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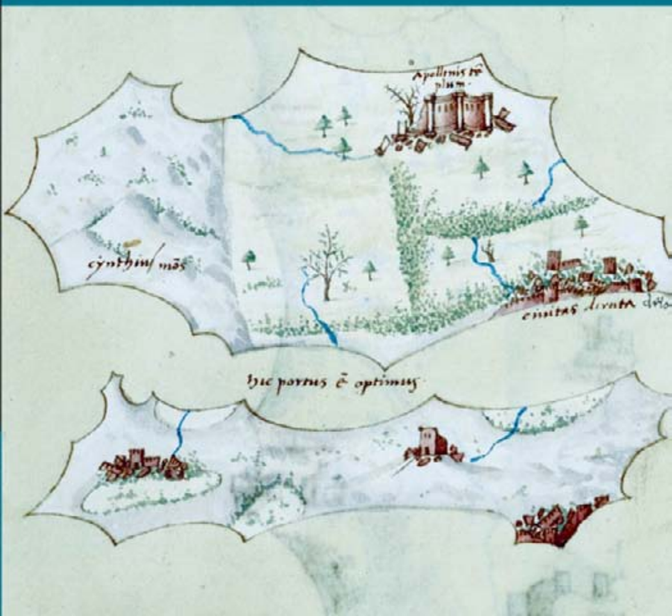
The Dance of the Islands

Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire, and the Aegean World

Christy Constantakopoulou



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CHRISTY CONSTANTAKOPOULOU

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To my father, Fanis Constantakopoulos,
and to the memory of my mother, Nouli Benechoutsou

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Preface

I have been fascinated for a long time by the Aegean sea and its islands. I spent most of my time as an undergraduate in the islands. I thought that I was on holiday; little did I know that these holiday experiences on the beaches and in the mountains of Amorgos, Naxos, Pholegandros or Anaphe would actually create the background for my future research. The Greek islands are probably the most beautiful places to spend one's time: in the summer evenings when the cool breeze of the sea gives relief from the heat, in the winter mornings with the clear skies and unlimited visibility (from Naxos one can see as far as Icaria and even Patmos on a clear day), on a spring's day with the wild beauty of the innumerable flowers and small waterfalls (even on Amorgos), or on an autumn's day with the grey skies and grey-green seas. Each island is unique in its beauty and interest and I am forever discovering new niches of pure beauty even in the islands that I know best. When, therefore, Simon Hornblower suggested insularity as an interesting topic for an Oxford DPhil thesis, I immediately jumped at the opportunity to explore the history of the Aegean islands.

This book is a heavily revised version of my Oxford DPhil thesis entitled *The Dance of the Islands: Perceptions of Insularity in Classical Greece*, examined in 2002. Many people have contributed to the sometimes painful transformation of an Oxford DPhil thesis into a book. Foremost among these is Robert Parker who was there during the entire process of rewriting with enduring kindness and supportive guidance and whose advice has always been enlightening, even when I could not see it at the time. Nicholas Purcell initially supervised the thesis; I am very grateful to his observation, at an early stage, that the theme of interaction would be a rewarding way through which one could examine insularity. Roger Brock (with Robert Parker) examined the thesis and provided many insightful comments and help during the viva but also at later stages. Simon Hornblower has been a constant source of inspiration and guidance. His unfailing support over the many stages of writing, his generosity with time and immediate responses have been instrumental in finishing this book. I would also

like to thank many friends and colleagues for reading sections of the book or discussing with me aspects of my research: Hugh Bowden, Katerina Christea, Panayotis Doukellis, Tom Harrison, Yannis Ntiniakos, Katerina Panagopoulou, Nikos Papazarkadas, and Bella Sandwell have provided valuable feedback and overall support.

The School of History, Classics and Archaeology at Birkbeck College has been the most wonderful working environment, especially for someone at the early stages of her career. The unlimited academic, intellectual and personal support by my colleagues have made this possible. I would like to particularly thank my three fellow ancient historians and friends: Emma Dench, Catharine Edwards, and Angela Poulter for discussions and support over innumerous coffee breaks and lunches. Their advice and friendship have been more valuable than I can ever express in words.

Peter Liddel has been living with this book for a long time. For his love, kindness, patience, intellectual stimulation, support, friendship and generosity with time, I cannot thank him enough. My son, Fanis, succeeded in putting everything into perspective and thus he contributed (unwillingly) more than anyone else in my finishing this book. My sister, Varvara, was a pillar of strength and sanity even at the most difficult of times. One debt, however, is the largest of them all and is reflected in the dedication.

Christy Constantakopoulou
Birkbeck College
June 2006

Note: I have not included any works published after 2004 (with a very few exceptions). As a result, there are some important omissions; one of these is F. Lätsch, *Insularität und Gesellschaft in der Antike. Untersuchungen zur Auswirkung der Insellage auf die Gesellschaftsentwicklung* (Geographica Historica 19), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005, which came to my attention after I had finished the writing of this book; see, however, my review in *CR* 57 (2007). Similarly, I was not able to consult the new fourth edition of P. Bruneau and J. Ducat's *Guide de Délos.*

All translations are adapted from relevant volumes of the Loeb Classical Library.

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Abbreviations

AD	*Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον.*
ATL	B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. McGregor (1939–51), *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vols. I–III (Harvard).
BE	*Bulletin Épigraphique*, in *Revue des Études Grecques.*
CIG	A. Böckh (1828–77), *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin).
FGrH	F. Jacoby (1923–58), *Die Fragmente der Griechischer Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden).
GD	P. Bruneau and J. Ducat (1983), *Guide de Délos* (Paris).
GGM	C. Müller (1855–61), *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 2 vols. (Paris).
IC	M. Guarducci (ed.) (1935–50), *Inscriptiones Creticae*, 4 vols. (Rome).
ID	F. Durrbach (1926–37), *Inscriptions de Délos* (Paris).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin) 1873– .
IGR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (Paris), 1906– .
Insc. von Magn.	O. Kern (1900), *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin).
IPriene	F. Hiller von Gaertringen (1906), *Die Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin).
LSCG	F. Sokolowski (1969), *Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques* (Paris).
Milet	A. Rehm (1914), *Milet, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahr 1899*, I.3: Das Delphinium (Berlin).
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (1969), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century* (revised edn., Oxford).
PH	W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks (1891), *The Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford).

RIPR	A. Bresson (1991), *Recueil des Inscriptions de la Pérée Rhodienne (Pérée Intégrée)* (Paris).
RO	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne (2003), *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC* (Oxford).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden and Amsterdam), 1923– .
SGDI	H. Collitz and F. Bechtel (1889), *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen).
Syll.^{3}	W. Dittenberger (1915–24), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols. (3rd edn., Leipzig).
Tit. Cal.	M. Segre (1944–5 [1952]), *Tituli Calymnii* (*ASAA* 22/23).
Tit. Cam.	M. Segre and G. Pugliese Carratelli (1949–51 [1952]), *Tituli Camirenses* (*ASAA* 27–9), 141–318.
Tod	M. N. Tod (1946–8), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford).

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1

Introduction

χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη

Epitaph of Euboeans at Ecbatana, Philostratus *VA* 1.24

1.1. ISLANDS BETWEEN REALITY AND IMAGINATION: THE AEGEAN SEA AND THE CHANGING IMAGES OF INSULARITY

The Aegean, according to Aelius Aristeides, has the best position in the world: it is located in the middle of the *oikoumene* and in the middle of the Greek world (44.3–4). Indeed the history of the Greek world is in many ways the history of the Aegean. The Aegean sea, however, is dominated by its islands; it is no coincidence that in the Ottoman period the Aegean sea was also called 'Adalar Denizi', Sea of Islands.[1] The history of the Aegean cannot be told without incorporating in the narrative the history of the Aegean islands. Hand in hand with the history of the sea and its islands is the history of the concept of insularity. Indeed, insularity as a concept, or, what it means to be an island, is, perhaps not surprisingly, central for many key ideas in Greek history: safety, danger, prison, isolation, poverty, contempt, sea power, and perhaps more importantly, the notion of imperialism.

This book will attempt to examine on one hand some aspects of the history of the Aegean and its islands, and on the other, the

[1] Bostan (2000) 93.

changing images of insularity, with particular emphasis on the fifth century. I have chosen the fifth century as the main period of study because it is the period when, for the first time, the Aegean came under the control of a single power, the Athenian empire. The focus period may be the fifth century, but the sixth century as well as the fourth and third centuries are also examined, since they provide useful parallels and additional material. Furthermore, with reference to the religious network around Delos,[2] I shall argue that the fifth-century Athenian empire can be better understood if examined upon the basis of sixth-century interaction in the Aegean. It will be interesting to see what kind of consequences this control over the Aegean had over the understanding of insularity.

The concept of insularity had two main aspects: on one hand, it was understood as an expression of connectivity, and on the other as an indication of isolation. In other words, islands were understood as distinct 'closed' worlds, ideal locations for the extraordinary and the bizarre, but at the same time they were also perceived as parts of a complex reality of interaction in the Aegean sea. Both these aspects of insularity and island life were important and both are adequately attested in our sources. If indeed we view the history of the islands as a continuum between complete independence and complete integration with the outside world, as Broodbank argued, 'islands at any given point . . . might move in either direction . . . although the aggregate trend through time has certainly been towards integration'.[3] In my analysis of the changing images of insularity and the history of the Aegean world and its islands, I have chosen to put emphasis on integration rather than isolation. Indeed, the image of connectivity and interaction, expressed in the image of the 'dance of the islands', as the title of this book indicates, will be the focus of this exploration.

Interaction, integration, and connectivity, then, are the focus of this book. It is perhaps worth making some brief observations here, however, on the other side of the coin: indeed, as Malamut observed, we need to oppose the world of 'the islands', which form active networks of communications and exchange, to the world of 'the

[2] See chapter 2.2.

[3] Broodbank (2000) 10. See also Waldren (2002) 3: '"Isolation" is a relative phenomenon'.

island', which can be a *terre fermée*, a world closed to its surroundings.[4] Isolation and uniqueness are, in fact, inherent in the concept of insularity.[5] The very presence of the sea, which defines the territory of the island, can also be seen as separating it from its surroundings. As Braudel observed, 'the sea surrounds the islands and cuts them off from the rest of the world more effectively than any other environment'.[6] In the words of Lucien Febvre, 'the island is a realm doomed to isolation and all its consequences, precisely because of its maritime situation'.[7] Or, as Faugères commented, 'isolation is inscribed in the nature of an island'.[8] Isolation and distinctiveness, then, are important features of insular life and essential elements of the concept of insularity. However, even when island distinctiveness and isolation are dominant features of insular life for specific islands in specific periods of time, we should always keep in mind, as Kolodny argued, that 'absolute isolation is an unknown phenomenon in the Greek world of the sea'.[9] Island isolation as an absolute concept is more appropriate when applied to oceanic islands, which form true distinct environments without much communication with their maritime surroundings. This island isolation led to the creation of the idea of an 'island laboratory', a coherent enclosed ecosystem where historical processes could be observed, quantified, and generalized; however, as has rightly been observed, this idea cannot be applied to the complex interrelating world of the Aegean.[10] However, the presence of the sea and the limits of navigation and the environment did result in some islands in some periods in history experiencing relative isolaton: Pholegandros and Sicinos in antiquity may have been such worlds and certainly Donoussa during the Second World War, when the population of the island lived in total isolation and

[4] Malamut (1988) 598: 'et pourtant si "les îles" apparaissent comme un monde largement ouvert, comme un faisceau d'innombrables relations, "l'île" en revanche est bien souvent une terre fermée, un monde replié sur lui même'.

[5] Kolodny (1974) 20–2. See also McKechnie (2002) 127.

[6] Braudel (1972) 150. See also Kolodny (1974) 22: 'c'est la mer qui fait l'île et provoque l'isolement originel'.

[7] Febvre (1932) 207.

[8] Faugères in Treuil et al. (1989) 89.

[9] Kolodny (1974) 134.

[10] Kolodny (1976) 435, Patton (1996) 139, Davies (1998) 46–7, Broodbank (2000) 26–7.

autarcy.[11] Carpathos is another island commonly used as an example of isolation, most famously by Febvre, who stated that the island 'gives the impression of most absolute isolation to the few travellers who chance to land there'.[12] Carpathos appears to have been isolated in the early Mycenean period, when the networks established by the Minoans collapsed; hence Carpathos uniquely kept a Minoan character in the finds even of the late Mycenean period.[13] However, as we shall see below, Carpathos was an active member of the Rhodian network already from the fifth century.[14] Similarly, Cythnos has been viewed as a relatively isolated island.[15] Yet, as the recent excavations of the adyton of a temple in the ancient polis of Cythnos (modern Vryokastro) have shown, the island and its sanctuary have been an important destination for ancient Greeks from the Aegean area, with finds from Ionia, Athens, Corinth, neighbouring islands, and even Egypt.[16]

Isolation, then, may have been experienced by islanders under specific conditions in specific periods of time. Relative isolation could also be the result of the very medium that guaranteed connectivity, that is the sea. As we shall see below, strong winds and currents in the Aegean could hinder navigation and therefore contribute to the isolation of islands, especially during the 'closed' sailing season of the winter months.[17] However, the practice of cabotage and

[11] For Pholegandros and Sikinos see Brun (1993) 175 and (1996b) 305. For Donoussa in the Second World War see Rougemont (1990) 205: 'Donoussa a ignoré l'occupation, si l'on excepte la visite unique et sans lendemain d'une vedette allemande. L' île a vécu, mal, mais elle a vécu,—sans famine, au moment même où, non seulement à Athènes, mais aussi à Hermoupolis, on mourait de faim.' See also Kolodny (1974) 657 for the conditions on modern Donoussa which allow almost total self-sufficiency. Isolation is also a major theme in Aggeliki Antoniou's 1992 film *Donoussa*.

[12] Febvre (1932) 220. For the isolation of Carpathos see also Brun (1996a) 50 and Kolodny (1974) 121 with references to the modern peculiarities of the people of Carpathos, such as the different costumes of the villagers of Olympus and their different dialect. See King (1993) 19–20 for islands as cultural backwaters where ancient traditions survive in his discussion of the role of islands as 'ethnographic museums'.

[13] Papachristodoulou (1989) 45.

[14] See chapter 6.1.4.

[15] Robert (1977) 23 n. 86, stressing isolation. For Cythnos see also Brun (1998a) for an excellent analysis of the equilibrium of resources of the island.

[16] Mazarakis-Ainian (2005). The majority of finds are dated to the seventh and sixth centuries.

[17] On winds and navigation see below chapter 1.3.

porthmeutike, that is short journeys between islands, did guarantee connectivity almost all year round, and therefore minimized absolute isolation.[18]

Island distinctiveness was also responsible for the creation of distinct island identities, as opposed to polis identities.[19] Distinctiveness and singularity, however, were above all expressed in the creation of those connotations of insularity which understood islands as seats for the supernatural and the bizarre. Islands, in fact, were considered the ideal locations for the localization of both types of utopia: utopias of reconstruction and utopias of escape.[20] Indeed, insularity and utopia have always been linked concepts.[21] From Homer's Scheria to the Hellenistic writers of *paradoxography*, islands were the favourite locations for utopian communities and their 'utopian' fantastic and bizarre characteristics. Island isolation provided the necessary conditions for alternative communities to exist: such communities could not survive in proximity to an alternative way of life.[22] Distance from the 'normality' of the mainland guaranteed that, as Traina observed, 'it was impossible for islands to claim a sense of normality'.[23] As a result of this, bizarre, unnatural, and exotic phenomena, as well as the emergence of unusual human conditions, all of which were inherent in a utopian discourse, became 'natural' for island environments.[24] Beautiful nature and landscape, fertility of the soil, abundance of goods, temperance of climate, all were elements of utopian narratives applied to insular locations.[25] What is

[18] See chapter 6.6.

[19] For island identity as islands with more than one polis see Constantakopoulou (2005).

[20] For the two types of utopia see Giannini (1967) 102, Finley (1975) 240 n. 6, Dawson (1992) 3, all following Mumford's classification (1922). Hubbard (1997) used the classification of Eden and New Jerusalem to denote the same categories.

[21] Vernière (1988) 162, Racault (1996) 247.

[22] Porter and Lukermann (1976) 207. See also Survin (1976) 242 and Jameson's (1977) concluding remarks about the necessity of separation from the 'real' world as an underlying factor of any utopian narrative.

[23] Traina (1986) 125. For distance as a necessary precondition for utopias see Fauth (1979) 40, Gelinne (1988) 229, Hall (1989) 149, and Cordano (1993) 87. See also McKechnie (2002) 128: 'islands are archetypal "remote areas"'.

[24] Gabba (1981) 56–7.

[25] Beauty of nature: Islands of the Blessed in Pindar's *Second Olympian* 68–75, and Euhemerus' Panchaia (*FGrH* 63 F3). Fertility of the soil and abundance of goods: in the *Odyssey* we have Syrie, the island of Eumaeos (15.404–14), island of the Cyclopes

interesting is that such was the strength of this type of connotation of insularity that typical utopian features were applied to real islands. For example, Zacynthos in Pliny has a remarkable fertility of the soil (*HN* 4.54), Corsica provides milk, honey, and meat in abundance (Diod. 5.14.1), and most interesting of all, the small island of Chalce, according to Theophrastus, can produce barley twice a year, because of the exceptional fertility of the land (*Hist. pl.* 8.2.9–10). I can only offer here some brief observations on what is quite a large subject. However, this underlying relation between insularity and utopia will be relevant in my discussion of 'Island Athens'. Indeed, as we shall see, the image of insularity applied to Athens during the second half of the fifth century also played with utopian connotations of the imperial city.[26]

The understanding of insularity in ancient times, then, moved between two opposite sides of the spectrum, between connectivity and isolation. Aspects of an understanding of islands as distinct units could coexist perfectly with recognition of islands as parts of networks. To exemplify this diverse manifestation of insularity, I have chosen the topic of the use of off-shore islands in the process of colonization. A brief presentation of the relevant sources will show, I hope, that these two aspects of insularity are not necessarily contradictory, but may rather have a complementary function.

The usefulness of islands for colonization has been recognized not only for the ancient period, but also for the more recent colonization of the Pacific and Indian oceans.[27] For example, it has been

(9.116–41), Scheria (7.110–33); Islands of the Blessed in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (167–73); Island of Helixoia in Hecataeus of Abdera (*FGrH* 264 F7); Panchaia in Euhemerus (*FGrH* 63 F3); Iambulus' islands in Diodorus 2.57 and 2.59.1; island of Hespera in Dionysius Scytobrachion (*FGrH* 32 F7) and island of Nysa (F8). See also Lucian's *True Story* for a parody of *paradoxography*: in his description of the Islands of the Blessed, he includes 365 springs of water, 365 springs of honey, and 500 springs of myrrh (but these are smaller . . .), seven rivers of milk and eight of wine (2.13), one of which is navigable (1.7); there is also a sea of milk, where the island Cheesy can be found (2.3). See Wilkins (2000) 119 for the existence of rivers as a typical feature of utopian geography. Temperate climate: Scheria (*Od.* 7.110–20); Islands of the Blessed (Pind. *Ol.* 2.68–75); Elixoia (Hecataeus from Abdera *FGrH* 264 F7); Iambulus' islands (Diod. 2.56.7); Nysa (Dionysius Scytobrachion *FGrH* 32 F8). See comments in Porter and Lukermann (1976) 210.

[26] See chapter 5.3.

[27] King (1993) 22, Lüsebrink (1995), Maestri (1995) and Vergès (1995).

claimed that Shakespeare's play *The Tempest* reflects in many ways a discourse of colonialism, and that in this discourse the importance of insularity is openly recognized.[28] More generally, as Loxley argued, much of colonialist literature used the image of the empty island, as 'an ultimate gesture of simplification' of its colonial undertones.[29] Certainly, as Malkin argued, a necessary element of the process of colonization was the emptiness of the land being colonized; he noted that islands, in particular, 'sometimes do afford true emptiness', as opposed to relatively 'empty lands', yet, still filled with 'Indians', 'Aborigines' or 'Bedouins'.[30] Let us turn our attention to some of the instances of the use of off-shore islands as a first step in colonizing an area.

