

Юлия Цветкова

# История на Тракийския Херсонес

(от Троянската война до  
времето на римското завоевание)



ЮЛИЯ ЦВЕТКОВА

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ИСТОРИЯ НА ТРАКИЙСКИЯ ХЕРСОНЕС

(ОТ ТРОЯНСКАТА ВОЙНА ДО ВРЕМЕТО  
НА РИМСКОТО ЗАВОЕВАНИЕ)

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ISBN 978–954–400–001–1

Юлия Цветкова

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ФАБЕР • 2008

Julia Tzvetkova

**HISTORY  
OF THE THRACIAN  
CHERSONESE**

(FROM THE TROJAN WAR UNTIL THE TIME  
OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST)

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## SUMMARY

### **Introduction**

Modern history and the preceding Ottoman period define the present cultural-historical pattern of the Gallipoli peninsula. The monuments left from the ancient period are scarce and this creates the rather incorrect impression that nothing happened here and the peninsula was uninhabited in the remote past. The Thracian Chersonese, as the peninsula was called in antiquity, is situated in a specific geographical position, between two continents and two seas, and this inevitably attracts attention. This crossroad position makes it a border area, and such areas are the zones where the contacts (or collisions) between different cultures usually take place. The obvious geographical isolation offers the opportunity to undertake a regional historical investigation. Methodologically this demands the parallel study of the problems of the historical development and of those of the historical geography of the peninsula.

From a chronological point of view the period investigated in full detail reaches the Macedonian conquest and the subsequent integration of the peninsula in broader political structures. The later 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC marks the end of a long period of continuous development of the Greek poleis; the final liquidation of their independence and the incorporation of the Thracian Chersonese in the Roman state gave a new course to the subsequent historical development of the peninsula.

### **The Thracian Chersonese in ancient sources and modern historiography**

In comparison with the Thracian inland, the Chersonese is mentioned quite often in ancient texts, but unfortunately mostly incidentally and mainly due to its specific position which could not remain unnoticed by people crossing the straits. The sources for the Thracian Chersonese (much like those for the rest of Thrace) are mostly scattered and singular references in the ancient authors (Homer, Hecataeus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Pseudo-Scymnos, Demosthenes, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarchos) which do not allow the reconstruction of a full chronological story. Most of the information is concentrated on definite historical moments, when the interests of the then political powers „met“ on the territory of the peninsula. Additional information for a fuller reconstruction of the history of the peninsula can eventually be obtained from the epigraphic monuments of the region, from archaeological excavations and from the numismatic evidence.

The Thracian Chersonese is a side-topic in the modern study of ancient history. With two notable exceptions – the publications of Schultz from 1853 and of Kahrstedt from 1954, there are no comprehensive investigations of the history of the peninsula, and only particular problems like the settlements on the peninsula, the rule of the Philaids in connection with the biography of the Miltiades the Younger, or the recognition of Athens are discussed at some length. The topics thus traced are



concentrated on the political ambitions of the Greek world for the Thracian Chersonese. The problems of the historical development of the peninsula before the Greek colonization, the Persian legacy or the interactions with the Odrysian state have remained aside from the main stream of scientific interest. The problems of the historical geography of the peninsula have also so far evaded serious discussion.

## **Part 1. The Historical Geography of the Thracian Chersonese**

### **The Gallipoli peninsula today – geographical characteristics of the region**

The modern Gallipoli peninsula (in Turkish – Gelibolu yarımadası) is the most Southern region of the European part of Turkey. Administratively it belongs to the province of Çanakkale, which includes the whole of North-Western Asia Minor. The modern name derives from that of Gelibolu (Gallipoli, ant. Kallipolis), the largest existing city. The peninsula is a narrow strip of land, which begins from the mouth of Kavak River (ant. Melas) and runs to the South-West. It is ca. 80 km long and 5 to 18 km wide. The total surface amounts to ca. 900 sq. km. A narrow isthmus – just 7 km wide, connects the peninsula with the mainland. The South-Eastern shoreline is washed by the Marmara Sea and the Dardanelles, and to the West and North-West remains the Aegean Sea, where the peninsula forms from South the Saros bay.

In a geological aspect the peninsula is a prolongation of the mountain of Tekirdağ. To the South-West this formation includes the islands of Imbros and Lemnos. The relief is hilly, rarely higher than 300 m and rises slowly from North-East to South-West. In contrast with the South-Eastern slopes, which are falling gradually towards the sea and forming convenient bays, the North-Western coast is abrupt and does not offer good conditions for navigation. The bays on this side are rare.

The water resources are scarce. Several small streams run across and flow into the Dardanelles. The Sulva Lake is situated in the Western part of the peninsula near the homonymous bay. Long autumns and springs, hot summers and soft winters are typical for the climate. Another characteristic feature is the high humidity with average annual values of ca. 72%. The precipitations are mainly from rain, sometimes in January or February from snow. The North-Eastern winds are predominant. As in the whole Marmara region the typical vegetation is forestial, and the predominant variety of tree is the beech.

The Gallipoli peninsula forms the northern shore of the Dardanelles. The close proximity to Asia Minor has always had a great importance in every sense for the peninsula. The Dardanelles, which connect the Sea of Marmara with the Aegean Sea, are a geological syncline. The strait is over 60 m deep, at some places till 100 m. The shorelines run almost parallel for as long as 65 km and the distance between them varies from 1.2 to 6.5 km. They are closest at the point Çanakkale-Kilitbahir, where the distance across is only 1220 m. The surface current is toward the Aegean Sea, and its speed can reach 7.5 km/h. In depth the current is in the opposite direction, toward the Sea of Marmara, and is rather weak.

### **1.1. The name „Thracian Chersonese“ as a geographical term in the ancient tradition**

In ancient sources the name „Chersonese“ was given to numerous peninsulas in the Greek world or to the cities located on them. The name „Thracian Chersonese“ (ἡ Θρακία Χερσόνησος/Χερρόνησος) was established in antiquity for the Gallipoli peninsula, but it underwent a long evolution. In the earlier ancient records the peninsula was defined by close geographical entities – as „the Chersonese in the Hellespont“, „the Chersonese opposite Abydos“, „the Chersonese in the Melas bay“ or often just „the Chersonese“. The name „Thracian Chersonese“ was used by Greek and Roman authors from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC onwards, and became standard in the period after the Roman conquest. From there it has been transferred to modern historiography, and is currently used when speaking about the ancient history of the Gallipoli peninsula.

The brief preview of the history of the name „Thracian Chersonese“ offers evidence of the globalization of geographic knowledge in antiquity: while for the Greeks of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC the hydronym Hellespont was the more convenient geographic landmark, which was enough for anyone to situate himself, with the establishing of the system of vast Hellenistic states and particularly with the rising of the enormous Roman empire, the Thracian Chersonese was integrated in broader margins, where the common definition „Thrace“ became a more useful reference point.

### **1.2. Borders and geographical extent**

The borders of the peninsula are the natural ones, formed to the East, South and West respectively by the coasts of the Propontis, of the Hellespont and of the Bay of Melas. To the North-East the peninsula is connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, where Miltiades the Elder built in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC a defending wall between the cities of Kardia, Agora and Paktye. This line was since then accepted as the geographical border of the Chersonese, and Kardia and Paktye were the first and the last cities in the coastal descriptions of the peninsula. The sources suggest the localisation of this defending wall ca. 5 km to the North-West from Bolayır, although there are no visible field remains.

The sources mark a change in the territorial extent of the Thracian Chersonese during the Roman period, when it included the lands to the North-East as far as Tiristasis. This change can be attributed to the new administrative organization in Roman times.

### **1.3. Characteristics of the palaeo-environment**

The ancient texts bearing on the natural geographical features of the region in the past are very scarce. However, as natural resources had a much greater influence on human life in antiquity, it is highly desirable to attempt a reconstruction of the environment, surrounding the ancient inhabitants of the peninsula.

#### ***1.3.1. Relief***

The information in the ancient geographical tradition is restricted to coastal descriptions mentioning the populated places on the Thracian Chersonese. Despite

of modern cultivation of the terrain there cannot be expected drastic changes in the relief of the peninsula. On the shoreline many convenient bays were at disposal, a fact confirmed by the great number of cities with sea outlet, though in some places the ancient authors are speaking about high and rocky cliffs and inhospitable shores, inconvenient for landing.

As a whole, there is a lack of information about the inland. Some texts speak about hilly terrain, but the common impression, given for example by Euripides, is that of flat land, at least in the area around the city of Chersonese.

The Thracian Chersonese was (and still is) situated in a highly seismic zone. A great earthquake with centre in the Chersonese, which was felt also in the Troad, took place shortly before the period of Alexander III (336-323 BC). In 287/6 BC another great earthquake damaged heavily Lysimacheia. Another natural disaster, but without any serious affect, was the fall of a meteorite near Aigospotamoi in the year 469/8 BC. Near the Chersonese – in Hieron Oros – a natural source of asphalt is mentioned, and the Proconnesos Island was famous for its marble, but the ancient texts do not inform us about other natural resources on the peninsula.

### *1.3.2. Climate*

The sources contain little information about the **climate** of the peninsula or note only some exceptional weather conditions. Probably the climate was not very different from today. Indirect information for this can be found in the fact that the Chersonese was traditionally considered as very fertile and respectively good soil quality, warm climate and enough rainfalls can be presumed.

### *1.3.3. Water*

From the rivers on the peninsula the ancient authors mention only Aigospotamoi, which was probably the most important one; it can be identified with the modern river Cumalydere. The river Melas (present Kakak), which flowed into the Melas bay (present Saros gulf) was out of the Thracian Chersonese, but very close to its borders. The river was probably full-flowing in antiquity – it is often mentioned in connection with the route via the Chersonese to Ainos, which implies that it was a hindrance, but a surmountable one. Again the toponymy attests the existence of a lake (present – Sulva) in the West part of the peninsula, where the antique city of Limnai is localized,

The straight of the Hellespont was of the greatest importance for life in the Thracian Chersonese. In antiquity the name Hellespont was applied to denote not only the Dardanelles, but also the adjacent parts of the Aegean Sea and the Propontis. As the narrowest point of Hellespont the ancient sources mark the line between Abydos and Sestos, which differs from the present situation – today this is the line Çanakkale-Kilitbahir, and the distance Abydos-Sestos is about 2.600 km.

The sources pay attention to the current in the Hellespont. Even in the first descriptions of the stream it is called „stormy“. According to Polybios, the current was so strong in the part near Sestos and Abydos, that it was not possible for the ships to be at anchor outside the harbours. Another point of view however is offered by the well-known legend of Hero and Leander: despite the tragic end of Leander the

myth suggests that the strait could easily be crossed even by swimming. Taking into account the different times of the records, it is quite possible that the legend fixes a later change in the current.

#### ***1.3.4. Flora and Fauna***

The information about the **animals** in the region of the Thracian Chersonese is incidental and indirect, so it is difficult to reconstruct a full picture of their variety. The summarized information shows the existence of the typical European species – ravens, foxes, rabbits, goats, horses.

The sea gave a major part of the subsistence of the population of the peninsula, which relied heavily on fishing. The sources mention lobsters and some kind of mackerels in the lakes, probably the ones near Alopekonesos.

There is also little information about the natural **flora** of the Thracian Chersonese. Information about the popular tree species can be found in some settlement names and in coin types – olives, pines and elms. A sort of specific mushrooms (truffles), which grew around Alopekonesos, is mentioned in a fragment of Theophrastus. The meaning of the name Krithote (barley), as well as the floral motives which appear on the hemidrachms of the Thracian Chersonese – corn, wheat-ear, bunch of grapes, poppy – give an idea of the variety of the cultivated plants on the peninsula.

#### ***1.3.5. Economic potential***

The Thracian Chersonese was famous in the ancient tradition for its very fertile land, with rich harvests and a lot of cultivated land. The agriculture was extremely well developed. The production consisted mainly of grain, which was also the main export product. The region was one of the main grain-suppliers of Athens.

There are also data for the cultivation of olives and the appearance of the bunch of grapes as a symbol on the coin types of some of the cities bespeaks the existence of wine-growing and production, at least for local consumption. A specific agricultural product may have been the truffles mentioned above. Together with the information for stock-breeding, developed fishing can also be expected in a coastal region.

### **1.4. The toponymy of the peninsula**

The sources contain data about several local names on the Thracian Chersonese. These are localities situated mainly on the shore, used as landmarks by the sailors, and which were respectively seen from the sea. In geographical order from West to East these were:

**Cape Mastusia.** For the first time the name is mentioned in the form Μαζουσία in the early Hellenistic period. Roman authors from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC give us another form of the name – Mastusia, which had become popular. The cape was situated in the most Southern part and was marking the beginning of the Melas gulf in the West. Its identification with the modern cape Sedülbahir sounds probable.

**Aeolium.** This toponym is a hapax – it is recorded only by Pliny the Elder. According to his text it should be situated in the most southern part of the Chersonese, coinciding in this way the cape Mastusia. In view of the information about the city Aeolion in Bottike on the Chalkidike, and also of the absence in ancient sources of

any other data about such a toponym on the Thracian Chersonese, the reliability of the text of Pliny is questionable.

**Idakos, Arrhianoï.** The names appear only in Thucydides in the description of the battle at Kynossema, and seem to have been the names of localities on the coast between Elaious and Kynossema, probably bays. It has been suggested that the name Idakos is of Thracian origin. For the same part of the coast Pliny the Elder mentions two new toponyms – the naval station of the Achaeans and the tower. Both names are hapaxes and probably denoted some temporary observation structures, connected with the defence of the strait.

**Kynossema, Hecuba's grave.** The cape Kynossema (Dog's grave) appears for the first time under this name in Thucydides and is identified with the present cape Kilitbahir, just across from Çanakkale. Another name for the same locality – „Hecuba's grave“, is attested in the Roman period. This change may have been the result of a reconsideration of the meaning of the local name, the interest in Greek mythological characters having led to the association of the toponym Kynossema with the mythological variant known from Euripides of Hecuba's transformation into a hound. For the Greeks Kynossema in the Thracian Chersonese initially had no connection with the myth about Hecuba and such an identification was not needed (and correct), because for them the toponym Kynossema obviously had another meaning.

The appearance of the dog as a reverse type on the coins of neighbouring Madytos brings Kynossema in direct connection with this city. It assumes, analogically with the two other Chersonesian cities Alopekonesos and Aigospotamoi, in whose coinage also appears such „speaking symbol“ (respectively – fox and goat), the existence of a foundation legend for Madytos, which is not preserved in the ancient sources, but can „be seen“ on the terrain in the form of the toponym Kynossema.

As the name of Madytos is considered to belong to the Thracian toponymy of the region, it is quite possible that this name comes from the pre-Greek inhabitants of the peninsula, from whom the Greeks must have accepted it, together with the legend of the city foundation.

**Apobathra.** The toponym appears only in Strabo. This was the place near Sestos where Xerxes' bridge was attached to the European shore. Obviously this was just a local name which did not retain its popularity in the Roman period. The localization of the bridge-head should be placed near Sestos, to the South of the city, at the modern cape Poyraz burun.

**Hero's tower.** The earliest mention of this is by Strabo. What it looked like can be understood from its reproduction on coins, frescoes and mosaics from the Roman period. Its localization should be placed on the cape of Sestos.

**Helle's grave.** The toponym appears for first time in sources from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC and is connected with the cities of Kardia, Agora and Paktye. The myth of Helle who was the eponym of the Hellespont explains naturally the presence of the toponym on the Thracian Chersonese and places its appearance in connection with the coming of the Greeks there. Its localization is very broad – at the Hellespontine shore, near Paktye.

**Makron teichos.** The name appears for the first time in the text of Strabo. The wall built by Miltiades the Elder was known under this name in Roman times; however the earlier sources do not mention any special name for it. The name „Makron teichos“ speaks for the existence of significant structures on the terrain, and supposes the wall was repeatedly repaired during the centuries – notably by Perikles and Derkyllidas, and probably also by Antiochos III and again after the establishment of Roman rule.

\* \* \*

All mentioned toponyms on the Thracian Chersonese are concentrated in two regions – on the Hellespontine shore, mainly in its Southern part, near the strait, and in the North-East, close to the Thracian mainland. There is no information for toponyms along the North-Western shore, neither for the whole inland of the peninsula. This confirms the intensive traffic through the Hellespont. On the other hand the toponyms from the North-Eastern part fix the road through the Chersonese to Ainos.

With the exception of Idakos, there are no other toponyms which could be connected with the pre-Greek toponymy of the region. After the coming of the Greeks to the peninsula, a number of Greek toponyms (Kynossema, Helle's grave, Arrhianoï, Mastusia) appear in the sources. It seems possible to suggest that some of the pre-Greek names might have been „translated“ (as Kynossema?).

A number of toponyms appear only in the texts of Roman age authors – Apobathra, Kynossema/Hecuba's grave, Aiolum, the naval station of the Achaeans, the tower, Makron teichos. They constitute the second level in the toponymy of the Thracian Chersonese. It is necessary to notice that this level is differentiated on a chronological principle, and not on a linguistic one: in this age the toponymy remains unchangeably in Greek language.

The origin of the toponyms is different – some are based on mythological characters, others on historical facts, some are just descriptive. Most of the names appear just once in the sources. This bespeaks a dynamic toponymy and an unfixated nomenclature. The only toponyms mentioned more often are Helle's grave and Kynossema. The latter was transformed in the Roman period into „Hecuba's grave“, a successful attempt at setting a new toponym without completely superseding the existing one.

In this sense the continuity of the toponymy is traceable in different ways: in a linguistic sense – with the preserving and transmitting of the Greek nomenclature; in a cultural-historical sense – in the reproducing facts from Greek history and mythology, which explicitly speaks about the ethnic continuity in the Thracian Chersonese. The general absence of Thracian toponyms (with one exception) attests the minimal participation of the Thracians in the local nomenclature, which indirectly supposes a very weak intensity of the cultural contacts on this level between Greeks and Thracians.

### **1.5. Settlements and settlement system**

The ancient sources report about over 25 different names of settlements placed on the Thracian Chersonese. Of course, these names were not all in use simultane-

ously, and some might be different names of one and the same settlement used in different ages. For the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC Xenophon and Pseudo-Scylax are speaking about 11 or 12 cities situated there, and perhaps this is the real optimal number of the settlements. Even this number is quite impressive for the small territory of the Thracian Chersonese and underlines the interest, which the region has provoked.

The problems concerning the localization of the settlements, the foundation date of each one, their dimensions and importance, have received a controversial treatment in modern historiography. The settlements have not been investigated as components of a common settlement system. They will be presented here in a geographical order: first those in the inland, followed by those along the North-Western and the South-Eastern shore. Some settlements wrongly localized on the Thracian Chersonese will also be included.

### *1.5.1. Settlements in the inland of the peninsula*

**Chersonesos-Agora.** The existence of a polis Chersonesos on the Thracian Chersonese is one of the most controversial questions. The main reason for this situation is the lack of adequate information in the sources – only three rather ambiguous passages mention such a polis. The name „Chersonesos/Chersonesitai“ appears also on coins – on a tetradrachm from the type lion/Athena’s head from the first period of coinage of the Thracian Chersonese, and on the bronze coins from the second period of coinage (357-322/320 BC).

Most of the questions are connected with the problematic interpretation of the term „polis“, which might have been used in an urban or in a political sense, and of the attribute „Chersonesitai“, which could have been a designation either of the inhabitants of the polis or of the whole population of the peninsula. More problems arise with the appearance in the sources from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC of a polis named Agora, situated on the same place as Chersonesos. The analysis of the information connected with the polis Chersonesos – literary sources, coins, epigraphical materials, and the critical review of the main concepts in the modern historiography endorse the existence of this city on the peninsula. It could be suggested that in different ages the terms Chersonesos/Chersonesitai would have described alternatively the city with its inhabitants, or the whole geographical region with its population, and their inherent sense would have varied accordingly.

The city Chersonesos was probably founded by Miltiades the Elder when he settled on the peninsula ca. 556/5 BC and functioned subsequently as his political centre (residence). The symbols used on the Chersonesian coins from this period allow the conjecture that colonists from Milet and Athens were living in the city. The relationship between Chersonesos and the closely situated city of Kardia, which could have preserved its autonomy to a certain extent or could have been integrated into the new political unit, remains rather obscure.

In 493 BC during the crush of the Ionian revolt the city was probably destroyed, and in its place the sources mention subsequently the city of Agora – its territorial and functional successor. The use of this name should not be derived from the mean-

ing of „agora“ as „a market place“, but rather from the alternative one as „a place for assembly“. The city existed also in the 4<sup>th</sup> c BC, with diminishing functions. The foundation of Lysimacheia marked its end.

The terrain surveys fix the localization of Chersonesos/Agora at the modern town of Bolayır.

**Lysimacheia.** The city is among those most often mentioned in the Thracian Chersonese during the Hellenistic period. It was founded after the synoikismos of Kardia and Paktye in 309/8 BC as the capital of the state of Lysimachos. According to the last surveys the city was localized at the modern town of Bolayır. After the death of Lysimachos in 281 BC, Lysimacheia passed with the whole Chersonese in the hands of one or another Hellenistic ruler and existed till the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. Modern authors have often stressed on the strategic place of the city on the isthmus of the peninsula. This position allowed Lysimacheia to gain control over the road through Chersonese toward Thrace, and gave Lysimachos the opportunity for an expansion in Asia Minor, but on the other hand it left the city on the mercy of the armies passing through the Chersonese. In his choice of the place for his new capital Lysimachos was lead not only by strategic reasons, but also by historical motives to found his central city on the place of the former capital of the Philaids – Chersonesos/Agora. The way in which Lysimacheia was founded – after a synoikismos – and the disappearance of Kardia and Paktye suggests similar processes might have accompanied the foundation of Chersonese/Agora.

