THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WHAT'S IN A NAME? TRADE, SANCTUARIES, DIVERSITY, AND IDENTITY IN ARCHAIC IONIA

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For my daddy-o, who would have laughed heartily at the following joke:

Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar were sitting at a bar one Friday night having a drink when in walked Crassus. Pompey, catching sight of Crassus, asked Caesar if they should invite him to join. Caesar thought about it and then replied, "Nah. Crassus has no standards."

I'm lucky to have inherited your humor, intellectual curiosity, and love of boiled peanuts (only two of which made it into this dissertation), and I'm even luckier to have been your daughter.

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Abstract

The Ionian Migration – an ancient narrative that told of a large-scale, *en masse* movement of Ionian Greeks from mainland Greece to the western coast of Anatolia – has traditionally been used to explain how Ionia was a region populated by Anatolian Ionians, who identified as and spoke Greek by the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. In recent years, however, the historicity of this migration narrative has been questioned: in particular, there are discrepancies and disagreements in the basic overall plot and actors, a dearth of supportive archaeological evidence, and a constellation of foundation stories that the Anatolian Ionians told about themselves, of which the aforementioned Ionian Migration narrative was but one. This dissertation, therefore, reassesses the evidence for the formation of an Anatolian Ionian regional identity in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE and considers new avenues and impetuses for its formation and articulation, which we argue is tied to the intersection of several facets: commerce and trade, cross-cultural encounters as linked through itineracy, the built sanctuary environment and its cultic community, votive dedications, and shared festivals and their identity narratives.

Chapter One sets out the methodological approaches of this dissertation and argues that the sanctuary environment and its concomitant cultic community was an important medium for the nurturing and expression of an Anatolian Ionian identity. It also argues that the use of material culture in ritual actions is a potent source of evidence for the tracing of this identity. Chapter Two rethinks the "Ionian Migration" not as the wholesale movement of people, but as the movement of a name. This chapter argues that the "Ionian" name initially had economic overtones that facilitated trade and exchange between Aegean and Levantine traders – thereby acting as a moniker of sorts – that allowed it to be carried on the sea routes by these individuals in the first half of the first millennium BCE. Chapter Three argues that the sanctuaries of Ionia were deeply connected

to the maritime networks of the Archaic Aegean – both functioning as nodes in and being utilized by actors within these networks. A study of the votive material from these sanctuaries reveals the presence of these actors – traders, mercenaries, *xenoi*, and pirates – and suggests that the sanctuaries benefitted economically from these maritime networks. Chapter Four reexamines the emergence of large stone temples – with their proliferation of peristyles of Ionian columns – in Ionia during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE and argues that this phenomenon can be connected in part to these sanctuaries' maritime and economic networks, acting as a sort of aesthetic branding, and speaks to Ionia's emerging regional identity. Chapter Five examines select votive dedicatory practices in Ionia – the large-scale stone kouroi and korai and the Artemision's electrum coinage – that might speak to the region's burgeoning identity and its growing economic interdependence and cooperation. Additionally, for Chapters Three, Four, and Five, the *emporion* of Naucratis is used to highlight the potency of commerce, cross-cultural environments, and sanctuaries for the emergence and articulation of identities. Finally, Chapter Six moves from the material culture of Ionia to Ionian festivals – the Panionia, the Delia, the Apaturia, and the Anthesteria – to examine how the performative religious experience also celebrated and reified this new identity. Overall, this dissertation argues that the negotiation and expression of an Anatolian Ionian identity in the Archaic period should be sought not in the large-scale movement of a specific "Ionian" people, but at the dynamic intersection of small-scale and individual itineracies, trade and commerce, sanctuaries and beliefs, and multi-cultural interaction in Ionia in the Archaic period.

Introduction

An Introduction to Ionia

The Early Iron Age through Archaic periods (c. 1100-480 BCE) comprised an age of intense mobility, when the Greeks reached beyond the confines of the Aegean area to interact with other civilizations of the Mediterranean Basin - in Italy and Sicily, North Africa, France, Spain, Asia Minor, and the Black Sea area.

One of the most vibrant and complex areas where they arrived and settled was **Ionia** – hereafter used in this dissertation to designate the region roughly defined as the western coast of Anatolia, bounded by the Hermus River to the north and the Maeander River to the south, as well as the islands of Chios and Samos (Fig. 1). The settlers of this land did not occupy a pristine territory – complex and powerful kingdoms were rising and falling, including the Phrygian and Lydian Empires, and a number of indigenous people already inhabited the western Anatolian seaboard. Ionia is therefore a zone where disparate people from a number of ethnic backgrounds lived and interacted in a complex cross-cultural environment.[1]

Ionia is the best known and most well researched of the regions located on the western Anatolian littoral and was up until 1922-23 inhabited by a variety of people, including those who identified as and spoke Greek.[2] The region is variegated geographically, but tied together via the

[1] Most of our literary sources for the founding of these communities discuss Carians and/or other natives already *in situ* upon these shores. See Paus. 7.3.7, Hom. *Il.* 2.867, Conon *FGrHist* 26 F 1, Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 155, Herodorus *FGrHist* 31 F 45, and Hdt. 1.146 for Carian origins at Miletus & Str. 13.3.3 for Pelasgian origins; Paus. 7.3.6 for Carians and Minyans at Teos; Ion of Chios *FGrHist* 392 F 1 for Carians on Chios; Str. 14.1.15 for Carians at Samos; Paus. 7.2.7-8 and Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 114a discuss the Amazon foundation of Ephesus.

[2] The culmination of the Greco-Turkish War of the early 1920s was the 1923 Population Exchange, wherein over a million people were exchanged between Greece and Turkey on a basis of religion between 1923 and 1926. Muslims were sent to Turkey, and Greek Orthodox Christians were sent to Greece. For this population exchange, see generally Ozdogan 1998, Hirschon 2003, Keylar 2003, Millas 2003, Yildirim 2006, Mac Sweeney 2012.

sea. Large mountain ranges horizontally divide the land before plunging into the Aegean to the west and providing a long, meandering coastline. Indeed, the island of Samos is primarily a continuation of the Dilek Dağ mountain range to the west. Three river valleys – created by the Hermus, Cayster, and Maeander rivers – parallel these mountain ridges and provide a fertile environment for agriculture. All of these river valleys provided a connection via the ancient waterways to lands in the hinterland of Anatolia, especially Lydia, and emptied silt and other contents into the gulfs, leading to the rapid silting up of these gulfs, a dynamic landscape, and a dramatically different coastline than currently exists.

The Aegean itself is fairly shallow around Ionia, allowing for sailing and a diverse environment of marine life. Additionally, Ionia lay along the major north-south sea route traversing the western Anatolian littoral, meaning that it was a hub of communication and interaction. The lack of extensive natural harbors along Ionia's coastline also allowed the proximate communities to capitalize on this marine traffic, thereby becoming wealthy early on.[3] It was via the sea, and its place on the main north-south sea route along the coast, that the communities of Ionia communicated with each other, amassed vast wealth through overseas trading, and launched colonizing expeditions to areas beyond the reaches of the known Aegean world.

Ionia was itself surrounded by such distinct regions as Aeolis to the north and Caria to the south. Lydia was located immediately to the east and was connected to Ionia via the Cayster river. Further inland to the northeast lay Phrygia. Each of these regions was populated by people that had distinct languages and cultures, but have traditionally been seen as co-existent but separate cultures within Western Anatolia. This idea is itself a false diametric that has been fueled in large

[3] Greaves 2010: 45-68 focuses extensively on the physical environment of the region.

part by the narrative of the Ionian Migration, which told of the arrival to and inhabitation of Ionia by Ionian Greeks, whose identity was secure by at least 1000 BCE and who arrived on the shores of Anatolia with a view towards colonization and conquering of the native populations.[4] It is currently clear, however, that this approach of typifying and separating ancient group identities and ethnicities in this border region is anachronistic and that the boundaries between each of these regions were permeable, if existent at all. We should thus imagine most of Ionia especially, but the entirety of the western littoral generally, to be a vibrant cross-cultural environment that was marked by a multitude of different people, languages, and social customs. The **Anatolian Ionians** – hereafter used in this dissertation to refer to the inhabitants of Ionia and thereby differentiate them from the greater **Ionian** ethnic of the **Cycladic Ionians**, **Athenian Ionians**, **Euboean Ionians**, and the various colonies around the Mediterranean Basin and Black Sea – had a plethora of identities at any given time, including familial, civic, regional, and ethnic, that could be deployed in response to various social situations.[5]

The literary description of Ionia – first attested in the fifth century BCE author Herodotus – stated that Ionia originally consisted of a *dodekapolis*, or twelve *poleis*, all of which (with the exception of Colophon) were located on the coast. Even Colophon, however, was linked to the sea though the sanctuary of Apollo Clarus and the harbor town Notion, a distance of approximately fifteen kilometers. Of the twelve communities, two – Chios and Samos – are islands situated within a kilometer or two of the mainland. The remainder are located on the Anatolian mainland and comprise Erythrae, Clazomenae, Teos, Phocaea, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Myus, Miletus,

[4] See Mac Sweeney 2013a and 2013b for in-depth examinations of the foundation myths of select Ionian poleis, such as Chios, Samos, and Ephesus, and her 2017 article, which tracks the migration narrative through most of our literary sources.

[5] So, e.g., the individuals who carved their names into Ramses II's temple at Abu Simbel in the first generation of the sixth century BCE identified themselves both by patronymics and by home *poleis* – see Chapter Two for more discussion.

and Priene.[6] To these cities was also added the community of Smyrna, which the Anatolian Ionians captured when the Smyrnaeans were celebrating a festival of Dionysus, thereby altering the ethnic identity of the town from Aeolian to Ionian.[7] Happily, all of these communities aside from Archaic Priene – which currently lies under deep alluvium deposits from the Maeander River – have been located and have been archaeologically investigated to some degree or another. The important and large sites, such as Samos, Ephesus, and Miletus, have all been excavated more or less continuously for over 100 years.[8] Other sites have been excavated in fits and spurts, including Old Smyrna, Clazomenae, Erythrae, Chios, and Phocaea.[9] Colophon was subject to one season of digging by the ASCSA before they had to evacuate during the Turko-Greek War in 1922; it is currently being preliminarily surveyed and investigated.[10] Teos is in the preliminary stages of

[6] Hdt. 1.142.

[7] Hdt 1.149. For more on Ionian festivals, see Chapter Six.

[8] **Samos**: There was limited excavation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by J. Pitton de Tournefort and P. Girard respectively; from 1902-3 by the Archaeological Society of Athens; in 1910 by T. Wiegand; and by the Germans since 1925 (with a break from 1939-51 for WWII). **Ephesus:** Excavation began in 1863 by J.T. Wood and has been continued since by the Austrians, from 1893 to the present (with breaks for WWI and a nineteen-year break for WWII). The Artemision was excavated in 1869 by Wood and from 1904-5 by D. Hogarth; thereafter, the Austrians also took over excavation of the temple. **Miletus:** See Erhardt, Lohmann, and Weber 2007 for a complete biography up to 2006. Miletus' extraurban sanctuary, Didyma, was excavated first in 1858 by the British, then from 1872-4 by Rayet and Thomas, and 1895-6 by Haussoullier and Pontremoli. Finally, Didyma was excavated from 1905-1937 and from 1962 to the present by the Germans.

[9] **Old Smyrna:** Excavated by a joint Turkish-British team under the direction of E. Akurgal and J. Cook from 1948-51. New Turkish excavations have started and preliminary publications can be found in the *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (KST), the Turkish government's annual publication of the previous season's preliminary reports and discoveries. **Clazomenae:** Excavated in the 1920s by G. Oikonomos, surveyed in the 1950s by J. Cook, and excavated from 1979 to the present by the Turks. **Erythrae:** The *polis* is now under excavation by the Turks and was briefly investigated by E. Akurgal in the 1960s. **Chios:** Excavation took place at Emporio under J. Boardman between 1952-55. The Temple of Apollo Phanai was investigated by K. Kourouniotes in 1913 and 1915 and W. Lamb in 1934. From 1997-1999, an Australian team partially investigated the temple and surveyed the surrounding area, under the direction of L. Beaumont and A. Archontidou-Argyri. Additionally, rescue excavations have taken place sporadically in the main city of Chios, which overlays the ancient settlement. **Phocaea:** From 1913-14 and in 1920 by F. Sartiaux, from 1952-7 and in 1970 by E. Akurgal, and from 1989-present by Ö. Özyiğit.

[10] Holland 1944 and Gassner, Muss, Grammer, Gretscher, and Mariaud 2017.

excavation.[11] Myus was surveyed for two seasons in 1964 and 1966 by a German Team, but neither it nor Lebedus have been excavated.[12] While all of the *poleis* of Ionia shared a deep connection to the sea, they also significantly varied in other ways, including their governing structure and subsistence strategies. Some *poleis* – including Miletus and Ephesus – were large, important communities, whereas such others as Myus and Erythrae were fairly small. All, for the most part, however, enjoyed a deep wealth thanks to their involvement in these early maritime networks, which translated to the region being renowned for trade, piracy, and founding colonies abroad.[13]

All of this wealth meant that the Anatolian Ionians developed a reputation for – and enjoyed a world of – luxurious internationalism during the Archaic period.[14] Multiple poets and sources discuss the Anatolian Ionians' *tryphē* and *habrosynē*, both in general terms as well as the specifics of this lifestyle: good clothes, perfumes, and hairstyles.[15] Their active presence outside of Ionia

[11] Briefly excavated by M. Uz in the late 1980s, and the Izmir Museum carried out some trial excavations in the 1990s.
[12] Weber 1965 and 1967 for the survey of Myus.
[13] Pl. *HN*. 5.31 notes that Miletus alone founded ninety colonies, many of which are still undiscovered: see Roebuck 1959; Tsetskhladze 2002.
[14] In choosing the term "internationalism" over "orientalism," I am following Crielaard 2009: 61, who notes that Anatolian Ionians consumed objects from a variety of places throughout the Aegean as well as further afield in eastern Anatolia and the Mediterranean.
[15] For *habrusynē* and *tryphē* see Kurke 1992 and Morris 1996. Xenophanes fr. 3 West criticizes the useless luxury of the Colophonians. Asius of Samos (*FGrHist* 76 F 60) comments on the hairstyles, robes, and golden jewelry of the Samians; Eratosthenes (*FGrHist* 241 F 11) comments on the boxer Pythagoras' long hair and purple robe; and Sappho fr. 58.25 Voigt proudly states that she loves luxury. Other poets discuss luxury in terms of material goods, such as perfume and unguents (Xenophanes frs. 1 & 3 West or Alcaeus frs. 50 & 362 Campbell). Xenophanes fr. 3 West scorns the long purple robes worn in the agora, and it is important to note that the Homeric epithet for the Ionians was ἑλκεχίτωνες (though it should be noted that it is unclear whether these Ionians are Anatolian Ionians or otherwise). One gets the sense that Sappho was a clothes horse with her frequent mentions of Lydian slippers and headbands (Sappho frs. 39, 98, Voigt) and Phocaean handkerchiefs (fr. 101).

also contributed to strong *xenia* relationships both with the Lydians as well as further abroad with pharaohs and Mesopotamian kings, when Ionians served as mercenaries in these foreign armies.[16]

This influx of cosmopolitanism, wealth, and outside connections in the Archaic Period contributed to a zenith of cultural achievement in Ionia that far outpaced the rest of the Aegean – it was here that the pre-Socratics philosophized and engaged in scientific observation and experimentation and the first *ktisis* poems – or civic foundation poems – were composed and sung.[17] Wealth was also funneled into the first truly monumental buildings and constructions – the famous dipteral temples of Samos, Ephesus, and Didyma; the Samian water tunnel of Eupalinus; as well as splendid and ornate city walls.[18] Ionia of the Archaic period, therefore,

[16] For Anatolian mercenaries in Egypt, see Hdt. 2.152.4-5, the Pedon statue, and the graffiti at Abu Simbel, all of which are discussed in detail in later chapters of this dissertation. Alcaeus fr. 350 Voigt celebrates his brother, Antimenidas, a mercenary fighting in Babylon for Nebuchanezar. See also Helm 1980 and Haider 1996 and 2001 for Anatolian mercenaries.

[17] For a general bibliography on the Pre-Socratics, see, e.g., Huxley 1966, Lahaye 1966, Emlyn-Jones 1980, Waterfield 2000, Graham 2006, Sassi 2006. Unfortunately, few of the *ktisis* poems and foundation histories are extant, but we know of at least four archaic *ktisis* stories from Ionia: Mimnermus wrote the *Smyrneis*, though there are no extant fragments. One of his surviving fragments details the migration, settling, and taking of Smyrna, but Strabo – who quoted it – assigned it to Mimnermus' other lengthy poem the *Nanno*. Later *ktisis* poems include Panyassis of Halicarnassus' *Ionica*, Semonides of Amorgus' *Archaologia of the Samians* (*FGrHist* 534 T1.) and Xenophanes' *Ktisis of Colophon and Elea*; see also Bowie 2001: 47-9 for these poems overall. It is possible that a Cadmus of Miletus wrote a prose history of Ionia, though his existence has been brought into doubt by Jacoby (1955: 403), as he is only attested in late sources and appears to be an amalgamation of a historian with the mythological Cadmus the Phoenician, who brought writing to the Greeks. Later authors writing on western Anatolia include: Democritus of Ephesus, who wrote on his community (*FGrHist* 267 T1); Apollonia, who wrote a history of Caria in eighteen books (*FGrHist* 740 T1); multiple authors, including Dositheus, Xenophilus, and Xanthus, who wrote on the regional history of Lydia (*FGrHist* 54 F 7; *FGrHist* 765 F 30; *FGrHist* 767 F 1 respectively); Alexander Polyhistor, who wrote on both Caria and Lycia (*FGrHist* 273 T 4); Leon of Alabanda, who wrote four books on Caria and two on Lycia (*FGrHist* 278 T 1); Metrodorus of Chios, who wrote on Ionia (*FGrHist* 43 F 3); and Hermogenes, who wrote on Phrygia (*FGrHist* 795). Schepens 2001: 9-10 points out that the city history remained popular throughout antiquity; there are approximately 350 authors attested for city histories, versus only about 200 authors for the less popular Panhellenic histories.

[18] The dipteral temples will be examined throughout this dissertation, and especially in Chapter Four. For the water tunnel of Eupalinus, see Hdt 3.60 as well as the excavation reports (Kienast 1995 and Jantzen, Hautumm, Megow, and Weber 2004) and MacSweeney 2013b: 91-102 for discussion of Samos' ties to and its *shaping of* its land. For the city walls in Ionia, see the catalogue in Frederiksen 2011, as well as a brief discussion in Appendix Three. Phocaea's city wall was particularly admired, unsurprising considering its craftsmanship is similar in quality to that of religious and public buildings of this period. The preserved fortification system in the Maltepe tumulus is a tour de force in stone-cutting, consisting of a wall, a partial

enjoyed a substantial amount of power, influence, and wealth and would not experience a decline in its fortunes until the Ionian revolt of 499-494 BCE.

The Ionian Migration

The Anatolian Ionians themselves generally believed that they were not indigenous to Ionia, but rather had migrated to this western littoral at some point in their early history. The most popular of the stories that were told about Ionia was the so-called "Ionian Migration" narrative, which is found scattered in a multitude of literary accounts and especially in Herodotus, Strabo, and Pausanias, who relate the narrative in the greatest detail.[19] In short, the Ionian Migration narrative tells of the foundation of the *dodekapolis* as a large-scale movement of people from the Greek mainland to Ionia sometime in the eleventh century BCE.[20] This migration purports that the Anatolian Ionians were a relatively coherent people who lived in the Peloponnese – sometimes Achaea and sometimes Pylos. Unfortunately, they were driven out of their homeland, whence they migrated to Athens where they lived for a generation. During this time in Athens, Melanthus, himself an exile from Pylos, became the Athenian king and established the second dynasty at

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gateway, and a stone buttress/glacis. The wall itself has been uncovered only to the depth of the preserved gateway's threshold, a depth of 5.22 meters, and is five meters thick. It is pseudo-isodometric, constructed of worked blocks that are sets of two courses of tufa blocks of approximately the same height and a thinner course, with all joins featuring *anathyrosis*. The contemporary glacis, which is itself the only stone glacis/buttress in Ionia and one of only a few in western Anatolia, starts 1.86 meters below the surviving height of the wall and juts out from the external face of the wall, extending down 3.36 meters. Like the wall, it was built of carved tufa blocks of approximately uniform length and width. Indeed, even the ancients noted that this wall was unique: Herodotus admires it before ascribing to it royal patronage and friendship (Hdt. 1.163-4). There are also cuttings for the placement of blocks (since robbed out) on several hills ringing Phocaea, including the Altın Mağarası and the Theater Hill, where the wall continued: see Özyiğit 1991, 1994, and 2006 for Phocaea's defensive system overall.

[19] Hdt 1.145-7; Str. 8.7.1-4; Paus. 7.2.1-4.

[20] See Prinz 1979: 316 for the observation on the local/universal dichotomy of the myths. Thuc. 1.12 places the Ionian Migration about 140 years after the fall of Troy and the subsequent Aeolian Migration to northwest Anatolia. Rose 2008 concludes that there is no archaeological evidence for the Aeolian migration, and Parker 2008 compliments Rose's study by arguing for a lack of strong linguistic evidence for the Aeolian migration.

Athens, displacing the descendants of Cecrops and Erechtheus.[21] Melanthus was succeeded by his son, Codrus, who ruled Athens in turn. However, a quarrel between Codrus' two sons, Medon and Neleus, over who should ascend their father's throne led to a decisive split among the brothers and their respective factions. Medon was declared the rightful heir, despite minor physical deformities that Neleus argued should disqualify him from ruling. Incensed, Neleus led the Ionians and any interested Athenians away from Athens, through the islands, to Anatolia.[22] In Anatolia, they fanned out and claimed the land by conquering the native people or simply founding communities. As such, the western littoral of Anatolia became quickly "colonized" and consequently "Hellenized."

This narrative has been fundamentally important because it has dictated the lens through which nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars have approached the region – namely, as one that became Hellenized through the mass influx of people who were already Greek. This approach has been influenced by several factors. One factor is that, up until recently, archaeological excavation had not yet reached the Early Archaic and Iron Age levels at Ionian sites

[21] For Melanthus' and Codrus' story, see Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3, F 154), Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 125), and Lycurg. *Leoc*. 84-7. Interestingly, Codrus and his line were not Ionian but perhaps Aeolian – see Mac Sweeney 2013b: 165-7 for an analysis and discussion of the Hellanicus fragment.

[22] See Mac Sweeney 2017 for a quite comprehensive list of the various origin stories told about Ionia and discussed further below. For mentions of Neleus, the supposed leader of the Ionian Migration, see the Parian Marble *A. 27*, Hdt. 9.97, Polyaenus 8.35, and Aelian *VH* 8.5. The *Suda* s.v. Πανύσσις says that Panyassis' *Ionica* discussed the Codridae, but unfortunately no fragments of this work survive. For generic Athenian origins of the Anatolian Ionians, see Thuc. 1.12.4 and Str. 9.1.5. Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 155) assigned leadership of the migration to Androclus, another son of Codrus. Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 126 & 127) stated that Androclus founded Ephesus, and Neleus fortified Miletus, respectively. Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 101 and 48) believed that the founders of Priene were not Ionian but Theban, though he allows the Codridae to be founders of Erythrae respectively. Strabo 14.1.3 assigns the civic foundations to a mixed lot including Boeotians, Thebans, Athenians, and various unimportant sons of Codrus, perhaps following an earlier tradition first recorded by Hecataeus (*FGrHist1* F 228), who notes that Erythrae was founded by Cnopus. For mentions of the original inhabitants of Ionia, see Footnote 1 of this Introduction, as well as the discussion found in Chapter Six. For the perceived ties between Achaea and Ionia, see Chapter One, Footnote 38.

and therefore could not shed any light onto this early period.[23] However, the later Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman overburden, with their emphasis upon Greek-style structures and material culture, provided teleological evidence that the Ionian Migration had indeed "Hellenized" the region. Another factor has been the tacit assumption that the participants in the Ionian Migration had static "Greek" identities and a strong sense of "Greekness" prior to their arrival in Anatolia. As such, traditional approaches to Ionia have marked out the region as distinct from the surrounding indigenous cultures with its own "Ionian Greek" culture and concerned themselves primarily with identifying differences within the material culture in order to identify the Carians, Lydians, and Ionians as co-existent but separate cultures.[24] Finally, the literary positivist approach to archaeology, which interprets archaeological material culture in light of the surviving texts, has reinforced the assumed validity of seeing any early evidence as proof of the migration.[25] This approach has also exacerbated the academic priority of the Anatolian Ionians over the indigenous peoples of Anatolia, whose voices have been lost thanks to a general dearth of inscriptions and

[23] Greaves 2010: 95-6; Vaessen 2014: 58-9.

[24] For example, it has been previously thought that apsidal and oval buildings in Miletus are Carian on the basis of little evidence aside from the "primitivist" views of these indigenous cultures. Once circular buildings are identified as Carian, then one tends to see Carian buildings wherever there are circular buildings, creating a self-fulfilling analysis that is devoid of useful and rigorous study: see Kleiner 1966: 14-7 for this interpretation and Mac Sweeney 2013b: 58-61 for a critique of it. Additionally, Dietler 2010: 265-76 cogently argues that the change from domestic wattle-and-daub architecture to mudbrick architecture in the Greek "colonial" context of Iron Age Southern France should be read not as a response to the arrival of Hellenic migrants and subsequent "slavish" copying of Greek house types by the indigenous people, but rather as a response to deforestation, which necessitated different building techniques that did not use so much wood.

[25] The historical reasons for the success of the literary positivist approach to Classical archaeology has been recently set out and explained by Hall 2014b: 1-16, who notes that it was in part a lingering result of the academic appropriation of archaeology – previously the purview of amateurs – in the early nineteenth century. During this time, university departments were primarily focused upon philology, and combining the two disciplines profoundly intertwined Classical archaeology with the literary texts, as well as isolating it from theoretical developments taking place in European prehistoric archaeological fields.

historical writings.[26] This necessarily gives us a one-sided view of Ionia – both literarily and archaeologically – through the lens of the ancient Greeks, thereby strengthening the assumed historicity of the Ionian Migration and validity of interpreting evidence in light of this mass influx of people to Anatolia.

Indeed, early nineteenth century scholars took the Ionian Migration's validity at face value and focused instead on establishing its purported date, with Martin Nilsson arguing for a date at the end of the Mycenaean period, when the societies of the Eastern Mediterranean basin were in flux, and Carl Roebuck and M.O.B. Caspari arguing for a date in the eleventh century BCE, in line with Thucydides, who places the migrations several generations after the Trojan War.[27] When scholars did introduce archaeology into the debate of the Ionian Migration, generally around the mid-twentieth century, they used it not to question the historicity of the Ionian migration, but to support their favored chronology. V.R. Desborough argued that the presence of Protogeometric pottery here – long considered to be a product of Athens, where it was first found – pointed towards evidence of Ionian-Athenian migrants in the eleventh century BCE, while George Hanfmann argued that this pottery constituted only initial contact and dated the migration to the ninth century BCE when there was also evidence for a change in architecture from oval to rectilinear shapes.[28] Desborough's date, however, which neatly married the pottery evidence with the literary evidence, became the standard for contemporary and subsequent scholars, including Ekrem Akurgal, Michel

[26] For the literary positivist approach in Ionia, see Greaves 2010. An excellent example of this is the interpretation of the construction of a mid-eighth century BCE defensive platform at Old Smyrna. The excavators (Cook and Nicholls 1998: 54-8) suggest that this platform's construction is related to the arrival of a large population of Anatolian Ionians from Colophon, as related by Hdt. 1.149-50. They propose it was constructed by the Aeolians, who suddenly found themselves in the minority thanks to a large influx of Anatolian Ionians, and used by this group to maintain control of Smyrna's defenses.

[27] Caspari 1915: 173-4 and 1916; Nilsson 1933; Roebuck 1959: 335-6; Thuc. 1.12.4.

[28] Desborough 1964: 254; Hanfmann 1953: 6-15. As Vaessen 2015: 825-6 points out, the idea that there is a direct link between an object's findspot and its place of manufacture is a modern concept, largely influenced by our ability to travel straight from one location to another.

Sakellariou, J. M. Cook, George Huxley, and Chris Emlyn-Jones in their synthetic overviews of Ionia's importance for the development of Greek cultural milestones.[29] Indeed, this adherence to the Ionian Migration on the one hand neatly explained the material cultural trends obvious in the region by the sixth century BCE and fit the general Hellenocentric attitudes prevalent in scholarly thought during that time.[30] On the other hand, it is partly due to the lasting influence of the cultural-historical theoretical approach to archaeology, which advanced the idea that the boundaries between cultures are clean and recognizable, the identities of people are relatively static, and cultures and people can be straight-forwardly identifiable as material culture horizons – that "pots equal people."[31]

Rethinking the Migration

Recent reassessments of the Ionian Migration, as well as archaeological investigations finally reaching Early Iron Age levels, are reshaping how we think about this "Migration." In particular, it is becoming clear that "migrations" during this period were ones that were small-scale movements of people moving throughout the Aegean via island hopping, rather than the *en*

[29] So, Akurgal 1962: 369-70; Huxley 1966: 23-5; Cook 1962: 23-5 & 1975; and Emlyn-Jones 1980: 12 & 14. Snodgrass 1971: 66-8 and Sakellariou 1958 differed slightly by suggesting that the migrations – though certainly responsible for the Anatolian Ionian Greeks – were small-scale movements and Ionia's mixed population comprised other ethnic elements.

[30] See Vlassopoulos 2007 and Hill 2017: 87.

[31] This archaeological theoretical model began in the late nineteenth century and was developed most fully and propounded by G. Childe in his book *Dawn of European Civilization*. It derives primarily from the Western European nationalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as nations were conceived of a specific ethnic group bounded by political and economic boundaries. Archaeology was relied on to delineate the cultural traits of these ethnic people through their artifacts and establish their antiquity. While the cultural-historical approach to archaeology has largely died out, its equation of ethnicity with specific material culture has had a lasting, pervasive influence: see Trigger 2006: 211-313 for the cultural-historical model in particular. To see this phenomenon specifically at work in Greece in the early twentieth century, see Davis 2000 and 2003.

masse movement of an entire people.[32] This new view of the Ionian Migrations as small disparate groups that arrived haphazardly to the western coast of Anatolia means that one must re-imagine the nature of the relations between the native inhabitants and the new arrivals as one of integration rather than conflict and separation. Indeed, the archaeology of most of Ionia's communities show continuity between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, and there is no drastic change in the material culture – especially cookware, burial customs, or domestic structures – that could support this influx of a new population.[33] In addition, it is also clear that Aegean-wide, cross-cultural interaction existed in the Minoan and Mycenaean periods, predating the purported Ionian Migration by several centuries.[34] Further, a more complex assessment of concepts of identity, ethnicity, and culture has superseded antiquated views that identity is primordial and static. It is now clear that identities are actively created, maintained, negotiated, and redefined in response to a variety of circumstances.[35] Additionally, recent studies of ethnic identity have shown that a

[32] See Mac Sweeney 2016 and Mokrišová 2016 & 2017 especially for small-scale local movements and mobility in Southwestern Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. Genetics is currently also being used as evidence for migration. A recent genetic study (Tofanelli et al. 2016) on the DNA of inhabitants of Eastern Sicily has shown that their genetic signatures match those of Aegean inhabitants – especially people on Euboea. The study reveals that the migration/colonization of East Sicily was carried out by a small number of males about 800 BCE, which surprisingly lines up with the literary evidence. As genetic tests become cheaper and more easily available, perhaps they will eventually shed light on the Ionian migration debate.

[33] See, e.g. Ersoy 2003, Vanschoonwinkel 2006, Vaessen 2014. It should certainly be cautioned, however, that some migrations have happened that have not left archaeological traces – such as the Cimmerian invasion.

[34] See, e.g. Niemeier 1998 and 2005, Mee 1998 and 2008, Girella and Pavuk 2015.

[35] This idea dates back to the mid-twentieth century, when anthropologists fostered instrumentalist views on ethnicity, arguing that ethnicity was a tool primarily used to construct and manipulate group cohesion and thus protect other economic and political interests (see, e.g. Cohen 1969, who argued that the Ibadan Hausa's ethnic identity masked a monopolization of the kola nut and cattle trade, which required a kinship gloss to create the trust and cooperation that kept this monopoly salient and facilitated the movement of the goods between a large geographical area). Though the instrumentalist anthropologists' viewpoints on ethnicity overreached by negating the idea that ethnicity was an important identity for the individual, thereby denying the perceived "primordial" dimension of ethnic identity, they introduced the important concept that ethnic identities are not a natural and static inheritance from a dusty past. The fundamental study of the construction of identities was made by Barth 1969 in his introductory essay to the edited volume *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries.* He insisted that the boundaries of the ethnic group were one of the most

coherent Greek identity developed relatively late in the Archaic period; indeed, assuming that any migrants who settled in the land later known as Ionia identified themselves or their communities as Greek at the time of their arrival is dangerously anachronistic.[36] Finally, the efficacy of Protogeometric pottery as a specific marker of Athenian influence has been thrown into doubt, as it is now clear that this type of pottery was being produced locally in Anatolia, rather than simply imported.[37] Indeed, Rik Vaessen and Jana Mokrišová both argue that this style developed simultaneously on either side of the Aegean and the pottery must be contextualized within the ceramic repertoire of western Anatolia overall rather than be attributed to western Aegean influence.[38] They note that this style appears alongside traditional local Anatolian wares, which itself might not speak to a change in population, but rather to appropriation and/or innovation.

Concurrent with this reassessment of the archaeological evidence has been a closer look at the literary sources. Naoíse Mac Sweeney has recently catalogued many of the Anatolian Ionian *poleis'* origin stories told over the course of antiquity.[39] Importantly, she has demonstrated that there was not a coherent narrative of the migration. Rather, the origin myths that were told by and about Ionia are marked by diversity, and the Anatolian Ionians were said to have migrated from multiple places. Of the 113 narratives, Mac Sweeney has catalogued, twenty purport Cretan origins, fourteen Near Eastern origins, and fifty-four western Aegean origins, while sixty-two relate some aspect of the "traditional" Ionian Migration narrative. She has also demonstrated that these narratives could exist alongside each other – as a full fifty-one authors reference at least two

important constituents of the group, and it was in this liminal space that the ethnic identity was shaped, amended, maintained.

[36] See especially Hall 1997, 2002, 2003, and 2004 though see also Malkin 2011.

[37] Cook and Dupont 1998: 11-4; Lemos 2002: 148; and Coldstream 2008: 262-301, who still attribute marked Attic influences to Anatolian Protogeometric wares.

[38] Vaessen 2014: 154-77; Mokrišová 2017.

[39] See Table 1 in Mac Sweeney 2017: 402-5.

of these origin stories in their writings.[40] Finally, Mac Sweeney has shown that different narratives were popular at different times, with particular spikes of popularity for the Ionian Migration occurring during the fifth through the third centuries BCE as well as during the Second Sophistic period in the first and second centuries CE.[41] Indeed, she argues that these spikes in popularity of the migration narrative suggest it was used to respond to specific social and cultural horizons that existed at particular moments in history. Consequently Mac Sweeney, as well as such scholars as Robin Osborne and Jonathan Hall, have argued that these narratives should be read as addressing concerns current in the milieu in which they were told rather than simply reflecting the historicity of the migration.[42] One particularly potent argument for viewing the Ionian Migration as a literary construct is the observation that the purported Athenian origins of the Anatolian Ionians become especially popular in Athens during the fifth century BCE, precisely when Athens was at the helm of the Delian League. This articulated variant of the migration narrative both justified the expansionist aims of the Athenian state during this time, while simultaneously encouraging these Anatolian Ionian *poleis* to acquiesce to Athenian hegemony.[43] Further, Noel Robertson has examined the myths surrounding Melanthus, Codrus, and Neleus and demonstrated the artificial nature of their narratives. He believes that the myths surrounding this dynasty initially existed as shorter narratives that spoke to specific concerns in Athens and that Solon likely imported the cult of Neleus into Athens as a way to link the *polis* to the powerful Miletus. He argues that it was only in the mid-sixth century BCE that these narratives acquired an active genealogy under the

[40] Mac Sweeney 2017: 409
[41] Mac Sweeney 2017: 415.
[42] Osborne 2009: 47-52; Hall 1997: 55–56 and 2002: 67-71 and 2008b; Mac Sweeney 2013: 162.
[43] See, e.g. Hdt. 1.147 and Isocrates, *Panegyr*. 122. Barron 1964; Sakellariou 1958: 242-3 and 1990: 137-8; Nilsson 1986: 59-65; Hall 1997: 55–56 and 2002: 67-71; Lemos 2007: 714; Mac Sweeney 2013b: 162. Alty 1982 believes that the Ionianism of the Athenians was particularly pronounced in the fifth century, and he assigns this identity to a confidence issue during the Peloponnesian War.

Peisistratids, who claimed descent from this family, and only in the fifth century BCE that they were woven together to create a coherent story of the family that spearheaded the Ionian Migration. Robertson assigns primary authorship of this larger narrative arc to Hellanicus, who, he believes, compiled a full genealogy of the kings and their deeds, thereby demonstrating – in different form – the artificiality of the migration narrative.[44] Florentia Fragkopoulou, similarly, argues that the migration narrative is a mythological construct and should not be approached or heuristically investigated through the anachronistic lens of Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian ethnic groups – a phenomenon that is only attested several centuries after the migrations purportedly occurred.[45] Finally, Alan Greaves has noted that the corpus of migration stories told about Ionia exhibits a narrative structure that closely conforms to literary conventions current during the fifth century BCE. This, he argues, suggests that either they were retold and reworked in contemporary genre conventions or invented entirely during this time rather than reflecting original stories that had been handed down through the generations.[46]

These developments have thrown the historicity of the Ionian Migration into doubt over the course of the last thirty years, splitting scholars into roughly three groups. The first group, including Michael Kerschner, Jacques Vanschoonwinkel, and Alexander Herda, comprises those who still adhere to the presence of Attic or Atticizing Protogeometric pottery in Ionia as evidence for the migration, brought directly to Anatolia by individuals from Athens.[47] The second group includes those at the other end of the spectrum, who have outright rejected the historicity of the migration. These include Justus Cobet and Alan Greaves, who are troubled by the problematic

[44] Robertson 1988.
[45] Fragkopoulou 2015: 231-5.
[46] Greaves 2010: 222-3.
[47] Kerschner 2006a: 370 and 2011: 24 focuses specifically upon the Artemision where Protogeometric pottery is prevalent; Vanschoonwinkel 2006: 121-30 & 136-9; and Herda 2006 and 2013: 426.

nature of the literary sources and argue that the archaeology of the region alone must speak for Ionia's early history.[48] Jan Paul Crielaard, similarly, notes that the entire Aegean area was generally in contact with and part of the same cultural area throughout the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Ages, which is incongruent with large-scale population movements, and assigned the narrative to a product of Ionian identity formation.[49]

Finally, there are a number of scholars who settle for a middle ground, arguing that the Ionian Migration narrative preserves a "kernel" of truth and/or memory of earlier population movements. For example, Irene Lemos rejects the connection of the Protogeometric pottery to an Ionian Migration because of a lack of this pottery in the islands, which the Anatolian Ionians would have had to cross to get to Ionia. She therefore does not support a migration during the eleventh century BCE, but rather places the movements of people directly after the fall of the Myceanean palaces and links it to a distinctive island pottery.[50] Similarly, Wolf-Dietreich Neimeier rejects the migration narrative, but does still believe in a large-scale population movement from Attica to Ionia.[51] Naoíse Mac Sweeney agrees that neither the archaeological nor historical evidence supports a mass migration, and the linguistic evidence is flawed, but argues for smaller-scale mobilities and arrivals throughout the Bronze Age-Iron Age transition, with conditions in the Early Iron Age perhaps being particularly ripe for movement.[52]

[48] Cobet 2007: 739-40; Greaves 2010: 222-3.
[49] Crielaard 2009: 55-7.
[50] Lemos 2007: 716-24.
[51] Niemeier 2005: 20-1 and Niemeier 2007: 17-8.
[52] Mac Sweeney 2016 and 2017: 412-4.

Structure of the Dissertation

I am persuaded that our current archaeological evidence does not support a sudden, mass influx of people along the lines of the Ionian Migration, and I ascribe to the viewpoint that the migration narratives should be seen as later constructs rather than preserving any genuine historical "kernel" or memory. Ultimately, the literary sources concerning this tradition are just too problematic and too chronologically distanced from the purported event, and I believe that the Ionian Migration narrative does not reflect events on the ground during the first centuries of the first millennium BCE. This prompts us to re-examine how, when, and why the disparate communities of this region had come to think of themselves as "Ionian." The fundamental aim of this dissertation is to reassess the evidence for the formation of an Anatolian Ionian identity and distinguish when and how the inhabitants of Ionia began to identify and be identified as Ionian, for what purposes they identified themselves as such, and how they reoriented this region towards the Aegean and away from Anatolia. This dissertation furthermore, defines **identity** as an active process, in which the social group – in this case the Anatolian Ionians – ascribes to itself an idea of belonging that is fundamentally felt among individuals (perhaps as static), but must be continuously negotiated and can evolve and grow in response to particular stimuli. We also believe that the Anatolian Ionian identity developed slowly over the course of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE and was an agglutinative process that was not complete until about 500 BCE. This dissertation focuses upon the role of sanctuaries in the formation of an Anatolian Ionian identity in the Archaic period because religious expression at sanctuaries was a potent force for identity expression and formation, all the more so because of the role cultic sites played in the intersection of the community, the economy, the individual, and the outside world. The material and textual sources suggest that this Anatolian Ionian regional and ethnic identity was constructed in the multi-

cultural environment of Ionia through a manipulation and instrumentalization of difference and inclusion. The development of sanctuaries, I argue, formed a primary vehicle through which Ionia articulated and expressed its new communal identity. I approach the material and literary evidence via the study of social decisions and social experience, which I believe offers the greatest chance of distinguishing a developing Anatolian Ionian identity in the vibrant, complex social environment that was Ionia in the Archaic period. Overall, this dissertation incorporates several facets of the Anatolian Ionian identity – economic itinerancy and trade, the built sanctuary environment, shared festivals and their aetiological narratives, and votive dedications – to argue not for the *coming* of the Ionian Greeks, à la the myth of the Ionian Migration, but rather for the *becoming* of the Ionian Greeks in the dynamic landscape that was western Anatolia.

I set out my methodological approaches to and definitions of Ionia in Chapter One. The chapter examines the evidence for an early "Ionian" identity and argues that cult was a formative vehicle for the fostering and expression of an Anatolian Ionian identity. The sanctuary environment was a potent force – not yet fully considered – in which the Anatolian Ionian identity was nurtured. I argue that the cultic community, which utilized, created, and sustained the sanctuary, was a critical vehicle for this Ionian identity because this social group was flexible enough to allow for the overlay of other group identities. I also defend this dissertation's deployment of material culture by arguing that it is through ritual actions, which leave a demonstrable archaeological footprint, that the cultic community is created, maintained, negotiated, and reinforced.

Chapter Two establishes that the "Ionian" moniker existed earlier than the crystallization of an Anatolian Ionian identity – as early as the fourteenth century BCE and first appearing in non-Greek sources. These etic sources, primarily Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian, discuss "Ionian"

individuals as foreign mariners – raiders and traders. I argue that, while the name refers to "Greeks," it also initially had economic overtones, referencing traders that peddled wares – especially Pendent Semi-Circle *skyphoi* – in the Eastern Mediterranean before being broadened out to mercenaries and other Greeks (perhaps largely from the island of Euboea, the Cyclades, and Anatolia) travelling throughout this area. This chapter argues, therefore, that we should not think of the Ionian Migration as a movement of people, but rather as the movement of a name that easily circulated among the sea routes in and out of the Aegean thanks to its partial status as a "brand" name.

Chapter Three argues that the sanctuaries of Ionia were deeply enmeshed within the maritime networks of the Archaic Aegean by examining the visibility of Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries from the sea. Additionally, the evidence of imported votives and votives made of imported materials, as well as the inscriptions on select votives, can give us insight into the types of people that were both worshipping and dedicating at Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries as well as utilizing this marine corridor. This evidence suggests that the sanctuaries in Ionia served as important nodes, where traders could stop to peddle their wares, pirates could dedicate first fruits, and mercenaries could provide thank-offerings for successful campaigns abroad, and enjoyed a concomitant degree of economic prosperity for the sanctuary. This created, I argue, an ethnically diverse environment that fostered the emergence and expression of an Anatolian Ionian identity during the Archaic period, and the chapter uses the trading *emporion* of Naucratis as a control for these ideas to demonstrate how the intersection of commerce, the cultic community, and cross-cultural interaction would have formed a potent environment for identities to be negotiated and expressed.

Chapter Four then pivots to the built sanctuary context to examine how the Anatolian

Ionian sanctuaries simultaneously blossomed and were inextricably transformed via the construction of huge stone temples. These buildings were unusual in Greece and they likely received their inspiration from travel and trade. This chapter also examines how temples created a visual network for people moving throughout this region vis-à-vis their similar looks and their general placement on promontories as marking out trading passages via sea. Thus, I argue that Ionia created a regional aesthetic marker that was visually identifiable to any maritime traffic and marked itself out as "open for business" to traders. Indeed, Ionia's innovation in monumental temple building and dedicatory sculpture is particularly telling because it mimics the Cyclades' built religious environment and is all the more noteworthy because this practice was not generally shared by the Lydians or the Carians (despite both regions having renowned stonemasons). To assess this, I examine a variety of religious spaces, from the impressive extra-urban temples on Samos and at Didyma and Ephesus to the smaller, civic temples at Chios, Phocaea, and Smyrna.

Chapter Five examines the practice of dedication and how it encouraged a shared identity. This chapter first focuses upon two types of votive dedications in Ionia. Votive dedications of stone *kouroi* and *korai* speak to a shared votive practice across the region of Ionia, and link it to other ethnically "Ionian" regions – predominantly in Attica and the Cyclades. It is in Ionia, however, that *kouroi* and *korai* are almost uniformly scattered, with each sanctuary having at least one of these expensive dedications, and this fact speaks to the importance of creating a shared visual language of overseas activity among the various elite members of the cultic communities. This chapter also examines the electrum coins in the Artemision at Ephesus as emblematic of the economic ties between the various Ionian *poleis*. It demonstrates how an early "collective coinage" encouraged and demonstrated a level of economic trust and cooperation among the Ionian communities by at least the second half of the seventh century BCE. It then briefly examines the

votives found at the Panionion to demonstrate how they enhanced and encouraged male group cohesion within this cultic community. Finally, this chapter returns to Naucratis to examine the votive practices of Samians and Chians to demonstrate the importance of the votive gift for proclaiming a specific identity in a multi-cultural trading *emporion* far from home.

Finally, Chapter Six shifts to examine the performative religious experience of being an Anatolian Ionian. Built sanctuaries and their votive dedications formed the backdrop for, shaped, and participated materially in religious behaviors. This chapter examines the way in which a dominant "Ionian" social identity was nurtured in Western Anatolia through sacred festivals. It was via shared festivals that the community came together to celebrate its status, creating bonds of communal sacred experience not just between individuals but also between whole *poleis*, and throughout the wider Ionian region of the Cyclades, Attica, and Euboea. I examine the Panionia, the exclusive festival and cult of the Anatolian Ionians, as well as supra-regional Ionian festivals, such as the Apaturia, the Anthesteria, and the festival of Delian Apollo. Finally, I argue that these festivals were a forum to celebrate and orally disseminate a new shared historical narrative of Anatolian Ionian migration and colonization through the medium of performance and ritual. In this way, the human activities that created the festivals reflect and reify those seen in the built sanctuaries and the behaviors associated with dedication.

Chapter One: Identifying Identity

1.1 Herodotus' Anatolian Ionian Identity

> Now these Ionians [who] possessed the Panionion, had set their cities in places more favoured by skies and seasons than any country known to us. For neither to the north of them nor to the south nor to the east nor to the west does the land accomplish the same effect as Ionia, being afflicted here by the cold and wet, there by the heat and drought. They use not all the same speech but four different dialects. Miletus lies farthest south among them, and next to it come Myus and Priene; these are settlements in Caria, and they use a common language; Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, all of them being in Lydia, have a language in common which is wholly different from the speech of the three cities aforementioned. There are yet three Ionian cities, two of them situated on the islands of Samos and Chios, and one, Erythrae, on the mainland; the Chians and Erythraeans speak alike, but the Samians have a language which is their own and no one else's. It is thus seen that there are four modes of speech…Now the Athenians and the rest would not be called Ionians, but spurned the name; nay even now the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it; but the twelve cities aforesaid gloried in this name, and founded a holy place for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among them to allow no other Ionians to use it (nor indeed did any save the men of Smyrna ask to be admitted)….As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this, there were twelve divisions of them when they dwelt in Peloponnesus, just as there are twelve divisions of the Achaeans who drove the Ionians out…For this reason the Ionians too made twelve cities, and for no other; for it were but foolishness to say that these are more truly Ionian or better born than the other Ionians; seeing that not the least part of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not Ionians even in name, and that there are mingled with them Minyans of Orchomenos, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian seceders from their nation, Molossians, Pelasgian Arcadians, Dorians of Epidaurus, and many other tribes; and as for those who came from the very town of Athens and deem themselves the best born of the Ionians, these did not bring wives with them to their settlements, but married Carian women whose parents they had put to death. For this slaughter, these women made a custom and bound themselves by oath (and enjoined the same on their daughters) that none would sit at meat with her husband nor call him by his name, because the men had married them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons. This happened at Miletus. And for kings some of them chose Lycian descendants of Glaucus son of Hippolochus, and some Caucones of Pylus, descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus, and some both. Yet seeing that they set more store by the name ["Ionian"] than the rest of the Ionians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Ionians; and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia. All do so keep it, saving the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these by reason, they say, of a certain deed of blood. The Panionion is a sacred ground in Mycale, facing the north; it

> was set apart for Poseidon of Helicon by the joint will of the Ionians. Mycale is a western promontory of the mainland opposite to Samos; the Ionians were wont to assemble there from their cities and keep the festival to which they gave the name of Panionia.[1]

Herodotus gives us our fullest and earliest description of the Anatolian Ionians and this account will set our guidelines for the course of this project. His lumbering account is puzzling at best: the Anatolian Ionians are depicted as a collection of people hailing from different geographical areas, speaking different dialects, and observing different festivals. For every

[1] Hdt. 1.142-8: οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιόν ἐστι, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν• οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τὠυτὸ ποιέει τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος. γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταὐτὰ διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἵδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἔφεσος Κολοφὼν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια• αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλιες τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείσῃσι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφισι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἵδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μέν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὠυτὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἑωυτῶν μοῦνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται... οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκλῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυώδεκα πόλιες αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων (οὐδ᾽ ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι) … Δυώδεκα δέ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατά περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δυώδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα ... Τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας ἐποιήσαντο· ἐπεὶ ὥς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγόνασι, μωρίη πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν Ἄβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοί σφι ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἠγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἳ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλόν τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὁρτήν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν. τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιόν ἐστι τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὁρτὴν τῇ ἔθεντο οὔνομα Πανιώνια. (trans. Gerber)

category by which Herodotus defines them – language, cult, blood – there were exceptions and alterations, and there was no category to which all twelve of the *poleis* that constituted the *dodekapolis* of Ionia belonged. The cultural parameters that defined the Anatolian Ionians were thus messy, and members ran the risk of being ejected – in the case of Ephesus or Colophon, because of a murder – and new members, such as Smyrna, could be shoe-horned in at a later time when they asked to join the Anatolian Ionians. In truth, the only thing that the *poleis* demonstrably shared – according to Herodotus – was their territory's favorable climate and the cult of the Panionion.

These numerous exceptions and alterations to the cultural indicia of the Anatolian Ionians, as Jeremy McInerney has noted, suggest that this identity was one that was neither primordial nor had crystallized at a particular instant in time. Rather, it suggests that the formation process of becoming Anatolian Ionians took place over a lengthy period of time, and the nature of this formation process was agglutinative, as different *poleis* and territories came to see themselves and be seen as Anatolian Ionian.[2] Nonetheless, the diversity in these customs and backgrounds is unproblematic for Herodotus, who views the Anatolian Ionians as a coherent group and demonstrates that – by the time he wrote – this identity had stabilized and they were now recognized as part of the wider Ionian sub-ethnic group of a Panhellenic ethnic identity.

1.2 What Type of Ionian Identity?

1.2.1 Dating and Defining the Ethnic Identity

A little over twenty years ago, studies on Greek ethnic identity – having generally lain dormant since the second World War - were reignited with the publication of Jonathan Hall's *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* in 1997 and *Hellenicity* in 2002. These two books argued that

[2] McInerney 2001: 58; Kowalzig 2005: 49.

the Hellenic race had never possessed a monolithic primordial ethnic identity – intact since time immemorial – but rather was an identity that was actively self-describing and self-ascribing. Hall argued that this identity was constantly being negotiated, tweaked, and reasserted to create a sense of larger integrity among the disparate Greek *poleis* and social groups that were scattered across the Mediterranean. This ethnic identity was predicated on two specific factors, termed criteria, that all Greeks could iterate. The first criterion was inclusion within the aggregative Hellenic genealogy, which linked the various eponymous heroes of the Greek tribes to Hellen and thus united the various Greeks via the bonds (and obligations) of kinship as well as a sense of shared history.[3] The second criterion was a putative homeland.[4] Because these two criteria were dependent upon stories and myths of a shared history and descent, this ethnic identity was primarily discursive. Hall differentiated these ethnic criteria from Greek cultural indicia – such as religion, material culture, or language – that could be deployed as markers of a Greek identity in different situations and times, but were not universally accepted as markers of this Greek identity either emically or etically. Finally, Hall argued that this collective Hellenic ethnic identity did not appear until fairly late and that it developed over the course of the sixth century BCE. This dissertation accepts and works from Hall's definition of Greek ethnic identity, though it should be noted that his publications on ethnicity have prompted considerable discussion over the years.[5]

[3] This genealogy is found in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Woman* – Hesiod fr. 10.23 Most – which is examined in detail below. It is also important to note that, though modern scholars frequently use the term "Panhellenic," the term was practically nonexistent in the Archaic and Classical periods, appearing only in a handful of sources: Scott 2010: 260 n. 38.

[4] Hall 1997: 25 & 43-66.

[5] So, e.g. Morgan 2003, Hodos 2006, Fantalkin 2006, Antonaccio 2009 and 2010, McInerney 2001, Morgan 2001, and Skinner 2012, as well as the various articles found in Malkin 2001, Shefton and Lomas 2004, Almagor and Skinner 2013, and McInerney 2014. There are certainly some that disagree with Hall, including Finkelberg 2005, Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, Mitchell 2006, Malkin 2012, and Vlassopoulos 2015b; see also Hall 2015b for his cogent response to Vlassopoulos 2015b.

With these arguments in mind, let us now turn to the Anatolian Ionian subset of Greek ethnic identity. Considering how late the Greek ethnic identity emerged, it is perhaps no surprise that the first evidence we possess of the *ethnic* dimension of the Anatolian Ionian identity, as defined by Hall's criteria of kinship in the Hellenic genealogy and a shared territory, can only be dated to 500 BCE.[6] This date is the purported meeting – related by Herodotus – between the tyrant Aristagoras of Miletus, who travelled to Lacedaemonia to gain Sparta's support in the upcoming Ionian revolt of 499 BCE. Aristagoras laid out a map of the world before the Spartan king Cleomenes and used it to visually elucidate the riches and resources *of the territory* of not just the Anatolian Ionians (ie. Ionia), but also the Lydians, Phrygians, Cilicians, and Armenians.[7] These riches would be the Spartans', Aristagoras implored, if only they would help the Anatolian Ionians throw off the yoke of Persian Rule.

Further, the tyrant continued, the Anatolian Ionians were not only unjustly enslaved, but their condition should not be tolerated by their fellow Greeks on account of their shared blood

[6] In arguing for this late date for the emergence of an Anatolian Ionian identity, I join Mac Sweeney 2017: 414 and Crielaard 2009: 72. Many other scholars place the formation of an Anatolian Ionian identity somewhat earlier, including Hall 2002: 71-3 and Herda 2009: 30-1; Greaves 2010: 219-30 remains agnostic.

[7] The first cartographer, Anaximander, was from Miletus and lived in the sixth century BCE. His geographical project was expanded by his student, Hecataeus of Miletus, whose books articulated an autopsy of the various lands and the people of the *oikoumenē* and refined his teacher's map. The question still remains as to how the territorial extent of Ionia laid out by Anaximander and Hecataeus became known (and perhaps internalized) by its residents. It is possible that Hecataeus gave public readings – thereby disseminating geographic knowledge – on analogy with other famous Greek historians. These include Herodotus, who was said to have given public readings in Athens and Olympia (Luc. *Her*. 1) and Corinth (Dio Chrys. *Or*. 37.103), and Theopompus, who also travelled widely (*FGrHist* 115 F 25). See also Momigliano 1978: 62-6 for an overview of these performances, and Morgan 2003: 170-6 for the importance of considering how spatial knowledge was underpinned by knowledge of movement – as defined by certain types of activities. We also know that several historians were active before Herodotus, thanks to a testimonial of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thuc*. 5 and summarized in Fowler 1996 and Schepens 2006; see also Bowie 1986. This travelling intellectual can only have helped circulate ideas and encouraged the development of not only extra-civic but also inter-regional ties by articulating shared histories and geographies between communities: Schepens 2006: 82. Bachvarova 2016: 219-229 argues for a very ancient Anatolian tradition of oral performances at festivals that date back to the Hittite Bronze Age.

and shared gods.[8] Indeed, Aristagoras' claim of kinship and shared descent – ὁμαίμων, the other criterion for Greek ethnic identity – with the Spartans, who belonged to the Dorian sub-ethnic group, reflects the first evidence that the Anatolian Ionians identified themselves as belonging to the greater Panhellenic kinship genealogies articulated by the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women.*[9]

It is important to note, further, that while Herodotus surely took liberties in relating the story of Aristagoras and Cleomenes – if it even happened at all – we can accept its general *terminus ante quem* date of c. 500 BCE for the establishment of an Anatolian Ionian Greek ethnic identity with relative confidence thanks to two supporting pieces of evidence. The first is the subsequent Ionian Revolt in 499 BCE, which could not have taken place without a sense of cohesion among the various *poleis* of Ionia. Moreover, the revolt was supported by the *polis* of Athens, who contributed ten ships to the effort. These ships, we are told, were given on account of the perceived kinship ties between Ionia – especially Miletus – and Athens; presumably, these are the same ethnic ties to which Aristagoras is said to have appealed in his meeting with Cleomenes and the Spartans.[10] Second, Naoíse Mac Sweeney has noted that the end of the sixth century BCE is precisely when we have the first evidence of the Anatolian Ionians discussing their *collective* past, which she links to the creation of a common identity through shared history: by about 500 BCE, Panyassis had written the lengthy *ktisis* – or civic foundation – poem the *Ionica*, which focused on the Neleid founders of the region.[11] That his *ktisis* poem prominently featured Neleus and associates articulates and reinforces the perceived ethnic links between

[8] Hdt. 5.49 gives the entire episode, but the specific sentence is found at 5.49.3: νῦν ὦν πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων ῥύσασθε Ἴωνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἄνδρας ὁμαίμονας.
[9] Hesiod fr. 10.23 Most.
[10] Hdt. 5.97.
[11] *Suda* s.v. Πανύσσις and Mac Sweeney 2017: 414-5. Bowie 2001: 49-50 notes that at 7,000 lines the *Ionica* was significant; see Matthews 1974 for a commentary on the extant fragments of Panyassis, though none can be securely identified as coming from this poem.

Athens and Ionia at this time, providing some of our first evidence for the Ionian Migration myth's existence.

1.2.2 The Genealogical Catalogues

As previously noted, it is only by about 500 BCE that we have evidence that the Anatolian Ionian identity was ethnic, as defined by Hall's criteria of a homeland and especially kinship descent. This section examines the latter kinship criterion and seeks to demonstrate that there were multiple, co-existent interpretations of this criterion in the Archaic period, which is important because it justifies examination of the Anatolian Ionian identity at a local level rather than across the greater Ionian ethnic regional area. In the Archaic period, there are two extant genealogical poems that trace kinship and illustrate how the Anatolian Ionians might have considered their placement within the greater Hellenic ethnic. The first genealogical poem is the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. This catalogue is a text that celebrates the heroes resulting generally from the union (usually rape) of gods and mortal women, and sometimes from the marriage of mortals. The catalogue's significance lies in its ability to weave together the various regional, mythological, and eponymous heroes of the Greek world to create a general "Panhellenic" cognitive framework of the various relationships among these disparate sub-ethnic groups, as well as promote participation in the Hellenic ethnic identity as embodied in the eponymous Hellen.[12] The catalogue dates to no earlier than the mid-sixth century BCE, which gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of these local, presumably relatively independent and discrete sub-ethnic groups.[13] The catalogue was likely created for an Amphictyonic context,

[12] Hall 1997: 42-4 and 2002: 25-29; Rutherford 2005: 99-101; Ormand 2014: 48-50.
[13] For the dating of this poem see: West 1985: 130-137; March 1987: 158-9; Koenen 1994: 26; Ormand 2014: 3-4; all of these authors argue for dates that fall variously between about 580-530 BCE; the general

centered around the Delphic oracle, and reified membership in and hegemony of this group over the Panhellenic sanctuary.[14] The catalogue promotes a sense of kinship and Hellenic identity, through these bonds that link the various eponymous heroes to Hellen.

Our interest is upon the stemma of Ion, the eponymous hero of the Ionians (Fig. 2). Ion is a descendent of Hellen, via his father Xuthus, an enigmatic figure that acts merely as a placeholder within the genealogy – he has no stories attached to him and is therefore hard to characterize or even place, though later fifth century BCE literature loosely ties him to Euboea, both as a conqueror in Euripides' *Ion* and through his other sons, Cothus and Aeclus, who were said to have founded the communities of Chalcis and Eretria.[15] Xuthus married Creusa, and they had two sons, Ion and Achaeus, and a daughter, Diomede.[16] It is important to note that while the *Catalogue of Women* tracks the Ionians as being part of the Greek ethnic identity, there is reason to believe that the Athenians – not the Anatolian Ionians – were the driving force behind Ion's inclusion within this stemma, as the poem insists that Ion's mother is Creusa, who is a critical link to Athens as the daughter of the autochthonous Erechtheus.[17]

The second genealogical poem is a slightly later poem – as reported by Hecataeus – that offers an alternative genealogy of Ion. Interestingly, this alternative Hellenic genealogy suggests that the Ionians are not even Greek at all (Fig. 3).[18] Rather, Ion appears as the son of Physcus

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scholarly consensus appears to be the sixth century BCE, with only Janko 1982: 87 & 247-8 n. 37-8 arguing for a date around the late eighth/early seventh century BCE.

[14] Fowler 1998: 11-16; Rutherford 2005: 114-17. For the poem's amphictyonic context: Rutherford 2005: 115. For the Delphic amphictyony generally, see Roux 1979, Sanchez 2001, and Raaflaub 2015.

[15] Xuthus as conqueror of Euboea: *Ion* 57-64; Cothus and Aeclus' Euboean ties: Plut. *Quaest. Graec*. 22; West 1985: 58; Walker 2004: 43-6 & 54-5.

[16] Interestingly, Ion and Achaeus are given no back stories and no further families within this tree; see the discussion of Achaeus and Ion below.

[17] Indeed, Ion's baldly stated ties to Athens, as well as the poem's dialect has led West 1985: 169-9 to suggest that Athens was the driving force behind this genealogy's compilation.

[18] *FGrHist* 1 F 15 & 16 and *FGrHist* F 15 and 16. Also found in pseudo-Scymnus 589. Hall 1997: 40-51 and 2002: 27-9 examines this genealogy. See also Ulf 1996: 249-52 and 264-71, who argues that the Hellenic genealogy likely formed in Anatolia, where Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians existed in close

and older brother of Locrus. Ion's paternal lineage can be traced back to Orestes, the brother of Hellen, suggesting that this variant of the genealogical kinship myth did not consider the Ionians as Greek at all. That Hecataeus is a resident of Miletus, suggests that this genealogical poem might have been current in Anatolia, rather than Athens and mainland Greece, and attests to the perceived "ethnicity" of the Anatolian Ionians. We must use this stemma with extreme caution because it is corrupt, but its existence suggests that Hellenism might have had a fairly weak currency in Anatolia or had only been recently articulated at the time of Hecataeus' writings. Overall, the evidence from these alternate genealogies suggests that the greater Ionian ethnic identity was in flux during the sixth century BCE, and that the term "Ionians" might have carried multiple meanings and interpretations during this time.[19]

1.2.3 Appearances of "Ionia" and "Ionians"

The terms "Ionia" and "Ionians" pre-existed the compilation of the *Catalogue of Women* in the mid-sixth century BCE and Hecataeus' writings; this fact underscores that "Ionians" constituted a social group much earlier than the development of any traceable ethnic dimension of this name. Indeed, in an etic context the term dates to the fourteenth century BCE, when it appears in the mortuary chapel of Amenophis III and again in the eighth century BCE in the records of the Neo-Assyrians.[20] In an Aegean context, the term can be found as early as the Late Bronze Age on two Linear B tablets found at Knossos in reference to detachments of soldiers. The term then disappears for some 500 years, only to reappear in the *Iliad* in the eighth century

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proximity. This locus, however, is weakened because it does not account for other eponymous heroes, such as Achaeus, in this family line.

[19] Fowler 2003: 8.

[20] For the Egyptian mortuary chapel, see Sourouzian and Stadelmann 2005a: 79-83 & 2005b: 77-82, and Sourouzian et al. 2008: 413-4. For attestation of "Ionians" in Neo-Assyrian sources, see Brinkman 1989: 55; Parker 2000: 72; Rollinger 2001: 237-8 and 2009: 33-34; Luraghi 2006: 30-1. See also Chapter Two, which discusses all of these etic sources in depth.

BCE, where the Ionians appear in a list of warriors from mainland Greece that fall back before Hector's onslaught in battle.[21] In the sixth century BCE, the term appears in both the poet Ibycus, where the Ionians might be associated with the Lacedaemonians, and Solon, who in about 600 BCE claimed that Athens was the "foremost land of Ionia"[22]

The term "Ionia" or "Ionians" are not applied to the western Anatolian littoral until somewhat later, perhaps as early as the early sixth century BCE in an entirely obscure fragment of Sappho, which mentions the -αονίας πόλις. Because the first part of the word is missing, it can be interpreted as "Ionians," but just as easily could discuss the "Maeonians" – an early name for the Lydians.[23] Indeed, the reference to Sardis in the same fragment would support the latter interpretation. "Ionia" as a place localized to Anatolia does not securely appear until Hecataeus at the end of the sixth century BCE.[24] Prior to this, Ionia and its environs appear to have been called "Asia" – a name that dates back at least to the Bronze Age when the area was called in Hittite and Linear B texts either Arzawa or Assuwa.[25] Indeed, we can have confidence in the localization of the term "Asia" to the Western Anatolian littoral in the Archaic Period thanks to Homer describing Asia as meadows on the banks of the Cayster River and Hesiod calling the territory surrounding the Hermus River as the seat of wheat-bearing Asia.[26] Further, Mimnermus

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[21] *Il*. 13. 685.

[22] The Ionians appear in Ibycus fr. 282A.28 Campbell and the Lacedaemonians at line 30 of the same fragment, though the papyrus is badly damaged and obscures any true understanding. To reiterate, the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* also links the Ionians to the west via Creusa's Athenian connection. Solon fr. 4 West: πρεσβυτάτην . . . γαῖαν [Ἰ]αονίης. Giving preference to the translation of πρεσβυτάτην as "foremost," rather than the traditional translation of "oldest," I follow Mac Sweeney 2017, who points out that the traditional (mis)interpretation gives temporal priority to the Ionian Migration narrative that the fragment just cannot support, essentially creating an academic alternative fact.

[23] Fr. 98.12 Campbell.

[24] *FGrHist* 1 F 141, 228, & 240.

[25] See Morris 2001:426-8; Munn 2006: 179-84; and Mac Sweeney 2017: 383-4.

[26] Homer: *Il*. 2.461: Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καϋστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα;
Hesiod: fr. 182 Most:
....πυ]ροφόρου Ἀσίης ἔδος[
.... μηλ]οβότους Ἔρμον πάρα δ[ινήεντα;

recalls the Colophonians' migration from Pylos to Asia, again localizing the term to the Western Anatolia littoral, and a little later Archilochus describes Gyges' territory as "sheep-rearing Asia."[27]

What this evidence suggests is that – similar to the Panhellenic ethnic identity – the Anatolian Ionians and Ionia as an ethnic identity and territorial homeland, respectively, formed quite late and the term might have been in flux beforehand, possibly referring to a variety of groups that did not necessarily encompass the Anatolian Ionians. Indeed, up until the sixth century BCE, there is no concrete evidence that the concept of the Anatolian Ionians or Ionia existed. Over the course of this century, however, it appears to have slowly coalesced, replacing the broad term "Asia" with a specific idea of a defined people inhabiting a defined territory.[28]

1.2.4 Return to Herodotus

These early attestations of the term "Ionians" suggest that it referred to a social group from fairly early on, but there is no clear evidence to link "Ionians" nor "Ionia" to the inhabitants

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Hesiod fr. 117 Most also makes a more oblique reference to Asia with reference to Laomedon, the king of Troy:
εὖτε μεθ' ἵ]ππους στεῖχεν ἀγαυοῦ Λαομέδοντο[ς,
οἳ . . . . . .] . ἄριστοι ἐν Ἀσ[ί]δι ἔτραφεν αἴηι·

[27] Mimn. fr. 9 West: †αἰπύτε† Πύλον Νηλήϊον ἄστυ λιπόντες
ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα.
Archilochus: fr. 227 West: ὁ δ' Ἀσίης καρτερὸς μηλοτρόφου. Sappho fr. 55 Diehl also makes an oblique reference to Asia in a very fragmentary context. Herodotus 4.45.3 notes that the Lydians claimed that the name is derived from the eponymous Asies, son of Cotys, who founded a tribe at Sardis, but the Greeks claimed that Asia was an autochthonous woman and the wife of Prometheus.

[28] Indeed, MacSweeney 2017: 386, n. 30 has recently made the attractive suggestion that an Ionian identity in Anatolia was only later linked to the Greek ethnic identity or developed in tandem with Greek ethnic identity. See also Hall 1997:34-66 and 2002: 125-71 for the development of a discursive Hellenic ethnic identity in the Archaic Period. Ionia is considered Hellenic by the fifth century BCE, as is evidenced by such texts as Aesch. *Pers.*178 & Hdt 8.22. A corollary to the change in terms that appear to have taken place in Ionia can be found in Herodotus, who notes that Athenian civic identity underwent multiple changes and reconstructions over the course of its early history in response to various historical events and leaders (8.44.2). See also Connor 1993: 194-5 for the shifting paradigms of Athenian civic identity.

of and territory in western Anatolia until the sixth century BCE. Furthermore, the evidence is too scattered and fragmentary to assign unambiguously any *ethnic* dimension to these early attestations of "Ionians" before the mid-sixth century BCE with the compilation of the *Catalogue of Women*, and even then these descendants of Ion should likely be restricted to Athens rather than the eastern Aegean.[29] Further, the competing Hellenic genealogies found in Hecataeus and the *Catalogue of Women* strongly suggest that there was no standard definition of the "Ionian" ethnic during the Archaic period, which itself speaks to the existence of multiple local interpretations of what it meant to be "Ionian," not all of which were ethnic. These observations imply that "Ionianism" did not solidify as an agreed-upon, regional, Hellenic sub-ethnic identity until fairly late – towards the end of the sixth century BCE – and encourages us to re-examine the indicia of Anatolian "Ionian" identity in the Archaic period on a *local* basis for any expressions of belonging and vehicles of expression.

To elucidate these Anatolian Ionian indicia, we will return to Herodotus' quotation, given above, to see how he defines the Anatolian Ionians. This passage – though lengthy – is tidily ordered into a loose ring composition: Ionian cult, territory, language, blood, and again cult. Herodotus first defines the Anatolian Ionians as a group of people who all partake in the shared cult of Heliconian Poseidon at the Panionian. Next, he turns to their territorial homeland, characterizing Ionia as some of the best land available in the Aegean, with a pleasant and industrious climate. But his account is puzzling because in enumerating the geography there are contradictions. The southernmost Ionian communities – Miletus, Myus, and Priene, are located

[29] In this assessment, I am in agreement with Robertson 2002: 5-6, who believes that the Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolic sub-ethnic identities predate a Hellenic ethnic identity and were initially defined by religion not ethnicity. Mac Sweeney 2017: 386-7 agrees that "Ionians" is a group identity early on and only connects it with Anatolia and the Eastern Aegean in the later sixth century; she also notes that this would support a reading of the Ionian Migration as a later narrative, as one might expect a change in the terminology to have occurred earlier should a mass migration have happened.

in Caria; in contrast, the six northern communities – Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, and Phocaea – are all located in Lydia. Finally, the three westernmost communities – Chios, Samos, and Erythrae – are the ones that Herodotus calls Ionian (Fig. 4).[30] There is therefore confusion or, at the very least, a lack of delineation of the region of Ionia itself; in Herodotus' eyes, not all of the communities shared the same territory.[31]

Thence he moves into a discussion of the language spoken by the Anatolian Ionians: the Ionian dialect of Greek.[32] The dialect first indubitably appears in Ionia in the seventh century BCE in both poetry and epigraphy and is a consistent feature of the Archaic period and the centuries afterwards.[33] Despite this, Herodotus is clear that Ionic Greek was not spoken uniformly across the region, but rather that four local variations of the Ionic dialect existed, loosely determined by geography. Additionally, he fails to mention that Aeolic Greek would

[30] Hdt. 1.142.3-4.

[31] This confusion is not just unique to Herodotus; the geographer Hecataeus notes that Miletus was in Caria (*FGrHist* 1 F 240). Hecataeus also says that Melia was in Caria – though this attestation is less surprising considering Melia was originally a Carian community before the Ionians destroyed it and erected the Panionion (*FGrHist* 1 F 11) on its remains.

[32] Indeed, this dialect links Ionia to the Cyclades, Euboea, and Athens as well, where similar dialects were spoken. The commonality of this dialect running across the Aegean has been used as an argument for the veracity of the Ionian migration. There are many arguments, however, against the widespread use of this dialect as supporting a migration, which have been enumerated by Mac Sweeney 2017: 397-401. These include, briefly, the fact that – though Doric Greek was spoken to the south of Ionia, and Aeolic Greek spoken to the north – Ionic Greek was the preferred epigraphical *lingua franca* across the Western Anatolian littoral for epigraphic documents: Jeffery 1990: 349-353. Greek poets – whatever their sub-ethnic affiliation – used Ionic Greek for certain types of literary genres, including epic and elegiac poetry, or certain thematic subject matters: Tribulato 2010: 389 and Morpurgo-Davies 2002: 157-8. Ionic Greek, therefore, was a flexible dialect that was not strictly confined to geographical boundaries or ethnic affiliation and does not appear to have been conceived as such by the Ionian Greeks themselves. Additionally, the presumption that the dialect spread from west to east might be backwards: the earliest instances of Ionic Greek are in the Homeric epics, which were heavily influenced by the Aeolic dialect, and it is entirely possible that the dialect travelled from east to west: Negri 1982; though cf. West 1988: 165-72 who argues for the Homeric epics being written on Euboea. Reasons for linguistic changes without population changes have been enumerated by Parker 2008: 435-7, who noted that these shifts can result from cultural factors or the introduction of a "prestige language" or demographic expansion within an already existing population. Richard Janko has noted that language innovations are more common impetuses for language changes than migration (pers. comm.). For more on the Ionic-Attic dialect, see Colvin 2009: 35-40 and for the Aeolic dialect, see Colvin 2009: 40-48, and Hodot 2017.

[33] E.g. Callinus of Ephesus and Mimnermus of Colophon. Early inscriptions appear at the Heraion on Samos – see Dunst 1972 and Jeffery 1990: 328.

also have been spoken – at the very least – in Smyrna and its hinterland.[34] While the *poleis* of Ionia certainly understood each other, their shared language was also clearly fragmented and never constituted a holistic entity. Indeed, it is clear that Ionia was a multilingual region with evidence for native Anatolian languages – Carian, Phrygian, and Lydian – scratched into the walls of rock quarries outside of Ephesus in the Archaic period, on mid-seventh century coin legends, or on a late-seventh century clay object in Smyrna[35] Additionally, the poet Hipponax demonstrates and employs Lydian and Phrygian words in his works, thereby implying his audience was similarly familiar.[36] This speaks to a flexible language environment in Ionia, in which individuals were bilingual or even trilingual.[37] The various dialects of Ionian Greek as well as the multilingual environment of Ionia itself argues against language being one of the defining factors of an Anatolian Ionian identity.

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[34] It should be noted that fewer than 600 Aeolic inscriptions or graffiti have been found in the region of Anatolian Aeolis, and the vast majority of these come from Lesbos. Further, of these examples, only about 100 date to before the Roman period. There have been no inscriptions in the Aeolic dialect found at Smyrna, the Ionian *polis* that was originally Aeolic before its conversion: see discussion generally in Hodot 2018; his specific discussion of Smyrna is on page 464.

[35] See generally Erhardt 2005; Tzitzilis 2007 & Hawkins 2010; Adiego 2007a compiles the Carian inscriptions across the Mediterranean – but see also Adiego 2007b. See also Herda and Sauter 2009 for a Carian graffito at Miletus and Sardis (also see Roosevelt 2009: 87-8 for Sardis). For the quarries at Belevi, see Alzinger 1966/67 and Dressler 1966/67. Indeed, the Carian shepherd Pixodarus was later said to have discovered the quarries – Vitr. 10.2.15. For Lydian, see Adiego 1997 and Adiego 2007d, as well as the Lydian inscriptions on the Artemision – Bammer and Muss 1996: 45-51. For Lycian, see Adiego 2007c. For Carian graffiti on mid-seventh century pots in Sardis, see Pedley 1974. For a discussion on early electrum coins with Lydian legends, see Chapter Five.

[36] Hipponax fr. 3 West: πάλμυς, fr. 3a: Κανδαύλης, fr. 4: καύης, fr. 30: δοῦμος is a Phrygian word. Hipponax's familiarity with Lydian is not limited to words however: fr. 42 gives the basic geography of Bin Tepe when travelling west, naming the gravestone of Gyges and the tumulus of Alyattes, and fr. 92 details literal direct contact with a Lydian woman, who is beating the poet. Carian also demonstrates a number of loan words from Greek: Philip of Theangela *FGrHist* 741 F 1. For more on Carians and their language, see also Bresson 2007: 212-6; Mullen 2012. Anson 2009: 8 notes that the Greeks considered language to be mutual comprehension.

[37] It also appears that the Ionic script might have been undergoing changes sometime around the end of the seventh century BCE. Bresson forthcoming has posited a change in the alphabet forms – at least from a three-bar eta to a one-bar eta – after an examination of inscriptions dating to around this time, including the Phanes stater legends, the Abu Simbel inscriptions, the Pedon inscription, the Artemision lead tablet, and the Nicesermus inscription.

Herodotus quickly shifts back to the Panionion to note that it was an exclusive cult of the Anatolian Ionians, and explains that their exclusivity – limited to only twelve *poleis* – was related to their relationship with Achaea, the territory of the northern Peloponnese that they had previously inhabited before being expelled by the Achaean Greeks.[38] Herodotus sneers at the Anatolian Ionians' emic sense of common origins by noting that they emigrated from Orchomenos in the north, Phocis in the west, Epidaurus in the south, and many places in between. Not only did they come from a plethora of places, Herodotus notes, but they further were not even purely Hellenic! The blood of such groups as the Abantes and the Pelasgians, pre-Greek people that were displaced when the Hellenic race migrated to the mainland, ran through the Ionians' veins. Even those that claim to be from Athens – generally considered to be the

[38] Ionia and Achaea were thought to enjoy a special relationship by many ancient authors. A strand of the narrative of the Ionian Migration has the Anatolian Ionians travelling to their new Anatolian homeland only after being expelled by the Achaeans (Hdt. 1.145, 7.94, 8.73.1; Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 117; Paus. 7.1.5-7). Furthermore, in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, discussed above, the two sons of Xuthus are Ion and Achaea (Hesiod fr. 128 Most), the eponymous heroes of the sub-ethnic groups, the Ionians and the Achaeans. Interestingly, Ion and Achaeus are given no back stories and families; the poor characterization of these eponymous heroes is thrown into stark contrast by comparison with the relatively fleshed-out families of Dorus and Aeolus, who have prodigious families and backstories. The seemingly empty lives of Ion and Achaeus might suggest that the compiler of this particular version of the *Catalogue of Women* was not particularly familiar with these two regions or that these eponymous individuals were still being fleshed out: Hall 1997: 67-110 and Crielaard 2009: 46-51. Another possibility is that this was a kinship that developed independently from the Hellenic genealogy and was only later grafted on by the compiler of the *Catalogue of Women* as the various *ethnos* identities were sorted out, compiled, and hierarchically ranked as a sense of "Hellenicity" moved south through mainland Greece. Indeed, Hall 1997: 43 has argued that because Ion and Achaeus are grandsons rather than the sons of Hellen, they both have a lesser claim to "Hellenism." The fraternal relationship Ion – Achaeus (their sister, Diomede, bore no influence upon the Greek *ethnē*) could reflect a reality of these two ethnicities developing in tandem with one another – likely in Magna Graecia where an Achaean consciousness could have risen in the colonies of Croton, Metaponton, and Sybaris: Morgan and Hall 1996: 213-4; Morgan and Hall 2004: 476-7. Hall 2000 has developed this idea further: he notes that Siris, a Greek colony in Magna Graecia, was traditionally claimed by the Achaeans (Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 51; Aristotle fr. 584 Rose; Pseudo-Lycophron *Alex*. 978-92), but Manuscript A of the same Timaeus fragment also notes that Colophonian exiles from Ionia held the *polis*. The Colophonians and the Achaeans of Metaponton also were said to have shared descent from the Homeric king Nestor of Pylos (for Colophon, see Mimnermus fr. 9 West; for Metaponton see Str. 6.1.15). Hall 2000; 2002: 63-5; and 2015a: 40-1 all suggest it was these kinship claims that led to the crystallization of the perceived fraternal Ionian and Achaean identities, while mounting tensions over who had the truest claim over Siris escalated, eventually leading to this community being sacked in the mid-sixth century BCE by Croton, Sybaris, and Metaponton.

