology. Even so, it is hard to escape the impression that, wherever possible, a Rhodian context or even Rhodian use and expansion of earlier structures is denied or doubted. So, for example, on the string of fortresses and watch towers along the valley of the Koca Çay, which Paton and Myres and Fraser and Bean assumed to be Rhodian or at least to have served Rhodian purposes, or the structures at Bağyaka whose 'paternité rhodienne parait difficile a admettre' (p. 51). Why? The fortress at Hayıtlı which Guidi had dated to the Hellenistic period is here tentatively attributed to the classical period (pp. 45, 48). For the large complex at Sarniç whose date is uncertain but which could be mid-fourth century and thus Hekatomnid, or could be mid-third century and thus Rhodian, the argument given is that even though the work of the walls and structures resembles closely that of the acropolis at Loryma and Amos in the incorporated Peraia, 'il paraît difficile de penser que les Rhodiens construisaient une muraille à Sarniç . . . au IIIe siècle, alors qu'ils ne contrôlaient pas encore la région' (p. 62). The existence of the new dockyard inscription surely casts doubt on this assertion. Fraser and Bean had suggested a military use for this site (*Rhodian Peraia* p. 76: 'clearly intended to defend the boundary of Rhodian territory in this direction', i.e. towards the west and Keramos), and thought most of the walls were Rhodian or, if earlier, reused; the authors of *HTC* do not accept this (pp. 62, 63).

My only real criticism of this otherwise fascinating and scholarly book is that a discussion of the 'Rhodian question' and a head-on engagement with what earlier scholars have (rightly or wrongly) assumed about the nature and the impact of Rhodian control on this region would have offered a firmer framework for readers and authors alike to assess the abundant and extraordinarily interesting evidence presented here.

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