#### *1.5.2. Settlements on the North-West shore*

**Deris, Kobrys, Kypasis.** Immediately after the mouth of the river Melas and before the Thracian Chersonese the ancient sources mention these three settlements, which are said to have been emporia. At this stage their precise identification on the terrain is impossible.

Kypasis was founded first, perhaps still in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, and although classified as a polis, it was orientated since the very start to the trade exchange with inner Thrace, while Deris and Kobrys appear only in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Kobrys alone is known as an emporion of Kardia, but probably all three settlements were trading posts for the cities of the Chersonese, and although this is not attested literally in the sources, they could all be called „emporia of the Thracian Chersonese“. The sources mention some anonymous emporia used by the Odrysian kings Kotys and Kersebleptes, which could probably be identified with these three settlements of the Thracian Chersonese.

**Pteleon.** The settlement appears only in Demosthenes, who places it on the Aegean shore, to the North from the line Kardia-Paktye. It existed in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC presumably as a small settlement. Its absence from the periploi of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC leads to the conclusion that it was placed inland in the peninsula, without any possibility to further identify its exact position.

**Kardia.** The first city which the ancient authors counted as pertaining to the Chersonese was Kardia. The city was founded twice: first ca. 644/640 BC by Milet and Klazomenai with the oikist Hermochares, and again ca. 556/5 by the Athenians



with Militades the Elder. The double colonization was due to the strong Thracian resistance – the sources mention a war between the Bisaltai from South-Western Thrace and Kardia, which should be placed before the settling of the Philaidai, and probably had hard consequences for the Greek colony. The city revived after the period of Persian occupation and became in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC the „biggest city in the Chersonese“. Kardia used the war between Kotys and Athens over the Thracian Chersonese to reject the Athenian supremacy, and took the side of the Odrysian king. Later, during Philip's expansion in Thrace, Kardia was one of the first cities there which entered into an alliance with the Macedonian king, and so received a privileged position in the Macedonian state – a tyrant of Kardia, Hekataios, is known during the reign of Alexander III, and more than one Kardian received a high position in the Macedonian court (Eumenes, the historian Hieronymos). The upward development of the city was set to an end with the foundation of Lysimacheia in 309/8 BC. Though it continued its existence till the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, the city was then mentioned as a kome. Kardia should be localized on the cape Bakla burun.

**Ide, Paion, Araplos.** The three settlements were mentioned only in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC on the North-Western coast after Kardia and before Alopekonesos and probably were of insignificant size. The identification of Ide with Idakos, which lay on the South shore between Elaiou and Madytos, is dubious. The identification of Araplos with Drabos, mentioned by Strabo, sounds probable, because both toponyms are placed in the same region.

**Limnai.** The city was founded as a Milesian colony in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC. It is not mentioned in the otherwise detailed description of the Chersonesian shore by Pseudo-Scylax. This would have suggested that the city did not exist any more but the occurrence of the city-ethnicon in an epigraphic monument from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC is attesting its perseverance until Roman times. Its absence from the sources can be explained with the dynamic development and the change of its role in different epochs.

The settlement should be localized in the region of the present lake in the Sulva bay, without any possibility to suggest a more precise identification.

**Alopekonesos.** According to the finds of coins, epigraphic monuments and antique remains, the city was located on cape Küçük Kemikli burun. Alopekonesos was the next big city on the North-West coast of the Thracian Chersonese. It was founded as an Aeolian colony in the period of Greek colonization, either in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> or in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, and still existed in Roman times. The city was one of the important ports on the North-Western coast of the peninsula, which provided a direct connection with the Aegean coast of Thrace and the region of the Hebros mouth (where Ainos was originally founded by Alopekonesos).

### ***1.5.3. Settlements on the South-Eastern shore***

**Elaiou.** This is the only Greek polis on the Thracian Chersonese which has been partially excavated. During the Gallipoli operation in World War I archaeological excavations were carried out on a necropolis of the city which was localized accidentally. The summarized investigations give information about 765 excavated graves – 357 sarcophagi and 408 burials in pitoi or amphorae; the number of arte-

facts is over 1500, and they cover a large chronological span from the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC to the Roman epoch. The results of the excavations confirmed the previous localization of Elaiouss made according to literary sources – at cape Eski Hisarlık, where the acropolis of the city was situated. The archaeological materials provide a certain date for the foundation of the settlement in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The metropolis of Elaiouss is disputed – according to the information of Pseudo-Skymnos it has been suggested that Elaiouss was the first Athenian colony in the Thracian Chersonese. The text in question is however corrupt and the comparison with the archaeological material authorizes a correction of this wrong conception, which can be synthesized as follows:

- the city was founded by someone called Phorbas, and not by Phrynon;
- the city certainly was not founded as an Athenian colony – unfortunately the corrupt passage cannot verify which was its metropolis, despite the suggestion that it might have been Teos;
- the appearance of Attic pottery in Elaiouss dates from about 570-560 BC, which can be connected with the settlement of the Athenians of Miltiades the Elder;
- the statement about the „Attic apoikia“ probably does not refer to the whole city, but rather fixes the existence of Attic colonists as a group separated from the rest of the population; their appearance can be set down to the time of the arrival of Miltiades the Elder, which led to considerable ethnic and political changes and contributed to the establishment of a close relationship with Athens, which became even more pronounced in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

The further historical development of the city shows that despite the rejection of the thesis for the foundation of Elaiouss as an Attic colony, the close ties of the Chersonesian city with Athens remained vital over a long period. The establishment of this relationship could be sought in the time of the arrival of Miltiades the Elder when he presumably seized control over Elaiouss. The city appears among the members of the Delian league with separate payments from 447/6 BC. The inhabitants of Elaiouss proved a loyal Athenian ally during the Peloponnesian war and also later during the war against Kotys, when together with Krithote they remained the „last Athenian fortresses in the Chersonese“. For their loyalty the citizens of Elaiouss received the rights of Athenian *klerouchs*.

In the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC Elaiouss started its own coinage, reproducing in one of the series the type Athena's head/owl, which is a clear indication of the close relationship between the two cities.

In this sense it was the „behaviour“ of Elaiouss which must have shaped the impression about the polis as an Attic apoikia. Obviously, in the eyes of the contemporaries it must have been accepted as such.

Elaiouss owed a great part of its popularity to the sanctuary of Protesilaos situated close by, and possibly this was the reason why the city survived till the Roman period. The autonomous coinage minted under the emperors Commodus and Caracalla attests that it retained its importance under the Romans.

**Madytos.** The city was founded by Lesbians, probably at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC, and is localized near the modern town of Eceabat (former Maito). The name of the city is counted among the Thracian toponyms of the region, and numerous inscriptions from Roman times testify the presence there of people with Thracian origin. Madytos was mentioned rather often in the time of the Persian wars, mainly because of Xerxes' bridge over the Hellespont. After the banishment of the Persians from the Chersonese, it entered, like all the other cities on the peninsula, the Delian League. Some more data about its history can be gleaned from the numismatic material. It began minting from the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, as most of the other Chersonesian cities. The coin types are not much varied, the main one being „bull/dog“, and this suggests the short period of the coinage, and respectively the limited economic potential of the city.

At the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC Madytos was certainly fortified, but the fortifications may have been built in an earlier period. Madytos continued to exist in Roman times, to which the epigraphical monuments bear witness.

**Coela.** This city arose in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, originally as a harbour. Its development was connected with the subsequent Roman period, when it became the most important town in the Chersonese. The settlement is localized near modern Kilia. The numerous epigraphic materials from this region speak of the quick rise of Coela. Under the emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD.) it became a municipium. From that time till the reign of Galienus (253-268 AD.) it also minted money.

**Sestos.** This is the oldest known settlement in the Thracian Chersonese for which we have information from literary records – it is mentioned already in the Homeric epos, which permits the definition of the name as non-Greek, and probably Thracian. Sestos was the most famous city of the Thracian Chersonese. It owed its popularity to its strategic place – situated on the narrowest point of the strait, which gave it the opportunity to control both the traffic through the Hellespont and the route connecting Asia Minor and Europe. In the time of the Greek colonization, perhaps in the late 7<sup>th</sup> or in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Lesbians settled there. Sestos was the best fortified city on the peninsula – its fortification system included towers and a wall connecting the city with its harbour. Under Achaemenid rule Sestos was an important stronghold for the Persians and a residence of Xerxes' governor.

Sestos was a member of the Delian league. Its tribute payments are attested for the year 446/5 BC. In the time of Lysimachos, from ca. 301 to 281 BC, a royal mint functioned in the city. Together with Lysimacheia this was the other early European mint of this ruler.

Numerous inscriptions found at the site of Sestos or in the neighbouring modern village of Yalova and the presence of coinage during the whole period from Augustus to Hadrian provide an idea of the intensive life in the city in the Roman period. In Late Antiquity and in Early Byzantine times it lost much of its importance as a cross point between Asia Minor and Europe, because of the establishment of the alternative new one at Kallipolis-Lampsakos, though the old crossing also continued to function.

According to the ancient remains Sestos is localized on the hill situated to the South-West from the bay of Akbapý.

**Aigospotamoi, Kressa, Kissa.** These three names are attested for one and the same region around the river Aigospotamoi and belong perhaps to one settlement. It was founded probably under the name Kressa or Kissa in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC on the place of an older Thracian settlement and was renamed to Aigospotamoi in the same century, when it began minting coins with that name. Modern authors have localized it near the village Cumalýkõy, at the river Cumalýdere.

**Kallipolis.** Ancient Kallipolis was undoubtedly situated in the place of the modern town Gelibolu. The city arose in the Hellenistic period, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, probably as a result of the synoikismos of Aigospotamoi and Krithote, and should be connected with the activity of some Hellenistic ruler on the peninsula. It is mentioned for the first time in connection with the campaign of Philip V in 200 BC against the Ptolemaic possessions in Thrace. The definition „polichnion of Lampsakos“ speaks about some dependency from that city, and probably the beginning of this Chersonesian polis should be set in the time when this new crossroad through the strait began to function. Its real bloom was in the early Byzantine epoch, when it became the major city on the peninsula.

**Krithote.** The earliest record for Krithote is from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, but it was presumably founded by Miltiades the Elder in 556 BC. Together with Elaious it was of the loyal Athenian allies on the peninsula during the war with Kotys. Krithote had its own coinage in a similar chronological range and intensity as Elaious. The city existed till the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. The neighbouring position of Kallipolis must have contributed for its disappearance. The location of Krithote should be sought to the North of the present town of Gelibolu – at the cape Eski Fanar Burun, some 1-2 km northwards from the town.

**Paktye** appears in the sources for the first time in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, but like Krithote it seems to have been founded by Miltiades the Elder. The city marked the border of the Chersonese from the Propontis coast. The foundation of Lysimacheia affected Paktye just like Kardia – in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD it was attested as a kome. Its localization is problematic and depends on the localization of Kardia and the defending wall of the Chersonese. By all means the city should be placed on the Hellespontine shore, either at Bolaýr Iskelesi or near the village of Çenger.

**Leuke akte.** This settlement is attested for the first time in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC and arose during the Persian rule on the peninsula as one of Xerxes' supply centres in Thrace. Pseudo-Skylax counts it among the „Thracian fortresses“, and this speaks for some kind of fortification. There is no proof for its existing after the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Its localization is in any case beyond the Chersonese, on the coast between Kallipolis and Tiristasis, probably at the mouth of Sođuk dere or at the cape Ince burun.

**Tyrodiza/Tiristasis.** According to its name, Tyrodiza inherited the place of an old Thracian settlement. During the Persian rule it housed, just like Leuke akte, a Persian supply stronghold. The settlement was probably already fortified before the coming of the Persians, who adapted it for their needs. In the form Tiristasis it is at-

tested in Pseudo-Skylax, who also placed it beyond the borders of the Chersonese. Only Pliny counted it to the Chersonese and probably this marked a new administrative division of the region, if his information is not simply wrong. The settlement is localized at modern Şarköy, whose Greek name Peristeri speaks about the continuity of the toponym.

#### ***1.5.4. Incerti***

**Gresinos.** The name appears only in Stephanus Byzantinus, who describes it as a polis. Like the other settlements in the Chersonese, Gresinos arose in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, without the possibility to determine the date more accurately. Its name belongs to the Thracian pre-Greek toponymy of the peninsula. An interesting opportunity for the identification of Gresinos is provided by an inscription from 344/3 BC about a gift of a gold wreath to Athens, where among a number of Chersonesian cities occurs the badly preserved name of ΓΦΗΣ.Η.Ν.Ο... It is quite possible to guess here the ethnicon of Gresinos. In this case the settlement should have been among the loyal Athenian allies on the peninsula and its appearance and development can be connected with the settling of Perikles' klerouchs there or of those of Diopetes. There are no data for localizing it.

**Panhormos.** It is mentioned only by Pliny, who puts it generally in the gulf Melas. Probably Panhormos was a harbour. Like Coela, the settlement appeared in the Roman epoch, but did not survive long.

#### ***1.5.5. Errata***

**Agathopolis.** One common historiographical mistake is the placing of the city of Agathopolis on the peninsula. The reasons for such a localization are found in the assumption that this city was named after Agathokles, the son of Lysimachos. A settlement with such a name is known only from coins and Byzantine records, but they do not provide information about its localization. The analysis of the literary, numismatic and epigraphic data suggests that it should be identified with the modern town of Ahtopol in Bulgaria.

**Aiolion.** A polis Aiolion „in the Thracian Chersonese“ is mentioned in a fragment of Theopompos, but the geographical description is general and we should understand it as meaning „the Thracian peninsula“. The city is identified with the polis Aiolion mentioned in the Tribute lists, which was situated in Bottika.

#### ***1.5.6. General characteristic of the settlement system***

**Periodization.** Several periods in the settlement life on the Thracian Chersonese can be differentiated according to the literary records. The first period can be placed in the time of the LBE-EIA (*map 3*). The literary sources mention Sestos as the only settlement there, but surely other contemporary settlements existed, which is provided by archaeology. The evidences from the toponymy can also be interpreted in this direction – the names of Gresinos, Ide, Kardia, Kressa, Madytos and Sestos are of Thracian origin, and this supposes they originally were Thracian settlements colonized later by the Greeks.

The second period in the settlement development of the Thracian Chersonese coincides with the period of the Greek colonization, when Kardia and Limnai were

established as Milesian colonies, Alopekonnesos – as an Aeolian one, and Sestos and Madytos – as Lesbian. Elaiouos was founded at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC, its metropolis remains unknown (*map 5*).

The arrival of Miltiades the Elder in 556 BC in the Thracian Chersonese gave a new direction to the settlement development on the peninsula, determined by the Athenian presence there, which marked the third period. The appearance of new settlements was connected with the activities of Miltiades the Elder in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, who is credited with the foundation of Krithote, Paktye and probably Chersonesos. Some of the existing Greek colonies – definitely Kardia and most likely Elaiouos – were refounded and resettled with Athenian incomers. The border of the Chersonese was fixed and marked by the wall between Kardia and Paktye. Immediately beyond it appeared Kypasis which was bounded with the Thracian Chersonese and was functioning as an emporion (*map 5*).

The 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC – the time from the Persian Wars to the Peloponnesian War – can be differentiated as a separate period – the fourth one. During this period no new settlements appeared on the peninsula. The activity of the Persians was focused outside the peninsula, where Leuke akte and Tyrodiza appeared now. In the Chersonese on contrary there was a kind of retreat – the city of Chersonesos was called since then Agora and Limnai disappeared from the sources (*map 6*).

The most intensive period of settlement development on the peninsula was in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, when the number of settlements almost doubled to reach the figure of 11-12 cities recorded in Xenophon. These were mostly settlements situated on the North-Western coast – Pteleon, Ide, Paion, and Araplos. Two new emporia – Deris and Kobrys – appeared alongside Kypasis beyond the border of the Chersonese. On the Southern coast, at the river Aigospotamoi, arose Kressa-Aigospotamoi. The foundation of the yet unlocalized Gresinos should also be ascribed to this period. The appearance of the new settlement can be ascribed at the Athenian policy in this period and the repeated sending of klerouchs there. It is typical for most of these new settlements that they were not mentioned again in later ages. Perhaps they were small settlements, which did not manage to survive in the wars between Athens, the Odrysian kings and Philip II. Agora also disappeared after the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The numerical increase of the settlements as well as the rise of their economic potential attested with the inauguration of minting in most of them (Aigospotamoi, Alopekonnesos, Elaiouos, Kardia, Krithote, Madytos), authorises the qualification of this period as the classical one in the settlement development of the Thracian Chersonese (*map 7*).

The time from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC forms the sixth period in the settlement life on the peninsula, marked by Hellenistic urbanistic practices. Its beginning was set with the foundation of Lysimacheia in 309/8 BC. Alongside the old cities now appeared also Kallipolis. It was typical for the new cities of this period that they were planned as big centres, and if Lysimacheia did not succeed, Kallipolis at least did (*map 8*).

The Roman age was the last stage in the development of the ancient settlement system of the Chersonese. Coela and Panhormos were the only new towns estab-

lished now on the peninsula. They both arose as harbours, but only Coela managed to survive and ranked subsequently among the important Roman cities on the peninsula (*map 9*).

**Typology.** The various settlements did not have an equal status and territorial extent in the different epochs. The ancient authors use different terms to define the settlements on the peninsula as follows:

- polis (Alopekonnesos, Araplos/Drabos, Chersonese/Agora, Elaious, Ide, Kypasis, Kardia, Kallipolis, Coela, Krithote, Limnai, Madytos, Paion, Paktye, Sestos);

- polichne, polichnion (Aigospotamoi, Kritote, Kalipolis);
- harbour (Coela, Panhormos);
- kome (Kardia, Paktye);
- emporion (Deris, Kobrys, Kypasis);
- stronghold (Leuke akte).

There is no certain definition about the status of Pteleon in Demosthenes, but it probably should be treated as comparable to Leuke akte. The situation with Kressa/Kissa in Pseudo-Skylax and Pliny is similar, and it should probably be considered a polis, just like all the other poleis listed in the cited texts.

The use of different expressions for one and the same settlement is determined chronologically and marks the evolution or regress in its development.

The observations on the concentration of cities on the isthmus and the comparison of criteria like the number of records in the sources or the presence of minting in singular cities on the peninsula allow a differentiation of the settlements in the Thracian Chersonese into two basic categories – main and secondary cities. Alopekonnesos, Chersonesos/Agora, Elaious, Kardia, Kallipolis, Coela, Lysimacheia, Madytos, Sestos can be determined as main cities, and Araplos/Drabos, Gresinos, Aigospotamoi, Ide, Kritote, Leuke akte, Limnai, Paion, Paktye, Pteleon – as secondary. The emporia Deris, Kobrys and Kypasis represent a separate category of the so-called „dependent poleis“.

The existing information refers mainly to the appearance of the cities and is insufficient to warrant any conclusions about the level of their development. The only data about any of the social and political institutions in the poleis are the casual mentions of a pritanion, probably in Chersonesos/Agora, where Stesagoras was murdered, of a gymnasium and bath in late-Hellenistic Sestos, and of a bath in Coela. Some of the cities are known to have been fortified (Sestos, Lysimacheia, Elaious).

There are also no data to judge about their territorial extent. A logical assumption is that the main cities possessed a larger chora. The observations on the poleis in the Greek world show that the territory of the so-called „normal polis“ was ca. 100 sq. km. Applying this formula to the cities in the Thracian Chersonese in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, before the foundation of Lysimacheia, when the settlement system there was at its height, offers the possibility to draw a hypothetical map of the distribution of the cities and their chora on the peninsula (*map 10*). It shows the even occupancy of the territory and „free“ regions North-East from Elaious and near Sestos. This can

be explained either with the bigger chora of these two cities, or with the presence on these „vacant“ places of eventual other cities. For example, the unlocalized Gresinos might be placed near Elaious, and the situation around Sestos authorizes the question whether it would not be reasonable to differentiate Aigospotamoi from Kressa and to place them one after the other on the coast there.

**Spatial distribution and organisation of the settlement system.** The summarized information about the settlements in the Thracian Chersonese shows a big intensity in the settlement development in the periods from the Greek colonisation till the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The observations of the spatial distribution of the cities reveal the following common tendencies in their establishment and concentration. Their clustering on the SSE opposite to the coast of Asia Minor is obvious, as the first settlement on the North-West coast appeared later, only during the period of the Greek colonisation. The inland of the peninsula had been less populated.

The spatial organisation of the settlement system outlines two zones of high settlement concentration:

1. *The isthmus.* The above-mentioned poleis Kardia, Paktye, Chersonesos/Agora, Lysimacheia, Pteleon, Leuke akte existed here in different ages, and the emporia Deris, Kobrys and Kypassis located in the Melas gulf should also be added to them. This density on such a small territory speaks that they had probably merged to form one common agglomeration. The establishment of the defending wall in this region played an important role for its formation. On the other hand the place offered a good base for military campaigns against Thrace. The trade with Thrace was not however any less important, and this is clearly attested by the presence of the three emporia.

In pre-Roman times the function of a central place was taken consequently by Chersonesos/Agora, Kardia and Lysimacheia.

2. *The Southern region.* It was formed around the other settlement agglomeration, that of Sestos-Madytos on the Hellespontine coast. It included also Alopekonnesos, Limnai, Elaious, Araplos/Drabos, Aigospotamoi and Gresinos. A similar feature of all settlements here was their sea outlet, and this speaks about sea trade and the control over sea traffic as the main factors in the formation of this region. In contrast to the isthmus region the small satellite settlements are missing here. The population is concentrated in several poleis of almost equal range. A possible explanation for this can be the wish to free more land areas for agriculture and corn producing.

According to the sources the role of central place here was played by Sestos. The organization involving the crossing of the straight between Sestos and Abydos offers the probable clue to this fact.

The differentiation of these two regions with their central places which has been achieved through the analysis of the spatial organization of the settlements is indirectly confirmed by Strabo who draws a generalized historical-geographical picture mentioning in several different places in his work that the most important cities on the peninsula were Kardia and Sestos. In Roman times this picture had changed



because Sestos had been replaced in importance by Coela, which had also succeeded its economic position. As for the isthmus region, after the inclusion of the peninsula in broader political structures it lost its importance together with its function as a border area.