"mother city" of the Ionians – intermarried with the Anatolian populations: Herodotus gives the short anecdote of Athenian men marrying Carian women at Miletus upon their arrival to show how deeply rooted this intermixing is and thereby nullifies any "pure blood" component to the Anatolian Ionian ethnic identity.[39] These Ionians even consented to have foreigners – Lycians – rule over them.[40] By doing so, he discredits the Anatolian Ionian claim to pure blood, and simultaneously muddies the waters in terms of their origins – whether they had originated in Achaea or whether they were a disparate group of people migrating from various points on the mainland. Therefore, "pure blood" cannot be a true indicium of the Anatolian Ionian ethnic identity, as it was neither perceived nor believed.

When we examine Herodotus' description of the shared cults of the Anatolian Ionians, we are finally on firmer ground. Continuing his description, he notes the various shared religious festivals and cults of the Anatolian Ionians. Indeed, it is clear that the only thing that the Anatolian Ionians have in common is that they all partook in the cult of the Panionion, which runs as a theme throughout this entire extended description, appearing thrice and underscoring its importance for the Anatolian Ionian identity. Additionally, Herodotus' phrasing that Ephesus and Colophon did not celebrate the Apaturia on the basis of some blood guilt suggests that before this episode they did.[41] We have therefore at least one shared cult and possibly two for the Anatolian Ionians – one that was celebrated at a common sanctuary, and one that was celebrated simultaneously in the various communities. Finally, his aside about Smyrna becoming Ionian while celebrating a cult of Dionysus – thereby leaving the *polis* open for capture by Colophonian

[39] McInerney 2001: 58 observes that the claim of these Anatolian Ionians as "pure," using the Greek term *katharoi*, violates both senses of the word in that their grandmothers were Carians and their grandfathers were killers and thus were befouled with the associated blood guilt.
[40] Hdt. 1.145-47.1.
[41] Robertson 2002: 17; Lefevre 2016: 7-9.

exiles – further underscores the interplay of the Anatolian Ionian group identity and cult.[42] This suggests that cult, religion, and sanctuaries comprised a critical vehicle for the expression of a group inclusiveness between the various *poleis* of Ionia. Indeed, when contextualizing this hypothesis within the wider importance of cult for promoting cohesion and group identity in the Aegean, we immediately find widespread support.

1.2.5 The Importance of Cult for the Expression of Group Identities

On the mainland, the Panhellenic shrines of Delphi and Olympia were used in part by the Greeks to promote a Hellenic ethnic identity, territory, and community. Hall has argued that the Hellenic Genealogy found within the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* elucidates the geographical spread of the term "Hellas" from the Spercheius Valley south through Delphi. He argues that the term "Hellas" was initially used by the Pylaian Amphictyony, originally centered around the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela, to designate the original members of this coalition who lived around the Spercheius Valley.[43] This amphictyony spread south and took over control of Delphi, thereby also extending its membership to new communities and groups of people. As the amphictyony and its concomitant influence grew over the geographical extent of north-central Greece, so too did the term "Hellas" grow to encompass this area and the term "Panhellenes" came to designate all those who lived in this geographical area. Hall notes that the *Catalogue of Women*, written likely for the Delphic amphictyonic context, catalogues these populations and

[42] Hdt. 1.150.

[43] Hall 1997: 43 & 46-8 and 2002: 125-54 notes that while the term "Hellenes" is never used in Homer, the term "Hellas" appears in the *Catalogue of Ships* and its context there suggests it was initially centered around the Spercheius Valley (*Il*. 2.681-85; 9.395, 447, 478-80; 16.595-96; and *Od*. 11.495-96) and is primarily used in the *Odyssey* to juxtapose it with Argos (*Od*. 1.344, 15.80, 4.76 & 816) – perhaps to set up a distinction between north/central Greece and the Peloponnese. After Homer, the term "Hellas" generally spreads south to encompass the entirety of the Greek mainland and by the time of Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F 119) is used to designate it as such. The term "Hellenes" does not develop contemporaneously to "Hellas."

their relationships and hierarchies to each other – with Thessaly given pride of place in the genealogical line as the son of Aeolus, the son of Hellen. Thus, Hall argues that the spread of the concept of mainland Greece as "Hellas" and its inhabitants as "Panhellenes" tracks with the spread of this amphictyony and constituted the idea of a geographical extent of the land of Hellas, with all of the various populations in it known as Panhellenes.[44]

If Delphi was the nexus of the first articulation of the territory of the Hellenic people, Olympia was an articulation of the ethnic – blood – dimension of the Hellenic people, which Hall again posits to Thessalian initiative. The Olympic games and contests were closed to all non-Greeks, and Pausanias tells us that this requirement was strictly reinforced by nine *Hellenodicae* – judges that would judge the criteria of descent. Herodotus gives the story of one such individual, Alexander I of Macedon, who claimed descent from the Argives as his "Hellenic" credentials in order to participate in the contests.[45] The story suggests that this kinship requirement was in place and an important criterion of participation by the sixth century BCE. Hall also notes the story of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, who announced the availability of his daughter for marriage to the "best of the Greeks" at the Olympic games, and then proceeded to interview all potential suitors as to their family lines, reinforcing the close interplay of a Hellenic identity with blood and belonging.[46] Further, the Hellenic kinship criterion for the games was underpinned by the participants' involvement in the shared cult of Zeus and Hera. Elites who participated in these shared cults and competed in the games also acted as representatives of their *poleis*, thereby creating group solidarity and inclusion not just among themselves but also among their representative communities. After the games, these same individuals would return to their

[44] Hall 2002: 125-71.
[45] Hdt. 5.22.2; Thuc. 2.99.3 repeats the Argive blood of Alexander I. See also Hall 2002: 154-7 for a discussion of this event.
[46] Hdt. 6.126.1: ταύτην ἠθέλησε, Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν ἄριστον, τούτῳ γυναῖκα προσθεῖναι.

communities, bringing back with them not just hard-won honors, but also this burgeoning sense of Hellenicity. Thus, both Delphi and Olympia played formative roles in the development of a common Hellenic identity, with Delphi promoting the territorial extent of Hellas and the Hellenic genealogy in the *Catalogue of Women* and Olympia reinforcing the criteria for and membership in the Hellenic ethnic identity for any individual coming to the Panhellenic sanctuary.[47]

Catherine Morgan, similarly, argues for a close connection between sanctuaries and ethnic identities, but takes a different tack from Hall: she believes that the Panhellenic sanctuaries were the nexus for the creation of the Greek ethnic identity and a sense of Panhellenism. Her examination of the votive gifts at Olympia has shown that these shrines were initially utilized by locals, and only later in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE did the votive dedications begin to reflect dedications from the Western Peloponnese and beyond. At Delphi, in contrast, dedications coming from outside of Phocis are as early as the ninth century BCE, but increase in the eighth century, roughly contemporary with the institution of the oracle. She argues that these two shrines' expanding orbits can be directly reflective of Greeks looking beyond the confines of their own *poleis*. She links the Olympian votives to elites looking for other channels of display and competition outside of their own civic boundaries and local civic shrines; the Delphic votives were in part given by the fledgling *poleis*, who queried the oracle for help in addressing civic problems – both external and internal.[48] Morgan suggests that the formalization of the *periodos* circuit in the sixth century BCE was critical to the formation of a Greek identity, as it neatly married the interests of the state and those of the elite individual, both of which had been using the Panhellenic shrines to greater or lesser extents over the past 200-300

[47] Hall 1997 and 2002 argue that shared religion was not a criterion for the Hellenic ethnic identity; though cf. Mitchell 2006: 412-3 notes that shared cult – rather than shared religion – played a major cohesive factor for ethnic identity.

[48] Morgan 1990: 29-105 for Olympia & 106-191 for Delphi. This same idea of the games playing a major cohesive role is found in Snodgrass 1986: 54-7 and Renfrew 1986: 16-7.

years. Indeed, these semi-annual games served to establish and create *xenia* ties among not just the competing elites, but also the states that they represented in a critically neutral environment. The stephanitic circuit allowed the elites and the *poleis* to knit together a sense of common worship, identity, and blood through the repeated participation in the *agones*, thereby leading to a burgeoning sense of Panhellenism.[49]

Further, Robertson has also argued that each of the ethnic subgroups of the Greeks – the Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, Achaeans – defined themselves primarily through their shared common festivals and cults, which he links to the need to synchronize local calendars together. Robertson argues that the importance of this shared calendar initially derived from the early trans-Aegean migrations and the concomitant need to coordinate departures and sailing times among far-flung communities, which – as has already been seen – has generally been discredited as a later narrative.[50] However, his larger point is the importance of shared festivals to address the various concerns of the ethnic group – for example, the Ionian Pyanopsia blessed the harvest laid up in the summer and autumn to ensure these agricultural stores' survival in the context of the public festival. These festivals both formed important vehicles for the expression of the celebrating community's identity, as well as creating religious ties among the other celebrating communities, thereby allowing the various *poleis* to address any outstanding needs or issues.[51] In Anatolia, especially, it seems that exclusive shared cults further promoted group cohesion. These groups include the Doric *hexapolis* of Southern Anatolia – though without Halicarnassus,

[49] Morgan 1990: 192-22; she further explores these themes with specific regional case studies in Morgan 1992, 1993, 1997, and 2003: 107-63.
[50] Robertson 2002: 28.
[51] Robertson 2002: 36-74 looks at the example of the Dorian Carneia and he argues for its importance in articulating a group identity of the "spear people." This name, he believes, was derived from a spear's material – carved from cornel wood, the preferred wood for throwing spears (as evidenced by Xeno. *Cyn*. 10.3 and Theophr. *Hist. Plant*. 3.12.1-2) – thanks to an alternative form of Carneia as Κράνειος, derived from κράνος: see Robertson 2002: 67-74 for this argument.

thanks to a transgression of one of its citizens, Agasicles – whose citizens worshipped and competed in *agones* at the shrine of Triopian Apollo.[52] Additionally, cult and shared shrines were important for the indigenous populations of Western Anatolia to negotiate their own place and express their own ethnic identities. Herodotus notes that:

> And [the Carians] point to an ancient shrine of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, whereto Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Carians (for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car), are admitted, but none of any other nation, though they learned to speak the same language as the Carians.[53]

Herodotus – a native of Halicarnassus and thus in a position to know how the Carians defined themselves – states that this cult was exclusive to those indigenous groups, who claimed kinship ties with each other through their eponymous ancestors. Indeed, Herodotus underscores this blood requirement by noting that simply speaking Carian was not sufficient for entry.[54] It is not certain whether there were guardians of the temple of Carian Zeus or what constituted evidence for kinship claims, but it is clear that admittance was only given to the appropriate groups, thereby expressing and concomitantly reinforcing belonging and inclusion within the in-group, in line with the strategies of other ethnic groups throughout the Aegean.

1.2.6 The Cultic Community and Social Cohesion

Cult itself is a useful tool for finding, defining, and perpetuating social groups because religious beliefs are deeply embedded and intertwined with the economic, social, and political

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[52] Hdt. 1.144

[53] Hdt. 1.171: ἀποδείκνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα (trans. Gerber). This account was echoed by Str.14.2.23

[54] The fact that language was by itself not sufficient for entry underscores its unimportance for ethnic identity in Anatolia – not just for the Carians, but the Anatolian Ionians as well. For later Classical Carian religion (especially Labraunda), see Hellström 2009. A compilation of the Carian gods has been attempted by Debord 2009.

fabric of human existence today as well as in the ancient Mediterranean world.[55] The triangulation of these aspects of human experience within the religious sphere allows for the formation of a cultic community that is broad-ranging and flexible. Here, we define the **cultic community** as a social entity that comprises a group of people who ascribe to themselves a system of shared beliefs, shared rituals and ritual actions, and shared worship of the same deities. While the cultic community might be immediately anchored by a local cult place, the cultic community's bonds – which, again, constitute shared belief – are inherently flexible, and allow the individual to be part of the community despite being geographically dispersed.[56]

In this respect, it is important to note that the cultic community could have open or closed boundaries, which could either overlap with or reject other group identities. Open boundaries that reinforced other social identities could range from *polis* communities to *ethnē* to later private associations of citizens to federal states. As a *polis* religion, cults and the attached cultic community acted as an index of the health of the local community, and an individual who paid for a feast or organized a festival could acquire capital and prestige that could transfer to his social status in his civic community.[57] Cults for *ethnē* – like the Panionion sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon or Dorian sanctuary of Triopion Apollo – would have reinforced belonging and expressed ethnic identity by limiting membership to those with valid kinship claims.[58] Federal cults – such as those for the later Hellenistic *koina* were important in transforming

[55] Durkheim 1915; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 130-3.
[56] I take and adapt Yaeger and Canuto's definition of community as one of supra-household interactions in specific times and places that are rooted in meaningful, repeated actions that enhance belonging and understanding: Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 5-6.
[57] See Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a & b (for *polis* religion); Crielaard 2009: 43-4 (for Anatolian Ionian civic identity specifically); and Vlassopoulos 2015a: 258-7. In the later Platonic dialogue, *Euthydemos*, Socrates is accused of not being an Athenian citizen since he has no ancestral altars nor shrines (*Euthyd*. 302c: μήτε θεοὶ πατρῷοί εἰσιν μήτε ἱερὰ).
[58] McInerney 1997; 1999: 127-36; and 2013 for Phocis; Schachter 1981-94 and Mackil 2014 for Boeotia; Roy 2003: 90-2 for Achaea.

religious bonds into political bonds that bound each of the member states with each other.[59] Associations – though a generally later phenomenon – also bound together people that came from the same professions or homeland, a welcome refuge to those travelling from abroad.[60] These flexible boundary lines allowed for the blurring and overlapping of identities, wherein a variety of people could come together as worshippers and dedicants regardless of social status, hometown, or gender.[61] Finally, open boundaries also allowed transient believers or *xenoi* to enter and exit the cultic community, thereby constituting the religious community as an arena of contact and cross-cultural interaction that could have also encouraged the cultic community to consider its identity in relation to other identities.[62]

By contrast, closed or limited boundaries could exclude select social groups, thereby reinforcing the cultic community's identity as a restricted and exclusive group. This is certainly prevalent in western Anatolia, where religious cults, such as the Panionion, the Dorian Triopian, or the cult of Carian Zeus, served as ethnic shrines. Similarly, Patricia Butz has tracked the phenomenon of exclusion of *xenoi* from cult in several later Classical inscriptions. In these inscriptions, *xenoi* of various types are excluded from the cultic community and thereby any overlapping social identities. These exclusions could be relegated to ethnic identities, such as a mid-fifth century BCE inscription from Paros that denied entry to a Dorian stranger. Cultic

[59] Funke 2013; Ganter 2013; Mackil 2013 and 2014.
[60] It is still debated whether associations existed in some loose form in the Classical and Archaic period as private religious associations are not securely attested until the Hellenistic period: Rauh 1993; Parker 1996: 333-42; Arnaoutoglou 2003; Ismard 2010.
[61] So, e.g., the Eleusinian mysteries only required participants to speak Greek and be free of any blood guilt – Isoc. *Panegy*. 4. 157-158.
[62] In this way, the sanctuary could have mimicked on a smaller scale that of the colonial encounter that has been given so much importance for the rise of Greek ethnic identity, especially argued by Malkin 1998, 2002, 2004, and 2011; Antonaccio 2001 and 2009; and Hartog 2001: 21-36, though cf. Hall 2002: 90-124. For discussions concerning archaeology in an ancient colonial context, see generally Van Dommelen 1997, Dietler 1997 and 2010; the various articles in Lyons and Papdopoulos 2002, Gosden 2004, Antonaccio 2003, 2007, and 2013; Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010; Van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012.

communities could also deny access to people from a specific *polis*, such as an early fourth century BCE inscription from Delos that denies access to a stranger, which Butz argues is meant to deny Athenians access to the local founder cult of Anius during a relatively brief time of Delian independence from Athenian hegemony.[63]

One of the primary ways in which cultic communities created and maintained their social cohesion was through shared belief, but also through ritual actions, which were repeated over and over in social and religious life.[64] These ritual actions ranged from common sacrifice to giving dedications from something as humble as a pinecone up to massive kouroi or gifts made of precious metals and foreign objects.[65] Animal or other food sacrifices would allow for feasting and communal meals.[66] Divination and cursing would also address insecurities and perceived threats – on an individual or communal level.[67] Festivals encompassed many of these ritual actions – sacrifice, dedication, paying homage – but on a larger, communal level that involved the majority of the cultic community. Albeit occurring rarely, altering the architectural fabric of the sanctuary would further be a communal undertaking and require the support – financial and otherwise – of most cultic members, as well as the efforts of a variety of craftsmen, masons, and architects.[68] One can well imagine how these ritual actions created a strong sense of cohesion and trust within the population of a cultic community by shaping, reinforcing, and

[63] Butz 1996: 78-82 & 82-6 discusses the Delian inscriptions (*ID* 68, A and B) and the Parian inscription (*IG* XII.5, 225) respectively. Exclusion from cults on a specifically Dorian ethnic basis is also found in Herodotus, who notes that the Spartan Cleomenes was excluded from entering the adyton of Athena on the Athenian acropolis (5.72) as well as forbidden to sacrifice at the altar of Hera at Argos (6.81) on account of his status as a Dorian *xenos*. In both cases, he ignores the directive.
[64] Bell 1992; Mackil 2013: 189-191.
[65] Kindt 2012: 123-54; Parker 2005b and 2011: 124-70.
[66] Schmitt Pantel 1992 for feasting and social bonds. See also Sheratt 2004 for the replication of Homeric feasting in the eighth century BCE.
[67] Eidinow 2015 applies network theory to religion to argue that this theoretical model allows for a telling and negotiation of individual and collective stories in the social network.
[68] Urban 2010.

continuously reiterating the repetitive, consistently messaged doctrine and orthodox practices of belief all members shared and practiced.[69] Indeed, ritual action reinforced the cultic community by ensuring that all members adhered to the same easily-recognizable gestures and actions that would immediately identify a person as part of the group. It is through these ritual actions that the cultic communities reified their social bonds not just of the cult, but also of any other overlapping social groups – whether they be communities, professionals, or individuals.[70]

This dissertation therefore, will study the ritual actions of inclusion and exclusion practiced by the cultic communities of Ionia – namely temple construction, votive dedications, and festivals – in order to demonstrate and argue that cult was a particularly important vehicle for the expression of an Anatolian Ionian identity during the Archaic period, and that it was the connections and bonds between these various cultic communities during this time that would in part help to articulate and crystalize this regional identity.

1.3 Archaeology and Anatolian Ionian Identity

If we take shared cult to be one of the most important vehicles for the reification and expression of an Anatolian Ionian group identity, then we must question what types of evidence should be allowed in the examination of this cultic community and identity moving forward. In

[69] Vlassopoulos 2015a.

[70] At the same time, the sanctuary itself played an important role as the physical locus for a religious community, grounding the imagined community of the cultic community in a specific geographical location and emphasizing claims of belonging that were foregrounded by that deity's physical attachment to the soil. The Roman author, Vitruvius (4.1.5), related the narrative of the founding of the Panionion – after driving out the Carian inhabitants of Melie, the Anatolian Ionians established the Panionion thereby rendering the land officially Ionian and overseen by the Anatolian Ionian god Poseidon Heliconius (though he mistakenly believes that Apollo and not Poseidon was worshipped at the shrine). Similarly, when Amasis gifted Naucratis to the Greeks in the mid-sixth century BCE, they immediately built the cults of their home *poleis* – an act that grounded the itinerant traders in this foreign land through their gods (Hdt. 2.178). Malkin 2011: 185-7 has argued that colonists brought their *aphidrumata*, or cultic paraphernalia, with them when they relocated and used these *aphidrumata* to establish their cults in and concomitant claims over the new land – such is the case for the cult of Ephesian Artemis, which is attested at Massalia, Emporion, Ephesus, and Sardis.

particular, we must consider whether this Anatolian Ionian group identity can be traced within the material culture record, and if so how we might examine its presence there.[71] This question is of great importance for two reasons. The first is that archaeological evidence comprises some of our most diverse and plentiful evidence for sanctuary usage in the first millennium BCE – not just in Ionia, but throughout the Mediterranean – and thus it is critical for the groups and individuals who patronized the cults and sanctuaries. Second, the efficacy of archaeological evidence is debated for tracing identities and, specifically, ethnic identities; indeed, Hall created a small firestorm in 1997 when he argued that ethnicity is primarily discursive and therefore that material culture – in the absence of supporting discursive evidence – should not be relied upon solely to trace ethnic identities.[72] He notes that ethnicity is a type of cultural identity – just one of many cultural identities that an individual can deploy – that operates within the socially constructed, hierarchical, system of symbols that create a social group. Because ethnicity relies on a sense of shared kinship and a territorial homeland – whether fictive or not – it has few, if any, ties to material culture and therefore it cannot be exclusively traced in the archaeological record without the support of textual records. This viewpoint has been vociferously and fiercely debated over the years – especially by archaeologists who are inclined to fight against the nullification of their discipline in the field of ethnic studies.[73]

[71] As Mac Sweeney 2009 has noted, ethnicity dominates the archaeological record when it comes to identity, so much so that this is a monolithic approach to the study of group identity. In the mixed cultural atmosphere of Western Anatolia, it is a problematic approach.

[72] Hall 1997: 111-42. Other scholars, in contradistinction to Hall, have tried to isolate the markers of ethnicity in the archaeological record without supporting discursive texts: Emberling 1997; Jones 1997; Meskell 2001; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005. Malkin 2014: 285-6 agrees with Hall that archaeology alone cannot be used to trace ethnic identities though he also argues that the role of the environment and regionalism have been underrepresented.

[73] Hall 1997: 111-42 as well as the Introduction, Footnote 31 for the problematic cultural-historical approach to archaeology.

Archaeological evidence can provide useful insights into how people lived, and their behaviors can reflect or even create their beliefs. Thus, if we are careful, material remains can be a valuable indicator of identity – including at times ethnic identity and at other times various other kinds of identity. Furthermore, it is clear that in antiquity the Greeks recognized select items as ethnic identifiers. Examples of emic ethnic connotations attached to multiple objects in the ancient world are diverse and worked on a multitude of levels, from Scythian drink to Carian helmets.[74] In addition to these objects that were passively identified as ethnic, but used by various people, Thucydides gives an example of an indicator of ethnic identity that was deployed by the Ionians as a conscious marker of ethnic kinship:

> But the Athenians were among the very first to lay aside their arms, and adopting an easier mode of life, to change to more luxurious ways. And indeed, owing to this fastidiousness, it was only recently that their older men of the wealthier class gave up wearing tunics of linen, and fastening up their hair in a knot held by a golden grasshopper as a brooch; and this same dress obtained for a long time among the elderly men of the Ionians also, owing to their kinship with the Athenians.[75]

Thucydides specifically weaves together the ethnic identity of the Ionians with visible markers of a wealthy and elite lifestyle – namely fine clothes and elaborate hair ornaments of precious metals. These accoutrements were instantly, emically recognizable as part of an Ionian ethnic identity – which explained their fashionable popularity through a long period of time.[76] Of importance here is Thucydides' statement that the use of the specific types of clothing and

[74] Anacreon fr. 356 Campbell; Alcaeus fr. 388 Campbell.

[75] Thuc. 1.6.3: ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τόν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχεν. (trans. Smith)

[76] Crielaard 2009 has suggested that Anatolian Ionian identity was initially intertwined with wealth and luxury. We should be suspicious of Thucydides' claims that Athens was the first to adopt a luxurious lifestyle, considering the strength of the myth of the Ionian Migration in Athens at this time, as well as the fact that Athenian Ionian-ism was never as firmly connected to wealth as the Anatolian Ionians were.

accessories was adopted and worn by Ionians outside of Athens on account of ξυγγενές rather than an overt statement of wealth, gender, or status. Here, at least, is one item of material culture that served as an ethnic indicium and was deployed as such for visibility and cultural prestige.

Thucydides' other account of material culture concerns another ethnic group: the Carians. He notes that when Athens purified Delos, they were able to easily identify the Carian dead thanks to the method of interment and the martial arms that were serving as grave goods.[77] This suggests that the Athenians were able to determine etically the ethnic identity of these dry, dusty old bones via their grave goods and manner of burial – presumably without any Carians to point out the specific markers. We do not know what specific types of burial goods accompanied the deceased, and truly it matters little, as the point here is that the burial culture was the only recognizable indicium of ethnicity for the Athenians on Delos, but this did not hinder them from using it – or believing that they could use it – to recognize ethnicities that were not their own.

These two examples suggest that material culture could be emically identifying and etically identifiable to the ancients and was deployed as such to signal belonging in communities. When we return to the cultic community, it is clear that the group reified itself and its members' belonging in ritual actions. Many of these ritual actions and learned behaviors can be traced in the archaeological record and account for the material receipt of an individual's belief in the deity as well as their placement overall within the cultic community.[78] The bones of sacrificed animals, the various and varied votive gifts, the pottery sets of cultic dining, or the physical setting of the sanctuary itself all speak to ritual actions that reinforced the social fabric of cultic community and were grounded in a discourse of belonging.[79] These objects in turn functioned as

[77] 1.8.1. This was brought to my attention by R. Neer.
[78] Antonaccio 2005: 107 and 2009: 34 & 37 suggests that material culture creates a discourse of materiality that can work in tandem with other discourses, specifically ethnicity and belonging.
[79] Morgan 2001. More broadly, see Insoll 2004 for the triangulation of ritual and archaeology.

symbols of the cultic community and were continuously reified by the individuals as they correctly used them.[80] Therefore, studying the material culture of the cultic community, especially in terms of ritual actions that leave material correlates, is a valid approach to the study of a common identity in Archaic Ionia, and we can move forward, confident that material culture was deployed in part as a marker of this burgeoning Anatolian Ionian identity.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that there is little to no evidence for the Anatolian Ionians identifying themselves as an ethnic group before the sixth century BCE, and what evidence we do possess strongly suggests that local interpretations of the Ionian group identity existed. Indeed, when we turn to Herodotus to examine how he defines the indicia of the Anatolian Ionian identity in the fifth century BCE, religion appears to be the strongest vehicle through which that identity was expressed, which is in line with the exclusive nature of ethnic cults in Anatolia – including the sanctuary of Triopian Apollo and Carian Zeus – as well as more generally across the Aegean. This is unsurprising considering that the cultic community was a flexible social group that allowed for the practice and expression of inclusion and belonging on the one hand, and exclusion and exclusivity on the other of other social groups. Finally, though material culture in the absence of supporting discursive evidence has remained problematic as a source of evidence for ethnic identity, this dissertation argues that archaeological evidence of the cultic community's ritual actions can be fruitfully employed to trace expressions of a burgeoning Anatolian Ionian identity. It is now left to examine how this Anatolian Ionian group identity was

[80] Usually, culture is not remarked upon or noticed until it is deployed incorrectly: imagine a child wearing their mother's dress and high heels or – more topically – Pausanias the Spartan commander donning Persian garb and "medizing" (Thuc. 1.130-134). In the religious sphere, where emphasis was upon the correct methods of worship and sacrifice, this would have been doubly important: see further Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 11; Sewell 1999: 52.

fostered in the religious sphere and how the disparate communities of Ionia began to knit together a common identity.

Chapter Two: The Migration of Ionia

2.1 Introduction

The debate over the historicity of the Ionian Migration has raged fiercely over the past several decades. As has been already stated, this dissertation does not view the migration as reflecting a historical one-time influx of people to the western Anatolian littoral at some point in the Early Iron Age. Rather, it views the Ionian Migration as a narrative critical for the identity formation of the Anatolian Ionians several centuries after it purportedly took place. What is clear, however, is that the terms "Ionians" and "Ionia" predate the first evidence we have for these terms existing in and referring to the western Anatolian littoral and its inhabitants.

As such, this chapter argues that rather than seeing the "migration" as a mass movement of people, we should envision a "migration" of the Ionian name along the Aegean sea routes during the first half of the first millennium BCE. It is clear that the term "Ionian" and its derivatives were used by the populations of the Eastern Mediterranean to refer to individuals coming from the Aegean, and we argue that the term was used by these Eastern Mediterranean populations as a blanket term to designate these Greeks while simultaneously carrying economic connotations. This multi-dimensional aspect of the "Ionian" name gave it a flexibility that was useful to both Aegean and Phoenician mariners, and it is the interaction and trading patterns of these actors, we argue, that are responsible for the movement of the "Ionian" moniker along the maritime channels in the Aegean.

This chapter will accordingly examine the earliest attestations of "Ionia" and "Ionians" to examine how and in what contexts they were used. We then investigate the distribution of Aegean pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean to track Greek merchant trade during this early time, before finally suggesting that the "Ionian" name acted partially as a moniker. We do this

by analogy, examining what the "Phoenician" name meant to the early Greeks who experienced these foreign mariners during the early first millennium BCE.[1] We argue that rather than an Ionian migration of people, we should instead consider a migration of the "Ionian" name throughout the Aegean during the first half of the first millennium BCE, which would account for its wide distribution there as well as specifically allow the name to take on commercial significance in the communities and sanctuaries of Ionia.

Finally, while the nature of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean appears to have involved primarily elites, the proliferation of Anatolian mercenaries across the Eastern Mediterranean starting in the seventh century BCE ensured that almost every stratum of Anatolian would be described by the moniker "Ionian" while working and living abroad. Therefore, this chapter also tracks the expanding salience of this name from one that initially encompassed only small occasional boats of Aegean mariners, raiders, and pirates, to almost every spectrum of Anatolian society, thereby setting the groundwork for the name to become a salient group identity.

2.2. The beginning of "Ionia"

For a dissertation focused almost exclusively on Archaic Anatolia, this chapter starts somewhat incongruously in Bronze Age Egypt where we will examine the earliest attestation of the term "Ionia." This attestation is important because it simultaneously demonstrates that Ionia existed in some form somewhere in the Aegean, but that it probably was not located in Anatolia, and this observation supports our argument that an Anatolian Ionian identity coalesced fairly late. The recent discovery of two broken and unfinished fragments of a stone statue base at

[1] See Papageorgiou 2008a for the sea routes. Morton 2001: 39-40 gives an idea of the currents. See Beresford 2013, who argues that the ancient sailing season happened throughout the year, though with less activity during the winter months as sailors had to adapt to the rougher, more unpredictable weather and currents, as well as the lack of prolonged daylight.

modern Kom el-Hatan in the north portico of the mortuary temple of Amenophis III, which date to shortly before his death in 1354 BCE, have been particularly exciting. These two blocks, labeled FN and GN, are considered part of the same statue base and constitute our earliest attestations of the "Ionian" name.[2] They are decorated with figures of bound prisoners who represent lands named within "crenellated" ovals. As such, the decoration of the personified lands parallels the decoration of the famous "Aegean List," a statue base that similarly names Aegean lands.[3] Of interest here are the figures on the GN fragment. There are five figures on this stone, of which the cartouches of three are preserved enough to attempt a reading (Fig. 5). The third of these figures, (x + 3) has a crenellated oval that reads jj-w-ni-ʻ3$^{Det.}$–ʻ3 and has been universally identified as "Ionia" (Fig. 6).[4]

The discovery of this block is exciting for two reasons. First, this cartouche attests to the existence of this name during the Bronze Age, and therefore provides independent verification of the two roughly contemporary fragmentary Linear B Knossian tablets that contain the word "i-ja-wo-ne."[5] Unfortunately, both Linear B tablets are too fragmentary to fully understand what this designator means, but Jan Driessen has noted that the term "Ionian" on tablet B 164 describes a

[2] Sourouzian and Stadelmann 2005a: 82-3 and 2005b; Sourouzian et al. 2008: 413-4; Haider 2008a: 298. While there is no join between the two blocks, the unfinished treatment of both blocks' decoration, their subject matter, and the writing style of the cartouches all suggest they were part of the same statue base. Interestingly, Haider 2008a: 298-300 points to the existence in Linear A of two unfortunately incomplete topographical words: JA-WA and JA-WI. These, he notes, show analogous forms to the reading variants "Jawania" and "Jawinia" that concur with the Egyptian toponym and suggest that the term's antiquity might be pushed back even further.

[3] See Cline and Stannish 2011 for a rereading and reinterpretation of this, though Edel and ch 2005 is the standard reading.

[4] Sourouzian and Stadelmann 2005a: 82-3; Görg 2005; Widmer 2005-6; Adrom 2008; Haider 2008a; Gander 2015. This figure has an alternative reading as "Great Ionia," which is dependent upon the double-lettering of the "jj" but it is possible that it is either incorrect or should be read with an emphasis upon the long double vowel (-a): Haider 2008b: 671. These multiple interpretations have led me to leave the "Great" part off of the name and refer to it just as "Ionia." I thank Maggie Geoga and Jonathan Winnerman for their help with this reading.

[5] Chadwick 1977; Chadwick et al. 1986: 67 & 81 (for KN XC 146 and KN B 164 respectively). The tablets date to circa 1400 BCE.

detachment of soldiers, and he argues that the tablet's lack of additional information to illuminate these "Ionians" means that this group constituted a known social entity to the Knossians.[6]

Second, thanks to the "contextualization" of Ionia among the other bound personifications, we can tentatively try to place this toponym.[7] There is currently much debate around the placement or even the identification of these toponyms, a reflection of continuing uncertainty surrounding Bronze Age geography in the Aegean and Anatolia especially. The figure of "Ionia" is the only secure toponym on block GN, with the two other legible toponyms being under discussion. The first toponym, (x+2), reads ra-w3-3-n3 – Rawana or Lawana – and has been identified as Luwia or Rawano.[8] The second toponym, (x + 4), reads m'-d-w-n-[3-s3/š3-3] – Me/adunas/ša or Me/adun[a-…] – and has been variously interpreted as Madunašša, Mitanni, Maša, or Maduna.[9] At first glance, these two toponyms would argue for the placement of Great Ionia in Anatolia, perhaps loosely in the place where its Archaic successor was to be found. However, several facts argue against this: the first is that the Hittites never mention an "Ionia" in their numerous dealings of the populations and subject states throughout their Anatolian empire – especially along the western Anatolian littoral, which consistently caused them headaches and was the subject of multiple annals, treaties, and letters. Rather, it is clear that western Anatolia was split between several entities, including the Seha River Lands, the Land of Mira, Wilusa, and Arzawa along the western coast of Turkey.[10] Indeed, another

[6] See Driessen 1998/9: 84-5.
[7] Haider 2008a: 300–303; Haider 2008b: 678–679; Haider 2008c: 33–34 & 41–42; Gander 2015: 480-3.
[8] Figure (x+2) was argued to be "Luwia" by Sourouzian 2005; Widmer 2005-06; and Adrom 2008. Alternatively, it was read as "Arawana" by Görg 2005, and "Rawano" by Haider 2008a and b (see discussion below).
[9] Maduna and thus Madunašša were argued by Adrom 2008: 12-3 and Haider 2008a: 300-1 and 2008b: 672-3; Mitanni by Sourouzian 2005a: 82 and Sourouzian et al 2008b: 413; and Maša by Görg 2005: 6.
[10] Hawkins 1999 and Gander 2017 for the topography of western Anatolia in Hittite texts.

fragmentary stone block from the same mortuary complex provides independent support for how the Egyptians conceptualized Bronze Age Western Anatolia in the fourteenth century BCE (Fig. 7). This block formed part of a plinth underneath the feet of a seated colossus, located at the second pylon of the mortuary complex, but is similar in its depictions of captured, personified lands. There are three figures on this block, all bound captives representing lands that are labeled in cartouches, and these three figures are the Hatti, Assuwa, and Arzawa, representing especially the western environs of Anatolia around the later region of Ionia.[11] It is striking that this depiction and illustration of western Anatolia demonstrably does not include the toponym "Ionia."

These problems prompted Peter Haider to reexamine the figures on Block GN, and he has argued that the first figure, (x + 2), should be read not as "Luwano" but by the alternative spelling "Rawano." He supports this reading through a contemporary Linear B tablet from the Knossian archive that mentions the place ru-wa-ni-jo, thereby demonstrating its existence in two separate cultures.[12] Indeed, Max Gander agrees with this reading and strengthens the argument for (x + 2) being the Rawano toponym by noting that there is no evidence that "Luwia" as an ethno-linguistic, geographic entity existed during the Late Bronze Age, making its appearance at Kom el-Hatan problematic.[13] The second figure on Block GN, (x +4), is even more problematic because part of the cartouche is missing, thereby leaving the interpretation of this toponym open. It was initially identified as either Mitanni and Maša, but these interpretations rely upon different

[11] Sourozian 2005a: 81-2; Sourouzian et al. 2008b: 414; Gander 2015: 445. Arzawa designates the territory that is around classical Ionia with Apasa – Ephesus – as its royal city: Hawkins 1998: 2-23 and 2009: 75-6 as well as Gander 2017: 269-70
[12] Haider 2008a: 297.
[13] Gander 2015: 472-5.

spellings of the names between the Hittite and the Egyptian, thereby rendering them suspect.[14] The alternative interpretations of Maduna or Madunašša adhere more closely to the text of the Egyptian toponym, but Madunašša is problematic as it is a city and therefore out of a place within the list of *regional* toponyms.[15]

It is clear, then, that there is currently no agreement as to the reading of the neighboring figures of "Ionia," and therefore no consensus as to the localization of these toponyms. However, the initial association of figures (x + 2) and (x + 4) with Anatolia has been thrown into serious doubt. Indeed, the decoupling of these two figures from this part of the Aegean can free us to similarly decouple "Great Ionia" from Anatolia. Widening the geographical scope of this statue base's figures to the entire Aegean allows us to seek other places for this toponym. If we turn our attention to the other block of this statue base – block FN – it is possible that this widening of the geographical scope of the statue base is justified. Unfortunately, both of these figures are extremely fragmentary and thus also subject to multiple interpretations (Fig. 8). The first figure on this block, (x + 1), reads as the Tj-n-[…], which has been interpreted as "Adana" or as "Tina."[16] Both of these are problematic, however, as the first interpretation relies on quantitative metathesis, and the second only reads the surviving signs and does not account for those that must have taken up the remainder of the now-missing cartouche. Indeed, a more plausible interpretation has been advanced again by Haider, who has plausibly argued this toponym to be "Tanaja." This is significant because the Egyptians consistently place the Tanaja, also known as the Danaoi, in the Peloponnese.[17] Finally, the second figure, (x + 2), is the most

[14] Sourouzian 2005a: 82 and Sourouzian et al 2008b: 413 argue for Mitanni, Görg 2005: 6 argues for Maša. Gander 2015: 483 points out the spelling problem.
[15] Adrom 2008: 12-3 and Haider 2008a: 300-1 and 2008b: 672-3 argue for Maduna or Madunašša. Gander 2015: 483-4 notes the problem with the Madanušša interpretation.
[16] Görg 2005: 7 argued for Adana, while Sourouzian 2005a: 82 argued for Tina.
[17] Haider 2008a: 293-6 and 2008b: 674-5, as well as Gander 2015, p. 471-2 (who agrees with Haider).

problematic as it is the most fragmentary and there is little confidence in any proposed readings. It has been read variously as "the Waterland of Tarsus," "Naharina," or "Šaparanta/Šakarita."[18]

This overview of the "contextualization" of our toponym has shown that there is, at present, no consensus as to where Bronze Age Ionia was located, but by the same token there is absolutely no hard evidence to place Ionia in Anatolia. Indeed, Haider has argued that if figure (x + 1) on block FN can be placed in the Peloponnese and figure (x + 2) on block GN can be placed on Crete, then this statue base's bound figures were meant to work in tandem to encompass and illustrate the known points (at least to the Egyptians) of the Aegean world. He then reasonably places Ionia on the central Greek mainland, noting that – given our understanding of geography at this time – this is one of the few "blank spots" in an otherwise increasingly crowded map of the Bronze Age Aegean.[19]

2.3 The "Ionians" and the East

It is unclear what happened to "Ionia" during the collapse of most of the Eastern Mediterranean basin at the end of the thirteenth century BCE, but the term reemerges during the eighth century BCE in two contexts. The first is in the *Iliad*, which has been traditionally dated to c. 750-700 BCE: Ionians appear in a list of warriors who fall back before Hector's onslaught in battle.[20] The Ionians are grouped with the Boeotians, Locrians, Phthians, and Epeans, all people located firmly in mainland Greece, which could suggest that the Ionians in the epics

[18] Görg 2005: 7 argues for "Waterland of Tarsus" and Sourouzian 2005a: 83 argues for "Naharina." Both of these interpretations take liberties with the text, a result of its extremely poor preservation, as noted by Haider 2008b: 676. Haider 2008a: 295 and 2008b: 676-7 proposes reading it as Š-g[3/w]-r[i/w-…] and therefore "Šakarita" or "Šaparanta."
[19] Haider 2008a and 2008b; followed by Gander 2015.
[20] *Il*. 13. 685.

might be located in the western Aegean.[21] The only other early context in which we encounter the Ionians occurs not in the Aegean world, but rather among the Neo-Assyrians. In c. 730 BCE, Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur, an official of the Neo-Assyrian Empire wrote to Tiglath-Pileser III. This letter reports on Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur's heroic exploits to scare off the Yamnāya ("Ionians"), who had harassed several cities on the Levantine coast.[22] This letter has recently been retranslated by Parker, which gives considerably more clarity to the report:

> To the king my lord (from)
> Your servant Qurdi-Aššur-lamur.
> The Ionians came (and)
> Attacked the cities of Samsimuruna
> Hariṣû, and [xxx]
> A cavalryman came to the city of
> Dana[bu] (to report this).
> I gathered up the available men
> And went (after them). (The Ionians)
> Did not get anything. When they saw
> my troops, they got into
> their boats and [disappeared]

[21] So, e.g. Nagy 2010: 226-7. I follow the conventional eighth century dating of the epics, but it should be noted that a number of scholars now believe that the epics were composed much later, around the mid sixth century BCE: see Bachvarova 2016: 396-400 for an overview of the various arguments of the dating of the epics. Another interpretation of these Ionians' placement among western Aegean contingents is that it is a deliberate, later interpolation by Athenians, who appear immediately after as the "chosen men of Athens" in line 689 and appear to refer to these Ionians: see Prinz 1979 & Ulf 1996: 251. An alternative argument is that their placement among these mainland groups is either because the epics were composed much earlier, before the Ionian Migration, or the result of Homer's sensitivity to the chronology of the migration: i.e., he deliberately archaized the poems by excising the Ionians from the Anatolian populations. We argue that the placement of the Ionians in a mainland Greek contingent rather than in Anatolia is not due to the conscious archaizing and epic distancing of the Homeric poems, but rather "Ionia" had not yet crystallized as a concept in Anatolia. For the former view, see Finley 1978: 34 & 38 who uses this and other absences (such as the *polis*, writing, iron weapons, and colonization) to argue that the poems were not composed in the eighth century BCE but several centuries earlier; but see Morris 1986a for a cogent critique and argument against Finley's dating of the poems to the Dark Ages. See also Crielaard 2009: 49-50 for an overview of the arguments for and against any purported archaizing; after reviewing the evidence, Crielaard ultimately concludes that the Anatolian Ionians simply did not have a coherent "Ionian" identity at the time of the epics' composition.

[22] For an overview of Neo-Assyrian correspondence in general, including the royal way and workings of the imperial post system, see Radner 2014: 71-8.

into the middle of the sea.[23]

This report to the Neo-Assyrian king is interesting in several ways. The first is that the governor, Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur, does not give a prefatory explanation of who the Yamnāya are, which tells us that they are already known both to the Neo-Assyrian king as well as the governor. This, in itself, gives us a *terminus ante quem* of c. 730 BCE for contact between the Neo-Assyrians and the Yamnāya. They are presented in this letter as a collective unit and given a collective name "Ionians," which further suggests that they are thought of already as a coherent people.[24] Unfortunately, the towns they choose to raid are obscure and rarely referenced in the Neo-Assyrian corpus, giving us little illumination to the whereabouts of the targeted area. We can surmise, therefore, that they were relatively minor and small communities somewhere on the Levantine coast.[25] The nature of these targets, in turn, suggests that the Ionians in this report comprised small raiding parties or pirates that were unable to effectively target larger, more lucrative, and better defended targets such as the major Phoenician urban areas of Tyre, Byblos, and Sidon. It is also clear that these Ionians were highly mobile – or at least did not stray far from their ships when raiding; they were able to quickly retreat once Neo-Assyrian cavalry units and conscripts were mustered. Upon the arrival of this proper defensive force, these Ionians disappeared in their boats – no match for the armed men – and disappeared into the midst of the sea. Certainly, this is in keeping with what we know already about the nature of piracy and trade

[23] Nimrud Letter 69 (trans. Parker). Parker 2000: 72. For discussions of this letter, see also Brinkman 1989: 55; Rollinger 2001: 237-8 and 2009: 33-34; Luraghi 2006: 30-1.
[24] Saggs 1963: 77-8 was not sure if the KUR.ia-ú-na-a-a (Ionians) here were the Ionians or an obscure spelling of Judeans, though he settles on the former rather than the latter. It is generally agreed that these people self-identified as "Ionian," though there have been many arguments over where the "Ionians" came from: Luckenbill 1914; Parpola 1970: 186; Brinkman 1989; Dalley and Reyes 1998; Muhly 2009.
[25] Parker 2000: 73-4.

in the Greek world.[26] The Ionians' small number, their inability to withstand the organized force of mustered Neo-Assyrians, and their quick retreat into the sea, not to be heard from again during Tiglath-Pileser's reign suggests that these raiders were private individuals, acting on their own behalf, and their operations were not politically motivated. Rather, they looted and pillaged the surrounding countryside, melting away when faced with an organized defense and undoubtedly causing frustration to the Neo-Assyrians.

Further references in Neo-Assyrian sources show that these "Ionians" continued to sporadically raid and plunder various edges of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the eastern Mediterranean, thereby acquiring a formidable enough status to become an enemy in the royal rhetoric.[27] Sargon II, just a generation after Tiglath-Pileser, mentions them several times in his annals, but these are curt phrases, many of which reiterate that he – like a fisher – caught the Ionians like fish in the midst of the sea.[28] The longest and most revealing inscription of Sargon gives more information

> [To subdue the Ionians, whose residences] are in the midst of the Sea, who killed the people of the [city of Ty]re and of the [land] of Que since faraway [days], [interrupted] the ways (?) out on the Sea I sailed against them….and with the weapon stretched on the ground young and old.[29]

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[26] Indeed, this picture of the Yamnāya as pirates corresponds closely with an episode in Book Fourteen of the *Odyssey* (14.191-359), where Odysseus, masquerading as a Cretan nobleman, invents a tale of his pirating adventure in Egypt and the Levant. Declaring that working in the fields was not to his liking, he turned to raiding and seaborne ventures, leading men on raiding parties multiple times against "foreign lands." He describes a specific incident wherein he gathered nine ships together and travelled to Egypt. While he was away from his ships, his crew attacked a nearby settlement. The host of mustered Egyptian chariots and footmen easily defeated his men and took them captive along with the unsuspecting Cretan. These Ionian forces were likely no more than one or perhaps two boats of raiders per settlement, with a goal of plundering rather than capturing towns or taking territory from the Phoenicians and the Neo-Assyrian overlords.

[27] See Rollinger 2001: 237-43 and 2009: 33-5.

[28] See Rollinger 2001: 239-40. Sargon's comparison of the Yamnāya to fish has been recently examined by Richardson forthcoming, who argues that it is a way for the Neo-Assyrians to characterize known – but not visited – lands within the empire as of little social, moral, or political value. For discussions on the Ionians and the Neo-Assyrians, see Dunbabin 1957: 30; Hall 2002: 70-1; Rollinger 2009: 34.

[29] Ann. 117-119 (trans. Rollinger)

Here, the Ionians have been elevated to the rank of official enemy and aggrandized accordingly. It is clear that the Neo-Assyrians are still fuzzy as to the details of where the Ionians come from – giving a nebulous and unrealistic homeland in the Mediterranean Sea. The Ionians' skill as mariners is still emphasized, but they have graduated from attacking one small town to the entirety of Cilician and Phoenicia, as is typical for Neo-Assyrian royal rhetoric.[30] This wide geographical span furthermore shows that the Ionians' presence in the Eastern Mediterranean had increased to such an extent that they could interact with much of the South Anatolian littoral. Finally, Sargon's claim that the "Ionians" had interrupted the ways out on the Sea suggests that they were hampering – and perhaps had even temporarily halted – the maritime rhythms in the Eastern Mediterranean Levant. As Sargon himself boasts, it is only due to royal intervention that the land of Tyre and Que enjoyed a respite from these people.[31]

The peace was not to last long, however. Sargon's successor, Sennacherib, would also face the Ionians. While he does not outright discuss the conflict with them, he implies it. In a royal inscription, he discusses moving captured Ionians – along with captured Phoenicians – along the Tigris; their grouping together perhaps emphasizes their shared maritime skills.[32]

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[30] Lanfranchi 2000: 17-22 also suggests that Assyria's control of Cilicia by 715 BCE started a fractious relationship with the northern Phrygian kingdom and possibly also with the Greek traders, who were utilizing the oversea and overland routes.

[31] Zyl. 21. For discussions of this inscription, see Fuchs 1994: 34 & 290; Lanfranchi 2000:14; and Rollinger 2001: 239-40.

[32] T 29 (Hist. Bull 4), 57-62. There are two Greek snippets originally from Berossus and transmitted through secondary sources – Alexander Polyhistor (*HGrHist* 680 F 7c) and Abydenus's summary of Polyhistor (*FGrHist* 685 F 5) – that discuss Sennacherib's operations against the Ionians in Cilicia, but these are fairly confused and late. The problematic nature of these two sources has led me to leave them out of this discussion, but it is clear that there were non-indigenous people active and possibly even living in Cilicia during this time. The bilingual inscription from the eighth century site of Karatepe mentions the royal house of mpš – Mopsus – the famous seer in Greek myth, as does the recent Çineköy bilingual. The Çineköy bilingual also states that king Awarikus' kingdom is Hiyawa, a form of Ahhiyama, which suggests that Mycenaeans perhaps settled there after the collapse of 1200 BCE: Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000: 1006; Lanfranchi 2005; and Özgar 2014: 142-6. For the Karatepe bilingual, see especially Hawkins and Mopurgo Davis 1978. The Karatepe reliefs also feature an Aegean-style ship - Çambel and Özyar 2003: 84-9; Winter 1979. For further discussion on these fragments and Greeks in Cilicia, see Lipiński

The last securely attested reference to the Ionians appears on a victory stele erected by Esarhaddon in 680/79 BCE. The king boasts that:

> All kings of the midst of the Sea, from the land of Cyprus (and) the land of "Ionia" to the land of Tarsisi, bowed down at my feet. I received [their heavy] tribute.[33]

Esarhaddan, like his predecessors, use the Yamnāya to illustrate his battle prowess as well as the geographical expanse of his empire. The Yamnāya are suddenly dredged from the midst of the sea and given a homeland – the land of Yaman – by the Neo-Assyrian kings.[34] However, it is clear that the Neo-Assyrians are still fuzzy as to the geographical particulars of the land of the Ionians and do not give any particulars aside to its physical location. Yaman is set in apposition to Cyprus – the westernmost territory of the Neo-Assyrians at a journey of seven days from the Levantine coast and serves to illustrate Esarhaddon's extensive reach. Overall, the Neo-Assyrian discussions of the Ionians demonstrate how active these people were in the Eastern Mediterranean over the course of the eighth and seventh centuries, but there is no evidence that these Neo-Assyrians either knew where the Ionians lived, reminding us to not immediately place them in Anatolia, nor is there any evidence to demonstrate that they were

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2003: 119-23; Lanfranchi 2000: 24-31; Rollinger 2001: 240-3. For another Aegean-style ship etched into rocks on the Carmel Ridge outside of Nami in Israel (though earlier than the Cilician relief), see Artzy 1997: 7 and 1998: 444.

[33] AsBbE 10f (trans. Rollinger)

[34] Indeed, the sudden association of Yamnāya with a territory has inspired various academics to attempt to locate this land. Muhly 2009 argues for placing Yaman in Anatolia, arguing that there is no distinguishing between Yadnana and Yaman in Esarhaddon's inscription: "Yadnana as a subset of Yaman." His reading, however, fundamentally misunderstands the cuneiform, which would need a KUR in front of the ia.man to indicate "Yadnana the land of Yaman," and it fundamentally ignores the fact that Yadnana and Tarsisi are both well attested and defined in Neo-Assyrian texts as Cyprus and Tarsus (see Haider 1996), respectively, and Yadnana is never considered a subset of Yaman in any other Neo-Assyrian text. Seth Richardson has explained that while the geographical merism 'from A to B' is common in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, the merism 'from A and B to C' is less common (pers. comm.). In fact, this is the only occurrence in the Esarhaddon corpus overall of this merism, though it appears twice in Tiglath-Pileser's inscriptions. I am grateful to Seth Richardson for his explanations and expertise in helping understand this reading of the text.

aware of any particulars of this group aside from their maritime skills and pesky raiding behavior.

About a century later, "Ionia" reappears in the sixth century BCE Old Testament Book of Ezekiel, where "Javan" is described as having a diverse trading base and a successful trading partnership with the Phoenician city. Javan trades both manufactured goods and agricultural products – bronze vessels, iron, the spice cassia, and a sweet cane – as well as the more nefarious cargo of slaves.[35] Similarly, two tablets from Neo-Babylonia associate Ionia with trade and further illustrate their diverse wares: copper, iron, and purple wool all come from Ionia.[36] Neither of these sources discuss any raiding or piratical activities on the part of the Ionians, but it is clear that these are the same people. Indeed, in the Archaic period, the phenomenon of the trader-pirate was widespread, and the line between these two professions was blurred if not entirely nonexistent.[37] The Ionians in the Old Testament sold slaves likely taken in pirate raids and traded in communities that they could not successfully attack – a flexible and opportunistic pattern that allowed the greatest amount of profit to be derived during these maritime adventures.

[35] Ezekiel 27:13 & 27:19. Isaiah 66:19 mentions the land of Javan in a list of places meant to illustrate geographic distance. Javan is grouped with Tarsus, the Libyans, and Lydians, as well as the enigmatic Tubal. Liverańi 1991 notes that this list comprises three distinct zones, primarily defined by their exports: the first is Phoenicia; the second is the immediate hinterland and nearby areas of Cyprus and Egypt; and the outer zone is lands further away, to which Javan belongs.

[36] For the Neo-Babylonian tablets from Uruk (TCL 12 84 & YOS 6 168) see Oppenheim 1967 especially, and Dalley and Reyes 1998: 103. The tablets date to 551 and 550 BCE, respectively, and record the consignments of one Nādin-aḫi, as well as copper and iron from the land of Yamana.

[37] Luraghi 2006 and Samaras 2015. See also Philip of Theangela (*FGrHist* 741 F 3), who notes that the Leleges of Caria used to harass and pirate sea traffic moving throughout the area. Thuc. 1.5 himself notes that in the time of old many of the Greeks were pirates and often marauded. The nebulous link between trading, maritime travel, and pirates dates back at least to the late Bronze Age and can be found in the account of Wenamun, a low-ranking Egyptian priest of Amun, who sailed to Byblos in about 1080 BCE to pick up a cargo of cedar for a new solar boat for Ra. He was robbed by a member of his own crew and thereafter refused recompense from the local king (who denied any responsibility since it was the priest's own man who was the offender). Wenamun therefore had to steal silver to cover the losses: see Sauvage 2011: 429-30 and Brinker 2011: 92-6.

In the *Odyssey*, both Nestor and the Cyclops must ask their guests Telemachus and Odysseus, respectively, whether they are brigands or traders, for it is not obvious to either host.[38]

This survey of the instances of the term "Ionian" in the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Hebrew sources underscores the continued entanglement of a group of people that were identified as "Ionians" in the Levant during the eighth through sixth centuries BCE. The "Ionians" act variously as raiders or traders – undoubtedly as opportunity arose – but are characterized primarily for their maritime skills and their homeland, somewhere at the western edge of known Neo-Assyrian world and certainly not demonstrably in Anatolia.[39]

2.4 The "Ionians" and the West

2.4.1 First evidence of Renewed Contact

We must now turn to the Aegean realm to see if we can illuminate who these "Ionians" were by using archaeological evidence to track which areas of the Aegean were enjoying intense contact with the Eastern Mediterranean. It is clear that the collapse of the Mycenaean world – and indeed most of the civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin – disrupted long-distance trading contacts and networks between the Aegean and the Levant in about 1200 BCE. During the following two centuries, there is little evidence to suggest anything more than ephemeral contact, and what contact there is seems to be sporadic and primarily in the hands of

[38] The same clearly stock lines are repeated at *Od*. 3.71-4 and 9.251-4.
ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;
ἤ τι κατά πρῆξιν ἦ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε
οἷά τε ληιστῆρες ὑπεὶρ ἅλα, τοί τ' ἀλόωνται
ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες;

[39] A town by the name of Yauna appears in the tablet ND 2737: Saggs 1963: 77-78; Na'aman 2004 suggests that it is Ras el-Bassit (later Poseidonion). This fleeting reference, however, does not come with other illustrative information and cannot help us.

Cypriot mariners, attested by a scattering of Cypriot objects and a concurrent almost total lack of Levantine objects across the central Aegean.[40]

Suddenly, starting in the tenth century BCE, the material culture on the island of Euboea reflects a flourishing of contact with the Greater Mediterranean Basin, likely a result of the island's advantageous physical location at the concordance of four important sea routes, including the primary sea routes that allowed for entry to and exit from the Chalcidice, Thasos, and Macedonian Pieria; the east-west sea route that led to Anatolia; and the sea route that led south along the east coast of the Peloponnese. The island therefore acted as a chokepoint on the sea routes for any people travelling to the metal and timber resources in the northern Aegean or to Attica and the Peloponnese to the south. Additionally, the island itself produced ample agricultural products thanks to the fertility of the Lelantine plain, which could have been used in trade.[41] These factors led to a deep involvement of the island in these new sea routes, as well as

[40] Kourou 2008, 2012a: 216-7, and 2012b: 37. It also appears that most of this contact happened on Crete, as evidenced by such imports as the Cypriot bronze stand from Grave 201 in the North Cemetery of Knossos (Brock 1957 and Papasavvas 2004 and Antonaccio 2006) and the tenth century BCE Cypriot bronze craters and Cypriot pottery from the Amari tomb (Tegou 2001). It should also be noted that Cypriot pottery also appears in the Levant starting about 1050 BCE, reinforcing our identification of these early mariners as Cypriots rather than Phoenicians: Sørenson 1997: 285-8. Currently, there is general agreement that the archaeological evidence on Cyprus does not support wide-spread migration of Greek speakers immediately after the Mycenaean collapse of c. 1200 BCE – see Steel 2004; Iacovou 2008; and Knapp 2008: 249-80 (who details the scholarly debate). However, in the eleventh century BCE, Cypriot society seems to have undergone distinct changes to its political, economic, and social fabric and this has been linked to an influx of people from the Aegean.

[41] Descœdres 2008: 305, n. 93; Knodell 2017: 199; Sheratt 1999: 180-1 notes that centers of pottery export in the Mycenaean period and later Early Iron Age – notably Cyprus, East Greece, and Euboea – were also intimately linked to the raw metals trade and suggests that the pottery business that sprang up was in a way connected perhaps as a way to capitalize on the trade already taking place within this area. Because earthenware pottery is not generally desired by elites, they do not carefully regulate it: Coldstream 1977: 66; Lemos and Hatcher 1991. It is also clear that Euboea had strong contacts with the northern Aegean, which supports the reading that the communities on this island were heavily involved and interested in the metals and agricultural products there. For Euboea's sea routes, see Papageorgiou 2008b: 213-4. Crielaard 2006: 277-289 thinks that this might explain why Euboea was able to recover quickly at the end of the LHIIIC: Euboea in this period – widely turbulent for the rest of the Aegean – sees continued contact with the outside world as well as a continuation of settlements in the coastal areas of the Euboean Gulf. Descœdres 2008: 317 suggests the island's fertile Lelantine plain attracted the

new contact with traders from the Levant and Cyprus who travelled and exploited these sea routes for commercial exchanges. Indeed, the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi, established in the tenth century BCE, displays this evidence for sustained contact beginning when a "big man" of the local settlement died, was cremated, and his house was destroyed to create a *heroon* – a monumental grave marker.[42] His ashes were placed in an antique bronze amphora from Cyprus, with another bronze bowl inverted above it to close the vessel's mouth.[43] The man was buried with a female companion, who was wearing elaborate gold pectoral discs, as well as gold and electrum jewelry – including an Old Babylonian pendant – and a dagger with ivory pommel, possibly from Cyprus.[44]

After the *heroon* was raised, the site attracted local elites, who were buried in the cemetery and used exotic goods to mark their privileged social status in the tombs that sprang up around the new tumulus.[45] These grave goods specifically track the widening contact of Euboea with the greater Eastern Mediterranean world over the course of the tenth century BCE and into the first quarter of the ninth century – spreading north to the northern Aegean and the Balkans, as

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Phoenicians, and Lemos 2001: 216 suggests that grain grown in Thessaly and Macedonia later attracted Phoenicians.

[42] There is debate over whether the apsidal building was created and destroyed specifically to be a marker for the deceased or whether it had been in use and subsequently put out of use upon the death of the "big man" – the excavators believe the former: Popham 1993.

[43] See Popham, Calligas, and Sacket 1989 and 1993 for the excavations of the Toumba building, as well as Catling 1993 for the amphora. The amphora dates to the first half of the twelfth century BCE and was made by the lost wax casting process; its decoration was made by stamping the wax before casting the vessel, which produced figural decoration of thirty-two animals (primarily bulls and lions) and three human archers. Sheratt 2010 notes that the Cypriot vessel in which the man's bones were interred in the *heroon* was in poor condition.

[44] Popham 1994.

[45] See Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1979a and 1979b. There are five plots, in which grave clusters have been found; of these, only the Toumba cemetery contains exotic objects in any great detail: Crielaard 2006: 288-9

well as east to Cyprus and thence the Syro-Levant coast.[46] In particular, Near Eastern faience and bronze bowls, as well as Cypriot pottery were all transported to Euboea where they were deposited in the graves as exotic materials to demonstrate the deceased's connections outside the local community.[47] These exotic grave goods are further notable because they are not trinkets or mere baubles carried by happenstance, but rather significant and ostentatious luxury items that had to be purposefully imported to facilitate social relations and therefore speak to meaningful trade between Euboea and the Eastern Mediterranean.[48] Indeed, the intensity of the contacts found among the cemetery's occupants is so strong that it is unclear whether select graves have Euboean or foreign occupants: the inhabitant of Tomb 79, which dates to about 875 BCE, could reasonably be either a Euboean or a Phoenician as he was buried with an antique Northern Syrian cylinder seal (dating to c. 1800 BCE), Phoenician pottery, and a set of sixteen haemetite balance weights set to the three Phoenician standards in use.[49] Ultimately, what is important for our

[46] Crielaard 2006: 289-90. Phoenicia had only recovered from the collapse of c. 1200 BCE by the tenth century BCE, when king Hiram of Tyre united the Phoenician communities under a commercial hegemony: Aubet 2008: 250 and Kourou 2008: 39.

[47] **Near Eastern Faience**: Tomb 39 has faience vases, Tomb 22 has faience necklaces and amulettes, Tomb 45 has faience beads, and Tomb 51 has faience. Tomb 38 in particular has a concentration of faience beads, which the excavators believe comes from Syria: Popham, Touloupa, and Sackett 1982. **Near Eastern Bronze Bowls:** Tomb 70 has a decorated bronze bowl and fragments of a bronze pot, Tomb 55 has both a plain and a decorated bowl, Tomb 39 has a bronze oenochoe, Tomb 47 has a bronze bucket. **Cypriot Pottery:** Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1979a: 347-8; Popham 1994; and Nightingale 2007; Kourou 2012a: 217, n. 12 & 13 details the Cypriot and Levantine objects, respectively, at Lefkandi. There is little pottery that is imported from the East, but a Phoenician Bichrome vase and Cypriot White Painted vase and a Black-on-Red vase come from Tomb 79, as well as a bronze vase from Tomb 78, and a bronze mace-head from grave S.1. Tomb 39 has bronze wheels that are thought to be from an antique Cypriot wheeled stand: Carter 1995. Carter 1998 also identifies antique Egyptian bronze jugs in Tombs 33 and 39. For the importance of exotic, imported objects to mark status, see Crielaard 2006.

[48] Kourou 2012a: 218.

[49] See Kroll 2009 for the weights. See Popham and Lemos 1995, who identify this occupant as a Euboean warrior-trader; Papadopoulous 1997, who argues for a Phoenician (he revisits his argument in Papadopoulos 2011); and Nijboer 2008 who agrees. Coldstream 2007 suggests the presence of foreign craftsmen based on the mortuary goods of Grave 59 and Tomb 38, which demonstrate that the technique of granulation was practiced at Lefkandi. He suggests that a foreigner had settled at Lefkandi and taught this skill, which had been lost in Greece after the collapse of the Myceanean palatial systems in about 1200 BCE. For immigrant craftsmen in general, see Coldstream 1982.

purposes is not so much the ethnicity of the occupant of this tomb, but rather the fact that he had such deep connections to the Levant and Syria that it is unclear who he was.

The picture at Lefkandi of sustained early contact with Eastern mariners and traders generally differs from the wider Aegean, where scattered, small *orientalia* appear sporadically and suggest the continuation of ephemeral contact or gift-exchange.[50] The only two current exceptions to this general picture are the islands of Rhodes and Crete. Rhodes marked the eastern start to the sea route that wound up through the Cyclades and led to Euboea, so there is little surprise that the island also demonstrates early contacts with the East.[51] Similarly, Crete was used as a stopping post by traders from Cyprus and the Levant, who were sailing further west.[52] *Orientalia* are first attested in tombs in Knossos from the late tenth century BCE, and by the late ninth century BCE, Kommos had become an especially favored stopping point, thanks to its good harbor on the southern side of the island. A Phoenician presence is attested by a stele shrine and a large amount of Phoenician pottery, dating from the late ninth century or early eighth century BCE.[53] This brief survey has pinpointed three major areas where sustained and meaningful contact with mariners from the Levant occurred, and presented three different

[50] Lemos 2002: 226-7; Kourou 2012a: 217-8.

[51] Outside contact on Rhodes is also attested early, as befits its location at the western gateway of the Aegean, about 1000 BCE with imports of Cypro-Phoenician pottery I. Phoenician pottery increases over the next several centuries to such an extent that Coldstream 1969 has suggested a permanent Phoenician presence in Ialysus, possibly even a Phoenician pottery workshop. It is possible that the faience workshops on Rhodes during the eighth and seventh centuries employed Phoenician craftsmen as well – see discussion in Chapter Four. Rhodes also featured as one of Tyre's main trading partners in Ezekiel 27:15; see Triantafyllidis 2008 for Rhodes' overseas connections in the seventh century.

[52] Kourou 2012b.

[53] The North Cemetery at Knossos also had imported pottery, the majority of which came from Athens; however, twenty-nine vessels are from Cyprus and five from Phoenicia (summarized in Papadopoulos 2015: 201-3; see also Coldstream and Catling 1996). See also Coldstream 1982 and Jones 2002: 223-30 for a catalogue of overseas objects from this cemetery. Eleftherna and Knossos by the eighth century are important stops and residences for Phoenicians: see Kourou 2000 for discussion and bibliography. For the Phoenician stele shrine at Kommos, see Csapo 1991 and 1993; Hoffman 1997; Shaw 1989 & 1998; Shaw and Shaw 2000.

possible options for where the Phoenicians might have encountered the "Ionians" whom the Neo-Assyrians record.

2.4.2 Aegean trade in the Levant

While it is clear that foreign traders were active in the Aegean, the little evidence we have for early counter-directional trade comprises the pendent semi-circle (PSC) skyphos, which was especially popular and consumed in the Eastern Mediterranean. The PSC skyphos is an open drinking vessel marked by horizontal handles and a pronounced everted lip, with decoration of pendent semi-circles on the shoulders and the remainder of the body and foot generally glazed darkly. We know that this type of cup was first produced at Lefkandi, where its appearance in the Toumba cemetery and in a pit filled with wasters provides a date firmly in the late second half of the tenth century BCE.[54] This cup would remain popular for another 200 years – especially so in the Eastern Mediterranean, which allows us to roughly track overseas involvement based on the consumption and transportation of this pottery.[55]

[54] Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1979a: 285-6; Kearsley 1989: 133-4; Catling and Lemos 1990: 44-46; Lemos 2002: 44 and 2005: 53.

[55] Kearsley 1989 broke the skyphos up into six types, which she bases on the proportions and profiles of the cups and advocated for an end of the series around the end of the eighth century BCE. Her types have generally remained valid, though other types of skyphoi have been added and the chronology is still being debated. Types 1, 2, and 3 were given a more local distribution in the Cyclades and Thessaly (Kearsley 1989: 137), whereas types 4 and 5 were more widely spread throughout the Cyclades and in the Eastern Mediterranean. Her Type 6 is the most controversial as she placed its production in the Eastern Mediterranean based on it being particularly prevalent there – especially at Al Mina (Kearsley 1989: 143). Kearsley 1995: 78 reiterated this hypothesis and argued for Euboean potters creating the skyphoi on-site in Al Mina. Popham and Lemos 1992: 153-5 disagree with Kearsley, arguing for the series ending in the mid-eighth century BCE and production remaining on Euboea. NAA performed on six sherds of Kearsley's Type 6 from Al Mina have shown that 5 of them were made on Euboea, and the sixth is made from a currently unknown clay source, seemingly settling that debate: Kerschner 2014b. Additionally, more NAA was performed on another 31 sherds from Al Mina, of which seven were shown to have been imported from Euboea – see Vacek 2014 and discussion below. See also generally Tandy 1997: 62-83 and Walker 2004: 84-6 for Euboeans and trade.

These cups and other assorted Euboean-type pottery – including plates, kotylai, kraters, and amphorae – began to be consumed in the ninth century BCE at select sites in Phoenicia and Cyprus, where Tyre and Amathus were the largest consumers, while Euboean pottery on Naxos in the Cyclades attests to traders moving up and down the Cycladic sea route in and out of the Aegean.[56] In this early stage, drinking vessels and plates are particularly popular, but Euboean amphorae found at Ras el Bassit and Tyre also attest to a limited consumption of agricultural products.[57]

The eighth century BCE – when the Yamnāya first appear in Neo Assyrian records - marks the heyday for the popularity of this Euboean-type pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean and throughout the Mediterranean generally and the findspots have been mapped by Jan-Paul Descœudres (Fig. 9). During this century, the PSC skyphos continues to be the most popular type of Euboean pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean, with an increase in both the quantity of pottery consumed, as well as the geographical spread of its consumption.[58] In the Levant, Tyre remained a large consumer of Euboean pottery – especially skyphoi and plates – while the use of the skyphos spread from these initial trading hubs to encompass communities in North Syria especially, as well as in Hammath, Phoenicia, Samaria, Philistia, and Israel.[59] Interestingly, these communities appear to have primarily consumed Euboean pottery, as amphorae essentially cease to be imported and kraters remained generally unpopular in the beer-drinking culture of the

[56] Reber 2011; Kourou 2015a: 89-92. It should be noted, however, that the presence of Greek amphorae in the Eastern Mediterranean predates the appearance of these skyphoi and suggests that trade can be pushed back a bit further to the tenth century BCE: Lemos 2005: 54.
[57] See table Eight in Luke 2003: 32-5.
[58] Interestingly, a PSC skyphos fragment was also dedicated at Nineveh in the temple of Nabu: Thompson and Hutchinson 1929: 137.
[59] Sørenson 1997: 288; Luke 2003: 31-44; and Tables Two and Three in Descœdres 2006: 11-4, Tables 2 & 3.

Levant, appearing at a limited number of sites in the Levant, such as Al Mina and Amathus.[60] Indeed, of all of the findspots of Euboean pottery in the Levant, Al Mina deserves special mention as constituting a category in and of itself. The site is currently thought to be a trading hub under the control of the local kingdom of Unqi.[61] Here, the largest concentration of PSC skyphoi and Euboean pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean has been found, eclipsing all of the other findspots with almost 1400 unique vessels represented in either partial or complete form.[62] During the eighth century BCE, especially, Al Mina particularly consumed Euboean pottery – over a hundred drinking cups, kraters, and amphorae, among other shapes, were found in the period dating from 750-700 BCE alone.[63]

On Cyprus, Euboean-style pottery was particularly popular between the years 750-700 BCE, which has been linked to the rise of the Cypriot kings and their deployment of *exotica* to reinforce their rule, and Euboean pottery is found in almost every major coastal community.[64] This is relatively unsurprising considering Cyprus' – and especially Amathus' – position as a primary stop for traders moving east and west across the Mediterranean, which accounts for the high and sustained concentration of these Aegean cup shapes found there. Overall, the pottery profiles in the Eastern Mediterranean speak to select preferences on the part of the inhabitants

[60] Luke 2003: 53-5. For beer in the Eastern Mediterranean generally, see Homan 2004 and Hornsey 2003: 75-116.
[61] Kearsley 1995; Luke 2003: 11-12 & 21-2; Vacek 2014: 44-5. It has long been debated as to whether Al Mina was a Greek enclave or just a ferocious consumer of Greek imports. Debate seems to have leaned towards the latter, and the very limited range of Greek pottery shapes (95% comprise vessels related to the symposium) rather than an entire repertoire of Greek shapes supports this interpretation. See Descœdres 2002 for an overview of the scholarship and arguments for both sides as well as Waldbaum 1997.
[62] See Boardman 1999a: 40-2 and 1999b; Kearsley 1995: 79-80 & 1999: 111; Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1979a: 8.
[63] Kearsley 1989; Descœdres 2002: 56-7; Luke 2003, Charalambidou 2011; Vacek 2014: 49-50.
[64] Amathus stays a major consumer of drinking vessels and kraters, but Marion, Kouklia, Kourion, Kition, Salamis, and Agia Theodoros have all produced Euboean pottery – primarily skyphoi – in limited form: Sørenson 1997.

that dictated the pottery consumed and must have caused the rise of export-focused production of these select types in the Aegean.[65]

Finally, it should be noted that Euboean pottery becomes popular in the Cyclades over the course of the eighth century BCE as well, no doubt in part thanks to its location among the primary trade routes up to Euboea. Of note are the drinking cups dedicated at Delos as the sanctuary becomes more important in the Aegean trading networks, the consumption and production of pottery at Zagora, and at Naxos, where the cups were buried in graves.[66] Overall, the overwhelming preference of Eastern Mediterranean populations for Euboean-type pottery, especially the PSC skyphos, has previously suggested that people from this island might have carried these pieces abroad and therefore they are the ones whom the Neo-Assyrians consistently call "Ionians."

2.4.3 Enter the Anatolians

These developments of Early Iron Age trade with the Eastern Mediterranean are a known phenomenon and have been well studied and discussed over the years. What is new, however, is a number of these PSC skyphoi have recently undergone Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) to determine their precise origins and correlate them with known clay beds in Euboea and

[65] Luke 2003: 56 & 58. The Euboean plate is quite rare on Euboea itself, but Tyre has produced over twenty examples of it, and they are also found at Tell Rachidieh, Samaris, and Tell el-Bassit. Luke notes that plates were an important part of Phoenician dining culture and show up in local fabrics as well, which suggests that Euboea was creating plates for export but not using them locally; likely, the skyphos performed double duty in terms of eating and drinking.

[66] Whereas Naxos was previously the only consumer of Euboean-style pottery, suddenly in the eighth century BCE, Euboean drinking cups expanded throughout the Cyclades, especially Delos and Zagora, where over fifty drinking cups have been found. The presence of Euboean pottery in graves on Naxos during this time period can attest to traders moving these goods along the main sea routes out of the Aegean (which goes through the Cyclades): see Reber 2011 for Naxos and Cambitoglou 1988 for Zagora.

elsewhere.[67] The study has produced some interesting and surprising results: NAA has proven that Euboea alone did not produce these skyphoi, but also the Anatolian communities of Clazomenae, Cyme, and Ephesus, where major concentrations have been found.[68] While it is clear that Euboea produced these skyphoi first in the tenth century BCE, Anatolia did not follow far behind in adopting this cup and producing it for its own needs, demonstrating a network between Euboea and the central portion of the western Anatolian littoral from early on, by the ninth century BCE at least.[69]

Further, this discovery challenges us to re-question our assumptions that the pottery that reached the Eastern Mediterranean was entirely Euboean or that it was carried primarily by traders from this island.[70] At present, the only PSC skyphoi sherds from the Levant that have undergone NAA are from Al Mina – the total for that assemblage comprises 37 sherds. Of these, only thirteen are from Euboea, which suggests that there were a variety of places creating

[67] See the various articles in Kerschner and Lemos 2014.

[68] Kerschner 2014a catalogues the pieces from Ephesus and Clazomenae. For Cyme, see Frasca 1993; Frasca 1998 & 2000. For Clazomenae, see Aytaçlar 2004; Ersoy 2004: 54 & 2007: 44-7; Kerschner 2014a: 119; see also Ersoy 2003. Clarus also has three: Sahin 2014. There have been nine skyphoi excavated from Ephesus, four from the Artemision, and five from the early settlement on the Ayasoluk Hill. Eight of the nine skyphoi thus far found at Ephesus were subjected to NAA; surprisingly, none of them come from Euboea. Instead, four different signatures – representing four different clay beds – were detected, of which three are new. The known clay bed has been tentatively localized to Cyme, where so many of the skyphoi have been found. The other three signatures have been tentatively assigned to Ephesus because they match the signatures of other pottery that has also been found predominantly in Ephesus: Kerschner 2014a: 112-5; Lemos 2002. A scattering of this type of PSC skyphoi has been found throughout Western Anatolia, ranging from the Troad, down through Ionia and into Doris, with most sites having one or two examples; NAA on these pieces is needed to determine where they were made.

[69] The earliest fragments shown to have been produced in Anatolia include two fragments from Ephesus that Kerschner 2014: 110-12 dates to the LPG-SPG II period. Clazomenae also has LPG skyphoi. The earliest skyphoi from Ephesus dates to the PG/SPG period and come from Euboea – Kerschner 2014a: 118. The connection with Euboea weakens in the MG and is essentially gone – ceramically at least – by the LG period.

[70] So, e.g. Boardman 1999a: 40-2. Interestingly, the famous Nestor Cup from Pithecussae has now been proven to be a product of Teian bird kotyle workshops thanks to NAA: Kerschner 2014a: 109, n. 7.

Euboean-type pottery.[71] While the results of the other sherds have yet to be published, we should consider the possibility that some of the production centers in Anatolia could have also supplied these PSC skyphoi to Eastern consumers, and that Aegean traders included Euboeans, Western Anatolians, and Cycladic inhabitants – at the very least.[72] Indeed, the production in Clazomenae in the eighth century BCE of Kearsley's Type 4 cup, which was widely exported, might lend support to this theory.[73]

Allowing for Anatolian involvement in economic spheres of exchange and barter would explain the startlingly sudden appearance of what has typically been called "East Greek" pottery after the disappearance of the PSC skyphos around 700 BCE, namely pottery that is made from clay beds located along the western Anatolian littoral, with iconographies and styles that can sometimes be marked out as specific to this area, such as Wild Goat Style.[74] This change from Euboean-type pottery to East Greek pottery is most dramatically apparent at Al Mina where the

[71] Six underwent NAA in 2005 (see Kerschner 2014b), and another thirty-one underwent NAA later. Vacek 2014 is the publication of the other seven Euboean sherds, and he will publish the remaining sherds shortly.

[72] Desborough 1977; Lemos 1996, 1998 and 2002: 76-7 & 212-7. The sea plays a critical role in creating this ceramic network and facilitating trade and communication, with sea routes that were navigable year-round existing between the islands of Euboea, Andros, Tinos, and Ionia: Papageorgiou 2008a. This open sea route allowed for continual interaction, communication, and the exchange of ideas between these regions; it is therefore not surprising that PSC skyphoi production centers existed throughout this area. Finally, it should be noted that Papadopoulos challenged us to decouple the Euboeans and a monopoly on early trade in his 1997 article and again in 2011.

[73] See Appendix One in Kerschner 2014a.