Off-shore islands could be used as a first step in the process of colonization or as convenient trading posts, when contact with the locals of the mainland was desirable, but the mainland itself was not safe for permanent settlement.[31] Perhaps the most famous example of the first practice is Pithecoussae (Strabo 5.4.9 c247 and Livy 7.22.6), an active centre of metallurgy with an important position in the networks of redistribution.[32] According to Thucydides, Archias from Corinth first settled on the island Ortygia in Syracuse, before securing the area (6.3.2). Another famous story is the Theran colonization of the island Plataea off the shore of Libya in Herodotus (4.151–61).[33] It is possible, as Atkinson noted,[34] that the tradition recording the use of islands as a starting point for a settlement inspired a story recorded in Curtius Rufus (4.8.1–2). He is the only author to mention that Alexander the Great initially chose the island of Pharos as the location for the establishment of the city of Alexandria, but had to drop the plan because the island was too small to accommodate a big city.[35] Establishment of a settlement on an off-shore island before the actual colonization of the mainland offered the settlers relative security from potentially threatening local populations, and was therefore a common measure adopted

[28] Brown (1985) and Villquin (1994).
[29] Loxley (1990) 3.
[30] Malkin (1994) 96–7.
[31] Gabba (1991) 106, Gras (1995) 15.
[32] Woodhead (1962) 35–6, Graham (1971) 43–5, R. Osborne (1996) 114–18, Boardman (1999) 163–8, and Horden and Purcell (2000) 347–8 and 399.
[33] See Malkin (1994) 49–52.
[34] Atkinson (1980) 362.
[35] Borca (2000) 93.

in colonization processes.[36] This use of insularity is an example of island singularity, that is the understanding of an island as a distinct location, separated from its surroundings, and therefore providing relative security.[37]

The use of islands for colonization, however, illustrates more than this. An island location may have offered security through its maritime isolation, but at the same time islands were ideally positioned in the matrix of maritime communications in the Mediterranean. Off-shore islands could be extremely convenient for trading with the mainland,[38] while also contributing to commerce and communications through maritime connectivity.[39] Thucydides reports that the Phoenicians 'occupied the headlands and small islands off the coast and used them as posts for trading with the Sicels' (6.2.6). Use of islands as trading posts, without a permanent settlement,[40] is also attested for the island Oreine (Arrian, *Periplus Maris Erythrae* 4) and the island of Cerne (Ps. Scylax 112) off the African coast of the Red sea for commerce with the Aethiopians, as well as the island of Ictis in the strait between Britain and Gaul (Diod. 5.22.4). Sometimes the advantages of an insular location were so great that the initial occupation of an island was sustained. There were some very famous insular cities on islands that could not support by themselves even a small-sized population, such as Tyros, Arados, or Gades (significantly, Gades was a colony of Tyros, Strabo 3.5.5 c170).

Islands for colonization, then, combined the two fundamental elements of insularity: centrality in the system of communications, with relative isolation. Isolation, as we have seen, may have been a primary aspect of insularity, but as I have already stressed, the island world of the Aegean is not a world which experienced isolation as a

[36] Graham (1971), Winter (1971) 20, Dion (1977) 152–4, Hornblower (1991) 29, and Gounaris (1999) 101–2.

[37] For the image of island safety see chapter 4.2.3.

[38] See comments in Malkin (1998) 69–70. Patton (1996) 171–4 notes the importance of exchange between islands and mainland as an important factor in defining social relations within both the island and mainland societies.

[39] Morton (2001) 317, noting the importance of islands and headlands for overseas sailing routes.

[40] I will not attempt to enter here the debate over the nature and the differences between *emporia* and *apoikiai*, for which see Wilson (1997), Osborne (1998), and Purcell (2005) 129–30.

dominant phenomenon in its history. In order to understand the history of the Aegean and the changing images of insularity, we need to move between our two central poles: the 'real' world of island life in the Aegean, a world influenced by connectivity and isolation, and the sphere of fantasy and imagination. Buxton argued that 'human beings create an image of their surroundings through their interaction with them'.[41] Helms too has emphasized the interplay between physical landscape and human experience.[42] Therefore, human interaction with islands produced conceptions of insularity. However, the relationship between the 'reality' of insular life and the imaginary reconstructions of insularity is not at all straightforward. The parameter of the imagination may distort the image of islands; as McKechnie observed, 'some islands are more "island-like" than others'.[43] The experience of crossing the boundary of the sea may be affected by feelings of expectation, danger, and *nostos*. An island may be a real place, but it is also a location in the imagination, distant and near, distinct, yet familiar.

The relationship, therefore, between insularity and island history may be complex, but at the same time interesting to investigate. More particularly, in the fifth century, the reality of the Athenian empire must have influenced Athenian ideas about insularity, as well as their own perception of their city. Perceptions of insularity sometimes took to an extreme elements of real insular life. For example, the reality of relative isolation for some islands under specific circumstances provided a basis for the fantasy world of island utopias. At the same time, the Athenian control of most islands in the Aegean in the fifth century strengthened perceptions about island feebleness and must have been the dominant context within which ideas about the role of islands in mythical sea powers were created. Without a proper understanding of the importance of islands for the existence of sea power in general and the Athenian empire in particular, the history and historiography of the fifth century makes little sense. Indeed, as we shall see, the very fact that a place was an island influenced Athenian decisions, in Thucydides' narrative and understanding; Melos' insularity, for example, was significantly responsible for her tragic fate (Thuc. 5.97 and 99).[44]

[41] Buxton (1994) 81. [42] Helms (1988) 20.
[43] McKechnie (2002) 128. [44] See chapter 3.3.

In the last three decades, the subject of insularity has appeared in academic debates. The year 1974 saw the publication of the monumental study by Emile Kolodny on the Aegean islands in modern times.[45] Slot and Malamut followed with studies on the Aegean islands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in the Byzantine era, respectively.[46] Recently, Patrice Brun published an excellent work on the Aegean islands in the fifth, fourth, and third centuries.[47] Although the concept of insularity was integral to these works, their viewpoint was focused mainly on the history of the Aegean and its islands in the periods in question and was less preoccupied with examining the perceptions of insularity in the same periods. The latter was the subject of studies such as those of Vilatte, for the classical Greek period, Borca, for the Roman period, and the collections of papers by Létoublon, and Marimoutou and Racault, which examined the concept of insularity from antiquity to the present times.[48] This book will try to combine these two approaches and discuss the consequences of interaction and isolation for Athenian perceptions of insularity, and, when possible, those of the islanders themselves. In the closing words of an important article on micro-insularity, Brun stated that 'a history of the Aegean and its islands remains to be written'.[49] I cannot claim to have written the history of the Aegean, but I hope that this book constitutes a step in that direction.

1.2. WHAT IS AN ISLAND?

If we are to examine the history of the islands of the Aegean and the changing notions of insularity we need to provide some sort of definition of what an island is. This question is far more difficult

[45] Kolodny (1974).

[46] Slot (1982) and Malamut (1988).

[47] Brun (1996a).

[48] Vilatte (1991), Borca (2000), Létoublon (ed.) (1996), and Marimoutou and Racault (eds.) (1995).

[49] Brun (1996b) 310: 'une histoire de la mer Égée et de ses îles reste à écrire'.

than it initially appears.[50] An island may be 'a piece of land completely surrounded by water',[51] or for a social anthropologist it may be 'not just an area surrounded by the sea, but a social, political economic, cultural unit with its own character and development, an integral part of a greater unit which may include other islands and mainlands'.[52] An island may also be 'a surface of earth over which the influence of the sea has sovereign power',[53] and therefore not necessarily a 'true' island, but also a peninsula. As Dion observed, Homer does not distinguish clearly between islands and peninsulas.[54] The ancient Greek definition of the island is certainly fluid.[55] Thucydides, in particular, as we shall see below, uses the term island, *nesos*, to describe non-island areas, such as Scione.[56] Natural conditions also contribute towards the blurred nature of the definitions: hence, rivers appear to alter the landscape of an area by turning into part of the mainland what was previously an island, such as the Echinades islands off the coast of Acarnania.[57] Another example is the offshore island of Minoa, off the coast of Megara: it is an island in Thucydides (3.51), but a promontory in Strabo (9.1.4 c392), forming the port of Nisaea, and finally an island again in Pausanias (1.44.5). Built-up sediment probably allowed Minoa to be seen as an island or as a promontory. Rivers also turn into islands what was previously part of the mainland. Herodotus, for example, uses the term 'sort of an island in the continent', in order to describe a piece of land in the river Asopos in Plataea (9.51.1–2).[58] Additionally, Herodotus tells us that 'when the Nile overflows, the *chora* is converted into a sea, and nothing appears but the cities, which look like the islands in the Aegean' (2.97.1). For Herodotus, the concept of insularity is firmly

[50] On the difficulty of defining what an island is see Kolodny (1974) 19, Traina (1986) 113, Malamut (1988) 26, Vilatte (1991) 9–11, Racault (1995) 9, Patton (1996) 7, Borca (2000) 15 and Broodbank (2000) 16.

[51] *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd edn. s.v. island.

[52] Waldren (2002) 1. [53] Febvre (1932) 206. [54] Dion (1977) 151–4.

[55] Rood (1998) 77 with n. 56. [56] See chapter 3.2.3.

[57] See for example Ps. Scylax's description of former islands at the delta of the river Acheloos (34), or Thucydides' description of the Echinades islands in 2.102.2–3: *ὥστε μέγας ὢν ὁ ποταμὸς προσχοῖ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰσὶ τῶν νήσων* ***αἳ ἠπείρωνται.*** Similar comment in Herodotus 2.10.2. On the difficulties of navigation imposed by the build up of sediment in river beds, with particular reference to the Echinades islands see Morton (2001) 135.

[58] Hdt. 9.51.1–2: *νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρῳ.*

fixed on his understanding of the Aegean islands: in this case, when he uses the metaphor of insularity, he chooses the image of the Aegean islands.

The existence of tides is an additional factor of the fluidity of definitions,[59] and Diodorus, at least, is aware of its consequences for the creation and disappearance of islands (5.22.3). However, the Mediterranean is a sea characterized by a lack of noticeable tides;[60] as a result, the consideration of this aspect does not have to complicate our attempts to examine insularity. In fact, the absence of noticeable tides makes in many ways the geographic definition of islands in space easier. As Reger stated, 'the boundary of an island is clear: it is where the sea begins'.[61] The absence of tides, then, means that the outline of a Mediterranean island does not alter much.

Let us use the 'piece of land completely surrounded by water' as a working definition and explore the history of—and the perceptions about—the Aegean islands. Within the Aegean sea, however, there are many islands of different sizes.[62] Can we use the term island to describe such diverse landscapes as Crete and Belbina, to use the most extreme examples? In other words, does size matter?

Certainly, geographers have been preoccupied with the problem of scale in the definition of insular locations.[63] This is a topic that has produced endless debates; yet its significance is not limited to the academic world. A definition of an area surrounded by water as an island, as opposed to a simple rock, has potential impact on the ownership of the sea and its shipping lanes, mineral resources, and fishing rights. For example, the International Convention of the Law of the Sea defines as islands those territories which can sustain habitation or economic life of their own; as a result of this declaration, a British citizen spent a month in 1985 camping on the pinnacle of Rockhall 320 km west of the Outer Hebrides.[64] Similarly, at the other end of the scale, how large can an island be before it is

[59] King (1993) 15. [60] Morton (2001) 45.

[61] Reger (1997) 450. See also McKechnie (2002) 127: 'islands appear blessedly free from ambiguity'.

[62] Kolodny (1974) 41: in 1966, the total number of inhabited Greek islands was 169. See also Kohn (2002) 40 on the variated landscapes of islands.

[63] King (1993) 16–17 with bibliography.

[64] King (1993) 16.

considered a continent? The Aegean world may not have islands as big as Tasmania, Iceland, or Britain, but Crete and Euboea, as we shall see below, do not fit the pattern of insular geography that is typical for the Aegean.

As Calame observed, the most common island topos in ancient Greek thought was that of the small island.[65] Size, of course, is a relative notion. How else can we explain Finley's opening statement in his book on Sicily that 'few islands have played a greater or even comparable role in history over long spans of time, and no other which is *so small*' (my italics)?[66] No Greek would have ever made that statement. Oswyn Murray also saw Aegina as a 'small and markedly infertile island'.[67] However, in the Aegean sea, islands the size of Crete or Euboea are the exception, and islands of less than 300 km^2 are the norm.[68] Philostratus is particularly explicit about small being the norm, when islands are concerned: 'you perceive that the sea is large, and the islands in it are not, by Zeus, Lesbos, nor yet Imbros or Lemnos, but small islands herding together like hamlets or cattle-folds or, by Zeus, like farm-buildings in the sea' (*Imagines* 2.17.1). Additionally, Brun, using Athenaeus' reference to 'insular wine' as a separate category from the wine originating from Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos, or Thasos (1.32e), concluded that, for Athenaeus at least, 'large insular units do not belong in the island category'.[69] Strabo also makes a distinction between large and small islands when discussing the creation of islands through the act of emerging (1.3.10 c54): for Strabo, small islands can rise from the bottom of the sea, but large islands cannot. Considering the importance of the images of emerging, floating, or disappearing islands in our sources as linked with perceptions of insularity,[70] the fact that small islands can emerge, but large islands cannot seem to me to imply that small islands are more 'insular' than the larger ones. Modern work on insularity has also

[65] Calame (1977) 372. See Sgard (1996) for a treatment of the subject of small islands.

[66] Finley (1979b) 3.

[67] Murray (1993) 224. For islands as emblems of insignificance see more in chapter 4.2.1.

[68] See Brun's catalogue in (1996a) 28–9.

[69] Brun (1996a) 15. On the fame of island wines see chapter 4.2.1.4.

[70] See more in chapter 4.2.2 with particular discussion of the disappearing islands next to Lemnos.

stressed the importance of size: the impact of the constraints of insularity is usually more significant on small islands.[71]

An examination of Thucydides' use of the word *nesos* shows a similar understanding of small islands as typical examples of insularity. The case of Sphacteria is, in this case, particularly illuminating. The name Sphacteria is used only once in Thucydides' work, in the beginning of book 4, when we get the first pieces of information in relation to the geography of the area (4.8.6).[72] From then on, Thucydides simply refers to Sphacteria as the *nesos*, using mostly the form 'those on the island' (*οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*) in order to describe the captive Lacedaemonians. In book 4 alone, there are thirty-eight uses of the term *nesos* with reference to Sphacteria. However, even in the context of this book, where the events of Pylos dominate the narrative, there is one instance where it is not absolutely clear from the context that *nesos* is Sphacteria. In 4.24.3, in a Sicilian context, Thucydides describes how the Syracusans were considering engaging in naval battle against the Athenians, because the Syracusans 'had been informed that the main fleet which was supposed to join them in Sicily was engaged in the blockade of the island'. The island in question is Sphacteria, even though this is far from clear from the immediate context. In a way, then, Sphacteria is for Thucydides the island *par excellence*. This can be further illustrated by a short examination of the understanding of Sicily by Thucydides.

Thucydides uses the term *nesos* with reference to Sicily only twice, and in both times the context is quite clear (6.1.1 and 6.2.6). On all other 135 occasions, he uses the name Sicily. I believe that the comparison between the use of the word *nesos* for Sicily and Sphacteria in Thucydides' work is remarkable. Thucydides is reluctant to use the word island to refer to Sicily, but he is more than willing to use it in the case of Sphacteria, even when the context is not absolutely clear. The reason for this is that for Thucydides, indeed for any Greek, the small rocky and empty island of Sphacteria represents better the connotations of insularity than the large island of Sicily.

Sicily, in fact, is more than a large island. As Thucydides himself claims, it is almost mainland (6.1.2). Furthermore, Nicias' speech

[71] Royle (2001) 1.

[72] For Sphacteria and its topography see Rubincam (2001).

suggests that Sicily has more cities than an island should have (6.20.2). The implication is that a typical island has one or at the most a handful of poleis. Sicily, then, as Braudel stated, is a small continent.[73] We might come to similar conclusions about Crete and Euboea. Rackham and Moody have described Crete as a 'miniature continent', with its Alps, its deserts and jungles, its arctic and its tropics.[74] Myres expressed the same difficulty: it is not easy to treat Crete simply as an island of the Aegean.[75] Crete, with its hundred cities,[76] is also described as 'land surrounded by water' in the *Odyssey* (19.172–3: γαῖα περίρρυτος). At the same time, Euboea was separated from mainland Greece by a strait which was only 40 m wide at its narrowest point (close to the polis of Chalcis). Ephorus remarked that Euboea was in fact part of Boeotia, since the distance between the two could be covered by a bridge only two *plethra* wide (Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F119 = Strabo 9.2.2 c401), as indeed was the case in ancient times (Strabo 9.2.8 c403). The bridge contributed to the double status of Euboea as both an island and mainland.[77] As Diodorus states, the Boeotians agreed to helping the Euboeans in the construction of the bridge 'since it was to their special advantage that Euboea should be an island to everybody else but a part of the mainland to themselves' (13.47.4).[78] Of all the cities of Euboea, it was Carystos that could be considered as an island city, since, given her geographical isolation from the rest of Euboea, she was forced to rely mostly on sea communication.[79] Accordingly, I shall exclude Euboea and Crete from my investigation of islands and insularity. On the other hand, I have chosen to include the large Aegean islands, such as Thasos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes, since they provide us with plenty of interesting material on island networking and, despite their size, they never seem to lose their insular character.[80]

[73] Braudel (1972) 148. On the difference between small continents and large islands see Sgard (1996) 70–1.

[74] Rackham and Moody (1996) xi.

[75] Myres (1953) 260–1.

[76] See Tsagarakis (1989).

[77] Malamut (1988) 27, Aujac (1994) 214.

[78] See also chapter 3.3.

[79] Picard (1979) 210. See also Kolodny (1974) 105: Euboea is a collection of separate insular units. See also chapter 2.2 for Carystos belonging to the island world of the Aegean.

[80] See chapters 6 and 7.

Islands, then, are pieces of land completely surrounded by water. For our purposes, islands are the smaller Mediterranean islands.[81] Insularity, however, can be applied to areas which are not 'real' islands, or, in other words, are what Broodbank described as *perceived* islands, that is, areas whose insularity was readily experienced by their occupants,[82] whether 'real' islands or not. Braudel famously created the category of 'almost islands', that is 'islands that the sea does not surround', to discuss areas where the inhabitants experience isolation, whether that is peninsulas, oases, or mountains.[83] In classical Greek history, the best example of such a 'virtual' island is the 'island of Athens', a description of the Athenian polis at the height of the Athenian empire. As we shall see in a following chapter, the concept of insularity was applied to imperial Athens while maintaining its complex features: 'island Athens' was both isolated and therefore safe, and also central to networks of communications.[84] Insularity, in the case of the virtual island of Athens, did indeed move between the poles of connectivity and separation.

Even though the definition of an island may have been fluid for ancient Greeks, there was a clear division between islands and mainland in ancient Greek thought. In fact, as Racault observed, the very concept of insularity presupposes the existence of a mainland.[85] This fundamental division between insularity and mainland can be attested in most ancient sources, as early as Homer, in his catalogue of ships (*Il.* 2.635) and in the *Odyssey* (14.97–8),[86] as well as the Homeric *Hymn to Delian Apollo* (ll. 20–1)[87] and Hesiod's *Theogony*

[81] Horden and Purcell (2000) 224–30.