### **1.6. Transport and communications**

For a detailed geographical characterization of the Thracian Chersonese it is necessary to assess the infrastructural conditions which underlie the structures and functioning of the economy.

**Roads.** There are no data about the existence of a complicated road system on the peninsula. The only important road started at Sestos, continued along the coast in a North-Eastern direction toward the isthmus, and after Agora (respectively Lysimacheia) connected with the route of the later Via Egnatia.

**Harbours.** According to the information of Xenophon, there were a lot of harbours in the Thracian Chersonese. Every coastal city must have had at least one, though they are rarely mentioned in the sources. The harbours would have been equipped with some installations offering more security for the ships, but there are no data on the eventual outlook of these. Only Procopius mentions in his description of the old cross-wall on the isthmus some kind of small bastions, called „moles“.

**The bridge over the Hellespont.** The only attempt to build a bridge over the strait belonged to the Persian king Xerxes. Its detailed description in the history of Herodotos suggests that the information was received in one of the cities in the Chersonese – either Elaious or, more probably, Sestos. This increases the authenticity of the remaining data in Herodotus about the region.

### **1.7. Ethnic structure and population**

As a border area the Thracian Chersonese is distinguished with a mixed ethnic structure. The literary sources give information about Thracians, Greeks (Aiolians, Milesians, Athenians), Persians, Romans who lived here in different ages. According to the predominant population two periods – Thracian and Greek – can be distinguished.

The Thracians were the first inhabitants of the peninsula attested in literary sources from the time of the Trojan War, but in the period of the Greek colonization and with the settling there of the Greeks the Thracian population decreased considerably. One of the mechanisms of amalgamation of the two ethnic groups were the mixed marriages, which are attested from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC onwards (the marriage of Miltiades the Younger with Hegesipyle, whose Greek name demonstrates former Thrako-Greek contacts). As a result of the Athenian colonization politics, the Thracians gradually either were pushed out from the peninsula or intermixed with and were absorbed by the new Greek inhabitants.

This is clearly illustrated by the onomastic and prosopographic data which show a remarkable superiority of the Greek names. It is important to stress that these data show the situation in the Greek poleis, so this proportion is expected. The gen-

eral data from the toponymy of the peninsula (settlement and place names), though showing a little increase of the Thracian nomenclature, attests again the leading place of the Greek one.

According to the investigations of the demographic conditions of Greek poleis the average number of the polites was ca. 230-910 men and the total population (without the slaves and foreigners) would have been ca. 960-3640. If this formula is applied to the Thracian Chersonese for the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, when there existed some 12 cities, the whole population would have been ca. 11520-43680 people. The sources offer but scanty information on the demographic situation in the Thracian Chersonese. The only definite figure are the 1000 klerouchs sent by Perikles. In fact the number of the cities suggests both the density and number of the population, but the sources speak more definitely about the insufficiency of people. This view is confirmed by the double foundation of Kardia and probably of Elaious, the disappearance of Limnai, the several colonization campaigns of Athens sending new settlers to the Chersonese every 100 years from the time of Miltiades the Elder till the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

## **1.8. Cults and cult places**

### ***1.8.1. The religion of the Thracians in the region of the Thracian Chersonese.***

The sources contain some information about the religious beliefs and practices of the Thracian tribes inhabiting the hinterland of the peninsula. The features observed should also be valid for the culture of the Thracians in the Chersonese.

The singular data about the Dolonkoi who according to Herodotos inhabited the peninsula have mostly a mythological character; they have been repeated by later authors. The „Ethnika“ of Stephanus Byzantinus offers the mythical genealogy of the eponymous king Dolonkos, son of the nymph Thrake and Kronos and half-brother of Bithynos who was a son of Thrake by Zeus. This information should be interpreted very attentively because it reflects an awareness of the relationship of the Thracians from both sides of the straits. The personage of Dolonkos appears again in Arrian who derived from him the Thracian tradition for a man to have many wives who would bear him many children. The idea of Dolonkos as a mythical king of all Thracians is noteworthy in this story.

One of the few known names of Thracian gods is that of Pleistoros who was worshiped by the Apsinthians with human sacrifices. The detailed analysis of the existing information has led some scholars to the reasonable idea of an identification of Pleistoros with Zalmoxis. The spread of this cult towards Perinthos is assumed on the basis of the personal name Taktor Pleistoros attested there, and it could be inferred that this cult would also have been known to the Thracians in the Chersonese. The human sacrifices typical for this cult have been attested in the same region in later times – the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, during the reign of the kings of the Caeni Diegylis and his son Zibelmios. The account of their cruelties in Diodorus offers evidence of the preservation of these rites through the centuries.

The information of Polyaeus about the Thracian tribes Kebrenoi and Sykaboi/Skaiboi (= Skaioi), whose chiefs were priests of Hera, refers again to the hinterland of the Thracian Chersonese. The Greek theonym warrants identification with the Great Mother Goddess, which completes the picture of the local deities worshiped in the region.

### ***1.8.2. The pantheon of the Greek colonies.***

As in all Greek colonies, the deities of the Greek pantheon were worshiped in the cities of the Thracian Chersonese. Due to the lack of direct information in the literary sources the reconstruction of the local cults is based on indirect assumptions from the numismatic and linguistic material. For example, the cult of Apollo in the Milesian colony of Kardia is testified by the representation of a lion on the city coins and by the local onomastics, with the name Apollonides attested for the time of Philip II. Artemis was probably one of the main deities in Elaious, judging from her representation on the coins minted by that city. The appearance of the head of Athena on the early coinage of the Thracian Chersonese, Alopekonesos, Elaious, Krithote, and Sestos can be interpreted as a political sign of the good relationships to Athens, but also as an indication for her cult in these cities. From the legend of Hero and Leander we learn about the cult of Aphrodite in Sestos, where Hero was her priestess. This goddess was also worshiped in Elaious, as attested by two terracotta statuettes from the city necropolis dated in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The cult of Demeter is attested in most cities on the peninsula and this is logical, keeping in mind that the region was one of the main producers of grain. She appears on coins of Kardia, Krithote and Sestos, and her presence in Elaious is proved by six terracotta statuettes from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC found in the city necropolis. The evidence about the cult of Dionysos is rather scarce – he appears only on coins of Alopekonesos and Sestos. There is some indirect onomastic evidence about the cult of Hecate in Kardia, if the name of the tyrant Hecataios in the time of Alexander the Great could be interpreted in this way. The cult of the underground deities Hades and Persephone is firmly attested in Kardia with a dedicatory inscription.

### ***1.8.3. Common regional cults.***

Outside the local cults the sources give information about some common regional cults. The following cult places can be suggested to have played an over-regional role for the people of the peninsula.

The grave of Miltiades the Elder. Herodotos says that after the death of Miltiades the Elder he was worshiped as an oikist with sacrifices and organised contest of horse races and gymnastic. The cult was only for the people of the peninsula. Probably the cult practices were carried out on his grave, which may have been in the capital city Chersonesos/Agora.

The altar Argos. Near Lysimacheia, from the side of the Hellespont, there was a big altar, called by the natives Argos. Its location near the former capital of Miltiades the Elder suggests a connection with his activity in the region. Because of the localization of the grave of Miltiades the Elder in the same region, it is possible that the altar was connected with his cult and could have marked his grave.

Lysimacheion. Another case of the heroization of a city-founder is attested in Hellenistic times. Appian reports that after his death on the battlefield the body of Lysimachos was carried to a temple dedicated to him and named Lysimacheion. It was the usual practise for Hellenistic rulers to be buried in their capital city, which became at the same time a centre for their cult. A detail of special interest in this case is the location practically in the same area of the centre of the cult of Miltiades the Elder, and a continuity of cult traditions might be expected.

Protesilaion. The grave of Protesilaos was located near Elaiou – a city dedicated to him. Modern scholars identify it with the tell Karaadaç tepe. Herodotos tells us what the sanctuary looked like – there was a monumental building with a sacred enclosure (temenos) around and on the grave itself there was a sacred grove.

The analysis of the legend of Protesilaos allows the presumption that he was worshiped as a protector of those who were crossing the Hellespont. There is a high possibility that the worship of the deity of the strait and the human sacrifices in his honour (viz. the Persian Artayktes) were inherited from the religious beliefs of the pre-Greek Thracian population of the peninsula. When the Greeks settled on the peninsula, they embraced this ancient tradition and gave it the shape of the cult of Protesilaos.

The summarized information about the cult practices shows the weak and uncertain presence of pre-Greek religious beliefs. Their integration into the local Greek pantheon supposes that contacts had been established even before the settlement of the Greeks in the Thracian Chersonese. As a whole, most of the deities worshiped on the peninsula were of Greek origin, and this reflects the superiority of the Greek population. The religious centres in the region of the isthmus suggest the formation of a common consciousness of the community there – a long process, the beginning of which could be sought in the unifying function of Miltiades the Elder. The sanctuary of Protesilaos must have had the same function in the Southern part of the peninsula. Though Elaiou was its official centre, the cult went beyond the borders of the city and had a general meaning for the Greeks of the area, thus marking its cultural consolidation.

### **1.9. General conclusions**

The summarized data from the geographical picture of the Thracian Chersonese shows its extraordinary importance for the control of the sea- and transcontinental roads and its perception as an important communication and trade centre in the antiquity. The analysis of the general data from the toponymy, the settlement system, the transport communications, the religious centres and their concentration, suggests the distinction of two regions: one in the Southern part of the peninsula, and the other in the area of the isthmus. From a geographical point of view both of these were border regions – the one with Asia Minor, and the other with Thrace, which obviously played an important role in their formation.

Chronologically the formation of the Southern region started first. This can be traced back to the Bronze Age settlement at Karaadaç tepe and to the tell near Mady-

tos. The transcontinental connection and the cult of the deity of the strait would have been established from this early period.

The isthmus region was formed in the time of the Greek colonisation with the appearance of the Greek colonies on the peninsula, when the Thracian Chersonese came to be distinguished from the rest of Thrace. Up to that time the peninsula was an integral part of the Thracian lands and the only border was the natural border with Asia Minor.

## **Part 2. Historical development of the Thracian Chersonese until the Macedonian conquest**

### **2.1. The period of the Trojan War**

The available sources give scarce information about the history of the Thracian Chersonese in the period before the foundation of the Greek settlements. The earliest mention of the area of the Chersonese is in Book 2 of the Iliad, the Catalogue of ships, considered to belong to the earlier Mycenaean level of the epos and illustrating a situation from the end of the Mycenaean epoch. The name of the peninsula does not appear directly in the text, but two passages can be connected with the Chersonese. The first one mentions Sestos which was, together with Abydos, under the rule of Asios, the son of Hirtacos. This probably implies that the connection between Asia Minor and Europe was already functioning at the time when the epos was created. The fact that both cities are mentioned as a part of the kingdom of Asios suggests that during this period the road between Sestos and Abydos was under Asiatic control, and puts the Thracian Chersonese and its inhabitants in direct connection with the opposite shore.

The next relevant passage contains the popular reference to „the Thracians that came from beyond the mighty stream of the Hellespont“. This is in fact the first literary record of the ethnonym „Thracians“. They are listed here among the Trojan allies and their leaders are named as Akamas the son of Eusoros and Peiroos the son of Imbras. Their localization in Europe, east of the Hebros and north of the Propontis, in the region adjacent to the Thracian Chersonese and even on the peninsula itself, is current in modern literature. Attempts to place the dynasty of Eusoros and Akamas in the region of the Thracian Chersonese have been made in some studies, while that of Imbras and Peiroos is connected with the later Apsinthians and the area of the Hebros mouth. The Homeric text marks explicitly the existence in the Thracian Chersonese of political unions already in Mycenaean times. It was perhaps right here, in the contact zone of South-Eastern Thrace, that the adoption of a Thracian tribal name, that of the Thracians placed in the Iliad around the Hellespont, led to its imposition as a name for the whole community.

The events around the Trojan War were used again in the plot of the Euripidean drama „Hecuba“. The peninsula is placed here under the rule of the Thracian king Polymestor, whose residence was in the city of Chersonesos. Polymestor was a guest-friend of Priamos of Troy, to whom he sent his last son Polydor with a lot of

gold. After the fall of Troy the Thracian king murdered the boy and got possession of the gold.

Euripides' tragedy is the only source to inform us about such events on the peninsula. The lack of any other sources to confirm this story puts its reliability under question. Though some scholars consider Polymestor as a poetic fiction, others are inclined to think that the story might have been a local legend used by Euripides for his drama. The attempts to reconstruct its historical background are however limited to the assumptions that it was generated in a Greek ethnic milieu and illustrated the hate of the Greek settlers to their Thracian neighbours. The only plausible piece of information here is the indirect suggestion about the existence in the Thracian Chersonese of a state structure – the region was traditionally viewed as a part or even as the centre of a Thracian kingdom which kept close connections with the opposite Asiatic shore and Troy.

A passage from Thucydides offers further evidence about the contacts between the Greek and Thracian worlds in the time of the Trojan War, especially in the region of the Thracian Chersonese. The historian explains the small number of the Greek armies at Troy with the lack of supplies. In order to get these supplies, a part of them had begun cultivating the Chersonese, and others had turned to piracy. The information remains unconfirmed from other sources and probably reflects a legend, created in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC and aiming at the justification of Athenian policy in the Chersonese, a cause still relevant in the time of Thucydides.

The region of Hellenistic Thrace including the Thracian Chersonese comes forward again in the work of Diodorus, in the context of the mythological records about the travels of Dionysos. The author mentions the passage of Dionysos from Asia to Europe, where he became a friend of Lycurgos, the king of the Thracians around the Hellespont. The treacherous king tried to kill the god, but the latter was warned by a local man, Charops, and succeeded to escape. Afterwards Dionysos punished the Thracian king with death. His kingdom was given over to Charops, and later his son Oiagros inherited the royal power, succeeded in turn by his son Orpheus.

The historical core of this myth is difficult to reconstruct, but in all probability the information refers to the period before the Greek colonization. The Greek mythological tradition offers different localizations for the kingdom of Orpheus – in South-Western Thrace, at the Hellespont as in the text of Diodorus, or in the Rhodope Mountains. These places seem to mark the areas of early state-formation processes in Mycenaean Thrace. In this sense the text supplements the data of the Homeric epos and Euripides about the existence in the region of the Chersonese of a big Thracian kingdom and its cultural and historical connections with the rest of Thrace.

The population of the Thracian Chersonese is systematically described as Thracian in the texts relevant to this early period, and its active contacts with the opposite Asiatic shore are underlined. The predominant concept seems to have been that the region of Hellenistic Thrace was occupied by a Thracian kingdom. This piece of information looks like a historical reminiscence and could be interpreted in the

sense that here was one of the three big areas (the other two being those inhabited by the Kikonians and Paeonians) where early political centres of Mycenaean type were observed. Probably this early population took part in the establishment of the thalassocracies of the Pelasgians and Thracians in the 12<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c. BC mentioned again by Diodorus.

## **2.2. The pre-Greek population of the peninsula**

The first more definite informations about the Thracian Chersonese in the literary tradition refer to the period between the Trojan War and the foundation of the first Greek colonies on the peninsula. Some historians have placed there the Skaioi attested in Hecataeus, but this localization is uncertain and contradicts the information of Herodotus, who knew as inhabitants of the peninsula, presumably since the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. BC, only the Dolonkoi.

As the two ethnonyms refer to the same period, the possible explanations can be summarized in the following variant options:

1. The Skaioi never inhabited the Thracian Chersonese; the fragment of Hecataeus which mentions them could be taken to imply that they inhabited only the Asiatic part of the Hellespontine shore.

2. The two tribes inhabited the peninsula at the same time – the Skaioi in the Southern part and the Dolonkoi in the North. This allocation corresponds roughly to the two geographical and economic regions on the territory of the Thracian Chersonese as outlined above. The appearance of the new ethnonyms Skaioi, Dolonkoi, Apsinthioi (the last one outside the borders of Chersonese) could be explained with the disintegration of the previous tribal union. The earlier occupation of the Southern region by the Greeks would have lead to the assimilation and disappearance of the Skaioi, a plausible explanation for their absence from the text of Herodotus.

3. Skaioi and Dolonkoi were two names for one and the same population, used in different historiographic traditions.

## **2.3. The settlement of the Greeks**

The beginning of the Greek colonization in the peninsula cannot be determined precisely, but could probably be placed in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The general observations on the process of colonization in the Thracian Chersonese suggest the activity of three main groups of settlers from different metropoleis. The first to settle there were the Aiolians from Lesbos who founded Sestos, Madytos and Alopekonesos, followed by Ionians from Milet and Klazomenai (whose colonies were Kardia and Limnai) and lastly by the Athenians of Miltiades the Elder. Elaious was thought until recently to have been an Athenian colony, but it was colonized most probably by Teos. The great attraction of the Thracian Chersonese for the ancient Greeks lay in its strategic location, but there were also other economic profits available – fertile soil, and the possibility of broad trade contacts.

The literary sources about the process of Greek colonization in the Thracian Chersonese are scarce. The legends about the foundation of Alopekonesos and Kar-

dia preserved in Stephanus Byzantinus mention that in both cases the choice of place followed a prophecy, therefore divine approval had been sought. It is noteworthy that these legends are about the settlements on the North-West coast which was less known to the ancient Greeks and offered no traces of occupation in previous ages. This suggests that these colonies were founded on a completely new place. The lack of similar legends about the colonies on the Hellespontine shore – Sestos, Madytos and Elaious, which were established close to earlier settlements inhabited since the Bronze Age, suggests that the latter would have given the newcomers some orientation and attests the continuity of the settlement system here.

The names of the oikists of some of the cities have been preserved by the tradition – Hermochares of Kardia, Phorbas of Elaious, but there is no further information about their cult and the links with the respective metropoleis. Some evidence about the existence of such links is offered by the occurrence of the Milesian lion as a symbol on the coins of Kardia from the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The question about the interrelationship between the colonies themselves remains open.

The relations between the Greek cities and the native Thracian population are another problem which has attracted much interest. The colonization of the Aegean coast, of the Propontis and of the Pontos Euxeinos was often accompanied by bitter fights between Greeks and Thracians. The lack of any data about military confrontations particularly in the Thracian Chersonese creates the impression of a peaceful settlement and subsequent co-existence of Greeks and Thracians on the peninsula. The only reported conflict is the about an incidental invasion of the Bisaltai against Kardia – these were a tribe from South-Western Thrace, and the episode probably marks a period of instability there.

The period of Greek colonization marked the start of a process of big changes on the territory of the peninsula. The Thracian Chersonese which had developed so far in the cultural milieu of the Propontis and the Thracian interior, was henceforth integrated in the Greek sphere. The appearance of the Greek settlers marked the beginning of ethnic changes which became more definite with the arrival of the Philaids and the beginning of Athenian colonization in the subsequent centuries.

#### **2.4. The Philaids in the Thracian Chersonese**

The middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC marks the transition to a new stage in the history of the Thracian Chersonese, defined by the settlement of the Philaids there. Their activity on the peninsula is often discussed in connection with the beginning of Athenian colonisation or with the biography of Miltiades the Younger, the Marathon victor. The chronology of the events and the interpretation of the enterprise remain still controversial. The scarce sources about this period often confuse the number of personalities named Miltiades. The ancient authors had a problem to accommodate the various facts in the biographies of the uncle and nephew bearing the same name and both consecutively active in the Thracian Chersonese. For example, Aelian reports three people named Miltiades, while Cornelius Nepos, the author of the only extant compact biography of Miltiades, falsely combines the information about the two



Miltiadaí in the Thracian Chersonese and speaks about only one such person. As a whole, modern historiography has accepted the information prompted by the text of Herodotos about two Miltiadaí on the Thracian Chersonese – Miltiades the son of Kypselos and Miltiades the son of Kimon, uncle and nephew, who are respectively called Miltiades the Elder and Miltiades the Younger.

The three Philaids whose lives were connected with the Thracian Chersonese – Miltiades the Elder, his nephews Stesagoras and Miltiades the Younger – ruled successively in the peninsula in one of the most dramatic periods in the history of archaic Athens – the tyranny of Peisistratos and his sons. The consecutive periods in which one after the other they were tyrants of the Chersonesos raise different sets of problems, and therefore will be treated separately.

#### **2.4.1. Miltiades the son of Kypselos**

Some facts about the establishment of Miltiades the Elder on the Thracian Chersonese are mentioned in the biographies of Miltiades the Younger and of Thucydides by Cornelius Nepos and Markelinos, but Herodotos remains the main source of information about the time of the Philaids. The „Histories“ contain a very elaborate story about the establishment of Miltiades the Elder on the peninsula after he had received an invitation from the local Thracian tribe of the Dolonkoi. They were at that time at war with their neighbours, the Apsinthians, and after consulting the Delphic oracle about the war, had received in response the counsel to invite in their country an oikist (i. e., to accept colonists). The circumstances led them to the Athenian Miltiades the son of Kypselos, who was chosen to fulfil the prophecy. So, together with all Athenians who wanted to participate, he sailed with the Dolonkoi, seized the country and those who brought him made him their tyrant.

The event is usually dated in the first period of the tyranny of Peisistratos in Athens and more definitely towards its end, about 556 BC. The text of Herodotos suggests the idea of a private initiative of Miltiades the Elder, but the described acts should undoubtedly be interpreted as a colonisation attempt of the polis, marking the beginning of the political interference of Athens in this region which gained clearer form in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

On the other hand, the story of Herodotos represents practically a legend with a historical kernel. The comparison between this variant of the story and the parallel text in Miltiades' biography by Cornelius Nepos, where the request of the Dolonkoi is absent, places the veracity of the information of Herodotos under question. The analysis of the two records suggests that this legend might either have been contrived either in the time of Miltiades the Younger as a piece of propaganda to justify his tyrannical rule in the Thracian Chersonese, or could eventually reflect the real motive for the Athenians to settle in the peninsula. In this latter case however it seems more acceptable to presume that the contacts between the Athenians and the Dolonkoi would have taken place at Sigeion, an Athenian colony situated on the opposite Asiatic shore, than through the mediatory role of Delphi.