[74] The reason for this disappearance of pottery across the Eastern Mediterranean after the eighth century BCE is not yet understood, but could be due to changing practices of consumption abroad or internal events on Euboea. The ephemeral Lelantine War has been proposed, which pitted the communities of Chalcis and Eretria (and their assorted allies) against each other. See the discussion of this war in the ancient sources Thuc. 1.15.3, Hdt. 5.99, and Str. 10.1.12, as well as synthetic discussions and analyses in Tausend 1987; Parker 1997: 11-24; Crielaard 2002; and Hall 2014a: 1-8. For an overview of the archaeological evidence for this war, see Charalambidou 2011. For a new classification system for East Greek Pottery (which overhauls our earlier labels and allows for greater precision in the typification of manufacturing places), see Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005. For East Greek Pottery overall, Cook and Dupont 1998's survey is still perhaps the most comprehensive, but an updated survey of the pottery is a *desideratum*. See also Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005, which provides a new typification for East Greek pottery.

quantity and diversity of East Greek pottery overtakes the Euboean imports by 670 BCE and remains high for decades thereafter.[75] East Greek pottery was also consumed at a limited number of communities in the Levant such as Ras el Bassit and Ashkelon, as well as more broadly in the Eastern Mediterranean on Cyprus – at Amathus and Salamis especially – as well as in Tarsus and Egypt at Naucratis.[76] Indeed, Neutron Activation Analysis has allowed archaeologists to triangulate East Greek pottery production centers in Ionia itself. We know that in the seventh century BCE – at the height of Ionian pottery dominance – Chios, Teos, Clazomenae, and Miletus were producing standardized pottery on a large scale that was aimed for the export market.[77] Further communities, including Samos, Aeolian Cyme, Dorian Cos, Rhodes, and Cnidus appear to have exported pottery on a limited scale.[78] These communities can account for the majority of East Greek finewares that have been found in the greater Aegean, as well as along the Black Sea, and speak to the thriving industry that a deep investment in overseas trade engendered.[79]

East Greek pottery and amphorae consumption appears at about the same time in the Aegean – especially in the north – confirming Ionia's sudden and deep investment within the

[75] The existence of small percentages of East Greek pottery at Al Mina during the eighth century BCE, however, demonstrates a limited interest in these wares: Vacek 2012: 285-91 and 2017: 49-54.
[76] Cyprus: Gjerstad and Calvet 1977; Sørenson 1997: 290-1; Tarsus: Plates 98.1448 & 145.1386 in Hanfmann 1963; Ashkelon: Waldbaum 2011; See also Fantalkin 2006: 201 for a discussion of this period overall. For Naucratis, see further discussion in Chapters Three, Four, and Five.
[77] While these production centers need more study, it is clear that at least in the Milesian pottery industry, there was a standardization in decoration and pottery type that was meant to speed up production. So, e.g. the bodies of the goats and other animals were stretched so as to lessen the number of animals that needed to be painted. Oinochoae were the most prominent pottery type made in and exported from Miletus: see Kerschner 2017: 109-110. Ionian cups were also made extensively in Miletus - see Schlotzhauer 2000, 2001, and 2012. Teos especially, but also Clazomenae seemed to have specialized in bird kotylai from about 700-650 BCE and thereafter bird bowls from 650-600 BCE. By 600 BCE, Teos had begun producing pottery in the north Ionian Wild Goat style, which was exported in the sixth century BCE: see Kerschner and Mommsen 2009a: 86-7 and 2009 b: 136-9; Schlotzhauer 2012: 38-43; and Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006: 65-7.
[78] Kerschner and Mommsen 2009b; Posamentir and Solovoy 2006 and 2007; Schlotzhauer 2012: 37-59; Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006.
[79] Kerschner 2017: 108-112.

trading sphere around 700 BCE.[80] A number of sites especially in the Chalcidice have East Greek pottery, including Torone, Therme, Thasos, and Sane.[81] The recent finds at Methone in Macedonian Pieria in particular underscore the deep involvement of Ionia specifically and western Anatolia generally in trade by the end of the eighth century BCE. A recent "ypogeio" – or underground storage "basement" – contained a vast quantity of pottery from this period.[82] While the finds are still being published, a large amount of East Greek pottery was found here, including bird oenochoae and kotylai.[83] Further, trade in agricultural goods at Methone is also attested by a variety of Milesian, Samian, and Chian amphorae from about 700 BCE.[84] These amphorae as well as amphorae from Lesbos demonstrate the deep involvement of Western Anatolia within the trading spheres of the Aegean by the beginning of the seventh century BCE.[85]

At present, then, the evidence suggests that Euboea and its environs was where the first *sustained*, direct contact with the Phoenicians occurred as evidenced not just in the grave goods at Lefkandi, but later evidence for Phoenician activity in Euboean sanctuaries.[86] The presence of

[80] It is likely that the Chalcidice was specifically targeted because of its abundant metal and timber resources: Papadapoulos 1996: 171-5 and Hammond and Griffith 1979: 173.
[81] See Tiverios 2008 for an exhaustive overview of the entire area of the North Aegean. For Torone, see Paspalas 2001: 313, fig. 51; for Therme, see Tsiafaki 2000; for Thasos, see Grandjean and Salviat 2000: 283-5; for Sane, see Vokotopoulou 1993a, figs. 34-5, 38-40, 223 and cf. Rhomiopoulou 1978: 65, figs. 3-7.
[82] For the ypogeio publication, see Tzifopoulos 2012.
[83] Kotsonas et al. 2017
[84] Testing on several of the Chian amphorae suggested that a variety of products were carried in them, as fatty acids could suggest either plant or animal oils, whereas the Lesbian amphorae had resin in them, suggesting they carried wine – see Kotsonas et al. 2017: 10-3. For these amphorae marks, including the first example of Samian dipini, see Johnston 2017: 125. For Chian amphorae findspots in the Archaic period more generally – including the Black Sea, Italy and Sicily, Egypt, Cyprus, and the Greek mainland – see Lawall 1998 with accompanying bibliography.
[85] These amphorae come from phases I-III in the ypogeio.
[86] If the occupant of Tomb 79 in Lefkandi has been interpreted correctly as Phoenician, this would coincide with the earliest known sherds with Phoenician script, found on Eretria: Crielaard 1993: 140-1 and 1996; Popham and Lemos 1996; Lemos and Mitchell 2011; Luraghi 2006: 36-8. A locally-made MG cup (c. 850-750 BCE) was found in the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria and "KPLŠ" was inscribed

PSC skyphoi and other related Aegean pottery in the Levant and on Cyprus during the ninth and eighth centuries BCE speaks to the consumption of and demand for these cups by the people of the Eastern Mediterranean. This demand would have been met by a variety of mariners, who would have transported these cups overseas from production facilities located not just in Euboea, but also in Anatolia and possibly even the Cyclades, and were called "Ionians" by the populations of the Eastern Mediterranean.[87] The Phoenicians adapted this name – of all the various names that the people who would become the Greeks called themselves during this time – and used it as a blanket term to refer to all inhabitants of the Aegean. The archaeological evidence suggests that most of these early contacts were in the context of trade, and we thus suggest that this also gave the "Ionian" name an initial commercial meaning, thereby turning it into a moniker of sorts.

2.5 Towards the Development of a Stereotype?

2.5.1 The Phoenicians in Greek Thought

This section seeks to support the above supposition that the term "Ionian" initially had an economic element to it, specifically referencing Aegean traders and their goods. Unfortunately, there are no records of what the Phoenicians thought of the Greeks, so we must try another way: we will flip the question and ask what the Phoenician moniker – which similarly described foreign traders, mariners, and raiders – meant to the Greeks by using the Homeric epics, our only

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retrograde in the West Semitic alphabet: Kenzelmann, Theruillat, and Verdan 2005: 76-77, n. 66, and Bourogiannis 2015: 159-61. The horse blinker from this temple, discussed in Chapter Three, is inscribed in Aramaic and references the Aramean king, Hazael (reigned 843-796 BCE): see Charbonnet 1986; Bron and Lemaire 1989.

[87] It is important to remember that Haider 2008a and 2008b placed the Egyptian toponym "Ionia" in north-central mainland Greece, though the evidence is currently too obscure to verify this. That the Neo-Assyrian Yamnāya were initially the Euboeans is not a new hypothesis, but was first put forth by Burkert 1992: 12-13 and 1998: 69; see also Bremmer 1997: 10-11. Ion – the eponymous ancestor of the Ionians – had some later faint connections to Euboea, as detailed previously in Chapter One, Footnote 15.

roughly contemporary source for this early period. This means that this section will argue by analogy, which is admittedly problematic. However, there are several loose parallels between the Phoenicians in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the Yamnāya in the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Hebrew Bible sources that suggest this analogy might be helpful. Both "Phoenicians" and "Ionians" acted as blanket terms for a multitude of foreigners, white-washing what was surely a diverse group of people into one monolithic social entity.[88] Indeed, the Neo-Assyrian descriptions of the Yamnāya as well as the Phoenicians of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have no true ethnic indicia ascribed to them, such as language or customs, which betrays no more than a cursory understanding of these social groups. Further, there is no particular evidence on either side that these two groups consistently interacted with each other in spheres other than commerce and maritime endeavors. Thus, we are tentatively optimistic that this analogy shall be productive.

Within the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the Phoenicians – an etic name applied by the Greeks – appear entirely as a stock entity, despite being a disparate population that lived in a variety of city-states. This monolithic entity is even more remarkable when one remembers that the city-state or patronymic was the primary identifier for these Levantine inhabitants, yet only one of these, Sidon, is referenced in the epics.[89] We will examine both terms and their occurrences and

[88] It is possible that this Yaman moniker also meant that the Yamnāya spoke a language that was not Semitic or Akkadian. These traders' incomprehensible Greek tongue would have been one of the most identifiable attributes to any inhabitant of the Levant. Surely, the first interactions between Phoenicians and Greeks must have been marked by confusion, misunderstanding, and incomprehension, though a pidgin language must have been quickly established. In the Homeric epics, distant lands are consistently characterized as speaking another tongue, including Phoenicia itself (*Od.* 15.453) and Egypt (*Od.* 3.303). Distant lands also are expressed in terms of different languages, so that Odysseus' travels take him among men of different speech (*Od*. 14.43), and traders are characterized as men who sail over the sea to men of different speech (*Od*. 1.183). It is also telling that the later author Dio Chrysostom claims that after the Scythians destroyed Olbia/Borysthenes, thereafter they allowed the Greeks to recolonize the *polis* because they needed to communicate with them in Greek (the lingua franca) to trade (Dio. Chrys. 36.4-5).

[89] See Frankenstein 1979: 288, Xella 1995: 246 & 249; Niemeyer 2000: 93, Beyl 2013: 260-1 for civic identification, and Bordreuil and Ferjaoui 1988: 137-9 for patronymic identification.

meanings in the epics to argue that the term "Phoenicians" signified a social group that was embedded in the trading sphere – a group identity that white-washed all the various ships and ships' crews to emphasize their economic qualities and therefore carried a "branding" connotation of sorts.

The Phoenicians appear only once and the Sidonians twice in the *Iliad* in two short decorative asides that illuminate the history of select imported, elite items. The Sidonians, both times, are portrayed in a rather nondescript way as the makers of high-status goods: they made a silver krater, offered by Achilles at Patroclus' funeral games, that was transported overseas by the Phoenicians, as well as clothing that had been procured by Paris in Sidon and was so fine it was kept in the treasury at Troy.[90]

The *Odyssey*, by contrast, presents a more in-depth picture of the Phoenicians and Sidonians. The Phoenicians are shown almost exclusively as maritime sailors and traders – travelling around the Mediterranean and stopping at ports for lengthy periods of time to sell their wares or pick up new goods to trade or passengers to transport before moving on to new destinations.[91] The Phoenicians first appear in one of Odysseus' fabrications: he states to a disguised Athena that he arrived on Ithaca purely by chance, as he had taken passage on a Phoenician ship that was blown terribly off course by a sudden squall. The Phoenicians, instead of taking advantage of the exhausted and unconscious Odysseus, merely unload his belongings and leave. Odysseus goes out of his way to note that there was no guile or deception in these Phoenicians.[92]

[90] The silver bowl was made by Sidonian men (*Il*.23.739-45); the clothing made by Sidonian women (*Il*. 6.288-95).
[91] *Od*. 15. 455-7
[92] *Od*. 13.256-86

Two longer dialogues in later books of the *Odyssey* both highlight the loathsome character of these people. Odysseus fabricates a story to Eumaeus, his swineherd slave, about how he came to Ithaca. He claims that he had met a Phoenician trader in Egypt and accompanied this trader back to his home in Phoenicia, staying with him for a year before setting out on another trading venture. The Phoenician, Odysseus explains, had promised to return him to Crete, but instead planned to sell him and would have succeeded except for a Zeus-sent storm that sank the ship.[93] Eumaeus, after a lengthy digression, sympathizes with Odysseus's plight by relating how he came to be a swineherd in Ithaca. He was initially born on the island of Syria and had a Phoenician nursemaid. When a ship of Phoenician traders arrived, one of them seduced his nursemaid and promised to take her back to Phoenicia. After a year of trading in Syria – a commonsense measure that would allow word of their presence to diffuse throughout the area, attract the largest number of people, and enable the offloading of the greatest amount of cargo – the Phoenicians took both the nursemaid and Eumaeus on board.[94] Upon the untimely death of the nursemaid, the Phoenicians sold Eumaeus to Laertes, the king of Ithaca.

When we take stock of the portrayal of the Phoenicians, it is instantly obvious that they are one-dimensional characters, reduced from the multiform and multicultural population living in a plethora of communities in the Levant and on Cyprus to one homogenous ethnic entity that engages in trade, transport, and slavery within the Greek mind.[95] Their overwhelming trait is

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[93] *Od*. 14.287-315. Because he violated the terms of *xenia*, he is described in the worst of terms:
δὴ τότε Φοῖνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ ἀπατήλια εἰδώς,
τρώκτης, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει (*Od*. 14.288-9)

[94] *Od*. 15.415-84.

[95] While the Phoenicians are castigated for engaging in slavery, trickery, treachery, and kidnapping in the epics, it is precisely these things that the Greeks engage in as well – even Odysseus! This, in itself, suggests that it was not the acts themselves that gave the Phoenicians such negative connotations – even if they ring as such to our modern ears. Winter 1995: 258-62 suggested that, in part, the Phoenicians are a literary trope – simplified for the purposes of the text and performance – and in part reflect historical interaction and activity in the Aegean between these Phoenicians and the Greeks. See also Sommer 2010:

their skill in maritime endeavors – they are ναυσικλύτοι – and consequent involvement in overseas trade, where they are either negatively described as τρώκτης and ἀπατήλιος εἰδώς, or positively described as ἀγαυοί.[96] This overwhelming association of the Phoenicians with trade, sailing, and movement strongly suggests that the name was partially grounded in this sphere – indeed, the historical Aegean Greeks would have first experienced the Phoenicians as traders and mariners – and I argue that the trope of the Phoenicians is one that served partially as a type of "brand name" or moniker.

There are several points to support this interpretation. The first is that the epics reflect a process in the Greek mindset of the "becoming" of the Phoenicians that has not been generally recognized up to now.[97] If we take the treatment of the Sidonians and the treatment of the Phoenicians as separate, we can see that the Sidonians were initially differentiated from the Phoenicians in the *Iliad*, but were beginning to be grouped with the Phoenicians in the *Odyssey*, suggesting that the process of becoming "Phoenician" – in the Greek mindset – was an agglutinative one. Indeed, in the *Iliad*, the Sidonians and the Phoenicians do not overlap; the former are depicted as an elite people that partake in the proper *xenia* network – making precious goods that function as gifts – whereas the latter are depicted as mariners who move products, including Sidonian ones. Within the *Odyssey*, the Sidonians are at times separate from and at times grouped with the Phoenicians. When the Sidonians are treated as a separate entity, they are still fully embedded in the *xenia* sphere that exists in the epics: Menelaus gifts to Telemachus an ornate gold-chased silver bowl, which was itself wrought by Hephaestus and a gift given to

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118 for Greek/Phoenician interactions as well as Sheratt 2010: 122-4, who suggests that this jumbled picture of the Phoenicians is due to the conglomeration of multiple opinions and attitudes towards these people. Gruen 2011: 117 believes there is no evidence in the epics themselves to support the view that the Greeks held universally negative views of the Phoenicians.

[96] Frankenstein 1979: 288; Winter 1995; Dougherty 2001: 111-21.

[97] Though see Xella 2014.

him from the king of Sidon.[98] However, when they are conflated with the Phoenicians, they are not a part of this world: the Phoenician sailors who transported Odysseus in his fable were from Sidon. They were good people and set him down with his goods and life intact.[99] The Phoenicians here are neither devious nor dishonorable, but merely transporters. The second time these two groups of people are conflated happens in Eumaeus' story of how he became a slave on Ithaka. His nursemaid was the daughter of a wealthy Sidonian father before being reduced to bondage; though raised in the upper echelons of Sidonian society and therefore likely elite, she clearly broke this social code by kidnapping her young charge – intending to sell him into slavery in turn.[100] Admittedly, the sample size is small; however, these vignettes in the Homeric epics suggest that the Sidonians and Phoenicians were initially thought to have been separate entities, and only later were the Sidonians gathered under the larger "Phoenician" umbrella, an agglutinative process of the Greeks making sense out of the myriad people of the Levant. Interestingly, traders from Tyre or Arwad – two of the largest Phoenician polities during the Early Iron Age – are not mentioned, despite their undoubted activity in the Aegean.

The "Phoenician" moniker, then, served as a blanket term to designate a Levantine people skilled in maritime endeavors and with consequent involvement in overseas trade. On the

[98] *Od*. 4.614-9. This division between the Sidonians and the Phoenicians also appears in an earlier section of Book Four when Menelaus relates the harrowing return home from Troy, a journey that took him to numerous lands, including Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt, and Libya (representing the farthest eastern and southern geographical points in the Mediterranean basin), and numerous people, including the Ethiopians, Sidonians, and Erembi. That Menelaus differentiates here between the land of Phoenicia and the Sidonian people again suggests that he thought of them as separate (*Od*. 4.78-85). Indeed, *xenia* ties might be more deeply tied to the trading sphere than an initial glance implies: Bang 2016: 80-2 has thoughtfully attempted to understand the nitty-gritty of trade and its mechanics, as well as traders' strategies for offsetting unpredictability and instability within markets and fluctuating prices. He argues that established interpersonal relationships would have helped establish secure clients and buyers, which is perhaps one aspect of *xenia* ties in the Iron Age Mediterranean.

[99] *Od*. 13.256-86

[100] *Od*. 15. 425. One can hardly blame her for taking Eumaeus, and it is possible that the bonds of *xenia* did not apply to her considering her status as a female slave. These passages constitute the only evidence that the Greeks knew the Sidonians were also Phoenicians until the mid-fifth century BCE when Herodotus explicitly says so (Hdt. 2.116).

one hand, this limited description fits the narrative requirements of the poems, but on the other hand, this overwhelming association of the Phoenicians with trade and sailing suggests that the trope served in part as a type of branding. Indeed, the etic term "Phoenician" – meaning simply purple – is an odd name, even if it was one given by the Greeks. The traditional explanation is that this "colorful" name was derived from the purple dye industry that was manufactured from Murex shells. However, it is unclear why a dye industry that developed throughout the Aegean was focused especially upon the inhabitants of the Levant, nor is there an entirely clear link between this dye industry and the term.[101] A more elegant solution to the meaning of "Phoenician" could be that the term arose because of the goods they bartered.[102] We can expand the term to reference not just any purple textiles that were dyed in the Levant, but also the Phoenician wine that was produced for export at least by the eighth century BCE and has been found in abundance in select shipwrecks.[103] The term can also refer to any silver trade objects or *xenia* gifts. Silver can acquire a silver chloride tarnish in the presence of salt water or if the silver is alloyed with copper, and this particular compound causes the metal to tarnish purple. One can easily imagine silver objects sitting in the hold of a ship for a lengthy sea crossing developing a purple sheen to them.[104] If the etic Phoenician name functioned as a moniker that had economic overtones, as argued here, then the "Phoenicians" refers to a people that spoke West Semitic, lived in the Levant, and also peddled goods not easily acquired – and therefore

[101] The term po-ni-ki-ya appears in Mycenaean texts, but it cannot be securely connected to the purple dye industry either via the Ugarit term pwt or the Mycenaean term for purple, which is either po-pu-re-ia (purple) or wa-na-ka-te-ro po-pu-re-[] (royal purple) – see Stieglizt 1994: 52.
[102] Moscati 1968: 3-4; Aubet 1993: 5-11; Bikai 1994: 31 argue that the Phoenicians called themselves Canaanites. Quinn 2018: 30-7, however, notes the Canaanite name is rarely attested and when it is, it is problematic and carries not ethnic but geographical overtones. See also Sheratt 2010: 124-5 for Phoenicians as traders.
[103] The *Tanit* and *Elissa* shipwrecks sank around 750 BCE and demonstrate the robust trade in Phoenician wine during this time. Both wrecks' holds were filled with torpedo-shaped Phoenician amphorae that were almost entirely homogenous in make and shape, conforming to purpose-built maritime amphorae.
[104] I am grateful to Dr. Caitlin O'Grady for discussing this with me.

highly desirable – in Greece.[105] Indeed, the Phoenicians might have facilitated the use of this name because it supported and even encouraged trade with its preconceptions and expectations that benefitted any individual ship trading in the Aegean, though they did not themselves ascribe to the name.[106]

2.5.2 The Greeks in Phoenician Thought and the Migration of Ionia

We propose that in the same way that the Greeks came to conceive of and conceptualize the Phoenicians as a relatively homogenous ethnic group – primarily traders – so too did the Phoenicians conceptualize and conceive of the "Ionians." Again, the evidence shows that the name "Ionia" was transmitted to the Phoenicians at some point before 740 BCE and was then subsumed as the term "Yamnāya." Indeed, perhaps this Phoenician adoption of this term to mean "Greek" was helped by the homophonic concordance of "Ionian" with the West Semitic prefix ʾî, meaning "island," that so handily described the fragmented geography of the Aegean.[107] The Neo-Assyrians, thereafter, once they had conquered and provincialized much of the Levant by 720 BCE, picked up this term to describe these Aegean mariners – whether Euboeans, Anatolians, Cycladic people, or otherwise – who lived somewhere beyond the reaches of the known Assyrian world.[108]

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[105] The Phoenicians in the epics are said to peddle *athurmata* – little babbles (*Od*. 15.416), but the example of one of these *athurmata* in the epic – a gold and amber necklace – was in fact a precious and exotic gift. Amber comes from the Baltic and therefore represents material coming from beyond the reaches of the Greek world.

[106] Quinn 2018: 3-24 has argued that the conception of "the Phoenicians" as a people is in large part an invention of the twentieth century thanks to the new nation-state of Lebanon needing to create an ancient identity, which was fundamentally tied to the land.

[107] This concordance was initially applied to Cyprus (Iadnana = Island of the Danaoi), when Luckenbill 1914 argued that it meant "Island of the Danaans," though Albright 1950: 172 noticed this homophonic concordance for Ionians, and he was followed by Astour 1967: 49-50. Since then, it seems to have been largely forgotten.

[108] Muhly 2009 argues that the Aeolic spelling of Ιάονες in the *Iliad* – the earliest attestation of "Ionians" in Greek in the first millennium BCE – can be broken down into a combination of the West Semitic prefix

Certainly, as has been argued, it is erroneous to imagine that all of the Greek traders in the East came exclusively from "Ionian" areas, or even that these traders "flew the flag" – ethnically at least. Indeed, Michael Dietler has argued that ships' crews during this period were certainly not ethnically homogenous: the mixed skill set required of various seafaring jobs would require people from numerous backgrounds, and captains could ill afford to be particular when appointing or replacing members, especially on long-term voyages. Further, mariners' proclivity during this period for kidnapping and raiding would have brought a variety of people on board.[109] Having such a blanket term for these traders and pirates would have worked as convenient "branding" for these Greek traders. Indeed, it would be eminently reasonable for these Aegean ships and crews to subsume the Yamnāya moniker while in the East, where it functioned as a convenient group identity that ensured their success in peddling their goods.

Support for this supposition can be found in the geographical homelands of the Ionians – namely the Cyclades, Euboea, Attica, and the central portion of western Anatolia. Historically, this geographical swath has been seen as supporting the narrative of the Ionian Migration, wherein the Ionians travelled *en masse* from the mainland – and primarily Athens – through the islands to colonize Central Western Asia Minor. Reinterpreting this geographical swath to reflect the extent of the primary sea routes in and out of the Aegean, as well as across the Aegean from east to west – which linked the northernmost islands of the Cyclades and Euboea to Chios

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'î- and the Indo-European gentilic suffix -wanni-(Luwian)/-wana (Hieroglyphic Luwian)/-umma (Hittite). This breakdown would therefore give us a translation of "the island people," a name he believes the Luwians would have applied to the people coming from Cyprus, which was itself called Yadnana at the time. For this to be true, however, it would require this name to transfer back from Luwian-speaking southern Anatolia to the Levantine coast and thence to the Neo-Assyrians before there is attested evidence of the Neo-Assyrian involvement in southern Anatolia, which appears to be in the reign of Sennacherib. It is also an uncomfortable grafting of a Luwian gentilic to a West Semitic prefix, a rare event on the ancient Levantine coast.

[109] Dietler and Lopez-Ruiz 2009: 302-303; Dietler 2010: 138-145.

and Samos – fits this geographical pattern much better (Fig. 10).[110] This concordance strongly suggests that mariners moving along these sea routes played a role in the development of the "Ionian" name and helped "migrate" the term by circulating it, and giving the "Ionian" name commercial overtones provides just this motivational impetus to circulate this name (by both Phoenician as well as Aegean mariners), as it would have facilitated trade, interaction, economic entanglements, and the sharing and privileging of ideas and thoughts throughout this geographical area. This, we argue, accounts for the migration of "Ionia" in the first half of the first millennium – not a migration of a specific people, but of a name carried on the sea currents by a variety of mariners sailing through the Aegean, which would eventually become the Ionian ethnic.[111]

2.6 Who were the Yaman?

2.6.1 The Nature of Archaic Trade

I have argued thus far that during the Early Iron Age, the inhabitants of the Levant came into contact with and began calling inhabitants of the Aegean "Ionians," and that the term was initially a flexible moniker. This final section will first attempt to shed light on the nature of trade and the traders during the Early Iron Age in order to understand the people to whom the name would have been initially applied. Thereafter, we shall track the proliferation of mercenaries in the Eastern Mediterranean to show how the name "Ionian" eventually expanded

[110] Papageorgiou 2008a: 10-11 & 2008b: 209-212. We have testimony that the ancients did not venture on the seas during the winter sailing season from as early as Hesiod (*WD* 663-9). Beresford 2013: 9-22, however, has made a compelling case that at least by the Classical period the sailing season generally lasted from March through to the late fall.

[111] Finally, this idea that the Yaman were a disparate group accords well with Jonathan Hall's observation that the accentuation of Ἴωνες is odd. One would expect the accent to be on the penultimate rather than the antepenultimate syllable. Hall argues that the accent can be explained if we consider Ἴωνες as having derived from Παν́ωνες. Then, we would have Ἴωνες as a subset of a larger greater group that itself consisted of a multitude of (probably different) people: Hall 2002: 70-1.

to designate new social groups – both vertically and horizontally across the social spectrum. This is important because without the broader application of the Ionian name to a large swath of people, there would be no opportunity for the name to crystallize as a group identity and it would remain a designator of a very specific and small subset of the population.

Our primary evidence for the nature of trade and its actors during this time comes from shipwrecks that date from the first quarter of the first millennium BCE.[112] There are four shipwrecks that date to the mid-eighth century BCE, the time when the PSC skyphoi were being circulated around the eastern Mediterranean and the Yamnāya first appear in Neo-Assyrian records. Two of these wrecks – the *Tanit* and *Elissa* – have been found in open water, more than thirty nautical miles from the shore and on a course that stretched between Ashkelon and Egypt. They are located proximate to each other and both sank around the same time – in the mid-eighth century BCE. Both ships' holds were filled with torpedo-shaped Phoenician amphorae that were almost entirely homogenous in make and shape, conforming to purpose-built maritime amphorae that are found in a very limited distribution in the Levant.[113] The evidence from these two wrecks indicates that both ships carried a fairly homogenous cargo of wine – probably from the Levant and probably made, or at least decanted, in one place.[114] Importantly, because of their depth and consequent undisturbed state, the ships' sizes could be ascertained with relative

[112] Fifty-three shipwrecks have recently been found at Fourni – located immediately west of Samos and spanning from the Archaic period to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, testifying to the long-lived nature of these sea routes. http://www.haaretz.com/archaeology/1.801529

[113] The *Tanit* had 385 visible amphorae and the *Elissa* had 396 – though this number comprises only the top two levels of amphorae. The standard deviation of the amphorae was two centimeters in height and one in width, with a carrying capacity of 17.8 liters of liquid: Ballard et al. 2002: 158-60.

[114] Though the extreme depths of these two wrecks limited the pottery that could be recovered, the amphorae that were raised and tested had pine pitch on their interior and tested positive for tartaric acid, which is heavily present in grapes and grape products: Ballard et al. 2002: 160-1. Wine is known from this region: Ezekiel 27:19. The ships also carried small amounts of metal, timber, wool, and potter's clay: Stager 2003: 39.

certainty. They are approximately the same size at about six meters wide and fourteen meters long, with a carrying capacity of approximately twenty-five tons in cargo.[115]

One ship from Israel dates to c. 700-600 BCE. It is unfortunately not well published at all, but differs from the other shipwrecks that date to this period in the Eastern Mediterranean.[116] This ship sank in the harbor of ʻAtlit, which was one of the few good harbors south of Akko and thus an important destination for ships travelling to and from Egypt along the Levantine coast. The harbor was open and therefore not built to protect docked ships from the danger of sudden squalls; therefore, several shipwrecks lay on the harbor's bed. The most important one for our purposes is ʻAtlit A, a wreck dating to c. 700-600 BCE. When it sank, it was carrying an eclectic cargo of Assyrian bronze helmets, Babylonian weights, various furniture pieces, and candelabras. The nature of this cargo would suggest that the ship was a merchantman rather than a troop transport or official ship, and that it was peddling wares that came from the interior of Mesopotamia. It is possible that it picked up goods for trade as it stopped in various ports of call; it is also possible that the metal objects it was carrying were destined to be melted down rather than for resale, and its heterogeneous cargo of generally prestige goods suggests it could have catered to a specific elite market.[117]

Moving from the Levant to the greater Eastern Mediterranean, there are only three ships that have been found that date to the Archaic period, and all are clustered along the southern coast of Turkey where they were wrecked upon the breakers of the coastline. The Kekova Adası

[115] In 1997, a U.S. Submarine discovered these two shipwrecks lying only two kilometers apart, off the coast of Ashkelon, while searching for a lost Israeli submarine. Because of their extreme depth, the *Tanit* and *Elissa* could not be excavated, but rather the archaeological team created photogrammetrical and bathymetrical maps and recovered select artifacts from each wreck for conservation and study: See Ballard et al. 2002: 157 & 166; Stager 2003: 34-9; Knapp and Demesticha 2016: 156.

[116] Parker 1992: Catalogue #1; Radan 1981: 55 discusses a Neo-Assyrian helmet that was part of the cargo and perhaps dates to the reign of Assurbanipal. Raban 1985: 30-8 discusses the layout of ʻAtlit's harbor.

[117] For the development of this market see Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, Horden and Purcell 2000: 123-172.

wreck, which lies off the coast of Lycia, is the best preserved of these three shipwrecks since it lies in a protected environment where diving is not allowed. This ship was carrying a cargo primarily of basket-handled amphorae, as these vessels comprise the largest visible aspect of the wreck at about 130 vessels. Petrographic analysis on these vessels show that the majority of these amphorae – about three-quarters of the cargo – were made from a plain calcareous clay that researchers have identified as from claybeds originating in Eastern Cyprus.[118] About twenty examples of amphorae came from the East Greek region – possibly Miletus – and about seven to ten Corinthian Type A amphorae comprised the other quarter of the cargo load.[119] This picture of the production of these amphorae mirrors the amphorae on the *Tanit* and *Elissa*, suggesting that the basket-handled amphorae were filled with a homogenous cargo - possibly olive oil.[120] Overall, this ship's tonnage has been estimated at at least ten tons for the visible remains.[121]

The Kepçe Burnu wreck lies off the coast of southern Karia and has been surveyed, but because of a preponderance of marine grass growing over the site and its shallow depth (between five and ten meters) in an area washed by waves, it is badly disturbed. This wreck also carried a cargo of basket-handed amphorae similar to those of the Kekova Adası wreck. Again, analysis has shown a similar fabric of the amphorae, which suggests the same seventh century BCE date.[122] Interestingly, all nine raised fragments have similar petrographic profiles, again suggesting that the cargo was made and possibly filled in a limited geographic area that the investigators tentatively identify as eastern Cyprus. The carrying capacity of the Kepçe Burnu wreck has been estimated at between five and ten tons due to the disturbed nature of the wreck.

[118] See Leidwanger, Özdaş, and Greene 2012 for preliminary results of the analysis of the amphorae.
[119] Greene, Leidwanger, and Özdaş 2013: 24-7.
[120] It is likely that the majority of these amphorae were filled with olive oil, as there was no pine pitch (a distinctive indicator of wine) in any of the amphorae examined – see Koehler 1978.
[121] Greene, Leidwanger, and Özdaş 2013: 32.
[122] Greene, Leidwanger, and Özdaş 2008: 67-8 and 2011.

Finally, the Çaycağız Koyu shipwreck – similar to the Kepçe Burnu wreck – is disturbed, but appears to also have been carrying a cargo of basket-handled amphorae, which have been tentatively identified as being made in Cyprus.[123] This ship has been tentatively dated to the end of the eighth century BCE or the beginning of the seventh century BCE. Indeed, these three ships all appear to have been carrying cargoes of amphorae that had been made in Eastern Cyprus – perhaps unsurprising considering Cyprus' role in the trade relationships and this suggests that these three ships embarked on short-haul cabotage rather than long-distance trade.[124]

These shipwrecks can give us an aggregate picture of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean dating from the mid-eighth century through to the early sixth century BCE, a period of about 150 years, and has been summarized in the following table.

Shipwreck Name/Place	**Date**	**Cargo**	**Tonnage**
Tanit	Mid-eighth century	Amphorae (Phoenician)	25
Elissa	Mid-eighth century	Amphorae (Phoenician)	25
'Atlit A	700-600 BCE	Eclectic (bronze, furniture)	uncertain
Kekova Adasi	Early-mid seventh century	Amphorae (Cypriot, E. Greek, Corinthian)	10+
Kepçe Burnu	Seventh century	Amphorae (Cypriot, E. Greek)	5-10
Çaycağız Koyu	Late seventh /Early sixth century	Amphorae (Cypriot, E. Greek)	5-10

Table 1: Archaic Period Shipwreck Data
SOURCE Radan 1981; Parker 1992; Ballard et al. 2002; Greene, Leidwanger, and Özdaş 2008 & 2013

[123] Greene, Leidwanger, and Özdaş 2013: 29-31.
[124] Much like the later sixth century Pabuç Burnu shipwreck: Greene, Lawall, and Polzer 2008; Greene 2005; Greene, Leidwanger, and Özdaş 2008; and Leidwanger 2013. Interestingly, this ship's hull was laced together, which matches descriptions of ship building in Homer: Pulzer 2004. For cabotage and a picture of trade in the Western Mediterranean, see Dietler 2010: 131-56.

These data appear to demonstrate a divergence in the nature of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean from that in the Western Mediterranean, especially along the coast of southern France and Italy. The ships used in the Eastern Mediterranean were generally larger than those in the Western Mediterranean – where ships rarely had a carrying capacity over five tons.[125] By contrast, the ships in the Eastern Mediterranean appear to have been at least twice as large and in the case of the deep sea wrecks – the *Tanit* and *Elissa* – even five times larger than those found in the West. Additionally, we have evidence for two levels of trade – short-distance cabotage and long-distance trade to places like the Levant and Egypt, where the ships needed to be larger to safely carry goods on longer voyages. The second way in which trade in the East appears to differ from that in the West is that the ships appear to have carried a more homogenous cargo of amphorae.[126] Traders in the Western Mediterranean – because it was a smaller affair – sailed with a variegated cargo, which protected them against changing tastes or consumption patterns and was suitable for *ad hoc* trading patterns by widening the chances that items would be exchanged or bartered. By contrast, long-distance trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, as evidenced by the mass of amphorae in the holds of these shipwrecks, suggests that the cargos of these larger ships were more homogenous and comprised agricultural products – primarily wine and olive oil.[127] This maximized the risk involved by making it dependent upon the consumption

[125] Dietler 2010: 136-8.
[126] Knapp and Demesticha 2016: 162-3 & 166; Bresson 2003: 149-50.
[127] Though later than our period, this emphasis upon a mainly homogenous cargo can be seen in the Egyptian import/export list, which dates to c. 475 BCE. This papyrus contained a list of import/export duties on all ships coming in to and out of an unknown Egyptian harbor in 475 BCE. For our purposes, the list includes fragmentary lists of ships' cargos and duties paid. Only one cargo for a ship from Phaselis (though identified as Ionian by the scribe) is preserved, and it comprised oil (presumably olive). This oil was exchanged for Egyptian natron, a naturally occurring salt that was used in the textile industry. The Sidonian ships carried a slightly more variegated cargo, including wine and cedar wood. For this papyrus and the nature of Achaemenid Egyptian trade, see Yardeni 1994; Briant and Descat 1998; Bresson 2017: 354. It is likely that the Phoenicians imported their own wine to the Aegean: Hesiod discusses drinking βίβλινος οἶνος (*WD* 589), which might have come from Byblos or Thrace. Alternatively, it could have been homemade wine: see Kourakou-Dragona 2015: 25-42.

patterns of the intended recipients, but it also indicates a more established trading system in the Eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, large ports – such as Tyre and Al Mina – would have created stable demand for products and permanent markets whereby larger ships could sail with generally homogenous cargos and not assume much risk by doing so. Further, the evidence from the *Tanit* and *Elissa* shipwreck amphorae indicate that "processing" centers existed in the Eastern Mediterranean where the agricultural products – especially wine and olive oil – were collected for packaging for sea transport. There is no evidence to suggest that trade in this period was overseen by the state, but rather that it remained a private enterprise. The ships with their large, relatively homogenous cargoes suggest that trade was practiced by elite individuals, who both fronted the resources for larger sailing vessels and could take the risk of carrying a uniform cargo.[128] Indeed, trade allowed elites, who possessed large plots of land, to convert any agricultural surplus into luxury goods.

The limited literary evidence from this period supports this supposition. The new London fragment of Sappho's Brothers Poem focuses upon the trading voyage her brother undertook. Sappho scolds an unknown individual for hoping that the trading voyage would be profitable, rather than praying for his safe return from the danger of the sea. Sappho's worry for her brother while he is away is more than just a sisterly concern; rather, it underscores the risky business inherent in trading; the ship's crew was subject to pirates, shipwrecks, dangerous weather phenomena, and other disruptions.[129] Further hints of elite individuals partaking in the trading sphere can be found in the Homeric epics. In the *Iliad*, Euneus, the king of Lemnos, sends ships with a cargo of wine to Troy to barter with the Achaeans there for a variety of

[128] Trade during the Early Iron Age was privately sponsored, rather than the state-sponsored trade of the Bronze Age, as documented in the account of Wenamun, who travels on behalf of the Egyptian pharaoh. For more on Wenamun's unfortunate adventures, see Footnote 37 above.

[129] For Sappho's poem, see Raaflaub 2016 and Crielaard 2000: 58. See Beaulieu 2016: 22-58 generally for early Greek perceptions of the sea and its liminal status between the living/dead and mortal/divine

products.[130] Indeed, it was this same Euneus who had possessed the Sidonian-wrought silver krater, which had been transported to Lemnos and gifted to his grandfather by Phoenicians.[131] While the epic does not explain how or why Euneus' grandfather had received the krater, it does speak to early connections between the rulers of Lemnos and the Levant, and there is no particular reason to doubt that Euneus' ships that brought the wine to Troy might have also capitalized on these ancestral connections to peddle their wares in the Levant. The same picture is presented in the fictionalized account of Mentes, the purported ruler of the piratical Taphians, who sails to Temesa in search of metals.[132] Further, Solon and Thales of Miletus are said to have engaged in commerce.[133] Similarly, Herodotus briefly mentions several men who became famous and fabulously wealthy through trade. One is the famous seventh century trader Colaeus, a Samian, who was sailing to Egypt before he was blown off course to the Straits of Gibraltar, where he secured a cargo of valuable metal for his troubles. Returning to his home island, he dedicated an oversized griffin bronze cauldron to Hera that Herodotus presumably saw some 200 years later.[134] He also tells us of an Aeginetan merchant, Sostratus, who became one of the richest men in the Aegean through trade; a stone anchor found in Gravisca, Etruria inscribed with his name might attest to this individual's journey to the central Mediterranean. If it is the same

[130] *Il*. 7.467-75. Moreover, Bresson 2003: 144-5 and Wilson 1997-98 have shown that the concept of the illiterate trader is erroneous, as is attested by the Pech-Malo and Emporion lead tablets, which lay out the terms of trading contacts in complicated detail: for the Pech-Malo tablet, see Chadwick 1990, and for the Emporion tablet, see Slings 1994.
[131] See above, Footnote 90.
[132] *Od*. 1.180-4. It is clear in the epics that trade does not have a particularly bad connotation in and of itself; indeed, Odysseus claims to engage in trade with little detrimental effect. Rather, those traders who are hungry for profit and risk everything for profit's sake, even eschewing the elite ideals of *xenia* and honor, are bad as it makes an elite trader act like a commoner (so, e.g. Euryalus accuses Odysseus of being a greedy trader whose focus remains on his cargoes and profits: *Od*.8.158-64). See Dougherty 2001: 102-21 for the idealization of elite trading that is embodied in the Phaeacians in the *Odyssey*, who use their ships to travel and give gifts to others; the Phaeacians' foils are the much villainized Phoenicians.
[133] Plut. *Vit.Sol*. 2.1-3; Bresson 2003: 145-6.
[134] Hdt. 4.152.

individual, an anchor would be entirely fitting for this mariner.[135] Finally, Dionysus of Halicarnassus notes that Demaratus the Bacchiad made his very substantial fortune through transporting Corinthian pottery to Etruria, again showing how lucrative these trade networks could be for any individuals who could invest the capital necessary up front.[136] It is clear, then, that trade was an entirely appropriate activity for members of the elite social spectrum, allowing for overseas adventure and the maintenance of *xenos* ties, as well as the opportunity to generate wealth, and it would be this narrow social stratum to which the name "Ionian" was initially applied.[137]

2.6.2 The Ionians and Mercenaries

It should be noted, however, that these traders – by the second half of the seventh century BCE – had been joined abroad by other inhabitants of the Aegean, including mercenaries fighting in the Eastern Mediterranean.[138] Anatolian Ionians and Carians were certainly serving as mercenaries in Egypt by the mid seventh century BCE, when they helped Psammetichus gain the Egyptian throne.[139] There are differing accounts of how these Anatolian Ionian and Carian mercenaries arrived in Egypt, whether Psammetichus courted them in his bid to gain the Egyptian throne, or Gyges himself sent them to solidify an alliance between Lydia and Egypt.[140]

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[135] Hdt. 4.152.3. For the anchor, see Möller 2000: 56-7.
[136] Dion. Hal. 3.46.
[137] Raaflaub 2004. Bresson 2003: 146-8 notes that trade was not a long-term vocation, but was seen as something that was suitable for select periods of life. He tracks the existence of wealthy, elite merchants into the Roman period. Although a very late source, Diod. 1.66.8 thought that Psammetichus I was able to acquire his vast wealth – crucial to gaining the throne of Egypt – via trade with Greek merchants.
[138] See the periodization proposed by Fantalkin 2006.
[139] Hdt. 2.152.4-5 gives a romanticized account of how the Carians and Ionians came into Psammetichus' service as the fulfillment of an oracle that "Bronze Men" would help him wreak vengeance; this cryptic phrase referred to the heavy armor worn by Carians and Ionians.
[140] The first century BCE author Diodorus Siculus briefly mentions that Psammetichus sent for them from Caria with no further explanation (1.66.12). On the Rassam Cylinder, the Neo-Assyrian king Ashurbanipal notes that the Lydian leader Gugu sent a force to Psammetichus: Luckenbill 1927: 297-8

It is clear, though, that Anatolian mercenaries were a part of the fabric of Egyptian society by the mid-seventh century BCE and remained critical for successive pharaohs. Indeed, an abundance of archaeological evidence at such sites as Daphnae and Migdol – large military forts that have a high percentage of pottery from the East Greek world – suggest long-term settlement within the Delta.[141] It was here, likely, that Carian and Ionian mercenaries were stationed for long periods of time, at least a generation or two, and provided necessary military force and guard duty for Egypt.[142] This is bolstered by a small amount of evidence that Anatolian individuals were buried in the Sinai peninsula – though badly plundered, Oren's survey found evidence for cremation burials with Greek and Egyptian pottery, and it is possible that these were mercenaries as cremation was not practiced by the Egyptians.[143] Finally, Carian and Greek mercenaries carved graffiti into the legs of colossal statues sitting outside and guarding the entrance to the temple of Ramses II at Abu Simbel and give us our most intimate picture of the individuals who fought far away from their homelands (Fig. 11). Here, there are graffiti - nine in Carian and six in Greek – that date from Psammetichus II's invasion of Nubia in 592 BCE and range from simple names to small ditties (Fig. 12).[144] These inscriptions in both languages range from simple names to small ditties. Of the Greek inscriptions, most name individuals and their

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(§§ 785). Haider 1996: 93-4 suggests that Psammetichus, who was a Neo-Assyrian vassal, might have received Ionian and Carian mercenaries not from Gyges, but through the Assyrians.

[141] See Petrie 1888 for Daphnae and Oren 1984 for Migdol.

[142] Whether mercenaries also provided naval support to the pharaohs is not clear, but the much later author Strabo records that thirty Milesian ships established a *teichos* at the Bolbitine month of the Nile, and states that the Milesian ships defeated a certain Inarus (17.1.18 (801C)): Drijvers 1999. Boardman 2006: 525 and Haider 1988: 154 & 194-5 argue that this individual, who has a Libyan name, should be correlated with Egyptian sources that record Psammetichus' battles with the Libyans in 655/4 BBC. See also Smolárikóvá 2006 for mid-sixth century BCE imports at Kom Firin, hailing mostly from Ionia.

[143] Oren 1984: 30.

[144] The definitive edition of the Carian inscriptions is Masson 1979, who leaves out one short graffito, though Bernard and Masson 1957 identify it as part of a Greek graffito: Adiego 2007a: 119; Day 1982 and Descat 2008 for the Carian presence in Egypt more generally. For the Greek inscriptions, see Bernard and Masson 1957; Meiggs and Lewis 1969: 12-13 (#7); Haider 1996: 104-9; Vittman 2003: 201; and Adiego 2007a: 117-9.

communities – either *poleis* in Ionia or on Rhodes. Several of these mercenaries had foreign names; four of them were named after the pharaoh Psammetichus.[145]

All of this evidence points to a heavy involvement of foreign mercenaries – most coming from Western Anatolia – from the mid seventh century BCE. Thereafter, they formed a permanent feature of sixth-century Egypt and were critical for securing the pharaoh's throne and protecting Egypt's borders. Furthermore, the establishment of Naucratis, by the pharaoh Amasis, in the last quarter of the seventh century BCE allowed for long term support and influx of Anatolian and Aegean goods to Egypt, supporting a burgeoning market there, perhaps fueled by the mercenaries themselves.[146] By the early sixth century BCE, they were almost ubiquitous as the Egyptian pharaohs came to rely more and more upon these fighting units to buttress their rule and combat any enemies. As such, their presence grew to such an extent that Herodotus does not consider the staggeringly large number of 30,000 Anatolian mercenaries who served under Apries in about 570 BCE to be wildly inflated, and the contemporary stele of Amasis seems to confirm this.[147]

While the evidence is certainly scattered and weaker for Greek mercenaries being used in areas outside of Egypt, it is possible that small numbers served in the armies of Babylon and

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[145] Bernard and Masson 1957; the longest graffito at Abu Simbel is Meiggs and Lewis 1969' #7a and gives details of the expedition. The Carian inscriptions at Abu Simbel are more complicated and harder to decipher, but at least three feature the name Pismaśk - *E. AS* 3, 4, and 7; Masson 1979; Schürr 1996; Adiego 2007: 115-119 gives a small overview of scholarship on the Carian inscriptions as well as reproducing them with a brief commentary. For a delightful interpretation of the longest graffito as being a play on Homeric jargon, see Dillon 1997b.

[146] Hdt. 2.178-9 is the longest description of Naucratis, its inhabitants, and its topography. Discussions of Naucratis are found further in Chapters Three, Four, and Five.

[147] Hdt. 2.161-2 & 169 tells the entire story of Amasis' rise to power and his clash with and usurpation of the ruling pharaoh, Apries. Lloyd 1988: 41 has questioned the size of the fighting force of 30,000. The Amasis Stele, which provides a contemporary perspective from the pharaoh, might corroborate Herodotus' report as it especially notes that the delta of Egypt was "crawling" with Greeks, though this might be a propagandistic exaggeration – see Daressy 1900 for the stele, Leahy 1988 for translation.

Judah by the end of the seventh century BCE.[148] Additionally, our evidence from the Neo-Babylonian records suggests that the Yamanāya were entrenched within society in the east. Documents show the "Ionians" to be acting as specialized workmen, as laborers, traders, messengers, and perhaps even diplomats.[149] Two graffiti from Ras el Bassit that date to the end of the seventh century BCE display Greek names, while a sixth century BCE graffito from Tell Sukas has a female name in Ionian Greek. It is possible that these graffiti attest to Greeks active at this time; if the female is a Greek, it is one of the only archaeological attestations of females in the Near East until the Persian period.[150] The Yamnāya, therefore, are attested in the Neo-Babylonian times as being a solid, if small, section of society; it is thus not unreasonable to assume that they were more permanent inhabitants of the western Levant coast in earlier times and that they could have served as mercenaries in the Neo-Assyrian provincial army. One might also compare the Neo-Babylonian tablets found in Babylon and dated to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II (r. 605-562 BCE), which list groups of Yamnāya working as carpenters in the area. These tablets preserve three names: Aziyak, Kunzumpiya, and LABBunu, none of which

[148] **Babylon**: Alcaeus describes the heroic efforts of his brother fighting in Babylon - *P. Oxy*. 2506; though cf Fantalkin and Lytle 2016. There are hundreds of inscriptions at Taymā, in Saudi Arabia, where Nabonidus had his second palace for ten years. Hayajneh 2001: 86-7 documents two inscriptions of interest: Inscription Four reads 'nds was a royal bodyguard, and 'nds could be an Endios/Enodios or Oineides/Oiniades; Inscription Two reads skrtsl son of strn, and strn could be Sraton/Sroton or Straton/Stroton. Thus, these two individuals could possibly have Greek names and could be Greeks. See also Rollinger 2009: 35-6 for further study of these two inscriptions. **Judah**: At Arad, in the northern Negev, there were ten ostraca on which KTYM appear (Kittim), which is related to Kition on Cyprus and here may mean mercenaries and likely Yaman. Furthermore, Ezekiel 10:27 enumerates the foreign mercenaries in the Babylonian army that attacked Tyre in 569-8 BCE. These three foreign subsets are called Pwt, Lwd, and Prs. The first two are identified as Libya and Lydia, whereas Prs could be either the name of a Carian tribe or the Persians: Albright 1969: 568-9; Niemeier 2001: 18-19.

[149] Weidner 1939; Brinkman 1989; Lipiński 1991; Lanfranchi 2000: 15-16; Rollinger and Korenjak 2001; Rollinger 2007a; Rollinger 2009.

[150] For the Ras el Bassit graffiti, see Courbin 1986: fig. 31. For the Tell Sukas inscription, see Ploug 1973:84. For groups of female Greeks in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, which dates from 509-493 BCE, see Henkelman and Rollinger 2009.

are demonstrably Greek, but at least one, Kunzumpiya, could be Luwian, demonstrating a western Anatolian origin.[151]

Further, it seems that many of the mercenaries – unlike the traders – might not have been from the highest levels of society. It has been maintained that only the wealthy individuals could cover the costs associated with buying and maintaining the hoplite panoply, and the depiction of hoplites on the Amathus bowl as well as Herodotus' characterization of the plunderers that fulfilled Psammetichus' oracle as "brazen men" would certainly suggest that the mercenary was armored.[152] However, there simply were not enough aristocrats in Western Anatolia to match the large number of mercenaries demanded by Egypt, and they could not have comprised the entire fighting body, and there is no reason to doubt that most subsets of Anatolian society could serve as mercenaries. Indeed, there is no reason to doubt that most subsets of Anatolian society could be mercenaries. First, the hoplite phalanx consisted of multiple ranks of men; the back ranks of the hoplite phalanx did not necessarily see fighting and thus they did not have to be as heavily armored as the front ranks.[153] Even if mercenaries did fight with little to no armor, it is likely that they could acquire armor after a battle by stripping and repurposing the armor of the dead. Additionally, it is possible that armor simply did not cost as much as Homer reports – Jarva has

[151] Weidner 1939: 932-3; Houwink ten Cate 1965: 138-9 & 191-2; Brinkman 1989: 58-59; Rollinger 2007a, 2007b, and 2009.
[152] To put the cost of a panoply in context, in *Il.*6.235-6, Glaucus' gold armor is valued at 100 oxen and Diomedes' bronze armor at nine. For the Amathus bowl, see Myres 1933.
[153] Jarva 1995: 125-126 totals up the amount of armor dedicated at Olympia and notes that the proportions of greaves, ankle guards, cuirasses, etc. corresponds to a well-armored front rank, with a lightly armored second and third rank. Hall 2014a: 174-5 has made a similar observation of the Spartan phalanx: likely only the front rank was heavily armed, and the other seven could have been lightly-armed helots. Though cf. Kaplan 2002 for arguments against the lower status of mercenaries.

calculated the costs of an Archaic panoply of bronze armor and concluded that it costs about 45 drachmas.[154]

This proliferation of Anatolian mercenaries across the eastern Mediterranean in the sixth century BCE is important because it ensured that almost every stratum of Anatolian – and especially the Ionian and Carian mercenaries – were described by the moniker "Ionian." Indeed, the term was expanded horizontally to encompass the differing professions of Greeks coming to the Eastern Mediterranean, and it also expanded vertically to encompass the variety of social classes that were now active away from their home. As more Anatolians came into contact with the Eastern Mediterranean as mercenaries, traders, and mariners, a wider spectrum of social classes was exposed to this moniker and the name gained more exposure and familiarity.

2.7 Conclusion

We suggest that the term "Ionian" was first salient in the trading sphere, where it was used to describe Aegean traders and acted partially as a moniker. The economic dimension of this name allowed for its circulation along the sea routes of the Aegean by traders moving through the area, and provided the motivation for both foreign and local inhabitants to use the name to facilitate commerce and exchange. Starting in the mid-seventh century BCE, however, an increased involvement of mercenaries – especially hailing from Anatolia – in the Eastern Mediterranean both expanded the meaning of this term as well as exposed it to a variety of social classes, becoming a salient etic identity for Greeks while away in the Eastern Mediterranean and thereby setting the groundwork for it to become a group identity. The remainder of this

[154] Jarva 1995: 148-9. Luraghi 2006: 24-5 notes that these mercenaries likely were not fully armed with the entire panoply. Morris 2006 also suggests that prostitutes from Greece came with the mercenaries, pointing to the Thracian slave Rhodopis who came to Egypt and became exceedingly wealthy (Hdt. 2.135), but this is unverified.

dissertation will shift to focus upon the expression of this Anatolian Ionian identity in Western Anatolia especially as expressed through the cultic community, its ritual actions, and material correlates – which was where traders, foreigners, mercenaries, and the nearby civic community among others all converged.

Chapter Three: Sanctuaries, Trade, and Identity

3.1 Introduction

This chapter argues that the sanctuaries of Ionia were deeply embedded within the maritime networks of the Aegean in the Archaic period. Physically, they were generally located near safe harbors and they were also highly visible from these waterways, which made them a critical resource and important node alone these sea routes. As such, Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries were utilized by people moving through these marine corridors, including traders and pirates, as well as people travelling abroad, including mercenaries and craftsmen. As such, the sanctuary constituted a vibrant cross-culture environment as well as one of the first points of contact between the local cultic community and any *xenoi.*

This chapter's secondary purpose is to argue that the sanctuary was critical within Ionia in the Archaic period not just to connect the nearby *polis* and its worshipping cultic community to the waterways and mariners that traversed the western Anatolian littoral, but also by playing an important economic role. In particular, this chapter argues that sanctuaries would have also benefitted commercially from these maritime ties, as traders would have stopped here perhaps to peddle wares or give a gift in thanksgiving, and a look at the votive dedications – both imported and with illuminating inscriptions – fundamentally speaks to the wealth the sanctuaries accrued from these maritime networks. This commercial aspect, therefore, provided an important milieu for the fostering of the Ionian moniker, which we have previously argued to have initial economic overtones, and would therefore have found saliency in the sanctuary environment. This chapter therefore works to establish the sanctuary in Ionia – thanks to these financial and maritime connections – as an important medium for the later fostering and expression of an Anatolian Ionian identity. We then turn to the trading *emporion* of Naucratis, located in the Egyptian delta, to act

as a control for our ideas and help illuminate how the same factors of trade, the cross-cultural environment, and sanctuaries formed a potent environment for the expression of another identity – in this case, the Hellenic identity.[1]

3.2 Sanctuaries and the Sea

It is not a new observation that Greeks tended to place their sanctuaries in visible places; many of these places had some relationship or proximity to the sea, and the temples of Ionia were particularly pronounced in their maritime placement.[2] Indeed, Ionia's very geography encourages the proliferation of these sanctuaries: a strong north-south current running along the western coast of Anatolia would have carried ships up and down the littoral, while Samos and Chios would have marked out the eastern terminus of the east-west routes across the Aegean. These routes, while facilitating travel, were complicated by western Anatolia's promontories, where colliding currents, energetic wave action, and rip tides all coalesced and constituted some of the most dangerous points for a seafarer.[3] The unpredictable nature of these sailing conditions meant that the journey through this corridor was risky – sailors would either need to have experience with the coastline and currents or they would need to pick up a local pilot.

Within this dangerous marine corridor, sanctuaries functioned both to mark particularly treacherous areas of the sea as well as safeguard such hazardous areas by placing them under the

[1] It should be noted that Demetriou 2012 has examined the same factors at work in Greek *emporia* and how they articulated and created identities. This dissertation's argument was developed independently of Demetriou's work (i.e. I did not read her work until later in the research process) but essentially parallel her hypotheses.
[2] This observation dates back to Semple 1927; Miles 2016b and Eren 2016 also comment upon it.
[3] Morton 2001: 38-44. These straits are further complicated because the current can change direction with the season and flows faster than most currents in the Aegean

protection of a deity.[4] In Ionia, as well as the greater Aegean world, many sanctuaries were also placed by harbors and served as safe berths should the seas become too dangerous.[5] These sanctuaries would have been invaluable for any ship moving through the area, acting as navigational beacons, and would have created a "conceptual framework" for the sailors that visually marked locations where sailing was problematic, the gods could be propitiated, and safe berths acquired in uncertain weather.[6] Indeed, applying viewshed analyses to the locations of these sanctuaries underscores their visibility from the sea.

Viewshed analysis constitutes a new tool that can compute the visibility index of a defined point in three-dimensional space. It does this by simulating the various relationships of visibility among locations in a defined space, accounting for terrain, elevation, and various obstacles – whether natural or man-made. Viewshed analysis can then be used to create a map that demonstrates the visibility of the defined point both in terms of height and length.[7] The Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries that have undergone viewshed analysis are also the primary case studies of this dissertation and include: the Harbor Temple at Emporio and the Temple of Apollo Phanai on Chios as well as the Heraion on Samos. On the mainland, the Temple of Athena at Miletus, the Temple of Aphrodite at Zeytintepe, and the Temple of Apollo at Didyma are all located at the southern

[4] Sinn 1993: 100-101 suggests that some sanctuaries' geographical placement against cliffs and on the sea could in part have been done with an eye towards defensibility – for the riches and wealth, but also any refugees that might have sheltered there.

[5] So, e.g. Hdt. 9.114 notes the Greeks taking shelter and waiting out bad winds off Adrymattium. Evidence of ancients using sanctuaries as navigational instruments can be found in Str. 14.1.12-4, who talks about how two temples of Poseidon mark the opposite ends of the Samian straight and can be used as a navigational aide for ships. Similarly, Ps. Scylax, *Perip*. 58 marks the geographical ends of Euboea with two sanctuaries – that of Zeus at Cenaeon and Poseidon at Geraestus: see also Sherratt and Sherratt 1993: 367.

[6] Semple 1927: 362-9; Miles 2016b: 161-70. Horden and Purcell 2001: 458 note that religion helps to categorize large geographical space that is largely incomprehensible into smaller, defined segments.

[7] For an overview on viewshed analysis and its current applications, see Maichak and Schuler 2004, Jones 2006, Joly et al. 2009.

end of Ionia. Further temples include the Temple of Dionysus at Myus and the Artemision at Ephesus, as well as Temples of Athena at Erythrae, Smyrna, and Phocaea (Fig. 13). These sanctuaries have been mapped and they underwent viewshed analysis in Google Earth; the resulting images have been gathered together and constitute Appendix 1. The temples were mapped with a defined point set at an altitude of three meters above today's ground level to account for the architectural profile of these now missing temples; while it is conceded that today's ground level is higher than the ground level would have been in the Archaic period, it is also important to note that many of these temples have been excavated and therefore the ground level at the temple is close to its ancient levels). This defined point has then undergone viewshed analysis to map the geographical extent of the visibility of these points, which appears as a lurid neon green. For consistency, all maps have been set at four miles above the ground.

It is clear that some temples, such as those at Erythrae and Emporio enjoyed a high degree of visibility (Fig. A.2 and A.6), with an arc extending about three miles out from the structure itself. On the other hand, select temples such as the Temple of Apollo Phanai on Chios, had a narrower range of visibility thanks to its physical plant in a shallow valley (Fig. A.5). Even temples such as the Temple of Dionysus at Myus and the Artemision, which are today located inland thanks to the silting in of the Maeander River Valley and concomitant changing coastlines, still demonstrate a conspicuousness (Figs. A.7 and A.3, respectively) in relationship to the ancient waterways.[8] It is clear overall that these temples enjoyed a degree of visibility from the sea, a result of both their placement close to the shoreline and elevated architectural profiles, which would have allowed the temples to act as navigational beacons for any mariners moving along the western Anatolia sea corridor.

[8] Coring around the Artemision shows that it lay in a marshy area in the Archaic period, with the sea quite close at only about 100 or so meters west of the temple: Kraft, Kayan, and Brückner 2001: 123-33.

The placement of a sanctuary on a promontory or on an island also meant that the sanctuary was able to channel the resources and challenges inherent in the transitional zone between two distinct geographical areas – the sea and hinterland.[9] Consequently, sanctuaries were naturally located in highly-trafficked places and would have been hubs of interaction, located at the interstices of transportation routes, where people, goods, and ideas flowed back and forth. Furthermore, for sailors that were experiencing unfavorable sailing conditions and might have run their fresh water and food stores down, it is possible that sanctuaries might have been an important gustatory resource, though there is no explicit evidence for this in the Aegean world.[10]

Finally, it is very likely that these sanctuaries were a repository of information for sailors on the conditions and laws of lands that comprised the next legs of their journeys. It is clear that traders – at worst – roughly knew the basic laws of the foreign lands they visited; indeed, these traders would have gained nothing by offending the people with which they traded. The Egyptian priest Wenamun, who travelled to Dor in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age, clearly was expected to know the city's laws when he visited. Indeed, the king of Dor mocks Wenamun after he demanded compensation (when his own crew stole from him). While Dor would reimburse losses incurred if local thieves stole from a trader, the king sneers, they would not provide any compensation if the thief was part of the trader's crew. Wenamun's humiliation was complete, both in his ignorance of Dor's laws and regulations and his concomitant penury.[11] Thus, the knowledge of regulations and laws of a foreign lands was clearly expected, and it is plausible that sanctuaries could have facilitated information exchanged between any *xenoi* and the local communities with which they interacted.

[9] Horden and Purcell 2001: 440
[10] See Wengrow 2013 for Egyptian sanctuaries performing just this function.
[11] Sauvage 2011: 435-6.

3.3 Temples as nodes in maritime networks

3.3.1 Imported Votives

As has already been stated, a corollary to the siting of Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries along the coast, on promontories, and generally proximate to the sea is that they were themselves sites of intense interaction – not just where the cultic community would come to worship and offer sacrifice – but also as places where mariners could gather to make sacrifices for a safe journey in a neutral place away from the nearby communities. Today, our most direct evidence for a sanctuary's involvement in maritime networks are **imported votives,** hereafter defined in this dissertation as objects that were produced *outside* of the region of Ionia and therefore had to be transported either overseas or overland before being dedicated in the sanctuary. This section will offer some short remarks on imported votives in Ionian sanctuaries, but this is a vast topic that would constitute – indeed, has constituted – an entire dissertation-length project in and of itself.[12]

The earliest imported dedication in Ionia is a bronze horse frontlet that was dedicated at the Heraion and dates to the mid-eighth century BCE. The frontlet was decorated with frontal naked women standing on lions – a powerfully erotic and numinous motif in North Syria – and featured an inscription in Aramaic that proclaimed the frontlet was a dedication by King Hazael of Aram-Damascus, who took the frontlet in war against Unqi in the second half of the ninth century BCE (Fig. 14).[13]

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[12] We refer any interested reader to the greater bibliography that constitutes several dissertations, including Simon 1986, Skon-Jedele 1994, and Saint-Pierre 2005. See also other synthetic volumes and articles dedicated to this subject: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985; Simon 1997; Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005; Ebbinghaus 2006; Bumke 2012; and Webb 2017, as well as the specific archaeological volumes and reports for Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries cited throughout this section.

[13] A matching horse blinker found in the temple of Apollo at Eretria carries the same inscription and was likely from the same horse armor set and speaks to movement – either of these objects on sea routes by different people or by one individual moving throughout the Mediterranean and dedicating them. For the

This dedication at Samos – though spectacular – was not a unique occurrence. Indeed, some of the earliest foreign votives are found at the Heraion on Samos, and this sanctuary maintains a high level of imported items during the seventh century BCE, in terms of quantity, geographical range, and quality, thanks in large part to the island's importance as one of the primary nodes for Aegean cross-traffic, as well as a re-deposition of many of them in and around three wells located in the marshy area of the southeast temenos during a general clearing of the sanctuary before the building of the first *dipteros*.[14]

While Samos constitutes our most concentrated evidence for imported votives, it is not a unique occurrence. It is striking, but not terribly surprising considering Ionia's ties to the sea, that every sanctuary in Ionia had these imported votives, though the number, quality, and types of imported votives varies from sanctuary to sanctuary. Overall, these imported votives track with Ionia's interaction with the wider Mediterranean world over the course of the seventh century BCE, as Anatolian Ionians served as mercenaries in foreign armies, peddled wares – including East Greek pottery – to consumers in the Eastern Mediterranean, or built *xenia* relationships with foreign dignitaries and elites. Similarly, foreign traders, craftsmen, or other itinerants travelling through Ionia could have carried objects that either originated in their homeland or were picked up at some point on their journey.

Samian horse frontlet, see Kyrieleis and Röllig 1988: 50-4 and for the frontlet's inscription see Eph'al and Naveh 1989: 193-6. For the Eretrian horse blinker, see Charbonnet 1986: 119-24 & 140-44 for the inscription; Bron and Lemaire 1989; Eph'al and Naveh 1989 correct Charbonnet's reading. Luraghi 2006: 38-41 connects these items to a Greek mercenary who took it as war booty while fighting in the Levant. Crielaard 2015: 361-3 believes a local aristocrat dedicated both.

[14] Roebuck 1959: 6-7 who notes that the later Persians used Myus, Lade, and Samos as mustering points. For these well deposits and their associated votives, see Furtwängler 1980 and 1981. Kyrieleis 1980 focuses only on the wooden votives in the wells. Kopcke 2009: 89 notes that this cleaning out took place before the first dipteral was built. The waterlogged environment of the wells kept the votives in a pristine state and has preserved materials that might otherwise have degraded over time – including ivory and wood.

Among these various imported votives we can tentatively track these groups, though the evidence is admittedly suggestive at best. Dedications of weapons and armor, especially prevalent at the Heraion on Samos and the Temple of Athena at Miletus, have been linked to Anatolian mercenaries, who were fighting in the ranks of foreign armies, with weapons and armor being taken on the battlefield and thereby constituting trophies. Indeed, many of the imported martial votives come from North Syria and Assyria, where Anatolian mercenaries were active; it is also possible that arms and armor from Iran and the Caucasus might represent the presence of Anatolian mercenaries even further afield.[15] Eva Braun-Holzinger and Ellen Rehm have also argued that mercenaries might have dedicated imported deity figurines, as they argue that it might have been sacrilegious for traders to sell images of their gods. Rather, they suggest that such sacred statuettes might have been stripped from temples or sanctuaries by mercenaries while they were serving abroad and transported across the seas for rededication.[16] Indeed, just such a situation for our

[15] **Phrygia**: The Heraion produced a shield strap – Jantzen 1972: 60 (Jantzen believes this is Neo-Hittite, though Börker-Klähn 1975: 539 argues it is Phrygian). **North Syria**: The Heraion produced a horse frontlet and four blinkers – Jantzen 1972: 58-9; Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005: 5-6 & 33; Tsakos and Viglaki-Sofianou 2012; the Temple of Athena at Miletus produced a horse frontlet and blinkers that are very closely related to the Hazael inscription: Held 2000: 131-4. Indeed, the frontlet has a partially legible Luwian inscription; Hawkins and Herda are publishing the inscription, but it has not yet appeared. Additionally, a number of weapons, including spear heads, helmets, shields, and shields: Held 2000: 137-51. **Assyria**: The Heraion produced eight maceheads: Kopcke 1968: 294, n. 124; Jantzen 1972: 56-7; Kyrieleis 1980: 347-8, Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005: 63-4. One of the maces is in the shape of the demon Pazuzu and his four faces: Jantzen 1972: 57; Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005: 90. The socket of a spear was also dedicated: Furtwängler 1981: 74-82. Four horse bits were originally identified as Neo-Hittite by Jantzen 1972: 64-5, but have since been re-classified as Assyrian: Calmeyer 1973: 128. **The Caucausus**: The Heraion produced three snaffle bits: Jantzen 1972: 64-5 & 80-81, who classified them as Neo-Hittite, which Calmeyer 1969 argues for an origin in the Caucausus; **Cyprus**: The Heraion produced a macehead: Jantzen 1972: 57; Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005: 62-4. **Iran:** The Heraion produced a partial horse harness and a shield device: see Jantzen 1972: 65 & 60, respectively; however, both Kopcke 1968: 292 and Calmeyer 1973: 130-31 classify them as Iranian.

[16] Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005:182-3. Again, the Heraion provides the best and largest set of evidence for deity figurines, including the Phoenician god Reshef: Jantzen 1972: 12; a North Syrian deity of unknown type that comprised a goat's body with a human face: Jantzen 1972: 63-4; two gods from Assyria: Jantzen 1972: 70; two Urartian horned gods: Jantzen 1972: 76, Calmeyer 1973: 129; four statuettes of a man and dog from Babylon as well as one of a mushuššu of Marduk: for the former man + dog statuette types (possibly related to the goddess Gula) see Jantzen 1972: 71; Kyrieleis 1979; Braun-Holzinger and Rehm

Samian horse frontlet has been proposed by Nino Luraghi, who argues that it and its twin at Eretria constituted the votive gifts of a mercenary, who acquired these two items of King Hazael's "booty" and dedicated them at separate Aegean sanctuaries, rather than two people who acquired the two objects independently and dedicated them separately at the Heraion and at Eretria. The votives would have functioned as a thank offering for a safe return from abroad or for the health of the family, or perhaps as a grateful reminder or boast of the riches and privileges to be gained abroad.[17]

It is harder to tie groups of other individuals, even tentatively, to imported votive types. Indeed, the eclectic nature of trade and the heterogenous cargos of select shipwrecks, such as the 'Atlit A shipwreck, means that we can assign almost any category of imported votives to traders moving throughout the region, including utilitarian and domestic objects, the above-mentioned weaponry, or even statuettes and figurines in various materials.[18]

2005: 87-9. For the latter mushuššu statuette, see Jantzen 1972: 76; Calmeyer 1973: 128-9. By far, however, the greatest number of imported bronze statuettes from the Heraion come from Egypt and total 130 distinct pieces, dating from the late eighth century through to the third quarter of the sixth century BCE: Weiß 2005. For the Temple of Athena at Miletus, there is a bronze relief of an Egyptian god with a Nile symbol, as well as North-Syrian god standing on sphinx and a winged genie of Assyrian type: see Held 2000: 127 for the Egyptian relief 127-30 for the North Syrian god and 136-7 for the genie.

[17] Luraghi 2006: 38-41. Jantzen 1972: 5-37; Ebbinghaus 2006: 193; Hölbl 2007: 451. Bumke 2007 and 2012 has studied the bronze Egyptian deity statuettes found dedicated at the Heraion. She has noted that of all the gods represented, Isis and Bes are particularly favored, and they had a specific protective role for the domestic sphere. She has suggested that these imported sculptures should be read as reflecting and addressing the anxieties of Samian mercenaries who spent a great amount of time away from their families.

[18] Domestic objects from the **Heraion** include Lydian perfume containers: Kerschner 2006b: 274-5; Phoenician jewelry, ivory furniture decorations, and perfume containers: Freyer-Schauenburg 1966: 7 & 10; a Caucuasian pendent: Jantzen 1972: 81; fibulae from the western Mediterranean: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984; two Phrygian belts: Jantzen 1972: 50-53; and an Egyptian mirror: Freyer-Schauenburg 1966: 112-4, Tsakos and Viglaki-Sofianou 2012: 151. Domestic objects from the **Artemision** constitute primarily jewelry and include ivory pins, fibula attachés, rings, pendants, amber amulets and ornaments (see Hogarth's sections on ivory and bone objects, as well as stone, amber, and wood objects in Hogarth 1908: 186-98 & 213-6 respectively). Over 1000 beads alone have been found there in a variety of materials: Pulsinger 2001: 209. The earliest examples of Artemis' jewelry were made of bronze and local in style: Klebinder-Gauß 2007: 205-212 and 2015: 115. Gold appliques found at the Artemision also might have been attached to clothing: Pülz 2001. See Scheich 2001 for a bull and lion-head gold pendant. Two almost complete Phrygian belts, as well as fragments of another seventeen were also found: Klebinder-Gauß 2001. The Harbor Temple at **Emporio** had fragments of seventy-four separate Phrygian belts: Boardman 1967: 214-221 for discussion, reconstruction, and listing of fragments found at Emporio. These Phrygian belts have been found in the Elmalı tumuli in Lycia, demonstrating their wide use across western Anatolia: Özgen

There are only two votive types that we might even tentatively assign to traders: the faience hawk figurines from the Heraion, and Cypriot limestone "Aegean-type" statuettes. It should be noted that faience figures, vases, and beads were widely popular throughout the Aegean world in the Archaic period and appear in many Greek sanctuaries thanks to their relative cheapness, small size, and easy portability.[19] At the Heraion, faience is particularly abundant and covers all of the above categories. However, one particular type was exceptionally popular: faience hawk figurines, with over 300 distinct ones dedicated over a short period of time, from about the late eighth century through to the mid sixth century BCE (Fig. 15). This number is not only unsurpassed by any other Aegean sanctuary, but so high that Webb has suggested it represents one or several shipments of these figurines to the Heraion for the specific purpose of dedication.[20]

Additionally, it has long been recognized that there is a distinct "Aegean" type of Cypriot limestone statuette, a votive dedication that was particularly popular in the eastern Aegean in the

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and Öztürk 1996. Most of the metal statuettes were found at the Heraion or at the temple of Athena at **Miletus**, and can be found in Jantzen 1972 and Held 2000, respectively. Limestone statuettes from Cyprus are discussed further below.

[19] Faience appears to have been imbued especially with magical and apotropaic powers, which surely added to its wide-spread use and popularity across the Aegean. Skon-Jedele 1994 is still a valuable catalogue of Egyptian artifacts from the Aegean and tracks faience in various sanctuaries. This material appears in Ionia especially in the form of faience vessels, amulettes, and occasional larger figurines generally of Egyptian deities or animals. The **Heraion** had the highest number of faience votives, for which see Webb 2016. The Athena Temple at **Smyrna** also has a number of faience figurines, including naked women, scarabs, beads, a hawk, and a Bes figurine, as well as vase fragments, which were found in the cella area of the Great Temple during the Turkish-Anglo excavations of 1948-51 and date to about 600 BCE (Cook and Nichols 1998: 26 gives the list of votive objects found; see also Webb 1978: 19, n. 89 & 21 n. 105; Hölbl 2007: 452-8). For the **Artemision** faience, see Hogarth 1908: 199-208; Hölbl 1993: 227-253 and Hölbl 2008. Thirty *Aegyptiaca* were found at **Emporio's** Harbor sanctuary: Boardman 1967: 62-64; additionally, a scattering of faience was also found at the Athena sanctuary: Boardman 1967: 5-10. For **Didyma**, see Webb 1978: 22 n. 117. **Erythrae** had faience figurines of both humans and animals: Gültekin 1968 and Webb 1978: 15-6 & 19. **Phanai** had a faience female figurine, as well as 34 scarabs and seals, discovered along the *peribolos* wall: Kourouniotis 1915 and 1916: 207, as well as more found in the Archaic Deposit M: Lamb 1934/5: 140 as well as Alan Shorter's brief report found on pages 138-9. Faience was found in bothroi at the sanctuary Aphrodite at Zeytintepe at **Miletus**, which dates to c. 680-30 BCE: Hölbl 2014: 184-5, as well as a piece of a pyxis and vessel in the shape of a kneeling woman at the Temple of Athena at **Miletus**: Held 2000: 167-8.

[20] Webb 2016: 151-71.

period about 625-550 BCE.[21] These "Aegean"-type statuettes conform to particular ideals and iconographies not found either on Cyprus or in the Eastern Mediterranean despite being believed to originate in Cyprus, including the draped kore-type and the nude male – whether representing kouroi, lion tamers, or musicians (Fig. 16).[22] The majority of these "Aegean-type" statuettes are found at sanctuaries in the Eastern Aegean – including Camirus, Lindus, Ialysus, Cnidus, Samos, and Miletus. Indeed, at select sanctuaries, these statuettes appear in large numbers, with almost 300 pieces coming from Lindus, seventy-three from the sanctuary of Athena at Camirus, and nineteen from the temple of Athena at Ialysus; on the Cnidian peninsula, a site tentatively identified as a sanctuary to the Dioskouroi has yielded thirty statues. In Ionia, the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Zeytintepe has produced forty-three, and the Heraion has produced 104; select other Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries also have smaller numbers of these statuettes.[23] Naucratis, as well, has produced 45 limestone statuettes, two of sandstone, and eleven in gypsum. Comparatively, from the rest of the Aegean and wider western Mediterranean world, only four have been found on Delos, one at Siris, and one at Eretria.[24] Because the "Aegean-type" statuettes differ from the rest of contemporary Cypriot sculpture and are found only in the Aegean and at Greek *poleis* elsewhere, there has long been a debate over whether these statuettes were carved on Cyprus or the Aegean.[25]

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[21] Sørensen 1978 provides this chronology, which has held quite steady and has even been bolstered by the excavations at Samos during the 1980s and 1990s: see Kyrieleis 1989 and Senff 1994, as well as Kourou et al. 2002: 4-5.

[22] Kourou et al. 2002: 11-7 & 31-5 and Fourrier 2001. Hdt. 1.10 notes that nakedness for both sexes is considered shameful for most of the Mediterranean cultures, a cultural viewpoint that would influence Candaules' queen to force Gyges to kill the Lydian king and usurp the throne.

[23] Two limestone Cypriot statuettes have been found at the Temple of Athena at **Miletus**; two from **Ephesus**; two from **Erythrae**; one from **Smyrna**, and three from **Emporio**. For the bibliography as well as that for Rhodes and the Cnidian penninsula, see Kourou et al. 2002: 6 and Fourrier 1999: 400.

[24] For Naucratis, see Fourrier 1999: 560-4 and Thomas 2013-15. For the bibliography for the rest of the Mediterranean, see Kourou et al. 2012: 5-7.

[25] For a purely Cypriot origin, see Jenkins 2000 and 2001; Fourrier 2001; Hermary 2001. For workshops outside Cyprus, see Senff 1994; Hermary 1990; and Berges and Tuna 2000.

A recent study, however, applied Optical Microscopy and Electron Paramagnetic Resonance spectroscopy to test the known quarries on Cyprus, Rhodes, Samos, Miletus, and Egypt against select "Aegean-type" Cypriot statuettes found at the Heraion, Lindos, and Vroulia. Surprisingly, the results of this study have demonstrated that none of the statues were made locally (ie. they do not match any tested quarries), but rather must have been imported. This, in itself, suggests an export-focused industry of "Aegean-type" sculpture located on Cyprus that catered to the aesthetic demands of dedicants located further afield.[26] Thereafter, mariners would have acquired and transported them from Cyprus to western Anatolia, either for personal dedication or perhaps as part of a cargo that could be sold to the cultic community for a profit.[27] Indeed, we have documentation of just this use of an imported votive – as related by the Hellenistic historian Polycharmus – by the trader Herostratus in the seventh century BCE. Herostratus, we are told, picked up an antique statuette of Aphrodite at Paphos on Cyprus and carried it with him *en route* to Naucratis. When the statue miraculously saved the crew and ship during a nasty storm, Herostratus immediately dedicated it in the temple of Aphrodite at Naucratis as a thank offering.[28] This suggests that traders were the critical links in moving these faience, limestone, and terracotta

[26] Kourou et al. 2012: 73-77 and Jenkins 2001: 177.

[27] It should be noted that these limestone statues were not the only popular Cypriot votive dedications given to the gods of the western Anatolian littoral during this time. Select sanctuaries, especially Samos and Lindos, also received terracotta statuettes, most of which have been proven to be made of Cypriot clay through NAA or other methods: see Schmidt 1968: 119 and especially Karageorghis et al. 2009: 67-72. In this way, Cyprus could be considered a pendant to the export-focused industry of Euboean-style pottery that arose in Euboea and Ionia, as examined in the previous chapter. At the Heraion, there are about 400-500 terracottas and about 104 limestone figures, giving an estimate of about 600 unique statuettes and figures imported from Cyprus: Schmidt 1968: 54; Baumbach 2004: 167-9. Schmidt 1968 is the definitive publication of the Samian Cypriot terracottas and limestone, while Jantzen 1972 is the publication of the Cypriot bronzes.; Kyrieleis 1989 provides a brief overview of the new material found in the wells – most of which dates to the late seventh century BCE..

[28] *FGrHist* 640 F 1. A scholion to Callim. *Hymn to Artemis* 228 says that Agamemnon dedicated his rudder at the Heraion after being saved from shipwreck.

votives from their places of origin to sanctuaries, where they would be given to the deity by members of the cultic community.

Indeed, if Webb is correct in her assessment of the "shipment" of hawk figurines to the Heraion, then we might consider these imported votives in a new way: they could have given traders an index of the interests and preferences of – and thereby an indicator of the trader's economic success in – the local community. For foreigners, dedications might have functioned akin to the later practice of *deigma*, that is, a partial unloading and sampling of goods that allowed customers to determine whether they wanted to buy a merchant's products still stored in the ship.[29] These imported trinkets, raw materials, agricultural products (such as wine), and/or clothes would have spoken to the goods in the holds, and displaying them in the sanctuary could have been meant to enhance their visibility, thereby providing tacit advertising as long as the trader was present.[30] Indeed, up until the dedication of an artifact, the object remained in the economic sphere and therefore had a value that constituted its status as an imported and exotic object.

Finally, it is equally, if not more, challenging to identify votive gifts given by a *xenos* or that resulted from *xenia* relationships, especially as the only relatively secure identification of a votive gift given by a *xenos* can be through identifying inscriptions in another language other than Greek. To this category, we can only assign a very small subset of votive dedications, including an Archaic Cypriot sphinx statue found at Vroulia on Rhodes that has an inscription in Phoenician

[29] Bresson 2017: 309-13. Interestingly, perhaps the best example of a dedicated object perhaps acting as a *deigma* in the Archaic period comes from Naucratis. It has been argued by Stissi 2003: 77-9 and 2009: 23-42 that these fancy decorated wares were of little use in the sanctuaries, thereby constituting a purely votive gift. If so, then the decorated pottery at Naucratis could also act as a *deigma*, as we know from the vast amount of Greek fine ware found at the site that this pottery was also sold widely in the community.