[82] Broodbank (2000) 16. Broodbank conceived of two types of islands: the *analytical* islands, where it is unlikely that their inhabitants considered themselves islanders (Australia, for example), and the *perceived* islands, whose insularity was readily experienced by their occupants. In the second category, he mainly includes 'real' islands, but his differentiation allows us to include areas such as fifth-century Athens, which was perceived by its people as an island.

[83] Braudel (1972) 160–1. See also Horden and Purcell (2000) 77, where Melos, a real island 'physically cut off and in that sense totally distinct, yet not in the least isolated', is contrasted to inland regions and isolated territories. See also Kolodny (1974) 21 on the isolation of mainland territories. For the Braudelian category of 'almost islands' see more in chapter 5.4.

[84] See chapter 5.

[85] Racault (1995) 10.

[86] On this passage see Vilatte (1991) 15.

[87] On this passage see Brun (1996a) 90–1.

(ll. 963–4).[88] The distinction between the two became stronger with Herodotus and Thucydides. Ceccarelli argued that the division in Herodotus' work between islanders and mainlanders was a consequence of the conflict between Greeks of Asia Minor, on the one hand, and the Lydians and Persians, on the other.[89] The Homeric passages, however, seem to disprove her case. One might suggest that the distinction between the two acquired new significance with the subjugation of the Asia Minor Greeks and the later rise of Athenian sea power.

Herodotus is certainly an excellent source for the existence of a conceptual distinction between islands and mainland. In particular, the passage recounting the story about Croesus' attempt to conquer the islanders illustrates the incompatibility of island and mainland (Hdt. 1.27).[90] According to the story, Bias of Priene advised the king that his attempt to conquer the islanders by building ships was as foolish as would be an attempt by the islanders to conquer the mainland on horseback.[91] In this case, the distinction is firmly rooted in ideas about sea power: islands can have claims to sea power, but mainland powers cannot. There are many more references in Herodotus' work expressing a distinction between islands and mainland.[92] For example, in response to the Persian subjugation of Asia Minor, the Ionians were fearful, while the islanders had nothing to fear (1.143.1).[93] The distinction, however, can be overcome, when necessary. Hence, certain Cretans who settled in Iapygia became 'Messapian Iapygians instead of Cretans', or 'mainlanders instead of islanders' (7.170.2). Similarly, Xerxes, by digging the canal at Athos, turned the cities of the peninsula into 'islands instead of mainland' (7.22.3).[94] Finally, the Cnidians famously attempted to make what was previously their *chora* into an island but did not complete their

[88] Vilatte (1991) 9. [89] Ceccarelli (1996a).

[90] Vilatte (1991) 190–1 and Ceccarelli (1996a).

[91] It is no accident that Herodotus uses the term 'mainland' in his story for the imaginary attack of the islanders on horseback: see 1.27.4.

[92] See Payen (1997) 282 with n. 2.

[93] Hdt. 1.143.1: *τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτῃσι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν*. For this passage in relation to the topos of the 'safe' island see chapter 4.2.3.

[94] See Rood (1998) 240 with n. 53. On the meaning of the term polis in this passage see Hansen (1997) 17.

work (1.174.3).[95] For Herodotus, the division between islands and mainland is fundamental to the understanding of the world. Hence, on many occasions, he constructs a structural opposition between the islands and the mainland, even when the passages in question do not imply any important differentiation, as in the description of the locations which were plundered during Polycrates' reign (3.39.4).

The opposition between islands and mainland is central for Thucydides too, particularly in his Archaeology. Greeks and barbarians are divided between those living on the mainland and those living on the islands (1.5.1). Thucydides, like Herodotus, divides his world between mainland and islands, as we can observe in his description of early urbanization in Greece, when cities were built, for fear of piracy, away from the shores, both on the islands and on the mainland (1.7), in Pericles' claim that the Athenians had plenty of land on the islands and on the mainland (1.143.4),[96] and in the Melian dialogue, where the opposition is used in order to emphasize the importance of the islanders for the empire (5.99).[97] For Thucydides, the term islander is linked to the fate of the Athenian empire, as I shall illustrate below,[98] and, therefore, the two terms, islands and mainland, are clearly distinct. Connor argued that the contrast between island and mainland, which is central to Thucydides' Archaeology, begins to break down in book 6.[99] Athens is almost an island, a theme central to this book, whereas Sicily, as we saw, is almost a continent. However, I disagree with Connor's suggestion that the representations of Sicily and Athens constitute the breaking down of the antithesis between islands and mainland. On the contrary, they reinforce the argument that Thucydides' world, like Herodotus', is fundamentally an island and mainland world. The blurring of the distinctions between the two is evidence of the exceptional character of the two big cities, Athens and Syracuse, and therefore of the exceptional importance of the Sicilian expedition, which, according to Thucydides, played such an important part in the destruction of the Athenian empire.

[95] For this Cnidian story, and its possible parallelism with fifth-century 'island Athens', see more in chapter 5.2.

[96] For this passage see also chapter 5.2.

[97] See more in chapter 3.3.

[98] See chapter 3.2.3.

[99] Connor (1984) 160.

I cannot offer here a full and detailed presentation of all the texts that use the island–mainland opposition as an essential tool with which to explain the world. The distinction between the two is present in many authors, including the Old Oligarch's approach to synoecism (2.2–3), Strabo,[100] and Diodorus (5.82), where the mainland suffers, while the islands flourish.[101] Similarly, the differentiation of the island from the mainland world contributes to the peculiar status of islands: in Aristotle's analysis of earthquakes, these are rarer in the islands, exactly because islands are separated from the mainland (*Meteor.* 368b 32–369a 1). It is also worth noting the island–mainland opposition in Isocrates (4.132) and Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.1.12), since for both authors the difference between the two is related to a great difference in resources.[102]

For ancient authors, then, the world seems to have been divided into islands and mainland.[103] Still, this clear conceptual differentiation was not an accurate reflection of the complex reality of the Aegean. As we shall see in the final chapter of this book,[104] the existence of *peraiai*, parts of the mainland under the control of an island state, shows that this distinction was not as clear cut as our sources imply. We can explain this discrepancy as part of the imaginary construction of insularity, which never fully corresponded to the reality of the Aegean. We can also add that, with the creation of the Athenian empire and the unification of the Aegean under the control of a single power, for the first time, the concept of insularity acquired new connotations intrinsically linked with ideas about sea power.

The history of the Aegean is a history of interaction, mobility of goods and people, and above all connectivity. It is now time to turn our attention to the image of the 'dance of the islands', as an emblem of connectivity. I hope that the 'dance of the islands' will provide a suitable start for our journey into the island world of the Aegean.

[100] As Aujac (1994) 213 noted in relation to Strabo's treatment of Euboea.

[101] For this passage see more in chapter 7.4.

[102] See more in chapter 4.2.1.1 on island poverty.

[103] See comments in Brun (1996a) 7: 'l'opposition entre îles et continent est l'une des plus courantes de la pensée grecque'.

[104] See chapter 7.

1.3. ISLAND CONNECTIVITY: THE DANCE OF THE ISLANDS

Any examination of insularity in the Aegean should undoubtedly be linked with an exploration of the theme of connectivity. If 'mutual visibility is at the heart of the navigational conception of the Mediterranean', as has been rightly claimed,[105] then a sea such as the Aegean, uniquely crowded with hundreds of islands,[106] was ideal for the development of navigation. Indeed, especially within areas with many islands, such as the Cyclades or the Dodecanese, it is possible that in a typically clear summer's day it would be difficult to sail out of sight of land.[107] This multiplicity of islands in the Aegean is best presented in Aelius Aristeides' eulogy of the Aegean: 'as the sky is decorated with stars, the Aegean sea is decorated with islands' (44.14).[108]

The large number of islands contributed to increased visibility for sailing, and therefore facilitated navigation. As a consequence, from a very early stage, the island world of the Aegean was a world of increased mobility. Aelius Aristeides understood very well the role islands play in navigation and praised the Aegean for its many islands, since the Aegean sea is 'most gentle because of its resting places' (44.10). In a world of mobility and navigation, islands functioned as a bridge, transforming the Aegean into a dense matrix of connectivity: in that sense, islands were what Horden and Purcell have described as 'gateways', that is nodes of density in this matrix.[109] The many references in our sources to sailing through the islands (διὰ νήσων) exemplify the bridge function of the Aegean islands.[110] The position of islands at the heart of the navigational systems may explain, for example, why island products were famous throughout

[105] Horden and Purcell (2000) 126. On the importance of islands and promontories for maintaining visibility in seafaring see Morton (2001) 143–4.

[106] On the uniqueness of the Aegean sea see Kolodny (1974) 35.

[107] Morton (2001) 144, on the implications that this increased visibility of the Aegean may have on the notion of coastal sailing.

[108] For the representation of islands in Aelius Aristeides, *On the Aegean* see Doukellis (2001) 57–9.

[109] Horden and Purcell (2000) 393.

[110] See in particular Hdt. 6.95.2 for the route taken by the Persian fleet in 490. Similar is the route taken by Themistocles in Hdt. 8.108.2.

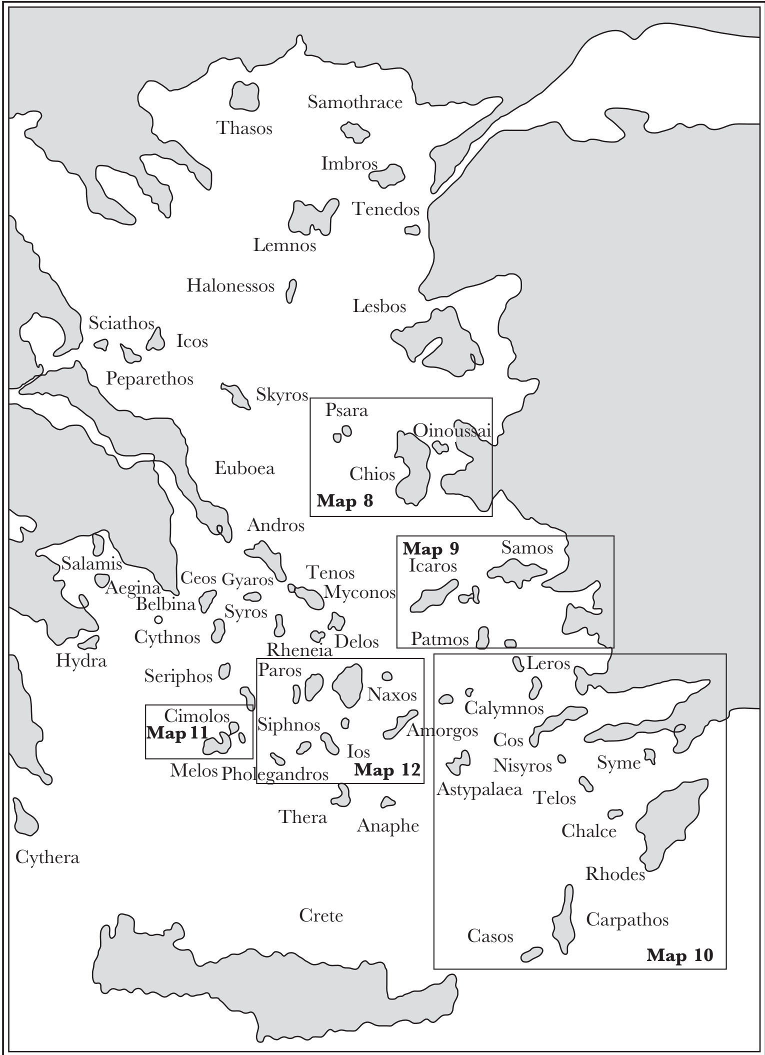


Fig. 1 The Aegean Islands (key map).

antiquity.[111] The understanding of the sea as a medium for mobility and interaction may also explain the Acarnanians' fast submission to Spartan pressure (Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.1). Xenophon tells us that behind the Acarnanian reasoning was the fact that their cities were in the interior and therefore the destruction of their corn by the Spartan army would truly make them besieged. The inland position of the Acarnanian cities, therefore, meant that they could not replace their own products when destroyed; in other words, the distance from the sea rendered them unable to benefit from the availability of products through maritime connectivity. Indeed, mobility and interaction made the Aegean a sea of intense traffic. Xenophon gives us an excellent image of the traffic in the Aegean, when describing Teleutias' actions at Piraeus in 388: 'as he was sailing out of the harbour', the historian informs us, 'he captured great numbers of fishing craft and ferry-boats full of people as they were sailing in from the islands' (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.23).[112]

Kolodny, travelling in the Greek islands in the late 1960s and early 1970s, admitted that 'in most of the small islands, maritime installations are reduced to a minimum'.[113] However, this lack of impressive material evidence does not imply an equivalent scarcity of travel between smaller insular units. The existence of what the Venetians called a 'scala', literally a small dock with a few steps for boarding vessels, was widespread in the ancient Aegean and is still an important feature of Greek insular life.[114] Modern scholars have stressed the importance of cabotage, the 'short haul journeys of small ships hopping from harbour to harbour along the coasts and among the islands',[115] as an essential feature of Aegean navigation.[116] Ancient navigation was not restricted to long-term journeys, with the essential but also frequent stops along the way. Along the main routes with their important ports, there was also a constant traffic between small

[111] For the subject of islands as 'uniquely accessible to the prime medium of communication and redistribution' see Horden and Purcell (2000) 224–30. For the fame of island wines in particular see chapter 4.2.1.4.

[112] On this passage as evidence for the activity of ferrying see chapter 6.6.

[113] Kolodny (1974) 99.

[114] Horden and Purcell (2000) 142.

[115] Definition taken from Purcell (1993) 19.

[116] See Horden and Purcell (2000) 140, with reference to Kolodny (1974) 129: 'les îles ont longtemps servi de carredours et de tremplins aux périples de cabotage'.

stopping places, the above described 'scale' of different islands. The practice of *porthmeutike*, ferrying, in particular, which we will examine in a following chapter, exemplifies the importance of short-distance journeys for overall mobility in the Aegean.[117]

Islands also provided convenient stops in the long navigation routes across the sea. We shall discuss the importance of islands for the navigation of the Greek warship *par excellence*, the trireme, in a following chapter.[118] However, triremes were not the only ships requiring frequent stops. Any vessel travelling in the Aegean caught in a storm would require a bay in which to moor or a sandy beach on which to be hauled up. Even in the open sailing season, storms and winds of powerful force made ships search for a safe haven. Inscriptions left by sailors by the shores of island bays testify to the use of islands as stops, perhaps during storms. The 'empty' island of Prote off the western coast of the Peloponnese may have been such a haven, offering protection against the north-western winds, where graffiti from sailors evoke the Dioscuri for safe arrival.[119] The north-western bay of modern-day Grammata (named after the inscriptions) on the island of Syros may have served a similar function: graffiti on the rocks there refer to Euploia, the goddess of good sailing.[120] During the summer months, the prevalence of the strong Etesian winds (modern Meltemia) blowing from the north-east in the area of the Cyclades and from the north-west in the area of the Dodecanese[121] may seriously affect navigation.[122] Although their strength and regularity, as Morton observed, was important in maintaining maritime traffic, at the

[117] See chapter 6.6. [118] See chapter 3.3.

[119] 'Empty' Prote in Thuc. 4.13. Inscriptions with references to the Dioscuri for safe arrival: *IG* V.1 1539, 1541, 1544, 1548. See Baladié (1980) 5, Horden and Purcell (2000) 440, and Morton (2001) 192, where the name Prote (First) is explained in terms of navigation routes from the west: Prote is the first point of visual contact with the Peloponnese when sailing for Messenia from the west.

[120] For Grammata on Syros see *IG* XII.5 712 and Horden and Purcell (2000) 440.

[121] For the direction of winds during the summer months see Kolodny (1974) 68. For a well-argued case that wind conditions in the eastern Mediterranean have not changed since classical antiquity see Murray (1987).

[122] For the Etesians see Braudel (1982) 57, Kolodny (1974) 67–75, Maheras (1980), and Morton (2001) 48–51 and 121–3. See Malamut (1988) 55 and Brun (1996a) 35–6 for the winds as one of the formative factors of insular vegetation. See Casson (1995) 273, for vessels having to tie up at islands during the Etesian winds, and Rougé (1981) 21 for the importance of winds for ancient sailing.

same time it may have posed problems and even danger for the ancient mariners.[123] The Etesians were certainly known in antiquity.[124] Their strength and the problems they caused in navigation during the summer months was commonly noted as an important factor in sailing in antiquity and was also an essential consideration when planning for war. Miltiades' tricking of the Pelasgians for control over Lemnos, and therefore for the consolidation of Athenian power in the area of the northern Aegean in the pre-empire period, was based on the Etesian winds blowing; only then could he reach Lemnos from the Chersonese in less than a day (Hdt. 6.139–40). Demosthenes also cites the Etesian winds as a factor contributing to Philip's timing for an attack on pro-Athenian cities (4.31–2). Demosthenes may be exaggerating when he claims that with the Etesian winds blowing the Athenians 'could not possibly reach the seat of war', but his argument does show that the Etesian winds were an important consideration in navigation and warfare.[125]

The strength of the winds and their occurrence during the day was also used as a metaphor.[126] It should not therefore come as a surprise that their importance for the possible isolation of the islands was also recognized: some islands have the tell-tale epithet 'windy'.[127] Perhaps the best expression of the isolation of islands which could be the result of severe winds can be found in Livy (36.43.1): 'at about this

[123] Morton (2001) 105.

[124] Ancient references to the Etesians: Arist. *Meteor.* 361b 35–362a 27 attempts a scientific explanation for the existence of the Etesians. See also Plut. *Cic.* 47.4 and *Dion.* 13.3: summer winds blowing; Hdt. 2.20.2–3 for the Etesians used as part of the explanation for the flooding of the Nile (see also Diod. 1.38.2–7, summarizing Thales' opinion); Polyb. 4.44.6 on the Etesians blowing in the Hellespont; Diod. 4.82.2 for their prevalence in the summer months, 12.58.4 for their effect on cooling the summer air: their absence was one of the causes of the famous plague in Athens, according to Diodorus, and 17.52.2, where the streets of the city of Alexandria were designed in such a way that the city would benefit from the Etesian winds, which would cool the air of the town; and Diog. Laert. 8.60 who commented on the sheer force of the Etesians.

[125] See also Dem. 8.14 and Polyb. 5.5.6: *πλεῦσαι μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ῥάδιον ἦν, ἀναπλεῦσαι δ' ἐκεῖθεν τῶν ἐτησίων ἐπεχόντων ἀδύνατον.*

[126] See for example Plut. *Mor.* 1094e: *ὅτι τοίνυν αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναὶ καθάπερ οἱ ἐτησίαι μαραίνονται μετὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ ἀπολήγουσιν οὐ λέλυθε τὸν Ἐπίκουρον.*

[127] *ἠνεμόεσσα Κάρπαθος* in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* l. 43; *ἀνεμώδεα Σκῦρον* in Sophocles F 509 Nauck and *Σκῦρος τ' ἠνεμόεσσα* in Dionys. Perieg. 521; *ἠνεμόεσσα* for Delos in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* l.11 with Mineur (1984) 60.

time the consul Acilius was attacking Naupactos. Unfavorable winds kept Livius at Delos for several days; the region around the Cyclades is very windy, some of the islands being separated by wider straits and others by narrower ones.'[128] With the northern winds blowing, even the narrowest strait could prove to be an impossible obstacle for those attempting sea travel.[129] For example, the strait between Andros and Tenos was (and is) called 'impassable strait', *στενὸν δύσβατον*, because of the strong winds and currents prevailing in the area.[130] Similarly, the strait between Andros and Euboea is even today almost impossible to pass, if strong northern winds are blowing.[131]

Strong winds and currents, then, posed limitations to ancient Greek seafaring. Geographical conditions, however, were also the facilitating factors in the increased mobility in the Aegean. We have already mentioned the importance of islands as convenient stops in ancient navigation lanes. Practices of cabotage inevitably increased connectivity, while also creating links between islands. Island interaction may have been the underlying reality upon which island networking was based. Island networking was also expressed on an abstract level with the representation of islands as a conceptual group. The most famous example of such island groupings on a theoretical level is the image of the 'Dance of the Islands', which has given the title of this book. The Cyclades, we learn from our ancient sources, were so called because they 'circled' Delos.[132] Using the same idea, Callimachus, in his *Hymn to Delos*, gives us a powerful

[128] Similar statement in Statius, *Achilleid* 1.389 ff.

