When was Aeolis?
The Fluctuating Boundaries of Aeolis, Mysia, and the Troad

Stefanos Apostolou

Abstract: This paper discusses the fluctuating boundaries of Aeolis in the preserved geographical accounts from the Classical to the Roman periods. Instead of confusion and inaccuracy on the part of ancient authors, it argues that the changing size of Aeolis in our sources reflects political and conceptual changes of the times of authorship. Those changing circumstances caused an oscillation of the size of Aeolis: from a Herodotean Small Aeolis to a Larger Aeolis in the 1st century BCE, and back to the Herodotean rule after the 3rd century CE. The paper explains the oscillation on the basis of two significant changes in ancient Asia Minor. First, the consolidation of Ilion firmly at the northwest corner of Asia Minor created new possibilities for communities on the southern coast of the Troad, as they could combine claims of Trojan and Aeolian affiliation. Then, those opportunities were enhanced after the forging of a special relationship between Rome and Troy, exalted by Iulian and imperial propaganda. The growth of Aeolis left little room for Mysia, which disappeared from geographical accounts between the 1st century BCE and 1st CE. After the imperial propaganda subsided, Mysia resurfaced and the size of Aeolis returned to its classical boundaries.

Keywords: Aeolis, Ancient Geography, Mysia, Troad, Ancient Asia Minor, Strabo, Ilion, Roman Propaganda

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the perceptions of Aeolis as a geographical entity in ancient textual sources. The aim is to discern patterns and offer explanations for the use of the term "Aeolis" to signify an area of different sizes and foci in Asia Minor. Discrepancies do not necessarily constitute misunderstandings, but rather reveal attempts to construct worldviews in accordance with the interests and goals of certain groups of people. Rather than assuming error on the part of ancient authors,[1] or downplaying the role of divergence,

* I am immensely grateful to Stephen Hodkinson for his suggestions, edits, and overall support. Christy Constantakopoulou, Lynette Mitchell, Helen Lovatt, and David Lewis offered a critical eye and their initial input has improved this paper. Gina Rekka has kindly offered her legendary proofreading skills and saved me some slips. Moreover, I thank the A.G. Leventis Foundation, whose generous funding has supported my research. Finally, deep thanks go to the journal's Senior Managing Editor, Tim Howe, for his support and understanding through the peer-review process. All remaining flaws are the author's responsibility.

[1] A trend already traced in the beginning of modern research in the area, as early as Leake, the first scholar who organized a systematic classical topography of ancient Asia Minor. In his attempt to identify ancient toponyms in ancient ruins, Leake was confident and indignant enough to accuse ancient scholars of "demonstrable ignorance" regarding the area in question (Wagstaff (1987) 30). Leaf (1923) xxxviii-xli was equally adamant on his attack against Strabo and the absurdity of his inclusion of the Elaiatic gulf in the Gulf of Adramyttion (a mistake repeated in Str. 13.1.51 and 13.1.68). Yet, when juxtaposed to other passages of Strabo and in light of his knowledge of the area apparent elsewhere, we are probably facing a copyist's error than a gross geographical mistake. Contrary to a long tradition of ascribing carelessness and confusion to ancient

a thorough evaluation of those different accounts, contextualised in time and space, offers a different vantage point over the ways changing political conditions influenced perceptions of space in antiquity. This is an opportunity not to be missed by assuming randomness, indifference, negligence, inaccuracy, inconsistency or other flaws typically ascribed to ancient authors. Language is never innocent, and neither is geography.[2]

The contradictory ancient accounts of Aeolis brought Strabo to the brink of despair when composing his description of the region (13.1.4):[3]

> τῶν Αἰολέων τοίνυν καθ' ὅλην σκεδασθέντων τὴν χώραν, ἣν ἔφαμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λέγεσθαι Τρωικήν, οἱ ὕστερον οἱ μὲν πᾶσαν Αἰολίδα προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ δὲ μέρος, καὶ Τροίαν οἱ μὲν ὅλην οἱ δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς, οὐδὲν ὅλως ἀλλήλοις ὁμολογοῦντες.
>
> As the Aeolians had scattered within the area, for which we said that it is named "the Troad" by the poet [Homer], but some later authors name the entire land "Aeolis" and others only a part of it, while others name the entire area "the Troad" and others only a part of it, by no means agreeing with one another in the very least.

All scholars discussing Aeolis must engage with the question of its size and boundaries. Bérard discusses the Aeolian settlements between Kyme and Pitane, on a narrow coastal strip following the list of *poleis* in Hdt. 1.151;[4] Labarre focuses on the *poleis* of Lesbos;[5] Rubinstein rightly and consciously chooses to err on the generous side and include all *poleis* with attested Aeolian populations in her account of the settlements of the region;[6] Heinle studies in detail the area between the Hermos and Kanae peninsula (following Herodotos) and occasionally discusses Lesbos and the Troad.[7] Some argue that the relative insignificance of the region subsumed Aeolis either to its much more glorified southern neighbor, Ionia, or to the all-embracing term "Asia".[8] Others note the attestation of two Aeoliae in our sources and

---

geographers, Safrai (2005) meticulously examines discrepancies and flaws in Strabo's description of Judaea, Nabataea, Phoenicia, and Coele Syria and detects the different literary layers of Strabo's sources.

[2] For scholarly geographical constructs in antiquity, Pliny's Italy (Bispham (2007)), perceptions and allusions to the Athenian Empire in Aeschylos' *Eumenidae* (Futo Kennedy (2006)), and Caesar's Germania (Krebs (2006)).

[3] Note that Strabo was not alone in despair. Cicero considered composing a geographical treatise, but his will waned in anticipation of severe criticism, as geographers and geographical sources could not agree with one another (Cic. *Ad. Att.* 2.6.1). All translations are my own. I aimed at a fine line between consistency and common sense in the transliteration of Greek toponyms and names: I avoid Latinizations unless the use of the term is widespread (e.g., Aeolis instead of Aiolis or Aiolida; Aeneas rather than Aineias; Achaemenid, but Achaian), I hope to good taste and to the reader's liking.

[4] Bérard (1959).

[5] Labarre (1996).

[6] Rubinstein (2004) 1033-1034.

[7] Heinle (2015).

[8] A tendency to omit Aeolis in favor of Ionia or other appellations appears already in Herodotos (e.g., 1.141-151, 1.162, 3.39, 5.37-38, 6.31, 6.42-43, 7.97, 8.19, 8.109, 8.130-8.132) and Thucydides (who uses "Ionia" and "the Hellespont" to refer to the broader region, following administrative arrangements of the Athenian Empire, as in 2.9). Xenophon often applies a short-hand term to refer to Aeolis, Ionia, and the Hellespont: "Asia" (e.g., *Hell.* 2.1.18; 3.1.5; 3.2.6; 3.2.21; 4.3.15), or reduces nearby regions to "Ionia" (e.g., *Anab.* 1.1.6-9, 1.4.13, 2.1.3, *Hell.* 3.2.11). Thereafter, the term "Greeks of Asia" had been generally accepted as a way to define Greeks of that area as an entity (e.g., D.S. 16.44.4; Plut. *Artax.* 20.2-3; 21.5; "Asia", following Roman administration patterns, in *Luc.*

assign them as the reason for the confusion.[9] All converge in raising concerns over the accuracy and insightfulness of ancient accounts of Aeolis that reflect and perpetuate confusion.

Figure 1: Map of Aeolis, Lesbos, and the Troad © Resource: Antiquity À-la-carte/Ancient World Mapping Centre; author's creation

The divergence in ancient accounts notwithstanding, all seem to agree on at least the two geographical extremities:

> A) They fix a southern boundary of Aeolis: the river Hermos and the *polis* of Phokaia, where Ionia began. The problem lay to the north, where...
>
> B) ... Cape Lekton constitutes the northernmost boundary of Aeolis. The northern boundary fluctuates between the cape and the area between Pitane and Adramyttion, thus causing Aeolis' area to fluctuate accordingly.[10]

33.5; *Them.* 8.5, *Sul.* 11.2; 22.5; *Ages.* 6.1-2; 7.2; 14.2; 15.1); for the long history of that term in ancient sources, Seager and Tuplin (1980).

[9] Rubinstein (2004) 1034-1035; Shipley (2011) 163; Heinle (2015) 173-174.

[10] Rubinstein (2004) 1034 suggests that Aen. Tac. 24.3-13 places Ilion in Aeolis. My reading of the phrase Χαριδήμῳ Ὠρείτῃ περὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα συνέβη, καταλαβόντι Ἴλιον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε suggests that Aeneas aims to locate Charidemos, not Ilion, in Aeolis.

To begin with, is the size and location of Aeolis a problem demanding an explanation? After all, names might have been interchangeable in antiquity. Even if this were the case, interchangeability itself would still reveal perceptions of regions throughout antiquity. However, the analysis of the ancient geographical accounts of Aeolis preserved to us reveal aspects other than arbitrary interchangeability of terms. It would perhaps be too much to expect from our sources a fixed, stable perception of Aeolis throughout time. After all, what is a region? How can it be defined as a conceptual and analytical term?