[30] Indeed, perhaps this is why the Phoenicians are characterized as peddling in ἀθύρματα in *Od*. 15.416. There has been at least one shipwreck that carried a hold full of metal: 'Atlit A, examined in Chapter Two.

(Fig. 17).[31] Further, in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephorus at Eretria were recently found sixty-five sherds as well as one spindle whorl that were inscribed with Phoenician and thereafter dedicated to the god; all of these date to the second half of the seventh century BCE.[32] To these admittedly scattered bits of archaeological evidence, we can also add literary testimony of foreign kings giving lavish gifts to sanctuaries. We know that the Pharaoh Amasis dedicated a gilded statue of Athena and a painted picture of himself at Cyrene, a breastplate and two stone statues at Lindos, and two wooden statues at the Heraion,[33] His son, Necho, later dedicated his battle raiment at Didyma after winning the battle at Magdolus.[34] The Lydian king Croesus dedicated not just the columns of the Artemision, but also such fantastically lavish gifts as a gold lion striding on bricks and a pyramidal heap of gold and electrum, as well as two bowls of gold and silver, and his wife's personal jewelry and girdles at Delphi, as well as a gold spear and shield to the shrine of Amphiaraus in Thebes.[35] Earlier, the Phrygian King Midas dedicated his throne at Delphi, becoming the first foreigner to give gifts to Pythian Apollo.[36] None of these objects, however, have survived for autopsy and verification.

3.3.2 Votives of Imported Fabrics

One final category of imported votives constitutes raw products that were transported from abroad and then carved in an Anatolian style. These types of votives are particularly present at the

[31] Kourou 2003: 255-6 and 2015b; Bourogiannis 2015. See Kyrieleis 1979 for arguments of imported dedications at the Heraion being dedicated by foreigners.
[32] Kenzelmann, Theruillat, and Verdan 2005 is the publication, but see also Papadopoulos 2016: 1239-41 who summarizes the inscribed finds.
[33] Hdt. 2.182.
[34] Hdt. 2.159. See Kaplan 2006 for possible motives, including information-gathering about these new strange lands, behind these dedications by foreign rulers.
[35] Hdt. 1.50-2. Hogarth found fragments of three columns that bear the inscription Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν: Hogarth 1905: 293-5; Niebuhr 1933: 9-10 (# 6); *IK* 15, 1518.
[36] Hdt. 1.14.

Artemision, where they have been interpreted as reflecting this sanctuary's preoccupation with and orientation towards the interior of Anatolia, rather than its exterior trading networks. While the Artemision's votives do demonstrate local styles and influence, connected especially to Anatolia, many of them are made of items that come only from extensive trading contacts abroad – especially ivory and amber – and had to have been imported as raw products before being worked by Anatolian artists in the local style, probably in the near vicinity of the sanctuary.[37] To demonstrate this point, I give just two short illustrative examples of the use of these foreign materials to create locally charged votive objects, all of which have been found at the Artemision.

Anatolian – and probably Ephesian – workshops are responsible for carving figurines and body parts in ivory, which were dedicated at the Artemision beginning in the second quarter of the seventh century BCE.[38] Singular ivory arms and faces found at the Artemision could perhaps be related to the cult statue as well as multiple ivory hawk figurines.[39] Further, both Hogarth's excavations as well as the recent Austrian excavations have revealed that several statuettes of women, which were dedicated at the Artemision, are in a wholly Anatolian style and wear traditional Anatolian clothing of a long garment, a long veil (with the ends generally tucked into the belt), and a polos of some height; women can also have locks of hair that fall to and frame the chin.[40] Perhaps the best-known example of this, however, is the so-called Megabyzus figurine

[37] Causey 1993: 216

[38] The sheer amount of ivory dedicated at the Artemision suggests a nearby workshop – see Hogarth 1908: 177; Carter 1985: 230-48 argues persuasively for a workshop here based on aesthetic similarities of the ivory statuettes found here to large-scale stone sculpture and the sanctuary's stratigraphy that clearly show that both "Greek" style ivories and "Anatolian" style ivories co-existed (thus negating previous ideas of an "evolution" from Anatolian to Greek style ivories).

[39] See Radner 2001 for the ivory body parts. Smith 1908: 161-2 catalogues eight ivory hawk figurines, as well as several lions, a sphinx, boar, ram, as well as other *varia* in his chapter. He identifies these statuettes (human and animal) as part of the Ionic School: 171-2.

[40] Smith in Hogarth 1908: 155-76. Of the ten ivory human figurines, nine were women. These figurines include "the Spinner," a figurine that holds a distaff in her hand and wears a polos, as well as the "Hawk-

from the Artemision, an ivory figurine that wears a tall peplos and belted dress, as well as a long necklace that it grasps with both hands (Fig. 18).[41] This figure was meant to be an attachment to some object and has been dated to the end of the seventh century BCE.[42]

The demonstrably Anatolian style of these figurines can be proven thanks to ivory figurines carved in the same style or even by the same workshop in Tumulus C, located near the modern town of Elmalı, in what would have been ancient Lycia. Of the hundred or so tumuli that were constructed there, only two have been excavated systematically – Tumulus C and D.[43] Tumulus D was the tomb of a young adult female, who was inhumed likely towards the end of the seventh century BCE with a material culture that was overwhelmingly Phyrgian in nature, including cauldrons, griffin protomes, omphalos bowls, and silver and bronze ladles.[44] From this tumulus comes several ivory figurines and one silver one.[45] Antalya C and D depict mothers and their children in ivory; C is an ivory triad group of adult female who carries a nude adolescent boy on her shoulder and holds the hand of a clothed adolescent female (Fig. 19),[46] whereas Antalya D is

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Priestess," which was the figural handle of a distaff: See Connelly 2007: 120. The Austrian excavations have found three more figurines – one of gold and three of ivory: Bammer 1985: 54-7 and Işık 2001.

[41] It should be noted that the Megabyzus eunuch priests of Artemis are only attested in later sources – Xen. *Anab*. 5.3.6, Pl. *HN*. 35.93-132, Quintilian 5.12-19-21, Str. 14.1.23 and their existence in the Archaic period is in doubt (LiDonnicci 1992: 401, n. 56.), which consequently puts the identification of this figurine in doubt. See Isik 2001: 71.

[42] Hogarth 1908 and Smith 1908: 160-1; Şare 2010: 61-3. Hogarth's date has been reaffirmed by Carter 1985: 225-248, who restudied his stratigraphy.

[43] Dörtlük excavated these tumuli; see his initial report - Dörtlük 1988.

[44] Özgen and Özturk 1996: 32-5; Şare 2010: 60-1. I accept Şare's dating of this ivory figure, but see the various dates proposed, which range from the early seventh century through to the sixth century BCE, which Şare enumerates (60-4).

[45] Antalya A is a silver figurine of a figure in tall polos and long belted garment, holding its hands in front of it as if to beseech the viewer. It is somewhat different stylistically, which is probably due to its execution in silver instead of ivory.

[46] This triad group has been the subject of some controversy in terms of its identification. Işık 2000: 80-3 and 2001 identifies this group as Leto, Artemis, and Apollo. Borker-Klahn 2003: 79 supports this identification. Roller 1999: 105 prefers to see this triad group as that of Kybele with her children. Şare 2010 argues for an interpretation of Antalya C as a priestess with her children; there is no real proof one way or the other for these figures' identities.

an adult woman holding a bird in her right hand and a baby in her left. Both figures wear typical Anatolian dress and feature an identical rendering of face; Antalya C also wears a high polos. Antalya B is of the most interest to us, however, and is an ivory figurine that wears similar accoutrement as A, though with a *polos* and a long necklace, which the figurine clasps with both hands (Fig. 20). This figure is strikingly similar – indeed, almost identical to – the Megabyzus figurines from the Artemision, and should be considered the product of the same workshop, if not the same hand. In style, carving, and dress, all of these ivories are an almost perfect match to the Megabyzus figurine and other female figurines found at the Artemision.[47] Further, all of these figures have rectangular holes at the top of their heads, which demonstrate they were attached to objects and functioned perhaps as decorative handles or parts of cups or distaffs.[48] Indeed, it appears that the objects made by the workshop at Ephesus travelled far afield, where it was a prized item that functioned to mark high social status.[49]

Our second example of items carved from imported products are carvings of imitation astragaloi or bobbins – carved in ivory and embellished with decorative incisions and occasionally gilding or the addition of amber – that have been found at Ephesus, Smyrna, and Didyma and are also dated to the seventh century BCE.[50] At Ephesus, ninety-nine of these ivory imitation astragali were found by Hogarth, mixed among many natural astragali and other votive objects below the

[47] Another strikingly similar ivory is the "Lion Tamer" from Delphi. Devries and Rose 2012 suggest that this figure was Phrygian and formed part of the Throne of Midas that was seen by Herodotus. Muscarella 2016 hotly debates this on stylistic grounds as well as the fact that the figure has a hole in its head so it can function as an attachment. His strongest argument against the identification of this figure as Phrygian furniture decoration, however, is that none of the furniture from Mound MM had decorative figural appliques (for which, see Young 1981).
[48] Şare 2010: 72.
[49] Işık, 2003: 85-100
[50] Only one has been found in Smyrna's Athena Temple: see Plate 22d in Cook and Nichols 1998. For dating, see Greaves 2013: 510.

central basis, and more have been found by the recent excavations (Fig. 21).[51] Eighteen of these ivory astragaloi were inlaid with amber, and one was gilded; to this, we can add two rock crystal objects in the same shape.[52] At Didyma, a number of astragaloi either cast or modified with lead were found within the Archaic altar.[53] The Ephesian astragaloi have been studied by Alan Greaves, who notes that the ivory is from elephants, rather than hippopotamus, and was therefore sourced from Egypt, whereas the amber came from the Baltic region.[54] These ivory imitation astragaloi therefore represent the trading connections at the Artemision, combining on one votive object material that comes from the northern and southern edges of the known world, while their rock crystal counterparts speak to trading connections far to the east.[55]

3.3.3 Imported Votives: Final Remarks

It is no surprise, then, that during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE – precisely when we have firm evidence of Anatolian Ionians operating outside of Ionia – imported objects became

[51] Hogarth 1908: 190-192; See also Greaves 2013 who examined the ones from Hogarth's excavations that are currently housed at the British Museum; he argues for their interpretation in an Anatolian context. For astragaloi from the 1980/90 excavations, see Seipel 2008: 183-4.
[52] Seipel 2008: 191.
[53] Wiegand 1911: 41-3. Lead astragaloi were also found at the temple of Aphrodite Oikus at Miletus – see Greaves 2012: 192, n. 114.
[54] Graff 2014 notes that the Syrian Elephant was nearing or was extinct by the ninth or eighth century BCE and argues that it was through a variety of factors, including territory encroachment and a demand for their ivory, as well as the new factor of Neo-Assyrian hunts.
[55] Greaves 2013: 524-6 argues against Bammer's interpretation of amber at the Artemision as indicative of presocratic philosophy and cosmology in material form: i.e. that Thales and other Ionian Pre-Socratic philosophers believed that all matter was composed of either water, earth, fire, air, or some combination thereof. Bammer 2001b: 25-6 has argued that the material found at the Artemision anticipates these cosmological views, pointing in particular to the amber small finds, which he believes symbolize "fire." Greaves strongly and persuasively argues that Bammer's interpretation is deeply anachronistic and wrong, and he reorients the interpretation of these imitation astragaloi as related to a limited form of prophesizing (by lot via astragaloi) in which the Artemision overall engaged. See also Greaves 2012 for arguments that the oracle at Didyma functioned in the same way. Certainly, astragaloi appear to be positively linked to luxury and these imitation astragaloi of exotic materials would be an appropriate elite votive dedication: Kurke 1999.

a popular gift to the gods in Ionia. It should be noted that this is not a trend unique to Ionia, but rather occurs at sanctuaries throughout the Aegean, including Olympia, Pherai, Perachora, and the Argive Heraion, and we should consider their appearance elsewhere as perhaps suggestive of cultic involvement within maritime networks as a general trend across the Aegean.[56]

This is also not to say that the dedication of imported votives was uniform across Ionia. Select gods, such as Hera, Aphrodite at Zeytintepe, and Athena at Miletus, received substantially more imported votives than such other sanctuaries as the temple of Apollo at Clarus and the temple of Athena at Emporio, which received almost none.[57] There also appears to be differentiation in the types of imported votives, with select deities receiving militaristic and male accoutrements, such as Athena at Miletus, while other deities, such as Artemis at Ephesus and Aphrodite at Zeytintepe, received domestic items, primarily ones that related to the female sphere (such as jewelry and faience objects).

Similarly, imported votives may or may not reflect the various external relationships of the nearby *polis* community. For example, of the imported votives at the Heraion, votives coming from Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt form the largest sub-groups and reflect the island's inhabitants moving through these three areas as merchants, pirates, or mercenaries.[58] By contrast, almost no imported votives from Egypt have been found at either sanctuary at Phanai and Emporio on Chios, despite the important role we know Chios played in the *emporion* Naucratis and the concomitant

[56] See Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985 for the breakdowns of votives at Pherai, Perachora, Olympia, and Samos. See also Menadier 1995; Verger 2001 for Perachora. For the Argive Heraion, see Strøm 1988 and 2009 especially. Barbara Kowalzig has recently advocated for a similar idea in a talk given at the University of Colorado: Kowalzig 2018. Gunter 2009: 152-4 has suggested that perhaps a sanctuary network in the Aegean existed, wherein temple officials had ties to political or religious elites in the wider Eastern Mediterranean.
[57] Dewailly 2000 for Claros and Boardman 1967: 23-30 for Emporio.
[58] Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985: 237

vast amount of Chian pottery found in Egypt.[59] There are also few discernible patterns in these dedications that allow us to determine whether the imported votive was given with an intimate understanding of its use and symbolism in its original context or whether it was given merely as a curio, an object whose significance lay purely in its status as foreign. These discrepancies and lacunae in our understanding of imported votives in Ionia serve to highlight the variable nature of gift-giving during the Archaic period; however, their overall presence in every single Anatolian Ionian sanctuary suggests these cultic places were enmeshed within maritime networks, and actors in these networks carried these objects from the furthest reaches of (or even beyond) the known world to their new homes in Ionia. In this vein, it is important to remember that the appearance of these imported votive objects in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE largely pre-dated the construction of large stone temples in Ionia and elsewhere and must have formed an early focus for the sanctuary, creating an otherworldly heterogenous character, a bazaar or museum-like feel.[60] Imported votive dedications would likely have emphasized variety rather than conformity, articulating in visual terms the networks in which the sanctuary participated and the cultic community that used the sanctuary would have seen wondrous objects, which stood outside of the boundaries of the local environment.[61] Not only would the exotic scope of these objects have enhanced the prestige and social capital of the cultic community, but it would have doubly enhanced the prestige for the individuals who gave the gift, generating social capital as well in the nearby civic *polis*.[62]

[59] Herodotus 2. 178 tells us that Chios was a founding member of Naucratis. For Chian pottery at Naucratis, see Chapter Five.
[60] Bazaar: Kopcke 1968: 283; Museum: Kyrieleis 1993: 148-9 and Niemeyer 2014: 245.
[61] Indeed, Sarah Morris has even suggested that the uptick in the votives during this period reflects intra-polis competition in terms of enhancing the sanctuary in foreigners' eyes: Morris 1997: 66-7
[62] Duplouy 2006: 151-83.

3.3.4 Inscribed Objects, Overseas Movement, and Trade

While the previous sections established that the presence of imported votives and imported votive materials speaks to the sanctuaries' participation in maritime networks, without dedicatory inscriptions it is impossible to determine whether the dedicant was a *xenos* or local participant in the cultic community. This section, however, examines several specific case studies that do carry dedications and can therefore illuminate in part the people who were active in Ionian sanctuaries and their motivations for giving gifts. It will also argue that the sanctuaries also benefitted economically from these maritime connections, not just from the value of the accrued imported votives, but also through perhaps a limited form of trade and revenue derived from taxing ships berthed in the associated harbor. Admittedly, the evidence is scarce, so we shall give only four examples from the major sanctuaries of Didyma, Ephesus, Samos, and Priene to illuminate these sanctuaries' ties to maritime traffic and trade, and their interrelated economic prestige.

From Samos, we have two inscriptions and one inscribed dedication. The first dedication is a fragmentary sixth century BCE inscribed bronze tablet. While the back side is too fragmentary to understand, the front side of this tablet records a dedication of six ships to Hera and one to Poseidon by one Amphidemus, who had seized them (Fig. 22)[63] This tablet is exciting not just because it demonstrates that Hera, especially, received ornate nautical gifts – possibly by a pirate – but it is even possible that archaeologists have recovered evidence of this extravagant dedication: two bases to hold ships were installed immediately east of the Heraion's main thoroughfare in the

[63] Buschor 1937; Kopcke 1967: 145-8; Dunst 1972: 106-113.
Ἀμφιδεμο [- ca. 9 - τὸ μην]-
μόσυνον ⁝ τό[δε ⁝ - ca. 12 -]
νέας ἑλὼν ⁝ ΕΞ - ca. 13 -
τ'Ήρηι ⁝ ἐνθα[ῦτα - ca. 8 -]
λει ⁝ μίαν ⁝ Ποσ[ειδῶνι ⁝ τῶι Ἐπαπ]-
vacat ρίωι[⁝]

seventh century BCE (Fig. 23).[64] These ships' bases have been previously linked to the famous Samian trader Colaeus, mentioned as the first Greek to sail beyond the confines of the Mediterranean Sea by Herodotus.[65] However, there is no ancient evidence attesting this link, and Herodotus does not explicitly mention that Colaeus dedicated a ship. Amphidemus' dedication is certainly a better candidate for the installation of these ships, and his dedication is paralleled by another, later inscription dating from the mid-fifth century BCE that records a successful capturing of ships by one Hegesagores, who took fifteen at Memphis.[66] Indeed, offering captured ships as first fruits to the gods is attested after the Battle of Salamis in 480 BCE and the Battle of Naupactus in 429 BCE.[67]

Whoever dedicated these two ships at the Heraion and whatever their purpose, however, these impressive votives would have emphasized their purposes: trade, piracy, naval warfare, or simple transportation.[68] These life-size ship dedications are complemented by forty miniature wooden boat models – founded discarded in wells – that were perhaps dedicated by more humble mariners.[69] These dedications, combined with the large assemblage of overseas votives from

[64] The first ship's base is well illustrated, whereas the other ship's base is basically unpublished aside from an illustration in Walter 1990: 83, fig. 92; he notes this second ship dedication without providing further details on page 88 of the same publication. This second dedication has not been published in any detail that I have been able to find. The ships' bases are located south of the altar and temple at the sanctuary's main access point, which in the seventh century BCE was from the sea; see Blackman 2001 for ship dedications generally.

[65] 4.152.2-5. Walter 1990: 89 connected the ship's remains to Colaeus, in agreement with Kyrieleis 1981 and Shipley 1987. Following Snodgrass 1983, Wallinga 1993: 49-53 believes it was a *pentekonter*. Wallinga 1993: 51 n. 61 believes it was one of the ships the Corinthian Amenocles built for the Samians, a vignette found in Thuc. 1.13.3.

[66] This latter inscription is later – from the Battle of the Eurymedon in 465 BC, but it demonstrates the continued ties of Hera to the naval prowess of the Samians: see Baumbach 2004: 165-6.

[67] Hdt. 8.121 for the dedication of Phoenician ships at Sounion, the Isthmus, and Salamis in the Persian War, and Thuc. 2.84.4 for the dedication of a ship to Poseidon at Rhium during the Peloponnesian War.

[68] Kyrieleis 1981: 88-90, fig. 65.

[69] Kyrieleis 1993: 141-3; Johnston 1985: 50-1. Also significant here is the shift from graves to sanctuaries as the primary deposition locus during the Archaic period. Most Geometric ship models are localized on Crete, whereas the Archaic period has ship models found throughout the Aegean.

Samos, discussed above, underscores the sanctuary's deep involvement in maritime networks. Indeed, seafaring and piracy was even woven into the deep history of the sanctuary itself: Athenaeus records a story of Hera preventing Tyrrhenian pirates from making off with her cult statue by rendering their boats motionless, while Agamemnon is said to have dedicated a ship's rudder on Samos.[70]

Finally, we might have evidence that Hera's cultic personnel themselves were involved in maritime endeavors. A broken statue base of a marble seated figure was dedicated to Hera, and the left side of the chair was inscribed, stating that the dedicant, one Aeaces, gave the statue to Hera from proceeds from a σύλη – a lawful seizing of a ship – while serving as an *epistatos*. If Aeaces was serving as *epistatos* of the sanctuary, it underscores the deep interconnection of not just the deity, but also the sanctuary's personnel in maritime endeavors, as well as the wealth that could accrue: Aeaces as well as Amphedemus would have become quite rich from these ship seizures.[71]

These votives from the Heraion are paralleled at Didyma with two similarly inscribed dedications. The first is a fragmentary kouros statue that was given as first fruits dedication (Fig. 24). While the dedication is a statue rather than multiple ships, the inscription notes that the

[70] Ath. 15. 671, Paus. 7.4.4. believed that Hera arrived on Samos by boat from Argos. See Kyrieleis 1993: 143 for discussion. Menodotus *GFrHist* 241 F 1 notes that Carians at the Tonaea towed the cult statue of Hera back after it had been unsuccessfully stolen and abandoned by pirates. A fleeting, early reference to this interconnection of trade and sanctuaries can be found in the extended description of the Phaeacian community, when Nausicaa describes the agora with the temple of Poseidon, evidently near the harbor because she also references that mariners care for their tackle and oars here: *Od*. 6.262-7. For the importance of trade to the myths and rituals on Aegina, see Kowalzig 2010.

[71] Freyer-Schauenburg 1974: 67 & 143-4; Ridgway 1977: 132; Meiggs and Lewis 1969: 30-1 n. 16.
Ἀεάκην ἀνέθηκεν
ὁ Βρύχωνος· ὃς τῆι
Ἥρηι· τὴν σύλην· ἔ-
πρησεν· κατὰ τὴν
ἐπίστασιν.

dedicant had seized booty, and it is from this booty that the first fruits come – ἀπήρσξατο ληΐης.[72] This inscription thereby identifies the dedicant as a raider or pirate, though the nature of the booty is obscure to us. The second example is an over-life-size bronze knucklebone – measuring 27.5 x 39 x 24.5 cm and weighing 93.07 kg – which was found in Susa, but was taken from an East Greek sanctuary (Fig. 25).[73] Though it is not fully clear where the knucklebone was originally dedicated, general scholarly consensus favors Didyma, given that Apollo is the recipient and the Persians are known to have sacked the sanctuary in 494 BCE.[74] The inscription on it states that it was dedicated by two individuals, Aristolochus and Thrason, to Apollo as a tithe from the booty, using the same terminology – λεία – as that found on the fragmentary kouros sculpture.[75] Indeed, the presence of pirates or raiders or warriors at Didyma is also supported by an archaic oracle that identifies the oracle seekers as such, perhaps asking whether it was just to raid a specific target.[76] That the oracle answered such an inquiry suggests that there was no detraction in that sanctuary against raiding. These three objects together suggest that the sanctuary was open to and frequented by pirates or raiders, likely maritime rather than overland, who clearly experienced little to no stigma regarding their profession, and commemorated their seizures by first fruits, paralleling behavior seen at the Heraion. We have already seen in Chapter Two that the line between traders and pirates was blurry

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[72] Tuchelt 1970: 117-8 – the kouros is K9.
---]ῆς ἀπήρσξατο ληΐης
δεκάτην τοῖ Ἀπ[όλλωνι]
[73] Rehm and Harder 1958: 7; Hitzl 1996: 151–153; Greaves 2012: 194; Eidinow 2007: 54-5 points out that the astragalus's weight is equivalent to 220 Milesian minas.
[74] Picard 1929: 132–135; Boardman 1999a: 108; Parke 1985b: 31; Greaves 2010: 194.
[75] *SEG* XXX 1290: τάδε τἀγάλματα | ἀπὸ λείο Ἀριστόλοχ [ος 1-2 | 1-2] Θράσων ἀνέθεσαν τ[ὠ] | πόλλωνι δεκάτην · ἔχε[ε] | δ' αὐτὰ ιτσικλῆς ὁ Κυδιμ.ν[- -
[76] As suggested by Jackson 1995: 98.
...σοι[σι]
ληϊστοί· θε[ὸ]-
[ς] δὲ ἐπεν· δίκ-
αιον ποιεῖν
ὡς πατέρες.
For tithes and first fruits generally given to the gods, see Spivey 1996: 84-7.

at best and could be easily crossed when the opportunity presented itself. While Aristolochus and Thrason, as well as our mysterious statue dedicator, could have been strictly pirates, it is more probable that they were traders as well.[77]

Finally, a discarded lead tablet found in the Artemision at Ephesus was "dedicated" when it was folded over and placed deep within the Croesid temple foundations (Fig. 26).[78] Importantly, this tablet can give us insight into the various sources of income for the sanctuary during the period dating to slightly earlier than the end of the seventh century BCE. Both sides of the tablet, which was written in boustrophedon, are concerned with receiving revenues, for which the total revenues are calculated in gold as the standard by which the other forms of currency are weighed.[79]

Side A reads as:

τε Ταράϙοντα μνέαι : τὸ πρῶ[τον] ἐστάθ[ησ]αν : : ἐκ ττῶν δ[ώρ-]
[ων] χρυσõ : ἐκ πόλεως ἠνείχ[τθ]ησαν : ἀργυραῖ πέντε : καὶ εἴϙοσ(ι) μν[έ-]
[α]ι : εἰν τῶι πρώτωι χρυσῶι ἠνείχτθησαν· : ἐκ ττõ δόρατος ἓξς μνέαι
ἐστάθ[ησαν] : δέκα δὲ αἱ ἐνθένδε ἐστάθησαν μνέαι χρυσõ : ἀγρύρō τρές κα-
[ί] τριήϙοντα μν[έ]αι ἐνθάδ' ἐστάθησαν : ἀργυραῖ ἐ[κ ττõ] ναυτι[κõ. *vac.*]
[ἐκ ττο]ύτō ἑβδομήϙοντα μνέαι : καθα[ρõ χρυσ]õ ἐ[γέ]νό[ντο σὺν ταῖς]
δέκα ἐκ ττõ ἁλός :

40 minas at first were weighed, from the gifts (tribute?) of gold; they were brought from the polis. 25 silver minas were brought in (with) the first gold. From the spear (i.e. military? revenue) 6 minas (of gold) were weighed. 10 minas of gold from here were weighed. 33 minas of silver were weighed out here, silver f[rom the] marit[ime] (revenue).
[From th]is [there re]sult[ed] 70 minas of pure gold [including the] 10 from the salt.[80]

[77] This has been examined in depth in Chapter Two. Another example of the line between pirate and trader can be found in a later example of the Phocaeans, who abandoned their city rather than surrender to the Persian general Harpagus. They attempted to buy the islands of Oenussae from the Chians and were denied because the Chians feared that these islands would be turned into trading hubs and eclipse their own commercial centers. The Phocaeans then emigrated to Corsica, where they harassed the shipping traffic with their piratical activities to such an extent that the Etruscans and Carthaginians attacked them: Hdt. 1.161-7

[78] Found and initially published by Hogarth 1905: 120-44.

[79] Kroll 2008: 17-24; Bresson forthcoming.

[80] Trans. Kroll 2008: 19-20.

This tablet gives insight – albeit in abbreviated form – to the sanctuary's economy as a whole. We see that the tablet records several revenue streams. The largest comes from Ephesus, suggesting that the temple had an economic sphere separate from that of the *polis*.[81] Other sources include money taken by the spear – a reference to military activity that is somewhat unclear but could be from mercenaries coming back from fighting abroad. A large source of revenue was maritime – the noun ναυτικόν typically meant navy, but in this case probably meant the sacred harbor that was to the west of the Artemision, and likely ships docking in this harbor had to pay a port tax, though the type of tax is unclear.[82] The text notes that gold and silver were weighed "here" – presumably at the temple itself or its harbor, which underscores the sanctuary's role in financial transactions and perhaps as a center for transactional exchanges.[83] Finally, there is the curious phrase of revenue coming in from salt, which is likely the nearby salt lagoons, which many centuries afterward were still producing revenue for the goddess.[84] Side B will be examined in more detail in the Chapter Five, but is similarly concerned with accounting matters for the temple. We thus see that the Artemision had several revenue streams that connected it to a multitude of economic spheres, but an important one – indeed the second-largest source of revenue for the

[81] Dignas 2002 has shown that later Hellenistic and Roman sanctuaries of Asia Minor operated independently of the polis, though the polis itself was deeply involved and concerned with the religious sphere. This separation is also argued for the early phases of the Argive Heraion – see Strøm 2009: 75-7.
[82] Bresson 2017: 307-9 notes that by the third century BCE there were three types of taxes possible: a *limēn* (anchorage fee), *stropheia* (a fee for the usage of a capstan), and a *hairesia* (related to loading/unloading space). On top of these taxes was a customs duty, which later evidence suggests was set at one-fiftieth of the value of the cargo.
[83] Kroll 2008: 20-1. Ath. 8.361 refers to a "Sacred Harbor" at the Artemision. See also Horden and Purcell: 425-6 for sanctuaries and harbors. Hdt. 1.157.3 places the temple of Apollo at Didyma right above the harbor of Panormus, perhaps suggesting a link between these two places.
[84] Str. 14.1.26 alludes to a salt works near Ephesus and under control of the deity. Salt was both a delicate seasoning in Greece, as well as a necessary requirement for livestock. See Carusi 2011 for the uses of and demand for salt in ancient Greece

sanctuary after gifts from the *polis* – was income from the harbor, suggesting the sanctuary played a role in tracking and taxing any ships that berthed here.

Finally, we turn to a dedication by an individual that utilized these maritime networks. The so-called Pedon votive is an Egyptian sculpture of a kneeling man, though it is now missing its head. The sculpture was dedicated at some time in the seventh century BCE, allegedly at a sanctuary somewhere in the vicinity of Priene, though the specifics are lost to us because it was unfortunately looted. This dedication bears a lengthy, generous inscription across the legs and lap of the kneeling man (Fig. 27). The inscription states that Pedon, the son of Amphineus, brought the statue out of Egypt after he had worked as a mercenary for the Egyptian pharaoh, Psammetichus I. His service under Psammetichus was clearly exemplary, as he rose high and served as an official under the pharaoh: he received the governorship of a town and a gold bracelet.[85] The dedication underscores Pedon's – presumably an Anatolian Ionian – deep and lengthy involvement in Egypt, which led to wealth, importance, and (presumably) an understanding of the customs of Egyptian society. Indeed, his service abroad would have been tacitly demonstrated by the "Egyptian" aesthetics of this sculpture, found both in its style and its black Basalt medium, and the Pedon sculpture gives us some of our earliest evidence that these

[85]Şahin 1987 is the *ed. prin.*; Masson and Yoyotte 1988 date the statue to the second half of the seventh century BCE and are followed by Haider 2001: 200-1; Bresson forthcoming notes that the Pedon inscription's three-bar etas provide support for this high date, as the three-bar etas appear only in the graffiti of Dorians at Abu Simbel whereas the Teian mercenary uses a one-bar eta; this shift from three-bar etas to one-bar etas at Teos must have happened before 590 BCE.

1 → Πηδῶμ μ᾽ νέθηκε-
2 ← ν ὠμφίννεω ⁝ ἐξ Αίγ-
3 → πτὠγαγὼν ⁝ ϙῶι βα-
4 ← σιλεὺς ἔδωϙ᾽ ὠιγύπ-
5 → τιος ⁝ Ψαμμήτιχο-
6 → ς ⁝ ριστήϊια ψίλιό-
7 → ν τε χρύσεογ καὶ
8 ← πόλιν ρετῆς ἕ-
9 → νεκα.

mercenaries purposefully acquired objects overseas to transport back to their home sanctuaries, as a mark of the lands in which they had seen, lived, and travelled.

This specific style of sculpture, however, is rare and joins only two other fragmentary Egyptian sculptural votives with dedications that allow us to securely identify the dedicant as non-Egyptian. Both were dedicated in Camirus on Rhodes towards the end of the seventh century BCE; while the first was dedicated at the sanctuary of Athena, and has a dedication too fragmentary to illuminate, the second comes from the sanctuary of Zeus Atavyrius and bears the name of one Σμίρδης, which has been identified as a Lycian name.[86] Unfortunately, these imported statues cannot illuminate the reasons why they were chosen and transported to Western Anatolia for dedication, but if they were acquired by their dedicants (rather than transported by and then bought from traders) it speaks to the use of these maritime networks by individuals who moved throughout the Mediterranean.[87]

Indeed, this scattered evidence speaks to Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries profiting economically from their maritime links thanks to a proliferation of visitors, a plethora and variety of votive offerings, and taxes levied on maritime activity, and this reading accords well with the robust documentation of the economic role of Anatolian sanctuaries in later periods. Beate Dignas' study of the sacred wealth and temple economies of Hellenistic temples in western Anatolia has highlighted the diverse revenue streams these temples possessed, and she has demonstrated that they were clearly differentiated and operated separately from the revenue streams of the nearby *polis*.[88] One of the strongest bases of finance for sanctuaries was sacred land. This ground

[86] Kourou 2004: 19 and Kourou 2015b: 248-50
[87] Interestingly, a small number of inscribed Cypriot limestone statuettes have also been found on Rhodes and at Naucratis. They have dedicatory offerings that are short and generally unsatisfying – giving the name of the dedicator (in Greek) and occasionally the reason for the dedication: Kourou et al 2002: 25-6; Kourou 2004: 19; Kourou 2015b: 251.
[88] Dignas 2002: 13-35.

remained separate from the public land owned by the local *polis* – thanks, no doubt, to its divine owners – and could be used by the temple itself or leased out to a third party, generally for agricultural production.[89] Rents from these sacred lands were paid back into the temple's treasuries. The votive dedications themselves were inherently valuable, even if they were owned by the gods, and could function as such in times of crisis.[90] Indeed, they were inventoried in a limited form in Anatolia – so as to keep a record of the deity's valuables – and records from Samos, Lindos, and Didyma attest to this practice.[91] These votive offerings could be incorporated into the temple's finances and used as collateral for any loans, or even be sold off to repay loans taken in the deity's name. In the Hellenistic period, several sanctuaries, including the Artemision, functioned as banks and engaged in banking themselves, providing loans to individuals or communities while also storing wealth in local banks.[92] Further, numerous festivals, sacrifices, and ritual dining would also be distinct forms of revenues that were steady and consistent, with profits from the sale of sacrificed animals or expenditures for festivals or *pompai* buoying the sacred economy.[93] Finally, sanctuaries were loci of economic exchanges themselves: as places already embedded in the economic sphere and furthermore enjoying a sacred neutrality – which assured a privative aspect to goods and services – the sanctuaries also featured treasuries and

[89] Dignas 2002: 25-30. Examples of sacred leases can be found throughout the Aegean, so I give but one - that of the Heracleion on Thasos, which leased out its "Sacred Garden" multiple times, with examples IG XII 8 265 and IG XII, Suppl. 353. For the latter inscription, there is also regulation of coprolites, which must have been prized as fertilizer. For the history of the Heracleion on Thasos overall, see Berquist 1973
[90] So, e.g. Athens considered the Acropolis treasures as a quick reserve during the Peloponnesian War in case they needed "fast cash." (Thuc. 2.13.3-5). They would charge themselves interest, underlining the acknowledgment of Athena's ownership: see entry #58 in Meiggs and Lewis 1969. Further, Davies 2001: 117-9 notes that the later Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus could convert her votives into coin to lend out at interest, thereby generating revenue for the goddess.
[91] Dignas 2002: 18-20
[92] Lending practices generally varied from sanctuary to sanctuary. Nemesis at Rhamnus lent to individuals (see entry # 53 in Meiggs and Lewis 1969), whereas Apollo at Delos appears to have lent to many different people and entities. For the Artemision functioning as a bank, see Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 150b; Dio. Chrys. 31.48.54; and Caes. *BCiv*. 3.33 and 3.105. Str. 14.1.24 calls it the largest *emporion* in Asia.
[93] Dignas 2002: 14.

guards for further protection.[94] Later evidence suggests that day-to-day commerce was carried out on a limited scale by *in situ* shops and was closely monitored by the sanctuaries themselves. An inscription from the Heraion demonstrates the presence of these shopkeepers and the ability of the sanctuary to regulate who could sell items in four permanent shops at the Heraion.[95]

While the evidence is admittedly limited, these inscribed votives underscore the links that Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries had to maritime networks and the people using them, as well as the economic resources these sanctuaries accrued from these networks and their actors. Indeed, the lead tablet from Ephesus speaks directly to this sanctuary benefitting from its nearby harbor, receiving taxes and fees from ships presumably utilizing this safe berth, as well as perhaps monitoring the individuals moving through the area.[96] We know that pirates dedicated objects and queried oracles in Ionia, and it is likely these same pirates also served as traders, much like the Samian trader Colaeus, who we know became fabulously wealthy from trade and gave lavish gifts to his patron goddess. This all suggests that the sanctuaries of Ionia were intertwined within these maritime networks and their concomitant trading routes and commerce, and that they played important economic roles not just within the surrounding area but also for these itinerant travelers.

If the above supposition is correct, then the sanctuary environment could have been an important milieu for the fostering of the "Ionian" moniker, which we argue carried economic overtones in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. We have evidence that traders and mercenaries

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[94] Horden and Purcell 2001:452-7.

[95] *SEG* 27,545 is an inscription that discusses permanent shops (at least four) in the Heraion in 245 BCE, with specific regulations on who could sell the items: Kron 1984: 297; Habicht 1972; Lupu 2005: 285-97(#18). The shopkeepers had been a regular and understood phenomenon of the sanctuary for quite some time. The inscription focuses on only four shops, but there is no reason to doubt there were more scattered throughout the sanctuary, which clearly profited from their presence. Kron 1984: 296-7 argues for an earlier law that addressed similar economic matters. For archaeological evidence of shops at the Heraion in the Hellenistic period, see Kyrieleis, Kienast, and Weisshaar. 1985: 435-7.

[96] Spivey 1996: 79-80; Bresson 2007b: 40-6 documents this phenomenon for the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

– the very people that were called "Ionians" by the civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE – were active at these sanctuaries; indeed, it is possible that trade in some limited form might have taken place here. Thus, the sanctuary environment could have functioned as an important medium for the later fostering and expression of an Anatolian Ionian identity, and supports our study of the Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries for possible expressions of this new identity.

3.4 Naucratis: A Control

If, as has been argued in this chapter and throughout this dissertation, the intersection of religion, trade, and cross-cultural interaction was fundamentally important for the fostering and expression of group identity in the Archaic period, then we might reasonably turn to the contemporary Greek trading *emporion* of Naucratis, located on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile in the western Egyptian Delta, to serve as a control and a check on this idea. Naucratis was given to the Greeks in the mid seventh century by the Pharaoh – though whether it was Psammetichus or Amasis is unclear.[97] The communities of western Anatolia, and especially the Anatolian Ionians, were active at Naucratis. Herodotus, who gives us our earliest description of Naucratis and one that is worth examining in some detail, narrates:

> Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and

[97] Str. 17.1.18 for Psammetichus, and Hdt. 2.178 for Amasis. Archaeological evidence supports a foundation date of the mid-seventh century BCE, which supports Psammetichus, though as Cook 1937; Pfeiffer 2010: 15-7; Demetriou 2012: 109-113; and Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006b: 5 point out, the literary evidence can support a reading that it was first given by Psammetichus and then later reorganized by Amasis. Fantalkin 2014 suggests an alternative interpretation in that Naucratis resulted from a Lydian – Miletus treaty. See also Sullivan 1996, who argues that Psammetichus originally founded Naucratis as a *stratopedon*, which was later transformed into an *emporion*, and only afterwards did Amasis restrict the Greeks to Naucratis.

> most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are they that appoint wardens of the port; if any others claim rights therein they lay claim to that wherein they have no part or lot. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus; and so did the Samians for Hera and the Milesians for Apollo.[98]

Tellingly, Herodotus reports that Naucratis itself was given to the Greeks to function as a permanent trading post. As has been examined, Greeks had been active in Egypt since the time of Psammetichus I, but primarily as mercenaries, who fought for the pharaoh. Amasis' decree carved out space for these traders and allowed for permanent settlement for economic exchange, as well as grouping all of the Greeks into one location, which would have had a practical effect of making trade's concomitant collection of taxes and tariffs easy for Egyptian officials.[99] Some Greeks permanently settled in Naucratis, but for those who remained in the *emporion* on a temporary basis, the ναυτιλλομένοι – transient mariners, traders, or perhaps mercenaries – Amasis gave space to build sanctuaries.[100] This is particularly telling: instead of providing the necessary infrastructure to feed and shelter temporary residents, Amasis delineated religious space for the maintenance of the

[98] 2. 178: φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μέν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἐὸν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεύμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἵδε αἱ πόλιες εἰσὶ αἱ ἱδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἁλικαρνησσὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. τουτέων μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὗται αἱ πόλιες εἰσὶ αἱ παρέχουσαι· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐπὶ ἑωυτῶν ἱδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλος Σάμιοι Ἥρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος. (trans. Godley)

[99] See Agut-Labordère 2013: 1005-6: the Egyptian officials "taxed" with overseeing Naucratis were the "Agents at the Gate of the Foreign Countries of the Great Green Area" (im[y-r3 ʿ3 ḫ3s.wt] W3ḏ-wr).

[100] The verb ναυτίλλομαι vacillates between meaning just generic sea travel and sea travel with economic overtones. In the *Odyssey*, the word appears twice in both contexts– once in 4.672 to reference Telemachus' travel looking for Odysseus, and once in 14.246 when Odysseus makes up a story about travelling to Egypt to trade. In Soph. *Ant.* 717 it also just has this overseas transient meaning. In Herodotus, the word alternates between sea travel (1.163 & 1.202; 2.5.1) and travel for the purpose of trade/economic gain (3.6 and implied in the above paragraph of 2.178).

cultic community, which would have anchored these transient individuals and groups while abroad. It is also telling that three of the greatest players in trade and colonization in the Archaic period – Aegina, Samos, and Miletus – took advantage of Amasis' land grant and replicated the temples and cults of their homelands, suggesting that their traders were particularly active in the community.[101]

It is also at Naucratis that we have evidence of the first traceable proclamation of a Greek "self" to the outside world, found in the sanctuary of the Hellenion, a joint foundation in the mid-sixth century BCE between multiple communities, all of which were located in western Anatolia: Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae from Ionia; Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis of Doris; and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. These communities also oversaw the running of this sanctuary by electing the Hellenion's *prostatai*.[102] As has been pointed out, the cooperation of the

[101] Happily, the temples of Hera and Apollo were discovered by Petrie and then further explored by Hogarth, who excavated the central and western portions of the site. These early excavations uncovered these sanctuaries, as well as sanctuaries of Aphrodite and the Dioscuri, which do not appear in the literary accounts. These early excavation reports are found in Petrie 1986; Gardner 1888; Hogarth, Edgar, and Gutch 1898-1899; and Hogarth, Lorimer, and Edgar 1905. The site was briefly explored in the 1970s, for which see Coulson and Leonard 1981; Coulson, Leventi, and Rehard 1996; Coulson 1996; and Leonard 2001. Naucratis is currently being explored by the British Museum, which has conducted geophysical surveys and limited excavations over the past five years at the site itself, as well as a restudy of the objects – now spread among forty museums worldwide – excavated by Petrie, Gardner, and Hogarth between 1884 and 1903. Their initial annual reports, reports on the older material, as well as an overview of the greater Naucratis project are online at:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/Naucratis_the_greeks_in_egypt/Naucratis_research_project.aspx
For cults in Naucratis, see Demetriou 2012: 105-52; Möller 2000: 94-108, Möller and Höckmann 2006; Bergeron 2015; and Villing 2015.

[102] Hogarth uncovered multi-chambered buildings – in the Graeco-Egyptian temple style of the Fayûm – surrounded by a mudbrick temenos wall in the northern section of the site: Hogarth, Edgar, and Gutch 1898-1899: 28-39; Hogarth 1905: 110-11; and Möller and Höckmann 2006: 12. Within this temenos, Hogarth uncovered sherds dedicated to single deities including Artemis, Poseidon, Heracles, and Aphrodite, as well as those that were dedicated to the "gods of the Greeks." His identification of this temenos as the Hellenion has been generally accepted: Möller 2000: 105-8; Möller and Höckmann 2006: 12-3. However, Bowden 1996: 21-7 disagrees. The original site of the Hellenion that Petrie (1886: 23-4) identified has been reinterpreted as a Hellenistic structure since only Hellenistic sherds have been found there: Coulson and Leonard 1982: 366. It should be noted that the generic "Greek gods" worshipped at the Hellenion would have further reinforced the ethnic nature of the cult and transcended the strong civic ties evidenced in the

different communities to create the Hellenion roughly mimics the agglutinative nature of early Greek identity, as expressed in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.[103] Indeed, Naucratis gathered all of the Greeks in one place, effectively forcing the Greeks living either permanently or temporarily here to be in closer and more sustained contact than they might otherwise have experienced in the Aegean. The need to live and work harmoniously together in the close quarters of Naucratis surely led the Greeks to emphasize, foster, and shape their shared ethnic heritage and to concretize this fledgling ethnic identity in the realm of the sacred.[104] A cultic community that was grounded at the Hellenion would have encouraged cooperation among the various individuals and groups at Naucratis, as it would have forged bonds of trust that were strengthened by shared deities, cults, and practices.

In that vein, it is also useful to note that the Panhellenic identity that the Hellenion promoted was one that was clearly emic, as the Egyptians called the Greeks by the blanket term "Ionian" -Wjnn, Yawanîn, and Weyenîn – as can be found in the contemporary stele of Amasis.[105] This shows that this new display of a collective, aggregative Hellenic identity was one that had both internal and external factors. The Egyptians thought of the Greeks as one collective unit, defined by language, which surely encouraged the Greeks to consider themselves collectively as well.[106] The aggregative Hellenic identity that was being articulated in the Aegean was exported

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roughly contemporary Abu Simbel graffiti, wherein Ionian and Carian mercenaries self-identified by their name, patronymic, and home community (see Chapter Two and footnote 106, below).

[103] Hall 1997: 49-51.

[104] Malkin 2011: 89.

[105] See Chapter Two, footnote n. 153 and Ladynin 2006. The Egyptian term "Danaans" is replaced by the term "Ionian" in the Iron Age (Jonathan Winnerman pers. comm.)

[106] Such as in the longest graffito at Abu Simbel – see #7a in Meiggs and Lewis 1969 – which demonstrated that the Egyptian army was broken into two: the Egyptian unit and the *alloglossoi* mercenary unit. Thanks to other graffiti at Abu Simbel, which gave the cities, we know these *alloglossoi* were Carians and Ionians from Teos, Kolophon, and Ialysus: for the inscriptions, see Bernard and Masson 1957.

Βασιλέος ἐλθόντος ἐς ᾽Ελεφαντίναν Ψαματίχο,
ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοὶ σὺν Ψαμματίχοι τῦι Θεοκλῦς

to this *emporion*, where it was implemented in the religious sphere. The creation of a new cultic community centered around worship of the Hellenic gods would have reinforced the burgeoning Hellenic identity and given it the sacred *gravitas* needed to overlay its new salience among the multi-cultural environment of the *emporion*.

Naucratis therefore replicates for us the exact same conditions – namely mariners, sanctuaries, trade, and ritual action – that we are studying in Ionia. Interestingly, at Naucratis, we clearly see that the intersection of these factors, as well as the cross-cultural encounter that living abroad naturally entails, led to the very first articulated expression of an Aegean group identity in material culture – in this case, the Hellenic ethnic identity as found in the Hellenion. This suggests that sanctuaries, especially, could be used for and recognized as a particularly salient statement and dissemination of group identity.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the sanctuary played a prominent role within the maritime networks of Archaic Ionia, a natural result of its placement along, visibility from, and strong connection to the sea. The sanctuaries would have provided a variety of important resources for any sailors, including shelter, fresh water, food, and knowledge of the coasts – making them natural stopping places. More prosaically, the imported votives found in every Anatolian Ionian sanctuary underscores the entanglement of these spaces in the maritime networks. The geographic origins, functions, and values of these imported votives suggest not just passing engagement with these sanctuaries, but rather a deep investment by the actors of the maritime networks – traders, mariners,

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ἔπλεον, ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθε, υἷς ὁ πόταμος
ἀνίη· ἀλογλόσος δ' ἦχε Ποτασιμτο, Αἰγυπτίος δὲ Ἄμασις·
ἔγραφε δ' ἀμὲ Ἄρχον Ἀμοιβίχο καὶ Πέλερος Οὐδάμο.

mercenaries, and *xenoi*, all of whom were either called "Ionians" while abroad, or were those who referred to the population of the Aegean as "Ionians."

Furthermore, these sanctuaries benefitted economically from these maritime networks. Inscribed votives speak to the active use of the sanctuaries by raiders and pirates, who were also likely traders. Indeed, as a neutral place distanced from the local *polis*, the sanctuary would have been a perfect environment in which to conduct trade – albeit on a limited scale – and select votives, such as "Aegean-style" Cypriot statues, suggest that votives were imported from abroad for the express purpose of dedication in these sanctuaries. This is significant because if the term "Ionians" initially had a commercial aspect, then it was precisely the sanctuary environment in Ionia where this name might have had a particular salience, making it a fertile ground for the later development and expression of the Anatolian Ionian identity. Indeed, we see the exact same factors at work at Naucratis, where they intersected to create a particularly potent expression of group identity at the Hellenion, which encourages us to explore the material culture of the cultic community in Anatolia in the following chapters and how it could be used to articulate a regional Anatolian Ionian identity.

Chapter Four: Branding the Ionian Sanctuary

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the startling and unprecedented phenomenon that took place in the late seventh and sixth centuries BCE in Ionia: the construction of large, stone temples that employed the Ionic column to create a similar aesthetic look. The appearance of these temples in Ionia during this time is striking not just because Ionia transformed its sanctuaries into spaces of stone and columns with almost no prior architectural tradition of this type, but also because the treatment of the sanctuaries diverged so distinctly from dominant local and Aegean cultic traditions. Building upon the previous chapter, which argued that Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries served as natural waystations on journeys in and out of the Aegean, as well as to various destinations either inland or to further afield in the Mediterranean, this chapter argues that we might then see the architectural aggrandizement of sanctuaries as a way of increasing their visibility – not just for maritime travelers, but also in the surrounding area – allowing it and its associated community to capture demand as well as visually create and advertise this network. The changes seen in the sacred architectural fabric of the sanctuary were a way of articulating both civic and commercial identities, as well as a regional ideology that promoted Anatolian Ionian connectivity.

This chapter argues that the particular choice of utilizing the Ionian column capital in Ionia during the sixth century BCE – albeit in a flexible early Ionic style – can in part be explained by Ionia's investment in the maritime networks and its concomitant trading economy.[1] The sudden use of the Ionic column in this sacred network hints at a changing self-perception of

[1] By using the term "Ionic column," I refer specifically to columns that had Ionic capitals and not to the Ionic canon overall, as this is a later development and the product of several centuries of architectural experimentation. Indeed, it is clear that the Ionic column was used flexibly early on in the formative years of its development: see Barletta 2001: 84-124 and Wilson-Jones 2014: 58-60 and 113-36.

the cultic community within the wider regional and economic network of Ionia. Indeed, Ionia's innovation in this architectural aesthetic is particularly telling because it visually connected the region to the Cyclades – thereby marking trading links and ritualizing economic networks. This ritualization of economic relations is all the more noteworthy because this practice was generally not shared by the Lydians or the Carians – despite both regions having renowned stonemasons.

4.2 Ionia up to 700 BCE

If, as has been argued in the preceding chapters, the "Ionian" moniker initially carried economic overtones and the sanctuary environment played an important role in fostering trade and overseas activity, thereby forming a potent environment for the emergence of an Anatolian Ionian identity, then it is here where we can reasonably expect to see signs of change. Indeed, over the course of the late seventh century and through the sixth century BCE, Ionia's sanctuaries changed from modest, eclectic affairs into an aesthetically uniform, built sacred environment that not only married local economics and religion with expensive votive temples, but further worked to delineate this region as separate from the rest of the Anatolian littoral. The remainder of this chapter will track these changes in sacred architecture and offer theorizations for this change, especially in the context of Ionia's maritime networks.

Up until the end of the seventh century BCE, the development of Ionia's sanctuaries tracked roughly parallel to sacred developments happening in the wider Aegean world: namely, sanctuaries were slowly seeing architectural aggrandizement with the construction of temples and other ancillary buildings. These buildings were usually simple rectilinear or apsidal

structures, constructed of building materials that varied from region to region.[2] In practice, these temples likely evolved from the huts and houses of "big men" in the Early Iron Age, wherein the hut formed a religious locus for the local community – as seen in the apsidal structures at such places as Eretria, Thermon, and Kalapodi, which find aesthetic echoes in the *heroon* at Lefkandi. As the local civic community became more important, however, the religious function of the "big man's" abode was partitioned out and given its own separate space as the sanctuary.[3] Early temples within the sanctuary were generally modest affairs throughout the Aegean and in Ionia, such as the Temple of Athena at Erythrae, which was built in the eighth century BCE and comprised a small mudbrick building on a polygonal podium foundation.[4] Select sanctuaries' temples during this early period were "monumentalized" by stretching the building to a length of 100 feet – thereby creating *hekatompeda*; the eighth century mudbrick temple of Hera at Samos is one such example. This building would be the only built structure at the sanctuary for about forty years, before the sanctuary required renovation and improvement in the second quarter of

[2] See Barletta 2001: 21-53 and Mazarakis Ainian 2016 and 2017 for the developments throughout the Aegean in temple architecture, as well as Morgan 2017 for sacred architecture in the Corinthia in particular.

[3] See especially Mazarakis Ainian 1997 and 2001; Snodgrass 1980: 15-84; Barletta 2001: 25-7; Wilson-Jones 2014: 41-2. A variant argument for the rise of the temple is that it evolved from the Mycenaean palatial megaron – a viewpoint that is strongly teleological – and is incorrect when one remembers that the Mycenaean megaron was constructed of mudbrick and most would have degraded after the collapse of 1200 BCE. They would have been unrecognizable and out of commission – likely with all memories of its function also gone – for several hundred years before the development of the temple. Additionally, the temple differed from the megaron in that its sole purpose was religious, rather than the megaron's political, religious, and social functions. A more likely explanation for their similar groundplans is that there were presumably only a select number of shapes available to the early Greeks that could be built on a large scale while still being spannable (and thus roofed). For proponents of the temple from megaron, see Hiller 1986, as well as arguments summarized in Hellmann, 2002: 43-9 & 2006: 36-43 and Østby 2001 & 2006: 10-19. For the early temple at Thermon, see Papapostolou 2012, and for the temple at Eretria, see Auberson 1968 and Walker 2004.

[4] Pottery with incised votive dedications dating to the early seventh century BCE confirms the goddess' presence in this temple on the acropolis. The temple was destroyed in the second half of the sixth century, but rebuilt only a decade or two afterwards, by 530 BCE: Akurgal 1979: 5-6; Mitchell 1985: 83. A sanctuary of Heracles at Erythrae is also attested literarily by Paus. 7.5.6-8, who believed that Phoenicians founded it, but without the architectural remains, we cannot determine whether it was established in the Archaic period or later: see also Lipiński 2003: 143 for Phoenicians in Anatolia.

the seventh century BCE to accommodate increasing traffic. At this time, a large stoa was built and – at 70 x 5.9 meters – was twice the length of the *hekatompedon* and had a distinctly different aesthetic with its running series of columns. The renovations also encompassed the *hekatompedon*, which was renovated with fitted stone skin walls – decorated in at least one place with warriors.[5]

Only one temple built in Ionia during this period featured a peristyle: the Artemision at Ephesus, which has recently been re-dated to the second quarter of the seventh century BCE (Fig. 28).[6] This building, though unique in that it was constructed of stone, was also modest in size at 11.1 x 6.3 meters and featured a *peripteros* of wooden columns on roughly worked bases of green stone that supported a peristyle of eight columns by four columns.[7] This building's early *peripteros* has been widely heralded as one of the first peristyles in Greece and deployed as an argument for the "indigenous" nature of Greek peristyle buildings. However, the *peripteros* was short lived: it was jettisoned when the building was substantially modified in c. 640/20 BCE to address architectural problems related to the regular flooding of the area.[8] This modification of the building is important because it suggests two things that counter the purported

[5] It is important to note that – despite earlier reports – the new iteration of this building did not feature a peristyle; rather, this peristyle was assigned on the basis of preconceived notions of what Greek religious space should look like: Freyer-Schauenburg 1974; Mallwitz 1981: 624-33; Kienast 1992a & 1996: 16-24; 2002; Barletta 2001: 32-6; Hellmann 2006: 43-4.

[6] The dating of the Ephesian *peripteros* had been assigned to the late eighth century BCE by its excavators (Bammer 1990: 144-8), but this early date has been reassessed. The temple was initially dated on the basis of Geometric sherds found under the temple. However, strata found behind the temple that contained chips of green stone – interpreted as waste material from the working of the green stone of the building itself – provides a new date for the construction as it is sealed by an ashy stratum that constitutes the building's original use layer and gives the temple a *terminus ante quem* of the second quarter of the seventh century BCE: Weißl 2002: 321-6 & 2011: 214-5; Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 77–82. Though see Bammer 2004 for a rebuttal of Weißl 2002. It should be noted that the old Parthenon has the same layers of working chips on its south and southeast side – see Deposit 7 in Plate C [iv] in Bundgaard 1976.

[7] This building was constructed of limestone slabs, which came from the south shore of the now silted-in gulf of Ephesus, about six kilometers away at Heybeli Tepe: Bammer 2000: 437; Bammer and Muss 2009.

[8] Bammer 1993: 137-42; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 205-7.

(indigenous) importance of the peristyle: the first is that it was not considered a fundamental part of the building's aesthetic identity as a religious structure because it was not retained in the modification. Second, the *peripteros'* short life-span of only about thirty years meant that the original peripteral building would not have been a long-lasting memory for visitors to this sanctuary. The length of time spanning the construction of this early, modest building with that of the Croesus temple was about 100 years, making it hard to draw a correlation between the earliest temple and the sixth century BCE *dipteros*. As we shall see, the peristyle will become a fundamental aspect of Ionia's sixth-century BCE revolution in sacred architecture, which emphasized monumental stone temples with many Ionic capitals, but we argue that this very early *peripteros* should not be considered as an early component of this revolution.

Indeed, Ionia's sacred architectural fabric tracked in step with developments happening both across the wider Aegean and in the neighboring regions in Anatolia, with temples – when they did exist – remaining generally modest affairs.[9] Several sanctuaries remained open-air sanctuaries during this time, with just an altar marking the sacred space; examples can be found at Emporio on Chios and Clarus.[10] Didyma is notable because the site featured only a small architectural screen around its sacred spring, and there is little evidence that a temple was considered fundamental to defining religious space in Ionia at the end of the eighth century.[11]

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[9] See Mazarakis Ainian 1997 & 2017: 177. For developments across the wider Aegean, see Wilson-Jones 2014: 33-60.

[10] **Emporio on Chios** appears to have had an open-air cult; terracottas and pottery of a votive nature give a tentative date of the eighth century BCE, though at some time around the end of the seventh century, a small, irregular quadrilateral altar was built: Boardman 1967: 5-10. **Clarus's** focus was upon a round altar to Apollo, constructed in the seventh century BCE with a diameter of 6.3 meters. The altar's exterior was of fitted stone panels, whereas the interior was of loose stones, terracotta cow figurines, and pottery that gives the altar's construction a *terminus post quem* of the mid-seventh century BCE: de la Genière 2007: 180.

[11] This *sekos* was built about 700 BCE – Tuchelt 1973: 116; the round altar at Didyma has a *terminus ante quem* of the seventh century for its construction – Furtwängler 2006. The building itself is unfortunately obscure because it lies beneath the Hellenistic period temple.

Overall, this piecemeal, *laissez faire* approach to sanctuaries during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE suggests that each community generally approached and defined religious space in ways that suited its particular needs, the availability of or local preference for building materials, the layout of the sanctuary space, and any perceived desires of the worshipped deity. Investment within religious space, similarly, differed from community to community, as well as from sanctuary to sanctuary, suggesting that at this time there were no widespread shared ideologies of sacred aesthetics in the region of Ionia.[12]

4.3 Ionia, the Aegean, and the Sixth Century

This traditional approach to sanctuaries within Ionia, however, quickly ended about 600 BCE when sanctuary space in Ionia suddenly and irrevocably changed from one of local idiosyncrasies to a revolutionary, yet uniform architectural look across the region thanks to the deployment of the Ionic column on the exterior of sacred architecture. The Ionic capital – defined by the curling, horizontally placed volute – would eventually become one of the standard orders, though throughout the sixth century BCE it is marked by experimentation and play as it slowly coalesced into a canonical order.[13] Indeed, the variety and complexity of the various

[12] During the seventh century BCE – at Samos, Miletus, Clarus, and Ephesus – sacred ways were built to connect the sanctuaries with their primary settlements, stretching by as little as two kilometers to as much as seventeen kilometers. The creation of these sacred ways was not a minor thing and the effort of this work should not be underestimated: on Samos, the path connecting modern Pythagorio with the Heraion required a rechanneling of the Imbrasus River: Kyrieleis 1993. Eren 2015 & 2016: 24 has argued that these new physical connections suggest a change in the conception of space in Ionia, wherein it was becoming desirable for sanctuaries to be directly linked to the neighboring communities, who could more easily capitalize on these sanctuaries' growing prestige and wealth. This reorganization of space and their concomitant newly-forged links – at least in the case of Miletus and Didyma – would have been reinforced by sacred processions between the two locations. We should therefore, not view these sanctuaries as territorial claims of the communities, as has been extensively argued by Polignac 1995. Malkin 1996b: 75 reminds us that no ancient source says that a sanctuary was founded in order to make territorial claims.

[13] It is currently debatable as to whether the Aeolic order should be folded into this early Ionic column type – especially considering the variations found within the early Ionic column, and the almost

elements of the order suggest that there was no set idea of what an "Ionic" column capital should look like – aside from the horizontal curling volutes – and furthermore that the early architects of these buildings heavily experimented and played with architectural forms and aesthetics.[14] Despite this, it is clear that the *poleis* of Ionia uniformly used this column capital – indeed, monopolized it – for sacred architectural aesthetics, and I argue we should consider this use as emblematic of a new ideology and aesthetic connectivity between the various Anatolian Ionian communities. The early distribution of the Archaic Ionic columns, which will guide our conversation below, is referenced in the annotated table found in Appendix Two. This table has been adopted from the catalogue found in Bakker's dissertation, *A Corpus of Early Ionic Capitals*, and adapted primarily using the illuminating discussions found in Barletta's *The Origins of the Greek Architectural Orders* and Wilson-Jones' *Origins of Classical Architecture: Temples, Orders and Gifts to the Gods in Ancient Greece* as well as other important studies on this early column type, and we refer the reader to this table.

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simultaneous appearance of both (the Aeolic capital at the Old Smyrna temple and the Ionic capital on a votive column from the sanctuary of Demeter at Sangri on Naxos) at the end of seventh century BCE: Betancourt 1977: 128-30; Barletta 2001: 100-1; Hellmann 2002: 168. Two Aeolic capitals dating to the first half of the sixth century BCE were also found on Delos and appear to belong to votive columns. The Aeolic capital was initially thought to be the "proto-Ionian": Dinsmoor 1975: 59; Drerup 1952: 7. Rocco 2003: 44 believes that Aeolic was a local interpretation of Ionic, though again the simultaneous appearance of both capitals argues against this. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will consider only the Ionic column capital, but it should be noted that Smyrna's temple of Athena – a new stone temple with a *peripteros* of 6 x 10 columns in the Aeolic order – represents an important late seventh century peristyle building in Anatolia and is roughly contemporary to the temple of Athena at Miletus: Cook and Nicholls 1998: 144; Hellmann 2002: 167; Akurgal 2007: 129; Wilson-Jones 2014: 124-5. The Doric column capital appears at approximately the same time, if not a bit earlier than the Ionic, but the order coalesces much faster, in the course of about two generations: Barletta 2001: 54-83.

[14] Barletta 2001: 84-124 goes through the various differences in the *spira*, *tori*, volutes, even the fluting of the columns in her chapter on the Ionic. She also distinguishes two distinct styles: the Island-Ionic and the Eastern-Ionic; Wilson-Jones 2014: 127-133 follows her.

At present, the Ionic capital appears to have been initially used almost exclusively on the island of Naxos in the Cyclades.[15] Its first appearance is as a votive column, dedicated by one Alexitides at the temple of Demeter at Sangri on Naxos in about 600 BCE (Fig. 29). Its purpose as a votive pedestal is secure thanks both to its inscription, whose letter forms corroborate the early date of the column, as well as the fitting for a stone statue – now lost – on its top.[16] At about the same time Alexitides was dedicating his column to Demeter or shortly thereafter, the Ionic capital appeared on the nearby island of Delos, where it might have been used as an architectural member. Unfortunately, however, we do not know the specifics of how this latter capital was used, as it was later buried underneath the Naxian colossus, which has led to debate over its function.[17]

Additionally, during this early period, the capital was used at Didyma, and on Aegina to top a sphinx column made of local limestone.[18] About a decade or so afterwards, in about 580

[15] There is also a debate as to whether the Ionic order evolved to serve an original votive function or architectural function. For votive, see Kirchhoff 1988: 135-90; for architectural see Gruben 1965: 207-8 and 1996; Ohnesorg 1996; and Tuchelt 1991: 1-2. The temple of Aphaea on Aegina is the only sanctuary outside of Naxos and its orbit that utilizes an Ionic capital as a votive very early on: a sphinx column that was carved out of local poros limestone. However, we can generally consider this an anomaly, as Aegina receives no more Ionic column dedications for the entirety of the Archaic period, proving itself the exception that proves the rule for Naxos' early dominance of this aesthetic type. For the Aphaea example, see Gruben 1965, 1989: 169, and 2007: 110-55; Kirchhoff 1988: 22; Barletta 2001: 101.

[16] For the two votives, see Ohnesorg 1996: 39-40; for the pillar capital, see Gruben 1989 & 1996; Barletta 2001: 103-4; Segal 2007: n. 1; Herdt and Wilson-Jones 2008. A new, small sanctuary with unfinished votive columns has recently been found on Naxos at Melanes and appears to be used by the stonemasons working in the nearby quarries. The votive columns appear to be roughly contemporary with the column of Alexitides: Lambrinoudakis 2005.

[17] Based upon "the narrow space between the volute blocks" – Wilson-Jones 2014: 121, n. 3. Gruben 1996: 61-77 suggests it might have been part of the Temple of Artemis. I have grouped this with the Naxian sculpture because it was carved from Naxian marble and appears under the Naxian colossus, but this is admittedly conjecture.

[18] There are four Didyma fragments, now lost, which Wiegand (1941: pl. 213) thought were votive. Gruben 1963: 137-40 believed that only one of these fragments was a typical Ionic capital, and he assigned them an acroterion function, though he later (1996: 63 n. 13) amended his view on this column to an architectural member on top of a timber post. Since the capital fragment is now lost, it is hard to tell. The Aegina sphinx capital is mysterious. It has a forerunner in the sphinx dedication at the temple of Apollo on Aegina around 600 BCE – but this dedication has a faceted column and the capital is missing

BCE, Naxos publicly invested in Delos to make statements of the island's prestige via its stone masonry skills and the use of its indigenous marble.[19] The Oikos of the Naxians – one of the first permanent structures on Delos – was an impressive stone building that featured eight internal Ionic columns, though the columns' volutes were not incised and thus either painted or left blank, a choice made possible by the columns' protection inside the building (Fig. 30).[20] At about the same time, an individual dedicated a votive Ionic column made of Naxian marble on the island as well.[21]

The Ionic column was also used on Naxos for the same sacred purposes – on religious architecture and as a votive. The fourth temple of Dionysus at Yria, also constructed about 580 BCE, featured eight interior Ionic columns, this time with incised volutes, as well as a porch featuring four exterior Ionic columns, while the sanctuary at Sangri received another votive column.[22] Two subsequent dedications of the Ionic column at Panhellenic shrines – Delphi and Delos – both supported and elevated stone sphinxes.[23] Indeed, both columns and sphinx were made of Naxian marble, which had to be exported to these Panhellenic shrines – an impressive and costly dedication that required, presumably, the export also of native craftsmen. An Ionic capital on Delos – not found *in situ* – dates to sometime in the second quarter of the sixth century

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(for which see Gruben 1965: 185-7; Hoffelner 1996: 10-5; Bakker 1999: Col-8). It is a hapax in the Aphaea temple architectural history. See Gruben 1965, Kirchhoff 1988: 20-22; Segal 2007, no. 25; Gruben 2007: 110-55.

[19] Delos would have been a natural arena of display – by the sixth century BCE, the island had become exceedingly important for sea traffic that traversed the Aegean as it provided a safe harbor along important maritime routes: Earle 2010: 45-50.

[20] Kirchhoff 1988: 29-30; Ohnesorg 1996: 39-41; Barletta 2001: 95-7 & 104-5. The east porch was added later to this building, probably about a generation later in the mid-sixth century BCE – see Courbin 1980: 102-3.

[21] Martin 1973: 374; Kirchhoff 1988: 14 n. 2.

[22] Kirchhoff 1988: 19; Gruben 1993; Ohnesorg 2005: 137-8.

[23] **Delos votive:** Kirchhoff 1988: 27, n. 2; Ohnesorg 1993: 113 n. 21; Barletta 2001: 99-100. **Delphi votive:** Courbin 1980: 55 and 1987: 68; Kirchhoff 1988: 16-17, Gruben 1993: 104; Ohnesorg 1996: 43; Barletta 2001: 97-100.

BCE.[24] On Naxos, itself, the Ionic column was used at about the same time for the fourth temple of Dionysos at Yria, built about 580-70 BCE, and this iteration of the temple featured two rows of eight columns on the interior and probably four on the outside.

Thus, for the first generation of its existence – with only the one exception of the sphinx column at the Sanctuary of Aphaea at Aegina and the mysterious capital from Didyma – the Ionic capital seems to have been produced on and probably used by the Naxians, both on the island in local contexts as well as offshore, when it might have functioned to highlight Naxian dedications in Panhellenic sanctuaries. As an architectural member, the Ionic column was used in very limited form: on the interior of the Oikos of the Naxians and across the front of the temple of Dionysus at Yria's porch. Here, these columns quietly functioned to mark out the building as a gift to the deity. This column capital was clearly successful in drawing attention and admiration, and it quickly became a popular choice for votive dedications in the second quarter of the sixth century on the nearby island of Paros for votives, both local and Delian.[25] While Didyma, similarly, saw two votive dedications of Ionic columns during this time, the Anatolian Ionians were to transform and leverage the capital to create a surprisingly new and fairly uniform regional aesthetic.[26] This incorporation of the Ionic column into the architectural fabric of the temple itself emphasized the building's status as a votive gift, while simultaneously

[24] This column has been proven to not belong to the Stoa of the Naxians, which is poorly preserved today and of which only the capitals from the Hellenistic rebuilding survive – Bruneau and Ducat 2005: 199-200.

[25] An unprovenanced capital made of Parian marble found out of situ in the theater of Delos, and three votive capitals found on Paros attest to the new popularity of this capital – see Ohnesorg 1996: 114-5. This capital was found reused in a church: Gruben 1972: 377; Kirchhoff 1988: 22-3; Ohnesorg 1993: 113; Bakker 1999: 25-6 was given permission to photograph and publish this capital – it is Ion-10 in his catalogue. Another of these new Parian dedications is a column that featured either a lion or sphinx on top and was dedication by one Archilochus –Kirchhoff 1988: 26; Ohnesorg 1982: 289-90 and 1993: 114; Bakker: Ion-17; Rocco 2003: 50-1; Segal 2009: n. 15

[26] Tuchelt 1991: 39; Ohnesorg 1996: 45 fig. 5

broadcasting the collective effort and resources of the local cultic community to any who might see it.[27]

The first secure architectural attestation of the Ionian capital in Anatolia fundamentally blends the votive and the architectural together and then monumentalizes it to a degree not seen previously in the Aegean world in the dipteral temple of Artemis at Ephesus, under construction by about 575/70 BCE (Fig. 31).[28] This temple and its sister temple of Hera on Samos are startling in many ways and it is worthwhile to pause here to examine how these two temples diverge from previous temple construction. The first is the sheer size of these two temples. The Artemision and the Heraion – at 55 x 115 and 52 x 104 meters, respectively – were the largest temples built in the Aegean world up to that point. Furthermore, they were constructed not of humble mudbrick, but of cut stone blocks that gave the structures an imposing and monumental look that had its closest visual correlates not in the Aegean, but in Egypt and the pillared hypostyle halls of the temples there.[29] This is not mere coincidence; it is clear that these temples could not have been built without borrowing construction techniques, technological information, and ground plans from Egypt itself.[30] Indeed, the use of the Egyptian royal ell of 52.3 cm, claw

[27] See Burkert 1996: 23-5; Stewart 1990: 46; Coldstream 1985. For temple economics overall, see Burford 1965.

[28] It is important to note that the first Heraion *dipteros* actually dates about ten or fifteen years earlier than the Artemision. The existence of stone tori for this *dipteros* hints at a wooden Ionic entablature, and support for this argument can be found in the sarcophagus from Samos that dates to about the same time and features carved Ionic columns on its exterior, demonstrating that volutes were not unknown on the island: see Johannes 1937 and Kienast 1999. As expected where firm evidence is lacking, there has been some debate: for the existence of Ionic capitals, see Walter 1990: 121-9; Kienast 1992a: 176-7 and 2002: 321; Hendrich 2007: 38; Gruben 2001: 357; Barletta 2001: 106-7. House models from Samos at the beginning of the sixth century also depict Ionic forms, with *antae* appearing on a house model: Barletta 2001: 46. The Artemision's construction was previously dated to c. 560 BCE, but has been back-dated to a start date of c. 575/70 by Ohnesorg 2007, who has undertaken an entire reconstruction of this temple. For more on the Artemision columns, see Hogarth 1908: 268-70 and 276-9; Kirchhoff 1988: 76-7; Barletta 2001: 118-9.

[29] See e.g. Coulton 1977: 32-5 and 1983; Østby 2001; Jenkins 2006: 16-20.

[30] The knowledge of stone working in western Anatolia appears early, comprising ashlar blocks in the late ninth century BCE city wall at Smyrna (Nicholls 1958/9), but it is also sporadic and it is not until the

chisel, and ability to move such large blocks – specialized knowledge and tools that come from a mature stone carving tradition – all speaks to the wholesale borrowing of Egyptian construction and carving techniques, if not utilizing Egyptian stonemasons themselves.[31]

It is likely that the second new development – that of the dipteral, double row of columns around the exterior of the temple – similarly borrowed the columned aesthetic from Egyptian temples. Both the Heraion and the Artemision's exterior blossomed with a "forest of columns" that comprised over 100 unnecessary (structurally at least) columns around their outside – a

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sixth century BCE that stone working on a large scale appears suddenly: Barletta 2001: 27. Consider, for example, the fact that the Rhoecus dipteral on Samos was almost twenty-five times bigger than the *hekatompedon* it replaced and 100 times greater in volume: Kienast 2001: 35; Kienast 2012. The ashlars of this temple had a concordant increase in size from about half a ton to on average 20-40 tons and as much as 70 tons – an increase of at least 4,000%. In the words of one scholar, constructing this dipteral temple and its concomitant challenges without a strong stone carving tradition was the "ancient Greek equivalent of going to the moon and back" (Senseney 2016: 60). The Samians would have been hard pressed to tackle these numerous challenges by themselves, and it is thus not surprising that the construction of the first Heraion betrays Egyptian stoneworking influence: Kienast 2001. The jump in size of the temple and its constituent building elements could not have been overcome without proper knowledge of new technology – sandbag ramps and wooden rollers fitted directly on the blocks to move them (Coulton 1977: 32-5, 45-50, 142-4 points out that the proportions and effect in Doric architecture are quite similar to Egyptian columns) and new ways of shaping stone with the claw tooth chisel (Palagia and Bianchi 1994). In addition, the Egyptian technique of building columns from drums rather than a single block of stone would allow the column size to be increased substantially without the concomitant increase in skill to shape, move, and carve a monolithic column; securing the blocks in place via dove-tail iron clamps is also Egyptian. As Coulton 1983: 453 & 459 points out, the first architectural treatises were by the architects of the Heraion and Artemision, and the fact that these two temples are almost the only two that later Roman sources knew and described in detail (so, e.g., Pl. *NH*. 7.56, 198; 36.19.90; Vitr. 7.12 & 16) would suggest these treatises existed into the Roman Period. The architects of two of these *dipteroi* are said to have gone to Egypt: Theodoros was said to have learned the Egyptian sculptural canon there (Diod. Sic. 1.98), and a bowl at Naucratis with the dedicatory inscription "Rhoecus to Aphrodite" is dated to the first half of the sixth century BCE and might be the Heraion's famed architect: Skon-Jedele 1994: 1414-5. See Bammer 2001a for possible connections between the original, eighth century *peripteros* and Egypt.

[31] It is important to also keep in mind that such undertakings required a large work force of both specialized and unspecialized labor, resources, and time to construct and organize – see Hdt. 2. 168, as well as Kienast 2001: 38; Barletta 2016: 41. Of course, one will always find stubborn adherents to "Greek ingenuity": Howe 2016: 629 suggests these dipteral temples are the result of one super personality, whom he calls an "auto-didact polymath architect." It seems easier and more sensible to suppose that Egyptian architects and/or stonemasons were lured to the Aegean to teach craftsmen there how to carve stone blocks and build massive monumental structures.

radical departure from previous incarnations of the Anatolian and even Cycladic temple.[32] We should remember that the sudden appearance of these columns as an architectural screen was as startling as the sudden size of these buildings and comprised a shockingly new sacred aesthetic on the Anatolian littoral.[33] Both buildings were made of local marble and as such – unlike mudbrick structures – did not need an overhanging roof for protection against the elements. Thus, both temples' peristyles should be considered an aesthetic choice and preference of the local cultic community, so much so that it offset the exorbitant costs of the *peripteros* itself.

Like its sister temple, the Croesus temple was likewise dipteral, featuring over 100 exterior columns: twenty columns ran down its long north and south sides, nine on the eastern side and eight across its front. Unlike the Heraion, which was a roofed space, the Artemision was hypaethral, effectively rendering the *peripteros* as nothing more than a monumental aesthetic architectural screen for the small *naiskos* at the center.[34] The Artemision's columns, as already stated, were the first securely attested architectural Ionic columns in Anatolia, and the temple was justifiably famous in antiquity for its *columnae caelatae*, which featured sculptured

[32] The Heraion had twenty-one columns along the long side, eight at the front, and ten at the back. For the column's reconstruction, see Hendrich 2007, who reexamined the *tori* and the *spira*. Again, remember that this temple was starkly different from the previous *hekatompedon*, as its dipteral layout obscured the *naos* from view even when one approached it from the east.

[33] Where the peristyle did exist in the Aegean previously, it was primarily functional, protecting the mudbrick walls from moisture, such as at Rakita, located in Achaea and dating to the beginning of the seventh century BCE. This temple had columns around it, but an odd oval shape, with apses at both ends. The temple's peristyle is very narrow, suggesting that its primary function was to protect the mudbrick walls – see Petropoulos 2002:150-155. Buildings with early peristyles also include the Temple of Artemis at Tegea (see Østby 2006 and Hellmann 2006: 51) the temple of Apollo at Thermon (Barletta 2001: 38-9; Papapostolou 2012), and the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra (Gruben 2001: 112-5, Barletta 2001: 70 and 83 downdates this temple from 600 to 580 BCE). The temple of Athena at Smyrna and the peristyle of the Artemision are the only Anatolian forerunners; as already noted, the seventh century Artemision was short-lived.

[34] Ohnesorg 2008a and 2008b: this columned exterior led to an open-air interior that measured 21.13 x 46.64 meters, surrounding a *naiskos*.

bases and *tori*, while select Ionic columns had rosettes carved over the volutes.[35] Ohnesorg's reconstruction of this temple has shown that the outer colonnade was especially ornate; not only did these columns have Ionic capitals, but they were further sculpted at their bases, whereas the eight columns of the pronaos also sat upon sculpted plinths.[36] Little of the sculpture from the Croesus temple survives, but we have some faces of young females, men wearing long robes, and horses, which were presumably ridden, while the plinths featured bulls and draped men.[37] The columns and plinths together appear to represent a procession of sorts, and the style of the women on them echoes the aesthetics of dedicatory free-standing sculptural korai (Fig. 22).[38] In short, these ornate columns were fit for a king or at least the votive gift of a king as the dedicatory inscription on them proclaims.[39]

The Artemision set a precedent for the entire region, whereby most sacred buildings constructed over the course of the sixth century BCE in Ionia had Ionic columns. Towards the middle part of the sixth century BCE at the Heraion on Samos, the South Building was constructed (Fig. 23). This building featured a peristyle, but its function and aesthetic look is

[35] Pl. *NH*. 36.21. Ohnesorg 2001 for the rosette capitals, Ohnesorg 2007 for the reconstruction of the entire building, and Ohnesorg 2012 for the number of capitals.

[36] Bammer and Muss 1996 argued for the placement of these drums right underneath the capitals, but see Gruben 2001; Wesenberg 2001: 304; Ohnesorg 2007: 106-9 and 2008b: 267. Ohnesorg 2008a: 34-5 notes that this unique look loosely echoes predecessors in Egypt and in such North Syrian Neo-Hittite kingdoms as Zincirli and Karkemish. See also Wesenberg 2001 for the later fourth century Artemision's columns, which were configured in the same way.

[37] See Muss 1994; Jenkins 2006: 56-8.

[38] See further Chapter Five. Hanfmann 1975 12-3 suggests that the processional figures referred to members of Croesus' royal court, though this is speculative.