The circulation of the Herodotean version of the legend could be taken to represent an attempt by Athenian publicity to justify with the divine sanction of Delphi

the specific relations between Athens and the Thracians as actual either at the time of its eventual creation under Miltiades the Younger or later, in the time of Herodotos himself.

The rule of Miltiades the Elder in the Thracian Chersonese has received different evaluations in modern historiography, some qualifying him as „a tyrant of the Dolonkoi“, others rather as „an oikist for the Athenians“. The careful analysis of the text of Herodotos shows some nuances of usage – the term „basileus“ is used only for the local Thracian rulers, and thus the term „tyrant“ used for Miltiades probably denotes some basic differences between his authority over the Dolonkoi, probably only as a military chief in the war against the Apsinthians, and that of the historical Thracian basileis. It could of course be reasoned as well, especially keeping in mind the Athenian origin of the information, that by the time of Miltiades the Elder the term „basileus“ was not any more used currently for the description of monarchic rule practiced by a citizen of the polis. On the other hand, considerable divergences are observed between the usual prerogatives of an oikist and the position of Miltiades in the Chersonesos, prompting rather the establishment of a monarchic regime. It could be assumed that from the very start the privileges of Miltiades the Elder exceeded those of an ordinary oikist and thus the term „tyrant“ can be taken to describe also (if not only) his authority over the Athenians in the peninsula.

The extant sources allow the reconstruction of several episodes from the **political activity** of Miltiades the Elder in the Thracian Chersonese. His first task would have been the war with the Thracian Apsinthioi, who were practically the only opponents to the settlement of the Athenians in the peninsula. It was against their attacks that he built the wall across the isthmus. The reorganization of the settlement life in the peninsula and the foundation of Kardia, Krithote, Paktye and of the city of Chersonesos, where presumably most of the Athenian colonists lived, should also be counted among the first activities of Miltiades the Elder in the Chersonese.

After the establishment of the Athenians in the Chersonese, Miltiades the Elder began a long war against Lampsakos. The reasons for this conflict can only be supposed: the Asian city could have seen in the appearance and the establishment of the new political factor on the European shore a rival for the control over the straits. In this war the Lampsakenoi succeeded to capture Miltiades, but after the intervention of Kroisos they were forced to release him. The story exemplifies the broad political contacts of Miltiades the Elder – although it is possible that his connection with Kroisos could date from before his arrival in the Chersonese, just now it played an important role in the consolidation of the new political formation on the peninsula.

The sources do not offer any further information about the activity of Miltiades the Elder. Most scholars place his death about **528/7 BC** or not long after. According to Herodotos, Miltiades the Elder received after his death worship as an oikist and contests with horse races and gymnastic competitions were established in his honour, in which the Lampsakenoi were not allowed to participate. This clearly attests the existence of consensus and unity among the Athenians settlers who came to the Chersonese with Miltiades.

#### **2.4.2. Stesagoras**

According to Herodotus Miltiades the Elder died childless and left his „rule and possessions“ to Stesagoras, the elder son of his half-brother Kimon. Stesagoras had been raised by his uncle in the Chersonese and had probably been prepared since long as his successor. Despite of the lack of any definite record of his actual title, in modern literature Stesagoras has been qualified unanimously as a tyrant of the Chersonese. The act of inheriting the power to rule by succession and thus preserving it in the house of the Philaids shows a diversion from the typical authorities of an oikist (which would normally end with his death) and speaks about an attempt to establish a new Greek dynasty in the Thracian Chersonese, similar to the one of the Peisistratids in Athens.

The rule of Stesagoras in the Thracian Chersonese lasted for about 10 years, from ca. 528/7 to 516/5 BC, but the sources do not offer us any more information beyond a casual mention of some of the main events – the continuing war with Lampsakos, and perhaps a straining of the relations with Athens. The period of his rule can be characterized as unstable, and this view is corroborated by the way in which he descended from the political scene – murdered in the prytaneion by one of his enemies. The motives for this act could be found in the conflict with Lampsakos, or eventually in the long hand of the Peisistratids of Athens.

#### **2.4.3. Miltiades the son of Kimon**

After the violent death of Stesagoras the power in the Chersonese was inherited by his brother Miltiades the Younger. His rule has been the object of numerous discussions from antiquity to the present day, as it represents a part of the biography of the victor in the battle against the Persians at Marathon. From the information of Herodotus modern scholars have reconstructed several episodes from his political activity as the ruler of the Chersonese: his establishment in the peninsula, his marriage with Hegesipyle, his participation in the Scythian expedition of Dareios, his capture of Lemnos, his flight from the Chersonese in front of the Scythian attack and his subsequent return on the invitation of the Dolonkoi, and his final departure in 493 BC after the defeat of the Ionian revolt.

**The establishment of Miltiades the Younger** in the peninsula, usually dated in **516/5 BC**, offers some unsettled problems. Unlike his uncle who was invited by the Dolonkoi and his brother Stesagoras who inherited the rule, Miltiades was sent out by the Peisistratids. This initiative is accepted by some modern historians as evidence for the expansion of Peisistratid control over the Chersonese. The choice of Miltiades was probably due not only to his friendly relations with the Athenian tyrants, but also to his hereditary rights, which gave him a legal claim to pretend for the power over the Chersonese.

According to Herodotus after his arrival in the peninsula Miltiades the Younger captured by deception the prominent men from the cities of the Chersonese and made himself master of the peninsula, keeping a guard of 500 men and marrying Hegesipyle, the daughter of the Thracian king Oloros. The analysis of this text suggests that the violent behaviour of Miltiades against the local elite was not an act of

„usurpation“, but rather one aimed at the strengthening of his hereditary authority, probably insecure after the death of Stesagoras and the crisis provoked by the lack of a nominated successor.

The rule of Miltiades the Younger is qualified in the sources as a **tyranny**. The title „strategos and tyrannos of the Chersonesians in the Hellespont“ which is attested for him probably denotes the combination of tyrannical power with that of a military chief. The comparison between his government and that of his predecessors does not justify extreme qualifications as „authoritarian“, „violent“ or „real tyranny“, as the tyrannical rule in the Chersonese was hereditary. The impression of a different and much more repressive regime could be due to the different political circumstances in which the information about Miltiades the Younger was generated: in contrast to the age of Miltiades the Elder, after the dismissal of the Peisistratid tyranny Athenian society tended to regard tyrannical rule as insulting and objectionable. The discussed passages in Herodotos belong most probably to the anti-Miltiadic propaganda in Athens, and this is the main reason for the biased negative evaluation of his rule on the peninsula.

The **marriage with Hegesipyle** is one of the contradictory facts in the biography of Miltiades the Younger. It should be dated ca. 515-514 BC. This political move, which assured Miltiades the support of the Thracian king Oloros, must have been inspired by the unstable situation on the peninsula. This instability is well illustrated by the other actions of Miltiades – the arrest of the local elite and the engagement of the 500 mercenaries. The political contact between Miltiades the Younger and Oloros raises the question about the localization of the kingdom of the latter. Several more or less plausible localizations have been suggested: in South-Western or in South-Eastern Thrace or along the whole Thracian coast of the Aegean Sea. The observation that Herodotos calls Oloros a „basileus of the Thracians“, a formula which he uses elsewhere only for the Odrysian king Sitalkes, may imply the existence of some sort of dynastic relationship between the two of them, but the assumption seems too far-fetched at this stage. If not prompted by Herodotos' lack of knowledge about the tribal affiliation of Oloros, the appellation would however imply his recognition as an over-tribal sovereign. The fact that his daughter carries a Greek name attests the existence of some sort of previous contacts between this Thracian house and the Greeks. It might also be suggested that with this dynastic marriage the Thracian king and the ruler of the Chersonese settled their border problems, especially if we accept the localization of the kingdom of Oloros in the hinterland of the peninsula.

At the same time Miltiades the Younger seems to have succeeded in preserving the good relationships with his native city, a fact which is attested by the occurrences of the head of Athena as a reverse type on the tetradrachms of the Thracian Chersonese dated in this period. The positive attitude of the Athenian tyrants (and especially of Hippias) towards Miltiades seems also to have brought to an end of the hostilities with Lampsakos, and after the time of Stesagoras there is no further information about conflicts with the Asian city.

In 513 BC the Persian king Dareios organized a **campaign against the Scythians** living beyond the Istros. Miltiades the Younger is mentioned on this occasion, among the remaining Greek tyrants from the Hellespontian and Ionian cities who took part in the expedition, as a „strategos and tyrannos of the Chersonesians in the Hellespont“. The information of Herodotos suggests the anti-Persian position of Miltiades, but his participation in the army of Dareios indicates on the contrary that he was on good relations with Dareios and remained loyal. It is quite possible that the story about the behaviour of Miltiades at Istros was a later invention of the pro-Miltiadic propaganda dating from the time of the process against him for tyranny.

The question about the time and circumstances in which these previous contacts with the Achaemenids were established seems equally important. An eventual possibility is offered by the political situation in Asia Minor after the fall of the Lydian kingdom under Persian supremacy, which had occasioned the necessity for Miltiades the Elder to re-confirm the relationship with the new political factor in Asia Minor. The same political line would probably have been followed by his successors Stesagoras and Miltiades the Younger, and this explains under what obligation the latter would have had to join the Scythian expedition of Dareios.

The relations between Persia and Miltiades the Younger were obviously not constant, because after the crush of the Ionian revolt he preferred to go back to Athens. The motives for this choice remain unclear.

During his rule in the Thracian Chersonese Miltiades the Younger took possession of the island **Lemnos**. Herodotos mentions this episode separately from his main passage devoted to the rule of the Philaids in the Thracian Chersonese, and this leaves its dating problematic. Not long after the Scythian expedition of Dareios, Lemnos and Imbros had fallen under Persian domination and Lycaretos had been appointed as Persian governor there; he however died soon afterwards. This suggests that Miltiades the Younger could have made use of the succeeding political vacuum, and his operation may be referred tentatively to the period **510-506/5 BC**. The lack of any reaction from the Persian side looks like a silent agreement, and it is highly possible that – as in the case with Histiaios and Edonian Myrkinos – Miltiades the Younger had acquired Lemnos with the actual sanction of the Great king.

In his account of the rule of the Philaids Herodotos mentions, immediately after the description of the establishment of Miltiades the Younger, a Scythian invasion in the Chersonese, which forced him to leave the peninsula until the danger had passed and the Dolonkoi called him back. Due to a mistake in the text, the chronology and the motives of his **escape** are controversial. The sense and grammatical analysis of the passage allows the dating of the event in **496 BC**. The text attests contacts of Miltiades the Younger with the Scythians, which could have started at the time of the Scythian expedition of Dareios, when Miltiades the Younger practically accepted the Scythian cause – to leave Dareios beyond the river, and this raises the question whether the appearance of the Scythians in the Chersonese was not in some way a sequel to this previous encounter.

During the period of his absence from the peninsula Miltiades could have found a refuge in Sigeion on the opposite shore or in his other possession – Lemnos. In spite of its relative brevity, this interruption of his rule certainly had a bad effect on his reputation as a strategos and tyrannos of the Chersonese and might have led to a destabilization of his position in the peninsula.

**The end of the rule** of Miltiades the Younger (and of the Philaids in general) in the Thracian Chersonese came after the Persian suppression of the Ionian revolt. In the **spring of 493 BC** Miltiades the Younger finally left the peninsula and went back to Athens. His behaviour undoubtedly marked a break-up in the relations with Darius. A possible explanation for this is a change of the political attitude of Miltiades toward Persia either after the outbreak of the Ionian revolt or after his acquisition of Lemnos and Imbros.

#### **2.4.4. The state of the Philaids**

The existence of a political union of the Greek cities in the peninsula and its eventual character are among the most widely discussed problems of the early history of the Thracian Chersonese. Some historians believe the union was a fact and qualify it as a „federal group“ or „federation“, a „state“, a „polis-state“, or an „amphictiony“. In their view the union was created with the establishment of Miltiades the Elder and existed till the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, or perhaps even till Roman times. The analysis of the information about the existence of such a community in the Chersonese authorizes the opinion that it should be connected with the time of the Philaids and with their role as rulers of the peninsula. In this sense it would be much more correct to speak about the *state of the Philaids*, and not about a state of the Chersonesitai.

Some scholars have seen in the connection of the Philaids with the Dolonkoi the establishment of monarchic rule in the form of a „mixed Thracio-Athenian state“, regarding this as a regress from the polis principle of social organization. The geographical factor and the natural boundaries of the peninsula contribute a lot to the impression that some sort of territorial state existed on the peninsula. But the Thracian participation in the state of the Philaids should not be overestimated. It is well known that in that age a total reinstatement of the monarchic way of rule in the form of tyranny took part in the whole Greek world, and the rule of the Philaids in the Thracian Chersonese does not represent an exception from this general phenomenon. The observations on their government show it was something quite different from the Thracian state model and much closer to the model of the metropolis – the tyranny of the Peisistratids in Athens, which the Philaids obviously reproduced in their new domain. The establishment of a tyrannical dynasty gave them the opportunity to impose an authoritarian rule, while the narrow connections with the local Thracians ensured the necessary political stability.

#### **2.5. Under Persian rule**

The last decades of the rule of the Philaids were connected with the appearance of the Persians in the region of the Hellespont and their gradual imposition as

the main political factor in the area. The establishment of Persian authority over the region of the straits and in Thrace was a long process in which several stages can be set apart following the Persian military campaigns.

### **2.5.1. The Conquest**

The problem of the initial establishment of Persian rule over the Chersonese has not received much attention in the specialized literature. This seems strange in view of the fact that the rulers of the Thracian Chersonese were the first in the European continent with whom the Achaemenids established contact, and the peninsula was one of the first places on the European shore where they set foot. The relevant sources suggest also some differences in the subjugation of the Chersonese in comparison with the rest of Thrace, and this warrants a more detailed investigation of the policy of the two Achaemenid rulers Dareios and Xerxes towards the peninsula necessary.

**The expedition of Dareios** in Thrace happened during the period of rule of Miltiades the Younger. The latter's participation was probably the effect of earlier friendly relations with the Persians, dating eventually since the time of Miltiades the Elder. Thanks to his good relations with the Thracians Miltiades was in a position to play a mediatory function in the political arrangements between the South-Eastern Thracian tribes and the Persian king, and his political influence might have contributed to the trouble-free advance of Dareios in the region.

The Thracian Chersonese remained unaffected by the subsequent actions of the Persian satraps Megabazos and Otanes, and Miltiades the Younger ruled there undisturbed. The comparison of the title used by Herodotos for Megabazos, who was described as a „strategos of Europe/Hellespontine land/Thrace“, and of Otanes, who was the „strategos of the men/armies from the shore“ and on the other hand that used for Miltiades the Younger, who was defined as the „strategos and tyrannos of the Chersonesians from Hellespont“, gives enough reasons to look at the position of the Chersonesian tyrant from a Persian point of view – as the office which he occupied while in the army of Dareios and eventually preserved after the end of the expedition. The Persians laid their hand on the peninsula only as late as 493 BC with the suppression of the Ionian revolt, and it is not by chance that Herodotos inserted the logos about the Thracian Chersonese exactly at this point of his account.

The extant sources offer no information about the situation in the Thracian Chersonese after 493 BC. Only by the time of Xerxes' campaign against Greece in 480 BC does the region draw again the attention of the ancient authors. The Thracian Chersonese was the point of transition of the Persian army in Europe and for this purpose Xerxes had the Hellespont bridged between Sestos and Abydos. There is also some available information about the organization of Achaemenid rule in the peninsula – Herodotos informs us about the presence in some cities in the Chersonese of Persian governors (Artayctes in Sestos and Oiobazos in Kardia), perhaps dating back to the years after 492 BC. Elaiouss was surely also under Persian control. The supply bases Leuke akte and Tyrodiza, organized in the hinterland of the peninsula, complete the picture of the Persian presence in the region.

The disastrous defeat of the campaign of Xerxes meant also the end of his power in the Chersonese. The destiny of the two Persian potentates in the peninsula was tragic: Oiobazos was captured by the Thracian Apsinthioi and sacrificed to their god Pleistoros, while Artayctes was caught by the Greeks, crucified and hung near Madytos.

### ***2.5.2. In the system of Persian rule***

The information about the Persian rule in the region of the Chersonese, sketched in this way, creates the impression of the existence there of some kind of an organized structure. This problem clearly falls into the big discussion about the eventual existence of a Persian satrapy, named Skudra, on the conquered territories in Thrace. According to one opinion Sestos was the centre of this satrapy, and Artayctes was its governor. The existing data do not however support unequivocally the hypothesis about the establishment of a Persian satrapy in Thrace, where their rule was rather one of war-time character, which did not exclude the imposition of tributes and the mobilization of the local population in military campaigns. Thrace should be assigned to the third type of provincial government in the Persian Empire – peripheral regions without their own centralized rule, subordinated to the nearest satrapy.

## **2.6. The Thracian Chersonese and the Greek world in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC**

The history of the Thracian Chersonese in the period after the expedition of Xerxes is poorly documented in the extant sources. The information about the peninsula is scanty and fragmented, and a full and consequential reconstruction of the events in this period remains impossible. This is supplemented here with a general overview of the place of the peninsula in the changing political situation of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The information is concentrated around the more important political events – the formation of the Delian league, the Peloponnesian War and the period of struggle for supremacy in the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

### ***2.6.1. In the Delian league***

The participation of the cities of the Thracian Chersonese in the Delian league is definitely attested in the Tribute lists. The establishment of Athenian control over the peninsula was achieved gradually in three campaigns – the siege of Sestos by Xanthippos in 478/7 BC, the second conquest of the city by Kimon and the campaign in 466 BC, when Kimon finally got control over the whole peninsula. The presence of Persians in the area (notably in Doriscos) is one of the possible explanations for this prolonged process.

In the frame of the league the cities of the Chersonese probably formed one fiscal unit – a *synteleia*, which is attested in the tribute lists under the name „*Χερσονησιῶται*“. It included Elaious, Limnai, Sestos and the Chersonesians from Agora, while payments from Alopekonnesos are attested separately. The singular payments of each of the cities after 447/6 BC could be explained with the breakdown of the *synteleia* after Perikles sent 1000 *klerouchs* in the Thracian Chersonese in order to consolidate the Athenian presence there.



### **2.6.2. The Peloponnesian War**

There is no information about the Thracian Chersonese in the period between the campaign of Perikles and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The territory of the peninsula and the cities there reappear in the historical sources only in the last stage of the war, the so called Ionian war (411-404 BC), when the region of the Hellespont became the stage of consequential battles. During the whole war the peninsula remained under Athenian control and was used as a base for the military operations of the Athenian fleet. The cities – Sestos, Elaiou and Kardias are mentioned especially – were among the loyal and constant Athenian allies in the league. The important battles near the shores of the Chersonese – at Kynossema (411 BC) and at Aigospotamoi (405 BC), fortified the emotional relationship of the Athenians with the Thracian Chersonese and defined the political attitude of Athens towards the region in the next century.

At the end of the war the famous Athenian strategos **Alkibiades** settled down in the region of the Thracian Chersonese. His contacts in the area dated since the time when he was commander of the Athenian fleet and operated in the region of Hellespont between 411 and 407 BC, strengthening the Athenian presence there. After the defeat at Notion in 406 BC, when he lost the favour of the Athenians, Alkibiades retired to his „fortress in the Chersonese“, probably Paktye. The sources give the impression that Alkibiades had some sort of organized territorial power in the region of the Propontis and the Northern part of the Thracian Chersonese, where Paktye, Ornos, Bisanthe and Neonteichos are mentioned as his fortresses. Alkibiades spent about an year in the region of the Thracian Chersonese, until the Athenian defeat at Aigospotamoi, when he did not feel secure in the peninsula any more and escaped at first in the Thracian interior and thence to in Asia Minor to Pharnabazos, where he was killed in 404 BC.

His operations for the protection of the inhabitants of the peninsula from the „Thracians without kings“ and his friendly relations with some Thracian kings (Seuthes, Medokos) suggest the typical activity of an independent ruler in a sovereign area, and have been viewed as an attempt to restore the state of the Philaids. It is necessary to mention however that except for the spatial closeness to the state of the Philaids in the Thracian Chersonese and the formal presence in both cases of intensive contacts with the Thracians in the hinterland of the peninsula, it is not possible to trace any other similarities in support of this idea. The actions of Alkibiades can be regarded rather as those of another exiled Athenian (like Peisistratos and Thukydides) trying to find a political realization in Thrace.

### **2.6.3. Between Athens and Sparta**

The end of the Peloponnesian war and the enforcement of the Spartan hegemony in the Hellenic world marked a new political situation for the Thracian Chersonese too. The operations for the establishing of Spartan supremacy in the region were connected with the names of Spartan commanders like Klearchos, Kyniskos and Derkylidas. The information about them is incidental and does not illustrate adequately the Spartan political activities in the region. During the campaign of Derkylidas in

398 BC, who strengthened once again the isthmus with a wall, Spartan settlers were probably accommodated there as farmers. The Spartan activities were presumably directed at a reduction of the number of Athenian citizens in the peninsula and their replacement with Spartan settlers. These demographic changes probably lead to an overall decrease of the population.

In the 90s of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC Athens declared anew its pretensions for the reestablishment and recognition of its power over the Thracian Chersonese. The campaigns of two Athenian strategoi in the region of the Chersonese – Trasibulos in 390 BC and later Iphikrates – are mentioned in the sources, attesting the recovery of Athenian political power in the Hellespont.