Regional geography, perhaps the most suitable discipline to offer insight into the concept of "region", defines it as "the basis for social action".[11] While an interactive approach is assumed between landscape and people, the study of any given region is typically conducted in certain stages: a descriptive starting point; an examination of the organization of production; class formation and division of labor; and then an analysis of political system and authorities.[12] Increased human mobility after the 19th century undermined the traditional methodology of examining the world as a jigsaw of fixed territories. The last two generations of geographers have defined "region" in terms of self-ascribed collective identities with a sense of co-belonging, "collective action in relation to the environment", acknowledging at the same time social dynamics and social differences.[13] These are points easily missed by scholars of other disciplines. Classicists, in particular, have relatively recently realised that while (some) environmental factors may be inelastic, their relation to the human-made environment, human actions, and perceptions of the natural environment is actually dynamic. We now perceive regions as social, human-made constructs.[14] A region, like geography itself, is a malleable time-space continuum wherein the past and narratives of the past are embedded in the fabric of any geographical entity or landscape.[15] In light of the galloping advance of world-system theories and the concept of interconnectivity, we see interwoven networks, interactions, exchanges, and transformation instead of entities fixed in time and place.[16]

Accordingly, this paper investigates perceptions of Aeolis and the underlying logic and circumstances that precipitated changes in those perceptions. It explores what those changes reveal about the causes of fluidity we view as inherent in geography and regions. Essentially, the purpose is to anchor and describe that fluidity. Tracing and following the fluctuating boundaries of Aeolis cannot provide an answer to the question "What and where *was* Aeolis?", but can modify the question itself to the more relative "What did people *think* Aeolis was?" – and why, but more intriguingly, when.

All in all, the problem we need to address is illustrated in Figure 2 below.

[11] Peet (1998) 147-150, summarizing previous bibliography. For alternative approaches to space, Murdoch (2006) 1-25; Thrift (2008). Post-structuralist geography emphasizes the perceptual space tied to alternative modes of identity. Accordingly, space has no determining structure, but is conceived on the basis of social norms and relations, "made not of structures but of relations. Space is not simply a container" (Murdoch (2006) 23).

[12] Peet (1998) 149-150.

[13] Entrikin (2008) xvii.

[14] Cf. an excellent discussion in Constantakopoulou (2017) 13-18, with criticism over the value and limitations of Regionalism and New Regionalism.

[15] E.g., Clarke (2017).

[16] E.g., Ellis-Evans (2019).

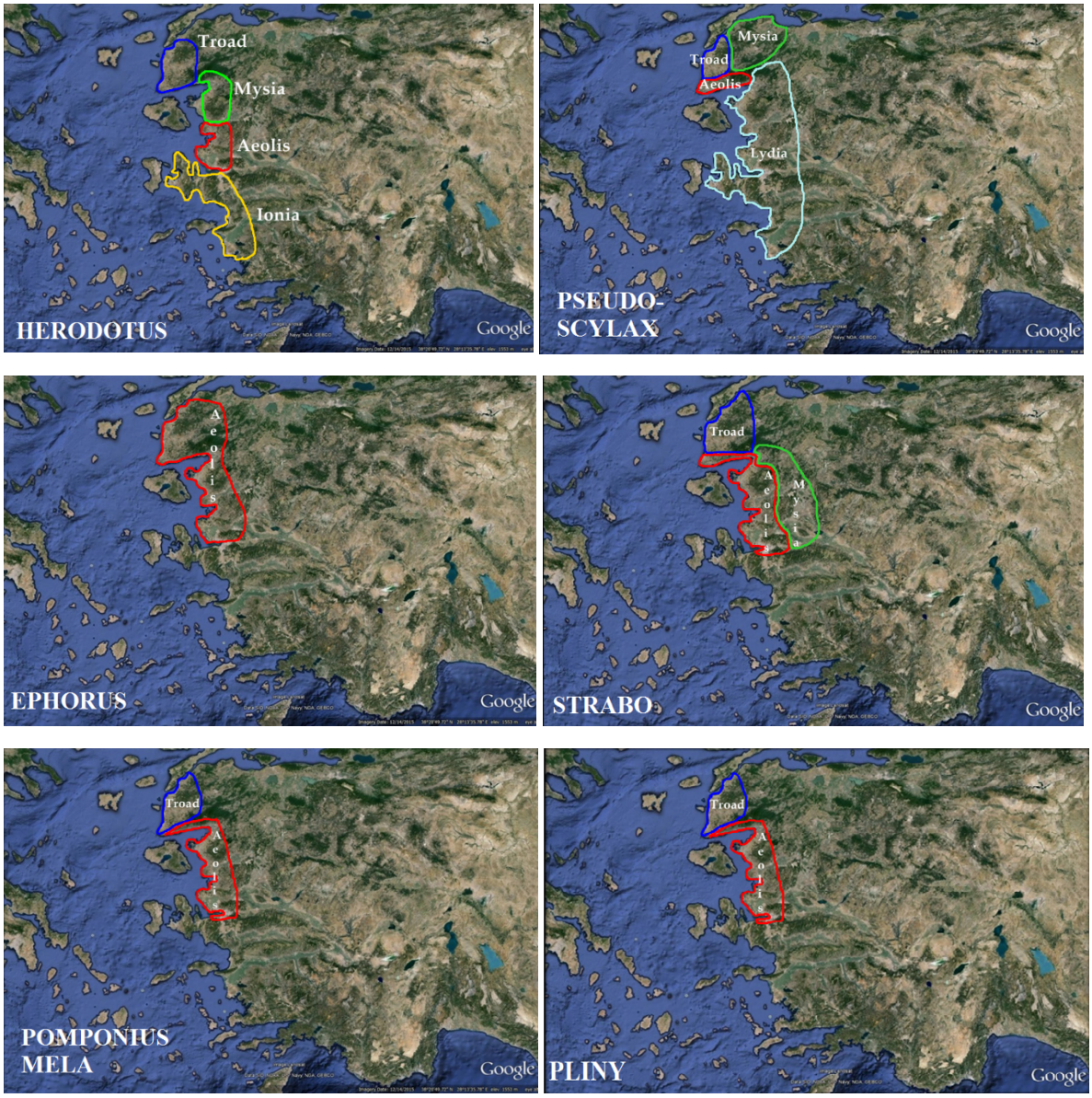

Figure 2: Ionia, Aeolis, Mysia, Lydia, and the Troad in ancient geographical accounts

Strabo's passage above exhibits the problem but also sets the context for a plausible explanation based on a chronological arrangement of available sources, as I suggest, supplemented by an examination of the size of geographical entities around Aeolis (Mysia and the Troad). In this paper, I examine in detail the thorough ancient geographical accounts of Aeolis available to modern scholarship, namely the relevant discussions in the works of Herodotos, Xenophon, Pseudo-Scylax, Ephoros, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Pliny the Elder. A pattern clearly emerges and I distinguish between Herodotos' Small Aeolis and a Large Aeolis in later authors (between the middle of the 1st century BCE and the middle of the 1st century CE), occupying a larger area including the southern coast of the Troad. I argue that the oscillation of the size of Aeolis is a result of the consolidation of Ilion at the northwest corner of Asia Minor after the 4th century BCE and of early imperial propaganda which

endorsed the Trojan foundation of Rome by Aeneas, the forefather of the Iulii.[17] When the propaganda of the family of the Iulii subsided, the relative sizes and boundaries of the regions returned back to "normal", i.e., their size and location in the Classical period.

The 5th and 4th Centuries: a Small Aeolis

In his list of Aeolian *poleis* in Asia Minor, Herodotos applies a human-focused, civic approach (Hdt. 1.149-151); his basic entity is not region, but people. As a consequence, firm or general boundaries are lacking, yet he distinguishes firmly between what in his view was the core of Aeolian habitation, the narrow coastal strip between the river Hermos and Pitane, and other areas with Aeolian populations:

> These are the Ionian *poleis.* The Aeolian ones are the following: Kyme (the so-called Phrikonian), Larisa, Neon Teichos, Temnos, Kilia, Notion, Aigiroessa, Pitane, Aigai, Myrina, Gryneia, eleven in total, the ancient *poleis* of the Aeolians; for one, Smyrna, was taken over by the Ionians... These then are the Aeolian cities on the mainland, excluding those situated in Mt. Ida, for they are separate. On the islands, five *poleis* allot Lesbos among them (a sixth one on Lesbos, Arisba, had its people enslaved by the Methymnians, despite their blood ties); there is one on Tenedos, and one again in the so-called Hekatonnesos.

His Small Aeolis allowed for a clearly separate "Mysian land", which extended along the coast from Atarneus (Hdt. 8.106) to Antandros and the Troad to the north, on the left-hand

[17] In light of an old, fruitless, fragmentary, and not always well-informed debate on the applicability of the term *propaganda* in ancient studies, this author feels obligated to justify their choice of analytical terms. The term *ideological programme* has been popular in the early-21st century as a descriptor of the mass communication strategies employed by ancient political authorities. This euphemism draws a line between propaganda and ideology and pushes propaganda to the extremes of mass communication precipitated only by the advent of mass, and now social, media. However, propaganda is a social phenomenon, much more potent than the neutral and neutered term *ideological programme*, or ideology itself, as the latter is an element, the canvas on which propaganda's power of persuasion relies. Sociologists and psychologists do not agree on a definition of propaganda (Ţuţui (2017) for a full account of the issue) and scholarly views differ on the basis of individual responses to the simple question "Is propaganda inherently negative?". A positive answer has been firmly established in Anglophone literature since the days of Bertrand Russell, and this stance led to a critical revision of the use of the term in reference to ancient societies. The relative lack of theoretical work on the term notwithstanding, ever since the oft referenced (albeit its liberal English translation), seminal work of Jacques Ellul *Propagandes*, social scientists have dissociated propaganda from mass media and noted the ability of political authorities in pre-modern times to produce and communicate widely complex messages to crystallize or aptly reconfigure ideology. *Grosso modo,* propaganda is the strategy, whereas ideology is the canvas. When one, Hornblower (*OCD*[4], s.v. *Propaganda*) and this author included, reads the two fundamental characteristics of integration propaganda (Ellul (1962): 85-94), one cannot help but think of Augustus and the copious effort to nudge people to bypass reflective thinking ("Why do we have one man with so much power?") and land on the imposition of conformity and the legitimization of the outcome ("He is divine and capable of the impossible and, therefore, deserves a special place among and above us"). Recent, concise, and clear discussions in Şutiu (2012); Shieber (2021); Quaranto and Stanley (2021); full discussion in Stanley (2015); Jowett and O' Donnell (2019); for a succinct revisit to the use of the term in ancient studies, Baynham (2021). Skeptic readers are welcome to substitute *propaganda* with *ideological programme* as they make their way through the text; it will change absolutely nothing.

side of Xerxes' itinerary through Mt. Ida towards Ilion (Hdt. 7.42; Mysians in the plains of the river Kaikos in 6.28).