[39] The sanctuary also received a large, monumental altar – the so-called "Hekatompedon" – at this time, though the structure was initially interpreted as the remains of an unfinished temple. It has however recently and more plausibly been argued to be the altar associated with the Croesus temple. This function accords well with its location on the axis of the Croesus temple and its superstructure of marble, which matched the Croesus temple. Further, a large number of pig bones were found in and around the area of the Hekatompedon, again suggesting the sacrificial nature of the structure – see Weißl 2006 for his persuasive argument that the Hekatompedon was not a building but the temple's altar. For the inscriptions themselves, see Hogarth 1908: 294 and Niebuhr 1933: 9-10. It should be noted that Demosthenes (22.76) would call the Acropolis an anathema.

generally mysterious. While we know that the building had Ionic capitals thanks to a surviving anta fragment, we do not fully understand the building's columns and entablature.[40] Contemporary to the South Building, the North Building was also constructed in the mid sixth century, and an Ionic *peripteros* was added in the last third of the sixth century.[41] The building's function is also obscure thanks to it being heavily disturbed by later houses and looting activity; in plan, however, it looks like a temple, and might have functioned as such during the mid-sixth century BCE, but this is supposition only. Similarly, the temple of Apollo Phanai on Chios, which marked the western limit of Ionia, received a splendid new rectilinear temple – partially uncovered by the excavations in 1934 – that was constructed of local marble.[42] Unstratified, unfluted Ionic white column fragments that can be stylistically dated to the second quarter of the sixth century or very early fifth century BCE were also found and are assigned to this temple.[43]

The second half of the sixth century BCE marked a proliferation of the Ionic column on temples throughout Ionia – especially in the peristyle – and stands in distinct contrast to the rest of the Aegean world, which was building temples in stone on a modest scale during this time. A third monumental dipteral temple was constructed at Didyma beginning in the 540s BCE (Fig. 33). Unfortunately, little is known about this building because it lies almost entirely under the later Hellenistic temple.[44] Because most scholars have used the physical plant of the Hellenistic

[40] Buschor 1957: 17; Kyrieleis 1981: 92; Kienast 1992a: 189. The South Building could certainly have functioned as a temple; Hera had multiple temples in her other sanctuaries at Stymphalus, Paestum, and perhaps Perachora: see Kyreleis 1993: 133.

[41] The publication of this is Furtwängler and Kienast 1989. For its contemporaneity, see Furtwängler and Kienast 1989: 57. For general discussion, see Kyreleis 1993: 130-2.

[42] Lamb 1934-5: 142; Boardman 1959: 170. In the first half of the sixth century BCE, the sanctuary's original entrance from the sea was negated and the sanctuary reoriented to the interior of the island with a monumental *peribolos* wall made of ashlar blocks: Eren 2016.

[43] Lamb 1934/5: 139-40; column fragments: 142-44. For the new investigations at Kato Phana (though the temple was not investigated), see Beaumont and Archontidou-Argyri 1999; Beaumont et al. 2004: 253-4; and Beaumont 2007.

[44] What remains of the archaic construction is a 19.9 x 34 meter roughly Π-shaped limestone foundation, opening to the east, in the courtyard of the Hellenistic temple, as well as scant remains in brown marl that

temple to reconstruct the archaic temple, we reconstruct it as a dipteral hypaethral temple, made primarily of limestone, with only the eastern front in marble.[45] A reassessment of the fragments of the archaic temple has shown that there is great variety in both the columns and their appearance, with stonemasons using both details and dimensions from the Artemision and the Heraion as a guide.[46] Similar to the Artemision, a small number of Didyma's Ionic columns had sculpted feet and these were perhaps located in the *pronaos* on analogy with the Croesus temple. Fragments of female figures who wear chiton, himation, and veil, allow us to reconstruct females ringing the bottom of the columns, though it should be noted that the sculptural fragments are so paltry that reconstruction is difficult.[47]

Finally, Samos began construction on a second temple – the so-called Polycratean *dipteros* – about 530 BCE after the collapse of the Rhoecus *dipteros*, which had been constructed on faulty foundations that partially incorporated earlier structures. These faulty foundations – which emphasize the inexperience the architects had in constructing a massive temple in marshy and earthquake-prone ground – led to either the partial or imminent collapse of the building, and it was torn down shortly after it had been completed.[48] The architect of this new temple kept the dipteral plan, surely by now an important feature of the island's sacred architectural fabric, but

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marks the archaic Adyton: Knackfuss 1941: 121-2; Kirchhoff 1988: 85-6; Barletta 2001: 115-6; Dirschel 2012: 47-9. The most recent reconstruction by Gruben 1963 is generally fanciful, and Marconi 2007: 25-6 points out that it is at variance with some of the fragments.

[45] See Wiegand 1941; Gruben 1963 & 2001: 396-400; Schattner 1996: 19

[46] Dirschel 2012.

[47] Tuchelt 1970; Schattner 1996; Schneider 1996; Furtwängler 2006.

[48] Kienast 1998: 121-6. We know it was completed thanks to the large number of roof tiles found, which would have been one of the last thing to be put on the building, as well as the column drums – presumably spares that were no longer needed – that were built into the steps: Kienast 1998: 114 and 2002: 312. For the roof tiles, see Ohnesorg 1990. This time, however, the builders would not make the same mistake and relocated the new *dipteros* a full forty meters further west from the Rhoecus temple and on a different alignment from the altar. Unlike the builders of the Rhoecus temple, the Polycratean temple's construction trenches were carefully prepared: they were dug to a depth of a full meter and then filled with sand, over which some twenty centimeters of limestone chips were laid as a proper base. Gruben 2014 is the publication of this building, but it is incomplete due to his death before the volume was completed, which was lightly edited by Kienast and then published and should be used with caution.

enlarged it further, perhaps to compete with the monumental temples at Didyma and Ephesus. Construction of the building moved slowly, and the temple would remain unfinished despite being under construction for several hundred years.[49] We know that the internal colonnade featured a leaf crown type, whereas the exterior colonnade had Ionic columns but the timing of the erection of these exterior columns is under debate and it is possible that some capitals were carved earlier and erected only later.[50]

The Ionic column was also incorporated into smaller civic temples throughout Ionia including a small temple of Dionysus at Myus, which was constructed in the mid sixth century BCE, and featured a small peripteros of six by ten Ionic columns (Fig. 34).[51] Additionally, the temple of Athena was constructed in the first decade of the fifth century BCE on the acropolis of Phocaea; while the building has not been fully excavated, an Ionic capital attests to its column type.[52] Finally, while the buildings no longer exist, Ionic columns also appear to have adorned two buildings in Miletus: one constructed during the second half of the sixth century, and the other constructed towards the end of the sixth century.[53] Another capital found in Ephesus

[49] Kienast 1998: 121-2.
[50] See Barletta 2001: 108-9 and Reuther 1957: 52-3 and 62-3. For the capitals (some of which appear to belong stylistically to the sixth century BCE) see Kyrieleis 1981: 48 & 70 and Kienast 1992a: 186.
[51] Weber 1965 and 2002.
[52] Multiple architectural elements were found that had been scattered and lay off the platform, including a column fragment with a torus, scotia fragments, and pieces of the teichobate, but these were unable to provide much illumination: Akurgal 1995: 35-7 & 39-40; Özyigit and Erdoğan 2000: 11-3; Özyigit 2003: 111-3 & 116-7. The Athena temple is located on a spur overlooking the harbor and was aggrandized with a terrace and irregular podium 50 meters in length of worked ashlar blocks. Interestingly, the ashlar blocks used for the temple platform are roughly contemporary with Phocaea's fortification wall. Despite the prominence of the Athena sanctuary, Cybele was also fundamentally important for this polis as no less than five Cybele shrines were uncovered at Phocaea, located on the nearby Incir and Orak islands, as well as one on the Altin Magarasi Tepesi hill to the east of the community. The most visible of the Cybele shrines was located immediately north of the sanctuary of Athena and is contemporary with this temple. The sanctuary is accessible only from the sea itself and dates to about the mid sixth century, based on a Cybele plaque found within the sanctuary: Özyiğit 1995: 54-5; Özyiğit and Erdoğan 2000: 34-6. Özyiğit 2003: 118.
[53] Koenigs 1979; Kirchhoff 1988: 209 for a column that dates to the end of the sixth century BCE, and Weber 1995: 228-38 for three column fragments that date to about 500 BCE.

similarly suggests that an Ionic building was constructed around 500 BCE.[54] In Ionia, then, there is a strong architectural tradition that utilizes the Ionic column to mark out sacred space, and we have seen that peripteral buildings become more and more popular over the course of the sixth century BCE. Conversely, there is little tradition of giving Ionic capitals as votive offerings: only three votive Ionic columns were dedicated and the majority of those were dedicated at Didyma and one at Smyrna.[55]

4.4 Ionia's Divergence from Anatolia

When we look at the region of Ionia in comparison with the use of the Ionic column further afield, we immediately see a distinct contrast: up until the last decades of the sixth century BCE, the Ionic column remains primarily popular as a votive dedication; sanctuaries at Massalia, Selinus, Thasos, and Delphi all received votive column dedications during this period. Athens is notable because the Acropolis received at least eight Ionic votive columns in a fifty-year period, between about 530 and 480 BCE. Starting in the last quarter of the sixth century BCE, however, Ionic columns start to be used by other communities to mark their sacred architecture, including sanctuaries at Paestum, Nasos, and Labraunda, but these remain generally the exception rather than the rule until the fifth century BCE.[56] Overall, outside of Ionia, there is no coherent pattern to the choice of the Ionic sacred aesthetic, and it appears haphazardly, dependent upon the preference of the individual cultic community. Additionally, the use of the *peripteros*, especially in the Cyclades, overall remained unpopular – there is only one archaic

[54] The column was unfortunately reincorporated in St. John's Basilica on Ayasoluk Hill: Bammer 1972: 440 and Kirchoff 1988.
[55] **Didyma:** Tuchelt 1991: 39, Ohnesorg 1996: 45 fig. 5 for the earlier two votive columns and Gruben 1963: 142 for the later votive column. **Smyrna**: Gruben 1963: 174; Kirchoff 1988: 73.
[56] **Paestum**: Kirchoff 1988: 39-41; **Nasos**: Wiegand 1904; these two capitals are currently lost. **Labraunda**: Thieme 1993: 47-51; Baran 2006 and 2009: 301-4 have constructed the temple as distyle *in antis*.

peripteral temple in the Cyclades, and that is the Naxian temple of Apollo.[57] When the Ionic column is utilized in the Cyclades, it appears primarily on the interior of buildings rather than the exterior. By contrast, Ionia boasted fully twelve buildings: one at Didyma, three at the Heraion, two at Miletus, two at Ephesus, and one each at Myus, Phocaea, Çatallar Tepe, and Phanai, all of which were constructed over the course of the sixth century BCE. Of these twelve, nine can be securely identified as adorning sacred architecture in some form, while the other three are attested only by fragmentary columns disassociated from their findspots.

Furthermore, there are no extant religious buildings from Caria from the Archaic period, though Baran has inventoried the architectural members – including Aeolic and Ionic capitals – in Caria that predate the Hecatomnids; almost all of them are found out of context and thus have to be dated via parallels to known architectural members. He assigns these architectural members to a temple of Apollo at Halicarnassus, an unknown structure on the Cnidian peninsula, an unknown sanctuary at Iasus, and Ionic buildings at Mylasa and Beçin, which he tentatively identifies as belonging to the cult of Zeus Carius. All of these architectural fragments date to the second half of the sixth century however, and most are closer to the end of the century, which is in line with the general proliferation of the use of columns to mark sacred space during this time.[58]

Likewise, evidence for cults in the countryside of Lydia is extremely limited; our meagre evidence suggests that Lydian sanctuaries were focused upon natural places or were open air cults. In the Tmolus range, which rises above Sardis, the site of Kel Dağ – a double-peak

[57] Gournaris 2005; Ohnesorg 2005: 147. One way in which the two regions are similar is the preference for building in stone – see Barber 2005: 11.

[58] Baran 2009: these include Aeolic pilaster capitals from the Halicarnassus peninsula to perhaps just after the second half of the sixth century (293-4), an Ionic fragment from Halicarnassus (298-300); fragmentary crown blocks and a frieze block, that span the third and fourth quarters of the sixth century at Iasos (298-300), an Ionic capital at Mylasa that dates to the end of the sixth century BCE (304-6), and an Ionic capital also dating to the end of the sixth century at Beçin (306-11).

mountaintop located to the southwest of Sardis – was a mountaintop sanctuary marked by a series of built terraces (Fig. 35). While the site was badly looted before it was surveyed in 1995, a scattering of pottery attests to activity there that spanned from the Lydian through to the Roman period. The remains of an open-air altar are attested by several marble ashlars still *in situ*, as well as a number scattered over the terraces.[59] A second mountain-top sanctuary to the southeast of Kel Dağ is located at Ovacık and was perhaps the site of a shrine to the god Carius. Ashlar blocks and a crown block with ovalo has provided a tentative date of Archaic, but this is fragmentary and badly disturbed. This is, at present, the only known built temple in Lydia and there is no indication this small building had columns.[60]

Stepped monuments carved from the bedrock are also found scattered throughout the Lydian landscape, and their similarities to the Phrygian monuments suggests that they were dedicated to Cybele.[61] This includes a rock-cut space at Akçapınar that is similar to the rock-cut "Throne of Pelops" at Yarikkaya on Mt. Sipylus and could date to the Archaic Period.[62] Furthermore, an open-air altar – identified as belonging to Cybele – was found at Sardis in the gold refining factory, as well as the later Achaemenid stepped monument, found under the later Hellenistic temple of Artemis.[63]

Indeed, the only evidence for a temple at Sardis is not a building, but rather the Cybele monument, a sculpted block of stone that depicts the goddess on the front, while the three other sides of the block are decorated with three bands of reliefs behind a columned screen; interestingly, the surviving column on this monument appears to have an Ionic capital, though it

[59] Bengisu 2013: 168-9.
[60] Bengisu 2013: 172. Cahill forthcoming has noted cuttings in the bedrock at Sardis, which was excavated after looters disturbed the place, and he assigns these cuttings to a small temple, but this is tentative at best and this area badly needs further investigation.
[61] Berndt-Ersoy 1998, 2006, and 2009, Roosevelt 2009: 129.
[62] See Catalogue Entry 4.4 in Roosevelt 2009: 220-1 with corresponding bibliography.
[63] For these altars, see Ramage 2000: 72-4 and Dusinberre 2003: 60-68.

is badly broken (Fig. 36).[64] Admittedly, this picture might change as archaeological exploration into the earliest levels at Sardis continues, as well as more widely in the Lydian countryside, but at present there is a general dearth of evidence for built stone religious structures. This dearth is striking because it is not due to lack of knowledge or talent: stone working appears in Lydia in the late seventh century BCE at Bin Tepe, the burial ground of the Lydian kings and later elites. Partial *crepis* walls, vaults, and interior chambers exist in several of the earliest tumuli, including Karnıyarık Tepe and the tomb of Alyattes.[65] Moreover, a Carian graffito provides evidence of Carian workmen at Belevi, the quarry for the Artemision. It is likely that Carian stonemasons both quarried stone for and perhaps even helped construct this temple.[66] Considering their king's special interest in this building, we might also suspect that Lydian masons worked on this building. It is also possible that Cycladic craftsmen worked on these temples, and Ohnesorg has tentatively identified "faint" indications of Cycladic workmanship on the Artemision.[67] This suggests that Ionia's specific sacred built environment aesthetic was being deliberately cultivated, and the Anatolian Ionians were able to leverage a diverse workforce of masons to achieve it.[68] Indeed, it might be easy to dismiss the use of Ionic architectural columns as a by-

[64] Dusinberre 2003: 68-9. Ohnesorg 2008a: 35-6 suggests that this relief could be related to the Artemision.
[65] Ratté 2011.
[66] The Artemision's marble was sourced at Belevi, a quarry that lay a distance of some eleven kilometers from the temple: Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 125-9. Vitruvius (10.2.12) also estimated the distance of the quarry to the temple and is quite accurate. The graffito consists of two heads and a name "Lpe, son of Šmn" - see Adiego 2007a: 24; Herda 2013: 459 n. 190, who suggests that part of this graffito is Lydian, which would make sense considering the renown of Lydian stone masons. Alzinger 1966/7: 68 & 70 dates this doodle to c. 550-470 BCE; Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 126-7 date it to an earlier period, congruent with the use of the quarry for the building of the Croesus temple. Dressler 1966/67: 76 has even noted the similarities in the letter forms of Belevi's graffiti with the inscriptions in the Croesus temple and suggests that the quarry workers were the same stone inscribers, though this remains a supposition only.
[67] Ohnesorg 2001: 187. Rocco 2016: 514 suggests that it was Cycladic workmen that helped spread the Ionic order.
[68] Similar to the Persians, who used Ionian and Lydian stonemasons to build and carve their royal palaces in a specifically "Persian" style, see e.g. DSf §12.

product of the same mobile craftsmen moving throughout the area in the sixth century BCE, with the various communities essentially making aesthetic choices based on the stonemasons' skills. However, this chapter ends with two last examples, which illustrate that the use of the Ionic column was a fundamental, ideologically-based choice on behalf of the cultic communities to make a conscious statement about adhering to a specific sacred aesthetic.

4.5 Isn't it Ionic?

The first example of the use of the Ionic column that suggests it was meant to make distinct aesthetic ideological statements is a temple that was constructed about 560 BCE far from Ionia – at the trading *emporion* of Naucratis, examined earlier in Chapter Three. Petrie's excavations at the Temple of Apollo, which Herodotus tells us was built by the Milesians, appears to have featured Ionic columns: Petrie found a portion of the echinus that had a leaf decoration, as well as a partial fragment of a volute (Fig. 37). Unfortunately, the volute was destroyed soon after it was found, though Petrie made a conjectural drawing, and found what he claimed was part of a lotus necking of another column as well.[69] All of these column fragments are now lost, but they attest to the importance of specific sacred aesthetics at Naucratis, a place where – as we have already seen – statements about identity and self were coalescing in important ways around the sanctuary environment, especially as it pertained to transient mariners and the multiethnic environment. The Ionic columns here on the temple of Apollo have their closest aesthetic parallel with the mysterious Ionic architectural columns used at Didyma a generation beforehand. Therefore, the Milesians made a conscious decision to replicate the Ionic column of their home sanctuary, and its use as an architectural peripteral member simultaneously mimics the dipteral Artemision at Ephesus as well as looks ahead to the immense

[69] Petrie 1886: 13 and pl. 3

dipteral building at Didyma. This suggests that the deployment of Ionic columns on the Temple of Apollo at Naucratis was a purposeful choice – perhaps even necessitating importing stonemasons from Miletus itself – to make a strong statement about what it meant to be a Milesian over a thousand miles from Didyma. That the temple's Ionic *peripteros* also echoed the dipteral Artemision at Ephesus might suggest that there were already regional links forming between these two *poleis*.

The second example of the purposeful deployment of the Ionic column to perhaps make statements about identity is in Ionia, on the slopes of Mount Mycale – here, a new temple was built on the site of Çatallar Tepe (Fig. 38). This temple is likely the famed Panionion, the temple of Heliconian Poseidon that was a joint construction of the Anatolian Ionian *poleis* as their exclusive sanctuary and the codification of their joint identity in sacred architectural form in the Archaic Period.[70] This temple – constructed about 570 BCE – was a *hekatompedon* made of pounded mud on a stone socle that was itself covered with marble slabs, giving the impression of a stone building.[71] The building itself was unusual in layout: it featured a *lesche* in the back, appropriate for the communal temple that hosted meetings of the Ionian poleis, as well as a *naos* and deep *pronaos*. The *pronaos* had eight columns arranged in two rows of four. Tellingly, a partial capital has been found and demonstrates that these columns were Ionic and featured

[70] This is, however, under debate. It is clear that the fourth century BCE Panionion was located on Otomatik Tepe, on the northern side of Dilek Dağ, where a monumental altar and an unfinished bouleuterion have been found: Caspari 1915 and Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967. Further, a later inscription places the Panionion in this northern area and describes a re-foundation of the cult: see the discussion of this inscription in Chapter Six. The location of the Archaic Panionion is still up for debate (as there is little evidence for early occupation at Otomatik Tepe), but Lohmann has claimed to identify it at Çatallar Tepe, where he excavated this destroyed hekatompedon: Lohmann 2007, 2012, and 2013. Herda 2006, however, vehemently disagrees with this identification. For the purposes of this dissertation, Lohmann's identification of Çatallar Tepe is accepted.

[71] Overall, the appearance of the Panionion temple was quite similar to that of the Temple of Dionysus Yria on Naxos with similar marble slabs, which were forerunners to *geisa*, similar truss roofs, and *stroteres*: Lohmann 2012: 41-2, 48-9.

incised volutes (Fig. 39).[72] As such, we should see the presence of Ionian capitals on this temple as a purposeful statement of preferred Anatolian Ionian sacred architectural aesthetics. Both the temple at Naucratis and the temple at Çatallar Tepe therefore underscore the *conscious* selection of the architects and cultic communities to have sacred architecture conform to specific Ionic aesthetics, and we should therefore consider these capitals to be purposeful choice rather than the byproduct of the temple construction process or a result of the limitation of stonemasons at this time.

4.6 The Ionic Column and Ionia's Maritime Network

If we consider that the sanctuary space was at once emblematic of the local cultic community itself and its prosperity, as well as one of the first points of contact between foreigners and locals – in an economic, political, or social sense – then we should rethink the investment in these sanctuaries not as something that reflects *only* peer-polity interaction and rivalry or instability in the region or the replication of the social structure of the *polis* – but one that was *in part* meant to emphasize the civic communities' placement within these greater maritime networks.[73] The deployment of the Ionic column, in particular, could have visually articulated Ionia's overseas networks, especially articulating ties to Delos – that maritime trading hub of choice – and the Cyclades.

Indeed, Wilson-Jones has suggested that the inspiration for the Ionic column, as well as for the Aeolic column should be found in the Eastern Mediterranean. He points to examples of both of these column capitals adorning imported objects that arrived in the Aegean through trade,

[72] Lohmann 2012: 41.

[73] **Peer-Polity Development and Rivalry**: Coldstream 1985: 67; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 9. **Regional Instability**: Morgan 1993: 34. **Replicating the Polis**: Snodgrass 1977: 24; Snodgrass 1980: 33. Though Morris 1997: 65 particularly disagrees with the notion that sanctuaries should be considered as reproducing the *polis* social structure.

and argues that these objects, disassociated from their original context, gave Greeks the ability to play with and rearrange them into an intriguing and novel statement of what constituted a gift to the god.[74] If his assessment is correct, this "foreign" influence would indirectly emphasize the links of these temples to the maritime and trading networks of the Archaic period.

We have already demonstrated that every temple built in Ionia was visible from the sea thanks to the utilization of viewshed analysis, and we suggest this conspicuousness was an original consideration in the building and design of these temples. Indeed, it is possible that funding to build these temples, especially the massive dipteral structures, was in part derived from overseas activity, which brought in the immense wealth necessary to undertake such large buildings. Kopcke has noted that the two temples at the Heraion represent a staggering outlay of wealth by the Samians, making the construction of *two* dipteral temples in a period of about fifty years remarkable. He notes that the construction dates of these temples roughly coincide with major military events in the Eastern Mediterranean: the first dipteral temple would have been constructed after the Babylonian invasion of the Levant under Nebuchadnezzar II and the subsequent major battle with the Egyptians in 601 BCE – resulting in the destruction of Ashkelon.[75] The second, Polycratean temple would have been constructed after the death of the Pharaoh Apries in 567 BCE, who perished trying to regain his throne from Amasis.[76] Both of these military excursions would have required a vast number of fighting men, and he argues that Anatolian mercenaries in the Egyptian army were in part responsible for the sudden arrival of colossal wealth on Samos.

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[74] Wilson-Jones 2014: 94-110 & 165-70. He points especially to furniture, which he sees as fulfilling both aesthetic and structural functions. He suggests, for example, that the decoration of foreign thrones or ivory appliques could have introduced the petal or curling volutes.
[75] Vanderhooft 2003: 255.
[76] Kopcke 2009: 91. Burkert 1996: 26 makes the same argument, noting that Xenophon acquired some war booty and used this capital to build a sanctuary for Artemis at Scillus. (*Anab*. 5.3.9)

Further, considering the early connections of maritime trade and mobility with that of sanctuaries, as well as Ionia's placement of sanctuaries on the sea, it would be unsurprising that in part this aggrandizement was meant to make the sanctuaries more visible from the sea. That the Ionic architectural column is primarily confined to Ionia also demonstrates the self-perception of the local cultic community with respect to how it fit within the greater regional networks of cult aesthetics in Ionia. This shared religious aesthetic would have served to delineate the region by creating a linked visual environment spanning from the temple of Athena at Phocaea in the north to the extraurban dipteral temple at Didyma in the south and the temple of Apollo at Phanai and the Heraion on Samos to the west. This shared aesthetic network could have also served as an advertisement for any ships passing by, silently witnessing the wealth of the region, which would have nicely complemented the economic network under development here as well.[77]

We should suspect that an additional aspect of this temple building is the nascent emergence of an Ionian identity, with each local cultic community displaying links not just with the other Ionian communities, but with their exclusive cult at the Panionion, which itself embodied the conscious statement of how the Ionians presented themselves to each other, aesthetically at least, and to the greater world. It also implies that there was general consensus among these cults and their underlying civic communities as to the general self-perception of the community, which could not have happened without contact and communication over not just religious, but also social, political, and economic networks, all of which were becoming more intertwined in Archaic Ionia over the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. In this way, the cultic communities participated in a hitherto unseen association of religious networks that broke with centuries of established sacred aesthetics on the Anatolian littoral to create a new sacred identity

[77] For "cooperative coinage" see Chapter Five.

that simultaneously ritualized economic relations, promoted cohesion through conformity, and effectively reoriented the region towards the Cyclades.

4.7 Conclusion

It is clear that Ionia diverges dramatically over the course of the sixth century BCE from the sacred building practices of the surrounding regions in Anatolia, which tended to favor sanctuaries and shrines that were generally simple and left open to the elements. Not only did the *poleis* of Ionia build new structures that were monumental and in stone, an impressive feat that strongly indicates Egyptian influence and even help, but they further built these structures in a relatively uniform sacred architectural aesthetic. The Ionic column was used almost exclusively as a decorative (ie. structurally unnecessary) architectural element in Ionia for about seventy years, and this created a linked aesthetic of sacred architecture that would mark out the region as separate from the surrounding littoral, as well as link it visually to places further west: the Cyclades and especially Delos. This chapter argues that this is not mere coincidence, but rather a deliberate choice on the behalf of the Anatolian Ionian cultic communities to mark out the region and signpost it – not just for any visitor to the sanctuary, but also for any mariner using the sea routes along the Anatolian coast. This, in part, worked to "advertise" Ionia, demonstrate its wealth, and, we argue, is connected to a burgeoning Anatolian Ionian identity and regional connectivity in the sixth century BCE.

Chapter Five: The Gift of Identity

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the dedicatory practices in Ionia during the Archaic period as a way to examine whether the gifts given by members of the cultic community can in part be reflective of an emerging Anatolian Ionian identity or general regional cohesiveness. Votive gifts, dedicated as either a thanksgiving or in hopes of a divine favor, in particular, are an important and flexible medium because they constitute a ritual action of reaffirming one's place within the cultic community and the wider society overall.[1] The votive, which remained in the sanctuary after the dedicant left, would have also been a visible index both of the wealth of the sanctuary, as well as the health of the cultic community.

This chapter takes a different approach to considering the role of cultic activity and votive offerings in establishing an Anatolian identity. We shall examine two case studies that represent monumental dedications and minute ones, in the form of life-size human statues and electrum coinage. We have chosen these two case studies because they combine the personal and public: both serve as expensive commentaries, but the purpose for which the votives were originally created is quite different and thus allows us to consider two different approaches to votive practice. We will begin first with dedications of kouroi and korai, large-scale stone statuary in the round of youthful nude males and draped females, to consider how these votives might have helped express an emerging Anatolian Ionian identity, bound up in maritime networks and commercial interests. We will then focus on one particular dedication, that of the electrum coins found in the Artemision foundation deposit, to consider how their appearance reflects important economic and commercial ties in Ionia during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. Both will demonstrate how votives

[1] Chris Simon's study has looked at the votive pattern in Ionia overall, and we refer the reader to his 1986 dissertation for a holistic examination of gift giving.

articulated – either expressly or symbolically – the growing links between the *poleis* in Ionia and individual members of these communities.

We will then provide a contrast to these two broad, sweeping artifact categories by exploring two specific places in greater detail: the Panionion at Çatallar Tepe and the sanctuaries at Naucratis. The Panionion provides evidence for masculine group bonding behaviors in a cult context, including military endeavors and feasting, whereas Naucratis demonstrates the use of custom-made and mass-made banqueting paraphernalia designed specifically for a ritual context that specifically links the behaviors of participants to the Ionian islands. The Chians apparently sourced highly recognizable and specially marked kantharoi from home for the cult of Aphrodite and Apollo at Naucratis, while the Samians dedicated vessels of a specific type that linked the Hera Sanctuary at Naucratis to the Heraion on Samos. In this way, the conscious expression of Anatolian Ionian identity and its reaffirmation through drinking and cult practice is clearly indicated in the very different geographical contexts of the Panionion and Naucratis, though at both the expression of an Anatolian Ionian identity is richly attested.

5.2 Korai/Kouroi

5.2.1 Opening Remarks and a Definition

This section will look at a votive type that was very expensive and visible to determine whether this votive type could articulate ties between the various sanctuaries in Ionia on an individual level, as well as suggest a possible new interpretation for them in light of their aesthetic echoes to artistic traditions in the wider Eastern Mediterranean. These votives are what have traditionally been called **kouroi** and **korai**.[2] These terms are modern constructs, but are used to

[2] Defined first by Richter 1970: 1-6 for the kouros and 1968: 1-4 for the kore.

define life-size or colossal sculptures of nude males and draped females in the round; this sculptural type is carved from stone, generally marble, but occasionally in limestone. The kouros is a young male figure, generally nude and always beardless, who stands with feet apart and weight evenly balanced on both legs, though with the left foot forward (Fig. 40). The kouros' hands are held stiffly at the side, and the head is straight, staring into the distance. Usually, the kouros is nude and solitary, though at times he can wear a thin, open cloak or carry an offering of an animal.[3] The kouros generally has long, stylized hair, stares straight ahead, and is emotionless aside from a possible hint of a smile, inviting no interaction from the audience. The kore, by contrast, is a female who is draped with clothes that fall tightly against her body – occasionally a *peplos*, but more often a *chiton* with *himation* (Fig. 41).[4] Like the kouros, she stands stiffly – though with her feet together – and stares out above the viewer with a neutral facial expression; an archaic smile is permitted. Her hair is elaborately coiffed – partially pulled up with the remainder falling down her back in great ropy strands. She can hold an offering in her hand or can hold her hands down by her sides, where they can grip her garment, drawing it to the side. It should be noted that this *aesthetic* type of male and female loosely echoes preceding small sculptures such as the late-eighth century *sphyreleton triad* from Dreros on Crete.[5] Similarly, the *kouroi* and *korai* aesthetic type, as defined above, was not constricted just to large-scale stone statuary, but existed on a smaller size and in other media; examples range from a wooden kouros statuette from Marseille, to reliefs in clay, to bronze statues from Delphi.[6] However, this dissertation will limit itself only to the

[3] See, e.g. Ridgway 1977: 75-6; Barletta 1987; and Bosnakis 2012 for draped kouroi, and Meyer and Brüggemann 2007: 128 for kouroi that carry stone animals as offerings.
[4] For general surveys of this statuary type, see Boardman 1978; Richter 1968 and 1970; Stewart 1990; Ridgway 1977; Karakasi 2003; Meyer and Brüggemann 2007; as well as the essays in Bol 2002.
[5] For the *sphyreleta* sculptures at Dreros, see Marinatos 1936; Beyer 1976; Romano 2000.
[6] For the wooden *kouros* from Marseille, see Hermary 1997. For the Daedalic clay reliefs, see Boardman 1999: 76; for Delphi, see Stewart 1990: 108.

lifesize and monumental stone kouros and kore; thus, we follow Rainer Mack, who has persuasively argued that the large-scale stone medium is one of the primary defining attributes of the kouros and the kore.[7]

The first korai – as defined by the parameters set out above – date to the end of the seventh century BCE and originated in Crete. These korai were carved in the Daedalic style, a style that was heavily influenced and perhaps even imported from the Eastern Mediterranean and that depicted bodies and faces as more geometric than realistic: faces were inverted triangles that paralleled two ropey triangles of hair (Fig. 42).[8] From Crete, the habit of carving and dedicating korai spread to the Cyclades, where the island of Naxos became an important producer of this sculptural type. Within several decades, however, these Daedalic-style sculptures would be replaced by kouroi and korai of the mid-seventh and sixth centuries BCE that exhibited more realism in the depiction and modeling of their bodies. The kouroi and korai were initially quarried and carved on Naxos, which remained an important source of these statues until about 540 BCE, but select other areas, such as Samos, Attica, and Paros developed their own local schools and utilized local marble quarries in the Archaic period.[9]

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[7] I follow Mack's argument that the *kouros* is defined by its stone medium and adheres to the aesthetic of being a monumental, anonymous, unclothed, aristocratic young male that is situationally and phenomenologically autonomous: Mack 1996: 1-44. His exact definition is found on page 37. See also below for further discussion on the importance of the stone for the definition and its intertwining with an Ionian identity.

[8] The first of these statues, a kore, appears to have been dedicated in the second quarter of the seventh century BCE at Astritsi: Davaras 1972 and Kokkorou-Alevras 2017 for the Astritsi figure. It should be noted that certain free-standing Daedalic korai on Crete were meant to be incorporated into temple architecture, such as the seated females that sat on top of the lintel above the mid-seventh century Temple of Prinias' entrance: Pernier 1934; Davaras 1972: 26-70 & 50-6; and Watrous 1998. For a fragmentary seated figure from Gortyn that likely played a similar architectural role, see Floren 1987: 124-31 and Rolley 1994: 136-40. Daedalic-style females were also carved into reliefs for architecture, such as a limestone relief from Gortyn that features two naked frontal Daedalic females flanking a large nude male (perhaps Apollo): Adams 1978: 19-29; Stewart 1990: 107; and Ridgway 1977: 21-3.

[9] Stewart 1990: 108-9 who suggests that Cretan sculptors traveled to Naxos and began carving there; Hurwit 2007: 271; Ridgway 1977:33-4; Sturgeon 2006: 43. For the switch from Naxian to Parian carving, see Langlotz 1965: 38; Gorgoni and Pallante 2000. For Attic quarries, see Sturgeon 2006: 33-40.

Throughout the late seventh and early sixth centuries, the kouros and the kore generally appear in two contexts: the first is primarily votive, and many sanctuaries throughout the Aegean and in the wider Mediterranean world received these sculptures. As a votive, the kouros or kore constituted a dedication that was purpose-made for the sanctuary, rather than an object taken from everyday life and given as a thank-offering to the god. As such, they represented a significant investment of expense and labor – to quarry the stone, ship it, and carve it – that would not have been required for dedications of utilitarian objects.[10] They could also serve a mortuary purpose, where they were erected above a grave to stand in as a sign of the deceased and – when an identifying inscription remains for us – with the sex of the deceased generally corresponding to the sex of the statue.[11] It should be noted, however, that the funerary kouros and kore are rarer and their distribution in the Aegean and beyond is more random than their votive counterparts; Athens especially and idiosyncratically uses the kouros in this context.[12]

Additionally, though this dissertation will not delve into the debate about what the kouros and the kore represent, it should be noted that this debate is fierce and at present inconclusive. Both statue types have been argued to be statues of gods, with the kore being especially representative of Athena, in whose sanctuaries she frequently appears, and the kouros generally

[10] Snodgrass 1989-1990: 291-3 argues that the "raw" offerings – utilitarian objects such as the imported votives examined in Chapter Three – constitute a simpler and generally less expensive expression of piety than those that have been "cooked" (purpose-made for the sanctuary). See also Stewart 1990: 109-10

[11] So, e.g., both the Anavyssos Kouros and the Phrasikleia Kore have funerary inscriptions that state that the statue is a *sema*, or sign, for the deceased. For the Anavyssos Kouros, see Richter 1970; Karanastassis 2002. For Phrasikleia, see Kaltsas 2002. For a general discussion on both, see Stewart 1990: 22-4. For a discussion on the importance of the *sema*, see Neer 2010: 14-9.

[12] All of the kouroi from Attica are used as grave markers aside from two kouroi found on the Acropolis, and thirteen found at Sounion, which, arguably, can be considered an extension of the Cycladic kouros tradition: see catalogue entries 169-183 and 298-333 Meyer and Brüggemann 2007: 169-71 & 199-208 (votive and grave kouroi, respectively). For the arguments that the Sounion *kouroi* should be considered an extension of Naxos, including being carved by Naxian artists that followed Naxian aesthetics and dedicatory practices, see Ridgway 1977: 52-3

representing Apollo.[13] Alternatively, both statue types can stand in for the ideal elite youth of Greek society – either the maiden or the aristocratic male – and specific examples can be collated with specific living people.[14] Finally, a third interpretation is that these statue types are meant to be generic, with the type itself being self-referential as a common ideal.[15] It is likely that the overall generic imagery – in the absence of identifying inscriptions – made this statue type and its meaning flexible; all of the aforementioned motifs could likely be recognized in specific examples at specific sanctuaries, and this flexibility also allowed the statue type to be versatile, used in either funerary or votive contexts.

5.2.2 Distribution of Kouroi/Korai

The distribution of kouroi and korai is uneven throughout the Aegean – with select areas having a particularly pronounced habit of dedicating and erecting kouroi and korai, including Athens, the Cyclades, and Ionia.[16] By contrast, only a handful of kouroi and korai have been

[13] For the interpretation that the *kore* represents, especially, Athena on the Athenian acropolis: Keesling 2003; Hurwit 2007: 273 notes that the Antenor kore "has the shoulders, arms, and thighs of a tight end" which makes her identification with the warlike Athena particularly plausible. Ridgway 1977: 111 suggests that some of the korai on Samos represent Hera. For the *kouros* as representative of Apollo, see Ridgway 1977: 58; Hurwit 2007: 274 notes that seventh century vase paintings that definitely depict Apollo show him as clothed and bearded – the exact opposite of the kouros. It is quite likely that the Naxian colossus on Delos did represent Apollo, as it held a metal object in its hand, likely a bow: Stewart 1990: 109. For the argument that they represent minor goddesses: Harrison 1988: 54. For the kouroi, especially, as heroes, see Spivey 1996: 105-16.

[14] So, e.g., the Geneleus Group has three kore statues, two of which are inscribed with the names of the daughters Philippe and Ornithe: Boardman 1978: fig. 71-3 and Ridgway 1977: 96-7; Karakasi 2003: 24; Connelly 2007: 124- 130; Steiber 1994: 104-14. Kienast 1992b has studied the statue base for this group and determined based upon weathering of the stones, that it originally was significantly elevated with the statue base having two more rows of stones; for unknown reasons, it was lowered at a point after its construction. Kyrieleis 1996: 87-101 identifies the Isches kouros as a local hero as has also been argued for the few kouroi found on the Athenian acropolis: Boardman 1978.

[15] Schneider 1975; Stewart 1990: 110; Mack 1996: 133-6; Steiner 2001: 14-5.

[16] Spivey 1996: 101

recovered from the Peloponnese, Epirus, and Magna Graecia and Sicily.[17] What then can explain this distribution of these kouroi types? Why do they cluster as they do? There have been several theories proposed for this irregular distribution, which we will examine in turn before suggesting another interpretation.

Andrew Stewart has noted that there appears to have been a decline in the dedication and the creation of kouroi both on Naxos in about 540 BCE and on Samos about 525 BCE. He links the decline of the Cycladic sculptural habit to the rise of Lygdamis, the tyrant of Naxos, who came to power at just about this time, and the decline of the Samian school to the rise of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos.[18] He argues that these two tyrants had depleted their financial resources with expenditures on large sacred architectural projects as well as military expenditures, and turned to other means of finances. For Lygdamis, Stewart points to a passage in Aristotle's *Oeconomica* that relates how Lygdamis exiled his fellow aristocrats, seized their dedications, and sold them back at a tidy profit.[19] Similarly, he links the exiling of Samian aristocrats by Polycrates to the end of the Samian school of kouroi production. He sees the distribution of kouroi and korai as reflecting areas where elite competition was particularly pronounced and this social stratum used these ostentatious, expensive dedications to mark out status within the community.[20] To underscore this argument, Stewart points to Athens, where the kouroi and korai tradition generally

[17] See Tables One and Two in Meyer and Brüggemann 2007, which give an overview of the kouroi and korai in the Aegean. It should be noted, however, that they do not take account of these statue types in other areas of the Mediterranean, such as Sicily and Magna Graecia and should therefore be used with caution.

[18] Lygdamis: Hdt. 1.61-6 & Polyaenus. 1.23.2. Polycrates: Hdt. 3.44, 3.57-9, 122-5. For the importance of dedications for elite competition and the investment of wealth into sanctuaries at this time, see Coldstream 1977: 317-39, Snodgrass 1980: 52-4, Osborne 2009: 82-96, Duplouy 2006

[19] Ar. *Oecon*. 2.1.1346b7-13

[20] Spivey 1996: 82; Stewart 1989: 66-8. Similarly, Stewart also notes that after the purported fall of the Tyrant Thrasybulus in Miletus around 600-580, there was intense dedication of the kouroi and korai around Didyma as well as along the Sacred Way: Stewart 1990: 117.

ends after the Cleisthenic reforms of 508 BCE and suggests that changing tastes and the weighted history of this particular votive type made it problematic and undesirable in the new *isonomia* of the democracy.[21]

Another explanation for the appearance and distribution of these sculptures is that they are tangible traces of increasing peer-polity interaction during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. Colin Renfrew has defined peer-polity interaction as a term that encompasses numerous types of exchange (including warfare, imitation, emulation, competition, etc.) between two autonomous and independent socio-political units.[22] He notes that if one examines the Aegean islands, it is hard to understand the emergence of a polity during the Iron Age and Archaic Period on any of the islands when taken in isolation; however, when one realizes that the Aegean islands all shared similar religious, cultural, agricultural, and social frameworks, then we can reframe our understanding: these various islands emerged together, a result of their peer-polity interaction, that spurred each *polis* to further development.[23] Renfrew argues that these peer-polity interactions have material correlates that can be distinctly traced and he points to the spread of the kouros and kore in the Aegean, which he sees as reflective and symbolic tokens of the increasing bonds of the various *poleis* in the Archaic period.[24] Anthony Snodgrass, similarly, has argued that the size of select temples in different *poleis* reflect peer polity interaction: for instance the Polycratean Heraion was some twenty-one square meters larger than the Artemision, which predated it by about fifty years. Similarly, in Sicily, the temple of Olympian Zeus at Acragas was built to be only

[21] Stewart 1997: 68. See especially Fehr 1996 for arguments of the kouros and the kore as referential to and reflecting of aristocratic values.
[22] Renfrew 1986: 1. Though he strongly argues that a polity does not have to be territorially or politically based (1-4)
[23] Renfrew 1986: 10-2. He points to his previous study of the island of Melos, which found evidence for some agricultural and industrial intensification before the island's state formation: Renfrew and Wagstuff 1982.
[24] He maps the findspots of kouroi in the Aegean, which is Fig. 1.10 in his article.

slightly larger than the GT temple in the neighboring *polis* of Selinus, built about two generations prior.[25] These miniscule adjustments and increases to the size of sacred architecture are no coincidence, Snodgrass argues; they are the result of a deep awareness of events in nearby *poleis*, the result of peer-polity interaction. That both scholars used case studies taken from the sanctuary might suggest that it was this environment that was a particularly potent arena of display for the various *poleis*.

Finally, one last explanation for the uneven distribution and proliferation of kouroi and korai is that *poleis* and regions that did not have access to quality hard stone, especially marble, such as the Peloponnese or Magna Graecia and Sicily, simply did not develop a habit of carving and dedicating these statues.[26] While it is true, especially, that Magna Graecia and Sicily did not have access to good stone sources, the presence of the Laganello head from Syracuse – a fragmentary head carved in the Daedalic style of local limestone in the seventh century – proves that the Western Mediterranean was moving, aesthetically at least, in step with artistic developments taking place in the Aegean.[27] The *poleis* of the Western Mediterranean began to dedicate kouroi and korai in limited form in the second quarter of the sixth century, with this statue type made of both local limestone and imported marble; examples of the former are two early kouros marble heads from Akragas, while a torso from Megara Hyblaia and a head from Lokroi were both of marble imported from Paros.[28] The findspots of these kouroi and korai are generally harder to determine, thanks to being looted or because their findspots were improperly recorded in

[25] Snodgrass 1986: 55-6.
[26] Longlotz 1965: 40 notes that sculptors would be hard put to transfer their skills of working limestone to marble and notes that modern Spanish sculptors don't use Iberian marble because they have learned to work Carrara marble; Spivey 1996: 75-6
[27] Barletta 2006: 92-4; Rizza and De Mira 1985: 171.
[28] Akragas heads: Holloway 1975: 27; Megara Hyblaia torso: Longlotz 1965: 253; Barletta 2000: 490-1; Lokroi head: Cristofani 1966. For the wide-scale trade in stone in the Archaic period, see Foxhall 1998.

early excavations, but it appears that the kouros at least served similar functions – primarily votive and occasionally mortuary – as kouroi and korai elsewhere.[29] The kouros and kore habit here remained modest throughout the end of this century, and select late sixth-century examples have been found scattered throughout Magna Graecia and Sicily. Overall, however, it is clear that Sicily and Magna Graecia did generally stay in step with aesthetic developments in the Aegean. Further, examples of this kouros statue type both in local limestone as well as in imported marble demonstrate that these areas were able to produce these sculptural types, but that the dedicatory type remained relatively unpopular here.[30]

Similarly, the Peloponnese has an early dedicatory habit of kouroi, the most famous of which include "Cleobis and Biton", early kouroi statues dedicated at Delphi by an Argive in the early sixth century BCE.[31] Similar to the Laganello head, Cleobis and Biton demonstrate that the Peloponnese also followed or even was a leader in the development of early stone kouroi, but the region never embraced this sculptural habit; in short, two korai and ten kouroi are known from the entirety of the Peloponnese. Further, though the Peloponnese did not have good stone, the region is located proximate to the Cyclades and especially the sculptural industries located on Paros and Naxos. Indeed, the *polis* of Athens is roughly equal in distance from the Cyclades, yet that did not prevent Attica from importing marble and/or half-finished carvings from the Cyclades. That Athens did not actively begin to use its own indigenous marble sources until about the last quarter

[29] Rizza and DeMire 1985: 210

[30] Barletta 2006: 96 lists five kouroi: one each from Megara Hyblaia, Leontinoi, Syracuse, and Grammichele, as well as one from Metapontion. There are also two problematic South Italian kouroi fragments: one torso fragment comes from the area around Krimisa, while one whose findspot is unknown is now in the private Ortiz collection: see Barletta 2006 for further bibliography on these pieces.

[31] Richter 1970: 49-50; Spivey 1996: 108-110; Catalogue no. 12 & 13 in Meyer and Brüggerman 2007: 138-9.

of the sixth century problematizes the suggestion that not having local sources of marble can account for the lack of kouroi and korai.[32]

Again, if we return to the distribution of the statuary types, we see an interesting phenomenon: with the one exception of the Boeotian Sanctuary of Ptoon Apollo, the areas that would later define themselves as Ionian – namely, the Anatolian Ionians, the Cycladic Ionians, and the Attic Ionians – were the greatest consumers of these sculptures.[33] Further, these regions imported stone from Naxos and Paros, and – in the case of Ionia and Attica – eventually exploited their own quarries, grounding this sculptural type in the local. This might encourage us to reconsider these kouroi and korai as in some way referencing the local while at the same time visually articulating links and a sense of connectivity – at least among the elite, who could afford such an expensive dedicatory gift – that would crystallize into the Ionian ethnic.[34]

5.2.3 The Meaning of Kouroi/Korai – An Anatolian Ionian Interpretation?

Ionia, as has already been stated, had a rich dedicatory habit between about 575-525 BCE of giving both kouroi and korai, and the findspots of this sculptural type from Ionia have been summarized in the following table, which has been drawn primarily from Table One and Two in Meyer and Brüggerman's *Kore und Kouros*, and we refer the reader to this book for total numbers, types and functions, as well as the greater bibliography for these stones sculptures.

[32] See, especially Table 10.8 in Karakasi 2003: 163 which tracks the types of marble used for all of the Attica korai, as well as her discussion on pages 124-9.
[33] There are 128 examples of this statuary type from Boeotia; of these, 122 were dedicated at the Ptoon (120 kouroi and two korai): Catalogue Entries 22-167 in Meyer and Brüggemann 2007: 140-66. The extreme concentration of these sculptural types at only one sanctuary is in distinct contrast to the dedicatory and mortuary practices of the Ionian areas, where kouroi and korai appear scattered throughout the region.
[34] It is helpful to remind the reader that Crielaard 2009: 72 has argued that the Anatolian Ionian identity might have initially been linked to elite identity.

Findplace	Votive Kore	Votive Kore (?)	Grave Kore	Grave Kore(?)	Unknown	Totals
Chios	2				3	
Erythrae	4	1				
Clazomenae			1		1	
Smyrna	1					
Clarus	2					
Ephesus	1				1	
Thebae on Mycale	1					
Samos (Heraion)	31					
Samos (other findplaces)					3	
Miletus	4				10	
Didyma	8				1	**75**
Findplace	**Votive Kouros**	**Votive Kouros (?)**	**Grave Kouros**	**Grave Kouros (?)**	**Unknown**	**Totals**
Chios, Nago					2	
Didyma, Apollo Sanctuary	21					
Clarus	4					
Miletus Urban area	1	3				
Samos, without provenance					1	
Samos, Chora		1		1		
Samos, Glyphada		1				
Samos, Heraion	19					
Samos, Misokampos					1	
Samos, Mytilini				1		
Samos, Myli		1				
Samos, Tigani				2		
Myus	1					**60**

Table 2: Findspots/Types of Kouroi and Korai in Ionia SOURCE Table 1 and 2, Meyer and Brüggemann 2007 and Boskaki 2012

This table shows that kouroi and korai were found in most of the *poleis* of Ionia. Certainly, select sanctuaries – especially Didyma and the Heraion – featured important concentrations of these statue types.[35] However, it is striking that kouroi and korai appear to be a feature of almost every Anatolian Ionian *polis*, from the largest communities down to even the smallest – such as the modest Thebae on Mycale.[36] It is also striking that, overall, most kouroi and korai in Ionia were dedicated in sanctuaries, given as gifts to the gods; only one kore has been securely identified as a grave marker at Clazomenae, and four kouroi might have served as grave markers on Samos.[37] Indeed, of the *dodekapolis*, eight attest to having at least one example of this sculptural type. Of the remaining four *poleis*, the lack of statues found in two can perhaps be explained by a lack of excavation: Lebedus has not been excavated, and Colophon has only experienced one abbreviated season of excavation. Only Phocaea and Teos have both not produced any kouroi or korai and have been reasonably excavated, though it should be noted that Phocaea is largely covered by the modern town of Foça and Teos has significant Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman overburden; the early levels are just beginning to be reached there. This widespread use of the kouros and the kore in Ionia, therefore, encourages us to consider whether this sculptural type

[35] At the Heraion, twenty kouroi were dedicated between the first and third quarters of the sixth century BCE, two of which were colossal (for the 4.8-meter tall Isches kouros, see Kyrieleis 1996). There were thirty-four *korai* found at the Heraion (see catalogue entries 166-99 in Brüggemann and Meyer 2007: 78-82, as well as Karakasi 2003: 13-34). Similar to the Heraion, korai and kouroi begin to be dedicated in the sanctuary at Didyma between the period c. 600-530 BCE – corresponding to the establishment of the Sacred Way (at Didyma, the earliest archaic sculptures include seven lions, that likely formed antithetical pairs: Tuchelt 1970: 93-99). Nine korai were found within the sanctuary, and many appear to have been positioned around the round altar (see catalogue entries 214-22 in Brüggemann and Meyer 2007: 84-5).

[36] Wiegand 1904: 470.

[37] Clazomenae: Meyer and Brüggemann 2009: Catalogue no 158: Richter 1968: 92. Nr. 163; Samos, Chora: Meyer and Brüggemann 2009: Catalogue no 346; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974: 104. Samos, Mytilini: Meyer and Brüggemann 2009: Catalogue no 347; Richter 1970: 87; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974: 77 n. 38

might have carried some additional local meaning, especially vis-à-vis its relationship with the cultic community and perhaps as an indicator of an Anatolian Ionian identity.

As has already been stated, the kouros and the kore share imagery with other statuary in other contemporary media throughout the Aegean and wider Mediterranean; as such, they are essentially not aesthetically different from other smaller-scale dedications in sanctuaries. What, then, makes them so very different from small figures in bronze or terracotta or ivory? We argue that it is precisely their material – hard stone, mostly marble – that sets them apart.[38] The importance of Egypt to the sudden flourishing of large-scale stone carving for the large monumental temples in Ionia in the late seventh and throughout the sixth centuries BCE has already been commented upon earlier in this dissertation. The kouros and the kore were born out of this same hard stone carving tradition; their appearance in the Aegean and beyond can only be attributed to techniques, tools, and skills either learned abroad or from Egyptian craftsmen working away from their home.[39] That this sculptural group appeared suddenly on a large or even colossal scale can only be attributed both to the ability of the marble to withstand the stresses of the weight of such a large sculpture, as well as proven carving techniques, tools, and technical knowledge adopted and adapted from the Egyptian carving tradition.

Additionally, as has been well established, the kouros and the kore's iconography have been strongly linked to royal aesthetics found in Egypt (Fig. 43 – compare to Fig. 40). Indeed, the Saite period – the precise time when Greeks were becoming heavily entangled in Egypt – was a time when Egyptian sculpture was consciously archaizing and mimicking the aesthetics of the Old

[38] I am in complete agreement with Ridgway 1970: 31: "the technique of carving large blocks of stone and the system of proportions necessary to magnify life-size into a much larger scale came to the Greeks from the Egyptians…no amount of practice in the making of terracotta or solid bronze figurines is conducive to the kind of magnification evidence in Archaic stone statuary."

[39] Davis 1981; Ridgway 1977: 29-33; Tanner 2003: 132-9. Of course, there are always doubters, including Anthes 1963: 62-7 (but see Ridgway's 1966 response) and Cook 1967.

Kingdom. This aesthetic trend was overtly a deliberate response to the prior Ethiopian dynasty and put emphasis upon monumentality, stiff poses, a flattening of the folds of garments, and the presence of a small smile.[40]

The kouros copied the pose of Egyptian statuary with its left leg advanced, though in the absence of a supportive back pillar the kouros balanced his weight evenly upon two legs; his body was similarly frontal, perfect, and arms with clenched fists held firmly down and at the sides. Finally, at least one kouros, the New York Kouros, might have been carved on the second Egyptian canon of proportions, which was introduced in the Saite period and ensured that each element of the body was directly proportional to and correctly related to each other, suggesting that the sculptor of this statue was working from established traditions in Egypt and might even have been Egyptian. (Fig. 44).[41] Other details, including the emphasis upon frontality, perfect body, and the archaic smile echo the monumental statuary of the Saite period and Old Kingdom, while aesthetic parallels to the kore can also be found in small-scale media in Egypt.

[40] Levin 1964: 15-6; Aldred 1980: 225. Indeed, recently, a colossal (26-foot tall) sculpture of Psammetichus was found in Matariya, a suburb of Cairo, it was initially identified as Ramses II, thanks both to its style as well as its placement outside of a temple of Ramses II. For the most recent news on this statue (including its 3D reconstruction), see https://www.cnn.com/2018/04/20/world/psamtik-colossus-cairo/index.html (accessed May 2, 2018)

[41] Guralnick 1976, 1978, 1981, 1982, 1985 is the main proponent of this argument, though see also Anthes 1963 and Levin 1964: 18. She has used statistics to argue that four kouroi are quite proportionally close to the second canon: the New York Kouros, Ptoon 12, the Melos Kouros, and the Tenea Kouros (Guralnick 1976: 469). Her statistical analyses, however, has been severely doubted by Carter and Steinberg 2010, who have applied new statistical tests on these and other kouroi; they also note that these kouroi are randomly scattered across the sixth century BCE as well as the greater Aegean. For a general overview of the second canon of proportions, Tanner 2003: 136. For the New York Kouros: see Levin 1964: 19. A general theme in the study of the kouros is their quadrifaciality, i.e. they have four cardinal viewpoints that reflect the Egyptians' (and later Greeks') carving technique of applying the canon of proportions to each side of a stone block separately, though see Neer 2010: 33-8 for the arguments and a critique of this approach. He argues that rather than seeing the quadrifaciality as resulting from function, we should see it as a deliberate aesthetic choice. Finally, Diodorus (1.98.5-9) tells us a story about a statue that was partially created in Ephesus and partially created in Samos in the Egyptian style and when the two parts were brought together, they fit together perfectly. While it is unclear what Diodorus meant by this, it is possible he was referencing the use of the Egyptian canon of proportions.

Indeed, this large-scale stone statuary habit probably has its beginnings in the Eastern Mediterranean: the so-called Daedalic style, in which the earliest kouros and kore are carved (such as the Nikandre dedication at Delos), has been argued to draw upon parallels from the Eastern Mediterranean – particularly North Syrian and Phoenician art (Fig. 42).[42] It has been suggested that this style developed from small trade goods brought to Crete by Phoenician mariners, whose presence is well attested during this time both by the numerous imports as well as the pillar shrine at Kommos.[43]

This point is important because we have evidence that the ancients themselves recognized this sculpture type as Egyptian, though they erroneously tied it to Daedalus, the legendary architect of King Minos. Diodorus thought that the style (*rhythmos*) of statues in Egypt was the same as those of Daedalus, and – more importantly – he identified a kouros on Samos (which he believed was made by the sons of Rhoecus, the architect of the first *dipteros*) as aesthetically paralleling Egyptian statuary, and it was this perceived connection to Egypt in part that surely must have created wonder, or *thauma* in the viewer.[44] We should therefore consider the appearance of these stone kouroi and korai to be – at first – an innovative and exotic phenomenon: sculptures of this size and material were previously unheard of and unseen in the Aegean and beyond, and their aesthetics revolutionarily combined pre-existing concepts of male and female aesthetics with Egyptian stylistic types. This phenomenon is all the more innovative when one considers that the

[42] Richter 1970: 4 points out that the same stance, as well as the types of folds in the garment, such as can be seen in the Charyames kore can be seen; see Ridgway 1977: 25; Stewart 1990: 107; and Boardman 2006: 27 n. 5 who points to a greater bibliography on Northern Syrian stone sculpture.
[43] For the bibliography on this pillar shrine, see Chapter Two, Footnote 53.
[44] Diod. Sic. 1.97-8 and 4.76. Morris 1992: 238-68 argues that Daedalus particularly rose to fame as an inventor and sculptor in fifth century Athens thanks to his links to the native hero Theseus. This concerns us less than the fact that Diodorus *believed in these early statues' connections to Egypt*. For the kouros and kore producing thauma, see Neer 2010: 36 and esp 57-69. For a discussion of Daedalus and portraiture, see Stieber 2004: 83-5.

kouros and the kore generally predate the construction of monumental temples in Ionia and elsewhere throughout the Aegean; they would have constituted a visible focal point and spoken to the wealth of the individual dedicant as well as the cultic community more broadly.[45]

Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries' deep connections to the maritime networks of the larger Mediterranean suggests that these kouros and kore dedications with their "exotic" overtones might have initially referenced the overseas connections of the elite members of the cultic community, which we have seen were in part engaged in trade, as well as piratical and mercenary activities. Indeed, this sculptural type's popularity at the Heraion would have dovetailed nicely with the plethora of Egyptian votives already dedicated and could have further enhanced the island's ties to Egypt.[46] Finally, as the sculptural type proliferated throughout the Aegean and greater Mediterranean world, it is likely that these overtones from Egypt were subsumed and eclipsed by a more general aesthetic Aegean look. Indeed, as this type diversified, stonemasons became more experienced with working marble, and the sculpture became grounded as a local phenomenon, we can see distinct regional trends in the kouros and kore's depictions.

5.2.4 Additional Anatolian Ionian Large-Scale Statuary

To the northwest of the altar and temple and along the north side of the Sacred Way at the Heraion, one family made a particularly noteworthy votive offering to Hera during the sixth century. This is the so-called Geneleus Group, a statuary group that comprised statues of the family: three korai and one kouros represent the children of the family, and the parents bookend

[45] So, e.g., two colossal *kouroi* – the famous Isches' kouros and a fragmentary kouros that was identical, stood in the Heraion before the first dipteral temple was built. Indeed, the fragmentary colossal kouros stood immediately to the northeast of the dipteros and the building's siting had to respect its base: Kyrieleis 1996.

[46] For the Heraion's Egyptian borrowings generally see Davis 1981; Kyrieleis 1996: 68-86 108-20.

their offspring.[47] The parents, however, are not kouroi or korai, but are two other large-scale free-standing stone statues: a seated/enthroned female figure and a reclining male (Fig. 45). The grouping and display of these two other aesthetic types of statuary together with the kouros and the korai encourage us to consider these two statuary types as functionally similar to the kouros and the kore in terms of scale and cost. Furthermore, their large-scale hard stone medium required the same carving skills, tools, and expertise, meaning that they had a technological equivalency to the kouros and the kore. Therefore, we shall briefly consider the symposiast and the enthroned/seated figure statuary types in Ionia and how they too might have helped express a burgeoning linked identity between the various cultic communities in Ionia.

The symposiast has been studied by Elizabeth Baughn.[48] The symposiast can aesthetically be considered the kouros' opposite: whereas the kouros was spartan, fit, nude, and standing, the symposiast reclined on one side and was lavishly hedonistic – both in the draping of fine clothes, as well as the corpulence of its body.[49] The most famous and complete example of this type of sculpture is the symposiast of the Geneleus Group, whose name is only partially preserved as -arches and who constituted the right-most statue of this group (Fig. 46).[50] He reclines on his left side on a pillow, wearing the combination of *chiton* with heavier *himation* and holds a drinking horn in his left hand. Additionally, two other fragmentary symposiast statues from the Heraion show that -arches did not dine alone.[51] Similarly, a lifesize symposiast was found at Didyma in the same position, reclining on a similar pillow, and with the same clothes and drinking horn,

[47] See, generally, Walter-Karydi 1985; Stewart 1990: 117; Steiber 2004: 94-6 for this group.
[48] Baughn 2011.
[49] Freyer-Schauenburg 1974: 120-1; Ridgway 1977: 139-40; Bumke 2004: 888; Kistler 2004: 170.
[50] There has inevitably been a bit of debate over the partial name. The inscription (*IG* 12 6^2 559) reads: . . .]άρχης ήμε[ᾶ]ς κὰ[ν]έθηκε τῆι Ἥρηι. Richter 1970: 49-50; Freyer-Schauenberg 1974: 122-3; Ridgway 1977: 131-32 and 1987: 404. Dunst 1972: 132-35 reads –ilarches with Bumke 2004 and Kistler following. Jeffery 1990: 329 reads –narche.
[51] Ridgway 1977: 139-40; Catalogue no. 2 & 3, fig. 4 & 5 in Baughn 2011: 22-3.

making it very probable that these were created by the same workshop.[52] Finally, one last sculpture – now reduced to just one foot – was found somewhere in the vicinity of Didyma and Miletus and is in the Miletus sculpture depot.[53] These life-size sculptures are joined by three large statuettes of reclining banqueters from Myus, one of which was a dedication to Apollo, as well as a possible other symposiast stored in the Miletus depot with the material from Weigand's excavations. These findspots, restricted to Ionia, demonstrate that the reclining banqueter as a free-standing/reclining figural type of stone is a phenomenon peculiar to the Anatolian Ionians in the sixth century BCE, where the sculptures would have emphasized the dedicant's elite status, perhaps even as a participant in a symposium with the deity, to whom the sculpture was dedicated.[54] Indeed, Baughn suggests that the sculpted symposiasts fit in well with the general importance of banqueting culture in Ionia and the western Anatolian cultural milieu of luxury, excess, and hedonistic pleasures. She notes that the Ionian banqueters are all portrayed as overweight – suggesting the effects of dietary excesses – and the open chiton was draped in such a way as to emphasize the fleshy, exposed expanse of belly as taking part in the discourse of "bodily wealth" and the physical markers of the elite.[55]

The Genelaus Group also features a seated figure on the opposite end of the sculptural plinth, and this statue acts as the pendant to the reclining symposiast – arches and is presumably the matriarch of this family group. This female sits in a high-backed throne; her name, Phileia, is

[52] Tuchelt 1976; Catalogue number 4 & 6, fig. 6-7 in Baughn 2011: 23.
[53] Buaghn 2011: 23-5: Catalogue number 6-8 fig. 8-12; unknown foot: Catalogue no.9, fig. 13.
[54] Baughn 2011: 28-9. The only exception is a pediment from Corcyra
[55] Baughn 2011: 35-7. The motif of the reclining banqueter from the mainland appears only in the pediment from Corcyra. For *habrosunē* within the Archaic poets, see Kurke 1992: 16, Baughn 2004: 218-22; and Asius fr. 13 and Xenophanes fr. 3. It should be noted that the roughly contemporary frieze on the Temple of Athena at Assos portrayed a symposium scene, but this one differs in that it portrays a true symposium: i.e. a number of men drinking together, whereas the sculpted symposiasts always drink alone, which I believe is significant (see further discussion below). For the temple's frieze, see Wescoat 2012, especially pages 164-73 for discussion on the symposium scene.

inscribed on her left leg and the artist's signature appears on her himation (Fig. 47). This matriarch belongs to the second type of large-scale stone sculpture that appears in Ionia as well as more generally across the Aegean: the seated/enthroned figure.[56] The seated/enthroned status is one that is common for the Olympian gods, who sit or recline in the Homeric epics.[57] Gods are also depicted as reclining or sitting in a variety of media such as on temple architecture, painted vases, and free-standing sculpture – with the earliest seated goddesses appearing on Crete, roughly contemporary to the first standing Daedalic sculptures.[58]

Similarly, mortals that enjoyed particular prominence or power can also be seated or enthroned – especially the ruler of the Phaeacians in the Homeric epics.[59] In the Aegean, the seated posture implied distinction – whether of office, age, social status, or alignment with the gods – when applied to mortals. We thus find seated statuary found throughout the greater Aegean, and as such, these figures can be either males and females. They are defined primarily by their high rank, leading to an overall importance within both the cultic community as well as local civic and social institutions.[60] It has been suggested that Phileia served Hera in some capacity on Samos, and we have a male counterpart to her expensive dedication in the partial enthroned figure that bears the dedication by Aeaces, examined earlier in this dissertation. Aeaces gave the dedication

[56] Freyer-Schauenburg 1974: 107; Muss 1981; Ridgway 1993: 190-1. For general approaches to these seated/enthroned figures, see Richter 1966; Kyrieleis 1969; Jung 1982, and Nagy 1998. For the regional distribution, which also appears to heavily favor Ionian areas, see discussion in Ridgway 1977: 139.
[57] The gods are frequently portrayed as seated, so e.g. *Il*. 1.533-6 and *Il*. 8.434-43 as well as venerated rulers, especially. Further, ancient authors discuss cult statues, no longer extant, that were seated (though as well as on such architectural decoration: Nagy 1998: 181
[58] Perhaps the most famous example of seated gods is the Parthenon frieze – see Neils 2001. Early seated female sculptures from Crete (probably goddesses) include both the fragmentary Gortyn torso and the relatively complete seated female from Prinias; the Prinias figure can be identified as a goddess with some confidence thanks to her high polos and her lavish, embroidered garments: Nagy 1998: 186. For a description of seated cult statues, see Paus. 8.5.9 for the Athena statue at Erythrae; Nagy 1998: 181-2.
[59] Alcinous, the ruler of the Phaeacians: *Od*. 7.167-9 and *Od*. 6.308-9; Nagy 1998: 183
[60] Nagy 1998.

while serving as the *epistatos* of the Heraion, and it is possible this individual was also the father of Polycrates, the later tyrant of Samos.[61]

At Didyma, the seated figure is prolific, with over twenty seated figures found along the Sacred Way, though unfortunately their original dedicatory places are unknown because of later reorganizations of the sanctuary. Interestingly, these figures, now called "Branchidae," comprise both female and male figures, who sit in elaborate, yet solid, thrones, as folds of clothing generally conform and emphasize their solid masses.[62] Additionally, a small temenos, deemed the Archaic Cult Complex, was uncovered by the German excavations along the Sacred Way in the Akron Hills. This small enclosure was built during the second half of the sixth century BCE and represents a particularly dense clustering of these seated figures.[63] While the southern part never seems to have been developed, the northern part had a large, semi-circular basis – measuring 13.3 meters in its interior diameter – that featured a number of seated figures, about five females and six or seven males.[64] It is unclear whether the Archaic Cult Complex constituted a sanctuary – as there are no names for any gods and no altar associated with the structure – or whether it was designed solely as an architectural frame to set off these impressive seated votive statues. However, it underscores the importance of this figural type as being an authoritarian and eye-catching dedication that would have demonstrably spoken to the prestige, power, and wealth of the dedicant – whether he or she gave one or multiple seated figures.

[61] Ridgway 1977: 132. Hdt. 3.39.
[62] Knackfuss 1941: 156; Tuchelt 1970: 27-33; Ridgway 1977: 125-9; Stewart 1990: 117-8; Slawisch and Wilkinson 2018: 122-7.
[63] Tuchelt, Schneider and Schattner 1996 is the definitive publication for this enclosure. See Slawisch and Wilkinson 2018: 116-8 for doubts as to whether this cult complex was located on the Sacred Way.
[64] Tuchelt, Schneider, and Schattner 1996: 235-6; Duplouy 2006: 213-4. For the estimation of the number of figures from the fragments, see Tuchelt, Schneider, and Schattner 1996: 158. The outside of this enclosure was guarded by six stone sphinxes.

Indeed, of all of these seated figures from Didyma, the Chares statue (the only one that is inscribed) demonstrates just these aspects: this statue sits upright with his hands in his lap; his clothing folds over his body and hangs down near his feet (Fig. 48). The statue was carved in the second quarter of the sixth century BCE and dedicated probably at the propylon of Didyma.[65] The identifying inscription is generously lengthy: χαρης εἰμι ὁ κλέσιος τειχιόσης ἀρχός / ἄγαλμα το Ἀπόλλωνος. Chares proclaims himself to be the local ruler of a nearby *polis*, Teichoussa, located on the outskirts of the Milesian chora, giving us good evidence that the choice of seated statue, rather than a kouros or other type of dedication, was meant to speak directly the dedicant's high social standing both locally rather than just merely wealth.[66]

Indeed, this section has diverted from the kouros and the kore to discuss these reclining and seated figures not just because they are of the same size and hardstone medium, but because their iconographies enrich and contextualize our understanding of the aesthetic messages of this sculptural type. The seated/enthroned figure is exciting because it also has its closest aesthetic parallels in Egypt and especially to the enthroned pharaoh – a particularly potent image of rule – divinely sanctioned and absolute. If we return to Abu Simbel, we know that the Greek and Carian mercenaries came into contact – literally – with the colossal seated figures of Ramses II (Fig. 11).[67]

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[65] Schneider 1987; Tuchelt 1970: 78-80; Herda 2006: 334-50; Duplouy 2006: 206-10; Kindt 2012: 123-54. Though the sculpture was not found *in situ*, the later Molpoi Inscription might give us some insight into where the statue was originally located. The inscription details the various stations and locations along the Sacred Way that the Molpoi, a group of singers and dancers in Miletus, must stop at in order to properly process from Miletus to Didyma. In it, Chares' statue is referenced as a stopping point in the procession route, right before Didyma itself, and this suggests that it was located – at least in the Hellenistic period – close to or even inside the sanctuary's temenos (perhaps at the propylon): Slawisch and Wilkinson 2018: 126. Further, though the inscription is Hellenistic, it is likely a re-inscription from the mid-fifth century BCE (see Herda 2006: 15-20 for the various arguments over the inscription's chronology, now thought to be about 200 BCE).

[66] The sculpture is now in the British Museum: Ridgway 1993: 186; Özgan 1978: 32-3; Nagy 1998: 183.

[67] Kyrieleis 1969; Krantz 1972; Stewart 1990: 117-8. Ridgway 1977: 128 notes that the thrones themselves appear to be a combination of Assyrian prototypes and Greek ideas, but I see no reason why Egyptian seated statues could not also have been influential. See the discussion on Abu Simbel and graffiti in Chapter Two. Further, while we have only examined large-scale human stone statuary, it would be noted that there were

Thus, the seated figure reinforces and supports our interpretation that the perceived reference to "Egyptian" or "foreign" aesthetics was one that was initially understood by early dedicators and other members of the cultic community, and might have been spoken to the overseas connections of the dedicant. By contrast, the reclining symposiast likely does not have overt aesthetic connections abroad, as banqueting and the symposium were widespread across the Aegean by the Archaic period. Rather, the imagery is part of the elite milieu of Archaic Western Anatolia, especially the depiction of a male banqueting solo. This solitary banqueter or symposiast was an especially popular choice for Anatolian tomb iconography: the most well known example is at the Kızılbel tumulus, which is a tomb at Elmalı with painted scenes of Greek and Lycian myth as well as humans hunting, boxing, and wrestling. A reclining man is painted on the wall that is directly over the funerary *klinē*, and the entire tomb depicts images related to elite male activities, creating a scene of opulence that is reinforced by the size and grandeur of the tomb itself.[68] Similarly, our symposiast at the Heraion, -arches, also reclines and drinks alone – though surrounded by his wife and children, none of his family join him at the symposium nor do they hold banqueting paraphernalia. There is also no evidence that -arches interacted with the other two sculpted symposiasts dedicated to Hera.

We thus see that these two variants of large-scale stone statuary made the same claims of wealth on behalf of their dedicants as did the kouros and the kore. However, these two sculptural

multiple large-scale stone lions that were dedicated at Didyma during this time. Not only is the lion an animal from the Levant and Egypt and specifically associated with these areas, but Höckmann 2005 has succinctly argued that the details from these lions – such as the skins around their necks – suggest either personal experience with the beasts or tutelage under a master sculptor who had a deep connection to Egypt and was intimately familiar with lion sculptures in the Sudan

[68] See Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998 for Kızılbel. The banqueting scene is replicated in the later fifth-century tomb at Karaburun: see Miller-Collett 2010 for a discussion of both tombs (she will also publish the final study for Karaburun). For funerary banquets in Anatolia, see Dusinberre 2013: 128-36 & 197-9.

variants utilized different aesthetics in this message, with the seated statuary echoing Egyptian pharaonic aesthetics whereas the reclining banqueter likely spoke more to an indigenous banqueting and dining culture. Ultimately, all of these types of statuary found echoes in other sanctuaries in Ionia and could have spoken to a burgeoning sense of regional connections among the elite or the *poleis*.

5.2.5 Kouroi and Korai – Last Remarks

Most sanctuaries of Ionia had at least one and some had many kouroi or korai, which form an important subset of Ionia's greater stone sculptural habit. In Ionia, the kouros and the kore were used almost exclusively as a votive gift, and they were set up in sanctuaries as a token of thanksgiving and belief from a member of the cultic community. These kouroi and korai, moreover, were meant to be seen; Duplouy has shown that their position, visibility, and prominence were especially considered by their dedicators.[69] This visibility suggests that this dedicatory type was meant to be read as a *potent* statement of the dedicant's place within the cultic community as well as larger civic *polis*, which encourages us to consider the kouros and the kore as emblematic and perhaps symbolic of the greater community.

Indeed, this section has suggested that the clustering of these kouroi and korai primarily in what would become the greater Ionian ethnic region – namely Attica, Ionia, the Cyclades – is significant. The similar aesthetics, size, types, and poses of kouroi and korai were replicated throughout this region, thereby visually articulating the links of the local cultic community to those that spanned from the western to the eastern Aegean.[70] We suggest that this distribution could

[69] We remind the reader of the example of the Geneleus Group, which originally stood/reclined/sat on an elevated statue base that was lowered at some point in antiquity by the removal of two rows of cut stones: Kienast 1992b. Though cf. Clemente 2010, who disputes this interpretation.
[70] Sørensen 1978: 119; Senff 1994: 19; Fourrier 1999: 16

correspond to the maritime routes, which stretched from Ionia through the Cyclades and thence Athens and mainland Greece, that facilitated communication and interaction and movement, and would eventually lead to the Ionian ethnic identity in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. More locally in Ionia, the phenomenon of these kouroi and korai constituted a shared aesthetic votive gift, which initially drew on the Egyptian stone carving tradition for both aesthetics and technique. Like the later monumental temples, these kouroi and korai might have initially highlighted the maritime networks in which these dedicants participated, while simultaneously visually linking the dedications to those in other Anatolian Ionian sanctuaries.

5.3 Coinage

5.3.1 The Artemision Deposits in the Context of Early Electrum Coinage

This section turns from large ostentatious stone statuary votives to a specific dedication that represents the intersection of economic transactions with sacred dedication: the electrum coins found at the Artemision at Ephesus.[71]

This coinage at the Artemision has been found in deposits around and in the foundations of various iterations of the temple. The earlier excavations under the direction of Hogarth in 1904/5 uncovered ninety-three electrum coins in total; most were found scattered in the earliest levels of the seventh century BCE temple when the *peripteros* went out of use.[72] A further twenty-four coins have been found by the most recent excavations conducted in the 1980s and 1990s by Austrian archaeologists under the direction of Anton Bammer. All of these coins have been found

[71] It is important to note that gold and silver are indigenous to western Anatolia: the Troad and Mysia had numerous gold mines that appear to have also been rich in silver. See Cahill forthcoming, for a discussion on ancient and modern goldmines, which he identifies at Kartaldağ, Narlıca, Ovacık, Madendağ, Küçükdere, Kirazlı, Şahinli, Ağı Dağ, and Evciler. These gold and silver sources were under the control of the Lydians from early on.

[72] Karwiese 1991: 6-7 and 2008: 133.

in pre-Croesid temple levels, and there has been a great deal of concomitant debate as to their dating – with dates ranging from 700 BCE to about 500 BCE; nonetheless, recent studies have argued for a date around 630/20 BCE, which rests upon a firm archaeological basis of select coins' stratigraphy and associated finds.[73] The Artemision's status as the first appearance of coinage is striking as coinage was commonly thought by the ancients to have been invented by the Lydians – thanks in part to their fabulous wealth, power, and the nearby Pactolus and Hermus Rivers, which produced precious metals.[74] The differing amounts of gold and silver in these earliest electrum coin issues, as well as small amounts of other metals – lead, copper, and iron – suggests that an early concern for coinage was to regulate and guarantee a common value of a metal that was

[73] Kagan 1982 argued for a date around 700 BCE. Hogarth 1908; Weidauer 1975; and Furtwängler 1986 argued for the early seventh century BCE. Robinson 1951 and 1956; Kraay 1976: 21-2; and Wallace 1987 and 2001 all argued for the end of the seventh century, and Price 1983: 4 argued for an extremely low date in the late sixth century BCE. One of the most influential recent voices has been that of A. Bammer, the head excavator of the Artemision, who has argued for a date of around 560 BCE: see Bammer 1990 & 1991: 83. A recent reassessment, however, by M. Kerschner (1997) of the "Opferschicht G or F," a sealed deposit containing a KUKALIM third-stater and other sacrificial debris found in the eastern *sekos,* has significantly back-dated the coins' appearance to the current 630/20 BCE date. In addition, five electrum coins were found to the north of the temple in a sacrificial deposit around "Kultbasis D," which went out of use when the Croesid temple was built, though an analysis of this deposit's pottery is still a *desideratum*: Kerschner 1997: 100; Weißl 2002: 315-21; Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 87-8; Konuk 2012: 48-9. Indeed, independent verification for this date comes from the *olpe*, examined later in this section, which D. Williams has convincingly placed in the third quarter of the seventh century BCE: Williams 1991-1993: 102. Finally, Bresson forthcoming also agrees with this seventh century date on epigraphical grounds via a study of the legend of the Phanes coins, which were struck about 620 BCE on almost the entire range of denominations.

[74] Hdt. 1.94. See also Kurke 1999: 41-64 & 299-331 for theorizations about metals and coinage, respectively. We now believe, however, that the Pactolus River produced only gold instead of electrum, and the metal had to be made primarily through artificial means. The idea that coinage arose from a need to regulate the value of naturally occurring electrum came from the observation that the levels of silver and gold in these electrum nuggets varied greatly. This hypothesis that electrum sourced from the Pactolus River was naturally occurring (so, e.g. Wallace 1987: 385-97, 1989: 93-4, and 2001: 127-9; Karwiese 2008: 135; Kroll 2008; Konuk 2012: 44; Konuk and Lorber 2018: 13) is now problematic: Cahill forthcoming shows the precious metal output by the Pactolus is 99% gold. In hindsight, Hdt. 1.93 and 5.101 says that only gold dust came down from the Pactolus River, not electrum. See Cowell and Hyne 2000 as well for earlier testing on electrum coinage. The variability in silver-gold ratios of this earliest electrum necessitated its testing with a touchstone for its content every time the metal was exchanged, and this motif shows up frequently in the early Greek poets – see Kurke 1999: 41-64.

anything but, perhaps even stabilizing the value of both metals by fusing them together.[75] Otherwise, the reasons why and for what purposes coinage was first created are still obscure for us: the hypotheses are many and debate fierce, and this dissertation will not attempt to answer that question.[76] It is clear, however, that coinage fulfilled a critical need in the ancient economy; indeed, only several decades after its appearance in western Anatolia it was quickly proliferating across the Aegean as it was adopted by a significant number of Greek *poleis* over several decades in the sixth century BCE.[77]

If we return to the Artemision, it is striking that the electrum coins found there ranged considerably in iconography, with obverses regularly bearing a device that comprised an animal, pattern, or – occasionally – human head, though whether this represents a mortal or immortal is unclear. The reverse of these coins almost always carry one or several incuse punches. These early coins, just like those in circulation today, were considered a product and representation of the issuing authority. Indeed, several coin issues have been securely identified as products of civic mints based upon the obverse die, with various animals standing in for the *poleis*: Lydia's coins

[75] See, e.g. Vismara 1993; Nicolet-Pierre and Barrandon 1997; Keyser and Clark 2001; and Konuk 2005 for the varying percentages of gold and silver, especially in the Samian coins, which are notorious for inconsistency. See Wallace 1987 and 2001; Kroll 2008 for the former hypothesis of regulating value, and Bresson 2017: 264 and forthcoming for the latter theory of value stabilization.