### **2.7. The Thracians and the Thracian Chersonese (5<sup>th</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC)**

The Thracians are often mentioned in the accounts of the political events in the region of the Thracian Chersonese in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. These however are not the Thracians from the peninsula itself – there is no information about the Dolonkoi, who once brought Miltiades the Elder to the Chersonese, after the end of Philaid rule there. The sources allow the distinction of two groups Thracians: on one hand those who inhabited the territories in the hinterland of the peninsula and were not under the rule of the Odrysian kings, and on the other the Odrysian state itself, which became the strongest political factor in South-Eastern Thrace.

#### **2.7.1. „The Thracians without kings“**

The sources mention repeatedly in the period 466-395/4 BC anonymous Thracians outside the peninsula against whom Kimon, Perikles, Alkibiades, Klearchos, Derkyllidas and Agesialos all undertook separately military campaigns. The analysis of the sources allows the conclusion that they refer to one and the same population. The characterization of the Thracians against whom fought Alkibiades as „ὄβρασιλεύτοι“ (Thracians without kings) indicates that they were not under the rule of the Odrysian kings. They are attested in a broad geographical region above the Northern shores of the Propontis to Bisanthe and Perinthos in the East, and presumably included more than one tribe, perhaps a tribal union. Their presence in this region can be traced till the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Their military raids toward the peninsula were not organized and pursued only plunder, but as a whole these campaigns were in unison with the Odrysian policy in South-Eastern Thrace of the subsequent decades.

#### **2.7.2. The Thracian Chersonese and the Odrysian rulers**

The first positive data about active actions of the Odrysians towards the peninsula are from the time of **Seuthes I**, according to the information of Polyaeus about a siege of this king in some city in the Chersonese by the Athenians. The event can be dated to 411-405 BC and probably at the end of this period. Seuthes I used the total destabilization of Athenian power in the region to spread his power towards the Thracian Chersonese.

The name of Seuthes appears again in the accounts of Diodorus and Nepos of the battle at Aigospotamoi, where he is described as a friend of Alkibiades. His iden-

tification with Seuthes I seems probable. Alkibiades may have been hired by him, receiving in recompense his fortresses on the shore.

The sources suggest a very active political interference of Seuthes I in the peninsula, but the information about the attacks of „the Thracians without king“ during the period of Spartan supremacy attests that the Odrysians did not use the political vacuum after Aigospotamoi to spread their power towards the peninsula, mostly because of inner political problems – the struggle for the throne between Medokos and Seuthes II after the death of Seuthes I, and the revolt of the Melanditai, Thynoi and Tranipsoi.

A renewal of Odrysian interest in the Thracian Chersonese can be suggested in the time of **Hebryzelmis**. A fragmentary Athenian decree from 386/5 BC about negotiations between the two sides offers some indications in this direction. The shift of the political orientation of Hebryzelmis towards South-Eastern Thrace is also attested by his coins struck in Kypsela, which could be interpreted as a declaration of his wish to seize control over the region of the Thracian Chersonese and the Propontis, continuing in this way the political course of Seuthes I.

## **2.8. „The War over for the Chersonese“**

The claims of Athens for the recognition of its rights in South-Western and South-Eastern Thrace on the one side and the strengthening of Odrysian power in South-Eastern Thrace in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC on the other made the confrontation between them unavoidable. The cross-point of their interests was exactly the Thracian Chersonese, which became the stage of bitter battles between them in the 60-es and early 50-es of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The economic interests of both sides in the region – the control of the trade and the sea traffic – were the main reasons for the war over the peninsula between Athens and Kotys. The size of this conflict in which the Persian king and some of his satraps were also involved deserves a separate consideration. In the historiography it was named „the war over Chersonese“. The establishment of the exact chronology of this war is a point of contention among historians. As far as the main rival of Athens here was the Odrysian state, the periodization of the conflict after the reigns of the Odrysian kings seems the most convenient one.

### **2.8.1. Kotys**

The engagement of the Odrysian state in the Thracian Chersonese became a political priority in the time of Kotys (383-360 BC). The idea that he led two campaigns in the Chersonese, the first in 365 BC and the second from 362 to 360 BC, has been put forward in the existing literature on the subject.

**The campaign against Sestos in 365 BC.** The political situation in North-Western Asia Minor and the Hellespont in the 60-es of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC was extremely complicated because of the outbreak of the revolt of the Persian satrap Ariobarzanes in the spring of 366 BC. In connection with these events we learn that Kotys had undertaken a siege of Sestos, which was at the time under the rule of Ariobarzanes. Because of fear from the Spartan ally of the Persian – Agesilaos, Kotys however raised

the siege. The existing data allows the reconstruction of the relative chronology of events – the establishment of the control of the Persian satrap Ariobarzanes over Sestos and Krithote, the siege of Sestos by Kotys, then the raise of the siege following the appearance of Agesialos, the delivery of Sestos and Krithote by Ariobarzanes to the Athenian strategos Timotheos as a sign of gratitude for help in the conquest of Samos (in March – June/July 365 BC), which was until then under Persian rule. The dates of the actions of Timotheos and of the outbreak of the revolt of Ariobarzanes offer the opportunity to date the Odrysian siege of Sestos in the period between the spring of 366 and 365 BC.

The information from the biography of the condottiere Charidemos attests once more this date. In 365 BC he arrived from Amphipolis in the Chersonese to meet Kotys. The presence of the mercenary in the Odrysian court speaks about the existence of tension in the peninsula. After it became clear that the king does not need him, Charidemos returned back, sailing away from the harbour of Kardia. At this time the city was probably already under the rule of the Odrysian king and the meeting presumably took part there.

The analysis of the sources defines the actions of Kotys in the Chersonese as a hostile act against the Athenian interests there. The lack of other military actions in the peninsula after the siege of Sestos suggests this operation was a single act, preceding the beginning of the real war of Kotys for the peninsula.

**The campaign in 363-360 BC.** At the end of the 60s of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC the Thracian Chersonese became again the stage of military conflicts between Athens and Kotys. The reasons for this confrontation remain unclear, but the sheer size of the hostile actions suggests an attempt by the Odrysian king to conquer the whole peninsula. These events have been seen by some modern historians as a second stage in the political encroachment of Kotys on the Chersonese. The beginning of the military operations is placed in the summer of 363 BC. The events can be followed after the chronology of the several Athenian strategoi appointed for the war (Ergopylos – 363/2, Autokles – spring 362/1, Menon – 361, Timomachos – 361/0 BC) and the information about the outbreak of the revolt of Miltokythes against Kotys between the summer of 362 and the spring of 361 BC.

Two mercenary commanders – Iphicrates and Charidemos – were engaged by Kotys during this war. The operations of Iphicrates should be placed at the beginning of the war and then, after his refusal of help in the siege of the last Athenian fortresses in the Chersonese, Charidemos was hired in the second half of September 360 BC.

The sources do not offer any definite information about the scale and the territorial range of the operations of Kotys in this stage of the war. Sestos captured early in 360 BC was the only gain we have certain evidence of; Krithote and Elaiouss were then besieged in September 360 with the help of Charidemos. The information about the trials against the Athenian strategoi in the Hellespont for losing fortresses in Thrace shows that the territorial gains of Kotys were significant and probably

concentrated in the Northern part of the peninsula. The only remaining way out for Athens was to physically eliminate the Odrysian king, and it is assumed that the polis was behind the murder of Kotys.

### **2.8.2. Kersebleptes**

After the death of Kotys the situation in the peninsula remained unchanged under his son Kersebleptes. The sources attest that both Kardia and Alopekonnesos were under Odrysian control, probably already in the lifetime of Kotys. The situation of Krithote and Elaiou is unclear, but it seems that the siege was removed and they remained in Athenian hands. Charidemos was still functioning as a mercenary and married the daughter of Kersebleptes. The detailed information of Demosthenes suggests that the conflict for the Chersonese entered a new stage – that of negotiations. The change in the tactics of the Odrysians and the abstention from further military operations were probably imposed by the inner problems of the kingdom and the appearance of other pretenders for the throne – Berisades and Amadokos. The agreements which Kersebleptes and Charidemos concluded consecutively with Kephisodotos (strategos for 360/59 BC), Athenodoros (son-in-law of Berisades) and Chabrias (strategos for 359/58 BC) satisfied neither the Odrysians nor the Athenians. Only under the strategos Chares, after almost two years of negotiations, they came to a final agreement. The treaty was signed in the autumn of 357 BC and confirmed the Odrysian possession of Kardia.

**The treaty between Berisades, Amadokos and Kersebleptes.** An inscription from the Athenian acropolis which preserves the text of a treaty between Athens and the three Thracian kings Berisades, Amadokos and Kersebleptes goes back to this agreement. It settles the condition of the Greek cities on the Thracian coast and their taxes towards both Athens and the Odrysians. The second part of the treaty considers in particular the situation of the Greek cities in the Thracian Chersonese and is especially important for us. The cities were declared free and autonomous but at the same time allies of Athens. They were to pay taxes to both sides – a tax, called „πόλιος φόρος“, to the three kings, and the so-called „σύνταξις“ to Athens. According to the text the cities had to pay separately to each of the three Thracian kings.

The analysis of the treaty permits the conclusion that it was a success for the Athenian diplomacy, as the polis had achieved its goal and had strengthened its close relations with the cities in the peninsula. From an Odrysian point of view, although the new treaty did not succeed to assert the territorial gains of Kotys in the peninsula, it could also be regarded as successful, as the pre-war status quo had been changed and the Chersonesian cities were now to pay them taxes. The income from Chersonese was not little – 30 talents from the country and 200 talents (or 300 in some codices) from the emporia in the Chersonese.

For the cities in the Chersonese this treaty had also another result – the need to pay taxes stimulated their coinage. The minting of the hemidrachms of the Thracian Chersonese and of the bronze emissions of Alopekonnesos, Aigospotamoi, Elaiou, Kardia, Krithote and Madytos started at that time, about the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The intensive infiltration of hemidrachms of the Thracian Chersonese in inland

Thrace after the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC is attested in 31 coin treasures, a fact which should be connected at least partly with the payment of taxes.

**The recognition of Athens in the Thracian Chersonese.** Despite the fact that the treaty of 357 BC recognized the claims of Athens for the Chersonese, the polis could not rapidly strengthen its position there and in the following years the peninsula remained probably under the control of Kersebleptes. The situation changed substantially in 353/3 BC when Sestos was captured by Chares, Kersebleptes delivered the peninsula to Athens (with the exception of Kardia) and a considerable number of Athenian klerouchs were settled there. The efforts of Athens to strengthen its presence in the peninsula could be explained with the beginning of the expansion of the Macedonian state under Philip II in South-Western Thrace. The methods used by the Athenians to achieve their goal were different – personal relationships with prominent citizens (e.g. from Sestos) who received certain privileges, the settlement of klerouchs in the Chersonesian cities (in 353/2 and 343/3 BC), and the bestowal of the rights of Athenian klerouchs to the citizens (Sestos, Elaious).

From an Odrysian point of view the restoration of the Chersonese to Athens presents a retreat from the treaty of 357 BC in favour of Athens, a move symptomatic for the rapprochement sought presumably by both sides. Modern scholars have explained this change of positions either with the threat of Philip's advance from the west, or as a deal of mutual interest to both sides: Athens refused to support henceforth Amadokos and the sons of Berisades, offering Kersebleptes a free hand to operate in the West for the consolidation of the Odrysian kingdom, in exchange for its gains and new position in the Chersonese. Whatever the true explanation is, these events mark a substantial restriction of the Odrysian political presence in the peninsula.

## **2.9. The long epilogue**

### **2.9.1. The Macedonian expansion**

**Philip II and the Thracian Chersonese.** The middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC was a turning point in the history of the Thracian Chersonese, the main reason for this chronological delimitation being the appearance of a new political factor – the Macedonian state with the avid interest of its rulers in the area, which was to define the course of events in the next couple of centuries until the Roman conquest.

Philip's successful political moves allowed him, soon after assuming power in Macedonia, to gain control of the lands around the lower Strymon. His subsequent campaigns against Kersebleptes doubtlessly affected the Odrysian possessions in the Thracian Chersonese and lead gradually to the establishment of Macedonian control there. The first definite information about this new relationship between the Chersonesian cities and the Macedonian king date to the time of his campaign in 346 BC. The peace of Philocrates recognized the peninsula as an Athenian possession, but significantly without Kardia, which was probably already conquered by Philip and became the basis for his operations on the peninsula and in the adjoining Thracian territories. The relations between this Chersonesian polis and the Macedonian king

were more than good – the sources mention citizens of Kardia particularly tolerated by Philip, some of whom gained positions among the Macedonian elite (Apollonides of Kardia, who got possession of some territories outside Agora, Eumenes of Kardia, the historian Hieronymos).

In practical terms Philip inherited the previous Odrysian possessions in the Northern parts of the Thracian Chersonese and undertook the functions of main arbiter. His establishment in the peninsula was a real threat for the Athenian possessions there, but the polis was helpless to resist. After the battle of Chaironea and the peace of 337 BC the Thracian Chersonese was lost for Athens and the poleis on the peninsula entered unanimously the Corinthian league.

**Alexander III in the Thracian Chersonese.** During the reign of Alexander the Great, the Thracian Chersonese is mentioned only once in connection with the crossing of the Hellespont in 334 BC. The Macedonian army made the usual passage between Sestos and Abydos. The pertinent question here is about the degree of integration of the peninsula in the Macedonian state and whether it was placed under the direct control of Alexander's strategoi for Thrace. The scarce data in the extant sources do not permit a definite appraisal of the territorial scope of the jurisdiction of the strategoi for Thrace. In the same period of time Hekataios is attested as tyrannos of Kardia, an arrangement probably imposed by the need of firm control over the strait in view of its strategic position. It is possible to assume that the jurisdiction of the tyrannos of Kardia was extended beyond the territory of the polis over the other cities in the peninsula, and if that was Alexander's arrangement, the Thracian Chersonese would not have been under the control of the strategos for Thrace.

### ***2.9.2. The Thracian Chersonese in the Hellenistic period***

**In the state of Lysimachos.** After the death of Alexander in 323 BC the Thracian Chersonese and Thrace fell under the rule of Lysimachos. His establishment on the strategic peninsula gave him the control over the strait, which was of particular importance in the ensuing struggles among the Diadochi. The building of Lysimacheia as the capital of his kingdom on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese is usually regarded by modern authors as symptomatic for the orientation of his political aspirations towards Asia Minor. In comparison to the cities in the Northern part of the peninsula, which were affected by the appearance of the new capital, the cities in the Southern part did not have any such troubles. Sestos began to mint coins in this period and seems to have played a special role in this area. After the battle of Ipsos in 301/300 BC Lysimachos came in possession of enormous territories in Asia Minor, which made the Chersonese a political and geographical centre of his state and contributed for the prosperity of the cities there.

**The Thracian Chersonese and the Seleucids.** After the death of Lysimachos the peninsula fell in the possession of the Seleucid dynasty. The rapid change of political events – the death of Seleukos, followed soon by that of his murderer Ptolemaios Keraunos, and the engagements of Antiochos I in Asia Minor, which did not allow him to pay much attention to the European lands, left the Thracian Chersonese unprotected and exposed to the Celtic invasion. The last however was of short dura-

tion and did not affect the economic potential of the cities seriously, an assumption supported by the intensive coinage of Lysimacheia.

Until the time of Antiochos II Theos the Seleucids did not succeed to pay any more attention to the lands beyond the straits. The sources mark a campaign of Antiochos II in Thrace, which can be dated to 253-246 BC. The numismatic evidence suggests Seleucid control over the Thracian Chersonese in this period, the peninsula being probably the base for the military operations of Antiochos in Thrace.

**The peninsula under Ptolemaic control.** The Seleucid presence in South-Eastern Thrace was short. The sudden death of Antiochos II and the beginning of a new military conflict between the Seleucids and the Ptolemaic dynasty in 246 BC brought a radical change in the political situation in the region. The victory of Ptolemaios III Euergetes over the Seleucids in 241 BC reflected on the destiny of the Thracian Chersonese, which fell under the rule of the Egyptian monarchy. In comparison with other Hellenistic rulers the Ptolemies paid more attention on the administrative organisation of their new territories – the office of „strategos of the places in Thrace and Hellespont“ is attested epigraphically, it was occupied ca. 228-225 BC by the Spartan Hippomedon. The Thracian Chersonese was still under Ptolemaic control during the reign of the following king Ptolemaios IV Philopator (221-204 BC), but by the end of the century the situation had presumably changed, as Lysimacheia is mentioned as an ally of the Aetolian league before 202 BC.

**The campaigns of Philip V in the Thracian Chersonese.** The decline of Egyptian power at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC during the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator prompted a political activation of Macedonia, where Philip V succeeded to the throne in 221 BC. The ambition to rebuild the Macedonian state in the boundaries from the time of Philip II determined his interest in the Thracian Chersonese. Using the crisis in the Ptolemaic dynasty after the death of Ptolemaios IV in 204 BC, he invaded the Ptolemaic possessions in Europe and in two campaigns (202 and 200 BC) conquered the littoral of Aegean and Propontic Thrace.

In both campaigns special attention was paid to the Thracian Chersonese – Lysimacheia was conquered in 202 BC, and the cities in the Southern part of the peninsula in the following campaign in 200 BC. Philip V however did not have enough time to establish his rule there, because after his defeat at Kynoskephale in 197 BC he was forced to withdraw his garrisons from the cities.

In the peace treaty of 196 BC between Rome and the Macedonian state the fate of the Thracian cities was not particularly mentioned, but according to the general proclamation of freedom for all the Greek poleis they should also have regained their autonomy. The destiny of the Chersonesian cities after Philip's retreat however was unfortunate – soon after Lysimacheia was attacked and ruined by the Thracians. For the first time after Kotys and Kersebleptes the sources mention again the presence of the Thracians in the region of the peninsula. Most probably these were the Caeni, who are attested there later under their kings Diegylis and Zibelmios.

**Antiochos III in the peninsula.** The defeat of Philip V in the Second Macedonian war created a political vacuum in the region of Aegean and Propontic Thrace.



The Thracians were not the only ones to profit from this situation, which also drew into action the ex-ally of Philip V, the Seleucid king Antiochos III, who was trying to rebuild the former might of the Seleucid Empire. According to the sources he undertook two main campaigns in Thrace – one in 196 BC, aimed particularly at the Thracian Chersonese, and one in 195 BC, when he turned towards the interior of Thrace. From the cities in Chersonese, Madytos and Sestos are particularly mentioned in connection with these campaigns. Antiochos spent special efforts on the rebuilding of Lysimacheia after the previous Thracian attack. An epigraphic monument with the text of a treaty between the polis and Antiochos III attests his tolerant treatment of the Chersonesian city.

The Seleucid ruler however was also short of time to affirm his stable power in the peninsula. His aggressive strategy led soon to a military conflict with Rome and its allies in Hellas. The treaty of Apamea in 188 BC provided that he too should leave the Thracian Chersonese.

**Under Attalid rule.** According to the treaty of Apamea the Thracian Chersonese and the neighbouring regions in Thrace were conferred to the Roman ally Eumenes II (197-160 BC). There is no definite information in the extant sources about the administrative organisation of the new Attalid possessions in Thrace. A military commander of Eumenes – Korragos was appointed for „strategos of the places around the Hellespont“ between 189 and 171 BC. His title is reminiscent of that known from Ptolemaic times – „strategos of the places in Thrace and the Hellespont“, and Korragos was probably in charge of the same territory, including the Thracian Chersonese. After 145 BC the office was redefined as „strategos of the Chersonese and the places in Thrace“, and was occupied at that time by Straton. The reorganisation was necessitated by the wars of the Attalids against the Thracian tribe of the Caeni and the need of quick reaction for the rebuilding of the destroyed cities. Sestos was in this age the main city in the peninsula – only it had the right to mint coin, and the seat of Straton was probably also there.

The Thracian activities in the region of South-Eastern Thrace in the time of the Attalids date from 188 BC, when the united powers of the Asti, Caeni, Maduateni and Korpili attacked the Roman army of Gn. Manlius Vulso on its return from Asia Minor. This local tribal union must have existed in the hinterland of the Chersonese probably since the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, and the Attalid rulers had to take it into consideration. It became a primary political factor in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, in the time of Attalus II, during the reign of the first king of the Caeni attested in the sources – Diegylis. The ancient authors mention his operations against the Attalid possessions in Thrace, including the pillage and destruction of Lysimacheia ca. 145 BC. This forced Attalus to undertake a military campaign against the Caeni, in which Diegylis was defeated. The attacks of the Thracians however did not stop during the rule his son and successor Zibelmios, who probably reached as far as Sestos. The last Attalid ruler – Attalus III, was forced to fight against him.

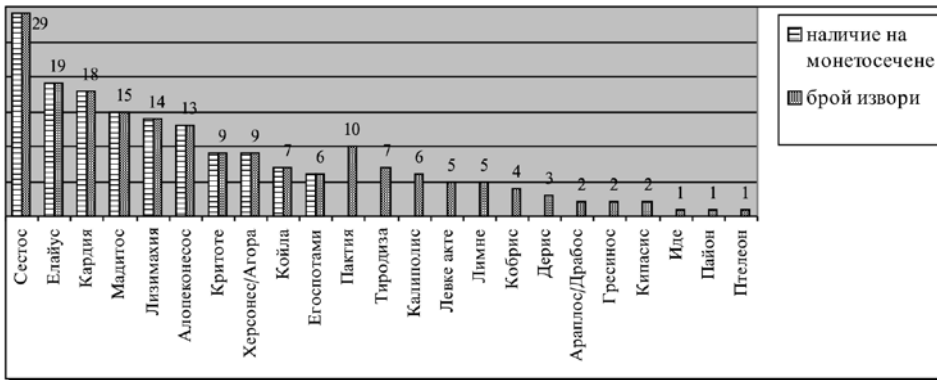
According to the testament of Attalus III who died childless in 133 BC, his kingdom (including the Chersonese) was bequeathed to Rome, and this opened a

new page in the history of the peninsula. The first definite information about the establishment of Roman rule there comes from an inscription found on the island of Knidos and dated to 101-100 BC, attesting the appurtenance of the „Caenic Chersonese“ to the Roman province of Macedonia. The analysis of this text suggests the extrapolation from this definition of the names of two separate administrative units – the Thracian Chersonese and Caenica.