Xenophon refers to Aeolis only in his discussion of the campaign of Derkylidas in 399 against Pharnabazos, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, which took place in "Pharnabazos' Aeolis". Derkylidas was warmly received in Larisa, Hamaxitos, and Kolonai on the western coast of the Troad (*Hell.* 3.1.10-16). At this point, Xenophon complicates the geographical order by saying that Derkylidas "also sent word to the Aeolian *poleis*" (3.1.16: πέμπων *δὲ καὶ* πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις). The text is as follows:

> καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν καὶ Ἁμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνὰς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις ἑκούσας παρέλαβε· πέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς **Αἰολίδας πόλεις** ἠξίου ... οἱ μὲν οὖν **Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἰλιεῖς καὶ Κοκυλῖται** ἐπείθοντο·
>
> ...and straightaway in a single day he took control of the coastal *poleis* (Larisa, Hamaxitos, and Kolonae) with their own volition; then he also sent word to the **Aeolian *poleis*** requesting... The **Neandreians, Ilians, and Kokylitai** obeyed.

His "Aeolian" *poleis* were all settlements well outside any other conceptions of Aeolis: Neandreia was located on a hill to the south of the Scamandrian plain in the Troad, Ilion to the northwest edge of the plain of the rivers Simoeis and Scamander, and Kokylion remains elusive. The Spartan commander encountered difficulties at Kebren and was duly agitated as he intended to place "the whole of Aeolis" under his control before the satrap could react (3.1.17). Kebren is an equally unlikely settlement to fall within Aeolis, as it lay on the north slope of Mt. Ida overlooking the Scamandrian plain.[18] Derkylidas eventually secured Kebren, Skepsis, and Gergis (3.1.18ff); Pharnabazos requested a truce, seeing that "Aeolis" had become a stronghold against him (3.2.1).[19] After the explicit references to Pharnabazos' Aeolis, Xenophon returns to more general terms: Derkylidas dispatched Chersonesian envoys to Ephesos via "the Greek *poleis*" (3.2.9). Here the reference must be to the *poleis* in Mysia, the Troad, and Aeolis, since Derkylidas had camped at Lampsakos on the northern entrance to the Hellespont.

Xenophon's Aeolis in the Troad seems to align with the account of Aeolis in the work of Pseudo-Scylax, composed around 338 BCE in Athens.[20] In his account, Aeolis coincides with the southern coast of the Troad; it begins in Hamaxitos and extends as far as Antandros (96). The author must probably have listed some coastal *poleis*, as in the manuscript tradition an introductory clause, "Those are the Aeolian *poleis* by this sea", is followed only by inland settlements: Kebren, Skepsis, Neandreia, and Pityeia (the latter being the only settlement of this group not located by Xenophon within "Pharnabazos' Aeolis"). After a brief list of the Lesbian *poleis* and Pordoselene (97), the author proceeds with Lydia, "the area south of Aeolis, once called Mysia...now Lydia; for the Mysians migrated inland" (98). In the entry for this large "Lydia" all the Aeolian and some Ionian *poleis* are listed (Adramyttion, Atarneus, Pitane,

[18] Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 10) labels Kebren as a colony of the Kymaians. The information is transmitted by Harpokration, who references Ephoros' Book 1. Fragments linked to that book discuss the prehistory/mythical age of Greece, such as Carian settlements in the Aegean islands, the fifty daughters of Thespios mating with Hercules, the Dorian invasion, and so on. I think that Ephoros had a mythical context in mind, similar to his Large Aeolis, which I discuss below.

[19] More in Krentz (1995) 167.

[20] Shipley (2012), who links the work to philosophical trends in 4th-century Athens and suggests a date around 338 BCE. Other datings of the *Periplous* still have some followers, span up to the Byzantine area, and regard the text as a compilation of earlier accounts available to the late compiler (Peretti (1979); Garzón Díaz (1998-1999)).

Elaia, Gryneion, Achaiōn Limen, Myrina, Kyme, Leukai, and so on, as far south as Miletos, where Caria began). This oddly-placed Aeolis, included within a large "Lydia" which contains both Aeolis and Ionia, allows not for one, but two regions with the name "Mysia", to the north and south of the Troad, which in turn is placed between Sestos and Hamaxitos. The first Mysia, listed as ΜΥΣΙΑ, is located on the Hellespont, after Thrace (93), the second to the south-east of Antandros, where Herodotos had placed Aeolis.

It has been suggested that the geographer followed the pattern of Xenophon and Herodotos, who knew two regions called Aeolis; in his entry, Pseudo-Scylax described the northern part. The southern part is omitted, supposedly due to the author's reliance on patterns of Persian administration, evident in his definition of Lydia (which included the Herodotean Aeolis and the northern part of Ionia).[21]

However, Herodotos presents a list of *poleis* on the narrow coastal strip (1.149), vaguely notes the presence of Aeolians in the Troad (whose area may or may not have coincided with what Pseudo-Scylax had in mind), and on the islands (1.151). This makes for three Aeoliae, not just two, if one follows a divisive reading. According to my reading, Herodotos arranged the Aeolian *poleis* in three clusters but knew of only one Aeolis. The wording in 5.26 seems to refute the conception of two Aeoliae: "[Otanes] razed Antandros in the land of the Troad". The southern coast of the Troad was not Aeolis, even according to Herodotos' human-focused approach to *polis* affiliation. Moreover, if Xenophon or Pseudo-Scylax had followed Persian administration patterns of the classical period in their definition of Aeolis, I cannot see how this practice would not have included at any point the term Phrygia, the satrapy of Pharnabazos, who controlled the area of Mt. Ida through local overlords.

Furthermore, although an Athenian viewpoint has been argued for by Shipley, the over-reliance of Pseudo-Scylax on Persian patterns when describing the west coast of Asia Minor necessitates a change of balance, as at that point the view is strictly Asiatic. Even if we accept a strong reliance on Persian administration patterns to the composer of this work only in this instance,[22] then the outcome of his reliance is truly remarkable. Besides missing the universally accepted Aeolian and Ionian character of what he termed "Lydia", he also carelessly incorporates Samos and Chios into the satrapy of Lydia. Interestingly, this links him to Attalid administration patterns (a *strategos* of "Caria and Lydia around Ephesos" in *SEG* 46.1434),[23] for whatever that means for the dating of his treatise to the 4th century.

To return to Xenophon, instead of presuming a serious geographical confusion, I would suggest that Xenophon was unwilling to define that mountainous area as "the Troad" because the exodus of Ilion from obscurity after the mid-5th century had gradually led to a fixed location for Troy and the Troad to the northwest (discussed below), close to the Hellespont. Only in the largest perception of Aeolis in antiquity, that of Ephoros in a mythical context (*FGrHist* 70 F 163b), could "Pharnabazos' Aeolis" fall within "Aeolis". It is unlikely that Xenophon had a mythical context in mind when narrating the campaign of Derkylidas. It is equally unlikely that he applied "Aeolis" as a cultural term to distinguish between Greeks and non-Greeks: the exclusion of the three coastal settlements, as well as the inclusion of Greeks and non-Greeks in "Pharnabazos' Aeolis" is sufficient testimony. If Xenophon intended to be vague, then he had a usual term in reserve: "Asia". Perhaps some new geographical, political, and perceptual conditions in the making lie behind Xenophon's

[21] Rubinstein (2004); Shipley (2011) 163-165; Heinle (2015) 173-174.

[22] Also suggested by Debord (1999) 74.

[23] Discussion and other readings in Thonemann (2013) 10. The district does not seem to rely on previous, Seleucid arrangements.

wording ("Pharnabazos' Aeolis"), and for the first time a Large Aeolis was conceived as a consequence of the consolidation of Ilion and the Troad to the north.

The 1st Century BCE – 1st CE: a Large Aeolis

Ephoros and Strabo

Ephoros of Kyme, as cited by Strabo, offers the widest conception of Aeolis in antiquity (*FGrHist* 70 F 163b = Str. 13.1.39):

> τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσιν ἦν τὰ πλεῖστα, ὥστε Ἔφορος οὐκ ὀκνεῖ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου μέχρι Κύμης καλεῖν Αἰολίδα.
>
> In the old days most of the lands were controlled by the Aeolians, thus Ephoros hurries to name Aeolis the entire area from Abydos to Kyme.

What is at play here is not a historically or geographically sound account. The context is rather mythical, an aspect abundant in the work of Strabo in general and particularly in his discussion of northwest Asia Minor, the land of the Trojans. In this passage, Strabo presents territorial claims over Sigeion on the Hellespont, proceeds with Achilleion, resorts to his favorite authority, Homer (13.1.40ff), and summarily lists previous occupants of the land.[24] His starting point, the clash between Athenians and Mytilenians, is already blurry amid the mist of ancient tradition undergone extensive forging by political authorities for centuries after the archaic tyrants' clash for Sigeion. That Sigeion of old, Strabo notes in a quasi-archaeological manner, is also irrevocably lost, its remains long gone or put into second use for the needs of more recent layers and later phases in the urban history of a settlement tarnished by pillaging and sackings (13.1.38). The phrase τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν employs an adjective that in the context of a historical narrative commonly signifies "ancient" (e.g., Hdt. 1.171, 9.26; Th. 1.3). In this case, it refers to a neat succession of migrations that placed the Aeolians as the earliest newcomers from mainland Greece to Asia Minor, followed by the Ionians, and lastly by the Dorians (cf. Str. 12.4.6, 14.1.3, following on a long tradition traceable back to the archaic period and Minn. fr 9 Allen).