[76] For this can of worms, see the debate as it winds variously through: Wallace 1987, Schaps 2004, Kurke 1999, Le Rider 2001, Seaford 2004. Hdt 1.94.1 does not explicitly link coinage to trade, but he implies as much by noting that the Lydians were the inventers of coinage and renowned traders in the same sentence. For the hypothesis that money was invented to pay for mercenaries: Cook 1958; Bettalli 1995: 78-9; Kraay 1964; Keyser and Clark 2001: 116; though cf. Price 1983. Kroll 2008 has suggested that the reason for the creation of coinage was because the alloy became increasingly unreliable for testing thanks to the varying degrees of silver and gold in the metal. Karwiese 2008: 135 has suggested coinage helped the Lydian kings manage and track the enormous wealth of their treasuries. Bolin 1958: 15-31; Wallace 1987: 390-2; Konuk and Lorber 2018: 14 have suggested that the profit made from minting electrum, which significantly overvalued the coinage could have been the impetus, while Bresson forthcoming has suggested that it was to fuse the two metals in order to stabilize the prices of both. In the fourth century BCE, Aristotle thought that coinage was created for trade and the economic sphere, but this opinion likely reflects the use of coinage in his day – Ar. *Pol.* 1257a-b.

[77] Osborne 2009: 239-41.

are represented by lions' heads or lion paws (see discussion below) as well as a much rarer issue of antithetical boar's heads.[78] Ephesus was represented by a stag or a bee; Miletus a recumbent lion; Chios a sphynx; Samos a frontal lion's head, unpatterned incoherent markings, a lamb, or an eagle; Erythrae Hercules with his lion skin; and Phocaea a seal.[79] The Phocaean series of coins, in particular, demonstrates the civic nature of this imagery: the animal (φώκη - a pun on the *polis'* name) stands in for and represents the issuing *polis*.

Indeed, the same idea of possession and representation is found in a small subset of this earliest coinage: coinage issued not by a state but by an individual. One particular series is the Phanes coins, whose obverses feature a grazing stag and the Greek inscription "Φάνεως ειμί σήμα."[80] This individual is otherwise unknown in history, but it is likely that the coin series was struck at Ephesus – not just because the stag is associated with the *polis'* patron deity, Artemis (it appears on later civic coins), but further because Phanes' coins were also found both at Ephesus and at nearby Torbalı, as well as a half stag found at the Artemision.[81] Two further issues that concerned the individual were both related to the Lydian royal house: lions with an accompanying Lydian name in the genitive, either WALWET or KUKALIM. The readings of both names are contentious. The former of these two names was generally agreed to be the Lydian king Alyattes, but the re-dating of the stratigraphy of the Artemision coins to 630/20 BCE predates the ascension of this Lydian king by about twenty years and could cause chronological issues (though it is

[78] Found in the later Artemision excavations: Karwiese 2008: 147.
[79] Konuk 2012: 45.
[80] Smaller denominations of these coins reiterate the same message, but drop out Greek words to accommodate the smaller sizes, with the *trittys* simply stating "φάνεως": Konuk 2012: 45-7; Konuk and Lorber 2018: 14-5. See de Callatay 2013: 9 for the unusually high number of denominations per issue of electrum coinage in general, which is rare in later Greek coin issues.
[81] Weidauer 1975: 18-9 and 62-3; Konuk 2012: 45-7. Konuk and Lorber 2018: 14-5 generally. The Phanes coin issue has been suggested as belonging to Halicarnassus, congruent with the later mercenary of the same name in the service of Amasis (Hdt. 3.4 & 3.11): Franke and Schmitt 1974.

possible the coin was issued when Alyattes was a boy). The second name, which reads Kukaś, is more controversial. It has been read as Gyges, the founder of the Mermnad dynasty, but the reading is also chronologically problematic: this ruler was deceased by the mid-seventh century, and therefore the Kukaś coins postdate the king by a good twenty years.[82] Further, select coins with this obverse share a reverse die with the WALWET coins and – chronological difficulties notwithstanding – it is improbable that the punch would be used across three generations given punches' generally short use life.

Among the ninety-three coins uncovered by Hogarth's earlier excavations were two discrete deposits of electrum coins: one comprised nineteen coins found in a humble and broken sub-Geometric *olpe*, part of a sacrificial deposit located near the east wall of the Croesid temple's *sekos*.[83] The second was found in Hogarth's so-called "Central Basis" and is thus called the "Basis Treasure."[84] These two deposits can serve as a representative, manageable subset for the large number of electrum coins found at the Artemision.[85] As such, they can give us an overall idea of what coins were generally in circulation around the sanctuary and its environs in terms of both their iconographies and weight standards in the last generation of the seventh century BCE. The

[82] Hanfmann 1983 thought that Kukaś was Gyges. Karwiese 2008: 136 sees problems with this interpretation on chronological grounds. Wallace 1988 and 2006 has even gone so far as to invent a backstory for this Kukaś individual as a royal governor. Konuk 2003: 33 might get closer to the truth with his suggestion that these individual names relate to the individual responsible for issuing the coinage – even if it is for community consumption. Coins featuring a deceased king would have still referenced the Lydian royal house. Finally, a coin type that features boars and has the Lydian world "late" (or alternatively "etal") could also refer to Alyattes: Konuk and Lorber 2018: 15 n. 3. For a discussion on the chronological problems of reading WALWET as Alyattes, see Weidauer 1975.

[83] Head 1908: 74-5; Robinson 1951; Karweise 2001 and 2008: 134.

[84] Robinson 1951; Kraay 1976, 20–26 for the earlier coins. It should be noted that the "Basis Treasure" deposit also contained four silver globules: Robinson 1951; Bammer 1988; Karweise 2001; and 2008.

[85] Karwiese 2001: 103 gives totals: of the 114 electrum coins from the Artemision, they can be broken down into twenty-seven distinct types, as defined by their obverses - though half of these types are represented by only one example. The three most common types however, occur in multiples: thirty-five display lion's paws, nineteen display lion's heads, thirteen feature antithetical roosters, and five have goat protomes.

coins found in both the “Basis Treasure” deposit and the *olpe* deposit have been summarized in the following tables.

Number	Obverse Decoration	Reverse Decoration	Weight	Denomination
1	flat straited surface	two square incuses	sixth	Milesian
2	forepart(?) of goat	oblong, flanked on either side by a square incuse	half	Milesian
3	forepart of goat facing right	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
4	forepart of goat facing right	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
5	forepart of goat facing right	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
6	goat's head	square incuse	twelfth	Milesian
7	two opposed cocks	oblong flanked by two square incuses	half	Milesian
8	two opposed cocks	oblong flanked by two square incuses	half	Milesian
9	two opposed cocks	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
10	two opposed cocks	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
11	two opposed cocks	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
12	two opposed cocks	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
13	two opposed cocks	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
14	two opposed cocks	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
15	two opposed cocks	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
16	two opposed cocks	two square incuses	thirds	Milesian
17	two opposed cocks' heads	square incuse	twelfth	Milesian
18	stylized lion's head	square incuse	twelfth	Milesian
19	uncertain type	square incuse	twelfth	Milesian

Table 3: *Olpe* Deposit at the Artemision, SOURCE Robinson 1951

Number	Obverse	Reverse	Weight	Denomination
1	smooth convex surface	flat, roughened	eighth	Milesian
2	smooth convex surface	square incuse	twenty-fourth	Milesian
3	smooth convex surface	square incuse	forty-eighth	Milesian
4	striated	square incuse	twenty-fourth	Milesian
5	uncertain	square incuse	twenty-fourth	Milesian
6	lion's head	oblong incuse	third	Milesian
7	lion's head	oblong incuse	third	Milesian
8	lion's head	oblong incuse	third	Milesian
9	lion's head	square incuse	twelfth	Milesian
10	lion's head with 'WALWET'	square incuse	twelfth	Milesian
11	lion's head with 'WALWET'	square incuse	forty-eighth	Milesian
12	lion's head with 'WALWET'	square incuse	forty-eighth	Milesian
13	lion's paw	square incuse	forty-eighth	Milesian
14	lion's paw	square incuse	forty-eighth	Milesian
15	lion's paw	square incuse	forty-eighth	Milesian
16	lion's paw	square incuse	forty-eighth	Milesian
17	lion's paw	square incuse	forty-eighth	Milesian
18	lion's paw	square incuse	forty-eighth	Milesian
19	lion's paw	square incuse	ninety-sixth	Milesian
20	horse's head	square incuse	twelfth	Milesian
21	horse's head with foreleg	square incuse	twenty-fourth	Milesian
22	hawk's head	square incuse	twelfth	Milesian
23	griffin's head	square incuse with stag's head	ninety-sixth	Milesian

Table 4: “Basis Treasure” Deposit at the Artemision, SOURCE Robinson 1951

24	seal's head	square incuse	forty-eighth	Phocaean
25	silver - globular	NA	NA	NA
26	silver - globular	NA	NA	NA
27	silver - globular	NA	NA	NA
28	silver - globular	NA	NA	NA

Table 4: "Basis Treasure" Deposit at the Artemision, Continued

We will first discuss the coins' iconography, found on their obverses, before moving to their weights. In the *olpe* deposit, coinage featured several iconographies, which appear multiple times and on several denominations, including three coins that feature the forepart of a goat on the obverse, and incuse punches on the reverse (Fig. 49). A further ten coins feature opposed cocks on the obverse, eight of which also have a small cylindrical object between them; the remaining two do not. These coins' reverses are marked either by an oblong incuse flanked by two square ones or two square incuse punches. Unfortunately, neither the goat nor the opposed cock obverses have been specifically identified with a particular mint – civic or otherwise – but the appearance of these iconographies on different denominations show that they constitute a series. Finally, one coin features a stylized frontal lion's head on the obverse and a square incuse stamped into the reverse.

When we turn to the "Basis Treasure" deposit, it is clear that we are dealing with an altogether different set of iconographies (Fig. 50). Four coins are either smooth or have striated obverses, with punched square incuse reverses; at present, they cannot be geographically situated. The vast majority of the remainder of the deposit features coins with lions – obverses have either lion's heads (seven coins) or a lion's paw (seven coins). These coins have been securely identified as being products of Lydia, not just thanks to their appearance next to probable names of the Lydian kings (the WALWETAS and Kukaś coins discussed earlier), but because the lion was closely

intertwined with the royal house.[86] The frequency with which these Lydian coins appear not just in this deposit, but also scattered throughout the Artemision suggests either close economic links between Ephesus and Lydia or itinerant dedicants bringing them from Sardis or the environs.[87] Finally, several other coins, which feature a bridled horse head, a griffin's head, or a seal were also found within this deposit. The seal coin is confidently identified to Phocaea, while the coins featuring a horse and a griffin cannot yet be assigned to specific mints.[88] Overall, both of our deposits demonstrate a variety of obverse imagery that was in circulation in the last quarter of the seventh century.

Moving from iconography to weight standards, it is astonishing that the coins of our two deposits – indeed, all but two of the 114 electrum coins found at the Artemision – were minted on the same weight standard.[89] This so-called Milesian standard mandated a stater weight of about 14.3 grams, and it dominated the western Anatolian littoral; the vast majority of Anatolian Ionian coins are struck on this standard. As has been discussed, the remaining two coins from the Artemision were from Phocaea – one of which is part of our "Basis Treasure" deposit – and struck on the so-called Phocaean standard, which mandated a stater weight of 16.8 grams.[90] Though no

[86] Hdt. 1.84 notes that the early Lydian king Meles carried a lion cub along the fortification wall of Sardis, thereby protecting it. As has been already discussed, Hdt.1.50.2 notes that Croesus gave a massive golden lion at Delphi, perhaps acting as a symbol of the royal dedicant. We can confidently link the lion's paw issue to Lydia thanks not just to the common feline theme, but also because they share reverse punches with known Lydian lion head coin issues, demonstrating that they were struck in the same mint: Karwiese 2001: 103

[87] For the Lydians as the inventors of coinage, see Hdt. 1.94; Kurke 1999: 3-23.

[88] These coins are probably related to two bridled horse obverse coins from the Muharrem Kayhan Collection: see Catalogue Entries 22 & 23 in Konuk 2003: 36-7.

[89] Robinson 1957; Wallace 2001: 129; Bresson 2009: 73. If we should ask ourselves whether determining weight standards from worn coins is fruitful (ie. did the coin lose weight as it was used and worn down?), the answer is yes. High-quality gold and silver are almost immune to corrosion and the narrow range of weights for the smaller denominations (which one would expect to be the most susceptible to wear) shows a remarkable consistency: Grierson 1963:7 and Wallace 1989: 90.

[90] Phocaea shared the same weight standard as Mytilene for about 200 years, from c. 521-326 BCE: Mackil and van Alfen 2006: 210-18. We have an inscription (*IG* XII 2, 1) that dates to around the end of the fifth century BCE and recorded a renewal of this fiscal agreement between the two *poleis*.

Samian coins have been securely found at the Artemision, it should be noted that a third standard, the Samian standard, existed and was the same as the Euboean standard, with staters weighing approximately 17.4 grams. The tie of the Samian standard to Euboea is certainly unsurprising considering Samos' strong links to the western Aegean via east-west sea routes and its general involvement overseas.[91] It should be noted, however, that the coins struck on the Samian standard at present appear to have been used primarily in a restricted, local context, as the hordes of these coins have been found primarily on the island.[92]

The general homogeneity of the coins' weights at the Artemision is important for several reasons. The first is that, as already stated, the amounts of gold and silver in these early electrum coins could vary considerably depending upon the region in which they circulated as well as the purported issuing authority, but their weights are always consistent, which underscores that the standard of the coin – rather than metal content – was of foremost importance for determining value.[93] The second is that the homogenous weights of these early coins – despite the fact that they were struck in a multitude of locations – suggests that an agreed-upon weight and value system pre-existed their appearance and had been in use for some time. In this sense, it is noteworthy that the Samian-Euboean standard corresponds to the Babylonian standard, and

[91] Konuk 2005: 43-4; Konuk 2012: 47-8. This weight system was also used for Athens, Corinth, the Chalcidice, and western *poleis* – see Kroll 2003: 317. See also Touratsoglu and Tsakos 2008 for how coinage appears to be used on Samos.

[92] *IGCH* 1158 is the most important horde, which comprised at least sixty pieces, but the horde was found in 1894 and was split up. Coin Horde IX, 341 is a looted horde that was immediately sold piecemeal in 1998 has been painstakingly reconstructed by Konuk 2005, who was able to gather information on part of it (44 pieces) via auction catalogues and personal autopsy. Samian coins often have unpatterned or striated obverses.

[93] See Footnote 73 above. Minters did take pains to thwart forgers by ensuring that the obverse and reverses were all in the same orientation. That this mixing of coinage created dangers of both different percentages of the two metals and also of counterfeit and debased coinage is shown not only by the numerous references to touchstones in the Archaic Greek poets (suggesting their real existence and important application), but also perhaps by the punches on the back of the coins, which not only secured the flan in the minting process but also revealed the makeup of the coin in the interior: Karweise 2008: 135.

Karwiese has further suggested that the Milesian stater is related to the Egyptian sep of 645 grams.[94] If Karwiese is correct, then these two standards both testify in part to Anatolian Ionian involvement in overseas trade since at least 700 BCE in the Levant and Cyprus, as well as serving as mercenaries and merchants in Egypt since about 660 BCE. Overall, however, the weight systems suggest that we should consider that coins were not *the start of* but rather *a product of* a developed and accepted system of values at home in Anatolia and perhaps even further afield.

5.3.2 Cooperative Coinage

The aim of this section is to comment on coinage's importance for reinforcing an economic system and its concomitant economic ties between the various Anatolian Ionian *poleis* and the individuals that used these coins. The fact that all of the coins – but two – found at the Artemision were struck to the same weight standard means that all of these coins were interchangeable – no matter who the issuing authority was – in the *poleis* and among the individuals who acquired them. This, in itself, constitutes "cooperative coinage," a term developed by Emily Mackil and Peter van Alfen in a study of the later coinage of the Hellenistic *koina* of Achaea, Boeotia, and Aetolia, where coins were issued by the individual communities with specific iconographies, but were all struck on the same weight standard, thereby allowing a parity in value.[95] Cooperative coinage ensured that the various communities did not compete against each other while simultaneously diluting financial risk by pooling resources collectively. Further, it decreased the cost of economic

[94] Kroll 2001: 317-8; Karwiese 2008: 136, though cf. Wallace 2001: 129 who argues that the Phoenicians adopted it from Ionia in the fifth century BCE. However, earlier evidence, including a balance weight found in Pithecusae in an early seventh century workshop, attests to the far-flung reaches of this financial system from early on: Buchner 1979: 135. Silver bullion was the standard measure of value in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in the Levant where it had long been standardized as a system of value: Kim 2001: 15; Kroll 2003.

[95] Mackil and van Alfen 2006: 202.

transactions simply by facilitating them across a broader range of individuals, territory, and cultures, all of which could conduct these transactions among themselves without the hassle of changing out coinage, weighing coinage, or testing it for impurities.[96] The Milesian standard, as previously stated, was used by all of the communities of Ionia with the exceptions of Phocaea and Samos. This very fact presupposes agreement on weights and accepted standards of value between the cooperating *poleis*, thereby delineating a fiscal zone of sorts that comprised the various cooperative *poleis* and enabled easy economic exchange.

If we return to our representative deposits, we can see immediately this cooperative coinage at work. The obverse and reverses of these coins, as well as the remainder of the coins from the early 1904/5 excavations, have been collated with coins found in other hordes by S. Karwiese, thereby allowing us to comment on the circulation of these earliest electrum issues (Fig. 51). If we begin with our *olpe* deposit, there are no coins from this deposit that share punches with other electrum coins. The frontal lion's head might be related to coinage from Samos, which was known to have frontal lion's heads, but the Milesian weight of the coin argues against it.[97]

By contrast, the coins found in the "Basis Treasure" deposit have corresponding obverses in coins that are scattered throughout Ionia and beyond. The bridled horse head coins have twins in two hordes that unfortunately are without secure provenance, but *IGCH* (Inventory of Greek Coin Hordes) 1155 has been tentatively assigned to western Anatolia, whereas *IGCH* 1165 has been localized to Ephesus. The one griffin head coin from this "Basis Treasure" deposit has two twins that were found in Smyrna.[98] Additionally, the Lydian coins traveled far from Sardis, a result of their proliferation in large issues and Lydia's control or influence over most of the western

[96] Keyser and Clark 2001; Konuk 2005: 51; Mackil and van Alfen 2006: 218-220; Bresson 2009.
[97] Karwiese 2001: 105; Konuk 2005.
[98] Vismara 1993.

Anatolian seaboard by the end of the seventh century BCE. The lion's head coins appear in great numbers not just at the Artemision, but also in several other coin hordes, including the geographically-nebulous *IGCH* 1156 – also attributed to "Western Anatolia" – as well as a horde found at Gordion, in the heart of Phrygia.[99] The WALWET coins of the "Basis Treasure" deposit have also been discovered at Colophon and Gordion.[100] The lion's paw coins, which were numerous in the "Basis Treasure" deposit, have been found in several hordes: a horde from Smyrna has two, and again, *IGCH* 1156 contains twenty-eight examples of these coins; further, two lion's paw electrum coins were recently excavated from Samos.[101]

It is clear, then, that coin issues could travel well beyond the borders of the issuing authority, suggesting that they were accepted in communities outside of the issuing authority (though they stayed within the western Anatolian littoral overall).[102] Their interchangeability allowed them to be carried and used by a diverse body of people and groups moving throughout the region, perhaps even facilitating access to labor and opening up the resources of the entire region to individuals. Additionally, Alain Bresson has argued that coins struck on the same standard could have also lowered transaction and exchange costs, not just between individuals, but also even on the state level.[103] Indeed, it is possible that this cooperative coinage in part helped the Lydians tax and exact tribute from Ionia and the western Anatolian littoral, ensuring that wealth

[99] For the Gordion horde, which consisted of forty-five electrum coins, see Bellinger 1968.
[100] For the WALWET coin in the Gordion horde, see Bellinger's discussion on page 13. For the Colophon horde, see Karwiese 2008: 136-8.
[101] Smyrna: Vismara 1993; Samos: Niemeier 2014: 237 n. 51
[102] Wallace 1987: 386 & 393, who argues that this is due to the variable metallic composition of these early coins and the high denominations, which would make the purpose of these early coins unsuitable for small-scale trade. Keyser and Clark 2001: 116-7 suggest that the coinage was restricted because the value was only guaranteed in a politically isolated state: i.e. other polities and individuals of the greater Mediterranean did not initially recognize the guarantee of value as legitimate.
[103] Bresson 2009: 74-5.

was generated and remained within the region.[104] In this way, fiscal cooperation between the *poleis* and individuals of Ionia would be easily facilitated with the introduction of cooperative coinage, and the coinage itself not only created a buffer against economic catastrophe via the production of shared coinage, but also formalized the economic interdependence of the various member *poleis*.[105]

Finally, it should be noted that while the Milesian weight standard dominated in Ionia and its environs, minting coinage on a separate standard does not appear to preclude the *poleis* of Phocaea and Samos from taking part in this economic network.[106] The appearance of the lion's paw coins at the Heraion, as well as the two Phocaean coins at the Artemision suggests that coins of all three standards circulated throughout the region of Ionia, thereby emphasizing the interrelated economies of the Anatolian Ionian *poleis* as well as regions – such as Lydia – further afield. These early electrum coin iconographies, therefore, proclaimed a civic identity while the weight standards spoke to a series of economic interdependent relationships in these Western Anatolian *poleis* and was reiterated and institutionalized daily in private transactions to even taxation or payments on the *polis* level.[107]

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[104] Le Rider 2001: 91-2; Bresson 2009: 73-4.

[105] Mackil and van Alfen 2006: 218-9. Mackil 2013 has noted that in several areas – such as Boeotia – it appears that economic cooperation appears to have predated political cooperation. In western Anatolia, by about 400 BCE, almost the entirety of the region's mints were striking silver coinage on the Chian standard – perhaps on the initiative of the Spartan general, Lysander: see Meadows 2011.

[106] It should thus not be surprising that states who were late to strike electrum coinage, like Chios, did so on the Milesian standard in the mid-sixth century: Hoover 2010: 254. Further, when the coinage of Western Anatolia was changed from electrum to gold and silver (under the Lydian king, Croesus), this standard continued to be used on the silver coins of Clazomenae and Erythrae, as well as Lindos: Wallace 2001: 129.

[107] Mackil and Van Alfen have noted that cooperative coinage enhanced the ability for later *koina* – such as Boeotia – to tax the member states to pay for such shared expenses as garrisons or mercenary troops. Having a centralized and standardized monetary system, which dictated equality in weight and value, would only enhance the ability of these bureaucracies to raise money for expenses – unforeseen or not. The Lydian kingdom acted in the same way over the Ionian communities, which might challenge us to consider whether Lydian rule and taxation encouraged or even mandated the proliferation of this generally common standard across mainland Ionia. Another example of state-level spending can be found in Alcaeus fr. 69 Campbell,

5.3.3 Coins and the sanctuary

So then, what was the sanctuaries' role in coinage and why were the first coins found at the Artemision? The answers to these questions are currently obscure, but let us return to the lead tablet found at the Artemision (whose Side A was discussed in Chapter Three in terms of the sanctuary's various available revenue streams) to consider Side B (Fig. 26).[108] Side B is much more poorly preserved than Side A, but nonetheless quite interesting:

1 . . . . . οινηε.....τωι ημιμνηι[ωι. . . . . ορα. . . . . .
2 . . . . . ο ειϙ[ο]σιν μηεα[ς ⁝ ημι]μνηιο δεομενας ⁝ [τριη]ϙοντα μνεαι ⁝ . . . . . .
3 . . . . . σ]τατηρει και εκττη εκ ττο αλος ⁝ ⁝ αυτημ. . . . . θεν στα . . . . . τουδ . . . .
4 . οα . υομεν ⁝ τεταρας και δεκα μνεας ⁝ ⁝ ⁝ εγενοντο δε ⁝ εκ ττουτο . . . . . εν
5 η ημιμν[η]ιον της φιαλης ⁝ και πεντε ημιεκττα ⁝*vacat*
6 *vacat*
7 *vacat*
8 [ῶ]ν δ' ἐργαζό[μ]εθα τε Ταράϙοντα μνέαι ⁝ δέκα καὶ ὀκττὼ στατ[ῆρες ἐστάθησαν]
9 [ἐκ ττδ] κήπο τ[ριήϙ]ον[τ]α μνέαι ἀργύρο <ἠ>νεί[χτ]θησαν· ⁝ I[– – –]
10 [– – – κ]αὶ [π]έντ [ε].

…a half mina….twenty minas. A half mina was owed. Thirty minas…with a stater and eight from the salt…14 minas. From this were a half mina of the phiale, and five half minas. (*vacat*) From this we process: forty minas and eighteen staters, which were weighed; thirty minas of silver [– – –] five [staters?] were brought from the garden.[109]

Side B – like Side A – is similarly concerned with accounting matters, though this side also exhibits a concern with amounts as small as a half mina. Interestingly, no mention of electrum is made in the lead tablet, which deals exclusively with gold and silver. This suggests that electrum

which details attempts by the poet and his followers to unseat Pittacus, the tyrant of Mytilene, with financial backing in the amount of 2000 staters from the Lydians.

[108] A *terminus ante quem* date of the tablet is about 620 BCE – Kroll 2008. For the original publication, see Hogarth 1908: 120-44.

[109] Lines 1-5 trans. author; lines 8-10 trans. Kroll

either operated in a separate economic sphere than gold and silver, or that it was accounted for as a separate item on a separate set of records.[110] The fact that values were calculated in gold in this tablet supports the latter interpretation.

Alain Bresson has reexamined this tablet and made an interesting and exciting observation concerning the last lines of Side B (lines 8-10), which are deliberately separated from the rest of the accounts on this tablet. He notes that the amounts of precious metal in this tablet are consistently ordered, with gold coming first and silver coming second. Thus, if this same ordering is applied to these last lines, then the forty minas and eighteen staters of line 8 should be gold. This amount of gold corresponds to the thirty minas of silver on line 9 at a ratio of 57% gold to 43% silver, roughly equal to the necessary percentages for electrum that allows for an addition of 2% copper – an entirely standard mix of metals for electrum during this time. If this reading is correct, then the accounting of the temple was done with an awareness to the manufacture of electrum – though Bresson remains agnostic as to whether the sanctuaries would have created coinage from this electrum.[111]

This interpretation of this tablet as well as the presence of the coins themselves underscores the sanctuary's deep involvement in the economic sphere of Western Anatolia, set out in Chapter

[110] Kroll 2008; Bresson forthcoming

[111] Bresson forthcoming. Manganaro 1974: 71 suggested that metal was purified in sanctuaries. While there is no indisputable evidence for coins being struck at the Artemision, it is certainly inside the range of possibilities. The Artemision clearly handled a large volume of precious metals – in both taxes and rents – as detailed on the lead tablet. This means that the sanctuary would, of necessity, have safeguards in place to secure these treasures, and the sanctuary would have enjoyed the divine guardianship of Artemis herself more generally. Additionally, if the sanctuary minted coins, then it would have been centralized in one place that would allow for direct and easy oversight. Further, the skills needed to strike coinage are very similar to the actions required to make the clothing appliques, jewelry, and the *sphyreleton* figurines that were dedicated in the temple and presumably created in the vicinity. Karwiese 1995: 133-45 tried to localize the production of small lion's paw coins to Ephesus because so many of them are found here; however, this has been disputed: see discussion in Kroll 2010. Indeed, this suggestion aligns with die for the "Wappenmünzen" found at the Poseidon Sanctuary at Sounion and later known temple activity: See Kalligas 1997, Strøm 2009: 89-90; Dignas 2002: 24. Finally, it should be noted that the links between metallurgy and temples are very old within the Aegean: see Mazariakis Ainan 1999.

Three. It should therefore not be surprising that our first evidence for coinage should be at the Artemision, a temple that handled a great deal of wealth and had close ties to Lydia and Sardis overall. If sanctuaries functioned as a locus for commerce and trade during the Archaic period, then we might expect to see the transition from an economy based on payments in kind or in bullion to one based at least partially on payments in coin. The calculation of the gold and silver percentages on this tablet suggests that the sanctuary was moving in that direction and was calculating wealth based on the ratios of electrum.[112] In essence, then, the dedication of these coins at the Artemision represents the cultic community's sacralization of the commerce and value that took place on a daily basis, but it also reflected the economic relationships that were taking place across the region of Ionia and suggests that sanctuaries played a role in the maintaining of these relationships, if the exact details elude us.

5.4 Panionion

We shall quickly look at the votives and cultic paraphernalia found at the Panionion, which can illuminate how these objects could work to promote the health and maintenance of the cultic community. As previously noted, this temple – an unusual hekatompedon that consisted of a *pronaos*, *naos*, and *lesche* – has been tentatively identified as existing on Çatallar Tepe between about 570-550 BCE. The temple's votive dedications are unfortunately scarce because the temple was badly looted before rescue excavations, but the remaining dedications are striking. The *lesche* was decorated with multiple weapons – the excavators found seven spearheads, a spear butt, and

[112] While money was invented towards the end of the seventh century, it is important to note that both weighed precious metal as well as coins were circulating contemporaneously, and a later horde that consisted of bullion and money has been found in Caria and Colophon: Carradine and Price 1988: 31, 46-7 for the Carian horde, and Kim and Kroll 2008 for the Colophon horde. For the hordes in general see Kroll, 2008: 22-4.

a bronze cuirass, which they have reconstructed as decorating the walls. Additionally, sympotic pottery and furniture attachments were found, including an Attic cup by the artist Tleson (Fig. 52).[113] This allows us to reconstruct a sumptuously dedicated *lesche*, with the military accoutrements reminding any Anatolian Ionian of these *poleis'* common alliance and the group cohesion that comes with war, as banqueters dined and drank together.[114] This means that *all* of the votive dedications found at the Panionion were used in activities – war and banqueting – that were inherently communal and promoted and encouraged group cohesion among the Anatolian Ionians, effectively reifying and reinforcing on a smaller scale the collective purpose of the sanctuary itself.[115]

5.5 Naucratis Redux

Let us return to Naucratis to act again as a control for our argument that the confluence of trade, the cross-cultural encounter, commerce, and the sacred produced a powerful environment for the expression of identity. We have already commented upon the Hellenion – the first evidence we have of an articulated common Greek identity – and the sherds inscribed and dedicated to the gods of the Greeks found there.[116] Two additional case studies, however, will further demonstrate

[113] Lohmann 2007: 579-80; 2012: 46-8; and 2013.
[114] See Crielaard 2009: 57-60 and Mac Sweeney 2015 for the centripetal effects of war.
[115] Murray 1991. McInerney 2013: 194 notes a similar phenomenon at the regional temple at Kalapodi: the successive Geometric and Archaic temples were adorned with helmets, chariot wheels, swords, and paintings depicting attacks. For the festival of the Panionia, see Chapter Six.
[116] Within this temenos, Hogarth uncovered sherds dedicated to single deities including Artemis, Poseidon, Heracles, and Aphrodite, as well as those that were dedicated to the "gods of the Greeks," which secures the site as that of the Hellenion, despite its fragmentary state. See especially Möller and Höckmann 2006 for a discussion of these inscribed fragments; interestingly, many of them date to the late sixth and first half of the fifth centuries BCE, which could provide independent support for J. Hall's argument for the late emergence of a Hellenic identity.

the importance of votive dedications for affirming place in the cultic community as well as articulating identity.

From the old excavations under Petrie and Hogarth, we have some 7000 whole pieces or fragments of pottery from the site, the vast quantity of which are East Greek.[117] Of the kept sherds, it is clear that Chian pottery forms the largest subset of the East Greek material at Naucratis; at present, it comprises about 30% of the imports from the Aegean, and 40% of Aegean imports dating from the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.[118] An interesting phenomenon that is almost exclusive to the Chian pottery are their *dipinti*: of the 290 painted inscriptions known from Naucratis, approximately 260 appear on Chian vessels. The vast majority appear on Chian kantharoi, and most of these – when the *dipinti* are legible – are votive in nature. A full 161 sherds have *dipinto* or graffito dedications to Aphrodite – indeed, the vast majority of the pottery dedicated at this specific sanctuary is Chian, suggesting that the temple was either founded by Chians or the goddess enjoyed particular prominence on the island.[119] Zeus Hellenius received a paltry two *dipinti* Chian cups, and the Gods of the Greeks likely received two *dipinti* cups, but the fragmentary nature of the inscription makes certainty impossible.[120] This unusual dedicatory practice of giving a *dipinto* kantharos necessitated that the its sacred purpose be determined during production as the dedication was painted onto the clay fabric before the cup was fired (Fig. 53).

[117] It must be noted, however, that while East Greek pottery was plentiful in Naucratis, the early excavations kept only a small percentage of the pottery, most of which either had an impression or was decorated. Undecorated and native Egyptian wares were not kept: Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006: 53-6

[118] Bergeron 2013-15: 4.

[119] Bergeron 2013-15: 4 and 2015: 275. For the Chian foundations, see Roebuck 1950: 241, Austin 1970: 25, Möller 2000: 195. Aphrodite, as befits a deity born from the sea, has natural connections to mariners, certainly expressed in her epithets: *euploia*, *praeias*, and *epilimenia* - Parker 2002: 146-55.

[120] Johnston, 2013-2015: 13-4; Bergeron 2013-15: 3-4. Chian pottery appears in such high quantities at Naucratis that it was originally interpreted as Naukratite pottery. Chian pottery is a fairly consistent fixture of the late seventh century and increases in number over the first half of the sixth century BCE: Bergeron 2013-15: 4-10. Only after excavation at Phanai by Kourouniotis was the pottery realized to be a product of Chios itself.

This *dipinto* marks the cup out as purpose-made and stands in distinct contrast to practices in other sanctuaries at Naucratis, where dedications were etched into a votive's surface, presumably when they were given to the deity.[121]

Not only would the *dipinti* have rendered the pottery usable only in the sacred sphere and only for select deities, thereby nullifying its economic potential on the trading markets, but some *dipinti* inscriptions were even specifically created for individuals and personalized with their names and the dedicating deity. One *dipinto* dedication at Naucratis was made by Demophon and Zoilus, who identify themselves as Chian in their dedicatory phrases and presumably made multiple trips to the *emporion*.[122] Indeed, the names of specific individuals in *dipinti* phrases give us the opportunity to reconstruct their maritime networks, with one such example being a Chian kantharos dedicated to Aphrodite by Aristophantus and Damonidas.[123] Astonishingly, this *dipinto* kantharos has multiple sister pieces, also of Chian provenance, dedicated by the same individuals on Aegina. These two individuals appear to be commissioning pieces at home for the distinct purpose of carrying the custom-made pieces across the seas to specific sanctuaries, and the presence of multiple votive cups from Aristophantos and Damonidas suggest that these two mariners made multiple trips to the island, with each trip presumably necessitating at least one votive dedication given as a thank offering.[124] An even wider maritime network can be detected in two pots that carry a *dipinto* phrase naming the dedicant: Hyblesius, a Samian. These two votive

[121] Fully forty-one Chian sherds bearing an incised dedication to Apollo have been found, thirteen in the Hera sanctuary, and four in the Dioskouroi sanctuary (which lends credence to the interpretation of the Chian dipinto as being the phrase "to the Gods of the Greeks") see Bergeron 2013-15: 4-5.
[122] Cook and Woodhead 1952: the Chian ethnic is preserved on n. 46, 142, 171, and 187 and Williams 1983: 185. See Boardman 1956: 56, n. 5 who notes that the dipinto of cup 187 was initially read upside down and should read ὁ Χίος.
[123] Johnston 1982: 40-1.
[124] Williams 1983: 171-5, n. 76-124 and Johnston 2006: 23. Williams tentatively connects Aristophantus with a sixth century base found at the port of Aegina as well.

pots were found at two separate sanctuaries of Hera: at Naucratis in Egypt and Gravisca in Italy. If this Hyblesius is the same individual – and indeed the rarity of his name encourages us to believe this – then it demonstrates not just the wide range of his maritime network, but also underscores that his choice to worship at Hera sanctuaries while abroad was a conscious and purposeful choice that aligned with Samos' most important deity and would have reified his nesiotic identity while away from his home.[125]

Finally, while Neutron Activation Analysis has made it clear that these kantharoi and other Chian pottery types are made from Chian clay, there currently is disagreement as to whether the cups were made in Chios and then imported or whether the clay was imported and then made in workshops at Naucratis.[126] An argument strongly in favor of the former claim is that there are no examples of Chian imitations of Egyptian pottery shapes, language, or iconography, which one might expect should potters be working at Naucratis.[127] Additionally, independent evidence suggests that there was an export-focused pottery industry on Chios during this time, and this industry was catering to consumers scattered throughout the Mediterranean basin, creating bulk shipments of pottery that featured decoration or shapes not otherwise widely attested on the island.[128] This suggests, overall, that our Chian *dipinti* pottery was made on the island and that at

[125] Demetriou 2012: 136-7.
[126] Boardman 1956: 55-62 & 1986: 253-7 argues against Chian pottery being made onsite in Chios but rather the clay shipped to Naucratis where it was then made into cups and plates. Lemos 1986 and Williams 1983 argue against a Naucratite workshop. Möller 2000: 136-40 summarizes the arguments before tentatively agreeing with Boardman.
[127] Williams 2006: 131.
[128] Simple Animal Style was heavily featured on export Chian chalices: Bergeron 2013-15: 23. Bergeron 2015: 278 notes that the few *dinoi* that were found on Chios are in funerary contexts. Further, we do not frequently find Chian *dinoi* in other established Chian markets, such as Berzeron or Cyrene, so it appears they were made especially for the Naucratis market.

least one workshop was creating our custom-made *dipinti* kantharoi for individuals planning to worship at specific sanctuaries abroad.[129]

We thus see that the Chian cultic community at Naucratis preferred to give the kantharos as a votive, a choice that distinctly parallels dedicatory practices on Chios and are well attested at Emporio and Phanai.[130] The importance of the local Chian fabric of the dedication is underscored not just by the distance the cup had to be transported (over a thousand miles from Chios to Egypt) and also by the *dipinto* dedicatory phrase, which specifically marked out the kantharos for dedication and thereby immediately nullified its commercial potential for the ναυτιλλομένοι who would transport it.

Our second case study constitutes the Samian dedications found in Naucratis' Sanctuary of Hera, which we know was founded by Samians, and might be one of the earlier sanctuaries in the *emporion*.[131] Like the Chian pottery in the Aphrodite temple, it is clear that select Samian votives and cult paraphernalia were consciously-sourced from their homelands, purpose made for dedication, and then shipped overseas from the Aegean to Egypt. In the sanctuary of Hera in the first half of the sixth century BCE, individuals dedicated cups and mugs that are similar both in shape and technique to the *dipinto* "HP" cups and mugs that had been dedicated at the Heraion on Samos (Fig. 54).[132] Neutron Activation Analysis has similarly proven that these cups and mugs were made on Samos, where they also received their painted dedication, before they were shipped

[129] Johnston 2006: 131.
[130] Emporio: Boardman 1967: 161-2. Phanai: Beaumont, Archontidou-Argyri, Beames, Tsigkou and Wardle 2004: 217-21. Boardman 1967: 109 believes the kantharoi here are from the same workshop as those at Emporio. See further discussion of these kantharoi: Bergeron 2015: 277.
[131] Herodotus 2.154 tells us the Sanctuary of Hera was founded by the Samians. The temple of Apollo was very early and it shares a temenos wall with the sanctuary of Hera – see Gardner 1888: 60, Möller 2000: 101.
[132] First found by Petrie 1886: V 16 and then Gardner 1888: 13. See Möller 2000: 101-4 & 144-5 for a discussion of the Hera temenos and the Hera cups respectively; see also Kron 1988; Schlotzhauer and Weber 2005: 69–114; and Schlotzhauer 2006: 312-3. See Schlotzhauer 2012, 56-7 for the dating.

overseas to Egypt.[133] Unfortunately, the abbreviated phrase means that it is unclear whether the pottery was used before it was dedicated or who was dedicating it and U. Kron has argued that it was made exclusively to be dedicated, while U. Schlotzhauer and A. Avramidou have both suggested that the pottery served a utilitarian purpose before its dedication, either as cult paraphernalia or regular dining ware.[134] However, thanks to the *dipinto*, which was painted on the cups before they were fired, it is clear that this pottery had been manufactured and marked out as destined for the goddess before it left Samos. These cups therefore could only have been used in the sanctuary and therefore effectively functioned as *aphidrymata* – sacred materials that ensured the continuity of a cult, despite its re-foundation elsewhere – that would have ensured the continuation of the cult and its associated cultic community in the new *emporion* or votive gifts.[135]

We see then an adherence and preference of the Samian and Chian cultic communities at Naucratis to give very specific votive types and possibly use very specific cultic paraphernalia, wherein the shape, the dedicatory phrase, and the fabric mattered to such an extent that they were manufactured on their home islands and then transported to the hot delta of Egypt. For mariners that were traders, adherence to this type of dedicatory practice meant that they were willing to transport kantharoi that were literally marked out as sacred votives, thereby nullifying the economic potential of these cups and diminishing their returns.[136]

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[133] Jones 1986: 665 and Mommsen et al. 2006 have shown that the Heraion pottery was made of Samian clay and these cups appear only in the Heraion and at Naucratis. For the Hera cups on Samos, see Furtwängler and Kienast 1989: 86-8 and Kron 1984: 292-7.

[134] Kron 1984 argues for a purely votive function. Schlotzhauer 2006: 313 believed that these Naukratite cups were dedications by Samian priests. Avramidou 2017: 58 argues that this pottery was used to feed the workers who built the temple and was specially imported to Naucratis because of both the general Greek disdain for Egyptian pottery as well as the "tried and true" characteristic of the pottery, which she believes had been used by workers who built the first dipteral temple.

[135] Jones 1986; Schlotzhauer 2006: 313; Kerschner and Mommsen 2009a: 85

[136] Malkin 1991, 2011: 182-7 especially for this concept. Indeed, dedications to specific civic gods – especially Milesian Apollo – supports the reading that who one dedicated to was important while travelling abroad, though the sanctuary itself was open to dedications by non-Milesians: Petrie 1886: 61 n. 218-19,

5.6 Conclusion

It is clear that votives were given by the individual primarily as a personal communication between that individual and their deity, in recognition of a past event or a plea for the desired outcome. Naucratis also underscores the *importance* of the votive object – both in terms of type and media – for the maintenance of the cultic community both at home and abroad, as well as the expression of a salient identity. The same care and consideration was taken by those individuals selecting gifts in Ionia – whether they dedicated *kouroi* and *korai*, weapons and sympotic paraphernalia, or perhaps even electrum coins – and we should consider that these ostentatious gifts were also given in part as a way to signal belonging or identity.

As such, we should consider select votives in Ionia as potentially connected to the emergence of group identities, specifically an Anatolian Ionian identity. We have suggested that votive *kouroi* and *korai* – a popular elite dedication in Ionia – might have reflected the dedicant's place within Ionia's maritime networks and therefore be connected to an emerging Anatolian Ionian identity, as well as linking the individual sculpture to other *kouroi* and *korai* given at sanctuaries in the Cyclades and Attica. At the same time, votives were deeply tied to the economic sphere, even as the dedicatory act itself nullified its value as a commodity. As such, votives also acted as a visual index of the wealth of the cultic community, the dedicant, and the various networks in which both participated – whether overseas or otherwise.[137] It should therefore not be surprising that the economic bonds of Ionia should appear first in the sacred sphere, with the dedication of electrum coinage at the Artemision. This coinage represented not just the

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and 62 n. 237 & 341. Schlotzhauer 2012: 43-8; This example is echoed by cults of Ephesian Artemis in Emporion and Massalia: Bergeron 2015: 274

[137] Morris 1986b and Duplouy 2006: 185-90.

sacralization of value, but it further represented the "collaborative coinage" of the region and the commercial interconnected of the various *poleis*. Finally, the Panionion's votive dedications and cult paraphernalia focused on activities that encouraged group cohesiveness, war and drinking parties. The final chapter of this dissertation turns from these material expressions of identity to explore how an Anatolian Ionian identity might have been expressed via the acts of speech and performance in the ethnic religious festivals of the Ionians.

Chapter Six: Performing Ionian Identity

6.1 Introduction and Background

This chapter moves from the practices of the cultic community that have left clear and traceable material culture correlates to examine the performative religious behaviors that would have shaped and reinforced the emergence and existence of an Anatolian Ionian identity over the course of the late seventh and sixth centuries BCE. To do this, this chapter leans heavily especially on the work done by Barbara Kowalzig, who has examined the performative aspect of festivals in the Greek world, and how myth and ritual intersect with performance to anchor the cultic community in time, space, and place.[1]

It is important to note that Kowalzig's studies come from a long history of scholarship on myth and ritual, which have had two important developments in the last generation of scholars and are fundamental for this dissertation. The first development has been a change in the theorization of myth and ritual from one that considered them as passive products of the distant past (with myth containing a kernel of truth and ritual being a reenactment of activities previously done) to one that allowed myth and ritual an active role.[2] Starting in the mid-twentieth century CE, anthropologists and historians of religion began to consider myth and ritual as tools for addressing the needs of the group that tells and enacts them and therefore are created by a specific society at a specific time and place to address contemporary concerns.[3] This functional aspect of myth gives

[1] Kowalzig 2004, 2005, 2007 and 2010.

[2] These early ideas of the "primitive" nature of myth and ritual begun under James Frazer (Frazer 1890) and Jane Harrison (Harrison 1903). This approach advocated the viewpoint that the variants of a particular myth could be analyzed and contextualized to uncover the uncorrupted and meaningful kernel of truth at the original myth: Parker 1986: 188. Therefore, myth and ritual could be read for insights into primitive cultures that had been lost when said culture had evolved

[3] Bronislaw Malinowski, in the mid-twentieth century, was one of the first scholars to break with this evolutionary approach and embrace ideas of myth that were tied to contemporary society: Malinowski 1948: 84-5. Graf 1993 discusses and follows this approach.

it an aetiological thrust, thereby allowing it to adapt to various vicissitudes in an ever-changing world to remain a powerful yet flexible medium for explanation.[4] Ritual, simultaneously, addresses needs that derive from the human condition and therefore is not merely empty action devoid of meaning; rather, ritual is fundamentally critical for group cohesion.[5] Like myth, the flexibility and aetiological thrust of ritual mean that it can adapt to address changing needs of a social group. Indeed, Jan Bremmer has shown just this flexibility in his study of Greek sacrificial rituals: he notes that animal sacrifices are varied in terms of the sacrificed animals and methods of sacrifice over time and place, arguing that this results from the ritual's entanglement in the greater community and its variable economic, political, and cultural needs.[6]

Additionally, myth and ritual are now thought to have developed in tandem, a distinct departure from previous studies that simply argued for the primacy of one over the other.[7] Ritual can complement myth, especially, because it can constitute a performance of myth, relying on a veil of timelessness and a sense of unchanging authority. In essence, the myth-ritual performance

[4] Bloch 1977: 286-7; Bremmer 1988: 1-9 and 1998; Bradley 1991: 211; Kowalzig 2007: 24-32. This concept has generally been the dominant one among scholars of the past seventy years, with some taking the functional aetiological aspect of myth even further: Bruce Lincoln has argued that myth is ideology in narrative form, and Hall agrees with him, arguing that myth draws upon a series of understood symbols to articulate that ideology: Lincoln 1999 and Hall 2008a. Because the past was fluid, myth and history were intertwined, and the cultivation of memory constituted the collective and selective remembering and forgetting of stories that happened in the past. Thus, competing or anachronistic myths could exist without discernible scrutiny. Gehrke 2001 makes this point via the case study of Magnesia on the Maeander, which instituted a festival to Artemis Leucophrene in the late third century BCE to hallow new kinship ties with the guise of historical antiquity.

[5] Walter Burkert 1983 and 1985 was one of the primary scholars who advocated for the importance of ritual. Bremmer 1998: 22-3 comments broadly on the jump in ritual studies starting in the second half of the twentieth century.

[6] Bremmer 1996: 248-82.

[7] Scholars who thought that ritual reenacts a myth (therefore giving myth primacy) generally belong to the so-called Cambridge myth-ritualists, including Jane Harrison and Samuel Hooke (1933: 3), while scholars in the second category include the aforementioned Walter Burker and Lévi-Strauss (1981: 679). Those that now believe they developed in tandem include Versnel 1990 and Graf 1985: 5. See further discussion of this historiography in Bremmer 2005.

is able to anchor the perceived timelessness of myth to the present, while at the same time providing a pretext of antiquity.[8]

Kowalzig, importantly, has argued that we are limiting ourselves when we study myth and ritual in a binary system – ie. in relation only to each other – and she has transcended these limitations by suggesting that we look at myth and ritual as just two nodes in a network that comprises and addresses human traditions, rather than an exclusive relationship.[9] By doing so, we can allow time, place, and space to enter into the discussion of myth and ritual. She notes that the blending of the past and present gives ritual performance a rare ability to tie it to a specific place of ritual and a specific space for the performing group and audience. [10] This combination of place, space, time, ritual, and myth, Kowlazig argues, creates a sense of *communitas* and the myth-ritual performance elevates, disseminates, and creates a sense of shared identity. Certainly, there are multiple examples of festivals that were either limited to a particular ethnic group, or open to all but a particular ethnic group, and were an important medium through which to celebrate and reify ethnic identity in the Aegean world.[11]

This chapter accordingly borrows Kowalzig's theoretical framework and applies it to four of the most important Ionian festivals: the Anthesteria, the Delia, the Panionia, and the Apaturia.[12]

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[8] See Bradley 1991: 210-2; Kowalzig 2004: 54-6 and 2007: 33-8, 54. See Bremmer 2005 for a synopsis on the development of academic thought on ritual and myth over the past century and Fowler 2000, Mylonopoulos 2006, Calame 2008, Kindt 2012, Feinman 2016 for Greek myth and ritual specifically.

[9] Kowalzig's argument fundamentally draws upon Hugh-Jones 1979's study of myth in indigenous tribes in the Amazon: see Kowalzig's discussion of his work in 2007: 21-3

[10] Kowalzig 2007: 23.

[11] See Robertson 1992 and 2002: 14-17. Ancient authors thought that examples of the former included the Dorian Carneia (Thuc. 5.54.2; Paus. 3.13.4, 3.26.7), whereas examples of the latter include the Thesmophorion proper, which was not celebrated by the Dorians (Hdt. 2.171.2-3). These assertions are not strictly correct, but show that the ancients thought – however mistakenly – that select festivals were exclusive ethnic affairs.

[12] Trümpy has compiled the occurrences of the most commonly occurring festival names in the Ionian Calendar. Anthesterion is the third-most occurring month name at fifteen, with Apatourion immediately after at fourteen (and the alternate name Pyanopsia occurring seven times): Trümpy 1997: 11-2; see also Samuel 1972 for earlier work on festivals and chronology.

These festivals, we argue, constitute a nexus for myth-ritual performance and served as a vehicle for maintaining, and reenacting stories of these common myths, history, and ritual actions. Festivals especially afforded opportunities for widespread interaction among various Ionian communities at a multitude of social levels, as both private spectators and *theoriai* – official civic delegations – came to worship and celebrate, perform and offer sacrifices, and act as representatives of their respective communities.[13] We suggest that each festival constructed identity around a different theme that together helped define what it meant to be an Ionian in Anatolia. The Panionia celebrated a specific Anatolian Ionian identity while celebrating the specific place at which that identity crystallized, whereas the Delia celebrated a pan-Ionian identity as a deeply ancient one that was especially tied to Apollo and Delos. The Apaturia and the Anthesteria, in contrast, were not festivals that required pilgrimage, but took place within the community. The Apaturia celebrated the bonds of Ionian kinship on the level of the individual and family, while the Anthesteria reinforced Ionian identity on a community-level, and for the Anatolian Ionians – basing it in opposition to a Carian "other."

6.2 The Panionia

6.2.1 Vitruvius' Melian War

The Panionion, as Herodotus tells us, was the hallmark of the Anatolian Ionians. These Anatolian Ionians, he says, took great pride in their name and built the Panionion – a temple to Poseidon Heliconius – on the north side of Mt. Mycale, the imposing mountain promontory that runs east-west and plunges down into the sea near Samos. The Anatolian Ionians restricted membership to the original *dodekapolis*, though Herodotus notes that Smyrna later applied for

[13] Rutherford 2013 is the defining work on theoriai and theoroi, but see also Rutherford 1998 and 2004: 173-4 and Bachvarova 2016: 234

membership and was admitted.[14] He is otherwise frustratingly silent concerning details surrounding this cult, including any details of the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the temple or the collective Panionia festival. The myth concerning the sanctuary's establishment is only found in a late source: Vitruvius. In a discussion on the differences between the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, Vitruvius almost offhandedly relates the reason behind the founding of the Panionion:

> Afterwards the Athenians, in accordance with the responses of Apollo, and by the general consent of all Greece, founded thirteen colonies in Asia at one time. They appointed chiefs in the several colonies, and gave the supreme authority to Ion, the son of Xuthus and Creusa (whom Apollo, in his responses at Delphi, had declared to be his son). He led the colonies into Asia and seized the territory of Caria. There he established the large cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Myus (of which, being swallowed up in marshy ground, the worships and vote in the League were transferred to Miletus), Priene, Samos, Teos, Colophon, Chios, Erythrae, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Lebedus, Melite. Against Melite, because of the insolence of its citizens, war was declared by the other cities, and it was destroyed by general consent. In its place, afterwards, the city of the Smyrnaeans was received among the Ionians by the kindness of King Attalus and Arsinoe. These cities drove out the Carians and Leleges and named that region of the earth Ionia from their leader Ion, and establishing there sanctuaries of the immortal gods, they began to build temples in them. First, to Panionian Apollo they established a temple as they had seen in Achaia.[15]

This is a somewhat confused account that Vitruvius leaves us and reflects the narrative of the birth of a collective Anatolian Ionian identity that was being told in the first century BCE. We

[14] Hdt. 1.142-8.

[15] 4.1.1- 5: Postea autem quam Athenienses ex responsis Apollinis Delphici, communi consilio totius Hellados, xiii colonias uno tempore in Asiam deduxerunt ducesque in singulis coloniis constituerunt et summam imperii potestatem Ioni, Xuthi et Creusae filio, dederunt, quem etiam Apollo Delphis suum filium in responsis est professus, isque eas colonias in Asiam deduxit et Cariae fines occupavit ibique civitates amplissimas constituit Ephesum, Miletum, Myunta (quae olim ab aqua est devorata; cuius sacra et suffragium Milesiis Iones adtribuerunt), Prienen, Samum, Teon, Colophona, Chium, Erythras, Phocaeam, Clazomenas, Lebedon, Meliten (haec Melite propter civium adrogantiam ab his civitatibus bello indicto communi consilio est sublata; cuius loco postea regis Attali et Arsinoes beneficio Smyrnaeorum civitas inter Ionas est recepta): hae civitates, cum Caras et Lelegas eiecissent, eam terrae regionem a duce suo Ione appellaverunt Ioniam ibique deorum inmortalium templa constituentes coeperunt fana aedificare. Et primum Apollini Panionio aedem, uti viderant in Achaia (trans. Granger)

know, thanks to a reference in Philostratus, that the Panionia was still being celebrated through the second or third century CE, which suggests Vitruvius was reporting a narrative kept alive through retelling at every celebration of the festival.[16] Furthermore, although Vitruvius' account is some six centuries or so after the purported foundation of the Ionian League, we do know that the subject of the Melian War was one that was a popular subject for Archaic and Classical historians. A reference in Hecataeus to Melie is a testament to the community's existence in the Archaic period, though it is important to note that Hecataeus – unlike Vitruvius – believed it was Carian rather than Ionian.[17] Further, the narrative behind the establishment of the Panionion and the Melian War was a popular subject with authors from Ionia, despite the lack of any surviving texts. We can see this popularity in a Hellenistic inscription, which recorded a land dispute between Priene and Samos over the territory immediately to the north of Priene in the first quarter of the second century BCE.[18] These two communities both claimed ownership of the plain of Dryoussa and a fort called Carion, territory that originally belonged to Melie and had been divided after Melie's defeat. Both *poleis* adduced historical accounts to support their claims to the land, which they argued had been awarded to them after the Melian War. Samos was only able to produce Maeandrius of Samos to support its claim, while Priene furnished several historians including Olympichus of Samos (third century BCE), Duris of Samos (fourth/third centuries BCE), Euagon of Samos (fifth century BCE), Creophylus of Ephesus (third century BCE), Ouliades of Samos (fourth/third centuries BCE), Eualces of Ephesus (second century BCE), and Theopompus the Chian (fourth century BCE).[19] All of these Ionian historians, surely only a small percentage of

[16] Philostr. *V.S.* 2.25.
[17] *FGrHist* 1 F 11
[18] *I. Priene*. n. 37 -8. esp. Curty 1989; Shipley 1987: 35-7, 199-201, & 275-6; Magnetto 2008. As Kowalzig 2005: 52-3 notes, this land on the north side of the Mycale promontory was ideally located to control the Samian strait and thus it had strategic as well as agricultural importance.
[19] Mac Sweeney 2013b: 179-80.

those who wrote about the Melian War, were active in a period that spans the late Archaic through to the Hellenistic period, demonstrating the longevity and popularity of the Melian War as a historical subject, though there were clearly different views as to who gained Melie's territory. These sources give us the confidence to accept the basic outline of Vitruvius' account of the clash of Ionians and Carians in the Melian War, if not the particular details.

Indeed, Vitruvius is somewhat confused as to whom was worshipped at the Panionion, as well as how many communities were part of the Ionian *dodekapolis*.[20] He counts Melie as one of the original communities and ignores the earlier narrative – reported by Hecataeus – that Melie was Carian.[21] This suggests not only that there was some ambiguity about the identity of Melie, but more importantly that the Ionian Migration narrative was not firmly entrenched in Ionia.[22] Indeed, as Naoíse Mac Sweeney has demonstrated, most of the Anatolian Ionian communities had a plethora of vibrant and local foundation myths, many of which did not involve the Ionian Migration.[23] Pausanias records that the Phocaeans were not originally considered Ionians until they had accepted the Codridae as their kings, which suggests a type of negotiation to "become" Ionian in Anatolia.[24] As already noted, Herodotus reported that Smyrna, which had previously

[20] I suspect that his confusion over the god worshipped was perhaps due to the close association of Ionia and Apollo as found in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, discussed below, as well as several famous cults to Apollo in Ionia, including the oracular center at Didyma.
[21] Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967: 78-80.
[22] Mac Sweeney 2013b: 180-181 re-examines Fragment 103 of Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115), which identifies the eponymous Melias as a daughter of Mopsus. Mac Sweeney argues that this fragment could be interpreted as an indication of the Ionian origins of Melie, as Mopsus is himself closely connected with Colophon. This seems suspect, however, as the other two daughters whom Theopompus names are distinct geographical territories rather than cities (Rhodias and Pamphylias), and one wonders why Melie would be tied to these other territories, which seemingly have little in common with Rhodes and Pamphylia.
[23] See the discussion in the Introduction. Mac Sweeney 2013b is currently the most in-depth study of foundation myths of select Anatolian Ionian *poleis*, such as Samos and Ephesus, while Mac Sweeney 2017 is the most comprehensive gathering of literary sources on the Ionian Migration. Dougherty 1993b has cursorily looked at some of the Ionian foundation myths, but she focuses primarily on the West Greek foundation myths.
[24] 7.3.10.

been Aeolic, only later became Ionian when it was taken over by Ionians from Colophon. Presumably, once it had become Ionian, it petitioned for membership and was accepted.[25] Furthermore, Chios preserved a narrative history that was one of successive waves of migration to the island: Ion of Chios reports that the migrations began with the god Poseidon himself and continued into the historical period with the arrival of Cretans and Carians and Abantes.[26] These ethnic groups appear to have lived in harmony with each other until a particularly pugilistic individual, Hector, became king and made war on and expelled the Chians. Ion of Chios' account of this early history continues, related by Pausanias, to give the moment of Ionian genesis and is worth examining in some greater depth:

> When the Chians were rid of war, it occurred then to Hector that they ought to join the Ionians in sacrificing at Panionion. As a prize for valour they say that he received a tripod from the Ionian confederacy. Such was the account of the Chians that I found given by Ion. However, he gives no reason why the Chians are classed with the Ionians.[27]

Significantly, Ion of Chios suggests that the Anatolian Ionian identity was something that was not endemic to the island. Rather, Hector reduced the population down to just the Cretans – a group not listed by Herodotus as one of the ethnic groups that migrated to Ionia – by expelling the Carians and Euboean Abantes.[28] Further, Ion of Chios depicts the island's becoming Anatolian Ionian as a decision made and implemented by one individual – the king – but decidedly not as a group decision, perhaps as Smyrna's might have been. Once Hector's decision had been made, he enacted it by observing the religious practices at the Panionion. As Pausanias grumbles, there is

[25] Hdt. 1.143.3., 1.150; Paus. 7.5.1
[26] *FGrHist* 392 F1; see also discussion of Chios' foundation myth in Mac Sweeney 2013b: 80-91.
[27] γενομένης δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς πολέμου Χίοις, ἀφικέσθαι τηνικαῦτα ἐς μνήμην Ἕκτορι ὡς σφᾶς καὶ Ἴωσι δέοι συνθύειν ἐς Πανιώνιον: τρίποδα δὲ ἆθλον λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ φησι τοῦ Ἰώνων. τοσαῦτα εἰρηκότα ἐς Χίους Ἴωνα εὕρισκον: οὐ μέντοι ἐκεῖνό γε εἴρηκε, καθ᾽ ἥντινα αἰτίαν Χῖοι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας (trans. Katsaros).
[28] 1.146.1

no overt reason why Hector chose to make the island Anatolian Ionian, and the reader is left mystified as to his motivation, though we can assume that this decision strengthened Hector's royal power and position after what was likely a long and acrimonious war. Later, at the Panionion, Hector earned a tripod for his ἀνδραγαθία, a vague term that references courage and valor.

As frustrating as this brief and incomplete account is, what is clear is that being an Anatolian Ionian could be a choice, at least in the Chian mythological tradition. Furthermore, it was a choice that could be imposed from the top-down, in this case by one man.[29] Ion of Chios' account also demonstrates that he believed that the Anatolian Ionians already existed by the time of Hector's reign and moreover had already built the Panionion. Indeed, since the land was initially divided between just four cities: Samos, Miletus, Priene, and Ephesus, one might even think that these were the original members of the Panionion.[30] Diodorus, similarly, believed that only nine Ionian *poleis* sacrificed at the Panionion.[31] The variety in these stories suggest that the process of becoming "Anatolian Ionian," as has been argued in this dissertation, was a slow, haphazard, agglutinative process that generally took place over the course of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE; it is possible that these conflicting foundation narratives and stories reflect later attempts to explain this gradual process in the Archaic period. When we examine the Melian War narrative behind the Panionion, it is striking that it counteracted what was surely a desultory, agglutinative process of becoming Anatolian Ionian with one that emphasized a crystallization of this identity at a specific time and place, the result of a concerted, cooperative, and community effort of the *dodekapolis* against a common enemy that could not be tolerated and had to be destroyed. This

[29] This is not uncommon. The Athenians are also said to have changed their names (and concomitant identities) multiple times, from Pelasgian Cranae to Cecropidae, to Athenians to Ionians. The last three name changes occurred thanks to the various kings and leaders of Athens: see Hdt. 8.44.2

[30] Lohmann 2012: 35-6.

[31] 15.49.1. Again, Mac Sweeney 2017 has collated many of the Ionian foundation stories.

narrative provided a broad blanket to knit together the disparate and multiform narratives of the individual *poleis*, who had their own narratives concerning the process of becoming Anatolian Ionian.

6.2.2 Anatolian Ionian Antagonism?

Vitruvius' statement that Melie was Anatolian Ionian and was destroyed by its fellow Anatolian Ionians also suggests an initial lack of cooperation and cohesion among the *poleis*. Indeed, this lack of cohesion can be traced back into the Archaic period where it is clear that the Anatolian Ionian *poleis* generally operated independently from each other. The only time when they did act as a league was during critical moments that would affect every member community in deleterious ways.[32]

Indeed, just this lack of unity is preserved in an inscription found in the Güzelçamlı area, which describes how the cult operated during its reinstatement in the late fourth century BCE:[33]

> If [any of the cities] does not bring [victims, they must write up] the defau[lting] city [on a stele outside the Pani]onion, where victims [must be produced by the cities who] owe. If any of them fails [to produce them, it must be prevented from] making sacrifices at the next Panionia. [Sacrifice must be made] to Zeus Boulai[os and the other gods, to whom] sacrifice must be made in the khoros in accordance with the sacred law. [Each city must pro]duce victims. [Leg, ton]gue, hide, part (?), and [rib go to the priest and the rest (is divided)]equally. The parts [put on the table]

[32] See discussion in Appendix Three.

[33] There appears to have been a lapse in or move of the cult at some time, probably during the late sixth century or early fifth century BCE. Thucydides discusses the Ephesia, which was celebrated by the Anatolian Ionians (3.104) but not the Panionia, and Diodorus says that the festival was moved after an outbreak of wars (15.49.1). His classification of the Panionion as being in a "desolate" place (ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ) suggests that the temple's remote location could not be adequately protected when the Panionia was taking place. It is also possible that – after the destruction of Miletus by the Persians in 494 BCE – Ephesus had unrivalled power and seized an opportunity to move the festival for self-aggrandizement. The "ownership" or domination of a shared cult has later echoes with Helice's dominance of the cult of Poseidon Heliconius by Helice in Achaea (Diod. 15.49.2) but it is hardly conclusive, and the nature of the Ephesia has been debated: Hornblower 1982 and Stylianou 1983.

and the altar go to the one who [makes a prayer] for himself. [34]

This inscription belies a certain level of anxiety that the various Anatolian Ionian *poleis* will not participate within the cult itself, which suggests that cultic participation in the past had not been reliable. These transgressions thus required new regulations for the cult. Any offending parties that did not participate in the cult would have a permanent record created, inscribed on a stele, erected in front of the Panionion, and left for inspection and chastisement, thereby providing a powerful incentive for participation. This haphazard participation that the new regulations sought to curb also suggests that by the time of this inscription, the religious unity and common sacrifices of the Anatolian Ionians at the Panionion had fallen into a state of disuse and the continuation of the cult was at stake.

Why then the stele's continued insistence upon participation in the Panionia and pilgrimage to the Panionion when participation had clearly lapsed? Barbara Kowalzig points out that the inscription mandates that *theoriai*, the sacred delegations of each city, be sent to the Panionion with an animal for sacrifice and presumably a chorus. *Theoroi*, as official representatives of their

[34] Sokolowski 1970: 11.4–1510:
- - - - - - -] ἱερὸν ἀνιδ [- - -
[.... στ]ῆλαι · τοὺς δ[ὲ πωλοῦντας ἐν ἄλλωι τό]-
[πωι πρη]τῆρας πρήσσει[ν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτ]-
[ων μὴ κρί]νειν καὶ δίκην μὴ [εἰσάγειν· τῶν δὲ πό]-
[λεων, ἐ]ὰν μὴ ἀπαγάγηι [τις τὰ ἱερεῖα, ἐκγράφ]-
[ειν τὴν] πόλιν τὴν μὴ ἀπά[γουσαν εἰς στήλην ἔξω]
[τοῦ Πανι]ωνίου, ἦι τὰ ἱερεῖα π[αρίστασθαι δεῖ]
[ὑπὸ τῶν ὀ]φειλόντων· ἢν δὲ μὴ [ἀποδῶι, κωλύειν]
[ἐν τοῖς] ἐπιοῦσι Πανιωνίο[ις ἱερὰ ποιεῖν· θύ]-
[ειν δὲ] τῶι Διὶ τῶι Βουλα[ίωι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θε]-
[οῖς, οἷς] ἐν χορῶι θύειν δεῖ [κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν νόμον]
[παρέ]χειν δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ τὴν [πόλιν ἑκάστην· σκέλ]-
[ος δέ, γλῶ]σσα, δέρμα, μοῖρα, π[λευρὸν τῶι ἱερεῖ]
[καὶ τὰ] ἄλλα ἐπ' ἴσης τὰ [δὲ τιθέμενα ἐπὶ τραπέ]-
[ζηι] ἢ βομῶι τῶι ἑαυτ[ῶι κατευχομένωι·

polis, engaged in a type of political interaction in the extraterratorial sanctuaries.[35] The Panionion thus became a religious hub in the theoric network of Ionia, and the insistence upon maintaining this network must have been crucial for maintaining a general sense of unity. Indeed, the *theoriai*, when they returned every year to celebrate the Panionia, reenacted the mythic narrative of unity against Melie, wherein the individual communities came together and worked together for the mutual destruction of an enemy.

6.2.3 The Panionia

The importance of this theoric network can be found expressed in a much later and different source. Dionysius of Halicarnassus notes that the Roman king Servius Tullius was inspired by the Ionians and the Dorians and their shared cults, and wished to build a similar shared sanctuary for the Latins. The Dorians and the Ionians, he says, came together with their wives and children at the appointed times to compete in contests and offer sacrifices. He then continues:

> After they had witnessed the spectacles, celebrated the festival, and received the other evidences of goodwill from one another, if any difference had arisen between one city and another, arbiters sat in judgment and decided the controversy; and they also consulted together concerning the means both of carrying on the war against the barbarians and of maintaining their mutual concord. These and the like examples inspired Tullius also with a desire of bringing together and uniting all the cities belonging to the Latin race, so that they might not, as the result of engaging in strife at home and in wars with one another, be deprived of their liberty by the neighboring barbarians.[36]

[35] Kowalzig 2005: 43-5 & 54-6. Again, for *theoriai* and *theoroi* generally, see Rutherford 1998, 2004, 2007, and 2013.

[36] Dion. Hal. 4.25.4-5: θεωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ πανηγυρίσαντες καὶ τὰς ἄλλας φιλοφροσύνας παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀναλαβόντες, εἴ τι πρόσκρουσμα πόλει πρὸς πόλιν ἐγεγόνει, δικασταὶ καθεζόμενοι διήτων καὶ περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμοφροσύνης κοινὰς ἐποιοῦντο βουλάς. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις παραδείγματα λαβὼν προθυμίαν ἔσχε καὶ αὐτὸς ἁπάσας τὰς μετεχούσας πόλεις τοῦ Λατίνων γένους συστῆσαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζουσαι καὶ πολεμοῦσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπὸ τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεθῶσι (trans Cary).

For Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the primary point of the Panionia was to give and receive φιλοφροσύνη, overtures of friendship that had existed from time immemorial. Of secondary importance were political matters, wherein communities could hammer out any internal differences or disputes, and could declare war against a mutual enemy. He believed, then, that the Panionia was crucial to maintaining harmony among the Ionian communities, as much as was possible between the fiercely independent and bellicose communities.

We know almost nothing about what happened at the Archaic Panionion, aside from the probable nature of the sacrifice, thanks to an extended simile found in Homer on the death of a man slain by Achilles. The dying man's last noises mimic the noises of the bull sacrificed to Poseidon Heliconius, who was dragged snorting, bellowing, and fighting to his altar.[37] We can assume that this common sacrifice was attended by the various Anatolian Ionian communities, though what form these delegations took in this early period is unclear. The late fourth century BCE inscription, examined above, says that the reinstituted cult received *theoriai* from each city, which included a sacrifice and likely a chorus.[38] We also know that games were celebrated at the later manifestation of the festival, thanks to the Marmor Parium, a third century BCE chronicle that records their existence.[39] It is possible that these *agones* – whether choral or athletic – also took place at the Archaic Panionia because we know that they were held during this time at the

[37] *Il*. 20.401-405. It should be noted that Homer makes it clear that the sacrifice takes place in Helice and therefore the iteration of the cult is not located in Ionia, but rather in Achaea. Strabo 8.7.2 connects the Homeric passage to the sacrifice at the Panionion. Interestingly, if an animal dies when it is stressed or in pain, it causes the glycogen levels in its muscles to drastically decrease, which after death are converted to lactic acid and gives the animal's meat an undesirable flavor and texture. Thus, choosing to sacrifice an animal like this is a distinctly odd choice that runs the risk of making the meat thereafter unpleasant, bruised, and unpalatable: see, e.g. Grandin 2015: 179 & 182-3.

[38] Kowalzig 2005; see also Mac Sweeney 2013b: 176-7. Later in the Hellenistic period, there is solid evidence for *theoriai*, thanks to an inscription from about 100 BCE that refers to a *theoros*, Herodas of Priene (*I. Priene* 109, line 53) and an inscription that commemorates the dead Apollodotus, whose father Parmenion acted as *theorodokos*: Rutherford 2013: 60

[39] Marmor Parium A.27.

cult of Triopian Apollo, the religious ethnic cult of the Anatolian Dorians.[40] However, this is an argument from analogy rather than evidence and must remain tentative at best. Furthermore, Thucydides loosely alludes to the Ephesia having choral and athletic contests, but this is not a direct statement and it is still unsure whether the Ephesia was a later manifestation of the Panionia.

Whatever happened during the Panionia, the crucial point is that the temple was the hub of an exclusive cultic network that bound the Anatolian Ionian *poleis* together, and the Panionia was the physical manifestation of this network, when representatives from the *dodekapolis* returned to the epicenter of the purported genesis of Anatolian Ionian identity. Ultimately, the Panionia promoted an aetiological myth for the genesis of Anatolian Ionian identity as well as the exclusivity of this identity.

6.3 The Delia

6.3.1 The Ionian Festival

The festival of the Delia took place and derived its name from the island of Delos, a small, barren spit of land in the center of the Cyclades that was an important trading hub as well as being home to the oracular cult of Apollo. This festival has traditionally been seen as a pan-Ionian festival, thanks to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, a lengthy hymn written during the Archaic period, that features a discursus on an Ionian panegyris.[41] As such, it should also be noted that this section

[40] Diod. 15.49.1; Str. 14.1.20. Frame 2009: 551-82 argues that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were originally performed here, which he bases on somewhat arbitrary divisions of the texts as representative of the *dodekapolis*; the suggestion is speculative at best though Nagy 2010 follows Frame and Bachvarova 2016: 413-5 tentatively supports him, adding her personal autopsy of Kyrgyzstan's competitive performances in a celebration of the national hero Manas. For the Triopian Games, see Hdt. 1.144.2

[41] There is currently no consensus about the dating of the poem, aside from general agreement that it dates to the Archaic period. Janko 1982: 112-5, 228-31 argues for composition in the mid-early seventh century BCE; Burkert 1979 argues for 522 BCE (when Polycrates chains Rhenia to Delos: Thuc. 1.13.6 & 3.104.2); Cassola 1975: 87 & 100 argues for either the eighth or early seventh century BCE; Richardson 2010: 14

and the following on the Apaturia use the term "Ionian" rather than Anatolian Ionian because the Delia hosted various people of the Anatolian, Cycladic, and Athenian Ionian ethnic groups, whereas the Apaturia was a shared Ionian festival, celebrated in a multitude of Ionian communities across the Mediterranean.

This hymn is composed of two distinct parts: the first half of the poem hymns Apollo in his capacity as the lord of Delos and focuses upon his birth on the island, whereas the second half hymns Pythian Apollo and narrates his arrival in Delphi and subsequent building of his temple there. The two different halves of the hymn are distinctly different, both in theme and in the type of god hymned. As a result, for at least the past 150 years, the question of whether this hymn comprises two separate hymns that were only later knitted together or one unified poem has been fiercely debated.[42] For our purposes, we will focus only upon the first Delian half of the poem as this section contains the description of the Ionian panegyris.

The poem begins with a proem that introduces the god Apollo to the divine congregation at Olympus as he takes his place among the gods and especially his mother and father, Leto and Zeus (1-19). After a quick discussion of how to hymn Apollo (20-29), the hymn's narrative action opens on Leto, heavily pregnant and desperately searching for a safe place to birth her twins (30-49). She travels to many places around the Aegean before she is able to find safe haven on the island of Delos and successfully gives birth to Apollo, who – after undergoing a miraculous growth spurt – chooses his divine accoutrements and returns to Delos to watch over his island (50-145).

argues for a *terminus ante quem* of 548/7 BCE and probably the early sixth BCE. Chappell 1995:123-131 gives a good overview of the arguments.

[42] For unity: Miller 1979 and 1986; Clay 1989, 1994, and 2005. Against unity: Chappell 2006 and 2011; Förstel 1979; West 1975: 165. Since we are only concerned with the Delian half, the question of unity does not matter so much for us.

The hymn now shifts to the present tense and from narrative to description, noting a shift from divine time to historical time to describe the Ionian panegyris.[43]

> But it is in Delos, Phoibos, that your heart most delights,
> where the Ionians with trailing robes assemble
> with their children and wives on your avenue,
> and when they have seated the gathering they think of you
> and entertain you with boxing, dancing, and singing.
> A man might think they were the unaging immortals
> if he came along then when the Ionians are all together:
> he would take in the beauty of the whole scene, and be delighted
> at the spectacle of the men and the fair-girt women,
> the swift ships and the people's piles of belongings.[44]

This section begins by re-stating that Delos is most dear to Apollo, which fulfills the promise that Leto made to Delos that the island would be held up as the favored spot of Apollo (50-88), before giving a description of the Ionian panegyris told from an outside focalizer – in this case, Apollo and an unnamed hypothetical individual who gazes upon the festival – appropriate for a spectacle that presumably had *theoroi* from the various communities.[45] The sudden shift in the poem to the present tense, as noted above, signals that the rhapsode is now talking about a

[43] The shift to present tense also signifies the end of the Delian section of the hymn, as every Homeric Hymn turns to the present tense when it nears the end in order to bridge the gap between divine narrative past time and the current time: see Chappell 1995: 243; Miller 1986: 56; Richardson 2010:103. Miller 1986: 58 notes that the last part of the Delian hymn can be broken into three approximately equal sections. The first is the description of the festival (146-155), then the description of the Deliades (156-64), and finally the plea of the poet focalizer (165-76).

[44] ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλωι, Φοῖβε, μάλιστ᾽ ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ,
ἔνθά τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἄγυιαν·
οἳ δέ σε πυγμαχίηι τε καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῆι
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.
φαίη κ᾽ ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι ἀνήρ,
ὃς τότ᾽ ἐπαντιάσειἳ, ὅτ᾽ Ἰάονες ἀθρόοι εἶεν·
πάντων γάρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμόν
ἄνδράς τ᾽ εἰσορόων καλλιζώνους τε γυναῖκας
νῆάς τ᾽ ὠκείας ἠδ᾽ αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλά. (147-55; trans. West)

[45] Interestingly, this focalizer's emphasis is upon sight, so it is likely not the rhapsode, as he declares himself to be blind: see lines 165-76 below, as well as Chappell 1995: 252; Richardson 2010: 105.

contemporary historical festival, concurrent with the hymn's composition. The panegyris begins with the gathering of the Ionians, some of whom presumably come from at least some of the places enumerated in the prior geographical catalogue – a debt continuously negotiated after they rejected the desperate, pregnant Leto. This festival was not the exclusive Panionia but rather a pan-Ionian cult, with Ionians coming from throughout the Aegean, and East Greek pottery found on Delos can attest to an Anatolian Ionian involvement with the island, as well as from the Cycladic and the Eastern Aegean islands.[46]

The depiction of the Ionians in this passage is particularly important. The parallels between the language in this passage and the Homeric epics is particularly strong and helps bring out an overall sense of the Ionians as a graceful, heroic, and aristocratic people.[47] They are described as ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες – wearing traditional ethnic Ionian chitons – which borrows the same archaic spelling and epithet used in their one appearance in the *Iliad*.[48] It is not just the men, but every spectrum of Ionian society – men, women, and children – that is present for the festival on Delos.[49] The women, like the men, borrow a Homeric epithet as well; they are καλλιζώνους τε

[46] Thuc 3.104 explicitly states that the festival participants used to comprise two groups: that of the Ionians and the neighboring islanders, but in 426/5 BCE when the Athenians reinstated and reorganized it after a lapse, the festival was only celebrated by the Athenians and islanders. While Thucydides does not explicitly state that the Ionians are the Anatolian Ionians, he hints at it by stating that after the re-foundation of the festival the Anatolian Ionians choose instead to celebrate the Ephesia, which supports an Anatolian-based group, but this is not absolute (3.104.3). Aristides 34.35 also cites lines 169-71. For the pottery, see Crielaard 2009: 69, n. 237.

[47] Niles 1979: 38 also notes that the panegyris parallels the Assembly of the Gods at the beginning of the hymn.

[48] *Il*. 13.685. As already noted, their appearance in this list of warriors could suggest that the Ionians in Homer should be located in mainland Greece. For our purpose in drawing comparisons with the epics and this hymn, as well as the overall importance of Homer to the Ionians, this geographical detail is not so important. For chitons as a particularly Ionian mode of dressing, see Asius fr. 13.3 Davies; Thuc. 1.6.3; Str. 10.3.8; see also Miller 2013.

[49] Rutherford 2013: 52 argues that the mention of women and children should suggest that the Ionians have arrived not as delegations but as individuals. I see no particular reason why delegations cannot travel with their families.

γυναῖκας – well dressed women.[50] Finally, the swift ships that brought them to Delos also have Homeric epithets, and their pairing with the belongings of the Ionians in the same line, would have emphasized not just the provisions necessary for a successful stay on an otherwise barren island, but could refer also to any trade goods brought along to the festival.[51]

The Ionians sing, dance, and box, reminiscent of and even surpassing the Phaeacians in Book Eight of the *Odyssey*, who also indulge in these activities.[52] Their dancing and singing is very likely to be choral performance – perhaps even as *theoriai* sent from the various communities – whereas the athletic contests would have emphasized the elite nature of the Ionians.[53] Choral performance is important for several reasons; the first is that it suggests that relatively formal *theoriai* were being sent to Delos in the Archaic period to perform for the god. It further suggests that the choral performances set the stage for the Deliadic choral performance that comes immediately afterwards. Finally, the choral performance parallels the chorus in the divine performance of the Delphic section of the hymn (lines 182-206) which would have been obvious to anyone hearing the entire hymn.

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[50] *Il*. 7.139; 24.698; *Od*. 23.147

[51] *Il*. 8.197; *Od*. 7.34, 7.36, 9.101. Dillon 1997a: 124-8 mentions the cult as a pilgrimage one, but does not examine aspects of pilgrimage in detail. κτήματα, in Homer, is always paired with wives or wives and children: *Il*. 5.481, 13.626; *Od*. 9.51; Chappell 1995: 259. As anyone who has been to an American county fair or seasonal festival knows there are always people hawking a variety of goods and novelties (such as deep-fried Oreos or handheld vacuums) to an unsuspecting audience. We could imagine the Delia as being just such a fair – see Allen, Halliday, and Sikes 1936. Richardson 2010: 106 reminds us of Delos' later role as a major commercial center in the Hellenistic and Roman period.

[52] *Od*. 8.234-65: the Phaeacians proclaim themselves, however, to not be good at boxing or wrestling. Richardson 2010: 105 observes that the combination of boxing, dancing, and singing is not particularly Homeric.