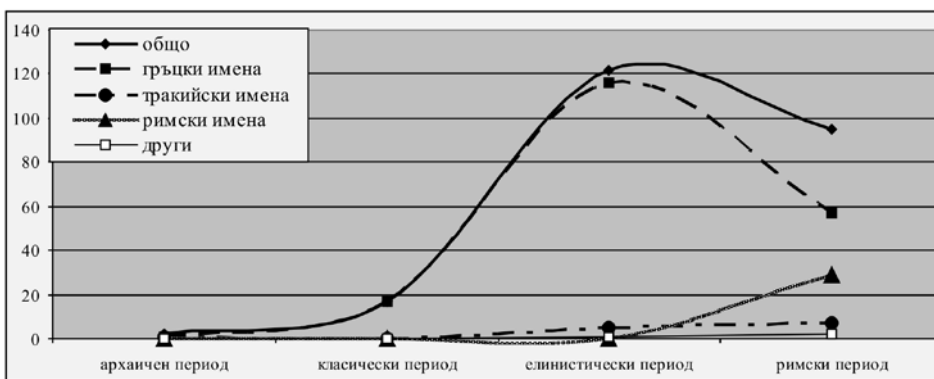


# ПРИЛОЖЕНИЯ

## Фигури и таблици

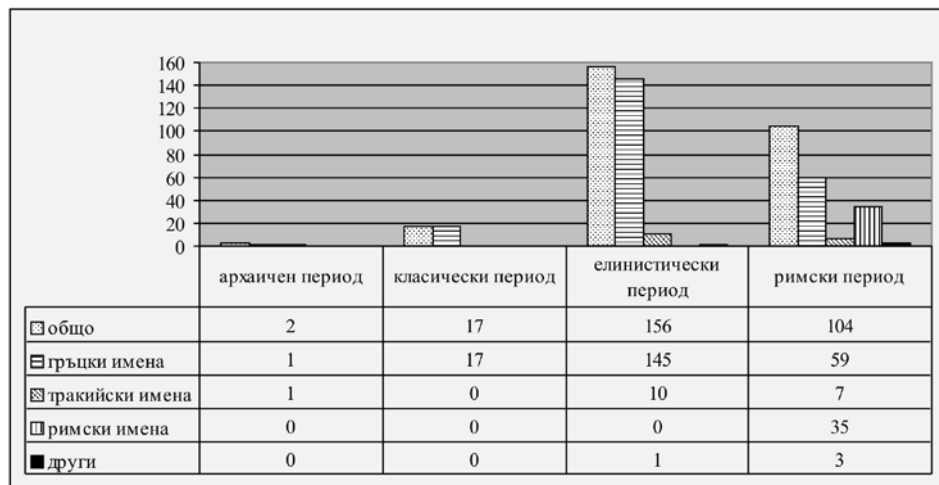
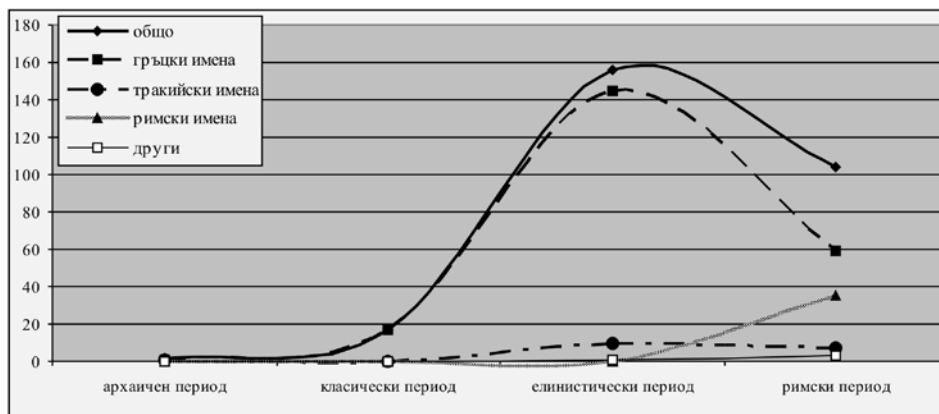


Фиг. 1. Разпределение на градовете на Тракийския Херсонес според броя на споменаванията им в изворите и наличието на монетосечене.

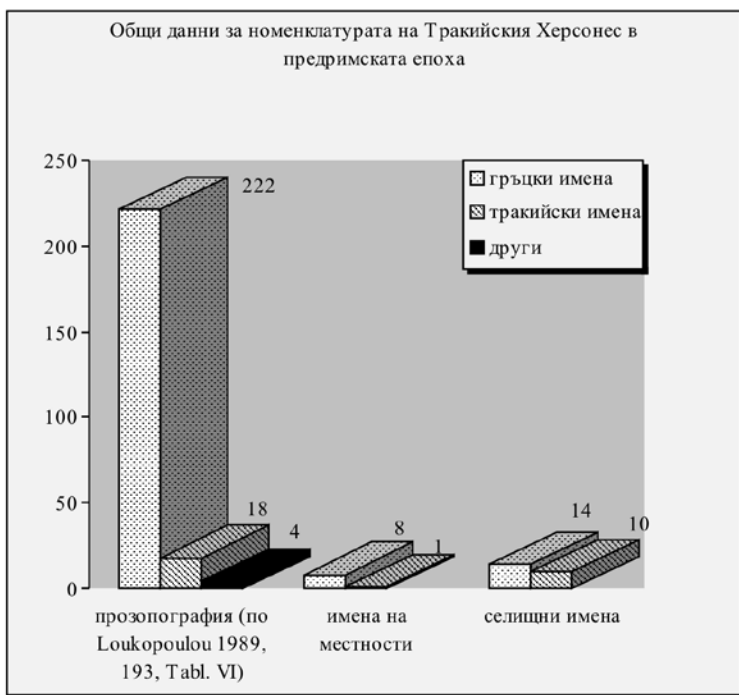


Категория	архаичен период	класически период	елинистически период	римски период
общо	2	17	122	95
гръцки имена	1	17	116	57
тракийски имена	1	0	5	7
римски имена	0	0	0	29
други	0	0	1	2

Фиг. 2. Ономастика на Тракийския Херсонес  
(no Loukopoulou 1989, 193, Tabl. VI, 197 Fig. 14).



Фиг. 3. Просопография на Тракийския Херсонес (no Loukouroulou 1989, 193, Tabl. VI, 197 Fig. 14).



Фиг. 4. Обща номенклатура на Тракийския Херсонес.

## Селища на Тракийския Херсонес

град	извори	дата на основаване	локализация
Алопеконесос	Л: Arist. hist. an. 598a 22 Dem. 18. 92; 23. 166, 168 Ephor. fr. 39 Mela 2. 27 Plin. nat. 4. 12. 74 Schol. in Aeschin. 3. 51 Ps.-Skyl. 67 Skymn. 705–706 Strab. 7. fr. 52 Theoprast. fr. 167 E: ATL Krauss 1980, №№ 2, 3, 4, 10 <i>монетосечене</i>	втората половина на 7–6 в. пр. Хр	н. Кючюк Кемикли бурун
Араплос/Драбос	Л: Ps.-Skyl. 67 Strab. 7. fr. 52	4 в. пр. Хр.	<i>южно от Алопеконесос</i>
Гресинос	Л: St. Byz. s. Γρησίνοσ E: ? IG II <sup>2</sup> , 1443, 95	4 в. пр. Хр.	?
Дерис	Л: Ps.-Skyl. 67 ?St. Byz. s. v. Δειρη E: ?ATL	?4 в. пр. Хр.	<i>между устието на р. Мелас и Кардия</i>
Егоспотами = Киса/Креса	Л: Marm. Par. fr. 57 Ps.-Skyl. 67 Stab. 7. fr. 56 (55) Plin. nat. 4. 11. 49 St. Byz. s. v. Αιγός ποταμοί <i>монетосечене</i>	4 в. пр. Хр.	с. Джумалъкьой
Елайус	Л: Arr. An. 1. 11. 5f. Dem. 18. 92; 23.158; Diod. 13. 39. 2; 13. 49. 5 Hdt. 6. 140ff.; 7. 22 Mela. 2. 26 Paus. 1. 34. 2; 3. 4. 6 Plin. nat. 4. 11. 49; 16. 238	втората половина на 7 в. пр. Хр.	Ески Хисарлък, дн. паметник Абиде



град	извори	дата на основаване	локализация
	Plut. Lys. 9 Proc. De aedif. 4. 10. Ps.-Skyl. 67 Ptol. 3. 11. 9 Skymn. 707f. St. Byz. s.)Ελαιοῦς Strab. 7. fr.52 (51), fr. 56 (55); 13.1.31 Thuc. 8. 103. 3; 107. 2 Xen. Hell. 2. 1. 20 E: ATL Krauss 1980, № 3 <i>монетосечене</i>		
Иде	Л: Ps.-Skyl. 67	4 в. пр. Хр.	<i>южно от Кардия</i>
Калиполис	Л: Liv. 31. 26. 4 Strab. 7. fr. 56 Ptol. 3.11.9 Proc. De aedif. 4. 22. St. Byz. s. Καλλιόπολις E: Krauss 1980, № 4	3 в. пр. Хр.	дн. Гелиболу
Кардия	Л: App. b.c. 4.88 Dem. 5. 25; 7. 41–44; 8. 58, 64; 9. 35; 23. 169, 181f. Diod. 13. 49. 3; 16. 34. 4 Haron fr. 9 Hdt. 6. 33, 36, 41; 7. 56, 58; 9. 115 Mela 2. 27 Paus. 1. 9. 8; 1. 10. 5 Plin. nat. 4. 11. 48f. Ptol. 3. 11. 9 Ps.-Skyl. 67 Skymn. 699 St. Byz. s. v. Καρδίη, Λυσι- μάχεια Strab. 7. fr. 52 (51), 54 (53) Theopomp. fr. 6 Xen. Hell. 1. 1. 11	7–6 в. пр. Хр.	н. Бакла бурун

град	извори	дата на основаване	локализация
	Е: IG II <sup>2</sup> 8960, 8961 IG IV 1 <sup>2</sup> 49 <i>монетосечене</i>		
Кипасис	Л: Hct. fr. 162 Ps.-Skyl. 67	кр. 6 в. пр. Хр.	<i>между устието на р. Мелас и Кардия</i>
Кобрис	Л: Ps.-Skyl. 67; Theopomp. fr. 84 Dem. 12. 3 Proc. De aeidf. 4. 21f.	4 в. пр. Хр	<i>между устието на р. Мелас и Кардия</i>
Койла	Л: Mela. 2. 2. 22–27 Plin. nat. 4. 11. 40, 49; 4. 12. 74 Ptol. 3. 11. 9 Е: Krauss 1980, №№ 10, 28, 31, 37		дн. Килия
Критоте	Л: Dem. 23. 158, 161 Hellan. fr. 27 Ephor. fr. 40; Ptol. 3.11.9 Skymn. 711 Ps.-Skyl. 67 Strab. 7. fr. 56 St. Byz. s. Κριθώτη <i>монетосечене</i>	556/5 г. пр. Хр.	<i>северно от Калиполис</i>
Левке акте	Л: Dem. 7. 39f. Harpokr. s. v. Λευκὴ ἄκτῃ Hdt. 7.25 Liv. 14.27 Ps.-Skyl. 67	5 в. пр. Хр.	<i>след Пактия – преди Туристасис</i>
Лизимахия	Л: App. Syr. 3ff. Cass. Dio. 284.20, 27, 288.16 Diod. 20.29.1; 28.12.1; 33. fr. 14 Liv. 33.38.11–12; 38.40 Marmor Parium fr. 19 Mela 2.24 Paus. 1.9.8	309/8 г. пр. Хр.	дн. Булаир

град	извори	дата на основаване	локализация
	Plin. nat. 4.11.40 Polyb. 15.23.9, 18.3.1, 4.5, 51.7, 21.46.9 Ptol. 3.11.7 Skymn. 703; Strab. 7. fr. 54 E: Krauss 1980, № 4 <i>монетосечене</i>		
Лимне	Л: Hct. fr. 164 Skymn. 705–706 Strab. 7. fr. 52 (51) E: ATL ?Krauss 1980, № 4	7–6 в. пр. Хр.	<i>езерото до залива Сулва</i>
Мадитос	Л: Dem. 18. 92 Hct. fr. 165 Hdt. 7.33; 9.120 Liv. 31. 16. 5; 33. 38. 8; 38. 40 Ptol. 3. 11. 9 Ps.-Skyl. 67 Skymn. 709 St. Byz. s. v. Μαδυτός Strab. 7. fr. 56 (55) Xen. Hell. 1.1.3 E: ATL Krauss 1980, №№ 2, 3, 4? <i>монетосечене</i>	7–6 в. пр. Хр.	дн. Еджеабат
Пайон	Л: Ps.-Skyl. 67	4 в. пр. Хр.	<i>северно от Алопеконесос</i>
Пактия	Л: Diod. 13.74.2 Hdt. 6. 36 Hellanic. fr. 127 Herodor. fr. 35 Nep. Alc. 7 Plin. nat. 4.48 Ptol. 3.11.4 Ps.-Skyl. 67 Skymn. 712 Strab. 7. fr. 52 (51), 54 (53), 56 (55)	556/5 г. пр. Хр.	<i>Булаир иске-леси?</i>

град	извори	дата на основаване	локализация
Птелеон	Л: Dem. 7. 39	4 в. пр. Хр.	<i>между р. Мелас и Кардия</i>
Сестос	Л: App. Syr. 98, 113; b. c. 4.82, 87 Arist. rhet. 3.20.7 Arr. an. 1.11.5f. Dem. 18. 92 Diod. 11.37.4; 13.39.5; 13.106.8 Ephor. fr. 86 Hdt. 4.143; 7. 33, 78; 9. 114–119 Hom. Il. 2. 836 Liv. 33.38.9 Mela 2.26 Ov. her. 18.2 Plin. hist. 4.49 Plut. Lys. 14.2 Polyb. 4.44.6; 16.29; 34.7.14 Proc. De aedif. 4. 10 Ps.-Skyl. 67 Ptol. 3.11.9 Skymn. 710 Solin. 10. 21 St. Byz. s. v. Σηστός Strab. 2.4.8; 2.5.22; 7.fr. 52 (51), fr. 56 (55); 13.1.2; 13.1.6; 13.1.22 Theopomp. fr. 390 Thuc. 1.89.2; 8.62.3 Xen. Hell. 1.1.7; 2.1.25; 4.8.5; E: ATL Krauss 1980, №№ 1, 3, 5 <i>монетосечене</i>	7–6 в. пр. Хр.	
Тиродиза/ Тиристасис	Л: Dem. 12.3 Hdt. 7.25 Hellanic. fr. 62		с. Шаркьой (б.Перистери)

град	извори	дата на основаване	локализация
	Ps.-Skyl. 67 Plin. nat. 4. 11. 48 St. Byz. s. v. Τυρόδιζα E: ATL I 428f.		
Херсонес	Л: Hct. fr. 163; Schol ad Aristoph. equit. 262; Schol. ad Eur. Hec. 8; <i>монетосечене</i>	556/5 г. пр. Хр.	дн. Булаир
Агора	Л: Hdt. 7. 58; Demosth. 7. 39; 41 Ps.-Skyl 67; St. Byz. s. v. Ἀγορα, s. v. Ἀγοραῖον τεῖχος; E: ATL		

Таблица 2.

Варианти на селищните имена на Тракийския Херсонес в различните извори през епохите: литературни (Л), епиграфски паметници (Е) и монети (М)

период град	до ср. 6 в. пр. Хр.	втората половина на 6 в. пр. Хр.	5 в. пр. Хр.	4 в. пр. Хр.	3–1 в. пр. Хр.	1–4 в.	4–6 в.
Агора			ATL	Л, Е			
Алопеконес			ATL	Л, М,	Л, М, Е	Л, Е	
Араплос				Л			
Гресинос				Л, Е?			
Дерис				Л			
Драбос					Л		
Егоспотами				М	Л, М	Л	
Елайус			ATL	Л, М	Л, М	Л, Е	Л
Иде				Л			
Калиполис					Л	Л, Е	Л
Кардия				Л, М	Л	Л	
Келос						Л	
Киберис							Л
Кипасис		Л		Л			
Киса						Л	
Кобрис				Л			
Койлос						Л, М	
Креса				Л			
Критеа						Л	
Критоте				Л, М	Л, М	Л	
Левке акте				Л			
Лизимахия				М (от 306 г.)	Л, М	Л	
Лимне		Л	ATL	Е	Л		
Мадитос		Л		Л, М	Л	Л	
Пайон				Л			
Пактия				Л	Л	Л	
Птелеон				Л			
Сестос	Л	Л	ATL	Л, Е	Л, М	Л, М, Е	Л
Тиродиза			ATL, Л				
Тиристасис						Л	
Херсонес		Л, М	ATL	Л, Е, М			

Таблица 3.

Размер на фороса (в драхми) на градовете на Тракийския Херсонес, Имброс и Лемнос в Първия Атински морски съюз (по АТЛ I): „?“ – запазен размер на фороса; „+“ – запазена пълната сума; \* – по Maffre 2003, 119, п. 2

период	лист	година	Алопеконесос	Елайус	Лимне	Мадитос	Сестос	Херсонес	херсонесци от Агора
1	1	454/3						18 T	
	2	453/2						18 T	
	3	452/1	?					18 T	
	4	451/0							
2	5	450/49	3240					13 T 4840 Dr	
	6	449/8	не е събиран данък						
	7	448/7							
	8	447/6		3000	2000			?	
3	9	446/5	?	3000	?		?		
	10	445/4	?	3000	?	?	?	?	
	11	444/3	?	3000	?	?	?	?	
4	12	443/2	1000	3000	500	500	500	1 T	
	13	442/1	1000	3000	500	500	500	1 T	
	14	441/0	1000	3000	500	500	500		1 T
	15	440/39	1000	3000	500	500	500	1 T	
	16	439/8							
5	17	438/7							
	18	437/6	листът не е запазен						
	19	436/5							
	20	435/4	2000	3000	500	2000	1000		1 T
6	21	434/3							
	22	433/2	2000	3000	1100	2000	1000	1 T	
	23	432/1	2000	3000	1000	2000	1000	1 T	
	24	431/0							
7	25	430/29	1860+	3000	?	2000	1000*		?
	26	429/8	2000	1920+	?	2000	1000		?
	27	428/7							
	28	427/6							
	29	426/5							

8	30	425/4	<i>листът не е възстановим – няма сигурни фрагменти</i>						
	31	424/3							
	32	423/2							
	33	422/1							
9	34	421/0	?	?		2000	?		?
	35	420/19							
	36	419/8							
10	37	418/7							
	38–40	417/6– 415/4	<i>листите не са възстановими – няма сигурни фрагменти</i>						
11	41–44	414/3– 411/0	<i>не е събиран данък</i>						
12	45	410/09	<i>листът не е възстановим – няма сигурни фрагменти</i>						
	46	409/8							
	47–49	408/7– 406/5	<i>листите не са възстановими – няма сигурни фрагменти</i>						
<i>ци- там</i>	<i>ATL I 227</i>	<i>ATL I 270</i>	<i>ATL I 333</i>	<i>ATL I336</i>	<i>ATL I 400</i>	<i>ATL I 440</i>	<i>ATL I 440</i>		