Strabo himself describes a Large Aeolis, from Cape Lekton (where the two coasts of the Troad converge) to Phokaia and the Hermos (13.1.4-8). In his general overview of Asia Minor at the beginning of Book 13, Strabo is cautious. He places a boundary at Cape Lekton, yet the area between this cape and Abydos is defined with a periphrasis (13.1.2: "...the areas around Ilion, Tenedos, and Alexandreia Troas"). All coastal areas between Lekton and the Elaiatic Gulf are defined similarly (13.1.3: "from Lekton to the Kaikos and Kanae...the areas around Assos, Adramyttion, Atarneus, Pitane, and the Gulf of Elaia...Lesbos...then Kyme, down to the Hermos and Phokaia"). The reader must wait until the end of this procession to be informed that the last two landmarks signify "the beginning of Ionia and the end of Aeolis".

To resolve the problem, Strabo admits that he applied an opportunistic approach, using blurred regions in one cohesive narrative, dividing and uniting as he deemed appropriate.[25] In his discussion of Ionia, in contrast, he seems certain of Aeolis' southern limit, confident

[24] Biraschi (2005); Patterson (2013) 212-214 on Strabo's views on Homer, which take up a considerable part of Books I and II. More recent discussion in Ellis-Evans (2019) 18-33.

[25] Str. 13.1.8; blurred regions also at 13.4.12.

enough to report even boundary markers of the Aeolians around Phokaia (14.1.38). Despite the initial statement that "after Cape Lekton [there lay] the most noteworthy *poleis* of the Aeolians" (13.1.49), he sets some settlements on the southern coast of the Troad on Mysian soil (13.1.66: "Noteworthy *poleis* [in Mysia] are Assos and Adramyttion"; note the omission of Antandros). The inland settlements, such as Kebren and Neandreia under the control of the Assians (13.1.33; 13.1.51), were not considered Aeolian, contrary to Xenophon. Apparently, Strabo applied the term "Aeolian" only to coastal settlements once under the control of the Mytilenians.

The final outcome of his geographical layout entails a Large Aeolis and a wholly insignificant Mysia restricted to a small portion of the Troad's southern coast. Strabo inserts Mysia into the area around Adramyttion (13.1.65), but his view of the region is fragmented, scattered throughout Books 12 and 13. Nevertheless, a more or less clear idea is evident: Mysians dwell inland.[26]

An examination of Mysia is included in Book 12, where contradictory reports brought Strabo again to the brink of despair. His account of Mysia and Phrygia reveals his methodology and offers insight into the close connection between receding Mysia and expanding Aeolis in geographical accounts of the period. Strabo establishes a twofold Mysia, one around Mt. Olympos, the other alongside the Kaikos valley down to the coast (Str. 12.4.1-10). In addition, he records the old location of the Mysians in Bithynia, and his Mysia stretches to the west of the Troad on the Sea of Marmara (12.4.5-8). Strabo notes that it was impossible to discern boundaries between the regions of the area, and he cites a proverb on the notorious difficulty of separating Mysia from Phrygia (12.4.4).

In fact, Phrygia Epiktetos is a good example of how Strabo composed his account of northwest Asia Minor. Essentially, he piled up toponyms from different sources and different times. He acknowledges the duality of both Phrygia and Mysia, in the sense that they were known by two different names and split into two parts (12.8.1-2). While Strabo reports that the Attalids changed the name of Phrygia from "Hellespontine" to "Epiktetos" (= acquired), he fails to proceed with the obvious solution to his problem of delineating the regions: to take into account the dates of the authors he consulted. Authors writing before the treaty of Apameia, which put Phrygia under Attalid control and permitted the name Epiktetos, could use only "Hellespontine"; those writing after 188 BCE could use both. Instead, at this point Strabo appears to be at the mercy of his sources, trying to interpret different accounts that included Mt. Sipylos in "Phrygia", called Tantalos and Pelops "Phrygians", and so on (12.8.2).

I suggest that Strabo applied the same reasoning to Mysia. Accordingly, he lists views he read in literature, from Homer to Scylax; inevitably, they contradicted one another (12.4.5-10). He then places his twofold Mysia around Olympos and the Kaikos, and resorted to early myth to sketch the history of the habitation of Mysians in the area (12.8.1-6). As a result, he admits that obscurity had risen due to the movement of populations and discrepancies in ancient authors. On a very rare occasion where his text is not dominated by old myths and Homeric geography, he places Mysians around Mt. Olympos, between the Troad and Bithynia (12.8.8). His coastal Mysia is probably based on the locality of Telephos in Teuthrania (13.1.69), combined with Telephos' identification as Mysian (12.8.12). Strabo concludes his discussion with another incident of compiling information, indicative of his method: "some

[26] Mysia in the valley of the Kaikos (13.4.2); north of Pergamon (13.4.4); in a more human-based approach, Strabo mentioned Mysians dwelling around Mt. Tmolos (13.4.5, among other populations), in the upper Hermos (13.4.5), after Lydia around Philadelphia (13.4.10), and on the brink of the barren Anatolian plateau (13.4.11).

call the area *Mysia*, others *Maionia*" (contra 13.3.2, where "Maiones" is a synonym for Lydians). Strabo's problematic approach resulted in Book 13's confusing account of the Troad's southern coast and opportunistic application of geographical terms. In 13.1.65, Mysia is located around Adramyttion, contrary to Strabo's previous location of Mysia around the Kaikos; in fact, the river is not included in Mysia, and only a river Mysios appears in his discussion of Teuthrania (13.1.69-70). Mysia is absent from the list of regions to the east of Cape Lekton (13.1.49-51) and Mysians are not included in a short list of mythical people living on the coast (13.1.60). Mysia appears again in passing in the valley of the Kaikos west of Pergamon (13.4.2).

To conclude, Strabo admittedly appears confused. His Mysia is divided into several parts, connected only through a mythical, obscure past. However, Strabo's discussion reveals current trends regarding geographical terminology, which in turn invites my interpretation of terminology and fluctuating boundaries laid out in detail below.

The Roman View. From Small Aeolis to Large and Back

Pomponius Mela's (fl. before the mid-1st century CE) entry on "Aeolis" in his *de Chorographia* incorporates a historical approach and lists Aeolis and the Troad as a unified region. In a spirit reminiscent of Pseudo-Scylax's "Lydia" ("once called Mysia"), he reports that Aeolis received its name after the Aeolians had cultivated the land of the region previously known as "Mysia", and he terms its northern part "the Troad" (1.90). He describes a Large Aeolis, covering an area defined by two *poleis*, Phokaia (89) and Assos (93). As a consequence of this choice, Aeolis coincides heavily with the Troad to the extent that a single entry for the two regions is composed. That left absolutely no room for Mysia in his account.

Pliny's Aeolis begins at Cape Lekton, the southern boundary of the Troad, and continues along a coastal strip throughout the southern shore of the Troad, with Mt. Ida in the background (Pliny *HN* 5.32.122-124). The southern boundary of Aeolis is defined by Phokaia, with Ionia extending from Phokaia to the gulf of Iasos (5.31.112; 5.31.119). Lydia is placed "over" (*super*) Ionia, with Phrygia to its east, Caria to the south, and Mysia to the north (5.30.110).

Note that this is the only appearance of Mysia as a geographical entity still in existence in Pliny's account. On occasion, it appears as a vague territory of unspecified location (5.30.110, 5.32.12, 5.40.143). Pliny could be blunt: people and islands were sometimes considered negligible, defined as "ignobilis" (e.g., the "insignificant" people concluding a list of population groups in Caria in 5.29.105) or "inhorore" (e.g., in 5.33.126, when referring to some "worthless *poleis*" within the *conventus* of Pergamon). Arguably, he treats Mysia and Mysians in the same way: evident at 5.32.123, where the Mysians are reduced from a distinct, independent entity of past time to a contemporary population group containing sub-groups, such as the Abretenni, the Hellespontines, and other, wholly unimportant people ("alii ignobiles"). Consequently, no description of Mysia is presented by Pliny in his description of the known world. One might reasonably expect a description of Mysia either alongside his description of Lydia, Ionia, and Aeolis, or after the Troad (i.e., 5.39.140). There, Pliny describes *poleis*, mountains, promontories, rivers and so on, yet the region remains unnamed. 5.41.145 opens with a clear localization ("Phrygia Troadi superiecta"), similar to most, if not all, other descriptions of regions by Pliny.

In the fifth book of his *Geographica*, Claudius Ptolemy's first *pinax* (= table or catalogue) commences with the province of Bosporos and Propontis, before our area of interest, the province of "so-called Asia, Phrygia, and Lycia". "Small Mysia" is located in the north-western corner of Asia Minor around Kyzikos and Lampsakos (5.2.2); a "Small Phrygia or Troad" follows to the south down to Assos (5.2.4), and then "Greater Mysia" extends from Gargara to the mouth of the Kaikos (5.2.5). Aeolis is restricted to the coastal strip between Pitane and the Hermos (5.2.6). After describing the coastal regions, Ptolemy continues with the inland regions, listing and locating *poleis* in Small Mysia, Phrygia—"i.e., the Troad" (5.2.14: "Φρυγίας δὲ ἤτοι Τρωάδος"), Greater Mysia (which ends with Pergamon), Lydia, Caria, Greater Phrygia, and Lycia. Regarding our region of interest, Ptolemy offers coordinates for Lekton and Assos "in the Troad"; Antandros, Adramyttion, Palaiskepsis, the mouth of the Kaikos, and Poroselene in "Greater Mysia"; then a Small Aeolis between Pitane and Phokaia; Pergamon is located in "Greater Mysia"; Lesbos with its five *poleis* is defined as "Aeolian", yet it is listed separately as in "the Aegean Sea" (5.2.29).