[129] Even Salamis, an island situated so close to Attica and in the relatively mild Saronic gulf, is called *θαλασσόπληκτος* in Aesch. *Pers.* 307. Similar statement in Soph. *Ajax* 597: *ἁλίπλακτος*. See Broadhead (1960) 108.

[130] Slot (1981) 21 and Admiralty Sailing Directions (2000) 7.474–5. On the difficulty of navigation between Andros and Euboea see also Kolodny (1974) 68. On strong currents being formed between islands as a result of the southern progression of the Hellespont's ouflow, see Morton (2001) 38–41 and 43.

[131] Morton (2001) 90–1.

[132] Strabo 10.5.1 c484, begins his description of the Cyclades with Delos and the 'surrounding' Cyclades: *ἐν δὲ τῷ Αἰγαίῳ μᾶλλον αὐτή τε ἡ Δῆλος καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν Κυκλάδες*. Plin. *HN* 4.12.65 is more explicit about the origin of the name Cyclades: *et a promunturio Geraesto circa Delum in orbem sitae, unde et nomen traxere Cyclades.* See also Dionys. Perieg. 526: *Δῆλον ἐκυκλώσαντο καὶ οὔνομα Κυκλάδες εἰσί*. For possible intertextuality between Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* and Dionysius' *Periegesis* see Counillon (2004). For the problem of identifying the islands belonging to the Cyclades' group see Counillon (2001).

poetic image of the islands dancing around Delos.[133] He describes Delos as 'wind-swept and stern, it is set in the sea and wave beaten' (11). However because she is the holiest of islands, 'the islands gather and she ever leads the way. Behind her footsteps follow Phoenician Cyrnus, no mean island, and Abantian Macris of the Ellopians (i.e. Euboea) and lovely Sardo and the island whereto Cypris first swam from the water' (16–22). And again later on, the same image of the dance of islands in the middle of the sea is repeated: 'Asteria, island of incense, around and about you the islands have made a circle and set themselves about you as a choir' (300–1). A few centuries later, Aelius Aristeides used the idea of the dance of the islands: the Aegean sea, he says, 'is naturally musical, since right at the start it raised a chorus of islands' (44.12). Indeed, the islands are to the sailors and passengers a 'more sacred sight than any dithyrambic chorus' (44.13). However, this idea of the islands dancing around Delos was not solely Callimachus' creation. Already from the third quarter of the fifth century we have a red-figure cup from the former Czartoryski collection on which the Titan Tethys (also mentioned by Callimachus, in line 17) is represented dancing with maenads, two of whom bear the names of Delos and Euboea.[134]

It seems, then, that the dance of the islands existed as an artistic theme already from the fifth century. The dance of the islands, in a way, represents artistically the view of islands as joined together in a closely knit unit, or, in other words, it is the poetic image of the result of island connectivity.[135] Apart from the dance, however, there are other expressions of the understanding of islands as an interactive group, most notably in the most important documents of the Athenian empire, the Tribute Lists, in which one of the districts of the members paying tribute is called the *nesiotikon* (Fig. 2). The *nesiotikon* included almost all the islands of the Cyclades with the addition of Euboea, Imbros, Lemnos, and Cythera. It was 'the home riding of the empire' as the authors of the *ATLs* have claimed.[136] This

[133] See Mineur (1984) 66–7.

[134] Beazley (1928) 62.

[135] See, however, Bing (1988) 125–7 who interprets the theme of the dance of the islands in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* as the artistic expression of the philosophical notion of perfection and eternity.

[136] *ATL* I. 526.

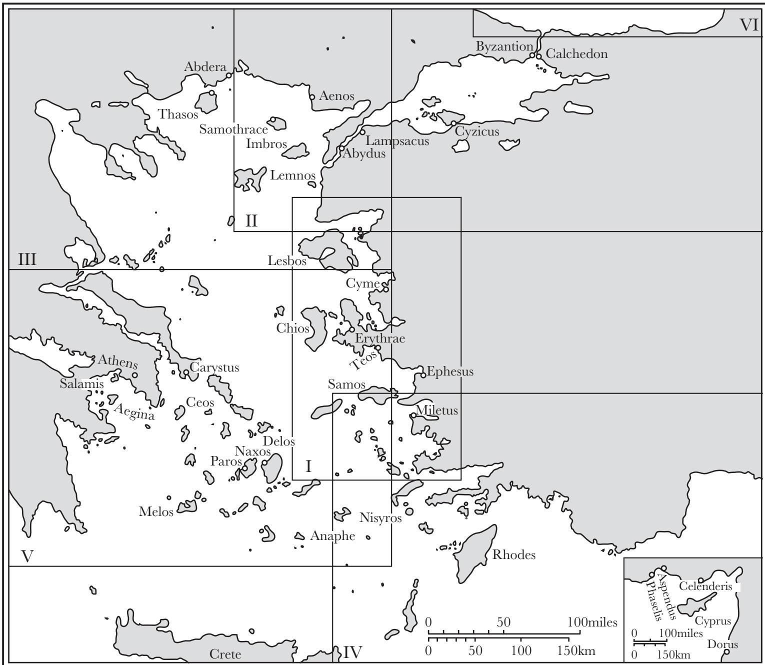


Fig. 2 The districts in the Athenian Tribute Lists (after Meiggs (1972) map 1). I: The Ionian district; II: The Hellespont district; III: The Thrace district; IV: The Carian district; V; The Island district; VI: The Euxine district.

statement underlines the importance of islands within the context of the Athenian empire in general and sea power in particular, which is one of the key themes of this book. The *nesiotikon* district also exemplifies the unity of the island world in the minds of the Athenians. It is interesting to note that there was a later instance where a political organization used a nomenclature borrowed from the world of the islands: the Islanders' League, the famous *Koinon ton Nesioton.*[137] A presentation of the evidence for this, however, is beyond the scope of this book.

With this background of interaction in mind, we shall examine the ways in which islands formed networks. Chapter 2 will explore the religious networks of Calauria and Delos, since these two networks, it is argued, had a maritime, if not insular, character. In chapter 3 it

[137] For the Islanders' League see Merher (1970), Bagnall (1976) 136–58, Huß (1976) 213–38, Buraselis (1982), Billows (1990) 220–5, Sheedy (1996).

will be argued that, in the case of Delos, what was a network of religious importance later developed into the Athenian empire. Indeed, the importance of islands in the context of the Athenian empire is examined both through its representation in our sources but also in relation to the more general usefulness of islands to imperial practices and sea power. In chapter 4 I explore the ways in which the recognition of this importance affected contemporary understandings of insularity and created new, or strengthened existing, imaginary constructions of insularity. Indeed, the connotation of insularity was transformed during the fifth century because of the existence of the Athenian empire and the position of the Aegean islands within this new Athenian imperial context. In chapter 5 it is argued that perceptions of insularity linked with the centrality of islands in networks of communications, their implications for safety in relation to sea power and their utopian connotation, all contributed to the use of insularity as an alternative image of imperial Athens. However, running alongside the history of the great power of Athens during the fifth century is also an extremely interesting history of minor powers and their policies. As Ma has stressed, micro-imperialism was equally important for the lives of the ancient Greeks as was conventional imperialism.[138] Chapter 6 investigates the unexplored history of mini island networks in the Aegean as a remarkable attestation of small-scale interaction. Island networking, however, also took the form of island–mainland relations: in chapter 7 an examination of the phenomenon of *peraiai* will help, I believe, to show the multitude of perceptions of insularity (this time inevitably linked with the mainland) and the importance of island and mainland relations for the history of the Aegean.

Diversity, in any case, is the underlying theme of all these investigations. We shall explore various aspects of the history of island networks and of the developing concepts of insularity, keeping in mind that, as Febvre stated, 'if we look for a "law of the islands", we find diversity'.[139]

138 Ma (2000) 352.

139 Febvre (1932) 223. For the Aegean as a sea of diversity see Kolodny (1974) 40 and Brun (1996a) 7.

2

Religious networks in the archaic Aegean

The main argument of this book is that island interaction and networking is at the heart of the history of the Aegean. Networks, however, are notoriously difficult to document, even more so in the archaic period, where the overall lack of literary sources makes any attempt at interpretation precarious. Religious activity, on the other hand, was one of the ways through which interaction between communities was expressed. More particularly, the formation of religious amphictionies in the archaic period was one of the ways in which island interaction was manifested. We are fortunate to have enough information (archaeological, epigraphic, and literary) about two early religious amphictionies centred on islands: that of Calauria (modern Poros) in the Argosaronic sea, and that of Delos in the Aegean. We can now turn our attention to these two cult networks in order to see what information they yield for island interaction.

2.1. CALAURIA (FIG. 3)

Calauria and the sanctuary of Poseidon is best known as a place for refuge in the late classical and Hellenistic period.[1] Its most famous resident was perhaps Demosthenes, who committed suicide and was later worshipped on the site.[2] On the other hand, the Calaurian amphictiony rarely appears in our sources. In fact, the main evidence

[1] See Sinn (1993) and (2003), and Schumacher (1993). See also Figueira in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 622–3.

[2] Death of Demosthenes: Plut. *Dem.* 29; *Mor.* 846e; Dem. *Letters* 2.20; and Paus. 2.33.2. Pausanias also mentions the cult of Demosthenes at Calauria (2.33.5).

Fig. 3 The Calaurian amphictiony. Names in *italics* are those of the members of the amphictiony.

for the existence of a religious network centred at the island of Calauria is a passage from Strabo (8.6.14 c374). It is perhaps worth quoting the passage in full:

Here (at Calauria) was an asylum sacred to Poseidon; and they say that this god made an exchange with Leto giving her Delos for Calauria, and also with Apollo, giving him Pytho for Taenarum. And Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F150) goes on to record the oracle: 'For thee it is the same thing (*ison*) to possess Delos or Calauria, most holy Pytho or windy Taenarum'. And there was also a kind of amphictionic league connected with this temple, a league of seven cities which shared in the sacrifice: they were Hermione, Epidaurus, Aegina,

Athens, Prasieis, Nauplieis and Minyan Orchomenos; however, the Argives paid due for the Nauplians, and the Lacedaemonians for the Prasians.[3]

Strabo does not mention his source for the list of the members participating in the cult, but it is most probably Ephorus, whom he quotes in relation to the oracle which ordered the exchange between Leto and Poseidon of their sacred places.[4] All of the cities in the list, apart from the Minyan Orchomenos, are located around the Saronic and Argolic gulf and are either next to the sea or have easy access to the sea (as Athens did). However, Minyan Orchomenos does not exactly fit this pattern of coastal cities. This lack of consistency in the pattern has made some scholars reject Boeotian Orchomenos as a member of the amphictiony and accept the Arcadian Orchomenos instead.[5] The inclusion of the Arcadian Orchomenos is, according to Kelly, necessary because of what he believes to be the character of the Calaurian amphictiony, namely a coalition of states founded in opposition to Pheidon of Argos.[6] However, in Kelly's suggestion we can see the tendency to change the evidence to make it conform to our model. There is no evidence that could conclusively make us reject Strabo's testimony; therefore, we must keep the Boeotian Orchomenos in the list of those participating in the sacrifice. In fact, there are enough indications of cultic associations between the Argosaronic gulf and Boeotian Orchomenos to make the inclusion not as remarkable as it may seem.[7] It is not my purpose to include

[3] Strabo 8.6.14 c374: *ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἄσυλον Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν, καί φασι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ἀλλάξασθαι πρὸς μὲν Λητὼ τὴν Καλαυρίαν ἀντιδόντα Δῆλον, πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ Ταίναρον ἀντιδόντα Πυθώ. Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν λέγει "ἶσόν τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαύρειάν τε νέμεσθαι, Πυθώ τ' ἠγαθέην καὶ Ταὶναρον ἠνεμόεντα". ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀμφικτυονία τις περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἑπτὰ πόλεων αἳ μετεῖχον τῆς θυσίας· ἦσαν δὲ Ἑρμιὼν Ἐπίδαυρος Αἴγινα Ἀθῆναι Πρασιεῖς Ναυπλιεῖς Ὀρχομενὸς ὁ Μινύειος· ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν Ναυπλίων Ἀργεῖοι συνετέλουν, ὑπὲρ Πρασιέων δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.*

[4] Jameson et al. (1994) 68 believe Ephorus to be the original source for Strabo, following Curtius (1876) 385. Same argument in Breglia (2005) 20. Kelly (1966) 118 believes that Aristotle was the original source based on a fragment (F597 Rose = Plut. *Mor.* 295e) from what was probably the now lost *Constitution of Troezen* (mentioned in Athenaeus 1.31c), which refers to another oracle that mentions Calauria by one of its other names, that of Anthedon.

[5] Curtius (1876) 388 and Kelly (1966) 120.

[6] Kelly (1966) 121.

[7] See recently Breglia (2005) summarizing the discussion of the mythological and cultic associations of Minyan Orchomenos and its relevance to the Calaurian amphictiony. Orchomenos might have access to the sea, through the city of Anthedon

here all the relevant discussion; besides, as George Forrest noted, 'the problem of Orchomenos is more entertaining than important'.[8]

More problematic and open to debate seems to be the date for the origins of the amphictiony: suggestions range from the Mycenean period[9] to the seventh century.[10] Since Strabo is the earliest literary source referring to the amphictiony (with the possibility that he took the relevant information from Ephorus), and our only other reference is a second-century inscription (*IG* IV 842), we must turn to the archaeological evidence in order to attempt to establish a date for the origins of this cult network in the Argosaronic sea.

Wide and Kjellberg excavated the site of the temple in 1894 and they published the results of the excavation a year later.[11] In 1997, the Swedish Institute at Athens renewed its investigations in the area of the sanctuary; the results of this new excavation on the site were published in 2003.[12] The sanctuary is situated approximately at the centre of the island between the Aghios Nikolaos hill and the Bigla hill, 3400 m north-east from the modern city of Poros. The site is C-shaped: the temple of Poseidon is situated on its eastern edge and on the north-eastern side was the greater temenos (Fig. 4). The sanctuary was built on a site with Late Helladic remains, particularly in deposits in a building to the west of the peribolos, revealed in the

in the northern part of the channel of Euboea. In addition, one of the names of Calauria is Anthedonia (Plut. *Mor.* 295e = Arist. F 597 Rose, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀνθηδών* and Paus. 2.30.8, where it is called Antheia). Boeotia was also said to be *ὅλη ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος* (Aristarchus in *Σ* Homer, *Iliad* 5.422 = *Etym. Magn.* 547.15–19 s.v. *Κύπρις*). A Poseidon cult was the centre of another amphictiony as well, that of Onchestos, where there was a temple and a sacred grove dedicated to Poseidon: Strabo 9.2.33 c412. Schachter (1986) vol. 2, 213–14 and 221 explained the inclusion of Orchomenos in the Calaurian amphictiony precisely through Calauria's and Orchomenos' connection with Onchestos.

[8] Forrest (2000) 284.

[9] Mycenean date: Wide and Kjellberg (1895) (the original excavators of the site in the nineteenth century), Farnell (1907) 4.39–40 and Harland (1925): according to Harland, the coexistence of Aegina and Athens was unthinkable in a period after the eighth century. Yet, traditional enemies like Paros and Naxos took part side by side in the religious festivals of Delos and the history of the Delphic amphictiony shows that friction between the member states was in no way unthinkable.

[10] Seventh-century date: Welter (1941), Figueira (1981) 186, Foley (1988) 148, Tausend (1992) 15, and Jameson et al. (1994) 68.

[11] Wide and Kjellberg (1895). For the archaeological remains on the site see also Welter (1941) 43–5, and Faraklas (1972).

[12] Wells et al. (2003) on the excavating period between 1997–2001.

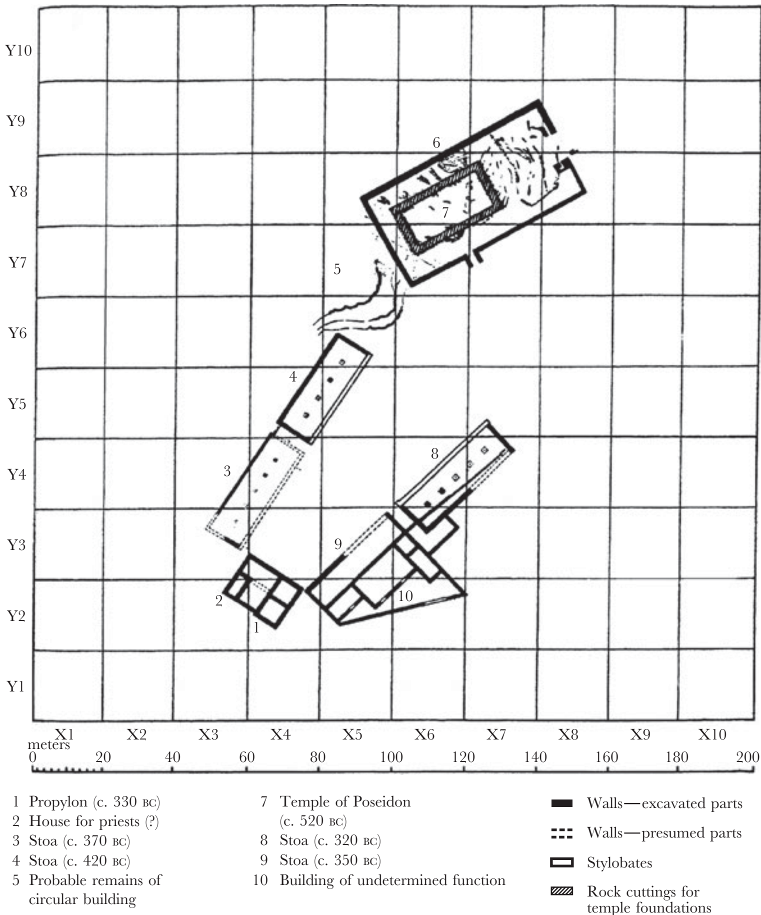


Fig. 4 The sanctuary of Poseidon at Calauria: sixth to fourth centuries (from Faraklas (1972) fig. 20).

latest excavation.[13] The temenos, surrounded by a peribolos wall on all sides, was established during the sixth century; at the end of the sixth century, as shown by terracotta and architectural remains, a peripteral temple was erected in the west part of the temenos (Fig. 5).[14] Activity

[13] Wells et al. (2003) 43–9. [14] Bergquist (1967) 35–6.