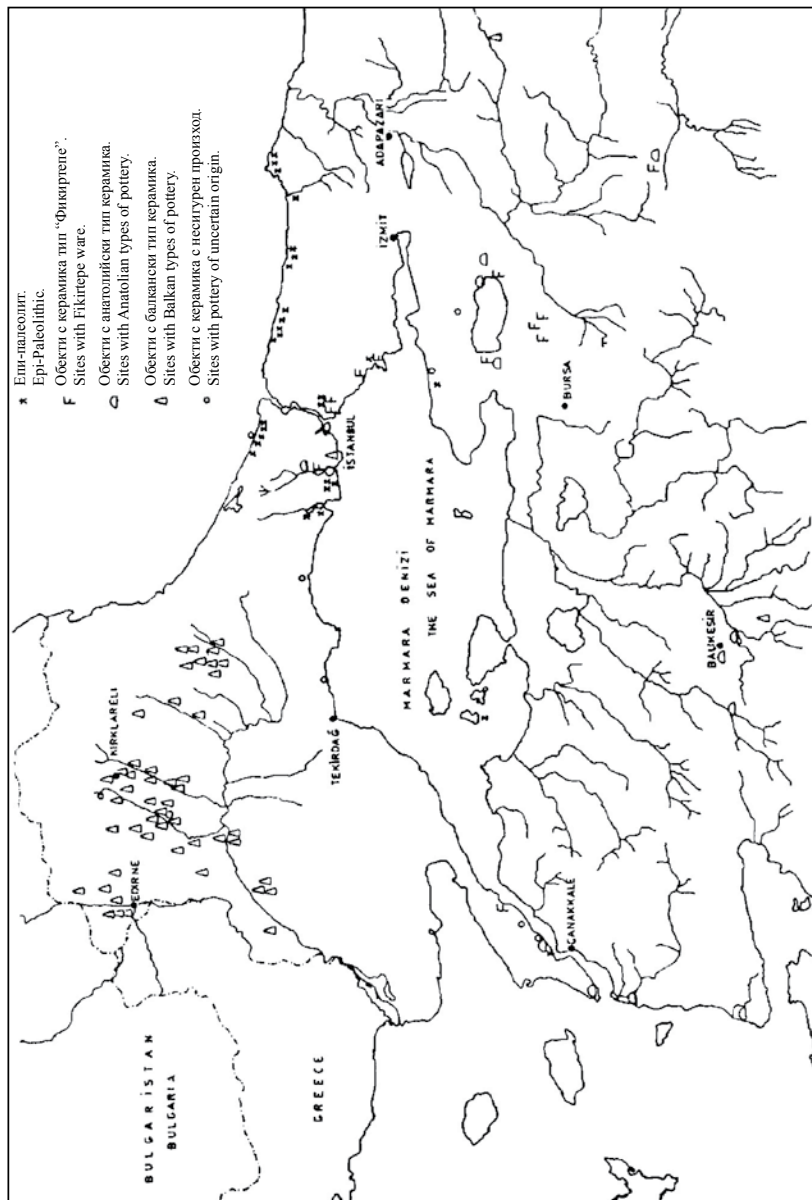


## *Хронологическа таблица*

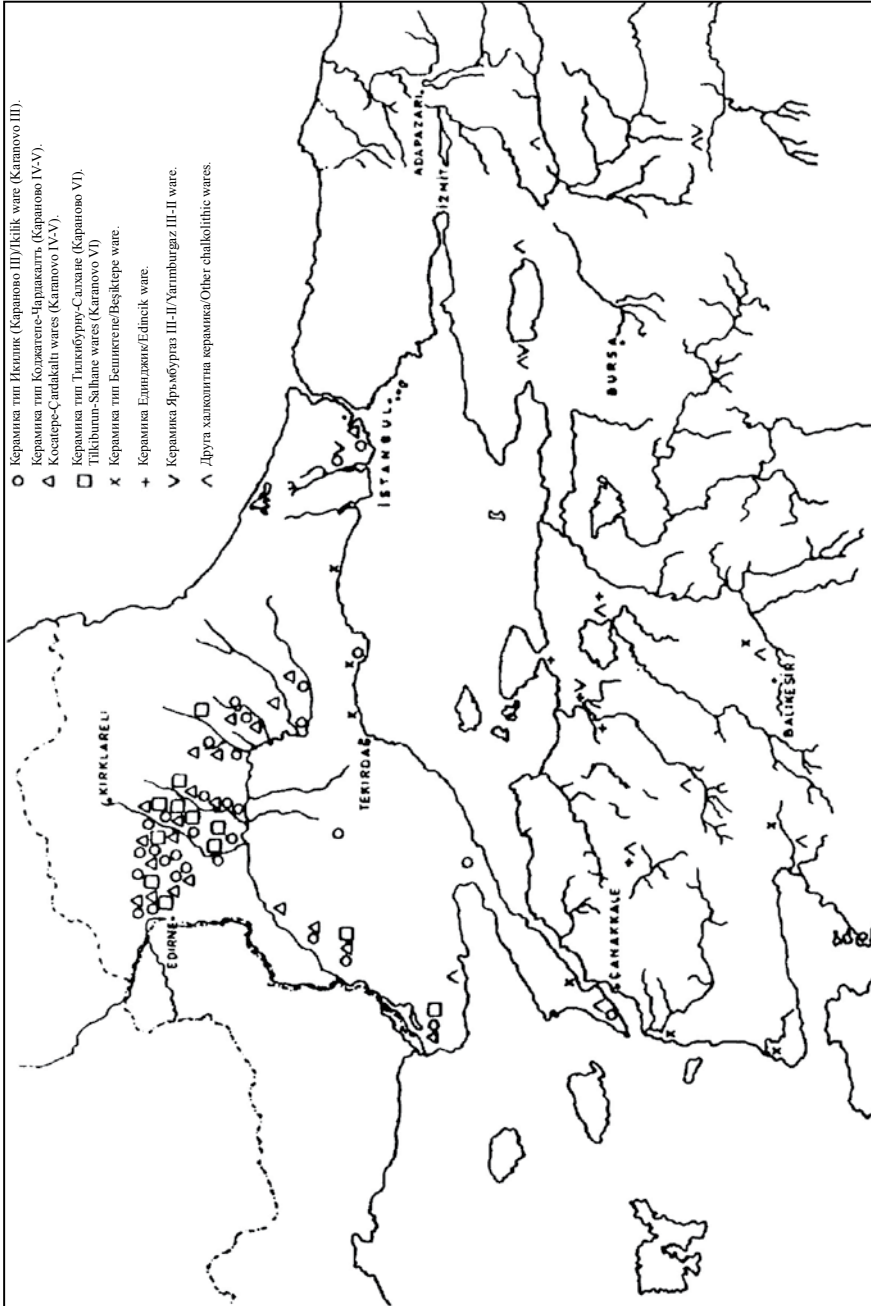
8 в.	първи данни за района на Тракийския Херсонес в Омировия епос
650–550	установяване на гръцките колонии на полуострова
556–493	Филаидите на Тракийския Херсонес
556-сл. 528/7	Милтиад Стари
сл. 528/7–516/5	Стесагор
516/5–493	Милтиад Младия
493–478	установяване на персийски контрол
478/7	обсада на Сестос от атиняните на Ксантип
477–471	обсада на Сестос от Кимон
466	завладяване на полуострова от Кимон
447	настаняване на клерухите на Перикъл
с. 425	Еврипидовата драма „Хекуба“
411 или 405	обсада на Кардия? от Севт I
406–405	Алкивиад на Тракийския Херсонес
405	битката при Егоспотами
404–395/4	период на спартанска хегемония
403–401	Клеарх на Тракийския Херсонес
400/399	Киниск на Тракийския Херсонес
398	възстановяване на стената на Тракийския Херсонес от Деркилид
395/4	Агезилай преминава през Тракийския Херсонес
386	договор на Атина с Хербизелм
до юни/юли 365	Сестос и Критоте под властта на Ариобарзан
365	обсада на Сестос от Котис
след юни/юли 365	предаване на Сестос и Критоте на Тимотей
363–360	войната на Котис за Херсонес
лято 362	въстанието на Милтокид
есента 360	обсада на Елайус и Критоте
360–357	войната на Керсеблепт за Херсонес
357	договор между Атина и Берисад, Амадок и Керсеблепт
355/4	атински декрет за проксения на Филиск от Сестос
353/2	завладяване на Сестос от Харес; Керсеблепт предава полуострова на Атина; изпращане на атински клерухи в Херсонес

352/1	атински декрет за Сестос
преди 346	съюз на Филип с Кардия
343/2	изпращане на атински клерухи на Тракийския Херсонес с Диопейтес; реч на Демостен „За Халонесос“
341	реч на Демостен „За делата в Херсонес“
341/0	атински декрет за Елайус
334	Александър III преминава през полуострова
323–281	под властта на Лизимах
309	основаване на Лизимахия
287	земетресението в Тракийския Херсонес, което засяга Лизимахия
278	нашествие на келтите на Леонорий и Лутарий на полуострова
277	поражение на келтите при Лизимахия от Антигон Гонат
281–241	период на Селевкидска власт
241–206	под властта на Птолемеите
206–202	Лизимахия става етолийски съюзник
202–197	Антигонидите на Тракийския Херсонес
202	Филип V завладява Лизимахия
200	Елайус, Алопеконесос, Калиполис и Мадитос под властта на Филип V
197	разрушаване на Лизимахия от траките
196–190	Антиох III на Тракийския Херсонес
188–133	Аталидска власт
145	Поход на Атал II срещу Диегилис
133–129	Надпис на Менас от Сестос
101	Надпис от Книдос за „Кенийския Херсонес“

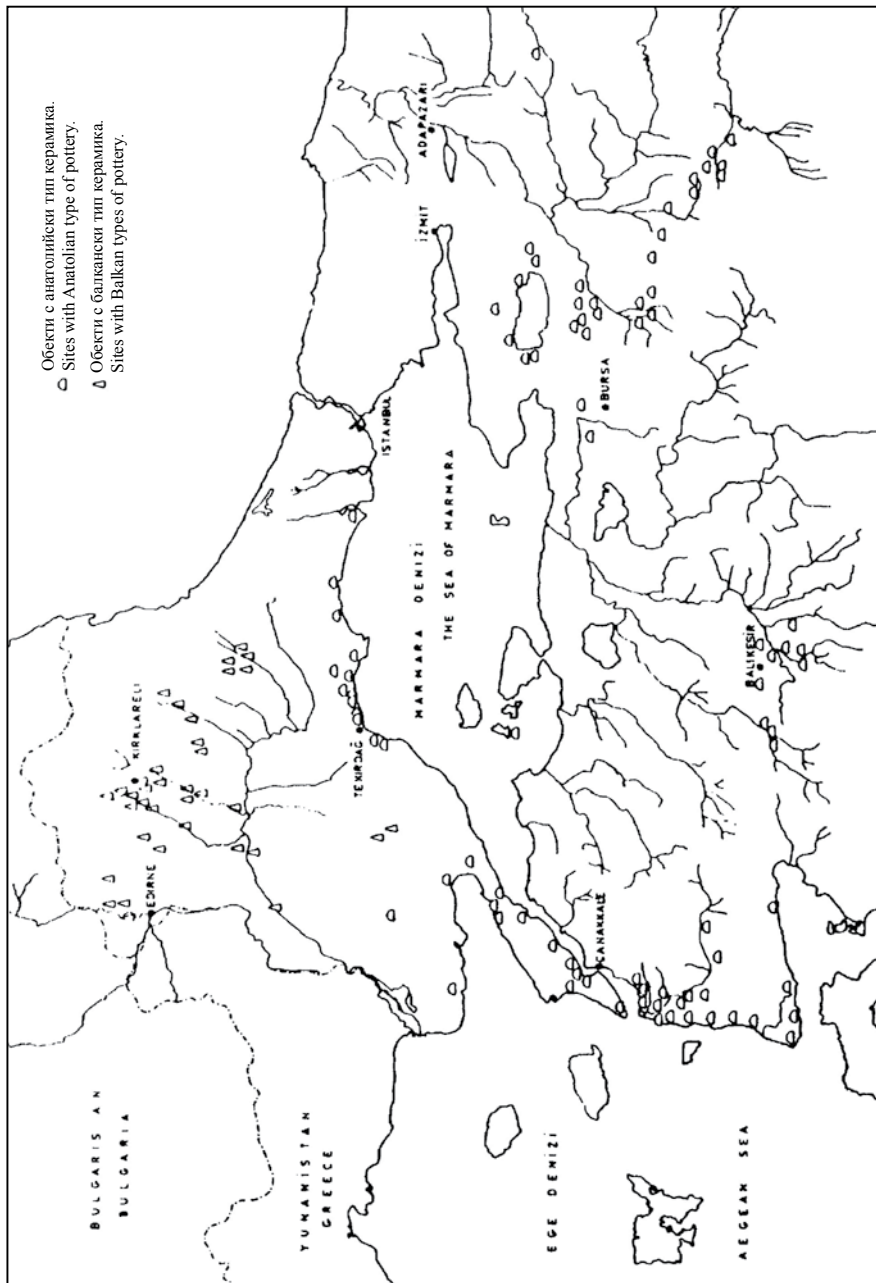
## КАРТИ И ИЛЮСТРАЦИИ



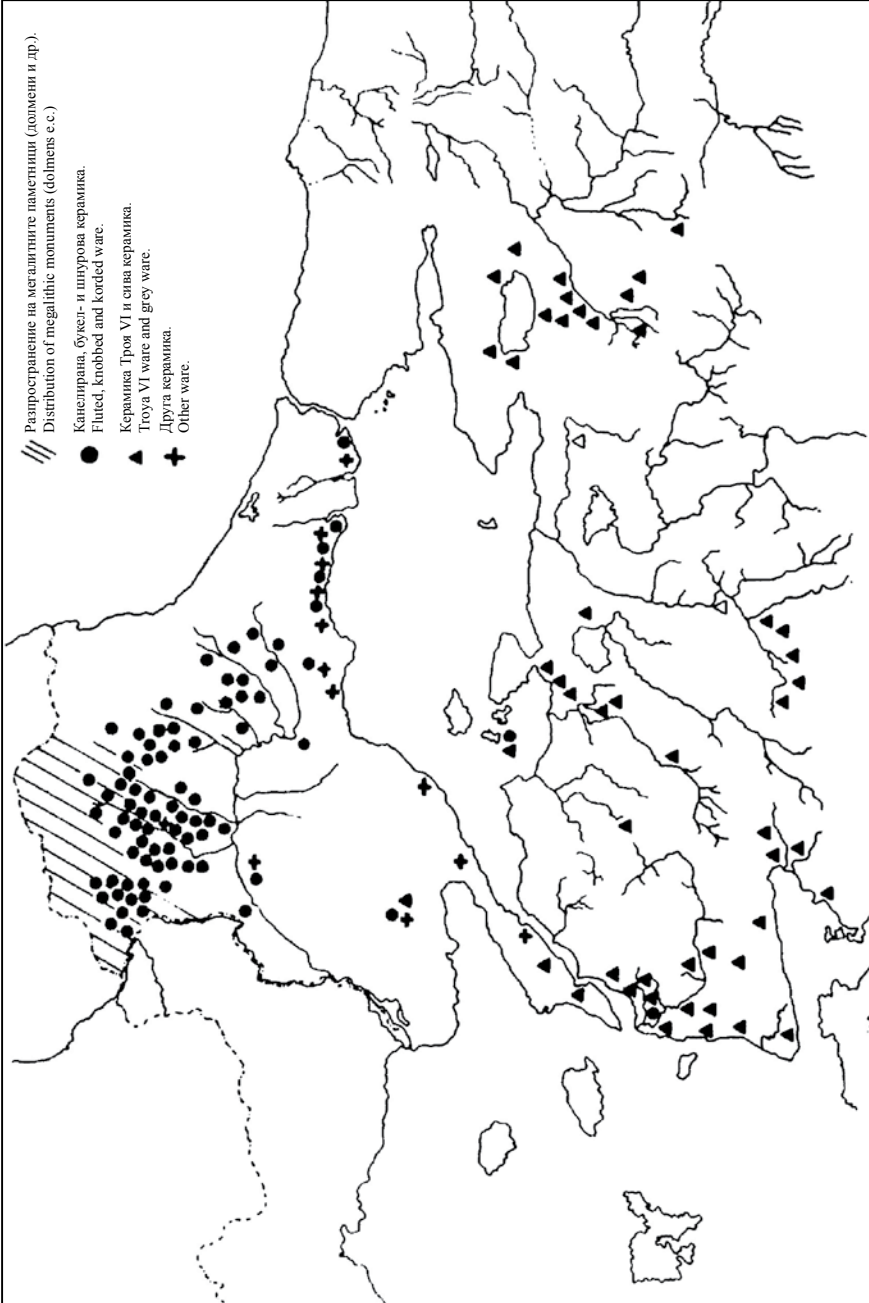
Карта 1. Районът на Мраморно море преди 3 хилядолетия пр. Хр. (по Özdoğan 1987, 165, Res. 2).  
 Map 1. Marmara region before 3rd mill. BC (after Özdoğan 1987, 165, Res. 2).



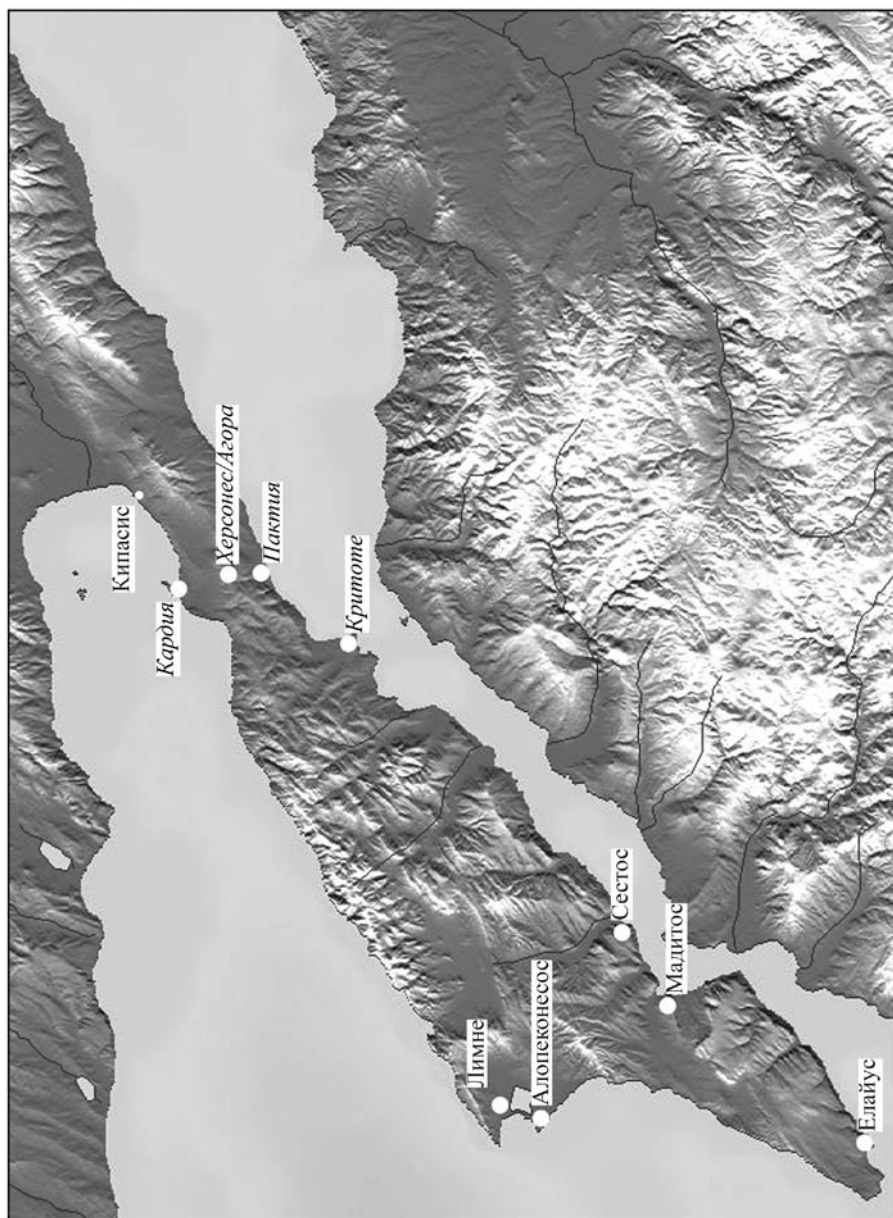
Карта 2. Районът на Мраморно море през халколита (по Özdoğan 1990, 368, Res. 11).  
 Map 2. Marmara region, Chalcolithic period (after Özdoğan 1990, 369, Res. 12).



Карта 3. Районът на Мраморно море през Ранната бронзова епоха (по Özdoğan 1987, 166, Res. 3).  
 Map 3. Marmara region in the Early Bronze Age (after Özdoğan 1987, 166, Res. 3).



Карта 4. Районът на Мраморно море, краят на 2 хил. - началото на 1 хил. пр. Хр. (по Özdoğan 1990, 369, Res. 12).  
 Map 4. Marmara region, late 2nd to early 1st mill. BC (after Özdoğan 1990, 369, Res. 12).

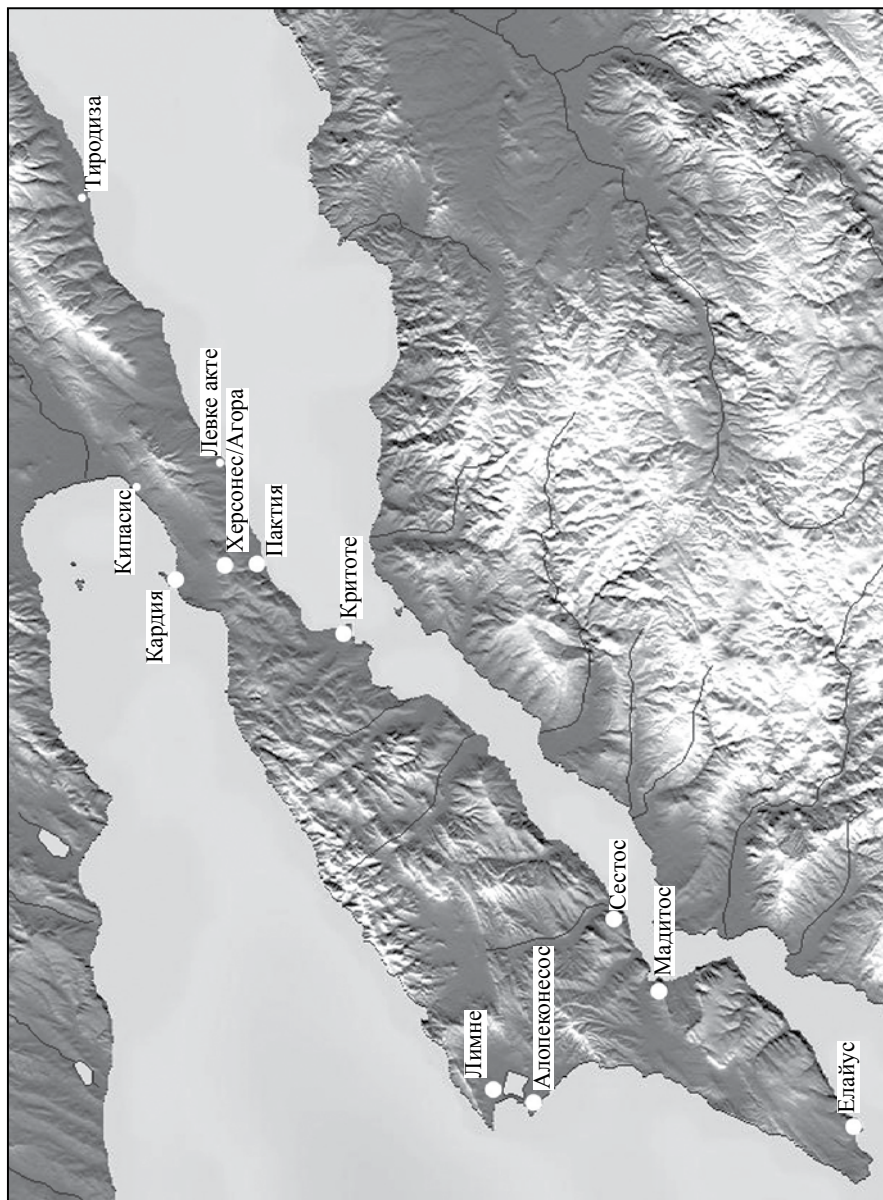


Карта 5. Селища на Тракийския Херсонес от епохата на гръцката колонизация.