After nearly a century of Iulian propaganda (as I argue in the next section), and another century since its influence began to wane, a regression is apparent. Mysia reappears on the map, the Troad is confined to the northwest corner of Asia Minor strongly associated with Phrygia, Aeolis is restricted to the Herodotean narrow coastal strip, and Lydia is placed inland. Interestingly, if the authorship of Ptolemy for the part examining Asia Minor had been replaced by the name of Herodotos, the differences between their accounts might have gone largely unnoticed. The two authors, separated by seven centuries of scholarship, discoveries, propaganda, and changing world-perceptions, present very similar pictures of the regions in Asia Minor. This remarkable similarity derives from a combination of geographical archaism applied by Ptolemy, his reliance on well-respected sources,[27] and the incorporation of contemporary worldviews.

The Consolidation of Ilion to the North and Imperial Propaganda

The discussion above adds two more points to my observations on the shared information across our sources:

A) Mysia vanishes from the geographical accounts of the Augustan period and Aeolis grows in size.
B) Mysia resurfaces in the mid-2nd century CE, alongside a Small Aeolis.

In what follows, I argue that the appearance of a Large Aeolis in the geographical accounts of that period is not coincidental or a case of interchangeability, but was influenced by changes in the area after the 4th century, and the effects of imperial propaganda during the early imperial period.

[27] Despite its importance, Ptolemy's work did not offer any new geographical information, but systematically organized previously established knowledge, and provided and checked coordinates for locations placed on a conceptual map by previous scholars (Riley (1995) 233-236; Dueck (2012) 76; detailed discussion in Berggren and Jones (2000)).

The identification of classical Ilion with mythical Troy does not seem to precede the 5th century: the extravagant sacrifices of Xerxes on the site mentioned by Herodotos is the earliest attestation of this identification (Hdt. 7.43).[28] Still, it did not do much for the local community, which lived in relative austerity until the visit of Alexander III, who performed his famous pilgrimage to the site (Plut. *Alex.* 15.7; Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.5-7). Before Alexander's theatrical performance in Troy, the site was almost completely depleted of human activity at times, yet probably not to the exaggerated extent stated by Lykourgos in a speech delivered in 330 BCE: "...once destroyed by the Greeks and uninhabited ever since" (Lyc. *Leocr.* 62).[29]

The local community of Ilion had a foot in both camps and could claim inclusion in collective identities as different as Trojan/local/non-Greek and Achaian/colonial/Greek.[30] The foundation of Alexandreia Troas and the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias (a union of several *poleis* in the vicinity of Ilion) followed shortly after the death of Alexander, either by the agency of Antigonos the One-eyed, of Lysimachos, or even earlier.[31] Two "Aeolian" *poleis*, Assos and Gargara, joined the *Koinon*, either of their own volition or after "advice" from Antigonos or Lysimachos. There followed a building frenzy during the 3rd century. The Attalids provided significant financial support and this relationship served both parties well, as they exchanged financial resources for a chance to connect to a mythical past. Accordingly, Ilion adapted to its fame and replaced the traditional deity of the *polis* (Apollo Pasparios) with the expected Athena Ilias.[32] Roman interest in the area acknowledged its glorious past, with the crucial addition of the assumed relation between *metropolis* and *apoikia*.

The first recorded visit of Roman officials to Troy is that of C. Livius Salinator in 190 BCE (Liv. 37.9.7), whence the Romans were added to a long line of rulers and military commanders, from Xerxes to Antiochos III, who had performed some sort of pilgrimage to the site (Salinator also sacrificed to Athena Ilias).[33] In 190, Publius Scipio ascended the citadel of Ilion and sacrificed to the goddess (Liv. 37.37.3). In 188, Ilion was exempted from tribute and its territory expanded with the annexation of Rhoiteion and Gergis. This decision was made both for reasons of rewarding past services to Rome and on account of the alleged blood ties between the Romans and Ilians, according to Liv. 38.39.10, who may have derived material from Pol. 22.5. In the 1st century BCE, Strabo informs us about Caesar's benefaction to Ilion, comprising the annexation of new territories (perhaps the annexation of Dardanos, as in Str. 13.1.39 it is included in the Ilian territory) and the granting of freedom and exemption from tax (Str. 13.1.27, still valid in the 1st century CE according to Plin. *HN.* 5.33.124). These may well have been confirmations of previously-bestowed privileges, and Caesar's intention may have been the articulation of his personal kinship to the Ilians (through Iulus from the house of Aeneas, in addition to the already established kinship between Romans and Ilians through

[28] Perhaps an apotropaic sacrifice with the imminent crossing to Europe in mind (Borgeaud (2010) 340-342).

[29] Berlin (2002); Rose (2014).

[30] Erskine (2001) 111, 205, who notes that the abundance of tombs of Achaian heroes on the western shore of the Troad shows that communities had the opportunity to subscribe to more than one identity.

[31] Cohen (1995) 154 n.4; Pillot (2016); As Ellis-Evans (2019) 29-33 notes, the date depends on one's reading of *I.Ilion* 1, and need not concern us here.

[32] Rose (1998) 407-408; Kosmetatou (2001) 107-110, 117-122, 125-128. In truth, all temples of Athena Ilias attested in textual sources from Homer onwards remain untraced archaeologically and the earliest temple unearthed is dated to the Hellenistic period (Morris (2007) 61).

[33] For visits of rulers to Troy, Vidal-Naquet (1990) 35-62; Borgeaud (2010); for other visitors in general, Körpe (2019).

Aeneas) and an attempt to imitate Alexander (Str. 13.1.27).[34] Augustus spent a great part of 20 BCE in Asia Minor (Dio Cass. 54.7) and invested greatly in a building programme at Ilion, including the temple of Athena, the *bouleuterion*, and the theatre. During his rule, for the first time the authorities of Ilion stressed and celebrated the kinship of their *polis* not only to Rome, but also to members of the imperial family.[35] Claudius continued Ilion's favorable treatment by the Iulii and confirmed its exemption from tribute.[36] Ilion fell slightly out of favor with the Flavii. The myth of Aeneas was not emphasised with the same intensity during that period, yet the *polis* enjoyed the privileges of occasional imperial sponsorship, often focusing more on the Greek aspects linked to Troy (such as Achilles or Ajax).[37] Turbulent times had passed, peace was consolidated and, with it, Asia Minor as a Roman province. Henceforth there was no need to pay heed to Ilion in any way other than as an interesting, antique site.[38]

The formation of the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias to the north offered a fixed location for the vague entity of mythical Troy. The position of Ilion in the northwest part of the peninsula created opportunities for the mountainous *poleis* on the slopes of Mt. Ida and the coastal *poleis* below. Gargara and Assos joined the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias from its very beginning, yet their Aeolian affiliation remained generally undisputed. The narrow coastal strip I term Small Aeolis acquired a northern counterpart, the coastal *poleis* of the southern Troad, with ample sources testifying to their Aeolian affiliation. Their Aeolian identity perhaps originated in their previous political status as dependencies of the Mytilenians, and as such they were attested in Herodotos' account of the Aeolian *poleis*. The Mytilenian dependencies probably gained independence after Herodotos had completed his *Histories* and narratives of their foundation myths and phyletic affiliation circulated thereafter, unanimously supporting their inclusion in Aeolian collective identity.[39] By the 4th century, *poleis* such as Assos, Gargara, Neandreia, and others around Mt. Ida, could lay solid claims to both identities, Trojan or Aeolian, both well supported by the corpus of myths and the locations of their

[34] Cf. Erskine (2001) 247.

[35] Erskine (2001) 250-251, who follows the publications of the excavations by C.B. Rose; Mac Sweeney (2018) 98-99.

[36] Suet. *Claud.* 25.3; Erskine (2001) 172-173.

[37] Mac Sweeney (2018) 100-107.

[38] Caracalla visited Ilion in 214 (Hdn. 4.8.3-5), young Julian in 354/5 (Julian *Ep.* 79), Fatih Sultan Mehmet in 1463 (Kritoboulos 4.11.5-6 with Ousterhout (2004)); cf. n. 33 above. The function of the site for visitors and imperial administration changed drastically after the Flavians (Sage (2000)). Allusions to Troy had lost their potent propagandistic element but retained their value as literary instruments and modes of intertextuality. Compare the dynamic transformation of Trojan elements in Roman identity discussed in Nauta (2004) and Nauta (2007) with the literary negotiations of political power outside the realm of identity formation in late antiquity explained in Hulls (2008). For an archaeological overview of imperial Ilion, Rose (2002); Solomon (2007) 500-504, for a synopsis of the changing receptions of Troy during the Roman period.