[53] Pl. *Leg*. 654b defines choral performance as dance and song, which is precisely what the Ionians engage in. Richardson 2010: 105 suggests that boxing stands in for other athletic competitions as well, but this is unverifiable. Further, the eighth century BCE author Eumelus of Corinth is said to have written a prosodion for Delos for the Messenians, which suggests choral performance (Paus. 4.33.2). Interestingly, Melanthus, who was the grandfather of the leader of the Ionian migration Neleus, was thought to be the king in Messene when Messene was independent, so perhaps the Messenians felt a bond with Delos through this link – see Str. 8.4.1 and Peponi 2009: 55. Plut. *Vit.Nic*. 3.4-6 describes how later Athenian choruses processed to the island across a bridge constructed by the Athenian general Nicias.

It is thus unsurprising that the poet of the hymn proclaims that – should an outsider see this performance – he would believe that the Ionians were ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως.[54] By becoming ageless and deathless, the Ionians essentially become immortals as they perform, and this immortality would have been renewed in perpetuity thanks to the recurring nature of the Delia.[55]

6.3.2 Grounding the Ionians in Time

The description of the Ionians as unaging immortals also serves to bridge the transition from the description of the mortal festival to the next section (156-64), wherein the poet telescopes to focus upon the Deliades, the local chorus of maidens. Kowalzig has painstakingly woven together the various information found in Fragments 32 and 55 of Simonides, as well as Paean 12 of Pindar (lines 17-20), to demonstrate that the Deliades served as female attendants for Leto and therefore were present for her birth of Apollo and Artemis.[56] Simultaneously, they were present on Delos in the present day, thus playing this critical role in myth-ritual performance of bridging and blending the chronological divide between the unaging and undying past and the present:

> And besides, this great wonder, the fame of which will never perish:
> the Maidens of Delos, the servants of the Far-shooter,
> who, after first hymning Apollo,
> and then in turn Leto and Artemis profuse of arrows,
> turn their thoughts to the men and women of old
> and sing a song that charms the peoples.
> They know how to mimic all people's voices and their babble;
> anyone might think it was he himself speaking,
> so well is their singing constructed.[57]

[54] The only parallel of "undying and unaging" in Homer is *Od*. 7.94, which discusses Alcinus' guard dogs, which were made by Hephaestus. Indeed, this performance is so delightful that the boundaries between mortals and immortals are blurred slightly, as the Ionians appear to transcend both age and death; they have and embody χάρις, which in later epinician poetry is the grace that bestows a gift given in aristocratic gift-exchange: see Kurke 1991:103-7 and esp. n. 65 on page 104: Pindar portrays the athletic victory as *charis*.
[55] Miller 1986: 59. Graf 2009: 28-9; Crielaard 2009: 68-70.
[56] Kowalzig 2007: 63-8.
[57] πρὸς δὲ τόδε μέγα θαῦμα, ὅου κλέος οὔ ποτ'
ὀλεῖται,

The Deliades are portrayed here as an immortal wonder. They begin their performance by hymning the gods in the order appropriate for the Delia – Apollo first, and then his sister and mother. They then focus upon men and women of old, which suggests that the subject matter is the epic heroes and heroines of the past.[58] Thus, we see a progression through time in their hymns from divine time through to heroic time, which will then continue to the present time in their later address to the hymn's poet.

The next section of the poem, lines 162-3, is perhaps one of the most discussed. In line 162, the Deliades are said to be able to mimic other peoples' voices. It is possible that these voices can be those that are not Greek: the Greeks thought that Delos had attracted a number of non-Greek individuals for worship, reinforcing Delos' importance as a node in a variety of maritime and overland networks. Indeed, the Delphic section of the poem begins with stating that Apollo is the lord of the Lycians and Lydians.[59] Herodotus also says that Olen the Lycian composed hymns for the Hyperborean maidens Arge and Opis, who are thought to have arrived on Delos with the gods themselves, and it was commonly believed that the Delian maidens performed Olen's compositions.[60] As has already been examined, it was also believed that the Carians lived on Delos

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κοῦραι Δηλιάδες Ἑκατηβελέταο θεράπναι·
αἵ τ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἂρ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπόλλων᾽ ὑμνήσωσιν,
αὖτις δ᾽ αὖ Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν
ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν, θέλγουσι δὲ φῦλ᾽ ἀνθρώπων.
πάντων δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ βαμβαλιστύν
μιμεῖσθ᾽ ἴσασιν· φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
φθέγγεσθ᾽· οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή (156-64; trans. West)

[58] Chappell 1995: 262.

[59] Lines 179-181.

[60] Hdt. 4.35, Wilamowitz 1916: 450-2. For the maidens signing Olen's hymns see Paus. 1.18.5; 8.21.3. Bachvarova 2016: 238-9 argues that these hymns could have preserved parts of the Anatolian *mugawar* invocation to goddesses of childbirth for a safe delivery, which at Delos would have referenced Apollo and Artemis' birth.

at some point as their graves were exhumed and moved by Peisistratus in the mid-sixth century BCE in an effort to cleanse the island.[61] Thus, if the Deliades can mimic the voices of others, then they might be able to recount – phonetically at least – Delos' history through the language of the island's ancient visitors and pilgrims.[62]

This is particular important when one considers, again, that the Deliades had been present since the birth of Apollo and thus were in a unique position of intimately knowing these successive waves of people.[63] Their choral performance and status would have further compressed real and mythic time together, as their performance was considered to be deeply ancient and unchanged.[64] The Deliades thus give weight to the poem's pronouncement that the Ionians were most delightful to Apollo, as their choral performance would have brought the island's history alive, leaving the Ionians as the capstone of a string of successive worshippers.

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[61] Hdt. 1.64; Thuc. 3.104.1-2 and 1.8.1. A later paean by Simonides references the Carians with respect to Delos, but it is too fragmentary to understand: *PMG* 519 fr. 32.

[62] A later parallel to the use of different tongues at a Greek sanctuary is the oracle of Apollo Ptoius in Boeotia, which spoke Carian to Mys (Hdt. 8.135). Helen was also said to mimic the tongues of the wives of those Greeks hidden in the Trojan Horse, though admittedly Greek is the *lingua franca* of the epics: *Od*. 4.277-9. As support for this interpretation of the Deliades' ability to mimic other languages, some scholars have read the verb βαμβαλύζειν at the end of line 162, as "clacking one's teeth" (Chappell 1995; Cassola 1975; Richardson 2010: 107-8). This interpretation, which has been the most dominant one in the scholarship, has recently been brought into question by Peponi 2009, who argues that the verb should instead be κρεμβαλιάζειν, which appears in the majority of MSS, meaning "to play the castinets" (see also Forderer 1971: 180, n. 66). Peponi notes that the verb βαμβαλύζειν in the Archaic period only refers to stammering or chattering of the teeth, but not imitating foreign speech. She argues that the verb should be κρεμβαλιάζειν. With this change, she is able to pair it with the φωνά in the same line, thereby arguing that the pairing of voice and castanets refers to choral performance and dancing. She prefers to read this line as one that mimics the other choral performances at Delos. I do not believe that such a distinction is necessary, or rather, that we have to choose between these two distinctions: the topic of the Deliades' hymning, as already noted, was people of the deep past and this verb can reflect both the act and topic of the hymn.

[63] As argued by Kowalzig 2007: 66-8.

[64] It is also possible that the choral dances were specifically recognized as ancient as well. Plut. *Thes*. 21 said that the Delians also dance a specific labyrinth-inspired dance that Theseus danced when he landed on Delos to sacrifice on his way home from Minos.

6.3.3 An Ionian Hero?

Finally, the Delian section of the hymn ends with perhaps one of its most contentious passages, wherein the poet in a rare and lengthy excursus reveals himself:

> But now, may Apollo be favorable, together with Artemis,
> Think of me in future, if ever some long-suffering stranger
> comes here and asks,
> "O Maidens, which is your favorite singer who visits here,
> and who do you enjoy most?"
> Then you must all answer with one voice(?),
> "It is a blind man, and he lives in rocky Chios;
> all of his songs remain supreme afterwards."
> And we will carry your reputation wherever we go
> as we roam the well-ordered cities of men,
> and they will believe it, because it is true.
> And myself, I shall not cease from hymning the far-shooter Apollo
> of the silver bow, whom lovely-haired Leto bore.[65]

The singer of the poem now identifies himself and asks the Deliades for their favor and affection, as well as for timeless fame while promising the same in return as he travels and continues to perform, presumably remembering him in their song as he does them in his.[66] He will spread their fame throughout the Aegean world, incentivizing those audiences to make a pilgrimage to Delos

[65] ἀλλ᾽ ἄγεθ᾽ ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
χαίρετε δ᾽ ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι· ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
μνήσασθ᾽, ὁππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
ἐνθάδ᾽ ἀνείρηται ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών·
"ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ᾽ ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέωι τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;"
ὑμεῖς δ᾽ εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως·
"τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίωι ἔνι παιπαλοέσσηι·
τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν ἀοιδαί."
ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ὑμέτερον κλέος οἴσομεν, ὅσσον ἐπ᾽ αἶαν
ἀνθρώπων στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας·
οἳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ δὴ πείσονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτήτυμόν ἐστιν.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα
ὑμνέων ἀργυρότοξον, ὃν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ. (165-78; trans. West)

[66] This first person self-reference is more typical of lyric poetry than of epic: Chappell 1995: 266-7.

where the Deliades will praise him, thus creating a continuous regeneration of renown.[67] But who is this blind poet from Chios? The obvious answer is Homer, and this is generally what the ancients believed, though other individuals have been put forward, such as Cynaethus, a Homerid who lived in the late Archaic period.[68] That the poet does not identify himself by name, however, but by description in line 72 allows him to remain anonymous, which in itself suggests that he is meant to assume the Homeric mantle when he performs.[69]

What actually appears to be more important is that the ancients thought that the hymn was performed by Homer, as one specific to the pan-Ionian festival and "Ionianness" altogether. The *Contest of Hesiod and Homer*, though a much later second century CE source, clearly illustrates how interlinked these three aspects were considered later on:

> After he had spent some time in the city, he sailed to Delos for the panegyris, and taking his stand at the Altar of Horns, he recited the Hymn to Apollo, which begins
>
> 'Let me call to mind and not neglect Apollo the farshooter.'
>
> When the hymn had been recited, the assembled Ionians conferred joint citizenship on him, while the Delians wrote out the verses on a placard and dedicated it in the temple of Artemis.[70]

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[67] Clay 1989: 51-2.

[68] Thuc. 3.104.5 identifies the poet as Homer. A scholion on Pind. *Nem*. 2.1 identifies this individual as Cynaethus and adds that Hippostratus said that Cynaethus performed the poems of Homer in Syracuse for the first time (*FGrHist* 568 F 5). On the Cynaethus vs. Homer debate, see Burkert 1979; West 1975: 165; Janko 1982: 114-5; West 1997: 368-72; Graziosi 2002: 62-6. Wilamowitz 1916: 453 pushes for an anonymous blind poet. It is also possible that the performer was a Homerid, a Chian rhapsode who claimed descent from Homer. I am less concerned with who this is rather than who it was thought to be: overwhelmingly Homer. Kaltesch 1980 notes that the place Dasklopetra on Chios, about six kilometers north of the main town, was thought to be where Homer taught – there is a weathered worked stone there that is likely from an archaic Cybele monument.

[69] Burkert 1987: 54-6 also notes that in the performance of this hymn, the audience would immediately know if the performer was blind or not. With only the text, we do not have that luxury.

[70] φωνά ἐνδιατρίψας δὲ τῆι πόλει χρόνον τινὰ διέπλευσεν εἰς Δῆλον εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν. καὶ σταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν κεράτινον βωμὸν λέγει ὕμνον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο. ῥηθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕμνου οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες πολίτην αὐτὸν κοινὸν ἐποιήσαντο, Δήλιοι δὲ γράψαντες τὰ ἔπη εἰς λεύκωμα ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῶι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῶι. (*Cert*. 315-21, trans. West)

Homer was believed to have gone himself to participate in the pan-Ionian festival, despite his not being an Ionian when he went.[71] It was only after his performance of the hymn, which presumably was excellent, that the Ionians jointly decided to reward him with permanent membership in the *koinon*. It was not his birthplace in Chios, but his performance of this hymn that made Homer an Ionian, suggesting a strong link between the hymn, Ionian identity, performance, and the Delia. The hymn could confer membership in the Ionian ethnic and celebrated the Ionian people as particularly beloved by Apollo. The performer took on the guise of this famous poet with every performance of the hymn, further imbuing the Ionians partaking in the festival with a kind of immortal grace, akin to the heroes that populated his famous epics, thereby securing their place in the boundless and deep past of Greek history.[72]

Whereas the Panionia particularly emphasized place – as the specific nexus of Anatolian Ionian identity – the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and the Delia instead emphasized place, space, and especially time, appropriate for a pan-Ionian festival and an international sanctuary that attracted pilgrims from all over the Aegean and beyond. Of all the pilgrims that arrive on Delos, however, Ionians are the most special – whether they come from Anatolia, the Cyclades, Euboea, Athens, or elsewhere. When they celebrate Apollo via choral performances, as well as athletic contests, they become almost divine, grounding their identity in the deep recesses of time.

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[71] There is also a strong Aeolian tradition that claims that Homer was from Smyrna, but the hymn itself claims that Chios was his homeland.

[72] The importance of this festival and hymn to a pan-Ionian identity and Homer as a mouthpiece for "Ionianness" can perhaps also be found in the fact that Athens heavily appropriated Homer and institutionalized the reading of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* at the Panathenaia. Hipparchus, son of the tyrant Peisistratus, instituted the performance of Homer in the sixth century BCE (Pl. [*Hipparch*.] 228b-c; Murray 2008), and the Athenian empire made the Panathenaia eclipse the Delia in a bid to re-center this pan-Ionian identity at Athens, wherein by 425/4 BCE, all the other Ionian communities were required to bring a cow and panoply to the Great Panathenaia (I^3 71 for the motion of Thudippus). The Athenians also revived the Delia in 426 BCE after a period of neglect – see Thuc. 3.104; shortly thereafter, Nicias was said to have led a particularly lavish *theoria* from Athens to the Delia: Plut. Vit. *Nic*. 3.4 as well as the discussion of Athens' appropriation of this festival in Nagy 2010: 12-28.

6.4 The Apaturia

6.4.1 An Overview

The Apaturia is perhaps the most frustrating of the pan-Ionian festivals because on the one hand Herodotus tells us that it constituted one of two characteristics of Anatolian Ionian identity – the other requirement was originating from Athens – and on the other hand, it is so poorly understood.[73] We have a very limited understanding of how the festival worked, especially within Ionia itself, for which there is almost no evidence aside from the month name *Apaturion*, which existed in the calendars of Samos, Priene, and Miletus, as well as the greater nesiotic Ionian world of Tenos, Delos, Amorgus, Paros, Thasos, Chalcis, and Eretria. Select Ionian colonies also featured the month, such as Olpia, Massalia, Sinope, Histria, and – oddly enough – the Carian city of Iasos. Athens did not feature this month name, which has been suggested as evidence that the festival originated in the Eastern Aegean and then moved west, but this cannot be verified.[74] Rather, in Athens, the Apaturia took place in *Pyanopsion* – roughly November, and this month name is also attested in seven cities.[75] Almost the entirety of our evidence for this festival comes from Classical Athens, which means that our comments upon this festival will of necessity be brief for lack of Archaic Anatolian Ionian evidence.

[73] Hdt. 1.147.2. Except, of course, Ephesus and Colophon, who did not celebrate it because of some murder; as has already been stated, Herodotus' phrasing suggests that they did celebrate the Apaturia before these unspecified murders prevented the continuation of this festival.
[74] Bachvarova 2016: 235 notes that the form exhibits psilosis (loss of initial h') and Ionic treatment of the intervocalic combination of resonant and semivowel. See also Beekes 2010: 114; Huxley 1966:31. Connor 1993: 197 notes that the month name Apaturion does not exist in Athens, and he suggests that the festival originated in Ionia and was transported to Athens at some point after the sacred calendar was fixed and immutable. See also Salviat 2000 for the discovery of a lead calendar with the Apaturia month.
[75] Trümpy 1997: 12.

This festival was aberrant from other Greek festivals in that one of its primary purposes was to maintain the phratry, a somewhat mysterious organization that defies easy definition, and is associated with the gods Zeus Phratrius and Athena Phratria, as well as possibly Athena Apaturia.[76] The phratry was an old social group that comprised the male members of the community, organized into putative familial groups, and had nominal religious roles. The phratry predates the Cleisthenic reforms of Athens in 508/7 BCE, but these reforms also rendered the phratries largely obsolete – politically at least – and obliterated whatever relationship they had with the old tribes.[77]

It also appears that the inner workings of the Apaturia are generally shrouded in mystery for us thanks to the general paucity of available evidence. The festival was very important, however, in maintaining the phratries by ensuring that only males qualified via descent were allowed to join. The festival took place over three days, though these days were not fixed within the calendar.[78] The first day, *Dorpia*, was marked by the gathering of the phratry at their ancestral shrine and receives its name from the communal meal held during the evening. The second day,

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[76] Nilsson 1986: 169. Apollo Patroos has also been traditionally linked to the phratries from early on: see Hedrick 1988: 206-7, who tries to link it to Peisistratus. Cromey 2006, however, has persuasively argued that we should disassociate this god from the phratries as there is no evidence for his cult before the fourth century BCE, when it appears to have been invented as a state cult specifically for and in Athens. See especially Cromey 2006: 42, n. 7 for the lack of Anatolian Ionian interest in Apollo Patroos. Finally, Paus. 2.33.1 notes the existence of an Athena Apaturia on the island of Hiera (modern Poros). This cult, he says, was begun by the maiden Aethra, who had come thither to offer libations to Pelops' chariot at Athena's urging. She was raped by Poseidon, however, and subsequently built a temple to Athena Apaturia there. In this context, Athena's epithet likely refers to an *apatē*, a trick, rather than the Athenian festival.

[77] See Lambert 1993: 16 n. 57. Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 21.2-6 notes that Cleisthenes left the phratries alone. One late fifth century BCE inscription from Athens hints at this earlier *phylē*/phratry division: Nicomachus' revision of the sacred Athenian state calendar, which stipulated that a sacrifice to Zeus Phratrius and Athena Phratria was under the authority of the *phylobasileis* of the Geleontes phylē. See Oliver 1935: 21. In Dorian Argos, the phratry was a subdivision of the *phylē*, but we cannot be certain that Dorian and Ionian social organizations were the same: Jones 1987: 112-8. The law code of Draco from the last quarter of the seventh century BCE records a law that allows ten members of a murder victim's phratry to decide if the killer could be pardoned should no immediate kin exist. That the extant inscription is a late fifth century BCE republication suggests that the phratry still functioned in some capacity in this arena: IG I^3.1045 16-23.

[78] Parke 1977: 88-9.

Anarrhysis, was one dedicated to sacrifice and thus the verb gave its name to the festival day. The third day, *Kureotis,* was the most important, as it was the day of official registration and induction of boys into the phratries.[79] Two age groups were confirmed on this day: fathers of young children or babies who had been born since the last Apaturia offered the *Meion* sacrifice, whereas fathers of older boys offered the *Koureion* sacrifice. During one of these sacrifices, the child's credentials were up for scrutiny, and if there were objections, the animal would be led away from the altar for debate and voting. If there were no objections, the animal would be slaughtered and the child accepted.[80] It is possible that the father of the child would need to take an oath that the child was his as part of the ratification process.[81] We do know that this day ended with poetry performances, thanks to a later reference in Plato, and perhaps even horse racing, from a scholion on Aristophanes.[82]

The evidence from Athens underscores that this festival's emphasis was overwhelmingly one of belonging and membership in the phratry; this membership was vitally important and a prerequisite to citizenship within the *polis*.[83] Indeed, the name of the festival suggests just this:

[79] S. Arist. *Ach*. 146; The specific requirements of the *Meion* and *Koureotis* sacrifice for a specific phratry, the Demotionidae are recorded on the so-called Demotionidae Decree (*IG* II^2 1237. 5-8), which dates to 395 BCE.

[80] Andoc. 1.125-6 gives an example of a *Meion*. For unspecified sacrifices, see Isae. 6.22; Dem. 43.82. The sources are not clear when the scrutiny happened, but it appears that a candidate only had to undergo one scrutiny, not multiple ones: Lambert 1993: 161-78.

[81] Whether the oath was required is not known, but in a lawcourt speech by Andocides (1.126), one Callias declares that a child, whom the mother of his bride bore after taking up with her son-in-law, is not his and swore as much while holding the phratry altar.

[82] Pl. *Ti.* 21a-b; S. Arist. *Pax*. 899

[83] Indeed, the importance of the festival for inculcating a sense of proper kinship is dramatically illustrated by the chorus in the *Eumenides* (652-66), who imagine a three-fold punishment for Orestes after he has murdered his mother: he will not inherit his father's estates, he will not be able to use any of the city's altars, and he will be ejected from the phratry.

Apaturia literally means "the rites for those begotten by the same father" (ἀπατορϝος = ὁμοπάτωρ) though it is unclear who the father is meant to be in this context.[84]

It is generally unclear, however, how or why Herodotus believed that the Apaturia was considered a hallmark of Ionian ethnic identity. It is possible that the phratry was a subset of the *phylē*, but we have no definitive evidence for this from Ionia and the Cleisthenic reforms of 508/7 BCE in Athens unfortunately obscured any ties that had previously existed. Before these reforms, however, Athens had four *phylai* that were generally shared with other Ionian communities, but not always.[85] It was believed by the mid fifth century BCE that these tribes – the Gelontes, Aegicores, Hopletes, and Argades – derived their names from the sons of Ion, the putative eponymous ancestor of the Ionians.[86] Without definitive proof of the relationship between the phylae and the phratries, however, we cannot explore this further.

6.4.2 Athens' Aetiological Project

Despite this obscurity, it is clear that the festival was critical for maintaining an Ionian identity, and its importance can be underscored by Athens' attempt to modify the aetiology of the myth in the fifth century BCE in order to give the *polis* a place of prominence within this festival.[87] The festival's name, Hellanicus tells us, derives from an early period wherein the Ionians, having

[84] Schol. Ar. *Ach*. 146: "some say that since fathers meet together for the enrollment of their children the festival is called as it were ὁμοπατόρια. Just as we speak of the ὁμόλεκτρος as ἄλοχος and of the ὁμόκοιτις as ἄκοιτις, so we speak of ὁμοπατόρια as Ἀπατόρια." Lambert 1993: 269-70 argues that the Indo-European root *bhrater in phratry suggests that the institution is ancient; he believes that the term must have come about before Greek developed ἀδελφός for brother.

[85] Two other tribal names – Oenopes and Boreis exist in Ionia: Roebuck 1961 and Jones 1987: 11-14 & 303-327.

[86] Hdt. 5.66.2; 8.44.2; 5.66, Eur. *Ion*. 1575-81; Paus. 2.14.2; Athens' efforts to appropriate Ion as a distinctly Athenian hero during the fifth century BCE included elaborating his heroic deeds in Athens' war against Eleusis and making him a polemarch of Athens. His grave was purportedly located in Athens: Paus. 1.31.3

[87] Robertson 1998.

been driven out of the Peloponnese by the Dorian invasion, came to Athens during a time when the *polis* was involved in a border dispute with Boeotia. It was decided that the kings of the regions would duel for the territory. The Athenian king, Thymoetes, did not want to duel the Boeotian king, Xanthus, for control of the territory and thus Melanthus, the refugee king and father of Codrus, agreed to be Thymoetes' proxy on the condition that he and his descendants would thereafter rule Athens. Thymoetes agreed to this and Melanthus went to meet Xanthus. Approaching Xanthus, Melanthus cried out, castigating him for bringing a second to the duel, which caused the Boeotian king to turn around in surprise, searching for this unexpected second. With Xanthus' back turned, Melanthus struck and killed him, thereby winning the duel. The festival's name, Hellanicus says, derives from this original ἀπάτη.[88]

It is clear, however, that this variant aetiological myth is a hollow construction: there is no evidence for its existence before Hellanicus and no evidence it carried any weight in the minds of the ancients after Hellanicus, and the lazy juxtaposition of the two kings, Melanthus and Xanthus, or light and dark, seemingly underscores its constructed aspect.[89] However, this story does firmly situate the aetiological aspect of the myth in Athens, giving this *polis* pride of place among all of the Ionian *poleis* at the same time that the Ionian Migration narrative was being so heavily promoted. It simultaneously reoriented the festival to also celebrate the Neleid family's rise to power in Athens, and it was a squabble over this throne that would lead to the migration, thereby doubly reifying Athens' claims to be the "foremost land in Ionia," and underscoring the festival's importance to a pan-Ionian identity even if the precise mechanisms are unclear to us.[90]

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[88] *FGrHist* 4 F 125, See also Conon *FGrHist* 26 F 1 §39, who mentioned only Oenoe.
[89] Robertson 1988: 201-208. Lambert 1993: 152 suggests that Hellanicus created the myth himself with some speculative evidence as support.
[90] Vidal-Naquet 1986: 106-28 has argued that the aetiological myth is connected to the *Ephebia*, the period of service for young Athenian men, which would generally take place after the Apaturia and in such borderlands as Melaenae. Vidal-Naquet argues that the ephebes would need cunning and tricks to survive,

Overall, the Apaturia appears to celebrate and define an Ionian identity on the level of kinship and blood. Voting upon, discussing, and swearing oaths as to the legitimacy of boys seeking inclusion within the phratry reinforced both its exclusive nature and the importance of these very bonds for group cohesion. The proper regulation of those who were considered Ionian was mediated in the Apaturia in the broadest schema, and of those who belonged to the phratry and local community in the narrowest schema. While we have no examples of performance in this festival, its emphasis upon kinship automatically links it to the deep past, ancestors, and the ancient history of the phratry.[91] The repeated ritual actions of gathering, sacrifice, and admittance, which happened every year of every phratry member's life, perhaps engendered a timelessness to the festival that connected the members to Ion, the eponymous hero of the Ionians, via these putative kinship bonds.[92]

6.5 The Anthesteria

6.5.1 The Festival

The last festival that we shall examine is the Anthesteria. This was a curious three-day festival held in the month *Anthesterion* – modern February – throughout the greater Ionian region to celebrate the new wine, which was marked by an amalgamation of traditions and odd events.[93]

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pointing to a passage in Xenophon (*Hell*. 1.7.8) that states that ephebes wore black at the Apaturia. This however has largely been disproven as what the *Ephebia* constituted before the fourth century BCE is unclear, the Xenophon passage appears to argue that black was unusual at the Apaturia rather than common, and it is further not clear what the connection between the festival and the *Ephebia* is.

[91] The Thracian king Sitalces' son was said to have dreamt about eating sausages at the Apaturia in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*: Arist. *Ach*. 146.

[92] Roussel 1976 has argued that the phylae are not an inheritance of the deep past but rather a byproduct of the formation of the *polis* and thus subject to change.

[93] For example, young children received wreaths, drinking parties were conducted in silence, a *hieros gamos* was performed between the wife of the *archon basileus* and Dionysus, there was swinging by young girls, the new wine was brought to Dionysus Limnae, and a meal was offered to Hermes of the Underworld. Various overviews of this festival have been written, including van Hoorne 1951; Parke 1977; Burkert 1983 and 1985; Robertson 1993; and Parker 2005a.

Thucydides thought that this festival was one of the oldest in Athens, predating the synoecism of Attica and the early kings, and being exported to Ionia via the Ionian Migration.[94] We should immediately be suspicious of Thucydides' claim of Athenian supremacy given the active efforts of Athens to insert itself in a primary position over Ionia during the Classical period, as has been examined above.[95]

This festival is one that appears to be an amalgamation of different traditions and rituals, all tied together through the medium of uncorking and trying the new wine. Each day of the festival was named after a specific pot associated with that day. The first day, *Pithoigia*, is so-called because it was when the pithoi containing the wine were opened for the first time and tasted. The wine was then carried – at least in Athens – to the sanctuary of Dionysus Limnae, outside of the city of Athens to the south in the marshy area likely around the Ilissus river.[96]

The second day was *Choes*, the only day of the year that the sanctuary of Dionysus Limnae, who presided over the festival, was open.[97] On this day, the basilinna, wife of the archon basileus, led the venerable old Athenian women in secret ritual actions and sacrifices at the sanctuary before she was wed to Dionysus, who came from overseas on a ship and entered the city (to which we will return to below).[98] Later, perhaps to celebrate this marriage, households held drinking parties, though in Athens at least, they were silent and decidedly non-communal as each person

[94] Thuc. 2.15.4.
[95] It is true that the earliest evidence of the Anthesteria comes from Athens, but that does not mean that we should accept the Athenian evidence as primal. Evidence for the festival's existence in Ionia and Ionian colonies comes from Philostr. *V. S.*1.25.1 (Smyrna); *SIG*^{3} 38.33 & *SEG* 4.598 (Teos); Just. *Epit*. 43.4.6-7 (Massalia); *LSS* 69 (Thasos), and possibly Clarus based upon a Hellenistic deposit of 1200 choes – see Pişkin-Ayvazaoğlu 2014. It also existed in Syracuse: Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 158 and Diog. Laert. 4.8; and Iasos: Bull. Epigr.1973 n. 70
[96] Phanodemus *FGrHist* 325 F 12.
[97] All the other temples were closed for the day: Apollodorus. *Neaer*. 76; Poll. 8.141.
[98] Dem. 59.73-6.

provided their own wine and drank from their own choes, rather than mix it communally.[99] The drained choes and sympotic wreaths were then carried to Dionysus Limnae in procession by the drunken revelers.

The third day, *Chytroi*, is perhaps the most frustrating and confusing day to piece back together and, for our purposes, the most interesting. There are only two Classical references to this festival day, both found in Aristophanes. *Acharnians* 1076 mentions *Chytroi* in passing as a day that the Boeotians might attack; as such, this reference merely affirms the name of the third day.[100] In the *Frogs*, however, the chorus of frogs sing to Dionysus as he paddles to the land of the dead and illuminates a bit more of what happens on this third day: a happy procession to the sanctuary of Dionysus Limnae, likely to perform some ritual around the sanctuary.[101] However, this day has traditionally been considered a somber one that is associated with the dead because later scholia on these two passages explain that *Chytroi* was so-named because survivors of

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[99] The *aition* behind the silent drinking party was that Orestes arrived polluted from his mother's murder in Athens on *Choes*. He was received and commanded that the wine be drunk unmixed and silently in fear that Orestes' pollution be spread to the other symposiasts. Phanodemus *FGrHist* 325 F 11 and Eur. *IT*. 939-60. Aristophanes also discusses a public drinking contest that the character Dicaeopolis wins and is then invited to a somewhat mysterious public symposion on *Choes*: *Ach*. 1000-2, 1085-7, 1202.

[100] ἰέναι σ᾽ ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τήμερον
ταχέως λαβόντα τοὺς λόχους καὶ τοὺς λόφους·
κἄπειτα τηρεῖν νειφόμενον τὰς εἰσβολάς.
ὑπὸ τοὺς Χοᾶς γὰρ καὶ Χύτρους αὐτοῖσί τις
ἤγγειλε λῃστὰς ἐμβαλεῖν Βοιωτίους. (1073-77)

[101] βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοάξ,
βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοάξ.
λιμναῖα κρηνῶν τέκνα,
ξύναυλον ὕμνων βοὰν
φθεγξώμεθ᾽, εὔγηρυν ἐμὰν
ἀοιδάν, κοὰξ κοάξ,
ἣν ἀμφὶ Νυσήιον
Διὸς Διόνυσον ἐν
λίμναισιν. ἰαχήσαμεν,
ἡνίχ᾽ ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος
τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροις χωρεῖ
κατ᾽ ἐμὸν τέμενος λαῶν ὄχλος
βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοάξ. (209-220)

Deucalion's flood boiled seeds in a χύτρα and offered it unconsumed to Chthonic Hermes on behalf of the dead, a ritual that Theopompus describes at length.[102] It is also possible that ritual swinging happened on this day, in memory of Erigone, the daughter of murdered Aegisthus, who hanged herself in grief.[103]

Chytroi ended with a proverb that this section will examine in depth: θυράζε Κᾶρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια.[104] This seemingly out-of-context phrase has caused a great deal of consternation, even among the ancients, because it is not clear why the Carians would have a place in this festival. The reference to the Carians was later changed from Κᾶρες to Κῆρες, meaning evil spirits.[105] Much later, Hesychius glossed Κῆρες as ψυχαί, and this emendation was taken up with gusto, transforming *Chytroi* into a day that is reserved for the dead and ends only when these evil spirits or ghosts are ritually banished with this proverb.[106] Indeed, some have gone so far as to suggest that these Κῆρες took the form of masked mummers, or that they are related to Sumerian expulsion rituals related to catharsis.[107]

Robertson has pushed against this interpretation, however, arguing that these scholia conflate two separate nouns: the name of the festival is the relatively rare masculine plural noun χύτροι, whereas the feminine singular noun χύτρα is the generic name for a pot that appears often

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[102] Schol. Ar. *Ach*. 1076a, *Ran*. 218a (Theompompus *FGrHist* 115 F 347)
[103] Hsch. s.v. Αἴωρα; Dion. Periheg. Parker 2005a: 301-2 doubts that this should be associated with the festival and lays out his arguments.
[104] Zenob. Ath. 1.30 = vulg. 4.33. θυράζε carries with it a generic sense of "out." In the context of a festival largely celebrated in the home, a θύρα is to be expected. Additionally, this word is used in a very limited sense to mean "city gates" – which one might expect of an expulsion, especially in connection with an enemy: Aesch. *Sept*. 68 and 163. Although much later, Cato the Minor also uses θύρα in this capacity as well (Cat. Mi. 65)
[105] Phot. s.v. θύραζε κᾶρες. He also gives the alternative Κῆρες reading - κῆρας · ἀκαθαρσίας μολύσματα. Βλάβας: Latte 2009: 472.
[106] Hsch. s.vv. κήρ , Κῆρες
[107] Scholars who are agnostic: Parke 1977: 116-7; Hamilton 1992: 51; Parker 2005a: 297. Scholars in favor of Kâres: Robertson 1993: 203-5; Gagné 2006: 20-21; Herda 2013: 430-31. Scholars in favor of Kêres: Burkert 1983: 228-230 and 1985: 238; Auffarth 1991: 233-4; Bremmer 1983: 113-20; Garthwaite 2010 argues for Sumerian influences. Riu 1999: 176-7 takes it as figurative.

within the Greek corpus. Robertson posits that these two terms should be differentiated from each other and that in this conflation, the scholion mistakenly attributes another ritual, which was described by Theopompus and mentions these ubiquitous pots, with that of the Anthesteria. It is entirely incongruent that Chthonic Hermes should suddenly intrude upon a festival that is otherwise dedicated to Dionysus and that Aristophanes reports was happy and relatively carefree. Indeed, Robertson notes that this mistaken conflation of the third day of the Anthesteria with this Chthonic ritual is entirely in keeping with the scholia for Aristophanes, which consistently give incorrect festival information.[108]

This house of cards, however, begins to fall when one realizes that Κᾶρες appears in the paroemiographers and the lexica, and thus the interpretation of Κῆρες rests on a fundamentally flawed base of support and misconception. The initial reading stands, then, but it does not explain why the Carians would be singled out. Indeed, the ancients believed that there were two explanations for this curious phrase. The first explanation is strange: the Carians originally inhabited a part of Attica and were readmitted to Athens and Athenian homes during the festival. This can be dismissed almost immediately: the original inhabitants of Attica were the Athenians or the Pelasgians, but certainly not the Carians, who were early on strongly associated with the Cyclades and Minos in Greek thought.[109] The second explanation points to the large percentage of Carians in Athens' slave population, and thus this ethnic group stood in for the greater slave population when the festival and its concomitant social role reversal ended. The explanation of the presence of Carian slaves has some support in the onomastics of Attic slaves in the fourth century BCE, as recorded by Helen Pope.[110] However, this list dates to the fourth

[108] Robertson 1993: 203-5.
[109] E.g. Hdt. 1.57-8; 8.44
[110] Robertson 1993: 203-5 drawing on Pope 1935: 160 notes that the name "Cario" is the most popular of the slave names in Attic stelae.

century BCE, and cannot speak for the number of Carian slaves in earlier or later times, and it certainly goes against the general Athenian views that the most numerous slaves in Attica were Thracians or Scythians.[111] Finally, all references to slaves taking part in revelries are situated on the second day, *Choes*, but not the third, *Chytroi*, when this proverb was uttered and would presumably be most potent.[112] Furthermore, this explanation does not explain why the Carian ethnic subset would be singled out to stand in for the whole of the entire slave population.

6.5.2 Carian Expulsions

It has already been noted that the Anthesteria was a shared Ionian festival; accordingly, it should not be anathema to look to other Ionian *poleis* for salient elements of the festival, and Carians have more of a place and meaning within Ionia itself. Indeed, much of the consternation surrounding this proverb dissipates if we consider it as having originated in Ionia, rather than Athens. We argue that this phrase is likely a holdover from the formation of an Anatolian Ionian identity in Western Anatolia in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. During this time, a trope of violence against, and expulsion of, the indigenous Carian inhabitants arose in conjunction with the Ionian Migration narrative because this trope allowed for a coherent identity that was grounded in opposition, creating an "other" against which the Anatolian Ionians could define themselves.[113]

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[111] Hunt 2018: 85-92. For Scythian archers, see Aesch. 2.173

[112] Callim. fr. 178 Pfeiffer; the Eleusinian temple accounts also record provisions for slaves for *Choes*, including a sacrifice, wine, and a choes: IG II^2 1672.204.

[113] Dougherty 1993a, who has examined the overarching colonial narratives active in Archaic and Classical Greece, has noted that much of the bloodshed of colonization is in fact pushed onto the *oikistes*, who transgresses the law (usually by murder, whether accidental or not) and then is banished and must undergo cleansing by founding a colony. While having a murderer as your heroic *oikistes* is decidedly odd to our modern minds, it was perfectly reasonable in Greek thought, where the act of being cleansed from a state of pollution parallels the colonial transformation of chaos to order: Dougherty 1993a:187-8 and 1993b: 31-44.

To begin, it is clear that any migrants to Anatolia did not encounter an uninhabited land: multiple sources assert that the Carians inhabited the entirety of the western coast of Anatolia.[114] Furthermore, the Greeks carried with them a remembrance of the Carians as an ancient and powerful people – Thucydides and Herodotus noted that the Carians had enjoyed rule before Minos expelled them from Crete; Diodorus believed that the Chersonese had previously been inhabited by Carians, and Strabo builds upon this by noting that the Carians spread throughout most of the islands before continuing to Anatolia.[115] They are present in Homer, as allies of the Trojans, where Nastes leads the Carian contingent, and Carian women manufactured and stained coveted armor.[116] Indeed, the Carians survived their disastrous alliance with Troy, and gained rule of the sea thereafter, proving to be a force to be reckoned with.[117]

Despite this respect for the Carians, however, many of the foundation myths of the Anatolian Ionian cities record violence against these Carians or the expulsion of the Carians in particular, which is surprising. Examples have been summarized in the following table:

Source	Victims	Perpetrators	Location
Str. 14.1.21	Carians and Leleges	Androclus expels	Ephesus
Paus. 7.2.10; 7.3.1-3	Carians	Expulsion	Colophon & Clarus
Hdt. 1.146	Carians	Murder	Miletus
Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 155	Carians and Leleges	Expulsion	Miletus, Myus, Ephesus,
Ion of Chios *FGrHist* 392 F 1	Carians	War and Expulsion	Chios
Aristotle fr. 519.1-2	Carians	Miletus conquers	Cios on the Propontis
Str. 7.7.2	Carians and Leleges	All of Ionia	All of Ionia
Paus. 7.3.5	Carians	Andreamon	Lebedus
Paus. 7.2.9	Carians	Androclus & Priene	Priene

Table 5: Carian Expulsions in Literary Sources

[114] As has already been numerated in Footnote 1 of the Introduction.
[115] Hdt. 1.171.3; Thuc. 1.4; Diod. 5.60; Str. 14.2.27. Other evidence of the close links between Crete and Caria can be found in Ael. *NA*. 12.30, who records that Car was the son of Crete and Zeus.
[116] *Il*. 2.867-75 and 4.141-5 respectively.
[117] Diod. Sic. 5.51.3 & 5.84.5

Vitr. 4.1.4	Carians	Ionia	Melie/Panionion
Conon *FGrHist* 26 F 1	Carians	Unspecified	Miletus
Aelian *VH* 8.5	Carians	Neleus and his Followers	Miletus
Polybius 16.12	War against the Carians	Unspecified	Ionia

Table 5: Carian Expulsions in Literary Sources Continued

These sources appear to paint a coherent, stable picture of the demographic change in Ionia as the indigenous people of Anatolia were killed, expelled, or caught up in war with the colonizers. However, on second glance, there are a multitude of reasons to suspect that this Carian genocide and expulsion was a fabrication. First, the events are presented as part of a foregone conclusion, an inevitable outcome of the arrival of the colonists. There is no description of rising tensions or degrading social congress, but rather the Carians are merely a passive party, over whom the colonists may assert their power, which would suggest that it was a trope that was passed between and copied among the Anatolian Ionian *poleis* and historians. For many of the myths, a variant on the verb form ἐκβάλλειν was used to relate the entire process of building hostilities, stasis, and eventual expulsion.[118] Indeed, it is striking that the struggles of the Carians and the Greeks are so nondescript and short, when the struggles between the Greeks and the Lydians are played out over multiple chapters in Herodotus, and even more so when one remembers that Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus, one of the primary cities of Caria, and would have had a deep and intimate understanding of Carian history and myth.

Second, any settlers likely lived for multiple generations with the Carians upon their arrival in Ionia. Continuous occupation of such cities as Miletus and Ephesus since the Bronze Age argues for a coexistence between the new arrivals and the established community; one can point to the

[118] ἐκβάλλω: Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 155, Str. 14.1.21, Str. 7.7.2, Paus. 7.3.2.; ἐλαύνω: Paus. 7.3.5; ἐξελαύνω: Ael. *VH*. 8.5; ἀπέρχομαι: Ion of Chios *FGrHist* 392 F 1; ἀφαιρέω: Paus. 7.2.10

western Mediterranean as a corollary, where the Greek arrivals lived with, interacted, traded, and married the native populations.[119] The literary sources suggest that intermixing and interaction took place at every level of society in Anatolia among the Lydians, Carians, and Anatolian Ionians.[120] In the upper echelons of society, intermarriage and dynastic alliances between the kings and tyrants of the various western Anatolian communities were common: the Lydian royal house married into the royal houses of Miletus and Ephesus and possibly Lesbos.[121] The social intermixing was not the exclusive prerogative of the royals, however, and might be evidenced by individuals who had Carian or Lydian relatives, including Thales of Miletus and Herodotus' family – Examyes and Panyassis are Carian names.[122] More prosaically, the Greek Archaic poets are familiar with Lydian and Carian culture and geography; select poets selectively deploy Lydian words, while others discuss the wealth of Lydian elite culture.[123] Furthermore, the Greeks

[119] To take Pithecussae, it appears obvious that the natives and the Greek inhabitants mixed well. In a network analysis of the inhumation graves and the grave goods, it is clear that the first inhabitants were buried with goods that were connected with the Near East. When Greek goods begin to appear, they do not disrupt the native networks, but rather mesh with them, suggesting that the Greeks interacted with the natives: see Donnellan 2016: 162 and Coldstream 1993: 96-8 for archaeological evidence of intermarriage. Intermarriage in later foundation myths would provide an important point of stabilization of the incoming population. See Dougherty 1993b for colonization myths in the western Greek world. Hdt. 1.146 notes that Milesian colonizers married Carian women after killing their fathers, but does not mention that these offspring were denigrated for their mixed heritage, which would suggest there was no particular bias against having offspring with a Carian wife.

[120] In that vein, perhaps it is time to reconsider how we think about contact: see Ulf 2009a for attempts at re-typifying and redefining the nature of interaction between two cultural groups.

[121] Aelian *VH* 3.26 records that Pindarus, the tyrant of Ephesus, was the grandson of Alyattes on his mother's side. Ion of Chios *FGrHist* 392 F1 notes that a Neleid king Melas was related by marriage to Gyges. See also Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90 F 62 for Gyges' lust for the Smyrnaean man, Magnes, and Hdt. 1.92, who states that Alyattes was married to both an Ionian and a Carian wife. It is also possible that the tyrants of Mytilene on Lesbos could have intermarried with the Lydians as well, if the shadowy figure of the Lesbian tyrant Myrsilus received his name through some form of dynastic marriage with the Heraclid dynasty (Str. 13.3.4.). Hdt. 1.7 is scornful of the Greeks, who did not know that the Lydian king Candaules's real name was Myrsilus. Dale 2011: 22 points out that Myrsilus comes from the Luwian/Lycian for "ruler" and could just be a regnal name, but these two interpretations need not be mutually exclusive.

[122] Thales' father had a Carian name: Examyes 1.22 or 1.29. *Suda – s.g. Panyssis*: Herodotus' father and uncle were called Lyxes and Panyassis respectively.

[123] For a list of Archaic poets utilizing "foreign" words, see Chapter One, Footnote 36. For discussions of Lydian wealth, see, e.g. Archilochus fr. 19 West and Sappho fr. 39, 96, & 98 Campbell.

acknowledged their debt to the Carians for their armor, and we have already seen how they served together overseas as mercenaries in Egypt.[124] The later Roman author Strabo even had trouble differentiating between Phrygians, Mysians, Carians, and Lydians, despite being a resident of the area and presumably having a high degree of familiarity with the peoples of Anatolia in general.[125] Archaeological evidence agrees with the above literary evidence and paints a picture of the various groups living together. As has already been examined, numerous inscriptions and graffiti can attest to the presence of Carians at Sardis, Old Smyrna, Didyma, Miletus, and Belevi.[126] This evidence therefore suggests a relatively harmonious coexistence that would be hard to overcome across the entire region of Ionia without some large impetus to break this benign social inertia.

Additionally, there is currently no archaeological evidence to support these narratives of expulsion and murder. While absence of evidence does not necessarily mean evidence of absence, it is important to note that no mass graves have been found that date from this period, and there is no evidence for an influx of Carians to other parts of Anatolia or the Aegean, where one would expect them to appear, and where the ancients say they retreated. Also telling is the fact that there is no trace of these refugees in the foundation narratives of the very Carian cities that supposedly accepted them either in the literary sources, such as Pindar's seventh Olympian, or inscriptions, such as the Salmakis inscription.[127] Both relate foundation narratives – Rhodes and Halicarnassus, respectively – but are silent when it comes to Carians refugees.

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[124] For the Carian armor, see: Hdt. 1.171.4 and Snodgrass 1964.
[125] Strabo notes generally the mixing at 14.1.38 and 14.1.42, and specifically says that they are difficult to distinguish at 13.4.12. See also Kearns 2003, Ehrhardt 2005, Kerschner 2005 for this mixing generally.
[126] Adiego 2007a has a complete catalogue of all of the inscriptions. See also Herda and Sauter 2009 for a Carian graffito from Miletus.
[127] Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 155 says they retreated to other parts of Caria. For the late second century or early first century BCE Salmakis Inscription, see Isager 1998, Lloyd-Jones 1999, Austin 1999, and Gagné 2006.

Why then, would this trope of Carian expulsion or murder be so prevalent within the foundation myths of Ionia? By creating a narrative of Carian ejection as one of the fundamental moments in their histories, the Anatolian Ionian *poleis* were rejecting what had likely been the oldest and dominant identity on the western Anatolian littoral for a new and separate one. Thus, the Anatolian Ionians were Anatolian Ionians because they were not Carians. Indeed, as a result of the aforementioned long-lasting social interaction, there were likely fewer and fewer ways in which to distinguish the *poleis* of Ionia from those of Caria by the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. What better way in which to create a hard and fast line to divide two people who were not always easily divisible than by fostering a narrative of violence and expulsion that favored the burgeoning Anatolian Ionian identity over that of the established and ancient Carian identity? Not only was this narrative one that showed Anatolian Ionian supremacy, but it also fostered the idea of absoluteness – ie. that Ionia was not, could not, and would not be Caria precisely because there were no Carians left, rhetorically at least. This expulsion or murder marks the moment at which these various communities became Anatolian Ionian because they were in the hands of only Anatolian Ionians. We therefore see these stories of Carian displacement as an attempt to superimpose one identity upon the multiple and multi-faceted ones present within the *poleis* of Ionia.[128] We have already seen the diversity of foundation myths prevalent in Ionia; as such, a common myth of the expulsion of the Carians allowed these communities to knit together a common identity based partially on who they were not.[129] We have also already examined two examples wherein the removal of Carians was fundamentally tied to Ionian identity: the Panionia commemorated the place and time when the Anatolian Ionians came together to destroy Carian

[128] See Ulf 2009b: 239
[129] Mac Sweeney 2013b: 225-8.

Melie, whereas Delos was purified by Peisistratus when he removed Carian graves.[130] Thus, this motif of Carian expulsion is woven into the notion of what makes a space "Ionian", not only in the foundation myths but also in the religious sphere.[131]

Finally, the motif of expulsion brings the cycle full circle. It has been argued that the narrative of the Anatolian Ionians as previously residing in the northern Peloponnese meant that they had a putative common ancestral homeland that was anchored within mainland Greece. The narrative of the Carian expulsion ends the cycle of transiency and establishes the Anatolian Ionians as a strong, organized, and militant group that was able to enact upon the indigenous population of Anatolian the same misfortunes they had suffered at the hands of the Achaeans.[132]

6.5.3 The Festival, Contextualized

To return to the Anthesteria and the proverb, ejecting the Carians – at least rhetorically – ended a festival that celebrated the entire community. As a shared Ionian festival, it celebrated the bonds between the communities themselves, who observed it at the same time each year. For the Anatolian Ionian communities, the narrative of the migration was perhaps made even more salient via the *hieros gamos* – the sacred marriage of Dionysus to the *basilinna*, the wife of the *archon basileus*, shared curious similarities with the Ionian Migration narrative. Unfortunately, the *hieros gamos* is also the most puzzling and enigmatic aspect of the festival, thanks to the reticence of the

[130] Thuc. 1.4-8. This is a vitally important point. Removing the Carian bones from Delos essentially "cleansed" the island of all prior proprietary claims, at least in the Near Eastern literature: Hallote 2002. The Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib boasted that his rout of a particular enemy was so extensive that the defeated enemy dug up his gods and bones of his forefathers and removed them from the land (Sennacherib 34, 6b; repeated in Sennacherib 231, 7b).

[131] A later scholion to Aristeides 1c relates that the Delphic Oracle told Neleus to drive out unjust Carians from Miletus: see entry 300 and 301 in Parke and Wormell 1956.

[132] Hdt. 1.145-6; Str. 8.7.4; Paus. 7.26.10. Malkin 1996a: 10 notes "It is the nature of territorial myths to become particularly explicit when faced with a challenge."

ancients, but we do know that the basic timeline began with Dionysus arriving from the sea, a procession escorting the god into the city, and – in Athens at least – the marriage in the old agora.[133] What is evident, however, is that this was the crucial moment of the festival for the community, and the ancients took it very seriously.[134]

It is by marrying Dionysus, a divine *xenos*, or outsider, to the *basilinna* that the Athenians were able to incorporate him into their society, and it echoes the process by which Ion's father, Xuthus, who was either from Euboea or Marathon, was incorporated into Athenian society via his marriage to Creusa. Marriage to a woman born of Athenian parents ensured that Dionysus formed both kinship and civic bonds with the city. Thus, this divine outsider was civilized, settled, and integrated into the community so he could work for the benefit of the people. Indeed, this basic sequence of arrival, marriage, and inhabitation mirrors the basic outline of the Ionian Migration narrative, especially Herodotus' story of the colonization of Miletus and intermarriage with native Carians.[135]

A *hieros gamos* was an appropriate event for the Anthesteria as this festival's purpose was to celebrate the drinking and consecrating of new wine – a medium that helped knit together the entire community. The Anthesteria reified the presence and status of the community, its place as divinely blessed and guarded, and the individuals who made up the *polis*; indeed, the sources tell

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[133] Again, most of our evidence for the *hieros gamos* comes from Athens, but we do know that Dionysus arrived in other Ionian cities from abroad. In particular, Philostr. *V.S.* 1.25.1 says that Dionysus arrived in Smyrna by boat. Many people have hoped to read scenes of this sacred marriage via imagery on vases, but it is clear that this cannot be easily done. For a new crater by the Dinos Painter (Benaki Museum 43847) that depicts Dionysus' *hieros gamos*, see Sabetai 2011: 152-3, who interprets the scene as having possible ritual overtones, perhaps alluding to the Anthesteria. For the *hieros gamos* generally, see Avagianou 1991.

[134] One of Demosthenes' most scathing attacks in his lawcourt speech against Neaera is that she performed the office of the *basilinna* despite being unfit for the office: she was a foreigner and, what is worse, no longer a virgin; as such, she violated those ancient religious laws of Athens that had been practiced from early on and were even set forth in the temple of Dionysus Limnae (Dem 59.76.9). Demosthenes clearly expected the jurors to be as scandalized and repulsed by Neaera's offences as he claimed to be: Dem. 59.73-9, see especially 59.77 for his anger.

[135] Hdt. 1.146.

of children, men, women, and slaves all having a part in the festival.[136] It would be appropriate then that a phrase such as θυράζε Κᾶρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια would have arisen first in Ionia. Individuals who uttered it in Ionia to mark the end of the festival partook of a ritual that reinforced the community as Anatolian Ionian precisely because it was no longer Carian.

6.6 Conclusion

It appears that the four festivals examined here worked in different ways to reify an Ionian ethnic identity. The Apaturia and the Anthesteria were concept-specific, but not place-specific. The Apaturia reinforced the idea of an Ionian identity via lines of descent, which perhaps were connected to the descendants of Ion. The Anthesteria, by contrast, constructed an identity based upon opposition, i.e. creating an "other" out of the Carians, and we argue that this proverb initially related to an Anatolian Ionian identity before it was co-opted by other Ionian *poleis* in Athens and the greater Mediterranean world.

The Panionia and the Delia, in contrast, were location specific and required the pilgrimage of the communities' *theoriai* to specific locations. The Delia constructed and celebrated an identity that was grounded in time and place, insisting that all of the Ionians were the most favorite of Apollo and when they gathered on Delos to celebrate his festival, became almost godlike themselves – timeless and deathless, elite and graceful. The Panionia also put a strong emphasis upon location, the exact spot where the purported "birth" of the Anatolian Ionian consciousness began and expanded outward.

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[136] Parke 1977: 315-6. Robertson 1993: 23 suggests that the wine once it was drunk was brought to the sanctuary and therein mingled together and poured all together, thus uniting each individual that had earlier that day drank separately. He notes that this happened in the *Iliad* as well, to bring together the Greeks and Trojans (Il. 3.246-8, 269-70, 95-301). See Shapiro 2009: 28 for social inclusion and drinking at the Anthesteria.

This is not to argue that all the Ionian communities partook of these festivals, nor that the festivals were the primary vehicle by which the Anatolian Ionians constructed and elevated their identity over the multiform identities that existed in Archaic Anatolia. Rather, festivals provided a vehicle in which the community reified itself and its place in the world via sacrifices, performance, and divine appeasement. In performance, histories of the community were relived, retold, refashioned, and re-shared among the audience. In ethnic festivals, such as the ones examined here, the communities could also reify their place in the greater Ionian ethnic group or their ties to other Anatolian Ionian *poleis*.

Conclusion

This dissertation has argued that Anatolian Ionian identity was fostered and expressed within the cultic community, at the intersection of worship, economics, and trade. Further, it has argued that this identity formed fairly late: it began to intensify – if not begin outright – about 700 BCE and continued through the sixth century BCE. This dissertation has also argued that the sanctuaries in Ionia were an important medium for the expression of this identity thanks in part to their locations on important nodes along the major sea routes that traversed the western Anatolian littoral. As such, sanctuaries were deeply connected to trade and its concomitant cross-cultural interaction and served perhaps as early incubators of the "Ionian" moniker. The sanctuary's cultic community – a social group comprising local and foreign worshippers that was built around the proper veneration of the deity through ritual actions and dedications – played an important role here as this social group's inclusivity could reinforce and overlap or act as a template for other group identities, and we have argued that this cultic community was where the Anatolian Ionian identity was fostered and expressed. The first firm proof of it operating as an ethnic identity – as defined by putative kinship and a known territory – in Ionia was when Aristagoras sought Spartan help in 500 BCE for the Ionian revolt against the Persians.[1]

[1] See discussion in Chapter One. It is possible that we can push this date back slightly based on etic evidence: about twenty years after the Persians first conquered Anatolia and incorporated Ionia into their empire, they begin to discuss this region in monumental and royal inscriptions. The Ionians appear first on the monumental inscription at Bisotun and are designated here as Yaunā in Old Persian and Yaunap in Elamite. This monument – carved into a cliff face that overlooks an important mountain pass in Iran – details Darius I's victory over the false liar-king, Gaumata, in 522 BCE. While the monument is presented as a triumphant and semi-religious conquest against the forces of darkness and mendacity, it is in reality an account of the usurpation of the Persian throne. Eager to illustrate his territory, Darius lists his people in order to describe the inhabited four corners. The "Ionians" appear in this list immediately after the Lydians and serve to illustrate the western reaches of the Persian Empire (DB §6). However, it is important to note that Darius had not yet entered into the Aegean when Bisotun was carved (Lincoln 2007: 29-31) nor had any of his predecessors. Cyrus had never campaigned further than the western Anatolian littoral and thus likely was not familiar with the mainland Greeks in any great detail. Cambyses also did not campaign in Anatolia, and Darius only ventured west after the Ionian revolt ended in 494 BCE. Indeed, if we can date the Bisotun inscription to shortly after 522 BCE, then the Yaunap mentioned in this inscription were likely

Aristagoras' decision to court Spartan and later Athenian support for the Ionian Revolt would set off events that would ultimately lead to five hard years of conflict that encompassed much of the southwestern Anatolian littoral and Cyprus. When the Persians were able to quash the revolt in 494 BCE, they reacted in telling ways. For Miletus, as the instigator and ringleader of the revolt, the relatively benign Persian rule came to a swift end, and the *polis* suffered terribly.[2] The Persians, Herodotus tells us, reduced Miletus to slavery before turning their attention to the *polis'* religious institutions: the Persians plundered and burnt Didyma.[3]

Archaeological evidence matches this savage treatment. The Archaic temple at Didyma itself is overburdened by the later Hellenistic temple, but appears to have been sacked, matching Herodotus' account. As Parke points out, Herodotus consistently uses the past tense when describing Didyma; as an inhabitant of nearby Halicarnassus, he surely would have had occasion to examine the ruins of the temple.[4] While Didyma did continue to function as a cult center after 494 BCE, its power was severely diminished.[5] No large votive dedications were given between

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the Anatolian Ionians as Darius would have had little contact with the mainland Greeks at this time. Herodotus tells us that the first Persians to come to mainland Greece were those under the command of Democedes, a captured Crotonite doctor sometime before 515 BCE for reconnaissance, which is five to seven years after Bisotun was carved (Hdt. 3.129-38). By the end of his reign (and after his foray at Marathon in 490 BCE), Darius's inscriptions had expanded to encompass this new knowledge of the greater Aegean world: on Darius' tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam, the Yauna are split between the Yauna and the Yauna takabarā – Ionians with shield hats on their heads (DNa §3 and DSm §2; for illustrations and photographs of Darius' tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam see Schmidt 1970; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001a: 4-5 and 2001b: 324-5; Kuhrt 2002: 19-22). Darius again fractures the Yaunā in inscriptions at Persepolis and Susa, where he describes them not by their clothing but rather by geographical placement: they are differentiated as mainland Ionians (i.e. likely Anatolian Ionians) (DPe §2), Ionians who dwell by the sea (DPe §2, DSe §2), and Ionians who dwell across the sea (DPe §2): Lecoq 1997 is the most recent translation of the royal inscriptions. While we are unsure precisely what Darius means by those Ionians who dwell across the sea and who dwell by the sea, it is clear that they refer to the various groups of Greeks who live around the Aegean.

[2] The story is found in Hdt. 5.97-126 & 6.1-20.

[3] Hdt. 6.18-20.

[4] Parke 1985a: 61.

[5] Tuchelt 1988: 433-8. The Molpoi Inscription, examined in Chapter Five, is probably a re-inscription from the fifth century BCE and therefore demonstrates the continued use of the cult site after its destruction, but it was not under the jurisdiction of the priests.

494 BCE and about 300 BCE, and select votives, such as the overlarge bronze *astragalos* examined in Chapter Three and possibly even Didyma's cult statue, were removed to Persia.[6] Finally, the hereditary ruling priests, the Branchidae, were taken by Darius to Bactria, a particular outrage considering these priests' connection with the cult was so deep their patronymic functioned as a second name for the sanctuary; their removal effectively silenced the oracle for about 150 years.[7] Similarly, the nearby sanctuary of Aphrodite at Zeytintepe was so thoroughly destroyed that, today, the archaeologists cannot make out the blocks from the stone fragments left over – it appears that the Persians took hammers to the building itself.[8]

This violent reaction is striking in the face of general Persian tolerance towards other religions overall.[9] It is all the more so when one considers that the temple's construction, which began about 550 BCE, would have been monitored and allowed almost from the beginning by the Persians. The Persians' sudden change in attitude towards Milesian cults overall suggests that they

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[6] Callisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 14; Paus. 8.46; Str. 11.2.4, 14.1.5, & 17.1.43 say that Xerxes removed the cult statue, though Tuchelt 1988 suggests that it was Darius, instead of Xerxes, who removed it.

[7] Herodotus refers to Didyma as Branchidae: 1.46.2, 1.92.2, 1.157.3, 1.159.1, 2.159.3, 5.36.3. Str. 14.1.5 says that the Branchidae gave many votives to Xerxes before accompanying him to Persia, but this depiction of the priests as traitors (echoed in Callisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 14) is surely influenced by Alexander the Great's later treatment and massacre of the Branchidae. Curt. Ruf. 7.5.28-35 tells of the massacre, and Diodorus Siculus' missing Book Seventeen allegedly also detailed it: see Parke 1985a for a full account. The same fragment of Callisthenes (*FGrHist* 124 F 14) also notes that the oracular spring dried up at this time, a metaphor for the shuttering of the temple.

[8] Senff 2003: 15. Greaves 2004: 28. It should be noted that the temples of Athena at Erythrae and Smyrna also appear to have been destroyed in the mid sixth century BCE, and their destructions have been linked to the Persians by their excavators: for Erythrae, see Mitchell 1985: 83 and for Smyrna, see Akurgal 1983: 72-5, 123, 125; Cook and Nichols 1998: 170.

[9] See Dusinberre 2015: 207-44 for the evidence for local religious continuity and Persian treatment of cults in Anatolia overall, as well as Dusinberre 2003: 59-69 for Lydian cults in Sardis specifically. For Persian mazda-ism (though not necessarily Zoroastrianism, as no mention of Zarathustra exists in the Achaemenid Persian Empire) beliefs overall, see Boyce 1975 and 1982, Lincoln 2007, Garrison 2017. Miletus's treatment was so severe that the playwright Phrynichus was fined for distressing his Athenian audience some years later with his play *The Capture of Miletus* (Hdt. 6.21). See the Cyrus Cylinder for Cyrus proclaiming himself as beloved of Marduk, as well as the purported return of the Jews to their homeland of Israel: a new translation of the cylinder by I. Finkel was published as part of a travelling exhibit of the Cyrus Cylinder across the U.S. in 2014 – see Curtis 2013. Hdt. 7.43 relates that Xerxes ordered sacrifices to the Greek gods at Troy.

knew of the fundamental importance of the cultic community to Ionia.[10] Targeting and largely dismantling select cults of Miletus ensured that the Persians had dismantled the religious heart of Miletus and one of the touchstones for both the local communal and larger regional identity of Ionia. Indeed, so cowed was Ionia, that the *poleis* of this region would never again revolt against Persia and would even supply their own ships for Xerxes' invasion of mainland Greece some fifteen years later, prompting the mainland Greeks to beg the Anatolian Ionians to be sluggish in their martial efforts, remembering the kinship ties that bound them together.[11]

[10] We can also read Xerxes' *daiva* inscription in this vein (XPh), as has been suggested by Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001b: 336.

[11] Hdt. 8.22.2: ἐθελοκακέετε μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε.

Appendix 1: Viewshed Analyses for Anatolian Ionian Temples



Fig A.1: Viewshed Analysis of Temple of Hera on Samos
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (April 7, 2017). Greece. 37° 42’ 09.63’’N, 26° 54’ 23.37"E, Eye alt 16.73 mi. Heraion Viewshed Analysis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. TerraMetrics 2018, CNES/Airbus 2018, DigitalGlobe 2018. [April 19, 2018].

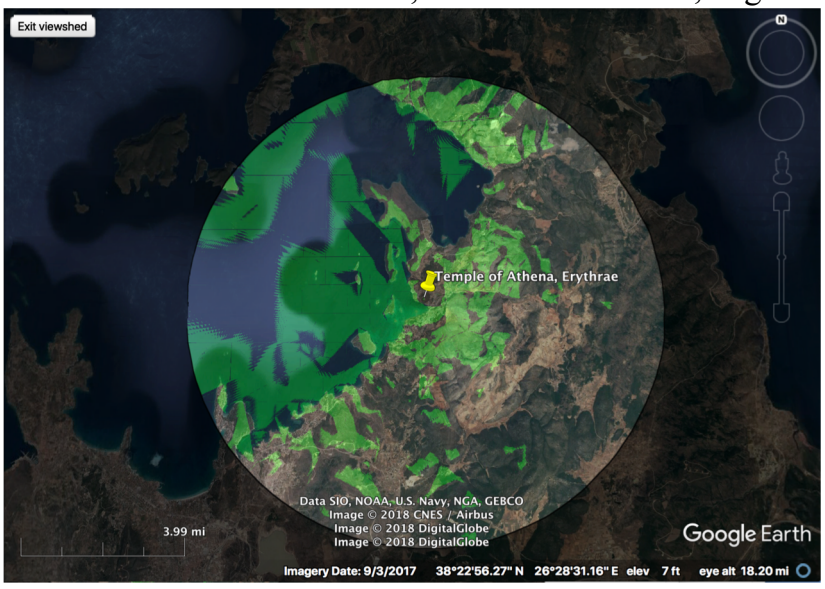


Fig A.2: Viewshed Analysis of Temple of Athena at Erythrae
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (September 3, 2017). Turkey. 38° 22’ 56.27’’N, 26° 28’ 31.16"E, Eye alt 18.20 mi. Erythrae Viewshed Analysis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. CNES/Airbus 2018, DigitalGlobe 2018. [October 2, 2018].

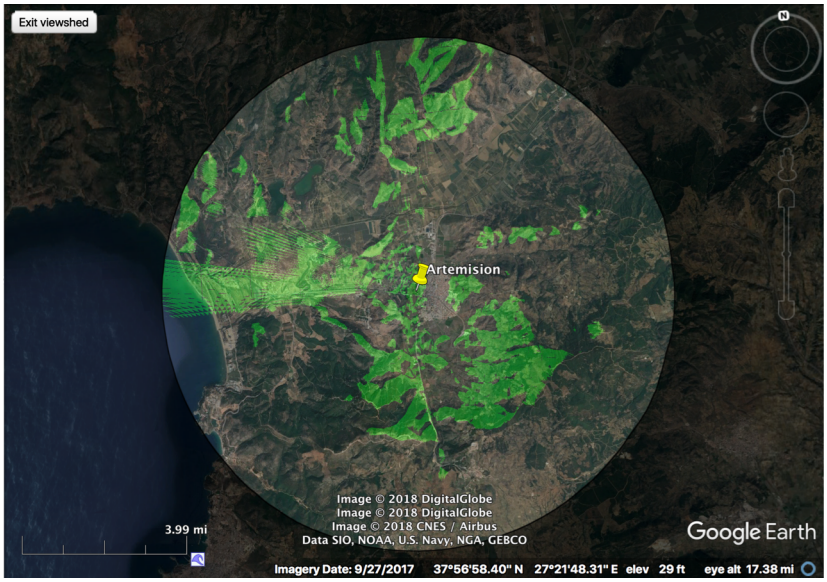


Fig A.3: Viewshed Analysis of Artemision at Ephesus,
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (September 27, 2017). Turkey. 37° 56’ 58.40’’N, 27° 21’48.31"E, Eye alt 17.38 mi. Artemision Viewshed Analysis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. CNES/Airbus 2018, DigitalGlobe 2018. [April 19, 2018].

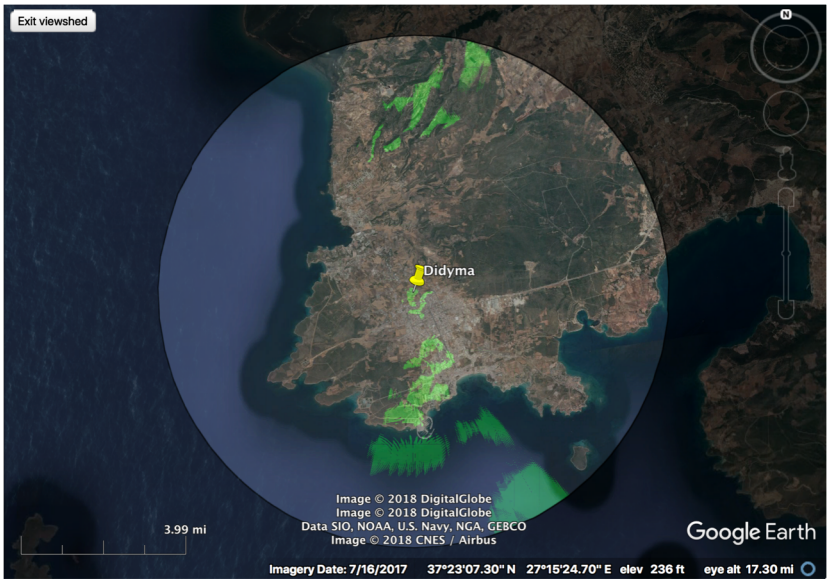


Fig A.4: Viewshed Analysis of Temple of Apollo at Didyma
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (July 16, 2017). Turkey. 37° 23’07.30’’N, 27° 15’ 24.70"E, Eye alt 17.30 mi. Didyma Viewshed Analysis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. CNES/Airbus 2018, DigitalGlobe 2018. [April 19, 2018].



Fig A.5: Viewshed Analysis of Temple of Apollo Phanai on Chios
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (June 2, 2016). Chios. 38° 12’ 25.47’’N, 25° 55’ 29.60"E, Eye alt 17.90 mi. Phanai Viewshed Analysis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. TerraMetrics 2018, CNES/Airbus 2018. [April 19, 2018].

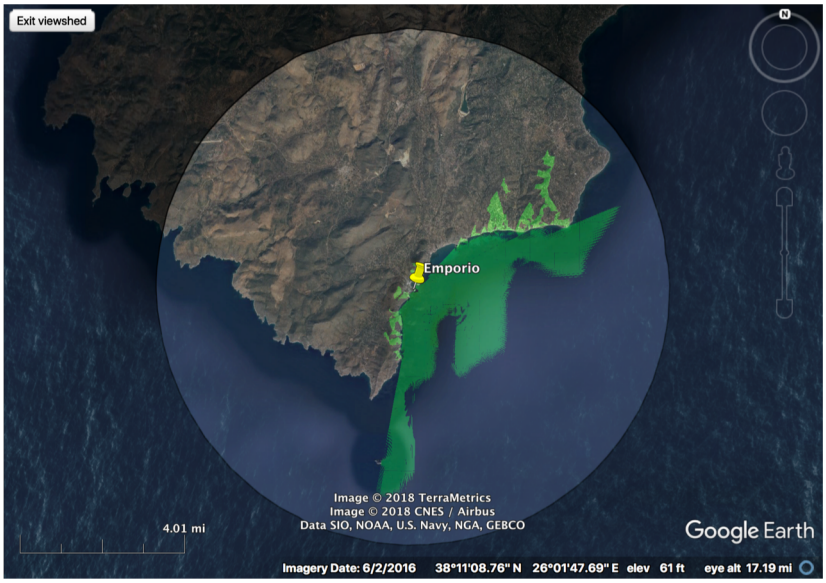


Fig A.6: Viewshed Analysis of Harbor Temple at Emporio on Chios
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (June 2, 2016). Chios. 38° 11’ 08.76’’N, 26° 01’47.69"E, Eye alt 17.19 mi. Emporio Viewshed Analysis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. TerraMetrics 2018, CNES/Airbus 2018. [April 19, 2018].

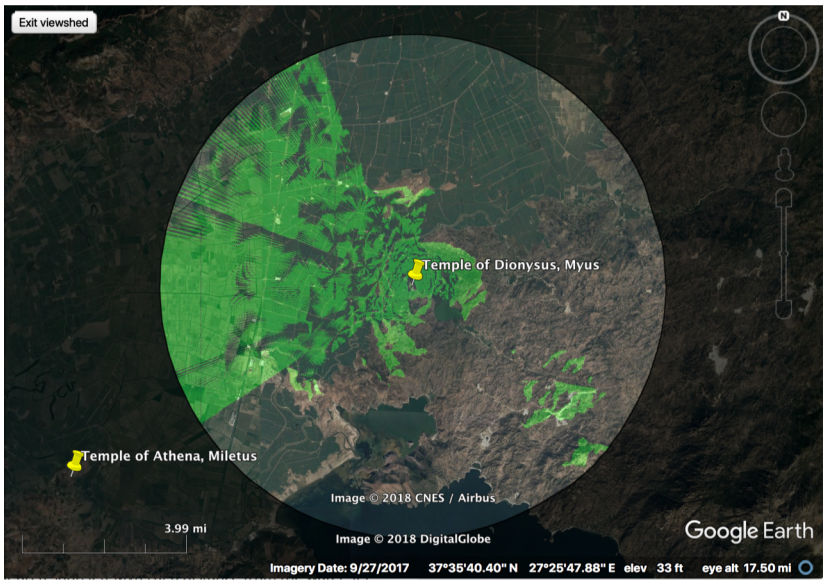


Fig A.7: Viewshed Analysis of Temple of Dionysus at Myus
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (September 27, 2017). Turkey. 37° 35’ 40.40’’N, 27° 25’ 47.88"E, Eye alt 17.50 mi. Myus Viewshed Analysis. CNES/Airbus 2018, DigitalGlobe 2018. [April 19, 2018].

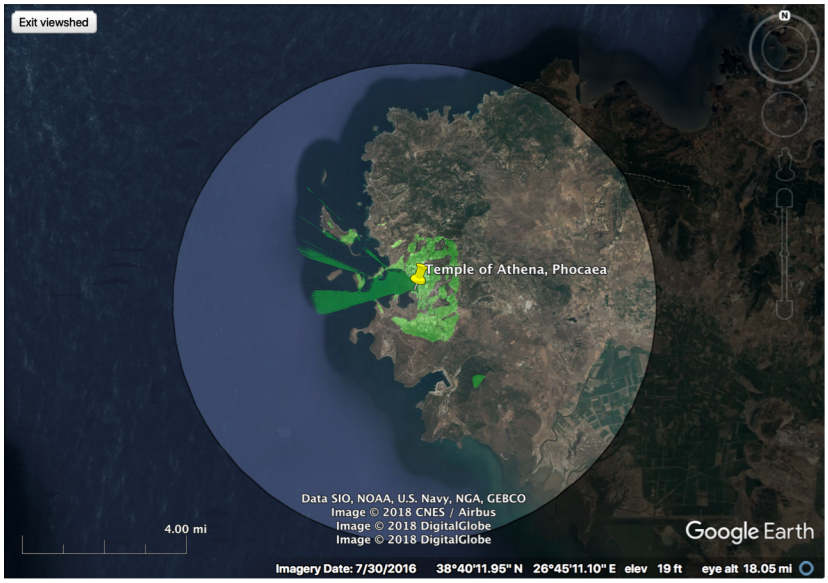


Fig A.8: Viewshed Analysis of Temple of Athena at Phocaea
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (July 30, 2016). Turkey. 38° 40’ 11.95’’N, 26° 45’ 11.10"E, Eye alt 18.05 mi. Phocaea Viewshed Analysis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. CNES/Airbus 2018, DigitalGlobe 2018. [April 19, 2018].

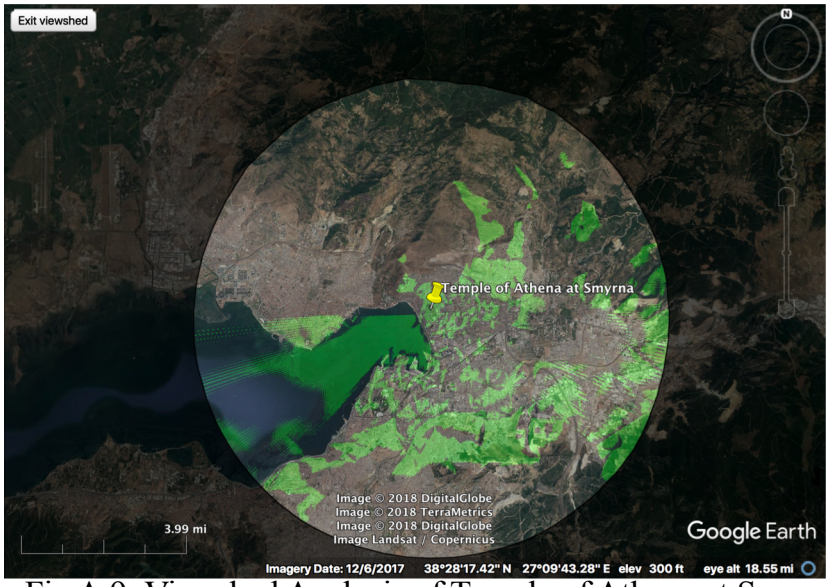


Fig A.9: Viewshed Analysis of Temple of Athena at Smyrna
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (December 6, 2017). Turkey. 38° 28’ 17.42’’N, 27° 09’ 43.28"E, Eye alt 18.55 mi. Smyrna Viewshed Analysis. TerraMetrics 2018, CNES/Airbus 2018, DigitalGlobe 2018. [April 19, 2018].

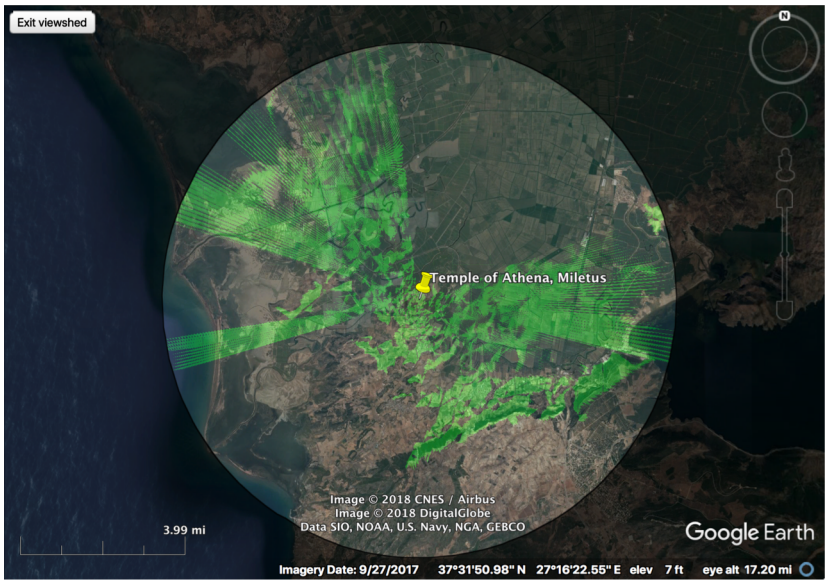


Fig A.10: Viewshed Analysis of Temple of Athena at Miletus
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (September 27, 2017). Turkey. 37° 31’ 50.98’’N, 27° 16’ 22.55"E, Eye alt 17.20 mi. Miletus Viewshed Analysis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. CNES/Airbus 2018, DigitalGlobe 2018. [April 19, 2018].

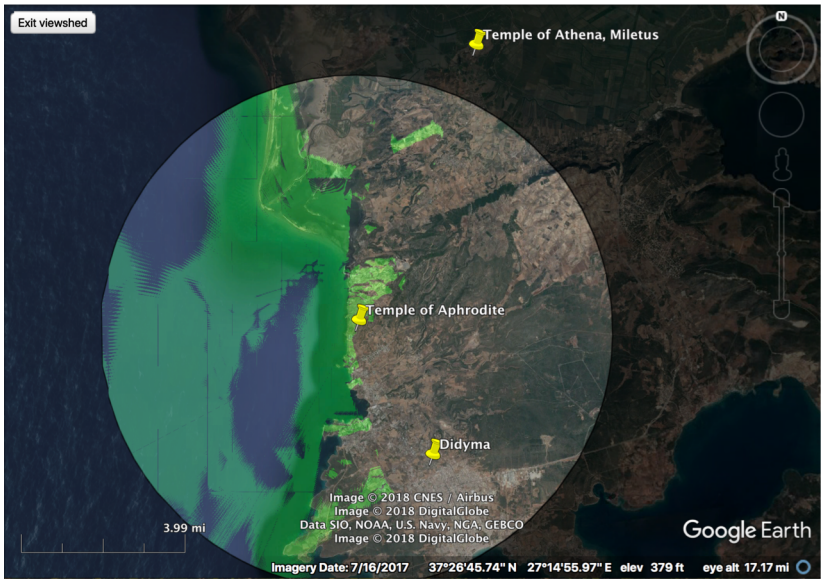


Fig A.11: Viewshed Analysis of Temple of Aphrodite at Zeytintepe
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (July 16, 2017). Turkey. 37° 26’ 45.74’’N, 27° 14’ 55.97"E, Eye alt 17.17 mi. Zeytintepe Viewshed Analysis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. CNES/Airbus 2018, DigitalGlobe 2018. [April 19, 2018].