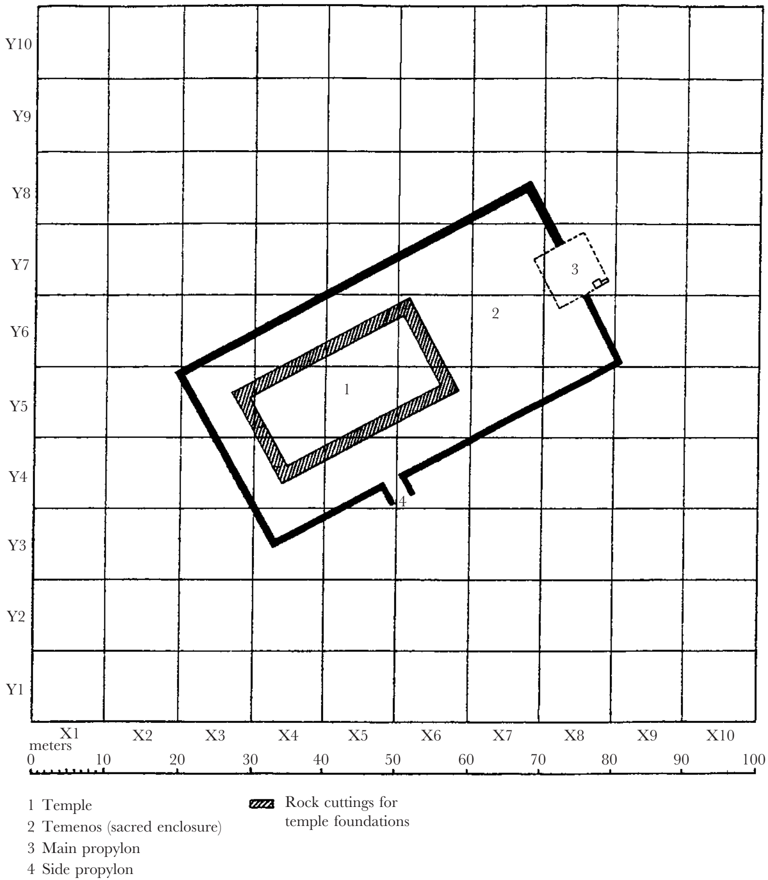


Fig. 5 Temple of Poseidon at Calauria in the archaic period (from Faraklas (1972) fig. 21).

on the site, however, predates the construction of the archaic temple. The excavators have found late geometric pottery and early archaic pottery in deposits under the building to the west of the peribolos and in the so-called building G.[15] From the finds, it seems apparent that the eighth century marked a period of change for the site. A single geometric sherd found in the first excavation was dated by Coldstream

[15] Wells et al. (2003).

to the ninth century; on the basis of the sherd alone, and of his interpretation of patterns of distribution of Attic geometric pottery in the Argolid, Corinthia, and Boeotia as indicative of the Calaurian network of participants in the cult, Coldstream suggested a ninth-century date for the origins of the amphictiony.[16] However, a single sherd can hardly prove or disprove this hypothesis. Similarly, I find it very difficult to accept that distribution of pottery has anything to do with cultic associations. The recent excavation on the site did not reveal any pottery that predated the eighth century, once the Late Helladic IIIC phase was over. Certainly, it is always possible that new research in the area will reveal material which may contradict this neat image of reuse of Mycenean space in the eighth century; but until this happens, we will have to accept the eighth century as the most likely period for the beginnings of a creation of sacred space.

What does this tell us about the amphictiony, however? The archaeological evidence seems to point to the eighth century as a *terminus post quem* for the origins of the amphictiony. Pottery indicates activity on the site, and may even indicate cult activity. But it is difficult to establish that the beginnings of cult activity on the site coincided with the foundation of the amphictiony. In fact, it is more likely that the amphictiony as a well established cult network postdated the beginning of the activity on the site. In other words, you first need to have a sanctuary, which worshippers visit and which shows signs of cult activity, before you can have the necessary reputation and appeal to become an amphictiony.

For further information, however, on the date of origin of the amphictiony, we need to evaluate Strabo's information. In the passage quoted above, Strabo stated that at a later time Argos paid dues for Nauplia and the Lacedaemonians for the Prasians. The foundation of the amphictiony, then, has to originate from a period when Nauplia and Prasiai were independent. Nauplia was occupied by Argos during the second Messenian war (Paus. 4.24.4 and Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F383), generally dated to the second half of the seventh century.[17] It seems then

[16] Coldstream (1968) 341–2 and (1977) 51. Ninth-century date followed by Snodgrass (1971) 402, Sourvinou-Inwood (1979) 20–1, Schumacher (1993) and Breglia (2005). See Gadolou (2002) 40 for a note of scepticism on the suggested ninth-century dating of the sherd.

[17] For the date of the second Messenian war see V. Parker (1991).

that the amphictiony began functioning at some point in the late eighth century or the first half of the seventh and in any case before the occupation of Nauplia by the Argives, which according to Pausanias took place not long before (ἔναγχος) the second Messenian war.

What did the cities participating in the amphictiony have in common? In other words, why participate in the cult of Poseidon Calaureates? A first response to this question might be that reverence to a mighty god offers protection to the participatory communities. There have been, however, different intepretations of the character or 'purpose' of the amphictiony. Shipley and Foley have suggested that it was a cultic association of local non-Dorian cities.[18] Although there is some evidence that suggests that the eastern Argolid had some association with Ionians,[19] the evidence of a distinct Dorian identity for most of the cities participating in the cult is overwhelming. With the exception of Athens and Orchomenos, the rest of the members of the amphictiony were partly or mostly Dorian.[20] A different interpretation sees the Calaurian amphictiony as a league of cities united against an expansionistic policy of Argos.[21] This kind of interpretation, however, fails to find any direct support in the existing evidence. The absence of Argos from the list of members is not conclusive evidence for such an interpretation. In any case, religious bonds do not have to be explained in political terms.

[18] Shipley (1996), Foley (1988) 163.

[19] See Hall (1997) 73–7 for Ionian associations of the eastern Argolid. Strabo 8.6.15 c374 mentions Ionians as part of the population in Hermione and Epidaurus. Paus. 2.26.2 records that the Epidaurians were descendants of Ion. In addition, there is some indirect evidence relating Troezen, to which Calauria belonged (Paus. 2.30.8 and 10.9.8), to the Ionians: Paus. 2.33.1 states that on a small island named Sphaeria, just off the shore of Troezen, there was a temple of Athena Apatouria; according to Hdt. 1.147, Apatouria is a festival that is celebrated by all the Ionians.

[20] Aegina, according to Figueira (1981) 183, became Dorian largely through contact with more populous neighbouring states. For Dorian Aegina see Hdt. 8.46, Pin. *Nem.* 3.3, *Σ* Pin. *Nem.* 3.1, Paus. 2.29.5, and Strabo 8.6.16 c376. Hermione was occupied by Dorians from Argos (Paus. 2.34.5); Epidaurus became Dorian after the local king (a descendant of Ion) surrendered the city to the Argives (Paus. 2.26.2 and Hdt. 8.46); Nauplia could only be Dorian since it was located so close to Argos; the same applies to Prasiae that belonged to a region that was fought for by both Sparta and Argos. Finally Calauria had some kind of Dorian character, because Troezen, the city that controlled the island was Dorian (Hdt. 7.99.3, where Halicarnassus is classified as Dorian because it was colonized by Troezen).

[21] Kelly (1966) 120, Jeffery (1976) 151, Baladié (1980) 334, Foley (1988) 163.

One element that we should stress is the maritime character of the amphictiony, since most of its cities had easy access to the sea and the god who was worshipped was the god of the sea.[22] Besides, only from the perspective of the sea could this group of cities be justified as *amphictiones*, that is dwellers around. The participants in the cult of Poseidon of Calauria had to travel by sea to reach their destination. Additionally, for the member cities to decide to participate in the cult, some sort of communication must have preceded the formation of the amphictiony. In that sense, the Calaurian amphictiony could be seen as a religious network following the underlying reality of communications and movement in the area of the Saronic and Argolic gulfs. In fact, the oracle of Apollo mentioned in Strabo's passage brings us closer to the maritime world of communication at Delos.

As we have seen Strabo's passage refers to an oracle instructing Poseidon to give up Delos and take Calauria instead (Strabo 8.6.14 c374, quoting Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F150).[23] For Strabo, the exchange took place between Leto and Poseidon. However, a tradition of an exchange between Apollo, who owned Calauria, and Poseidon, who owned Delos, is mentioned by Pausanias (2.33.2) and Philostephanus (*Σ* Ap. Rhod. 3.1242), whereas Callimachus (F593 Pfeiffer) and Suida (s.v. *ἀνεῖλεν*) simply mention the oracle. The tradition of the exchange between the two gods could, in fact, reflect the similar nature of the two cult networks, that of Calauria and that of Delos. Ephorus' version of the oracle states that for the god it is the same thing (*ἶσον*) to possess Delos or Calauria. This could be a reference to the island status and maritime connections of both locations. Both the cult networks included island participants in their cult, and, since they were located on islands, the only way of reaching the cult centre was over the sea. In other words, the common link between the two amphictionies and what makes the exchange referred to in the oracle possible is the maritime world they represent.

[22] The maritime character of the amphictiony has been upheld by Sourvinou-Inwood (1979) 20, Figueira (1981) 185 and Foley (1988) 148.

[23] See Pembroke (1967) 25–6 for all the occasions when Poseidon lost his original location of worship.

2.2. DELOS

The oracle recommending the exchange allows us to turn now to Delos and the cult network around the sacred island (Fig. 6). The *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* celebrates the Delian festival (144–55), in a passage also quoted in Thucydides' treatment of the Athenian re-establishment of the old festival (3.104):

> Many are your temples and wooded groves, and all peaks and towering bluffs of lofty mountains and rivers flowing to the sea are dear to you, Phoebus, yet in Delos do you most delight your heart; for there the long robed Ionians gather in your honour with their children and shy wives. Mindful, they delight you with boxing and dancing and song, so often as they hold their gathering. A man would say that they were deathless and unaging if he should then come upon the Ionians so met together. For he would see the graces of them all, and would be pleased in heart gazing at the men and well-girded women with their swift ships and great wealth.

The poet praises Delos as the birthplace of Apollo and gives us a rare poetic image of the early festival on Delos and the participants in the cult. He may stress the Ionian element, but as we shall see below, the archaeology points in a slightly different direction.

The first traces of occupation on Delos date from the second half of the third millennium on Mount Cynthos.[24] The next period when activity is visible on the island is the Mycenean; pottery dating from c. 1400–1200 has been found in significant quantities.[25] The excavations have also revealed what the excavators call a 'Habitat mycénien' to the north of the later temples of Apollo (*GD* 15: Fig. 6).[26] Actually, part of the later temple of Apollo, the Porinos Naos, was built on top of Mycenean ruins. However, there is almost complete absence of any material dating from the early Dark Ages.[27]

The eighth century is an important period for the island. The growing fame of Delos can be measured by the variety of fabrics imported.[28]

[24] Vatin (1965).

[25] Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 18.

[26] References to buildings on Delos will be based on the well-established numbering of Bruneau and Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (*GD*) (1983). All references to buildings on Delos can be found on Figure 6.

[27] Snodgrass (1971) 395–6, Desborough (1972) 279, Coldstream (1977) 215.

[28] Coldstream (1977) 215.

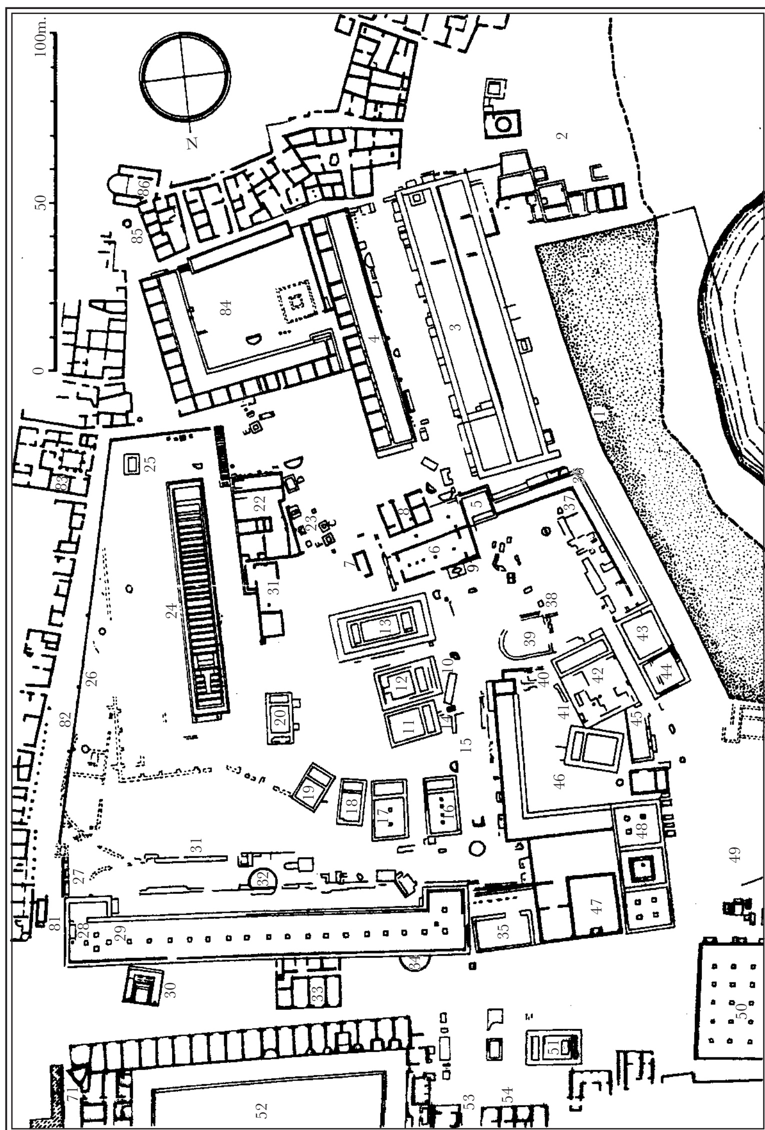


Fig. 6 The sanctuary of Delos (from Bruneau and Ducat (1983) plan 1). 6: The *Oikos* of the Naxians; 7: The Temple G; 9: The Colossal Apollo; 11: The Porinos Naos; 12: The Temple of the Athenians; 13: The Grand Temple; 15: The *Habitat Mycénien*; 16: The *Oikos* of the Carystians(?); 36: The Naxian *Stoa*; 39: The Altar of the Horns; 43: The *Oikos* of the Andrians(?); 44: Monument with the Hexagons; 46: The Artemision; 48: The *Hestiatorion* of the Ceians (?); 53: Letoon. Question marks indicate non-secure identifications.

The second half of the century is marked by an increase in these imports: whereas in the first half Athens is the only non-Cycladic source of imports, from c. 750 onwards we find goods from Athens, Rhodes, Corinth, Euboea, Crete, and Cyprus, as well as local Cycladic pottery. The late eighth century is also the period when many bronze tripods are dedicated in the sanctuary.[29] The existence of these bronze tripods is particularly important. Tripod dedication can be associated with cult activity in a ritual space, whereas the ceramic imports from all over the Aegean may simply indicate that Delos was a popular destination for people around the Aegean. However, as Papalexandrou has recently argued, tripod dedication can also be understood as a statement of status and power, and hence of political power and territorial domination in the increasingly competitive world of sanctuaries.[30] The evidence of eighth-century tripods from Delos, therefore, implies that the island was beginning to function as the meeting place of a competitive elite involved in ritual action.

Around or shortly after c. 700 the first buildings of monumental character were erected. Firstly, a building called Temple G, a narrow construction made of rough granite blocks at the east side of the *oikos* of the Naxians, belongs to the late geometric period (*GD* 7).[31] The erection of the later *oikos* of the Naxians at an angle of 90 degrees to Temple G may indicate that the latter was still standing when the *oikos* of the Naxians was constructed. In the early archaic period there was a large Artemision built on top of a Mycenean building, the building Ac (*GD* 46).[32] The Artemision was a long building built in 700 (date indicated by the finds).[33] A century later, the cella temple was altered to prostyle. The identification of this construction as a

[29] Rolley (1973) emphasizes links with Attica.

[30] Papalexandrou (2005) 4 and 194–6.

[31] Vallois (1944) 14–16. Vallois dated it to the Mycenean period because of its resemblance to the buildings underneath the archaic Artemision. However, see Bergquist (1967) 28, Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 123, and Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) 179: its elongated plan and free standing position are characteristics of the geometric period, followed by Gounaris (2005) 46.

[32] Santerre (1958) 90–1, Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 155.

[33] Vallois (1944) 48, Bergquist (1967) 26, Coldstream (1977) 215, Gruben (1997) 308 and (2000) 163. The deposit uncovered underneath the Artemision contained objects dated from the Mycenean period to the end of the eighth century.

temple is based on the existence of a later Hellenistic construction which was built on top of the archaic Artemision and which was certainly a temple.[34] In the same period, that is the beginning of the seventh century, a second building was erected, the archaic Heraion, a small square building on the path up Mount Cynthos.[35]

It seems, then, that already from the late eighth/early seventh century cult activity in the island resulted in the erection of three buildings which have been connected with religious activities. It is interesting to note that the erection of monumental buildings at Delos predates the erection of monumental buildings at both Olympia and Delphi, the most important interstate sanctuaries in mainland Greece. In Olympia, cult activity can be traced back to the end of the tenth century and the earliest bronze votives are dated in the late ninth century. No cult buildings or monuments, however, were erected earlier than c. 600 BC.[36] Similarly, a large collection of votives, including figurines and tripods, at Delphi dates from c. 800 BC, but the earliest cult building dates from the late seventh century.[37] It seems, then, that monumental buildings appear at Delos at least fifty years before any similar development takes place in the mainland interstate sanctuaries.

What are the implications of this early monumentalization, compared to mainland Greece, for the character and importance of the sanctuary at Delos? The most sacred space of the sanctuary was the Altar of the Horns (*keraton*).[38] Recently, the question of the location of the *keraton* has been resolved with the identification of the apsidal building *GD* 39, whose first phase of construction dates from the fifth

[34] Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) 181.

[35] Santerre (1958) 90–1, Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 230, Schuller (1985) 340–8, Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) 182, Gruben (2000) 163: date provided by the offerings, the earliest of which are dated to the beginning of the seventh century. See, however, the results of recent excavations, which revealed the presence of ceramic sherds of the late geometric period (second half of the eighth century), which, according to the excavators, suggest that the cult of Hera in this sanctuary should be assigned to an earlier date (*Archaeological Reports for 2003–2004* (2004) 70).

[36] Morgan (1990) 26 on the beginnings of cult activity in the tenth century; 31 on the earliest tripods; and 90 on the date of the Heraion at Olympia. For the date of the Heraion see also Gruben (2000) 61.

[37] Morgan (1990) on the beginnings of sanctuary activity at Delphi through the appearance of bronze votives and 133–4 on the date of the first temple of Apollo. For the date of the temple see also Gruben (2000) 88.

[38] See Bruneau (1970) 19–23 for a collection of the available sources on the Altar of the Horns.

century, with the Altar of the Horns.[39] In an earlier period, however, the Altar of the Horns would not have been housed in a building, but would certainly have been the centre for the cult, as well as the location for the bizarre Geranos dance that the Delians performed around it (Plut. *Thes.* 21 and Call. *Hymn to Delos* 58–63 and 307–24). So the participants in the cult of Apollo had a sacred altar, considered also as one of the seven wonders of the world (Plut. *Mor.* 983e), on which to focus their cult. If the altar was the most important space of the sanctuary[40] and the focus of the cult, then a temple would not acquire the same focal position. Yet Delos produced not one, but three monumental buildings by the early seventh century. It seems that the participating communities in the cult of Apollo Delios had both the resources available and the will to proceed to monumentalization in the sanctuary. Since the participating communities at Delos were mostly island communities, it seems probable that these island communities and their respective elites reached a stage of competitive conspicuous display so advanced that their participation in the cult required the construction of monumental buildings. I find it improbable that it was the Delians alone who produced the resources necessary for the construction of these three buildings. Rather, considering also the later active participation of the other island states in monumentalizing the sanctuary, it seems more likely that the construction of the three buildings was the result of at least a form of pooling of resources by the participants in the cult. However, I prefer not to consider whether this is evidence for the island communities of the Aegean becoming poleis earlier than their mainland equivalents, although I would be inclined to accept such a view. Certainly, the very fact of monumentalization at such an early stage is evidence for the growing fame of Delos and the importance of the sanctuary for the participating communities in the cult. Such a growing fame is also reflected in Delos' first appearance in our literary texts; in the *Odyssey* (6.162–3), Odysseus compares Nausicaa to the young palm-tree growing by the altar of Apollo.[41]

[39] Bruneau and Fraisse (2002), followed by Tsakos (1999) and Etienne (2002). Roux (1979) located the *Keraton* in *GD* 42: but see the arguments put forward by Bruneau (1981), as well as the new publication of the excavation in Bruneau and Fraisse (2002).