[39] Mytilene lost the bulk of its mainland possessions in the aftermath of the revolt in 428/7 (Th. 3.50). The *peraia* acquired a new collective name: it was known and inscribed as the Coastal Poleis in the Athenian tribute lists of 425/4 onwards (e.g., *IG* I^3 71 col. III.61 l. 124; *IG* I^3 77 col. IV l. 14; *IG* I^3 285 col. II fr. 2 l. 89). These inscriptions, combined and restored, provide enough evidence to create a list of Mytilenian dependencies on the mainland before the revolt, spread across a large coastal area around the bay of Adramyttion and on the west coast of the Troad: Pordoselene, Antandros, Ophryneion, Polymedeion, Hamaxitos, Larisa, Kolonai, Achilleion, Rhoiteion, Ilion, Petra, Thymbra. Full discussion in Ellis-Evans (2019) 155-197. The Mytilenians might have been able to exert some influence over their previous possession on the land opposite (cf. Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 291: Chians and Mytilenians jountly agree to accept or appoint Hermeias of Assos as overlord of the entire area). On the formation, transformation, and evolution of Aeolian identity in ancient Asia Minor, Apostolou (2018).

settlements, traces of which are preserved in later authors and were consulted, among others, by meticulous geographers.[40] If we reasonably assume that the Herodotean rule still applied, according to which Aeolis was perceived as the accumulation of territories controlled by Aeolians, then the southern coast of the Troad, populated by Aeolians, may easily have become more frequently defined as Aeolis. In sum, the location of Troy in the northwest corner of the peninsula shifted the centrality of "Troad" and "Trojan" to the plain of the Scamander, leaving room for the "intrusion" of Aeolis in the south.

Moreover, an additional factor in the expansion of Aeolis in geographical accounts was Augustan propaganda and the exploitation of the foundation myth of Rome which involved Aeneas and his flight to the west. According to legend, after the sack of Troy, Aeneas led a band of Trojan refugees to the West. Their adventures ended in Italy, where they finally settled in their newly-founded settlement of Rome. This brief statement does little justice to the long process of the development of the myth of Aeneas and his settlement in Italy, as well as the incorporation of the foundation by Aeneas into Rome's mythical corpus. Rome's most prevalent foundation myth focused on the twins Romulus and Remus, with the former founding a settlement named after his deceased brother. It has been convincingly argued that the myth of the twins must have been the foundation tale most commonly narrated within Rome and acknowledged by the general populace, while the intended use of the myth of Aeneas was in a context of interaction with the Greeks, first in the west and, after the age of conquests, in the eastern provinces.[41] With the myth of Aeneas, Rome could establish a common ground, a common frame of reference with the Greeks, while keeping itself at a distance from the Greek world, by subscribing to an identity well known to all Greeks, implemented in Greek myth and culture for centuries, yet lying just outside the Greek world.[42]

Despite the wide circulation of the myth in visual culture in Rome before the imperial period, there are no traces of any cult of Trojan founders before Augustus' reign.[43] This absence reveals the role of Augustan propaganda in the development and upgrading of the Trojan foundation myth and its influence on contemporary scholarly works. The family of the Iulii traced its lineage to Aeneas and Troy; two prominent members, Julius Caesar and Augustus, put Troy in a central position in the 1st century BCE and invested in a flamboyant building programme there.[44] The Trojan origins of Rome were hailed and sung by artists, scholars, and poets, Vergil and Livy being the most well-known individuals working under imperial patronage. Augustus promoted the myth of Trojan ancestry and the foundation of Aeneas as the principal foundation myth of both Rome and the imperial family, two

[40] A network of myths interlocking Ilion and the Troad to other *poleis* is recorded in Chiai (2017).

[41] The earliest attestation of the myth of the twins is set in a 4th-century context by Liv. 10.23.5, according to Rodriguez-Mayorgas (2010) 91-92, who also notes that judging from the lack of any references to an alternative myth, all other traditions that may have existed previously must have been forgotten by the end of the 3rd century.

[42] Gruen (1992) 27-31; Erskine (2001) 133-147.

[43] Erskine (2001) 103, 206; Rodriguez-Mayorgas (2010) 98-105. According to Erskine (2001) 198-222, even the arrival of Magna Mater *Idaea* in Rome after 217 BCE probably lacked any Trojan inferences at that time, as only Ovid, Livy, and Virgil associated her with Troy centuries after the fact. For the survival and flight of Aeneas in visual culture throughout Italy, Brown (2002) 313-314 with bibliography.

[44] Rose (2014) 217-237.

institutions increasingly intertwined. Representations and scenes from the myth spread throughout the Sebasteia of the empire, from Spain to Asia Minor.[45]

Sacrifices of Roman officials at Ilion before Caesar were in complete accord with standards set by tradition and previous rulers visiting the area. After the 1st century BCE, this special relationship was projected onto the past. The accounts of Livy and Justin, heavily affected by and reflective of Augustan propaganda, associated even the first recorded official sacrifice by a Roman at Ilium in 190 (by C. Livius Salinator, commander of the fleet) with a Trojan past.[46] Conversely, the Iulii were involved in Troy not only with the Trojan origins of state and family in mind, but also to emulate the performance of other rulers before them in Ilion.[47] Only, this time, state *syngeneia* (kinship by blood) and individual *syngeneia* were intertwined.

The notion promoted by imperial propaganda presented a natural state of affairs. Trojans, led by Aeneas, were guided to safety, away from troubles and the devastation of a long war. Their descendants, now settled in Rome, were again led to safety by a descendant of Aeneas, after a prolonged series of wars and civil strife, into an era of Pax Deorum under the auspices of the gods and the agency of the emperor.[48] In this new cultural environment, the *poleis* of western and north-western Asia Minor were presented with the opportunity to establish relationships with Rome and the emperor. By claiming Trojan descent, local authorities could bring their people closer to the Roman people, and their affairs closer to the interests of the Roman people and the Senate. Ilion could claim both identities, Greek and Trojan, and evidence shows that its authorities put the alleged *syngeneia* with Rome to good use when mediating on behalf of other *poleis* of the area to their "colony" (for Lampsakos in *SIG*^{3} 591 (196/5 BCE); for Lycians in Pol. 22.5 (189 BCE)).[49] The other *poleis* of the wider area could imitate this practice to a different extent, moving closer to a Trojan past and present by circulating foundation myths and claims of phyletic affiliation. Aeolian *poleis* on the southern coast could become members of the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias without abandoning their Aeolian identity.

What seemed increasingly pointless was the ascription to a Mysian collective identity. By the turn of the millennium, the persisting imperial propaganda had literally removed Mysia from the map. The most renowned *polis* of Mysia was another outsider who attempted to associate with Troy. In Pergamon, the eponymous hero, son of the Greek Neoptolemos and

[45] Erskine (2001) 255.

[46] Liv. 37.9.7; Just. *Epit.* 31.8.1-3, discussed in Erskine (2001) 234-235 who observes the intrusion of Augustan-period taste and style into these accounts. In the mid-1st century CE, Lucan (*Phars.* 9.964-979) went as far as staging a visit to Troy that never took place, that of Julius Caesar. His deceivingly aloof Caesar almost walked over the tomb of Hector but very selectively traced only elements related to Aeneas and missed all landmarks relating to other prominent Trojan families. As a result, Lucan constructed a distinctively Iulian conception of Troy, perhaps with the intention to underline the Iulian character of the newly re-founded Rome: Rossi (2001); Spencer (2005) 48-56; Borgeaud (2010) 344-346.

[47] Erskine (2001) 233-234.

[48] Court poets went to great lengths to present this timeless connection between the people and their rightful leaders. Kondratieff (2012) argues that the scene in Virgil where Aeneas reunites with Anchises during the former's descent into the underworld (Verg. *Aen.* 6.679-683) is strongly reminiscent of the census of 28 BCE. When Aeneas reaches him, Anchises was presiding over a procedure of vetting the souls of his descendants, literally performing a census in the underworld. The entire episode provided an excellent opportunity to incorporate some prominent figures of Roman history into the family of Aeneas and Augustus (Verg. *Aen.* 6.760-859).

[49] Curty (1995) 78-82; Erskine (2001) 169-172, 176-178; Adak (2007).

the Trojan Andromache (Paus. 1.11.2), incorporated both a Greek and a Trojan past. Eurypylos, Telephos' son by a sister or daughter of Priam, linked Troy to the Attalids.[50] As a result, Telephos could become the forefather of Romans (Rome as a daughter of Telephos in Plut. *Rom*. 2.1 and Suda s.v. *Λατίνοι*).[51] The non-Greek populations of northern Asia Minor also stressed their *syngeneia* with Troy,[52] leaving even less room for Mysia or Mysians.

In consequence, scholarly works of the Augustan period had little motivation to refer to Mysia or Mysians. In public knowledge and scholarly works, Mysians were the non-Greek locals. Often, Mysia was represented as a marginal territory of the *Other*: rural, dispersed settlements; a land of bandits; a forest land; an insubordinate region.[53] Mysia and Mysians appeared regularly in Herodotos, closely related to Lydia both in terms of territory and culture.[54] In 5th-century tragedy, the land of Mysia was exalted for its natural resources, the Kaikos and the forests inland, while in a mythical context it remained barbaric even after the arrival of Telephos from Arcadia.[55] Mysians were portrayed with the typical barbarian characteristic of extreme mourning. The proverbial essence of the "Mysian lamentation" is exhibited by the choice of ethnicity for the mourning sailor soon to meet his death in Salamis (a Mysian in Timoth. *Persae* 105ff; cf. Aesch. *Persae* 1054). Mysia also appeared regularly in the works of Xenophon, and Pseudo-Scylax listed the Greek *poleis* in the area.[56] A scene on a sarcophagus dated to the early 4th century BCE from the Granikos valley has been interpreted as a fight between some members of the Achaemenid elite and Mysian light soldiers. The scene is portrayed as a hunting expedition and the *Other* is dehumanised, with the Mysian enemy being assimilated to a boar.[57] After the mid-3rd century, the Attalid kings and their realm were largely defined as "Mysian(s)".[58] After the death of Attalos III in 133 and his bequest of the kingdom to Rome, by the beginning of the 1st century CE probably no one had used the name Mysia in everyday affairs for at least a century and a half, as the kingdom

[50] Sources collected in Erskine (2001) 220 n. 89 and 90.

[51] For the attempt of Pergamos to link to the Trojan myth, Erskine (2001) 219-222.