Map 5. Settlements in the Thracian Chersonese from the time of the Greek colonisation.

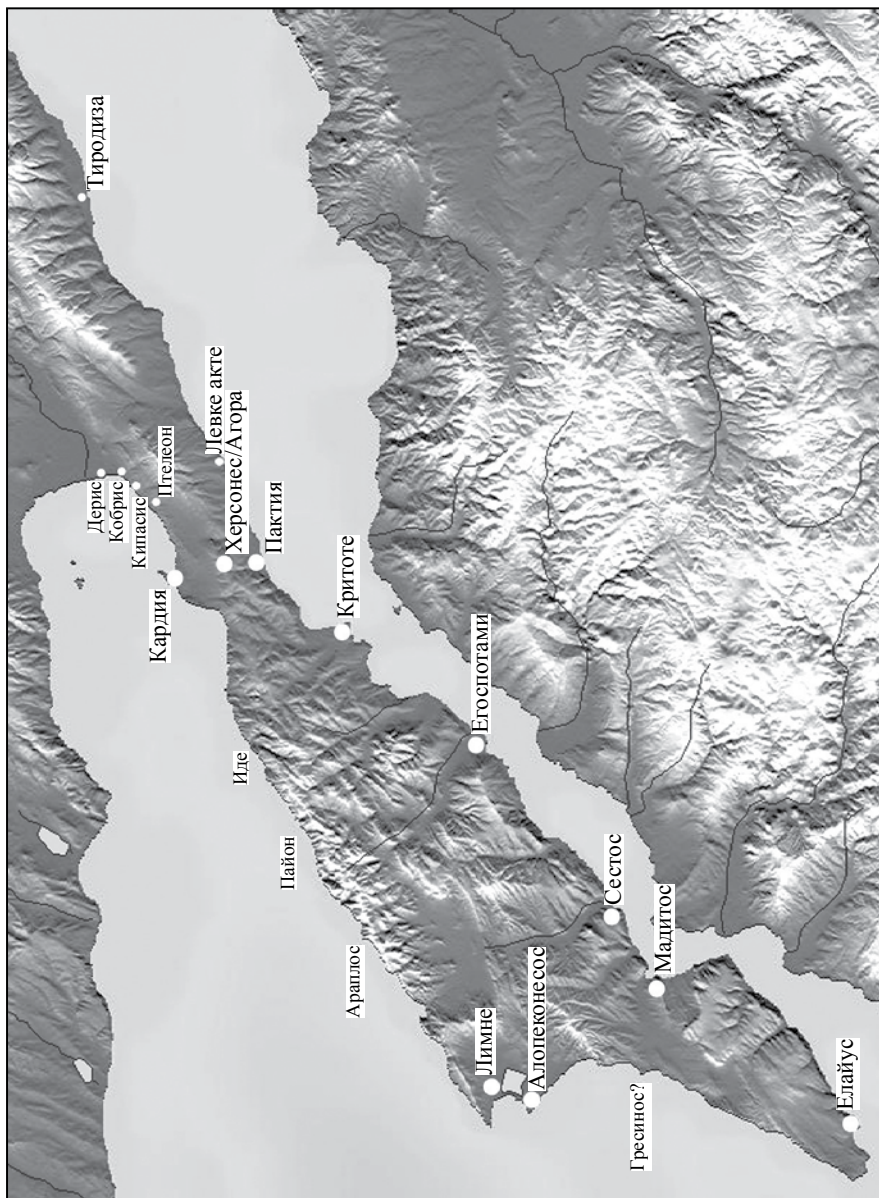
*Критоте - селища, основани от Милтиад Стари.*

*Kithote - settlements, founded by Miltiades the Elder.*

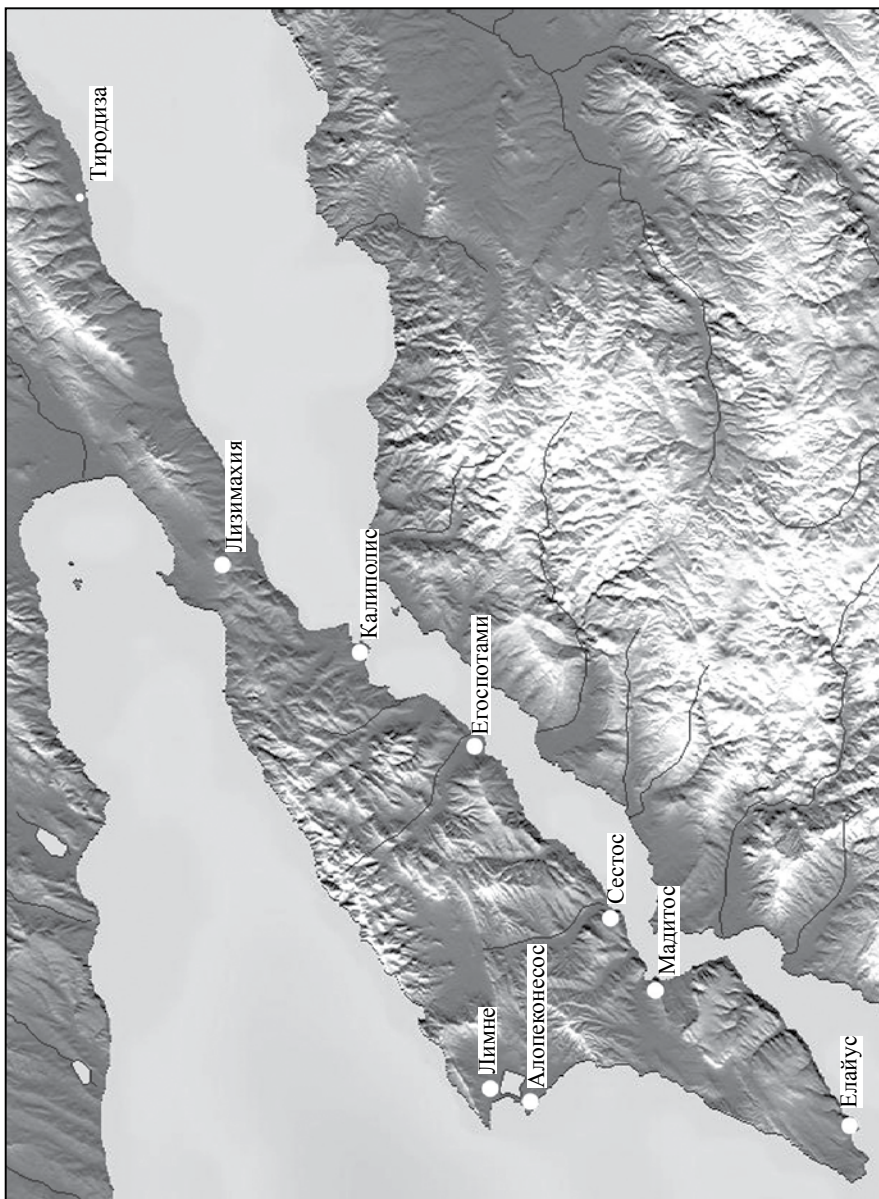


Карта 6. Селища на Тракийския Херсонес през 5 в. пр. Хр.  
Map 6. Settlements in the Thracian Chersonese from the 5th c. BC.

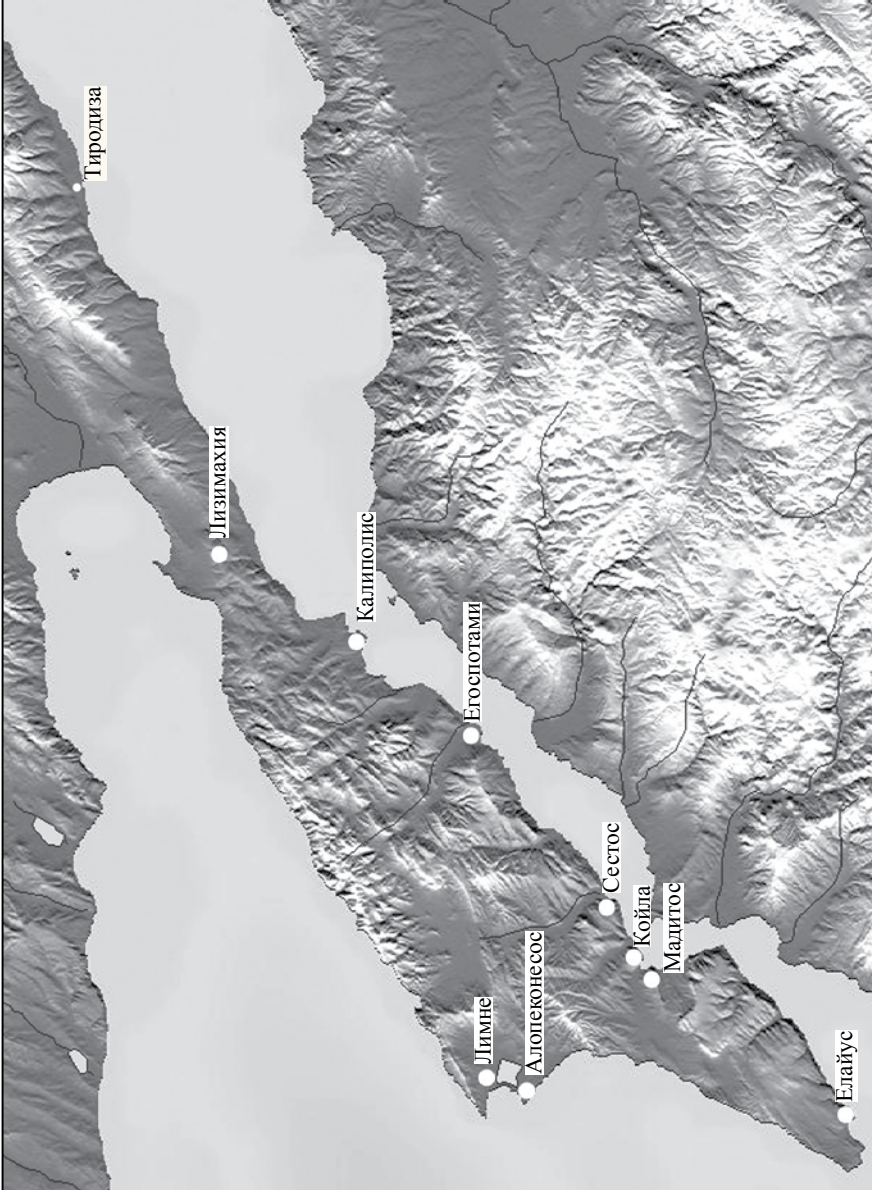




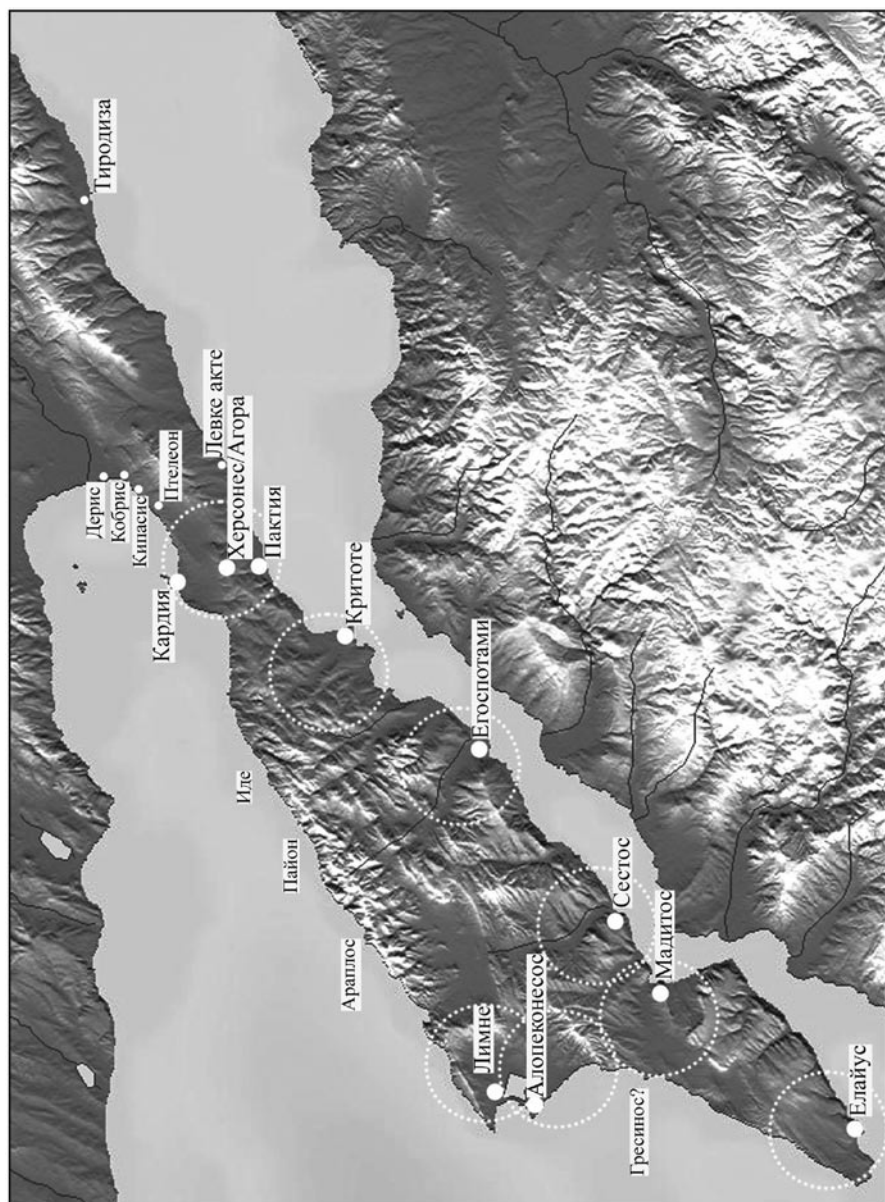
Карта 7. Селища на Тракийския Херсонес през 4 в. пр. Хр.  
 Map 7. Settlements in the Thracian Chersonese from the 4th c. BC.



Карта 8. Селища на Тракийския Херсонес през еллинистическата епоха.  
Map 8. Settlements in the Thracian Chersonese from the Hellenistic times.



Карта 9. Селища на Тракийския Херсонес през римската епоха.  
Map 9. Settlements in the Thracian Chersonese from Roman times.

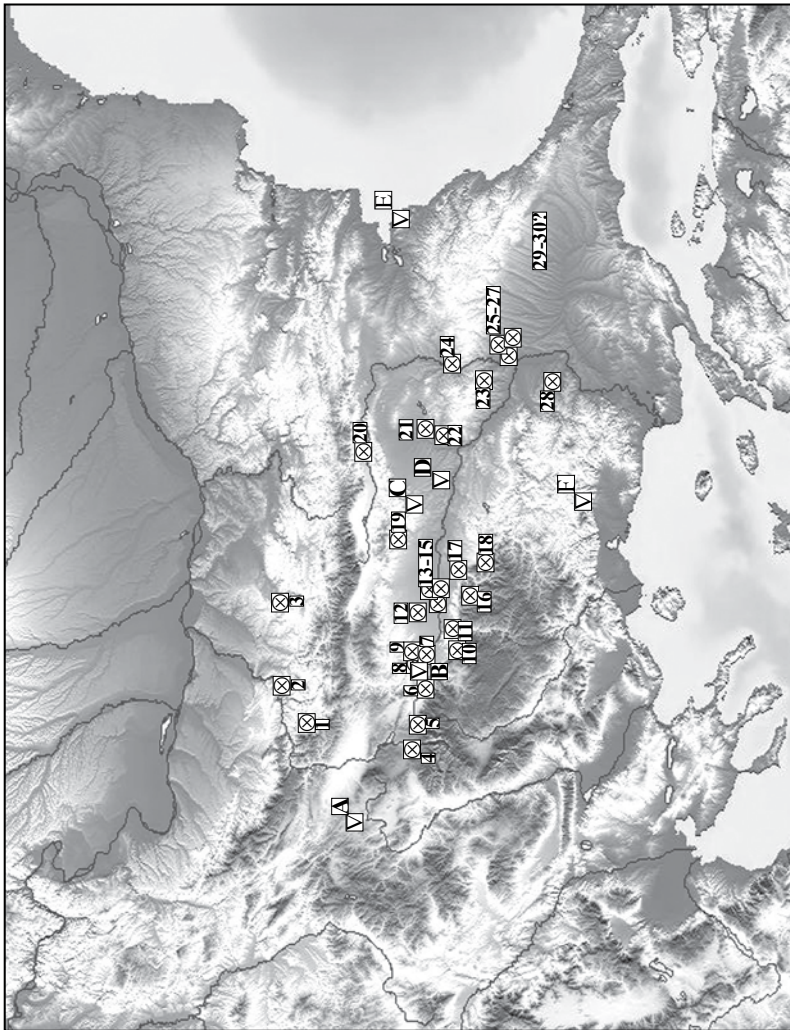


Карта 10. Условен териториален обхват на селищата на Тракийския Херсонес през 4 в. пр. Хр.  
 Map 10. Hypothetical territorial extension of the cities in the Thracian Chersonese in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

селища: А. *Перник* (Юркова 1981); В. *Листирос* (Ганева 1999); С. *Малко Тръново* (Тонкова, Димитров 2005, 99); Д. *Ябълково* (Русева 2006, 237, бел. 15); Е. *Аполония* (Герасимов 1963); Ф. *Линос* (Ανεγνωστοπούλου-Χατζηδολφουρη 1997, 581).

съкровища:

1. Ботевград (СН VIII № 136);
2. Луковит (IGCH 393);
3. Ловеч (IGCH 392);
4. Радуил (IGCH 737);
5. Костенец (СН VIII № 109);
6. Винотрадец (IGCH 743);
7. Бошуля (Юркова 1982, 62);
8. Памидово (IGCH 735);
9. Памидово (IGCH 736);
10. Брацигово (Юркова 1985, 58);
11. Розово (Юркова 1985, 58);
12. Съединение (IGCH 750);
13. Пловдив (IGCH 749);
14. Пловдивско (СН VIII № 171);
15. Пловдивско (Димитров 1989, 26);
16. Горни Воден (IGCH 748);
17. Моминско (IGCH 741);
18. Долнослав (Димитров 1989, 26);
19. Горно Ново село (IGCH 751);
20. Дръбово (IGCH 757);
21. Трояново (IGCH 753);
22. Обручище (Драганов 1981, 36);
23. Сладун (IGCH 740);
24. Гранитово (IGCH 761);
25. Едирне (СН III № 17);
26. около Едирне (IGCH 744);
27. Едирне (IGCH 745);
28. Дидимотихон (IGCH 739);
29. Тракия (IGCH 738);
30. Ю. България (IGCH 746);
31. Сидон (Финикия) (IGCH 1521).



Карта 11. Разпространение на хемидрахмите на Тракийския Херсонес.  
Map 11. Distribution of the hemidrachms of the Thracian Chersonese.



Обр. 1. Река Кавак, ант. Мелас, поглед от юг



Обр. 2. Сароският залив, ант. Мелас, поглед от полуострова на Кардия



Обр. 3. От Булаир към полуострова на Кардия със Сароския залив



Обр. 4. „Прекрасната Хресонеска равнина“ – пейзаж южно от Булаир...



Обр. 5. ... и около гр. Гелиболу.



Обр. 6. Алопеконесос, поглед от юг.



Обр. 7. Хълмът на Сестос, поглед от север.



**Юлия Цветкова**

**ИСТОРИЯ НА ТРАКИЙСКИЯ ХЕРСОНЕС**

(ОТ ТРОЯНСКАТА ВОЙНА  
ДО ВРЕМЕТО НА РИМСКОТО ЗАВОЕВАНИЕ)

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•

Формат 70x100/16  
Печатни коли 21

•

**Предпечат и печат:**

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**ЮЛИЯ ЦВЕТКОВА** е родена през 1973 г. в София. Възпитаник е на 91 Немска езикова гимназия (1992 г.). През 1997 г. завършва специалност история в Софийския университет “Св. Климент Охридски” със специализация Стара история, палеобалканистика и тракология. В периода 1998-1999 г. специализира в семинара по Стара история и инсти-

тут по епиграфика към Вестфалския Вилхелмс-Университет в Мюнстер под ръководството на проф. Петер Функе, където има възможност да задълбочи интересите си към старата история. От 1999 г. е хоноруван асистент, а от 2001 г. – редовен преподавател в катедрата по Стара история, палеобалканистика и тракология към Историческия факултет на Софийския университет “Св. Климент Охридски”. Участва в археологическите проучвания на редица тракийски обекти (Копривлен, Исперихово, Ада тепе, Свиленград, Глухите камъни). Автор е на статии в областта на тракийската история, археология и нумизматика, антична география и текстуритика.

Настоящата монография представлява опит за регионално изследване, чиято цел е комплексно разглеждане на историята на Тракийския Херсонес (съвременния Галиполски полуостров) през античността в периода до установяването на римската власт там в края на 2 в. пр. Хр. В работата са систематизирани проблемите на историческата география, като е направена реконструкция на античната географска среда на полуострова. Проследяването на историческото развитие на Тракийския Херсонес очертава мястото му в политическите планове на действащите в района фактори – Атина, Персия, Спарта, Одриската държава, елинистическите владетели и дава възможност да се потърси значението му в рамките на Югоизточна Тракия, като чрез това се хвърля повече светлина върху общите исторически процеси през разглеждания период.