[40] Bruneau and Fraisse (2002) 79: 'le point majeur du sanctuaire'.

[41] For the comparison between Nausicaa and the palm tree at Delos see Harder (1988).

In the course of the seventh century the sanctuary expanded and more buildings were erected. The most important of the new constructions was the *oikos* of the Naxians, a very long building with foundations made from big blocks of granite (*GD* 6). Its first period of construction can be dated to any point in the period from the end of the eighth century to the second half of the seventh century.[42] In a later period, c. 575, an eastern prostoon was added to the original construction.[43] Courbin identified the building as the first temple of Apollo and the one referred to in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (51–2), but his identification has been challenged, with scholars suggesting that the *oikos* had the function of a treasury or a *hestiatorion*.[44] The building may not have the typical orientation of a Greek temple, but its orientation makes sense if indeed it is oriented towards the Altar of the Horns, the most sacred space in the sanctuary and the focal point of cult.[45] The later construction of the three temples (*porinos naos GD* 11, Temple of the Athenians *GD* 12, and Grand Temple *GD* 13)

[42] Courbin (1980) 38–41, followed by Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 121, proposed a date in the second half of the seventh century. Vallois (1944) 18 and Santerre (1958) 215, however, believe that the first phase of the *oikos* of the Naxians is considerably earlier. Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) 180 argues that Courbin's arguments are inconclusive and that a date at the end of the eighth century or the first half of the seventh are equally possible, especially when one compares the plan with other temples of this period. Gruben (1997) attempted to abolish the idea of a first period of construction for the *oikos* in the late eighth or early seventh centuries, and suggested instead that the *oikos* was constructed in one period, c. 590–580, with the addition of a prostoon in 560–550. His argument was based on the irregularities of construction and planning which imply, among other things, that the *oikos* was built after the erection of the colossal Apollo in c. 600. However, as Lambrinoudakis (2005) recently showed, the irregularities of architectural design and planning of the *oikos* are typical of early Naxian architecture with clear parallels from the third temple at Yria, dated to c. 680, and the *oikoi* in the newly excavated sanctuary at Phlerio on Naxos dated to the eighth and the middle of the seventh centuries. An early phase of construction for the Naxian *oikos* must, therefore, be accepted. For the identification of the building as the *oikos* of the Naxians see Courby (1921) 238. The name *oikos* of the Naxians appears in the fourth century (c. 350) in a series of inscriptions: *ID* 104–25 5, 104–26 b 11–24, 104–28 b B 5–25 and 104–29 5–10.

[43] See Étienne (2002) 286 on the significance of this construction: the first monumental propylaea were invented by the Naxians in the beginning of the sixth century.

[44] Courbin (1980) 32–41, followed by Tréheux (1987a) 389 and Tsakos (1999) 180, suggests that the *oikos* is the first temple of Apollo. Santerre (1984), followed by Étienne (1992) 304 and Gruben (2000) 164, believes that the building was a *hestiatorion*.

[45] Bruneau and Fraisse (2002) 78 and Tsakos (1999) 180.

in a position parallel to the *oikos* of the Naxians and with the same orientation, seems to reinforce an understanding of the *oikos* as a temple. Besides, as Mazarakis-Ainian argued, the two suggestions about the function of the *oikos*, that is, as a temple to Apollo and as a treasury/*hestiatorion*, do not have to be mutually exclusive: the *oikos* could be the first temple to Apollo, in which ritual meals may have been carried out.[46] In any case, the erection of the *oikos* of the Naxians, whether a temple or not, attests to an increasing interest on the part of the participants in the cult of the Delian Apollo. The Naxians, in particular, through the construction of this building, could have been wishing to express their active involvement in the festivities of the sanctuary.

The *oikos* of the Naxians, in fact, is not the only manifestation of Naxian interest in the cult of Apollo. During the course of the seventh century, the Naxians seem to be the 'chief influence' in the sanctuary of Apollo.[47] Firstly, from the eighth century, Naxian pottery already dominated Delos.[48] Additionally, Jeffery has noted that most of the offerings at Delos in the seventh century use the Naxian alphabet.[49] The Naxians were also responsible for the erection of the Terrace of the Lions.[50] The lions stood on the west side of an archaic road to the sanctuary from the north. Traditionally, this road has been considered as the main road to the sanctuary from the northern port of Scardana, which was later abandoned for a more convenient southern location;[51] however, it is now evident that there

[46] Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) 180–1. Similar the position of Roux (1979): it is a 'temple-treasury', not a 'temple-sanctuary', followed by Bruneau and Fraisse (2002) 79 with n. 65. Similarly, Lambrinoudakis (2005) 86 notes that it is difficult to distinguish between cult and banquet buildings, with reference to early phases of Yria temple and the *oikoi* at Phlerio.

[47] Jeffery (1976) 179. Santerre (1958) 295 sees in the impressive cultural presence of the Naxians in the sanctuary an economic and political supremacy. However, there is no evidence that cultural interest, or even cultural dominance, implies also economical and political supremacy. See for example Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 19–20: the nature of Naxian presence at Delos was not political or in any way institutionalized: it was more a cultural dominance.

[48] Santerre (1958) 280.

[49] Jeffery (1990) 296–7.

[50] Naxian identification on the basis of the marble used and on the sculptural style: see comments in Santerre (1959) 35–6, followed by Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 173.

[51] See Santerre (1959) 33–4 and Gruben (1997) 407–10.

was no such main road from a northern port, which does indeed leave open questions about the position of the Terrace of the Lions.[52] They are dated from the end of the seventh century.[53] Furthermore, the Naxians dedicated a colossal Apollo; only fragments of the statue survive and it is dated c. 600 (*GD* 9).[54] The early sixth-century inscription on the base of the statue informs us that the statue was made from the same stone, base and all (*ID* 4).[55] A later fourth-century inscription on the same base states that the statue is a dedication by the Naxians (*ID* 49).[56] Presumably, there was no need for such a declaration in the early sixth century: such was the dominance of Naxian culture in the island, that only the Naxians could have dedicated such a piece of art.[57] Finally, in the mid sixth century the Naxians were responsible for erecting a stoa at the western side of their *oikos* (*GD* 36).[58] The stoa is of gamma-form and defines the shape of the south-western corner of the sanctuary. Finally, it is perhaps worth noting that a Delion sanctuary on Naxos is mentioned in our sources (Andriscos, *FGrH* 500 F1). The Delion is identified as the sanctuary on the small island of Palatia in the harbour of Naxos.[59]

The presence of Naxian works of art on Delos in the seventh and early sixth centuries is on an unparallelled scale. The lack of any literary references, however, makes it very difficult to draw any conclusion in relation to the nature of the Naxian interest in Delos and the cult of Delian Apollo. Works of art and monumental architecture are certainly not evidence of political or economic control, as

[52] See Bruneau (1987) 327–31, and Duchêne and Fraisse (2001), followed by Étienne (2002) 291.

[53] Santerre (1959) 34, followed by Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 173.

[54] Santerre (1959) 34, Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 125–6.

[55] Chamoux (1990) believes that the inscription means that the statue was not of the same *block* of stone, but rather of the same marble.

[56] *ID* 49: *Νάξιοι Ἀπόλλω[νι]*.

[57] On the Naxian art found on Delos see Costa (1997) 131–44. See, however, Gruben (1997) 280, who argued that the classical inscription may have been a copy of an inscription originally engraved on the statue's thigh.

[58] Coulton (1976) 233, Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 146–7, Gruben (2000) 164. For the identification of the building as the Naxian stoa mentioned in Hellenistic inscriptions (e.g. *IG* XI.2 287 A 89–92) see Courby (1921) 239.

[59] Gruben (1972) 361–4, followed by Costa (1997) 81 and 144 and Lambrinoudakis (2001) 15. On the sanctuary at Palatia see also Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) 330.

Santerre and so many others interpreted the evidence.[60] Similarly, statements such as 'Naxos, which seems to have been at the time the chief supplier of the Delian sanctuary, apparently gets full control of the sanctuary and its politics among Ionian Greeks'[61] wrongly interpret predominance in the pottery supply of Delos as a consequence of imperialistic power. What we can say is that the Naxians were extremely eager to manifest their interest in the cult of the Delian Apollo. Interstate sanctuaries were a very convenient location for competitive display of glory and wealth.[62] It is possible to claim that the Naxians were using Delos as a showroom for conspicuous exhibition of their artistic development and wealth, but monumentalization and art do not necessarily imply political domination or imperial control.

In the second half of the sixth century Parian interest in Delos becomes visible in the archaeological remains. Five Parian kouroi and possibly one kore are dated to this period.[63] A building called Monument with the Hexagons, because of the peculiar design on the outside of its marble blocks, is dated to the end of the sixth century (*GD* 44).[64] The same decorative pattern can be found on the Letoon at Delos (a monument from roughly the same period) (*GD* 53).[65] This decorative peculiarity can also be found on three buildings at Thasos, which was a Parian colony, and on a column at Catapoliani of Paros.[66] Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest with Bruneau and Ducat that the Monument of the Hexagons is probably of Parian

[60] Santerre (1958) 295. Lately Kourou (1994) 269 argued that the presence of Naxian pottery at Delos constitutes evidence for political and economic control over the sanctuary. Gruben (1997) 261 also sees a political aspect in the cultural dominance of Naxos at Delos. Reger (1997) 466 sees Naxian activity at Delos as evidence for Naxian control over the sanctuary: it is a part of what he describes as 'a successful policy of imperialism in the Aegean'. Similarly, Ceccarelli (1996a) 51 also believes in the existence of political control exercised by the Naxians over the other islanders; however, none of the evidence points definitely in that direction.

[61] Kourou (2001) 27.

[62] Morgan (1990) 2–3.

[63] Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 61–3. For the problem of identification of Parian origin in sculpture see Santerre (1958) 289.

[64] Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 153.

[65] Vallois (1944) 109, Santerre (1958) 257–8 and (1959) 68, Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 170. On the relation between the Letoon and the Monument with the Hexagons see Santerre (1959) 68.

[66] Hellmann and Fraisse (1979) 73–5.

origin as well.[67] Tréheux took this suggestion a step further and argued that this monument was in fact a Parian *oikos*.[68] He believed that such an identification was reasonable considering the extent of the relations between Paros and Delos in the second half of the sixth century as shown through sculpture, pottery, and even script.[69] Tréheux also recognized Parian influence in another building, on the neighbouring island of Rheneia, the Artemision *ἐν Νήσῳ*.[70] Paros seemed interested in the cult of Delian Apollo even outside Delos. A sanctuary in honour of Apollo Delios has been discovered on the island of Paros with evidence of cult activity that began at least during the sixth century, although no temple was built until 490–480.[71] Berranger believes that the geometric finds in the area of the Delion sanctuary may in fact point to an even earlier beginning of cult. Artemis Delia was also worshipped in the same sanctuary, as we know from a fourth-century inscription on the base of a statue in honour of the goddess (*IG* XII.5 211). Athena Cynthia was another goddess with some relation to Delos who was already worshipped at Paros from the sixth century.[72]

From the conspicuous interest of Naxos and Paros in Delos, we now move to another important Aegean island in the archaic period: Samos. The Samian tyrant Polycrates also showed signs of interest in Delos and the cult of the Delian Apollo. Shortly before his death, generally dated to 522,[73] he dedicated Rheneia to Delos, connecting them with a chain (Thuc. 1.13.6 and 3.104.2).[74] The dedication of Rheneia to Delian Apollo probably took place on the

[67] Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 153.

[68] Tréheux (1987a) 388.

[69] For pottery see Santerre (1958) 280 and 287 on the 'Parian' group; for the local script of Delos which was a mixture of Naxian and Parian see Jeffery (1990) 296–7.

[70] Tréheux (1995) 200.

[71] For the Delion sanctuary on Paros see Berranger (1992) 81–3. Cult of Apollo Delios on Paros manifested in *IG* XII.5 214.

[72] Berranger (1992) 82 and *IG* XII.5 210.

[73] Mitchell (1975) 81.

[74] See Parke (1946) for the date of the event shortly before Polycrates' death. Parke based his dating on Suida s.v. *Πύθια καὶ Δήλια*. When Polycrates asked the Pythian Apollo how to name the new festival at Delos, the god answered '*ταῦτά σοι καὶ Πύθια καὶ Δήλια*', meaning that the name was not important, since this festival was going to be his last. The proverb acquires meaning in so far as that is what happened, namely that shortly after the Delian intervention, Polycrates died.

same occasion as the newly founded festival Polycrates held at Delos, for which he asked the Pythian Apollo for a suitable name (Suida s.v. *Πύθια καὶ Δήλια*).[75] However, we do not know the wider context within which Polycrates' dedication should be placed. Thucydides mentions the dedication of Rheneia to Delos twice, once in relation to his discussion of the Athenian intervention in Delos and the purification of the sanctuary (3.104) and once in his Archaeology (1.13). What is interesting in both these instances is that Thucydides combines the reference to the dedication of Rheneia to Delian Apollo with a mention of Polycrates' sea power and his rule over the islands.[76] For Thucydides, there seems to be a direct correlation between Polycrates' dedication of Rheneia and the control of the islands; how else would the word 'other' (*ἄλλας* and *ἄλλων*) be explained in both these passages if not as a mention of the 'other' islands, that is other than Rheneia? Thucydides places Polycrates' action of piety in the context of sea power and control over the islands. However, as we shall see below, Thucydides' understanding of sea power was the result of his own experience of the rise and fall of the Athenian empire and sea power.[77] For Thucydides, sea power and control over the islands became a tool of analysis of the past; hence, it was projected onto early mythical figures such as Minos. Polycrates may be a historical figure and his sea power may have been considerably more 'real' than that of Minos, let us say, but this should not make us trust Thucydides' analysis of placing the dedication of Rheneia within a context of explicit sea power. I do not find it particularly fruitful to speculate about Polycrates' intentions;

[75] See Burkert (1979) and (1987) for the suggestion that the festival founded by Polycrates at Delos and held shortly before his death was the occasion for putting together the two separate parts of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, that is the Pythian and the Delian part. On the question of the unity or disunity of the hymn see Miller (1986), who supports claims of unity between the two parts of the poem; contra West (1975), who asserts that the Delian part was composed later than the Pythian part and Janko (1982) who reasserts the priority of the Delian part in relation to the Pythian part.

[76] Thuc. 1.13.6: *καὶ Πολυκράτης Σάμου τυραννῶν ἐπὶ Καμβύσου ναυτικῷ ἰσχύων* ***ἄλλας τε τῶν νήσων ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσατο*** *καὶ Ῥήνειαν ἑλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ*. 3.104.2: *ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Ῥήνεια τῆς Δήλου οὕτως ὀλίγον ὥστε Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος ἰσχύσας τινὰ χρόνον ναυτικῷ* ***καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων ἄρξας*** *καὶ τὴν Ῥήνειαν ἑλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ ἁλύσει δήσας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον.*

[77] See chapter 4.1.

however, what is certainly of some interest is that Delos in the archaic period is an arena for the display of piety and, why not, of power for island communities, such as Naxos and Paros, and for tyrants, such as Polycrates, and as we shall see in the following chapter, Peisistratus.[78] The correlation between interest in the cult of Delian Apollo and the world of the islanders in Thucydides may be explained as a result of his understanding of sea power, but the archaeology of archaic Delos does reveal a picture of island investment in the sanctuary of Apollo.

The Delian cult of Apollo is generally understood as a cult predominantly of the Ionian world.[79] Certainly, such an image is in agreement with the ancient sources: Thucydides in his description of the re-establishment by the Athenians of the old festival at Delos states that the festival was the meeting place for the Ionians and the neighbouring islanders (3.104.3).[80] Thucydides may mention the island participants in the early cult of Apollo, but this important contingent in the festival at Delos has not received the attention it probably deserves. We have already examined how in the early archaic period there was a strong Naxian presence at Delos, which contributed dramatically to the monumentalization of the sanctuary. We have also discussed how Paros and Samos invested in the Delian cult. More particularly, we mentioned the possible existence of a Parian *oikos*. If, therefore, we are right in our interpretation of the early cult network of Delian Apollo as primarily a *nesiotic*, rather than Ionian, network, we need to examine, wherever possible, whether any other island communities participated in the cult and whether island participation created the most prominent and significant presence in the sanctuary.

Certainly, the archaeological evidence from Delos seems to indicate a conspicuous presence of island states in the monumentalization of the sanctuary. I have suggested that the early monumentalization of the sanctuary at Delos with the construction of three temples (the

[78] See chapter 3.1.1.

[79] See for example Meiggs (1972) 300–2, Smarczyk (1990) 318, Hornblower (1991) 520, who also mentions the appeal of Delos to the Dorian islanders, Walker (1995) 43, and R. Parker (1996) 150–1.

[80] Thuc. 3.104.3: *ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον* ***τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν.***

Heraion, Temple G, and the archaic Artemision) was the result of at least partial contribution of resources by the participants in the cult network. This suggestion may be plausible, but it is not evidence for island participation in the monumentalization of the sanctuary. However, there is one aspect of building activity which we have touched upon which directly links island participating communities to monumentalization: the island *oikoi* found on Delos.

We should briefly consider here the importance of the *oikos* or treasury.[81] Richard Neer in his two excellent studies on the Siphnian and Athenian treasuries at Delphi was able to bring out some of the more important functions of such buildings in the prestigious location of panhellenic or interstate sanctuaries.[82] In Neer's analysis, treasuries serve the function of appropriating previous elite dedications and placing them firmly within a new 'political', in the sense 'of the polis', framework. It is important to stress here the element of 'political' activity embodied in the act of building and dedicating a treasury. In our discussion of Naxian influence on Delos in the seventh century we touched upon the problem of pottery: as we saw, Naxian pottery dominated Delos in the eighth century, while most of the offerings in the seventh century used the Naxian alphabet. These findings are very useful when discussing mobility and participation of individual islanders but they cannot tell us anything about communities as a whole. Treasuries, however, are usually the result of communal decisions and efforts: they also, as Neer argued, 'retain a special link with the cities that built them'.[83] The treasury is the manifestation of the polis in the heart of what may be considered a 'neutral', but at the same time highly contested, space: that of the interstate sanctuary.[84] The communal aspect of dedication is an inescapable feature of the very existence of the treasury;[85] treasuries or *oikoi* are 'the embodiments of the city-state that has dedicated them'.[86]

[81] I will use the two terms interchangably: see Jacquemin discussing treasuries at Delphi (1999) 149–50: it is impossible to distinguish between the two, since the Delphians use both terms for the same buildings.

[82] Neer (2001) and (2004).

[83] Neer (2001) 277.

[84] Neer (2004) 85. On sanctuaries as zones of competing discourses see Rutherford (2004a) 69.

[85] Roux (1984b) 155.

[86] Marinatos (1993) 231.

Oikoi, then, are excellent manifestations of collective involvement and dedication. What is extremely interesting for our argument about the network of participants in the cult of Delian Apollo as essentially an 'island' network is the fact that all the *oikoi* surviving in name on inscriptions from the sanctuary at Delos belong to island states. We have already discussed the most prestigious of them all, the Naxian *oikos* (*GD* 6), and its possible function as the first temple of Apollo. We have also mentioned the possible existence of a Parian *oikos*, identified with the Monument with the Hexagons (*GD* 44). From Hellenistic inscriptions, we find out that there were three more island *oikoi*: an *oikos* of the Andrians, an *oikos* of the Carystians, and, most probably, an *oikos* of the Myconians.[87] In addition to these *oikoi*, we know from Herodotus that the Ceians had a *hestiatorion* on Delos (4.35.4).[88] This last reference is even more indicative of the communal aspect involved in the construction and dedication of

[87] *Oikos* of the Andrians: *IG* XI.2 287b 87 (mid-third century); *oikos* of the Carystians: *IG* XI.2 144a 87–8, 145 9–10 (both from the end of the fourth century) and 287a 78 (mid-third century), which mentions a *neokoros* of the Carystian *oikos*. See also *IG* XI.2 287a 73, which mentions some Carystian *theoroi* (mid-third century); *oikos* of the Myconians: *IG* XI.2 145 28 (late fourth century), which mentions a *neokoros* of the Myconians: on the basis of that Vallois (1944) 63 presupposes a Myconian *oikos*: 'le passage, mutilé, ne nous dit pas ce qu'il (i.e. the Myconian *neokoros*) faisait à Délos; du moins me semble-t-il prudent de prévoir un *Μυκονίων οἶκος*'.