[52] Curty (1995) 192-193; sources and discussion in Erskine (2001) 196-197.

[53] For a description of the natural environment and the importance of forests for the history of the region, still regarded as backward by 19th and 20th-century travellers, Robert (1978) 442-452. In the *Hellenica* (of unknown authorship, dated between 386 and 346) from the Oxyrhynchi Papyri the Mysoi are "independent" (*P.Oxy* V 0842 D 21 (651): "εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ πο̣λ[λ]ο̣ὶ [τ]ῶν Μυσῶν αὐ[τόνομοι καὶ] βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπακούον[τ]ες"). This does not necessarily mean absolute independence from the Great King (some Greek *poleis* were left "independent" but continued to pay tribute to the local satrap, as in Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.25; contra Bruce (1967) 135-136, who accepts Mysian independence and presents supporting passages of Xenophon). However, the wording of the second sentence ("and they do not heed to the King") suggests that some Mysians were independent and manifests the different patterns of control the Persian Empire applied over its peoples (cf. McKechnie and Kern (1988) 179).

[54] Mysians in the satrapy of Lydia (3.90); as colonists of the Lydians who march alongside them in the lines of Xerxes (7.74); closely related to Carians and Lydians (1.171); cultivating the land in the Kaikos valley (6.28); their land was adjacent to Lydia in the itinerary of Xerxes (7.42), including Atarneus (8.106); their *ethnos* remained among the select forces of Mardonios for a second attempt to subdue the Greek *poleis* in 479 (9.32).

[55] Aesch. (*Mysoi*) fr. 143-145 *TrGF*; Timoth. *Persae* 105-106; Eur. *Telephus* fr. 696.9-16 *TrGF*.

[56] Hordern (2002) 185. On Mysia: inland to the borders of Phrygia (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.8-10, 18); Mysians looting the king's lands and regularly attacked by Pharnabazos (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13); Mysians in the front line of Pharnabazos are slain by the forces of the Spartan commander Herippidas in the area of Daskyleion in 395 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.24); a list of Greek *poleis* in Mysia in [Scyl.] 93; in 98 a Mysian migration inland is mentioned.

[57] Ma (2008) 251-253. The iconography of the fighting scene strongly resembles to the hunt scene on the other side of the sarcophagus, with the light-armored warrior and the boar as victims of the Achaemenid elites.

[58] Sources collected in Pretzler (1999) 91- 92.

based on "Mysian" land and tradition was now integrated into Roman territory. In Asia Minor, the term reappears only after the end of the 1st century CE.[59] Similarly, in the works of Strabo, Pliny, and Mela, Mysia is regarded as a historical, not a contemporary entity, a relic of the past. Accordingly, Mysia disappears from geographical accounts composed during the Augustan period and its rare appearances occur almost always in mythical or historical contexts. Occasionally, Mysia was restricted to an undefined area south of Kyzikos and its southern appendix, bordering Aeolis, vanishes entirely. The Troad was fixed to the north, and Aeolis stretched all across the southern shore of the Troad.

Mysia and Mysians, terms unattested in non-Greek sources, in fact must have been a Greek construct to define rural, indigenous, non-Greek populations in the area just beyond the coastal zone of western Asia Minor.[60] The alleged name of the land in mythical times may have provided classical and later authors with a name for the locals. Deriving from the pool of Greek myth, one may define "Mysia" as an arbitrary name for an area largely regarded as backward by people living in a *polis*-scheme world. A great divide has been noted between a flat West Mysia and the East, hilly, forested Mysia, a marginal, unsubdued realm of bandits depicted in the sarcophagus of the Granicus valley.[61] When this construct of "Mysia" lost its meaning and context, it first disappeared from public discourse and then from scholarly discussion. After the intensity of Augustan propaganda subsided, Mysia re-emerged in the era of the Flavian and Antonine emperors, at a time close to the beginning of geographical archaism. Alongside the reappearance of Mysia, a Small Aeolis resurfaced in scholarly works.

Writing in the times of Marcus Aurelius, Pausanias positioned Aeolis, "as we now call it", between Ionia and an undefined land of the Mysians (Paus. 3.2.1: "...τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ καὶ Μυσῶν [ἀποικίαν], καλουμένην δὲ Αἰολίδα ἐφ' ἡμῶν"). The sub-regions of Asia Minor appear frequently in his work, but Pausanias still felt it was necessary to clarify for his readers that Sardeis was located in Lydia, "as it was known at that time [of Agesilaos in the early 4th century] the largest part of southern *Asia*".

In the writings of Cassius Dio (early 3rd century CE) Mysia resurfaces, always with a necessary addition to distinguish Mysia of "Asia" or "Lower Mysia" from its homophone Moesia/Μοισία on the Danube, sometimes referred to as "Upper Mysia, "Mysia in Europe" or simply "Mysia" (e.g., *HR* 38.10.3; 49.36.2; 51.2.3; 51.23-26; 55.23-24). Before the mid-3rd century, Philostratos resorted to a complex definition of the burial place of Palamedes, a mythical figure linked to the Homeric epic. Achilles and Ajax buried Palamedes in "the land of Aeolians adjacent to Troy" (*Her.* 716). Philostratos was concerned that his readers would require further clarification on the location of the tomb of Palamedes, since by "Aeolis" alone his audience would have associated the location with the coastal strip between the Hermos and Pitane. Well into the Byzantine era, geographical toponyms became fossilised, used by scholars adhering to classical terminology. Mysia, Aeolis, and the Troad appear typically in the division of lands among Noah's offspring after the Great Flood, a tradition building on

[59] The paucity of inscriptions is remarkable. Very few occurrences appear: in Pergamon (*OGIS* 338 shortly after 133 BCE); in eastern Lydia (a group of settlers in *SEG* 40.1062 around 163/2 BCE and a military unit during the reign of Eumenes II in *TAM* V, I, 690). After a dearth between the annexation of Pergamon to Rome and the middle of the 2nd century CE (with very few exceptions in the proximity of Mysia, i.e., *IG* XII Suppl. 9 (early 1st century CE in Mytilene) and *SEG* 41.1037 (133-100 BCE in Lydia)), the terms resurface on inscriptions from around the empire in the Flavian and Antonine periods (e.g., *IosPE* I² 420 from Chersonesos in 70 CE).

[60] Ma (2008) 250.

[61] Ma (2008) 248-249 with bibliography; Ma (2013) 62-75 presents a process of gradual urbanization built on Attalid practices of military colonization of what became a frontier zone where Iranian, Hellenistic, and local elements fused.

Josephus in the 1st century CE, who was keen to define the Aeolians as descendants of Alisa, son of Japheth (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* 1.127). Scholarly archaism, rather than the influence of the Old Testament and its interpretations, lay behind the latest attestation of Aeolis in our sources. After the Ottoman conquest in the 15th century, historian Doucas refers to the emir of Aydin as "the ringleader of Lydia and the Aeolian cities".[62]

Epilogue

Establishing a location for Antandros might have caused Strabo additional despair, timeline restrictions permitting. Antandros was located in the Troad (Hdt. 5.26), in Lydia ([Scyl.] 98), in Aeolis (Pliny *HN* 5.123, "once called Mysia"; Mel. 1.90-91), in Mysia (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἄνταν̓δρος*), on Mt. Ida (Conon 41 apud Phot. *Bibl.* 186.139a 12-24), sometimes in wordy identifications involving more than one entity, as "under Ida towards Mysia of Aeolis" (Hdn. *de Prosodia Catholica* 3.1.205). Assos is a similar case. Its initial phyletic affiliation ("Aeolian" in Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 F 160) was later taken to signify its location within a Large Aeolis (Mel. 1.93). For others it was a colony of the Methymnians (Myrsilos *FGrHist* 477 F 13) or the Mytilenians in Mysia or the Hellespont (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἄσσός*), with Pausanias preserving an all-encompassing form of self-identification: "Sodamas from Assos in the Troad under Ida, the first Aeolian victor…" (6.4.9).

Instead of assuming confusion and inviting despair, I hope I have been able to demonstrate the new possibilities that arise when the question is redirected from actual space to timeframe. A geographical toponym is not a fixed entity inextricably bound to a strictly defined area. Instead, terminology varies, or the same terms come to signify different meanings over time. The locations of Antandros and Assos remained fixed. What shifted were the perceptions of individuals and communities across time, as well as regional political conditions. As a result, Antandros and Assos could be in the Troad in times of a Small Aeolis, in Aeolis in times of a Large Aeolis, and in Mysia in times of geographical archaism.

In this paper, I argued that the contextualization of conflicting accounts about the territory and boundaries of Aeolis in our sources are much more than evidence and outcomes of confusion, inaccuracy, carelessness, or interchangeability. Rather, they can be interpreted as reflections of political changes in the region and beyond. First, the size of Aeolis oscillated between a Small and a Large Aeolis, as its size grew in sources dated to the late Hellenistic period onwards. This was a result of the consolidation of Ilion and Troy to the north, which shifted the centre of the Troad as a geographical entity to the north, thus allowing other phyletic and geographical affiliations to develop on the southern coast of the Troad. The effect became more prominent in the early imperial period and the propaganda of the Iulii revolving around the Trojan origins of the family and the Romans. After the propaganda subsided, the later authors' reliance on great works of the past returned Aeolis to its classical size.

Stefanos Apostolou
University of Nottingham
Stefanos.Apostolou@nottingham.ac.uk

[62] Mich. Duc. *Hist. Turc.* 4.3

Bibliography

Adak, M. (2007). Die rhodische Herrschaft in Lykien und die rechtliche Stellung der Städte Xanthos, Phaselis und Melanippion. *Historia, 56*, 251-279.

Apostolou, S. (2018). *The Importance of Being Aeolian: Shaping Aeolian Identity in Ancient Asia Minor.* (PhD Dissertation). University of Nottingham, Nottingham.