Appendix Two: Table of Ionian Columns

Column Type	Place	Date	Material	Description
Ionic Votive[i]	Sangri-Naxos	End of Seventh	Naxian Marble	Column of Alexitides
Ionic Architectural (?)[ii]	Delos	Before 600	Naxian Marble	Under the Naxian colossal statue: Ionic pillar capital
Ionic Architectural (?)[iii]	Didyma	c.600	Poros Limestone	Lost Column
Ionic Votive[iv]	Aphaea - Aegina	590-80	Poros Limestone	Sphinx Column
Ionic Votive[v]	Delos	c. 580	Naxian Marble	
Ionic Architectural[vi]	Delos	c. 580	Naxian Marble	Interior of Naxian Oikos
Ionic Votive[vii]	Sangri-Naxos	580-70		
Ionic Architectural[viii]	Yria - Naxos	580-70	Naxian Marble	Dionysus Temple at Yria
Ionic Votive[ix]	Delphi	580-70	Naxian Marble	Sphinx Column
Ionic Architectural[x]	Ephesus	575/70		Croesus Temple
Ionic Votive[xi]	Paros	570-50	Parian Marble	Found in a Church
Ionic Architectural[xii]	Delos	575-550	Naxian Marble	Not in situ
Ionic Votive[xiii]	Delos	580-570	Parian Marble	Sphinx Column
Ionic Votive[xiv]	Didyma	2nd qu. Sixth		
Ionic Architectural[xv]	Çatallar Tepe	560		Pronaos of Panionion
Ionic Votive (?)[xvi]	Delos	560	Naxian Marble	Found out of situ in the theater
Ionic Architectural[xvii]	Naucratis	560-550	Unknown	Temple of Apollo
Ionic Votive[xviii]	Thasos	Mid Sixth		
Ionic Architectural[xix]	Myus	Around 550		Temple of Dionysus

Table 6: Findspots/Types of Archaic Ionic Columns

Ionic Votive[xx]	Paros	c. 550	Parian Marble	Column of Archilochus
Ionic Votive (?)[xxi]	Paros	c. 550		
Ionic Architectural[xxii]	Delos	550-40	Naxian Marble	Naxian Stoa
Ionic Votive[xxiii]	Sangri-Naxos	After 550		
Ionic Votive[xxiv]	Cyrene	c. 550-525	Theran? Marble	Sphinx Column
Ionic Architectural[xxv]	Phanai on Chios	550-25		Temple of Apollo
Ionic Architectural[xxvi]	Ephesus	550-25		Found in the aquaduct
Ionic Architectural[xxvii]	Samos	545-35	Poros Limestone	South Building
Ionic Architectural [xxviii]	Didyma	c. 540-30		Dipteral Temple
Ionic Votive[xxix]	Didyma	540-30	Marble	
Ionic Architectural[xxx]	Miletus	Second half of the sixth		Found in later Wall
Ionic Votive[xxxi]	Athens	530	Poros Limestone	
Ionic Votive (?)[xxxii]	Athens	530		
Ionic Architectural [xxxiii]	Delos	530	Naxian Marble	East Porch of the Naxian Oikos
Ionic Architectural [xxxiv]	Samos	c. 530	Samian marble	Polycratean Dipteros
Ionic Votive[xxxv]	Athens	530-20	Pentelic Marble	Column of Ameinias, made by Gorgias
Ionic Mortuary[xxxvi]	Cyrene	third quarter of the sixth century	Yellow limestone	Tomb N8
Ionic Votive[xxxvii]	Delphi	525-500	Parian Marble	
Ionic Votive (?)[xxxviii]	Smyrna	before or around 520		
Ionic Votive[xxxix]	Athens	520		
Ionic Votive[xl]	Athens	530 or 520		
Ionic Votive[xli]	Athens	520		

Table 6: Findspots/Types of Archaic Ionic Columns Continued

Ionic Votive[xlii]	Massalia	520-10	Sandstone	
Ionic Votive[xliii]	Athens	520-10	Island(?) Marble	Column of Alcimachus
Ionic Architectural[xliv]	Delos	520-500	Naxian Marble	Second Propylon of Naxian Oikos
Ionic Architectural[xlv]	Nasos (Aeolia)	after 520		Temple of Apollo
Ionic Votive[xlvi]	Selinus	510-480		
Ionic Architectural[xlvii]	Paestum	510-500	Sandstone	Pronaos of Athena Temple
Ionic Architectural[xlviii]	Athens	Late Archaic (Peisistratid)	Island Marble	From Enneakrounos?
Ionic Architectural[xlix]	Miletus	End of sixth		Corner capital
Ionic Votive[l]	Athens	End of sixth	Poros Limetone	Cecrops Monument?
Ionic Votive[li]	Thasos	End of sixth	Thasian Marble	
Ionic Architectural[lii]	Phocaea	End of sixth		Athena Temple
Ionic - Uncertain[liii]	Gela	End of sixth	Comiso Limestone	
Ionic Architectural[liv]	Thasos	510-460	Thasian Marble	
Ionic Architectural[lv]	Miletus	500	Limestone	Three Completed Ionic Capitals
Ionic Mortuary[lvi]	Miletus/Didyma	500	Limestone	Lion Grave
Ionic Architectural[lvii]	Labraunda	500	Mylasian Marble	
Ionic Architectural[lviii]	Ephesus	500?		Found in the St. John Basilica
Ionic Votive[lix]	Miletus	sixth		
Ionic Architectural[lx]	Metaponton	500-490	Limestone	Temple D
Ionic Architectural[lxi]	Histria (Milesian Colony)	500-480	Limestone	Temple A
Ionic Architectural[lxii]	Neapolis (NW of Thasos	500-480	Thasian Marble	

Table 6: Findspots/Types of Archaic Ionic Columns Continued

Ionic - Uncertain[lxiii]	Halicarnassus	500-480		
Ionic Architectural[lxiv]	Thessaloniki	late sixth	Marble	Dionysus Temple
Ionic - Uncertain[lxv]	Cyzicus	late sixth	Yellow Marble	
Ionic Architectural[lxvi]	Larisa on the Hermos	Late Archaic	Lime Tuff	"Megaronbau"
Ionic - Uncertain[lxvii]	Tamassos, Cyprus	Early 5th?	Limestone	Uncertain.
Ionic Architectural[lxviii]	Syracuse	Early 5th	Limestone	Temple of Athena
Ionic - Uncertain[lxix]	Athens	before 489		
Ionic Votive[lxx]	Athens	490-80	Naxian	Nike of Callimachus' Dedication
Ionic Votive[lxxi]	Paros	Archaic (no published date)		

Table 6: Findspots/Types of Archaic Ionic Columns Continued

[i] Kirchhoff 1988: 137 Gruben 1989: 161-5; Ohnesorg 1996: 39-40; Bakker 1999 – Ion-1, Barletta 2001: 103-4 & 133; Segal 2007: n. 1; Herdt and Wilson-Jones 2010; Wilson-Jones 2014: 58.

[ii] Courbin 1980: 29 and 1987: 67; Merrit 1982: 82-92; Kirchhoff 1988: 176; Gruben 1996: 64; Bakker 1999: Preion-1; Barletta 2001: 101; Wilson-Jones 2014: 121, n. 3; Gruben 1996 suggests it might have been part of the Temple of Artemis.

[iii] Wiegand 1941; Kirchhoff 1988: 137; Gruben 1996: 63 n. 13; Bakker 1999 Preion-2.

[iv] Gruben 1965 and 1989: 169 n. 25 and 2007: 110-55; Wesenberg 1971: 129 n. 669; Alzinger 1972-3: 199; Kirchhoff 1988: 20-22; Hoffelner 1996; Ohnesorg 1996: 51; Bakker 1999: Ion-22; Barletta 2001: 97-8 & 101; Segal 2007, no. 25.

[v] Ducat 1971: 387; Martin 1973: 385; Kirchhoff 1988: 13; Bakker 1999: Ion-4.

[vi] Courbin 1980; Kirchhoff 1988: 29-30; Ohnesorg 1996: 39-41; Bakker 1999: Ion-24; Barletta 2001: 95-7 & 104-5.

[vii] Kirchhoff 1988: 19; Gruben 1993; Bakker 1999: Ion-9; Ohnesorg 2005: 137-8.

[viii] Kaster 1963: 180; Courbin 1980: 43; Gruben 1989: 161-72 and 1993: 104; Kirchhoff 1988: 17-8; Ohnesorg 1996: 40-1; Barletta 2001: 85-6; Bakker 1999: Ion 7a-c; Wilson-Jones 2014: 59

[ix] Alzinger 1972-3: 186; Courbin 1980: 55 and 1987: 68; Kirchhoff 1988: 16-17, Gruben 1993: 104; Ohnesorg 1996: 43; Bakker 1999: Ion-6; Barletta 2001: 97-100.

[x] Hogarth 1908: 268-70 and 276-9; Wesenberg 1971: 116-29; Kirchhoff 1988: 76-7; Bakker 1999: Ion-16; Barletta 2001: 118-9; Ohnesorg 2007.

[xi] Gruben 1972: 377; Kirchhoff 1988: 22-3; Ohnesorg 1993: 113; Bakker 1999: Ion-10: Bakker published the pictures in his dissertation.

[xii] Kirchhoff 1988: 23-4; Bakker 1999: Ion-11.

[xiii] Kirchhoff 1988: 27, n. 2; Ohnesorg 1993: 113 n. 21; Bakker 1999: Ion-18; Bruneau and Ducat 2005: 96; Barletta 2001: 99-100.

[xiv] Tuchelt 1991: 39; Ohnesorg 1996: 45 fig. 5; Bakker 1999: Ion-65.

[xv] Barletta 2001: Lohmann 2007; 2012: 41; 2013.

[xvi] Martin 1973: 382; Bakker 1999: Ion-20.

[xvii] Petrie 1886: 11-3 and pl. 3; Boardman 1959: 203; Barletta 2001: 87 & 108.
[xviii] Martin 1972: 303; Kirchhoff 1988: 28-9; Bakker 1999: Ion-23;
[xix] Gruben 1963: 124; Weber 1967: 137-9 and 2002; Kirchhoff 1988: 75-6; Bakker 1999, Ion-15; Barletta 2001: 86.
[xx] Kirchhoff 1988: 26; Ohnesorg 1982: 289-90 and 1993: 114; Bakker: Ion-17; Rocco 2003: 50-1; Segal 2009: n. 15.
[xxi] Ohnesorg 1996: 115 n. 27-8; Bakker 1999: Ion-69.
[xxii] Alzinger 1972-3: 186; Martin 1973: 392; Kirchhoff 1988: 31-2; Bakker 1999: 25.
[xxiii] Gruben 1989: 165-9; Bakker 1999: Ion-64.
[xxiv] White 1971: 52; Kirchhoff 1988: 25-6; Bakker 1999: Ion-14.
[xxv] Lamb 1934-5: 139-44; Boardman 1959: 170; Kyrieleis 1978 and 1980; Bakker 1999: Ion-26.
[xxvi] Bammer 1972: 440; Kirchhoff 1988: 87; Bakker 1999: Ion-29.
[xxvii] Buschor 1957: 17; Kyrieleis 1981: 92; Kienast 1992a: 189; Bakker 1999: Ion-73.
[xxviii] Gruben 1963: 115; Kirchhoff 1988: 85-6; Tuchelt 1970: 99 and 1991: 21; Bakker 1999: Ion-28a-b; Barletta 2001: 115-6; Dirschel 2012: 47-9
[xxix] Knackfuss in Wiegand 1941a; Gruben 1963: 140-2; Kirchhoff 1988: 86-7; Tuchelt 1991: 39, Bakker 1999: Ion-80.
[xxx] Koenigs 1979: 187-9; Kirchhoff 1988: 229-30; Bakker 1999: Ion-45.
[xxxi] Bakker 1999: Ion-30.
[xxxii] Bakker 1999: Ion-34; he notes that this capital is unpublished.
[xxxiii] Courbin 1987: 74; Kirchhoff 1988: 15 and 260 n. 103; Gruben 1989: 168 n. 15; Bakker 1999: Ion-5.
[xxxiv] Gruben 1960: 42-5; Kyrieleis 1981; Kirchhoff 1988: 94-7; Kienast 1992a: 182-88; Bakker 1999: Ion 58; Barletta 2001: 85-6.
[xxxv] Jacob-Felsch 1969: 117; Bakker 1999: Ion-76.
[xxxvi] White 1971: 55; Boardman 1999: 156-7; Bakker 1999: Ion-72.
[xxxvii] Buschor 1957: 8; Kirchhoff 1988: 99-100; Bakker 1999: Ion-66.
[xxxviii] Gruben 1963: 174; Alzinger 1972-3: 183; Kirchoff 1988: 73; Bakker 1999: Ion-12;
[xxxix] Mace 1978: 152 n. 2; Bakker 1999: Ion-35.
[xl] Bakker 1999: Ion 67a-b.
[xli] Mace 1978: 157-8 n. 5; Bakker 1999: Ion-81.
[xlii] Kirchhoff 1988: 91 n. 57; Bakker 1999: Ion-42.
[xliii] Alzinger 1972-3: 196; Bakker 1999: Ion-36.
[xliv] Kirchhoff 1988: 36-8 & 228-9; Gruben 1997: 356-72; Bakker 1999: Ion-27, 32 & 48; Herdt and Wilson-Jones 2010; Korres 1996: 95.
[xlv] Wiegand 1904; Alzinger 1972-3: 201; Kirchhoff 1988: 74 n. 46; Bakker 1999: Ion-13.
[xlvi] Kirchhoff 1988: 35-6; Bakker 1999: Ion-31.
[xlvii] Kirchoff 1988: 39-41; Bakker 1999: Ion 37a & b.
[xlviii] Merrit 1982: 82-92; Bakker 1999: Ion-74a-b.
[xlix] Koenigs 1979: 191-4; Kirchoff 1988: 209; Bakker 1999: Ion-43.
[l] Raubitschek 1949: 5-6; Bakker 1999: Ion-75.
[li] Martin 1972: 308 n. 3; Kirchhoff 1988: 41-2; Bakker 1999: Ion 38.
[lii] Akurgal 1995: 35-7 & 39-40; Bakker 1999: Ion-6; Özyigit 2000: 11-3; Özyigit 2003: 111-3 & 116-7.
[liii] Barletta 1983: 245-8; Kirchhoff 1988: 89-90; Bakker 1999: Ion 40a; Wilson-Jones 2014: 126
[liv] Martin 1972: 315 n. 4; Kirchhoff 1988: 49-50; Bakker 1999: Ion-52 and 53.
[lv] Weber 1995: 228-38; Bakker 1999: Ion-78 a-b-c.
[lvi] Alzinger 1972-3: 181; Kirchhoff 1988: 101; Bakker 1999: Ion-80.
[lvii] Thieme 1993: 47-51; Bakker 1999: Ion-77; Baran 2006 and 2009: 301-4.
[lviii] Bammer 1972: 440-46; Kirchoff 1988: 92 n. 58; Bakker 1999: Ion-44a.
[lix] Koenigs 1980: 56-8; Kirchhoff 1988: 235; Bakker 1999: Ion-63.
[lx] Mace 1978: 200; Mertens 1979: 103; Kirchhoff 1988: 231-4; Bakker 1999: Ion-46.
[lxi] Kirchhoff 1988: 43; Bakker 1999: Ion-39a.

[lxii] Kirchhoff 1988; Bakker 1999: 50a.
[lxiii] Alzinger 1972-3: 179; Kirchhoff 1988: 53-4; Bakker 1999: Ion-55.
[lxiv] Kirchhoff 1988: 46-7; Bakker 1999: 51.
[lxv] Alzinger 1972-3: 184; Kirchhoff 1988: 44-5 n. 38; Bakker 1999: 57.
[lxvi] Alzinger 1972-3: 182; Kirchhoff 1988: 51-3 n. 35; Bakker 1999: Ion-54.
[lxvii] Buchholz 1987: 196; Kirchhoff 1988: 54 n. 37; Bakker 1999: Ion-56.
[lxviii] Barletta 1983: 89-90; Kirchhoff 1988: 98-9; Bakker 1999: Ion-61.
[lxix] Raubitschek 1938: 170; Mace 1978: 164-5; Bakker 1999: Ion-21.
[lxx] Raubitschek 1949: 18-9; Alzinger 1972-3: 196; Bakker 1999: Ion-62.
[lxxi] Bakker 1999: Ion-68, which is the first study, as the capital was previously unpublished.

Appendix Three: Why Ionia?

The question still remains why this confluence of trade, sanctuaries, and the articulation of identity came together in Western Anatolia to produce "Ionia." To attempt to briefly answer this question, we must go back to the Panionion – again the conscious statement and ritualization of an Anatolian Ionian identity – and examine how, when, and why it was used. Here, Herodotus is our only source. He gives three vignettes, which are particularly telling. The first comes in 547/6 BCE, immediately after Cyrus the Persian king had defeated the Lydian Mermnad dynasty, which had loosely ruled over Ionia *in toto* since Croesus' rule, but in reality had asserted influence if not outright control over certain communities since Gyges' reign in the mid-seventh century BCE. The Anatolian Aeolian and Ionian communities sent delegations to Cyrus, offering to be his subjects under the same terms as the Lydians.[1] Cyrus, however, responded with an anecdote about a flute player, who was initially unable to charm the fish from the sea with music. Growing angry, the flute player then cast a net, caught many fish, and subsequently watched them "leap and dance" on land. This anecdote contained Cyrus' thinly veiled threat against the Anatolian Ionians as they had refused to assist him against the Lydian army, but were now eager to do so when he was the conqueror of western Anatolia. Subsequently, Herodotus says, the Anatolian Ionians – understandably alarmed at Cyrus' response – met at the Panionion to discuss their response.

They met again after Harpagus had defeated the region and subjugated Ionia to Persian rule – presumably to take stock of their situation and decide on the next steps. At this meeting, Bias of Priene reportedly advised the Anatolian Ionians to migrate to Sardinia, though they eventually chose not to follow his advice. In this same section, Herodotus remarks offhand that Thales of

[1] Hdt. 1.141. See also the discussion of these instances in Roebuck 1955: 27

Miletus had previously advised the Anatolian Ionians to centralize their league at Teos; he presumably offered this advice at the Panionion and likely in the face of a looming Lydian threat.[2]

Finally, in 494 BCE, the Anatolian Ionians met at the Panionion in the last days of the Ionian Revolt to debate how to face the Persian army and navy, which was moving to attack Miletus and Ionia generally.[3] These vignettes are all remarkably consistent: the Panionion was used especially to strategize against external threats to the Anatolian Ionians. This would suggest that the initial impetus of the Anatolian Ionian identity was related to a perceived need for unity against an outside threat. If we look for a credible external threat against the region during this time, we can find it in the neighboring Lydian kingdom. From the accession of Gyges to the Lydian throne, Ionia became a consistent target of the Mermnad dynasty and over time the entire region was conquered by the Lydian kings. An examination of Herodotus reveals that warfare against the Lydians was generally sustained; he on several occasions discusses war that lasted for multiple years or that one Lydian king inherited from his father. The table below is a parsing of the Lydian kings, the length of their reigns (as stated by Herodotus as well as the current general scholarly consensus), the amount of time each king spent waging war, and their campaigns throughout Anatolia. This information comes primarily from Book One of Herodotus (1.13-29), but other literary sources also echo these royal martial activities and are noted accordingly:

[2] Hdt. 1.170.

[3] Hdt. 6.7. To this, we can also add the decision of Ionia to send ships to Cyprus during the Ionian revolt – a decision that Herodotus (5.109.3) says was one made by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων, implying the communities gathered at the Panionion – see Roebuck 1955: 27.

King	Dates Reigned (Hdt.)/Conventional	Years of Combat	War fought against:
Gyges	38 years/36 years	Unspecified	Miletus, Smyrna[a], Colophon[b], Magnesia on the Maeander[c]
Ardys	49 years/30 years	Unspecified	Priene, Miletus, Cimmerians
Sadyattes	12 years/5 years	At least six years	Miletus, Medes, Cimmerians
Alyattes	57 years/50 years	At least five years	Smyrna[d], Clazomenae, Miletus, Adramyttion[e], Medes, Caria[f]
Croesus	14 years/14 years	Continuous?	All of Asia except Lycia and Cilicia[g]

Table 7: Military Campaigns of the Lydians

[a] Both in Hdt and Mimn. fr. 14 West, Paus. 4.21.5
[b] Hdt. 1.18 and Ar. [*Ath. Pol*.] 4.1290b
[c] Nicolaus of Damascus - *FGrHist* 90 F 65 & 62; Ath. *Deipn*. 525c
[d] Also in Nicolaus of Damascus - *FGrHist* 90 F 64.
[e] As we know that Croesus served as governor of Adramyttion, presumably this area was under Alyattes' control at least and possibly earlier. See Nicolaus of Damascus - *FGrHist* 90 F 65.
[f] Nicolaus of Damascus - *FGrHist* 90 F 65
[g] Hdt 1.26-8; Str. 13.1.42

What is striking about this account is the repeated attacks against the cities of Western Anatolia, and in particular, the region of Ionia. Herodotus consistently portrays the Lydian kings as the actors and the various communities as the subjects in his recounting of this history. Select cities were the subject of Lydian aggression for multiple kings, and this prolonged warfare is contradictory to the generally infrequent warfare of the Archaic world elsewhere.[4] The most prominent of these was Miletus, which was attacked by four of the five Mermnad kings; Smyrna was also the subject of two separate royal campaigns. It is also noteworthy that Herodotus

[4] For the lack of agonal warfare in general, see van Wees 1992: 25-8; van Wees 2004: 6-19, Krentz 2007: 77-9; Hornblower 2007: 25-6.

describes Alyattes' war with Miletus as an "inheritance" from Sadyattes.[5] There is no reason to doubt that other campaigns could have been passed down from father to son; warfare is an excellent strategy for a young king to solidify and secure his reign.[6]

The result of this inherited warfare is an increased length of war; the unfortunate Miletus suffered eleven years of harassment, though the lengths of these annual campaigns are not known to us. Herodotus describes Alyattes' actions: he would leave the country dwellings intact, but burn crops and, more importantly, trees, perpetuating an annual cycle of destruction.[7] While this warfare was not fully destructive, it must be noted that its eleven-year duration could have created food shortages, hardships, and undue stress for Miletus if its citizens could not acquire food and other goods via the sea. Thus, it appears that, while warfare seemed to be a constant feature on the western Anatolian coast, it was only with the rise of the Mermnad kingdom that the communities of Ionia likely experienced protracted and targeted aggression.

These literary accounts are supported by the spate of city wall construction that took place loosely within a 150-year period, between the end of the eighth century and the mid-sixth century BCE. Indeed, this wall construction has been summarized in the following table, pulled from Frederiksen 2011 and we refer the reader to his volume for the accompanying bibliography.

[5] Hdt. 1.18.
[6] Hdt. 1.17: ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός.
[7] These δένδρεα would have taken many years to regrow and, if they were olive trees, which seems likely, then the devastation would be all the greater. Foxhall 2007: 75-7 notes that olive trees take about twenty-five to thirty years to produce a substantial olive crop, though after 10 years a small crop might be gained. They are thus a multi-generational investment, as noted by Isaeus. 9.28.

City	Wall Construction	Dating Evidence
Clazomenae	680-650? BCE	Associated Pottery
Miletus	650 BCE	T.P.Q. of underlying houses
Smyrna	Wall Three Built Late Seventh Century BCE	Associated Pottery/Hdt. 1.16
Melie	Wall Two Built Late Seventh Century BCE	Associated Pottery
Phocaea	590-580 BCE	Hdt. 1.74/Conjecture
Ephesus	Before 560 BCE (?)	Hdt. 1.26
Teichoussa	At least 550 BCE	Pottery in Wall Packing
Teos	Before c. 544 BCE	Hdt. 1.168
Thebae	Archaic (No Precise Date)	Analogy in Construction
Emporio	700 BCE	Association to the Megaron Hall
Samos	Mid-Sixth Century BCE	Hdt. 3.54/Conjecture with the Tunnel of Eupalinus
Sardis	610-590 BCE	Pottery

Table 8: City-Wall Construction, SOURCE: Frederiksen 2011

It is clear that, during this 150-year time period, most *poleis* of Ionia received either new fortification walls or enlarged pre-existing wall circuits. Further, this construction was not limited just to the *dodekapolis*, but smaller settlements in this region, including Thebae and Melie, as well as the Lydian capital of Sardis. Clearly, the *poleis* of Ionia considered the enormous investment in resources and labor, which these circuit walls represent, justifiable during this time – a result of a higher level of insecurity and violence in Western Anatolia. This indirect regional evidence can be matched with such direct evidence for warfare as the siege mound of the Lydians at Smyrna, a large, mid-sixth century BCE mound that is filled with spearheads and arrow points and was likely constructed when Alyattes besieged the city.[8] This, in turn, suggests that the social fabric of

[8] Cook 1985; Nicholls 1958/9: 128-133. The siege mound is connected to Alyattes through Hdt. 1.16.2; though Lydian-type arrow heads appear to verify this chronology.

western Anatolia was changing during this time, making it a ripe environment for the emergence and crystallization of a new identity.[9]

We know that the Lydians also exacted tribute from the Anatolian Ionians, and this sudden demand might have resulted in a concomitant restructuring of the economic sphere, as the *poleis* suddenly had to accommodate a new need to produce tribute. This financial pressure combined with the military pressure could have provided the impetus to knit the communities of this region together in a loose defensive and economic alliance against the Lydians.[10] Indeed, Ionia with its booming ports and wealthy sanctuaries, as well as its links to the greater Aegean and Mediterranean world, would have been a lucrative jewel for the landlocked Lydians. The sanctuaries could have played key roles in facilitating this alliance among the various *poleis*, as these communities worked over the seventh and sixth centuries BCE to replace traditional antipathy and competition with bonds of trust and cooperation. These new alliances to protect mutual interests would have been divinely sanctioned by Ionia's deities, including the important Poseidon Heliconius, and would have knit together the various civic and cultic communities of this region, facilitating the crystallization and expression of a new Anatolian Ionian identity during this period.

[9] Crielaard 2009: 59 notes that within Ionia warfare and conflict at least in the poetry fostered a polis identity first. Mac Sweeney 2015: 225-8 argues for this cohesive factor of warfare as well.
[10] Hdt. 1.27.1.

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What's in a Name? FIGURES

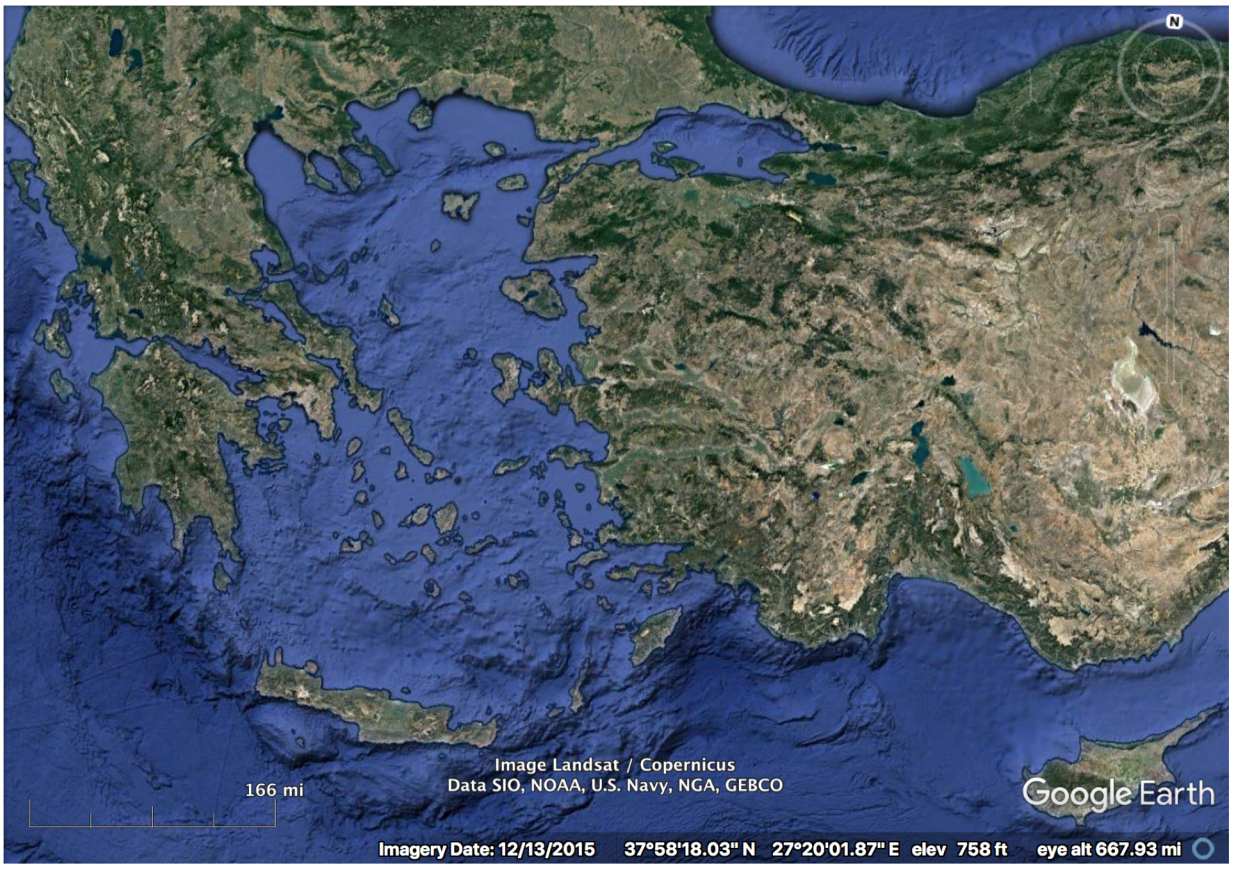


Fig. 1: Map of the Aegean
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (December 13, 2015). Turkey. 37º 58' 18.03"N, 27º 20' 01.87"E, Eye alt 667.93 mi. SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. [October 2, 2018].

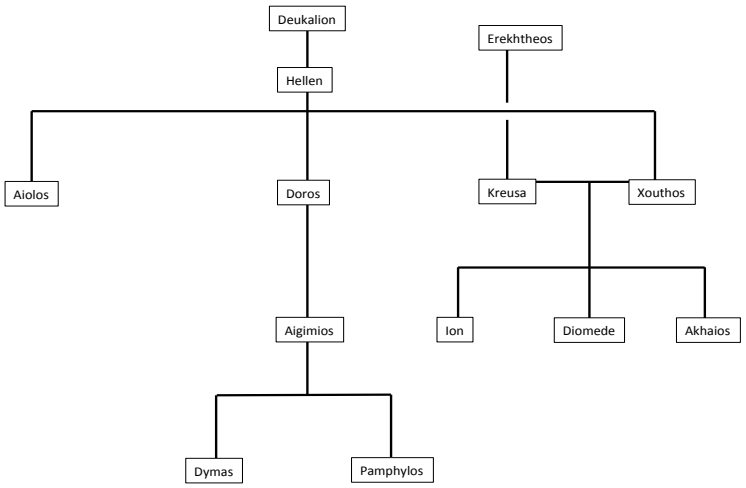


Fig. 2: Stemma of Ion as given in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Woman*.
SOURCE Hall 2002, fig. 1.1

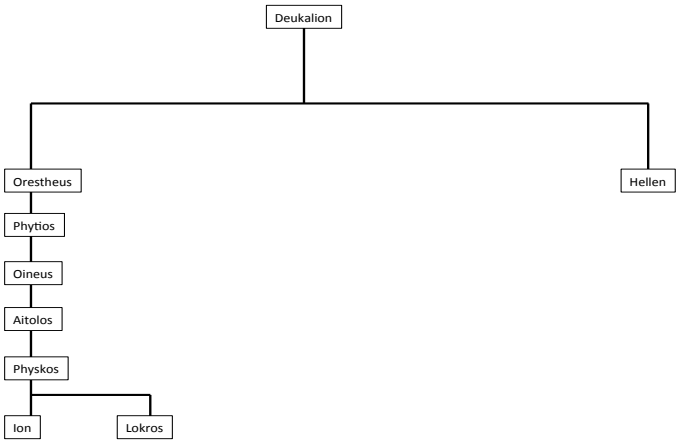


Fig. 3: Stemma of Ion as given in Hecataeus fr. 15 & 16 and Pseudo-Scymnus 589.
SOURCE Hall 2002, fig. 1.2



Fig. 4: Map of the Dodekapolis
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (December 13, 2015). Turkey. 37º 52’ 58.91”N, 27º 04’ 47.18”E, Eye alt 247.93 mi. Dodekapolis, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. [October 2, 2018].



Fig. 5: Block GN from Kom el-Hatan,
SOURCE Sourouzien 2005a, fig. 6

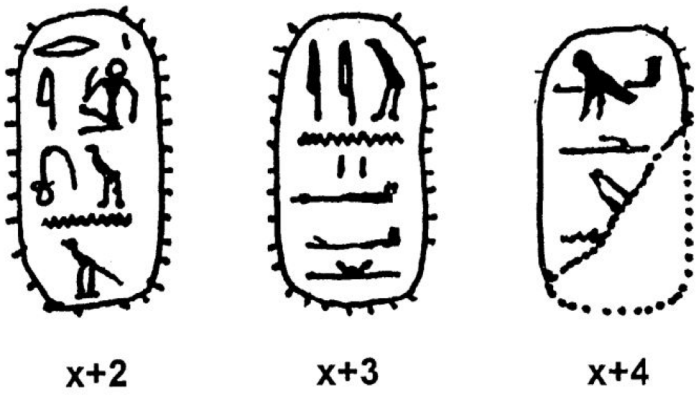


Fig. 6: Cartouches of Block GN from Kom el-Hatan,
SOURCE Haider 2008a, Abb.2



Fig. 7: Statue Base of Colossus from Kom el-Hatan,
SOURCE Sourouzien 2005a, fig. 4

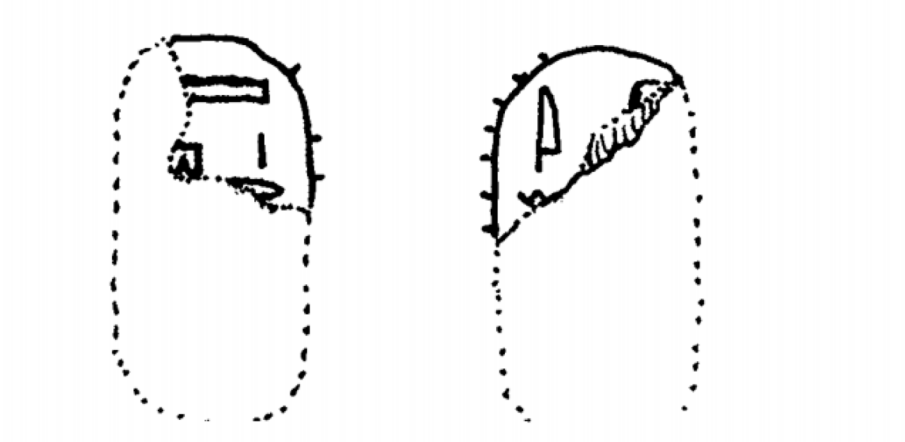


Fig. 8: Toponyms of Block FN from Kom el-Hatan,
SOURCE Haider 2008b, fig. 2

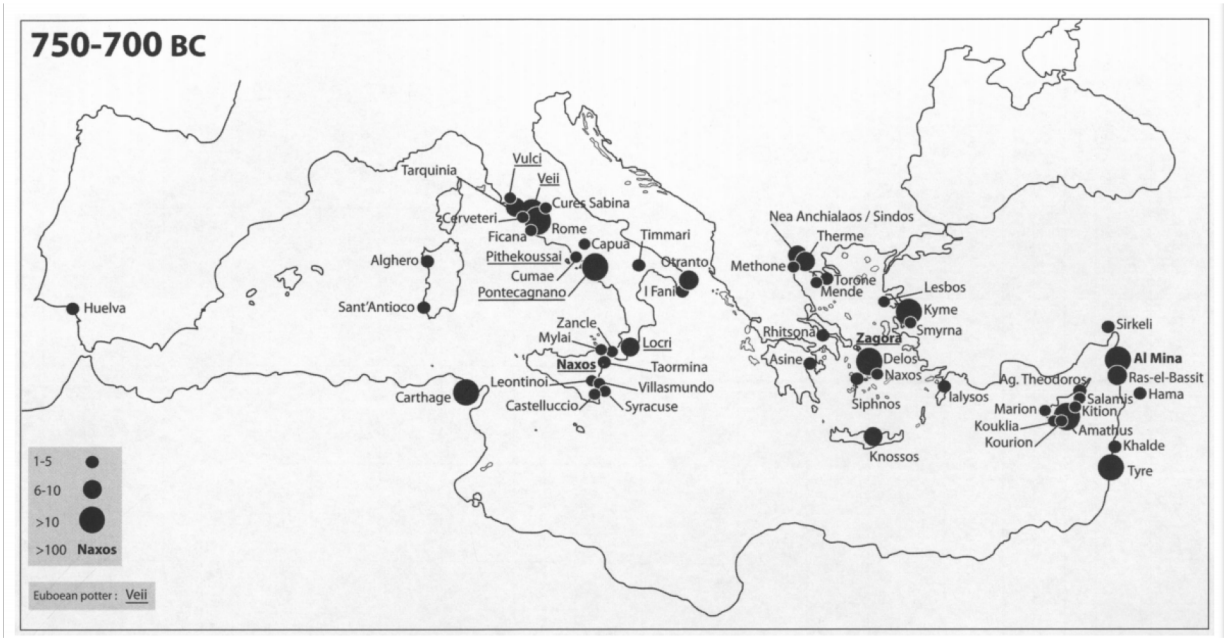


Fig. 9: Distribution of "Euboean" Pottery Findspots in the Eighth Century BCE, SOURCE Descœudres 2006, fig. 3

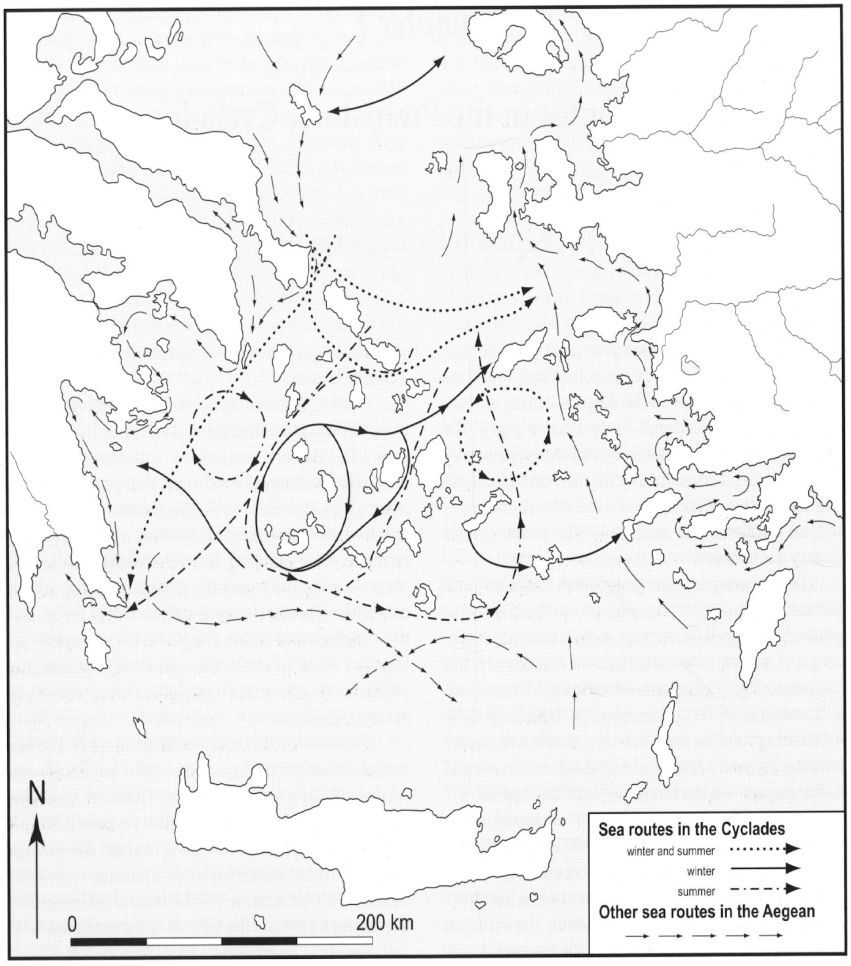


Fig. 10: Map of the Sea Routes in the Aegean,
SOURCE Papgeorgiou 2008a, fig. 4



Fig. 11: Abu Simbel (photo by author)

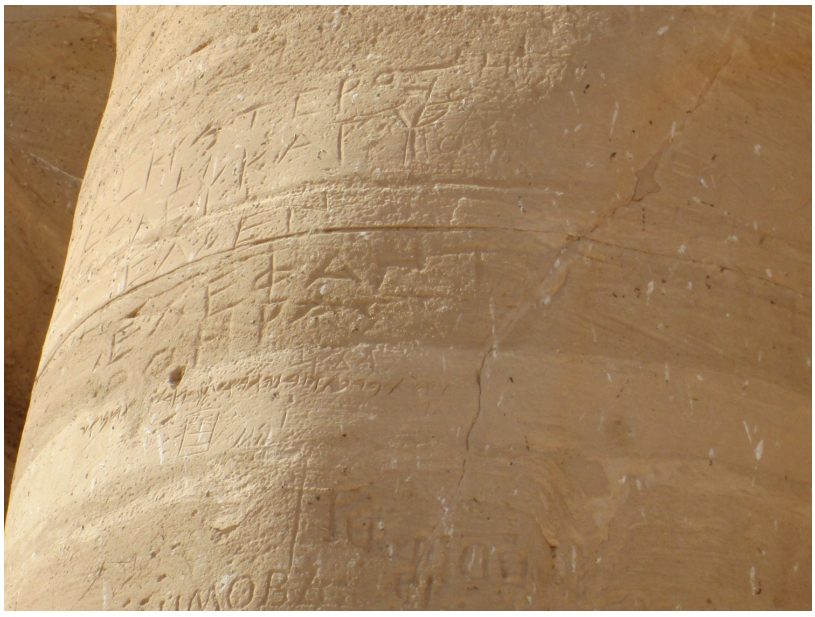


Fig. 12: Detail of Colossal Ramses' Knee with Anatolian Graffiti (photo by author)



Fig. 13: Map of Ionia with Major Temples Indicated
SOURCE Google Earth Pro 7.3.2 (December 13, 2015). Turkey. 38º 04’ 32.38”N, 26º 58’ 54.75”E, Eye alt 236.42 mi. Ionian Temples, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. [October 2, 2018].



Fig. 14: Horse Frontlet from the Heraion (photo by author)



Fig. 15: Faience Hawk Figurines from Samos
SOURCE Webb 2016 Plate 37, fig. 1 and 2



Fig 16: Limestone statuette, kouros type, from Samos
SOURCE Kourou et al. 2012, Plate 1, fig. SA-2 (left) and Plate II, fig. 1 SA-4 (right).



Fig 17: Sphynx statue with Phoenician inscription from Vroulia, Rhodes.
SOURCE Kourou et al. 2002, Plate 8.5



Fig 18 : Megabyzus Figure from the Artemision
SOURCE Şare 2010, fig. 10



Fig 19 : Antalya C and D from Elmalı SOURCE Şare 2010, fig. 1 (left) and fig. 7 (right)



Fig 20 : Antalya B SOURCE Şare 2010, fig. 6

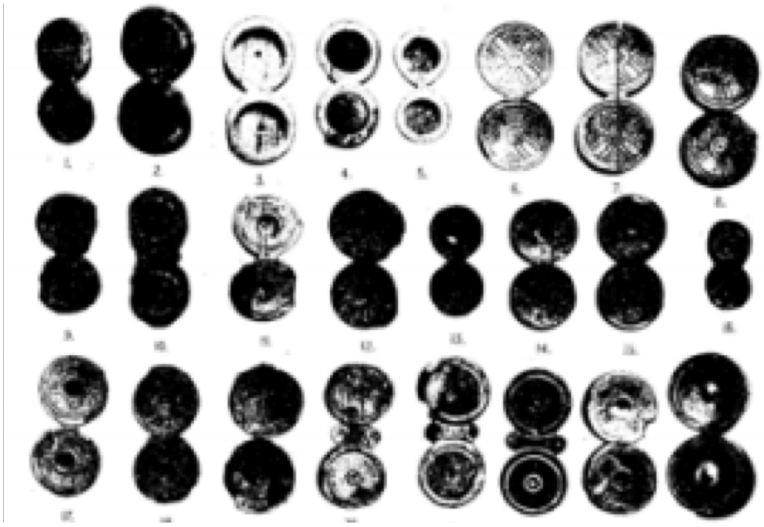


Fig 21: Imitation Astragaloi Bobbins from the Artemision
SOURCE Hogarth 1908, Plate. XXXVI

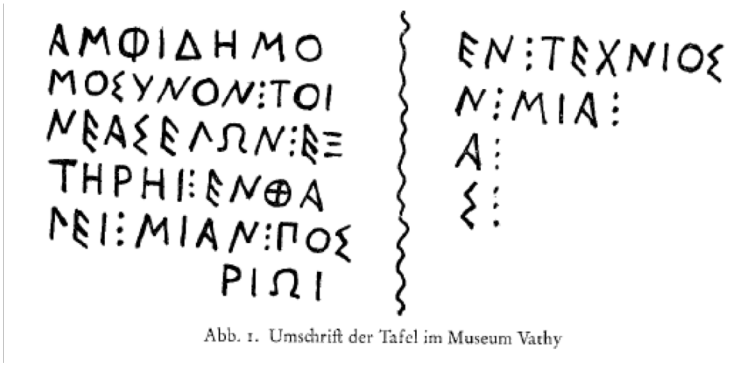


Fig.22 Bronze Tablet from the Heraion
SOURCE Dunst 1972, fig. 1

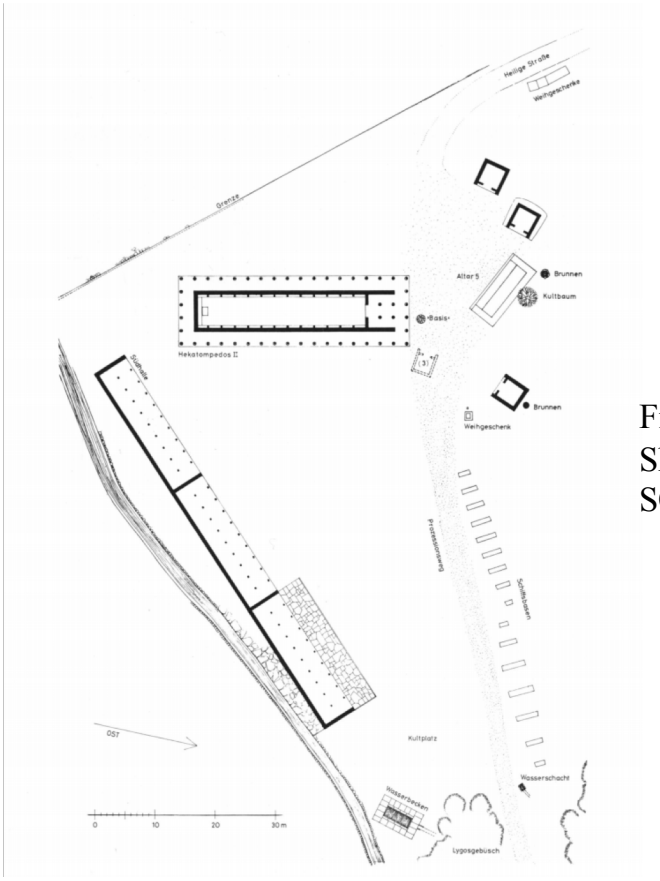


Fig. 23 Plan of Heraion Showing Both Ship Bases.
SOURCE Walter 1990, fig. 92



– – –]ῆς ἀπήρσξατο ληΐης ←
δεκάτην τõι ᾽Απ[όλλωνι] →



Fig. 24: Inscribed Kouros Fragment Dedicated by a Pirate,
SOURCE Tuchelt, Tafel 14 & Abb. 24



Fig. 25 East Greek Bronze Knucklebone from Susa
SOURCE Greaves 2012, fig. 6

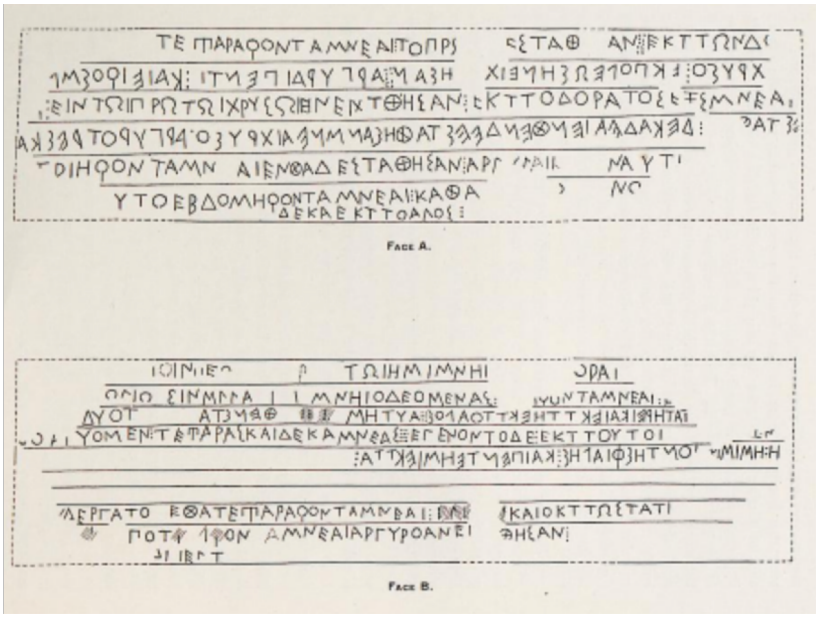


Fig. 26 The Artemision Lead Tablet
SOURCE Hogarth 1908 fig. 23

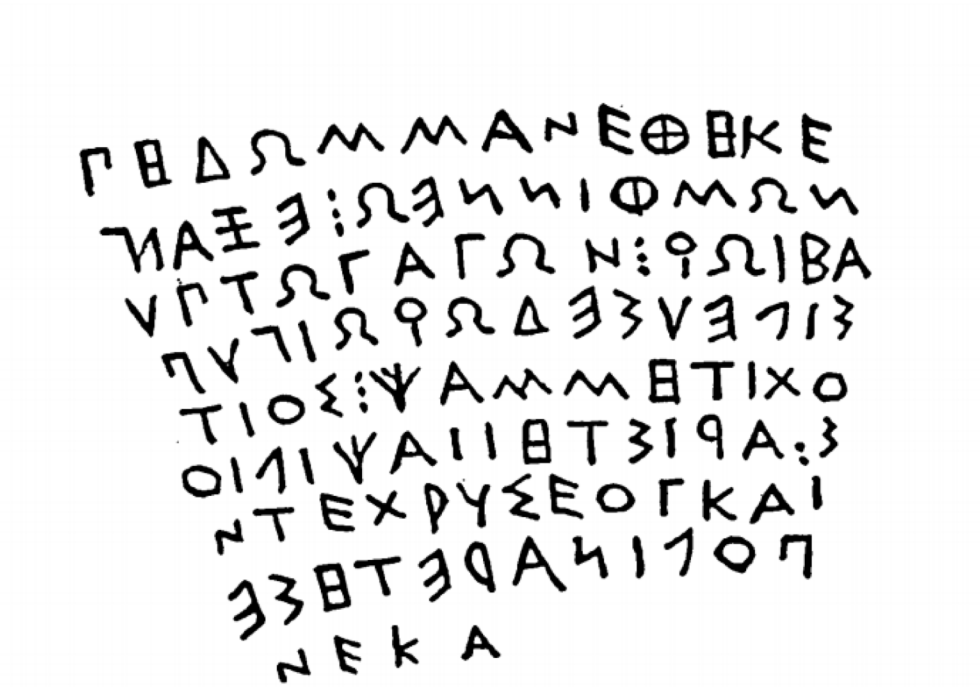


Fig. 27 Pedon Inscription
SOURCE Haider 2001, fig. 1

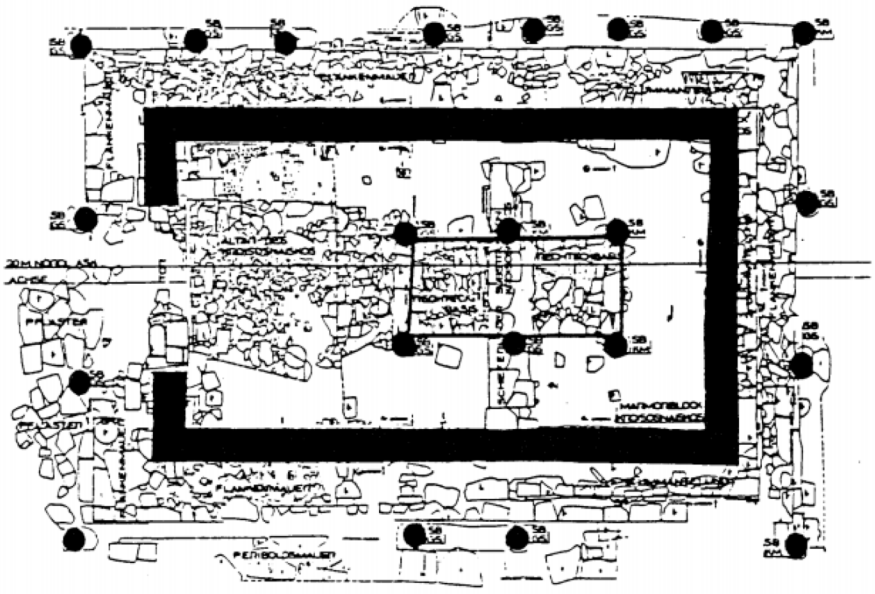


Fig. 28 Peripteros at Ephesus
SOURCE Bammer 1990, fig. 14

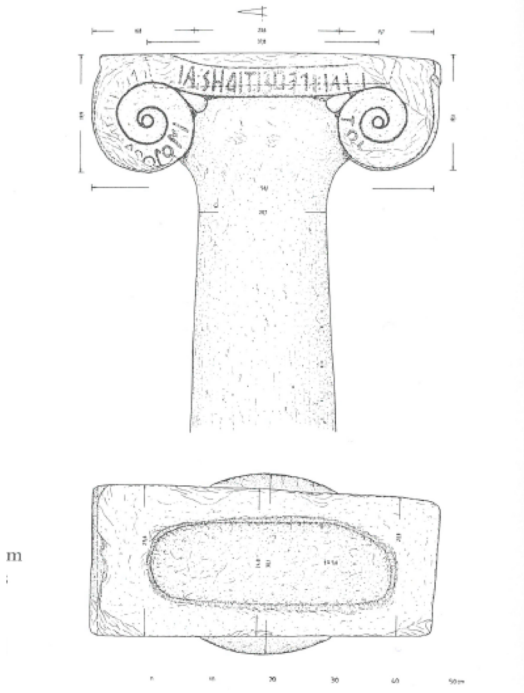


Fig. 29. Votive Column of Alexitides
SOURCE Gruben 1989, fig. 1

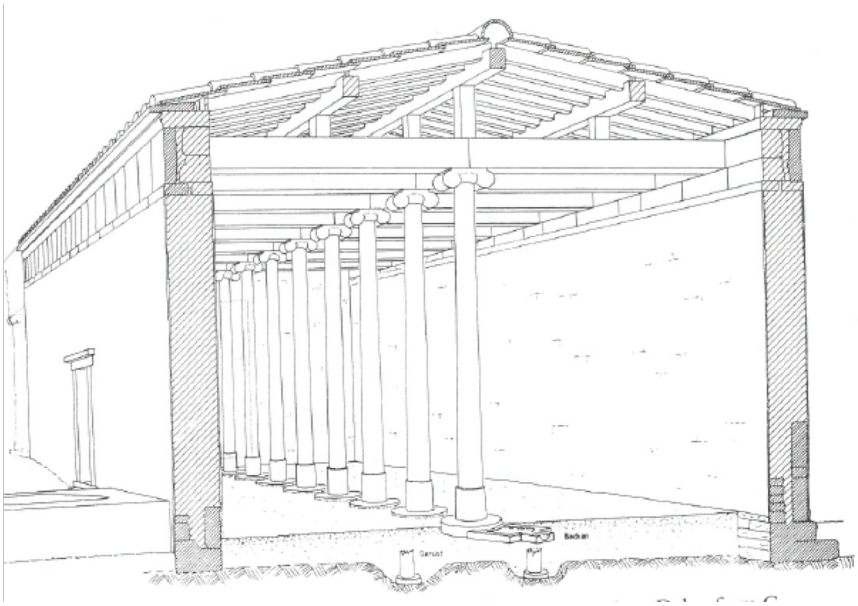
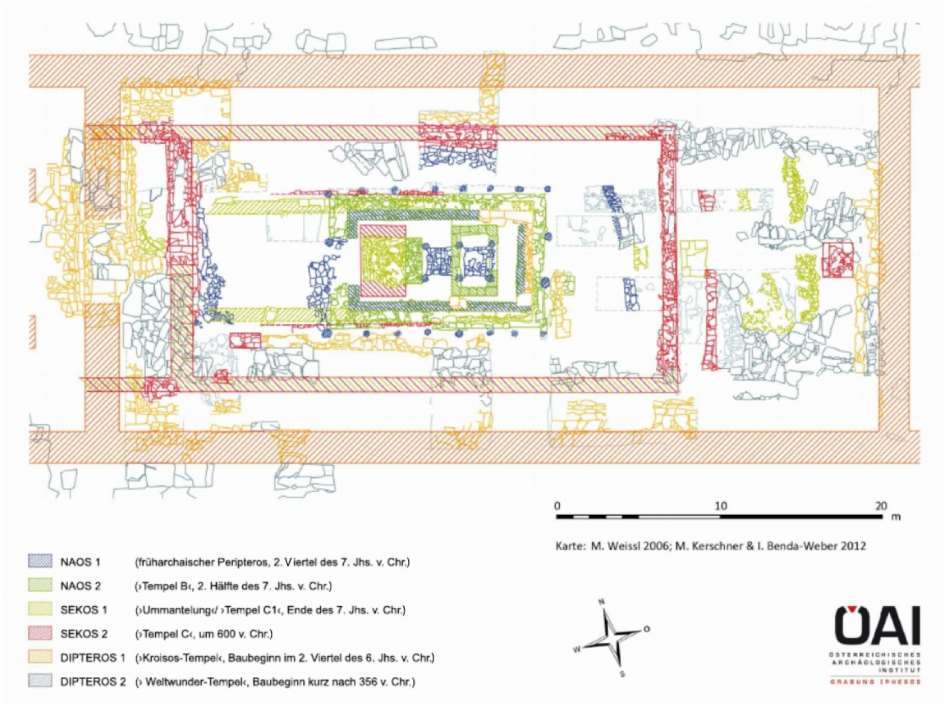


Fig. 30. Oikos of the Naxos on Delos
SOURCE Gruben 1997, fig. 411



1 Artemision von Ephesos. Bauphasenplan der Tempel und übrigen architektonischen Strukturen im Bereich des Sekos

Fig. 31. Artemision Groundplan with Multiple Iterations of Temples
SOURCE Kerschner and Prochaska 2011, fig. 1



Fig. 32. Female from Artemision *columna caelata*
SOURCE Richter 1970, fig. 1

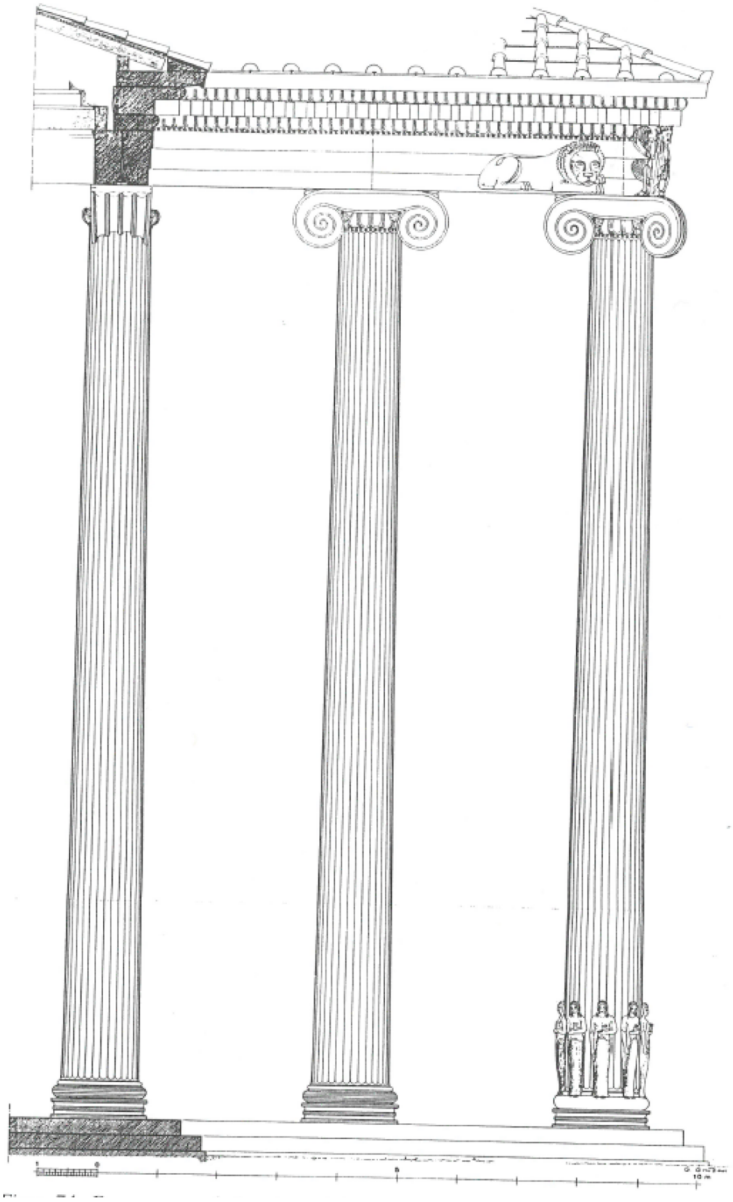


Fig. 33. Reconstruction of Didyma's Columns
SOURCE Barletta 2001, fig. 71

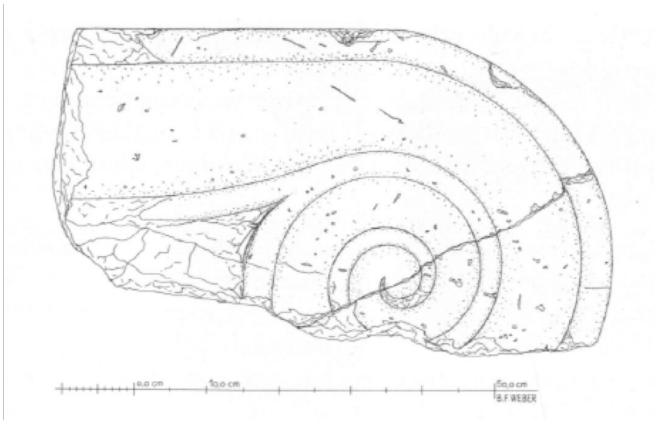


Fig. 34. Capital from Temple of Dionysus, Myus
SOURCE Weber 2002, fig. 3

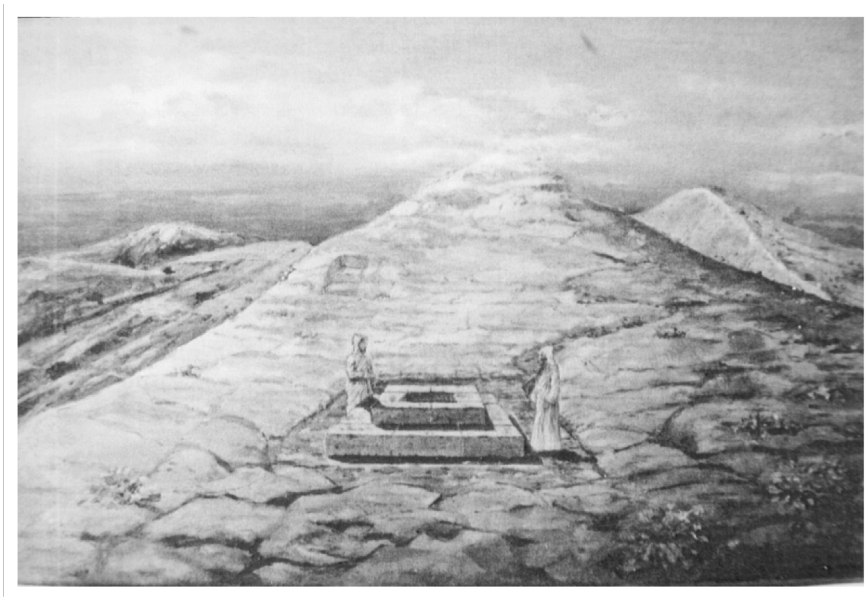


Fig. 35. Reconstruction of Lydian Altar on Kel Dağ
SOURCE Bengisu 2013, fig. 11-A



Fig. 36. Cybele Monument, Oblique Side
SOURCE Cahill 2010, cat. 34
http://sardisexpedition.org/en/artifacts/latw-34

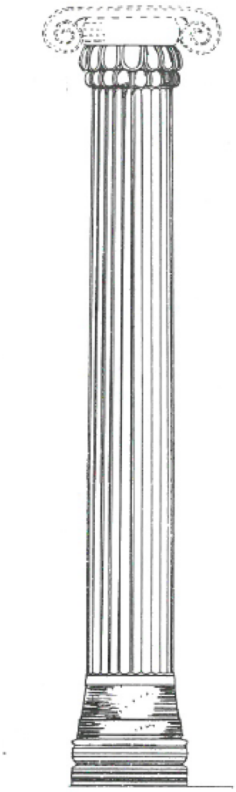


Fig. 37. Capital of Temple of Apollo, Naucratis
SOURCE Petrie 1886, Plate III

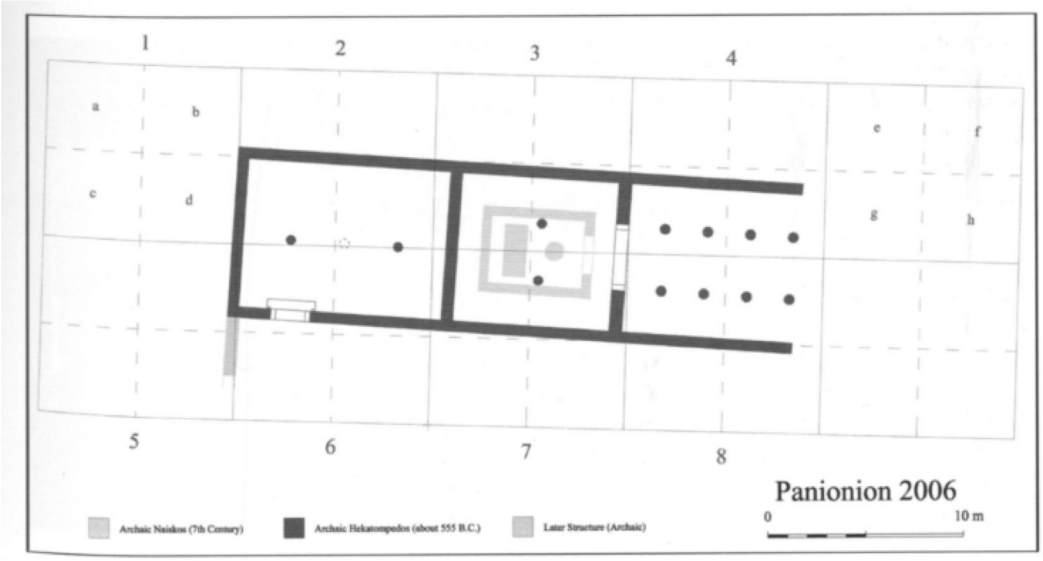


Fig. 38. Plan of Panionion
SOURCE Lohmann 2012, fig. 4.1

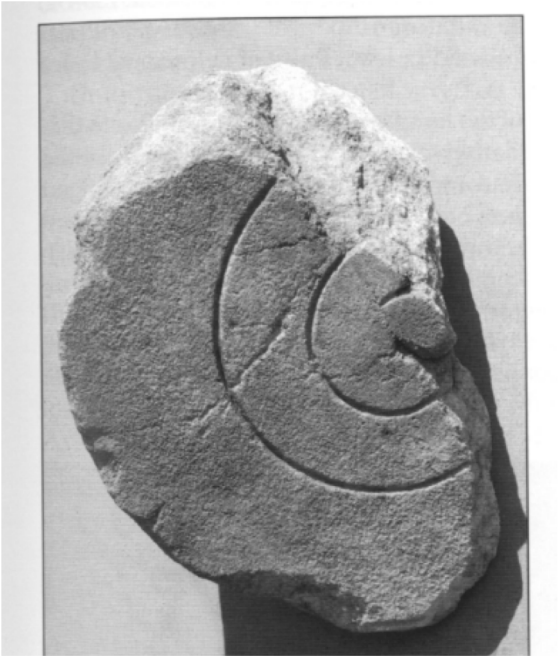


Fig. 39. Partial Volute of Panionion
SOURCE Lohmann 2012, fig. 4.3

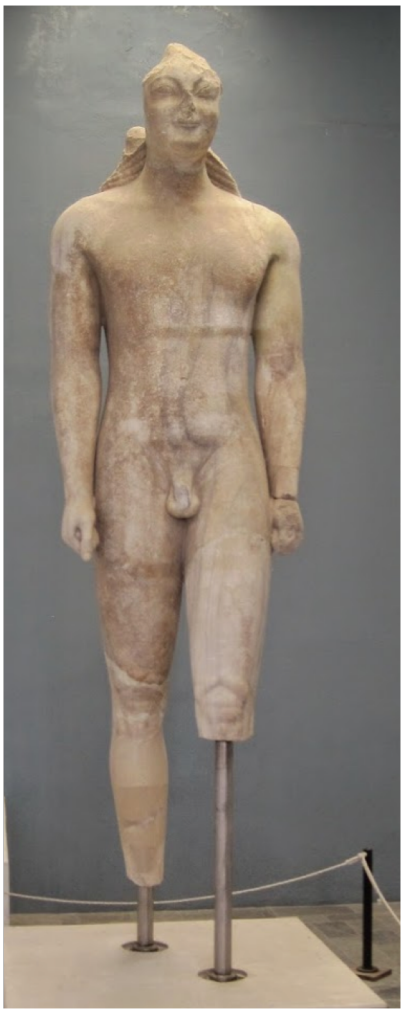


Fig. 40. Colossal Isches Kouros
(photo by author)



Fig. 41. Cheramyes Kore
(photo by author)

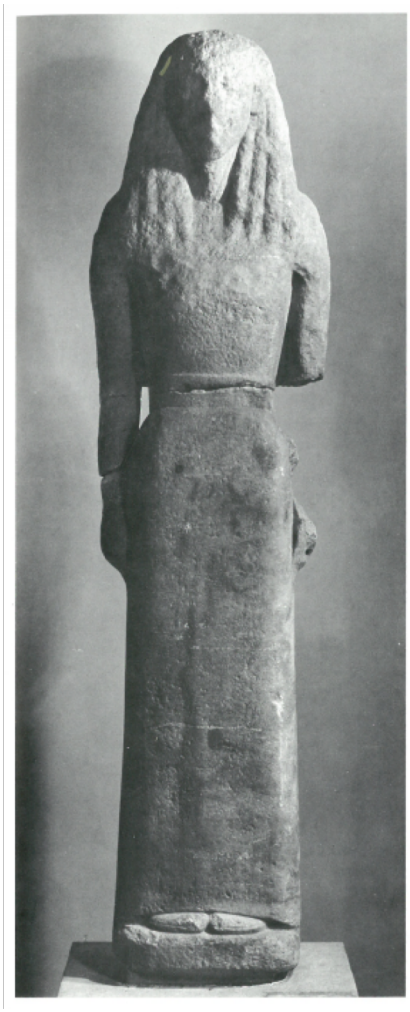


Fig. 42. Daedalic Nikandre Kore
SOURCE Stewart 1990, fig. 34

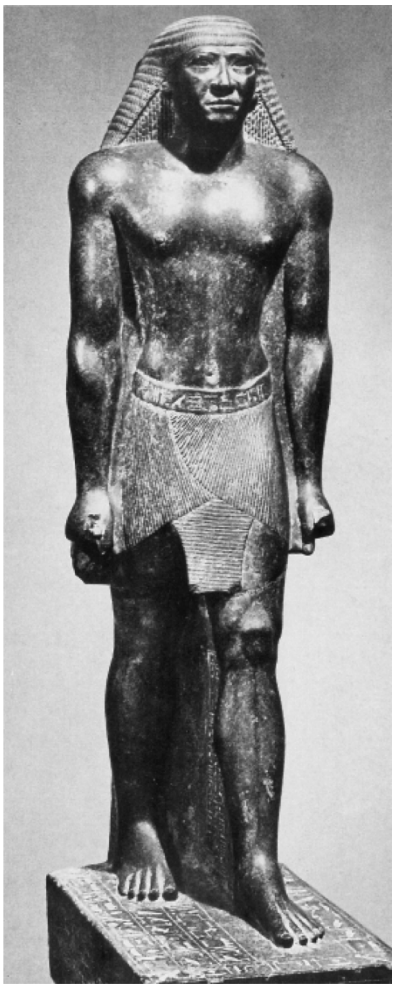


Fig. 43. Mentuemhet, Prince of Thebes
SOURCE Stewart 1990, fig. 37

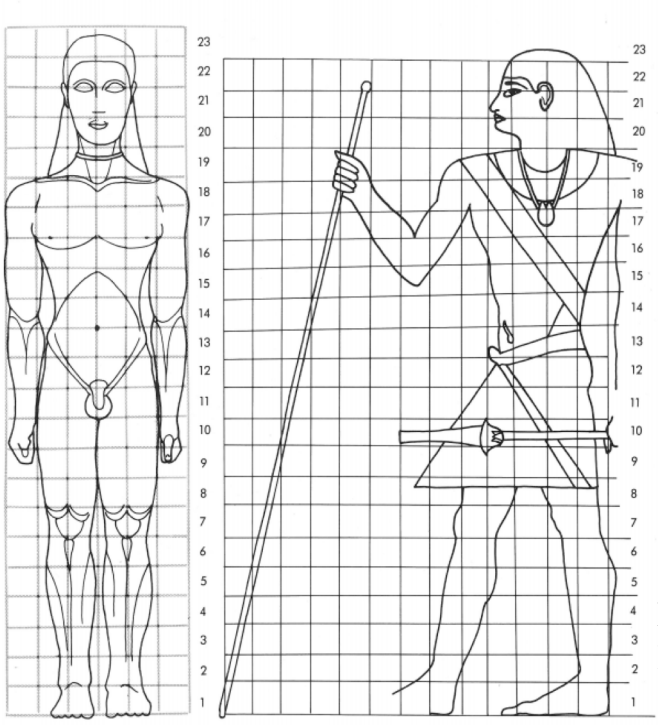


Fig. 44. New York Kouros and the Canon, Illustrated
SOURCE Stewart 1990, fig. 55



Fig. 45. Geneleus Group
(photo by author)



Fig. 46. Reclining Symposiast of Geneleus Group
(photo by author)



Fig. 47. Seated Figure of Geneleus Group
(photo by author)



Fig. 48. Chares Statue
SOURCE Stewart 1990, fig. 107

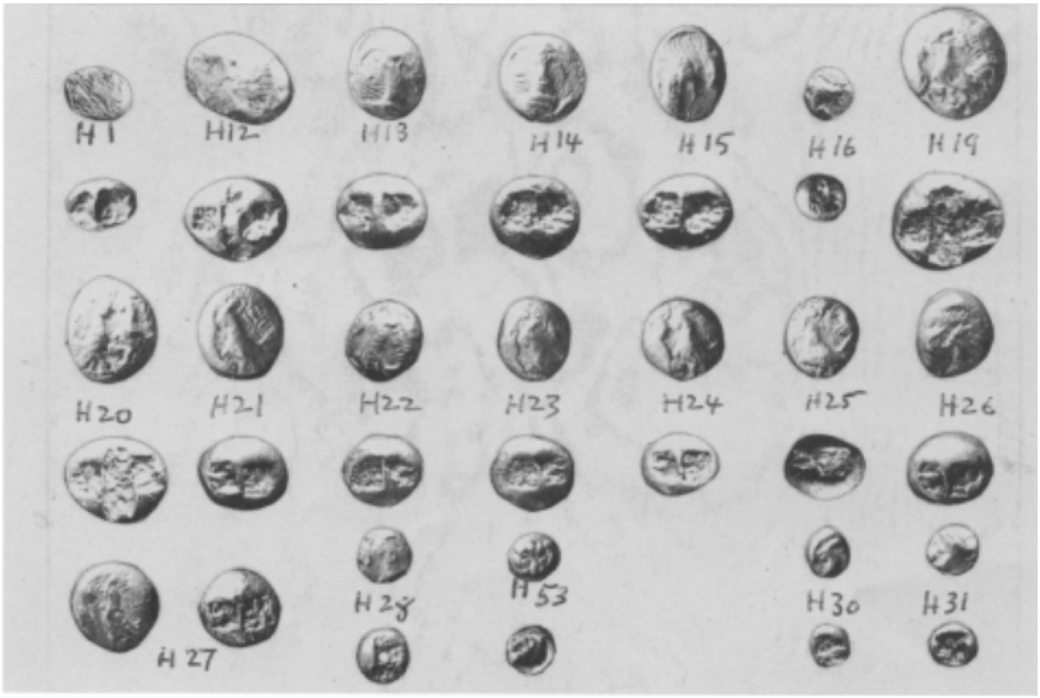


Fig. 49. *Olpe* Horde
SOURCE Williams 1991-1993, fig. 9B

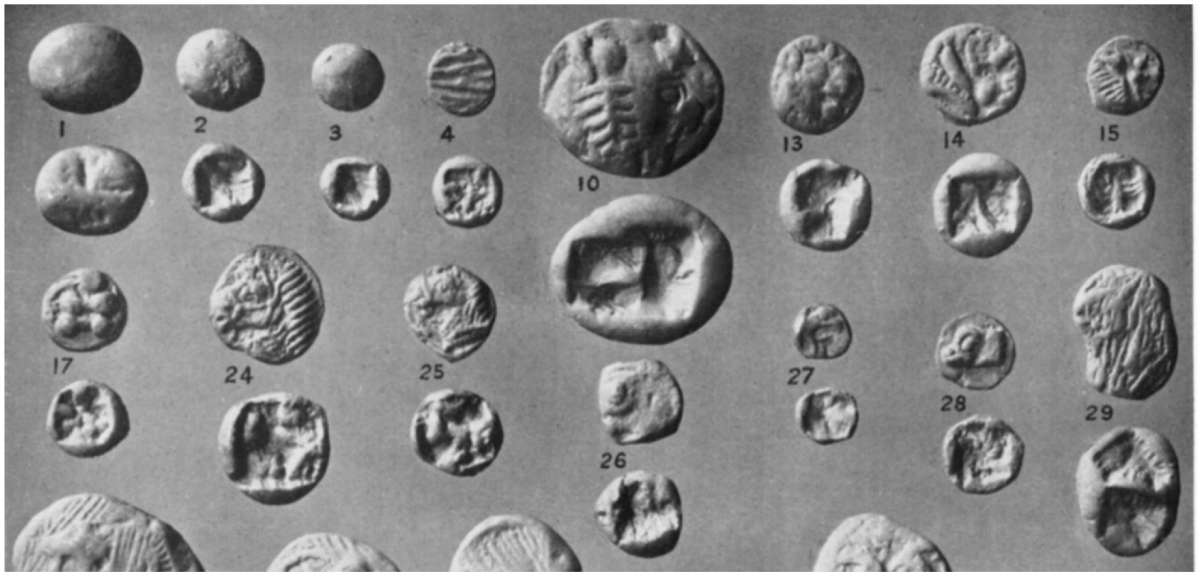


Fig. 50. "Basis Treasure" Horde (Coins 1-28)
SOURCE Robinson 1951, Pl. 38

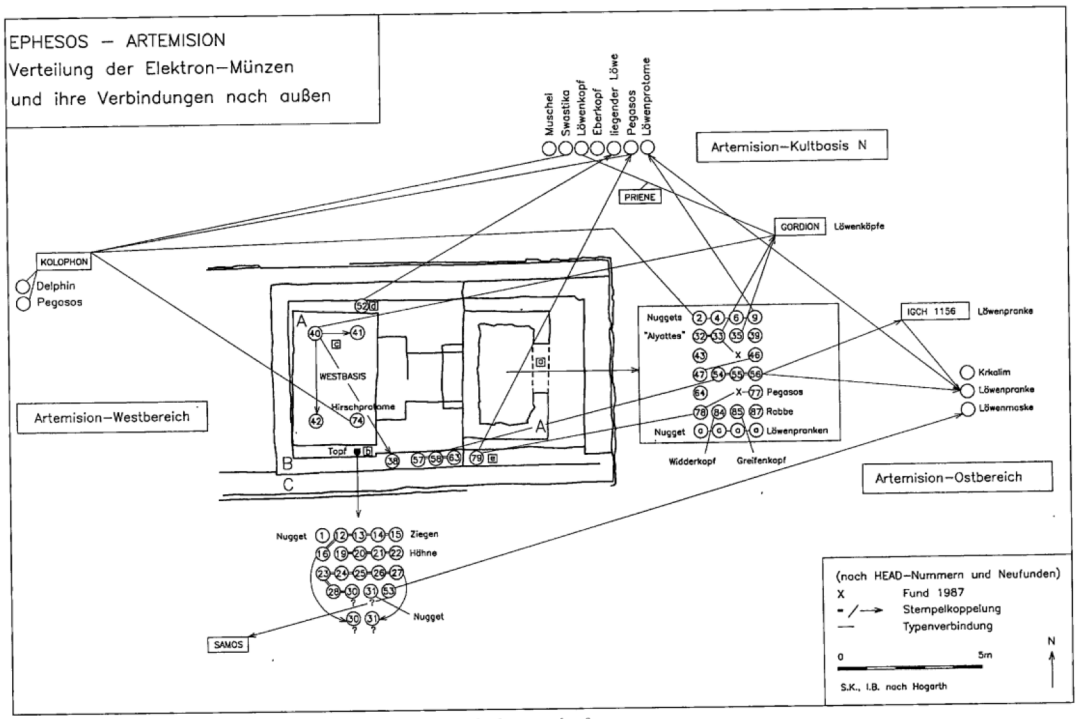


Fig. 51. Electrum Coin Regional Concordances
SOURCE Karwiese 2001, fig. 1



Fig. 52. Tleson Cup from Panionion
SOURCE Lohmann 2012, fig. 4.10



Fig. 53. Chian *dipinto* jug from Naucratis
SOURCE Bergeron 2013-2015, fig. 17



Fig. 54. HR dipinto Cup
SOURCE Kron 1984, Abb. 1