[88] For the identification of the *hestiatorion* of the Ceians see Roux (1973), who suggested that it should be identified with the large building to the west of the Ecclesiasterion and to the north of the Artemision (*GD* 48), followed by Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 160, Schuller (1985) 352–3, Kanellopoulos (1996) 192–5 and Étienne (2002) 291. The building is dated to the second quarter of the fifth century: Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 159–60 and Schuller (1985) 352: not earlier than 478. See, however, Kanellopoulos (1996) 194, who identifies some architectural elements that point to a fourth-century date for the building. Vallois (1929) 250–78 initially identified the building as the Thesmophorion. However, his identification is no longer accepted: see Étienne (2002) 291 commenting on the combined use of marble, poros and gneiss stone for the construction of *GD* 48, a combination of material to be found on the temple of Apollo on Ceos: 'the mixture of materials is singular enough to be the key to the identification'. Tsakos (1999) 183 has some reservations on the identification proposed by Roux based on what he sees as a paradox: how would Ceos, an island which did not have important links with Delos, invest so heavily in order to construct such a unique, spacious, and well-built building ('*μοναδικό, ευρύχωρο και καλοχτισμένο κτήριο*')? See, however, Bruneau (1970) 108–9 with *IG* XII.5 544a2 35–48, and Rutherford (2000) 606 on the impressive links between Ceos and Delos.

such buildings. Ceos was famously a tetrapolis island; yet, in this case the citizens of the four poleis chose to be represented in the sanctuary and cult at Delos collectively through the construction of a single building epitomizing their 'island' identity.[89]

Identifying these *oikoi* is a notoriously difficult task.[90] Vallois proposed a series of identifications for these *oikoi*.[91] The *oikos* of the Andrians was identified as the building that formed the extension of the Naxian stoa to the north-west (*GD* 43).[92] It is a small building erected approximately in the same period as the Naxian stoa (i.e. middle of the sixth century). We know from the Delian inventories that from the late third century the *oikos* of the Andrians probably functioned as a space for storing dedications ultimately to be placed elsewhere and for miscellaneous building supplies and cult equipment.[93] However, this late use of the *oikos* does not necessarily imply a similar use for the early period; in its early function, the *oikos* must have served primarily as storage for Andrian dedications, and therefore as an embodiment of the Andrian community.

The *oikos* of the Carystians was identified as the archaic treasury to the north of the *porinos naos* (*GD* 16).[94] This is the earliest of the five treasuries which are arranged in an arc around the *porinos naos*. From what we know about Carystos, it is very unlikely that her citizens would have been able to build an *oikos* after 479, when they suffered because of their medism (Hdt. 8.112 and 8.121; Thuc. 1.98). Brun explained the active role the Carystians played in the life of the sanctuary at Delos through their '*nesiotic*' status.[95] Although Euboea is technically an island, its other major cities, such as Chalcis and Eretria, were more related to mainland Greece than to the Aegean

[89] On the *hestiatorion* of the Ceians as an example of 'island' identity in action see Constantakopoulou (2005) 8.

[90] See comments in Partida (2000) 25–6 and Neer (2001) 277 for *oikoi* in general and Étienne (2002) 292 for the Delian *oikoi* in particular.

[91] Vallois (1944) 24–5 and 63.

[92] Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 152, however, consider this identification doubtful.

[93] Hamilton (2000) 367. For the Andrian *oikos* see also Rutherford (2004b) 59–60.

[94] Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 134.

[95] Brun (1996a) 10. See also *IG* XI.2 287 73, where some Carystian *theoroi* are mentioned (*ὅτε ὁ χορὸς ἐγένετο τοῖς Καρυστίων θεωροῖς*; first half of the third century). Carystos also participated in the passing over of the Hyperborean gifts to Delos (Hdt. 4.33.2). For the Hyperborean offerings see Tréheux (1953).

world.[96] Carystos, however, as Brun notes, is a true Aegean city. Its isolation from the rest of Euboea makes her almost an 'isolat'. Or, as Picard puts it, Carystos belongs to the island world of the Cyclades.[97] In that sense, it is interesting to note that only Carystos of all the Euboean cities had an *oikos* at Delos. Carystos is more an island city than any other Euboean city and this 'island' status of the city may be the explanation why Carystos had particular links with Delos as opposed to the other cities of Euboea, which were more linked to mainland Greece. Finally, the *oikos* of the Myconians has not been identified.

If the identifications suggested by Vallois and Roux are correct, we are looking mostly at archaic or early classical constructions. The probable dates, then, of the constructions of the identified *oikoi* of the inscriptions in combination with the early reference by Herodotus to the Ceian *hestiatorion* seem to imply that island states were active in the cult of Apollo Delios and eager to display their piety at the sanctuary from an early date. Roux, in particular, noted the conspicuous absence of any Asia Minor state from any visible participation in the cult of Delian Apollo.[98] That by itself should alter our perception of Delos as a purely Ionian centre. In terms of community investment in the Delian sanctuary, the only visible states are island states through the construction of the *oikoi* or *hestiatoria*: Naxos, possibly Paros, Andros, Carystos, Myconos, and Ceos. Community investment and symbolic presence in an arena for competitive discourses seems to belong to the island world of the Aegean.[99]

The archaeological evidence, then, seems to contradict, at least partly, the image of Delos as a centre for the Ionian world. In fact, non-Ionian interest in the cult of Apollo Delios does appear in our

[96] Kolodny (1974) 105: 'l'Eubée peut être considerée comme une série d'unités insulaires distinctes'.

[97] Picard (1979) 210. [98] Roux (1984a) 99.

[99] Santerre (1958) 298: 'le sanctuaire archaique a conservé jusqu'à la fin du VIe siècle un certain aspect insulaire'. I cannot see how we can link the building of treasuries with the fact that Delos became the seat for the treasury of the Delian league; for such an association see Osborne (1999) 324. The treasuries referred to in the Delian inventories are island *oikoi*, with the addition of a Delian *oikos*. This last *oikos* may be linked to Delos being the seat of the treasury, but the other *oikoi* are manifestations of the identity of the individual communities that built them and therefore cannot be *directly* linked to the Delian league or its treasury, but perhaps only indirectly in the respect that the Delian sanctuary may have had increased importance as a result of the choice for the seat of the treasury.

sources.[100] Pausanias, for example, describes how Eumelus from Corinth taught the Messenians the *prosodion* when they first sent a *theoria* to Delos (4.4.1 and 4.33.2), an event dated to the seventh century.[101] Furthermore, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* seems to imply that many different tribes (*φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων*) participated in the religious celebrations at Delos: the girls of Delos (Deliades) 'sing a strain telling of men and women of past days . . . also they can imitate the tongues of all men and their clattering speech' (160–3). The reference to the Deliades imitating the voices of visitors implies that the girls would sing in a different dialect to their own.[102] More particularly, however, it was the non-Ionian island communities that appear in our sources as participating in the cult of Apollo Delios. The importance of Delian Apollo for island states was first noticed by Paton and Hicks in their introduction to the *Inscriptions of Cos*.[103] They noted that 'among the Dorian islanders also the Delian worship had early won distinct recognition' and they referred to a month *Dalios* in Rhodes, Cos, and Calymnos.[104] Delian Apollo was also worshipped outside Delos. We have already mentioned the Delion on Paros and on Naxos. Recently, Yannos Kourayos excavated an impressive sanctuary on the modern island Despotiko (ancient Prepesinthos), to the west of Antiparos which he identified as a sanctuary to Apollo Delios and Artemis Delia (Fig. 12). This otherwise entirely unknown sanctuary seems to have had an impressive geographic appeal with finds from the Cyclades but also from northern Syria, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and north Mesopotamia, dating from the late geometric period to the second century AD.[105] Gruben, in fact, calculated that there were twenty-two branch shrines dedicated to Apollo Delios.[106] Apollo Delios or Dalios appears in Chios, Amorgos, Calymnos, Cos, Nisyros, and Syme.[107] Furthermore, more islands were

[100] On this point see Smarczyk (1990) 474–7.

[101] See West (2002) 109–10 for the date of Eumelus' *prosodion*.

[102] On the Deliades see Bruneau (1970) 35–8 and Rutherford (2004a) 72–3 with n. 30.

[103] Paton and Hicks (1891) xxiv.

[104] For the month Dalios see Sarkady (1985) 14–15. For Rhodian dedications at the temples of Delos see Homolle (1891) 121–6.

[105] Kourayos (2005).

[106] Gruben (2000) 376.

[107] Farnell (1907) 4.170 with references. For Apollo Dalios on Cos see Sherwin-White (1978) 299–301. For cultic associations between Calymnos and Delos see the evidence collected by Segre (1944–5) 25 and Sherwin-White (1978) 125 n. 228. See also Homolle (1891) 142 for Delos and Calymnos as well as Delos and Casos.

associated with Delos and the cult of Delian Apollo. Diodorus (5.58.4) describes how the Rhodians asked Delian Apollo for advice on how to rid themselves of the huge serpents that had been killing many locals.[108] A later tradition also connects Lemnos to Delos. Philostratus (*Her.* 53.5 de Lannoy, 207 Kayser) describes how the Lemnians took the sacred fire for their city from Delos.[109] The transfer of the fire exemplifies possible links between these two islands.

Herodotus, too, seems to imply that cult at Delos was not exclusively Ionian. In his digression on the story of the Hyperboreans (4.32–5), he refers to a custom followed by the Delian women in honour of the two Hyperborean maidens, Arge and Opis. The women make collections in these maidens' names and invoke them in a hymn which they were taught by a Lycian, named Olen (4.35.3). This custom, Herodotus tells us, the Delian women taught 'to the islanders and [even] the Ionians'.[110] The islanders here are presented as the direct recipients of the Delian customs, even before the Ionians. The separate mention of islanders and Ionians in relation to an important aspect of cult at Delos may indicate that the network of participants in the cult of Delian Apollo was viewed as *nesiotic* and Ionian, and certainly not solely Ionian.

Let us now return to Thucydides' passage, where, in the context of the Athenian purification of Delos during the Peloponnesian war, he refers briefly to the older festival at Delos (3.104.3): both Ionians, he tells us, and the neighbouring islanders participated in this festival.[111] The separate mention of Ionians and islanders, on this occasion in direct relation to the cult of Delian Apollo and the festival in

[108] For the existence of an oracle at Delos see *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 79–82 and 131. Semos of Delos (*FGrH* 396 F12) also refers to an oracle given to the Athenians by Delian *manteis*. Given that the existence of an oracle (*manteion*) on the island is recorded in an early third-century inscription (*IG* XI.2 165 44), the *manteis* in Semos' reference were probably the official *manteis* of the oracle and not any random local soothsayers. For the question of the existence of an oracle on the island see Laidlaw (1933) 18 n. 2, Cassola (1954) 366 for the view of the oracle functioning as early as the fifth century and Bruneau (1970) 142–61, who is sceptical of the existence of an official oracle on Delos.

[109] For the Pytheion and the transfer of fire from Delos to Lemnos see Bruneau (1970) 115.

[110] Hdt. 4.35.3: *παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας* ***νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἴωνας*** *ὑμνέειν.*

[111] Thuc. 3.104.3: *ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον* ***τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν.***

his honour, may imply that they were viewed as two separate and distinct categories of participants. Thucydides, in this sentence, does not seem to stress the Ionian component or the *nesiotic* one, but he does imply that the festival and the network of participants was not purely Ionian. However, a few lines further down he drops the Ionian component entirely and refers solely to the islanders and the Athenians (3.104.6): 'later the islanders and the Athenians sent choruses and sacred offerings, but the contests and the other ceremonies naturally fell into disuse'.[112] In this case, the continuation of the festival at a later period is entirely associated with the Athenians and the islanders, probably both Ionian and Dorian alike. It seems that here we have the presence of the *nesiotic* world and the absence of the Ionian.

A conceptual differentiation between islanders and Ionians can also be found elsewhere in Thucydides. After his first defeat by the Athenians, Gylippus assembles the Syracusan army and encourages them by saying that 'it would be an intolerable thing if Peloponnesians and Dorians could not feel certain of defeating and driving out of the country these Ionians and islanders and rabble of all sorts' (7.5.4).[113] This is not a reference related to the cult of Apollo Delios, but it is interesting insofar as it shows that islanders were regarded as a distinct and separate unit from the Ionians, a unit which must have included islanders of different ethnic origins, Ionians, Dorians, and Aeolians alike. In fact, such a description almost resembles an ethnic differentiation. Thucydides on another occasion groups the islanders alongside a distinct ethnic group, the Ionians. In Euphemus' speech (6.82.3), the speaker argues that the Athenians 'do not think that they have done anything wrong in subjugating the Ionians and the islanders, who, according to the Syracusans, are our oppressed kinsmen'. The differentiation here between Ionians and islanders seems to indicate that the term islanders had at least some ethnic connotations.

[112] Thuc. 3.104.6: *ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμπον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός*. I followed Hornblower's (1991) 531 translation of *ὡς εἰκός* as 'naturally' instead of 'probably'. The latter would imply an archaic date for the discontinuation of the festival.

[113] For this passage see chapter 4.2.1.3.

We could dismiss the reference as evidence for an ethnic differentiation between Ionians and islanders and interpret it instead as geographical classification, if it was not found within the context of the Sicilian narrative. It is the Sicilian part of Thucydides' work that most often puts forward issues of ethnic differentiation as an explanatory factor in the history of the conflict.[114] Therefore, the reference to the islanders must imply a kind of separate ethnic category, a category which must have included Ionians and Dorians (like the subjugated Melians) alike.

Finally, Strabo in his description of Delos refers briefly to the festival in honour of Delian Apollo (10.5.2 c485). The fame of Delos is attributed solely to the participation of the neighbouring islands in the cult, without, and that is particularly interesting, any mention of the Ionian participants.

Islands are also predominant in the list of places that rejected Leto in her wanderings in the Greek world, as described in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (30–44).[115] The world depicted in the catalogue is the Aegean world with locations from the south (e.g. Crete), north (e.g. Thrace and Mount Athos), west (e.g. Athens and Euboea) and east (e.g. Mycale and Phocaea). Islands are particularly predominant in the list of possible places. Out of thirty-one locations listed, the number of islands is sixteen (Crete, Aegina, Euboea, Peparethos, Samothrace, Scyros, Imbros, Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Cos, Carpathos, Naxos, Paros, and Rheneia). If indeed the list of places that reject Leto in the hymn is a poetic reflection of the geographic area of appeal of Apollo Delios, then we can see an impressive presence of the island world.

Thucydides and Herodotus, then, distinguished between the Ionian participants in the cult of Delian Apollo and the islanders. Secondly, for Thucydides and Strabo the character of the religious network was primarily *nesiotic* rather than purely Ionian. The literary references we have just examined in combination with our other references, which attest to the popularity of Delian Apollo in both Ionian and non-Ionian

[114] Crane (1996) 153–61.

[115] For the geographical catalogue in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* see Miller (1986) 31–4; for the catalogue as an incorporation of the Aegean world see Osborne (1996) 246, where, however, he sees Apollo's festival on Delos as a gathering of Ionians.

islands, as well as the archaeological remains of activity of island states in the area of the sanctuary, may indicate that the cult network around Delos was not solely Ionian, but instead had quite a strong *nesiotic* character. Our ancient sources may insist on an Ionian character for the Delian festival, but a thorough examination of the literary references to Delos and the cult of Apollo Delios in combination with the prominent position of island states in the archaeological remains of the sanctuary, and particularly the existence of *oikoi* from island states only, does seem to point to the conclusion that the cult network of Delos was not identical with the ethnic division of Ionians in the Greek world. In fact, the cult network of Delos seems to have expressed the social network of interaction in the Aegean, with islands as the chief participants.

2.3. CONCLUSION

Archaeological evidence and literary sources, then, seem to paint a picture of island participation in the cult of Apollo on Delos in the archaic period. In particular, the presence of non-Ionian islands in our sources as places actively engaged with the cult of Apollo Delios seem to imply that Delos was the religious centre not of a purely Ionian world but predominantly of a *nesiotic* world. Archaic Delos, then, was the centre of a religious amphictiony of island participants.

We can now turn again to the oracle of exchange between Calauria and Delos. As Strabo recounted, for Poseidon it is the same thing (*ἶσον*) to possess Delos or Calauria (8.6.14 c374). I have previously suggested that the exchange between Poseidon and Apollo was possible only if the two islands and therefore the cult networks based on them were conceived as having the same character. Firstly, both Calauria and Delos were islands and thus reliant on sea transport for any communication and transportation of the participants to the cult and the festivals. The participants in the sacrifice to Poseidon Calaureates were either island states (like Aegina), states next to the sea (Epidaurus, Hermione, Prasieis, and Nauplieis) or states with easy access to the sea (Athens), with the exception of the problematic Minyan Orchomenos. The Calaurian amphictiony, in that sense,

could reflect the maritime world of communications within the Saronic gulf. Similarly Delos was the cult centre of the island world of the Aegean, with the island participants appearing more active in the archaeological remains. Naxos, Paros, Samos, Myconos, Carystos, Ceos, Andros, Lemnos, Rhodes as well as Calymnos, Cos, Chios, Amorgos, Nisyros, and Syme, all appear either in literary references or in relation to *oikoi* they had built on the island in connection to Delos and Apollo Delios. It seems that the island states were more actively involved in the cult festival in honour of Apollo at Delos, to an extent that may allow us to speak of a *nesiotic* network rather than purely an Ionian one. Again, the unifying factor of the network here, as in the case of Calauria, is the world of the sea. The maritime character of Calauria and Delos is, I believe, what allowed the tradition of the exchange oracle to be developed. Poseidon may lose Delos and therefore the maritime world of the Aegean in the exchange, but he gains Calauria and the world of the Saronic gulf.

Prontera suggested that already from the seventh century we can see a 'regional consciousness' in the Cyclades which was expressed in the cult network of Apollo Delios.[116] However, as I hope to have shown, many island cities outside the Cyclades also participated actively in the worship of Apollo Delios. I prefer to see Delos as the centre of an amphictionic cult network of a strong island character with the inclusion of islands other than the Cyclades like Rhodes, Cos and Calymnos in the Dodecanese, Samos in the eastern Aegean and Lemnos in the north Aegean. Besides, as Étienne and Dourlot observed, a network, in this case formed through cult activity, creates a sense of unity and interaction in an area that is not necessarily a true topographic unit.[117] Participation in the cult of Apollo Delios may have served as the basis for a later creation of what Prontera described as regional consciousness in the area of the island world of the Aegean. In the fifth century the Delian league unified for the first time the Aegean sea under the control of a single power, Athens. In a later period, the league of the Islanders (*Κοινὸν τῶν Νησιωτῶν*) expressed also in name, through the use of the noun 'islanders', the underlying reality of a sense of connectivity of the island world.

[116] Prontera (1989) 177.
[117] Étienne and Dourlot (1996) 21.

Braudel has stated that 'politics merely follow the outline of an underlying reality'.[118] It seems, then, that politics in the fifth century (and later) and the creation and reality of the Delian league followed the outline of an underlying reality of a sense of connectivity in the island world of the Aegean.