Baynham, E. (2021). "Selling Alexander": the Concept and Use of 'Propaganda' in the Age of Alexander. In J. Walsh & E. Baynham (Eds.), *Alexander the Great and Propaganda* (pp. 1-13). Abingdon: Routledge.

Bérard, J. (1959). La Migration Éolienne. *RA, 1*, 1-28.

Berggren, J. L., & Jones, A. (2000). *Ptolemy's Geography*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Berlin, A. M. (2002). Ilion before Alexander: A Fourth Century B.C. Ritual Deposit. *Studia Troica, 12*, 131-165.

Biraschi, A. M. (2005). Strabo and Homer: a Chapter in Cultural History. In D. Dueck, H. Lindsay, & S. Pothecary (Eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography: the Making of a Kolossourgia* (pp. 73-85). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bispham, E. (2007). Pliny the Elder's Italy. *BICS, 100*, 41-67.

Borgeaud, P. (2010). Trojan Excursions: a Recurrent Ritual, from Xerxes to Julian. *History of Religions, 49*, 339-353.

Brown, M. K. (2002). *The Narratives of Konon*. Munich: Saur.

Bruce, I. A. F. (1967). *An Historical Commentary on the "Hellenica Oxyrhynchia"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chiai, G. F. (2017). *Troia, la Troade ed il Nord Egeo nelle tradizioni mitiche greche*. Leiden & Boston, MA: Brill.

Clarke, K. (2017). Walking through History: Unlocking the Mythical Past. In G. Hawes (Ed.), *Myths on the Map: The Storied Landscapes of Ancient Greece* (pp. 14-31). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cohen, G. M. (1995). *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Constantakopoulou, C. (2017). *Aegean Interactions: Delos and its Network in the Third Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Curty, O. (1995). *Les Parentés Légendaires entre Cités Grecques*. Genève: Droz.

Debord, P. (1999). *L'Asie Mineure au IVe Siècle (412–323 a. C.). Pouvoirs et jeux politiques.* Paris: de Boccard.

Dueck, D. (2012). *Geography in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis-Evans, A. (2019). *The Kingdom of Priam: Lesbos and the Troad between Anatolia and the Aegean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ellul, J. (1962). *Propagandes*. Paris: A. Colin.

Entrikin, J. N. (2008). Introduction. In J. N. Entrikin (Ed.), *Regions. Critical Essays in Human Geography* (pp. xv - xxix). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Erskine, A. (2001). *Troy between Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Futo Kennedy, R. (2006). Justice, Geography and Empire in Aeschylus' *Eumenidae*. *ClAnt, 25*, 35-72.

Garzón Díaz, J. (1998-1999). La Geografía Antigua y Escílax de Carianda. *MHA, 19-20*, 9-23.

Gruen, E. S. (1992). *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Heinle, M. (2015). *Eine historische Landeskunde der Aiolis*. Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari.

Hordern, J. H. (2002). *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hulls, J.-M. (2008). Raising One's Standards? Domitian as Model in Ammianus 14.1.10. *Acta Classica, 51*, 117-124.
Jowett, G. S., & O' Donnell, V. (2019). *Propaganda and Persuasion* (7 ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Kondratieff, E. (2012). *Anchises Censorius.* Vergil, Augustus, and the Census of 28 B.C.E. *ICS 37*, 121-140.
Körpe, R. (2019). Antik çağın turizm merkezi olarak Troia. *Gastroia, 3*, 122-146.
Kosmetatou, E. (2001). Ilion, the Troad, and the Attalids. *AncSoc, 31*, 107-132.
Krebs, C. B. (2006). "Imaginary Geography" in Caesar's "Bellum Gallicum". *AJPh, 127*, 111-136.
Krentz, P. (1995). *Hellenika II.3.11-IV.2.8*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
Labarre, G. (1996). *Les Cités de Lesbos, aux Époques Hellénistique et Impériale*. Paris: de Boccard.
Leaf, W. (1923). *Strabo on the Troad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ma, J. (2008). Mysians on the Çan Sarcophagus? Ethnicity and Domination in Achaimenid Military Art. *Historia, 57*, 243-254.
Ma, J. (2013). The Attalids: a Military History. In P. Thonemann (Ed.), *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations, and the State* (pp. 49-82). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mac Sweeney, N. (2018). *Troy: Myth, City, Icon*. London: Bloomsbury.
McKechnie, P. R., & Kern, S. J. (1988). *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
Morris, S. P. (2007). Troy between the Bronze and the Iron Ages. In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *Epos: Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology.* (pp. 59-68). Liege: Université de Liège.
Murdoch, J. (2006). *Post-structuralist Geography*. London: Sage.
Nauta, R. R. (2004). Catullus 63 in a Roman Context. *Mnemosyne, 57*, 596-628.
Nauta, R. R. (2007). Phrygian Eunuchs and Roman *uirtus*: The Cult of the Mater Magna and the Trojan Origins of Rome in Virgil's *Aeneid*. In G. Urso (Ed.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Indigeni, Greci e Romani in Asia Minore* (pp. 79-92). Pisa: Edizioni ETS.
Ousterhout, R. (2004). The East, the West, and the Apporpiation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture. *Gesta, 43*, 165-176.
Patterson, L. E. (2013). Geographers as Mythographers: the Case of Strabo. In S. M. Trzaskoma & R. Scott Smith (Eds.), *Writing Myth: Mythography in the Ancient World* (pp. 201-221). Leuven: Peeters.
Peet, R. (1998). *Modern Geographical Thought*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Peretti, A. (1979). *Il periplo de Scilace. Studio sul primo portolano del Mediterraneo*. Pisa: Giardini.
Pillot, W. (2016). Ilion, Athéna Ilias et les Détroits, d'Alexandre le Grand à Antiochos III. In M. Dana & F. Prêtaux (Eds.), *Identité Régionale, Identités Civiques autour des Détroits des Dardanelles et du Bosphore* (pp. 133-170). Paris: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté.
Pretzler, M. (1999). Myth and History at Tegea - Local Tradition and Community Identity. In T. H. Nielsen & J. Roy (Eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia* (pp. 89-129). Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.
Quaranto, A., & Stanley, J. (2021). Propaganda. In J. Khoo & E. K. Sterken (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Social and Political Philosophy of Language* (pp. 125-146). Abingdon: Routledge.
Riley, M. T. (1995). Ptolemy's Use of his Predecessors' Data. *TAPhA, 125*, 221-250.
Robert, L. (1978). Documents d' Asie Mineure. *BCH, 102*, 395-543.
Rodriguez-Mayorgas, A. (2010). Romulus, Aeneas, and the Cultural Memory of the Roman Empire. *Athenaeum, 98*, 89-109.
Rose, C. B. (1998). Troy and the Historical Imagination. *CW, 91*, 405-413.

Rose, C. B. (2002). Ilion in the Early Empire. In C. Berns (Ed.), *Patris und Imperium: Kulturelle Und Politische Identitat in Den Stadten in Den Romischen Provinzen Kleinasiens in Der Fruhen Kaiserzeit* (pp. 33-47). Leuven: Peeters.

Rose, C. B. (2014). *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rossi, A. (2001). Remapping the Past: Caesar's Tale of Troy. *Phoenix, 55*, 313-326.

Rubinstein, L. (2004). Aiolis and South-Western Mysia. In M. H. Hansen & T. H. Nielsen (Eds.), *An Inventory of the Archaic and Classical Poleis* (pp. 1033-1052). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Safrai, Z. (2005). Temporal Layers within Strabo's Description of Coele Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea. In D. Dueck, H. Lindsay, & S. Pothecary (Eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia* (pp. 250-258). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sage, M. (2000). Roman Visitors to Ilium in the Roman Imperial and Late Antique Period: The Symbolic Functions of a Landscape. *Studia Troica, 10*, 211-231.

Seager, R., & Tuplin, C. (1980). The Freedom of the Greeks of Asia: on the Origins of a Concept and the Creation of a Slogan. *JHS, 100*, 141-154.

Shieber, J. (2021). Defining Propaganda and Ideology. Retrieved from https://3quarksdaily.com/3quarksdaily/2021/12/defining-propaganda-and-ideology.html

Shipley, G. (2011). *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplous: the Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World*. Exeter: Bristol Phoenix Press.

Shipley, G. (2012). Pseudo-Skylax and the Natural Philosophers. *JHS, 132*, 121-138.

Solomon, J. (2007). The Vacillations of the Trojan Myth: Popularization & Classicization, Variation & Codification. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition, 14*, 482-534.

Spencer, D. (2005). Lucan's Follies: Memory and Ruin in a Civil-War Landscape. *Greece & Rome, 52*, 46-69.

Stanley, J. (2015). *How Propaganda Works*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Şutiu, C. L. (2012). Propaganda: How a Good Word Went Wrong. *Agathos: an International Review of the Humanities and Social Sciences, 3*, 122-130.

Thonemann, P. (2013). The Attalid State (188-133 B.C.). In P. Thonemann (Ed.), *Attalid Asia Minor* (pp. 1-47). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thrift, N. (2008). Space: the Fundamental Stuff of Geography. In N. J. Clifford & S. Holloway (Eds.), *Key Concepts in Geography* (pp. 85-96). London: Sage

Ţuţui, V. (2017). Some Reflections Concerning the Problem of Defining Propaganda. *Argumentum: Journal of the Seminar of Discursive Logic, Argumentation Theory and Rhetoric, 15*, 110-125.

Vidal-Naquet, P. (1990). *La Democratie Grecque vue d' Ailleurs*. Paris: Flammarion.

Wagstaff, J. M. (1987). Colonel Leake and the Classical Topography of Asia Minor. *Anatolian Studies, 37*, 23-35.