118 Braudel (1972) 137.

3

The Aegean islands as an imperial network: the fifth century and the Athenian empire

Our investigation of the early history of the cult around Poseidon Calaureates and Apollo Delios has shown that the two networks of participants in the two cults shared a similar island character. This similar character of the cult networks around the two islands was also expressed in the oracle recorded by Strabo of the exchange between Calauria and Delos (Strabo 8.6.14 c374). In other words, it was the same thing for Poseidon to possess Delos or Calauria: both were religious networks with strong *nesiotic* character, while also reflecting the maritime world of communications in their respective areas, the Saronic gulf and the southern Aegean. If we understand the cult of Apollo Delios in particular as essentially an island network of cult participants, rather than a purely Ionian one, then we can conceptualize the maritime world of the southern Aegean as an active world of communications which found expression in the religious activity on the Delian sanctuary. The world of the islands in the southern Aegean interacted, communicated, and expressed its insular identity through participation in the cult of Apollo Delios. Such interaction and religious expression was an important feature of the life and history of the Aegean islands in the sixth century. Through the cult of Apollo, the insular Aegean world intensified its relations. The cult network provided a background of interaction. The history of the Aegean, then, in the sixth century, is very much a history of island interaction.

The fifth century and the post-Persian wars period was marked by the rise (and eventual fall) of the Athenian empire. Athenian hegemony in the Aegean sea through the formation and transformation of the Delian league marked a period of monumental change in the life of islanders

and in the reality of maritime networks in the area. The Aegean was transformed for the first time into an area dominated by a single power.[1] Consequently, the maritime network of communications which existed for centuries in the Aegean and which was expressed, as we saw, in the religious network of participants at Delos for the first time came under the control of a single power, Athens. Athenian imperialism in the Aegean, however, was successful exactly because it was based on the networks of interaction already existing in the area. In other words, the Delian league at first and the Athenian empire later can be seen as the political expression of interaction which at a previous stage existed as a cult network around Delos. With the transformation of the league into the empire, Athens attempted to claim for herself the image of the central island of the Aegean; in other words, Athens attempted to become the new Delos. If we are correct in this idea of transformation of the archaic religious network centred at Delos into the imperial network of allies of the Delian league, then we should be able to see a predominant island character in this later political network. Indeed, in many ways islands can be seen as the heart of the Athenian empire. As we shall see, the very term 'islander' denotes in our sources the generic subject ally of Athens. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to attempt to throw some light on the history of the Aegean world under the Athenian empire through an investigation of the Athenian interventions at Delos and through an exploration of the concept of islands as natural subject allies for the Athenian imperial rule.

3.1. DELOS AND ATHENS

Athens certainly expressed an interest in the cult of both Poseidon Calaureates and Apollo Delios. Athens was a member of the Calaurian amphictiony, as we saw in the previous chapter, and celebrated the cult of Poseidon Calaureates, with the god having a shrine in fifth-century Athens (*IG* I^3 369 74).[2] Athens was also an active

[1] Raaflaub (1998) 16.

[2] The inscription is the accounts of the Athenian *logistai* for the period 426/5–423/2. For Athenian interest in Poseidon Calaureates see R. Parker (1996) 28.

member of the Delian network of cult. During the fifth century there are visible manifestations of imperial investment and attempts to control the cult network of Apollo at Delos, which can be interpreted as an inevitable result of the existence of the Athenian empire. However, Athenian interest in Delos can be detected in an earlier period in a context which may be potentially hegemonic. Before, therefore, we examine the relations between Delos and Athens in the fifth century, we need to turn our attention to the sixth century and the Peisistratid purification of the island.

3.1.1. Peisistratus

Peisistratus, according to Herodotus (1.64.2) and Thucydides (3.104.1–2), purified the part of Delos which was visible from the sanctuary by removing all burials to the neighbouring island of Rheneia. The date for the purification can be set in the 540s, that is after the battle of Pallene, which brought Peisistratus to power at Athens, and before the latest pottery found in the deposit created at Rheneia because of the purification.[3] It seems, then that the purification of Delos was among the first acts of Peisistratus as a tyrant. It is also possible that Peisistratus may have been behind the erection of a monumental building in the Delian sanctuary, the so-called *porinos naos*, dated to the second half of the sixth century (*GD* 11).[4] Courby, followed by Vallois, believed that this was a Naxian monument which was either left unfinished, or was in need of major restorations at the end of the sixth century.[5] However, the restoration or completion of the building was attributed to Peisistratus, based on the dating and the use of Attic limestone.[6] We have already examined in the previous chapter the importance of monumental buildings as evidence of participation and interaction in an interstate sanctuary.[7] Certainly,

[3] Battle of Pallene dated to 547/6 or 546/5: see Cadoux (1956) 105 and Rhodes (1981) 199. Dates for the pottery found in the deposit at Rheneia: Shapiro (1989) 48.

[4] The first reference to a *naos porinos* comes from the third century: *IG* XI.2 158a 60–1. For the late sixth-century date see Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 128.

[5] Courby (1931) 208–14, Vallois (1944) 22.

[6] Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 128, R. Parker (1996) 87, Gruben (2000) 164.

[7] See chapter 2.2.

monumentalization is an important aspect of Peisistratus' policy in Athens; however, the significance of an act of monumentalization outside Athens should not be underestimated. Indeed, the *porinos naos* is the only Attic building outside Attica in the period.[8] The use of Attic limestone for the completion of the building also deserves a mention—native material may have added to the symbolic importance of the building as essentially a manifestation of Athenian tyrannic policy. As Neer observed on the use of Siphnian marble for the construction of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi, native stone marked the building 'as the product of a particular territory',[9] making, in this way, the association between monumentalization and Athenian activity even stronger.

Why such a direct manifestation of interest in Delos and the cult of Apollo? We could interpret the building of the *porinos naos* as simply an indication of piety and facilitation of cult in an important interstate sanctuary, although, as I have shown in the previous chapter, monumentalization and the building of distinctly home-away-from-home buildings such as *oikoi* and *hestiatoria* are embodiments of a community's participation and identity. The use of Attic limestone, in particular, signified clearly that the building was Athenian. The act of purification, however, has even stronger connotations. In many ways, it can be seen as a 'notable assertion of Athens' primacy'.[10] We do not hear of any Delian reactions to such an act of visible interference in what must have belonged to the sphere of internal Delian affairs.[11] I find it improbable, however, that the possible connotations of the purification went unnoticed, especially if we consider the Delian reactions to the second purification in the 420s, which we shall discuss below. Peisistratus' initiative could be placed in the context of wider Ionian propaganda, which aimed to represent Athens as the mother-city of all Ionia.[12] The act of purification of a

[8] Boersma (1970) 17. [9] Neer (2001) 279.

[10] So Andrewes (1982) 403, who, however, stresses the Ionian factor.

[11] See chapter 3.1.2 for possible Delian reactions to the later act of purification by the Athenians.

[12] R. Parker (1996) 87 on Solon's claim of Attica as *πρεσβυτάτη γαῖα Ἰαονίας* (F4a (West) = *Ath. Pol.* 5.2). Andrewes (1982) 403, Mills (1997) 25, and Lavelle (2005) 228–9 place the Peisistratid purification in the context of Athenian assertion of Ionian consciousness. For the subject of Athenian Ionian propaganda see the discussion in

sanctuary openly recognized as an important centre of the Ionian world could express in terms of religious piety Athens' leading role in that world. In other words, sixth-century tyrannic Athens made a bold move in terms of expressing—and contesting—Ionian identity.[13] Indeed, a prominent Athenian presence in the Delian sanctuary may have had implications for the very definition of 'Ionians' and 'Ionianism'. In the interrelating world of the Aegean in general and the world of the participants in the cult of Delian Apollo in particular, the purification and the *porinos naos* created a context within which Ionian identity was constructed and displayed, perhaps even in competition with other constructions of Ionianism, which may have not included Athens in a similarly prominent position as the one Athens was trying to promote.

At the same time, however, such an active involvement in the life of the sanctuary must have been aimed at the entire network of participants, Ionian and non-Ionian alike. In fact, given the strong *nesiotic* character of the network of participants, Peisistratus must have been aware of the non-Ionian aspect of the cult network. The spectacular act of purification did not necessarily have only one ideological implication. Such an open act of religious 'aggression' portrayed Athens as a great power in a central location, geographically, religiously, and ideologically, in the Aegean sea.[14] Manifestation of piety, then, can be viewed within a context of hegemonic power, or at least within a context of attempting to gain importance as a hegemonic power,[15] with Delos as the ideal setting as the centre of the interrelating Aegean world. If this demonstration of piety and power before the Aegean world and the participants in the cult of Apollo was an important parameter in Peisistratus' purification, it was not done in isolation. In the same period, we hear of another

Smarczyk (1990) 328–84 and Connor (1993). It is possible that the Ionian propaganda of Athens was so much related to an interest in Delos that a tradition combining the two was created. The tradition, as recounted by Plutarch (*Mor.* 158a), made Solon, our first source directly to articulate the ideology of Athens as the mother-city of all Ionia, as responsible, through his Cretan friend Epimenides, for a purification at Delos.

[13] For contesting Ionian identities see Hall (2002) 68–9. For interstate sanctuaries as arenas for contesting and competing identities (with particular reference to Mykale and Delos) see Rutherford (2004a) 69.

[14] R. Parker (1983) 73.

[15] Lanzilotta (1996) 276–7.

move which could belong to the same policy of involvement in the island world of the Aegean.[16] Herodotus describes how Lygdamis, later tyrant of Naxos, helped Peisistratus during his exile in Eretria to accomplish his goal and become tyrant of Athens (1.61 and *Ath. Pol.* 15.2). A few chapters later we find out that Peisistratus paid back the help he got: this time it was he who helped Lygdamis gain control of Naxos (1.64 and *Ath. Pol.* 15.3). Peisistratus, then, was involved in two interventions in the same area in a short period of time. It is not surprising to hear of networks of support between archaic tyrants.[17] Indeed, Lygdamis was also connected in tradition to another island tyrant, Polycrates of Samos. According to Polyaenus, Polycrates became tyrant with the help of soldiers sent by Lygdamis (*Strat.* 1.23.2).[18] Polycrates, as we saw in the previous chapter, was also involved in manifestations of piety and power in Delos, through the dedication of Rheneia to Delos, an event dated shortly before his death in 522.[19] Peisistratus' help to Lygdamis may indeed belong to the same policy of interfering in the island world of the Aegean. It is not necessary to read the stories of Peisistratid support for Lygdamis as stories relating to power relations over Delos.[20] What we could say, though, is that tyrannic examples of piety to Apollo (both Peisistratus' and Polycrates') can be linked with tyrannic networks of support and power and can be seen as expressing an interest in the island world of the Aegean. Peisistratus' intervention at Delos expresses the Athenian interest in the island and its cult network. It is not evidence for hegemony over the Aegean or over the cult of Apollo Delios, but it can be seen as an expression of *potential* hegemony.

3.1.2. The Delian league and the Athenian empire

Peisistratus' purification may have been an excellent manifestation of interest in the island world of the Aegean and its cult network, but in the

[16] Santerre (1958) 57, followed by Lanzilotta (1996), also sees the purification of Delos and the intervention in Naxos as two closely related incidents. On the links between Peisistratus and Lygdamis see Costa (1996).

[17] Parke (1946) 106.

[18] Shipley (1987) 90–1.

[19] See chapter 2.2.

[20] As Lanzilotta (1996) 279.

sixth century Athens did not have mechanisms of control with which to exercise power over Delos and its sanctuary, nor perhaps did she have the will to exercise power. These mechanisms, however, and the will to exercise control became a reality in the fifth century with the Athenian empire. Indeed, the fifth century and the Athenian empire, as we have already mentioned, marked a period of monumental change for the history of the Aegean and its islands. The existence of a single power exercising authority for the first time in the area affected the ways in which power and imperialism were conceptualized (and within such a context, also the ways in which insularity was understood as an essential element for the realization of sea power, as we shall see later). Athenian imperialism also had a great impact on the cult network of Apollo Delios and subsequently on the life of the sanctuary. Although in the sixth century powers like Naxos and Samos may already have wished to have an impact on the cult of Apollo Delios and certainly Peisistratid Athens interfered with the life of the Delians through the act of purifying the island, Athenian involvement in the life of the sanctuary was now on a different scale and with more drastic results. In the sixth century, even if (which is not demonstrable) political control was the aim of the involvement of Naxos, Samos, or Athens, none of these powers had the means to impose this kind of control over the religious life of the Delian sanctuary or over the life of the participating members. Athens, however, especially in the second half of the fifth century, had both the means, through the existence of the empire and her powerful navy, and the will to impose such a control. It is not my wish to include here a comprehensive presentation of the subject of Athenian intervention on Delos.[21] Rather, I will look briefly into some of the more important manifestations of Athenian involvement and control in order to show how important Delos was for the Athenian empire and how the centrality of Delos in the network of participants in the cult of Apollo Delios affected the ways in which the Delian league was conceptualized.

Delos was chosen as the headquarters of the newly founded Delian league (Thuc. 1.96.2).[22] The choice of Delos must have been the

[21] For a fuller account see Laidlaw (1933) 57–75, Westlake (1969) 17–19, Meiggs (1972) 47–9 and 300–2, Jordan (1986) 137–9, Smarczyk (1990) 464–82 and 504–25, Hornblower (1991) 517–31 and (1992b), R. Parker (1996) 149–51.

[22] Thuc. 1.96.2; Diod. 11.47.1; Nepos, *Aristeides* 3.3; Aristodemus *FGrH* 104 F1; see Hornblower (1991) 143–7 with bibliography.

result of the religious importance of the island in general and its importance as a religious centre of participation for the island world of the Aegean in particular, since it was the nucleus of the new league.[23] The existing network of participants in the cult of Apollo Delios proved a very convenient background for the creation of a political/military alliance that had no predecessor in the area. Politics indeed followed 'the outline of an underlying reality' of geographic unity and interaction, according to Braudel.[24] In other words, detached from the archaic religious network of Delos in the Aegean, the Delian league makes little sense.

Diodorus tells us that the proposal that Delos should be the headquarters of the new alliance was in fact Athenian (11.47.1). As we saw in the case of the Athenian purification of Delos under Peisistratus, Athenian interest in Delos cannot be explained solely in the context of Athenian Ionian propaganda, which definitely began to strengthen during the fifth century.[25] The Ionian character of Delos may have been an important factor in the Athenian decision to choose Delos as the headquarters of the new league.[26] However, it should not be seen as the only factor. Athens must have understood that Delos was the religious centre of the entire Aegean world and of the Aegean islands in particular, Dorian and Ionian alike. The choice of Delos, then, expressed in political terms the previous religious interaction in the Aegean, which had, as we saw, a strong *nesiotic* character. Athenian interest in Delos could also be placed in the context of a concept that gradually emerged in Greek history in order to acquire a new and

[23] As Meiggs (1972) 43 noted, 'had military considerations alone been relevant Samos might have seemed the most appropriate headquarters'.

[24] Braudel (1972) 137.

[25] I am following here Connor (1993) 198 against Sakellariou (1990) 137. Sakellariou believes that the image of Athens as the motherland of Ionia, and generally all Ionian propaganda of Athens, was introduced in the beginning of the fifth century, after the Ionian revolt. This interpretation ignores evidence such as the Solonian line (F 4a (West) = *Ath. Pol.* 5.2), which suggests a previous date for the introduction of such propaganda. However, there can be no doubt that in the fifth century Athens was particularly keen on emphasizing any ethnic *syggeneia* between herself and the allied cities of the Delian league, preserving at the same time her unique position as the leader of the league on the mythical level as well. Therefore, the Athenians are not simply Ionians, they are the city from which the whole Ionian movement can trace its origins.

[26] See for example Meiggs' comment (1972) 50, that the Delian league 'predominantly was an Ionian League'.

significant form: sea power and the role of islands in such a reality. An insular location for the headquarters of the league illustrated the importance of islands for an alliance that based its strength on sea power. As we shall see later, sea power and insularity were inextricably connected and perhaps the choice of Delos expressed such an intimate relationship. However, this is a point to which I will return later.[27]

The foundation of the so-called Grand Temple, in the 470s or some time later, showed that Delos was viewed as a permanent centre of the league, or, at least, as the permanent religious centre (*GD* 13).[28] However, the construction of the temple was interrupted (possibly in 454);[29] the ceiling, roof, and floor were finally added at the end of the fourth century. The reason for the interruption in the construction was probably that in 454 the seat of the treasury of the league was transferred from Delos to Athens.[30] In other words, Delos no longer required a large temple to serve as the treasury for the league.[31]

The transferring of the treasury demonstrated the new position Athens held *vis à vis* the allies. The real and conceptual centre of the league was not Delos, but Athens. Gomme saw the transfer as a move away from the Ionian character that Delos imposed on the league: Delos as the centre of the league 'emphasised overmuch the Ionian character of the league, which included many Dorian and Aeolian cities. This may have been one reason for the transference of the treasury to Athens in 454.'[32] However, Delos was not a purely Ionian religious centre. The transfer to Athens had less to do with a move away from an 'Ionian identity', which Athens anyway propagated

[27] See below chapter 3.3.

[28] Smarczyk (1990) 465. For the two periods of construction of the so-called 'Grand Temple' see Courby (1931) 97–104, Boersma (1970) 170, Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 130–1, Gruben (2000) 164: first period between 475–450 and second one in 325–300.

[29] See Boersma (1970) 170, followed by Giovannini (1997) 152–3 and Samons (2000) 101.

[30] For the problematic dating of the transfer of the sanctuary see Hornblower (1991) 146 discussing Pritchett (1969), who suggests that the transfer of the sanctuary actually took place in the 460s. See also Samons (2000) 101–2, who argues that a date of 454 for the move seems justified on the basis of the existing evidence.

[31] The temple of Apollo probably served as the treasury of the Hellenotamiai. However, I agree with Samons that we cannot conclusively argue that the treasury was dedicated to the god: see Samons (2000) 74–5.

[32] Gomme (1945) 280.

though her representation as the mother-city of Ionia,[33] and more to do with the appropriation by Athens of the role Delos had played as the centre of the Aegean world, Ionian and non-Ionian alike. In other words, Athens was now the new central 'island' of the Aegean.[34]

The transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens marked a new period of Athenian intervention in the life of the sanctuary. The Athenians were mainly responsible for the administration of the sanctuary during most of the fifth century, as we find out from a series of inscriptions dealing with the leasing of the sanctuary's property. The first of these inscriptions is dated to 434–432 (ML 62 = *ID* 89). Its heading is lost, so we do not know the name of the board (the name *amphiktiones* is not preserved), but from the dating by both Athenian and Delian *archontes*, we can presume that it was partly Athenian.[35] The term *amphiktiones* is preserved in a later inscription, that of the year 410/409 (Tod 85 = *ID* 93). The accounts are drawn up by Athenian *amphiktiones* and Delian *neokoroi*. In the year 408/7, the Delian magistrates who act with the Athenian *amphiktiones* are called *epitropoi* or *episkopoi* (*ID* 94).[36] As R. Parker stated, 'a body of *amphiktiones* recruited from one single state is a monstrosity'.[37] Still, such a 'monstrosity' shows perfectly well the character of the Athenian interest in Delos. By using the term *amphiktiones*, Athenian officials adopted the role of the representatives from the entire network of participants that constituted in a previous era the religious network around Delos and now the official allies of Athens. Athens as single city wished to embody the network of participants in the cult, while also manifesting her power over a prestigious religious centre.

[33] For the Athenian representation as the mother-city of Ionia in the fifth century see ML 46 and 69 recording the request that all allied cities should send a cow and panoply to the Great Panathenaia, a tradition which was followed by Athenian colonies. In *Σ* Ar. *Clouds* 386, the obligation to send a cow is specifically related to colony-status of the allied cities, and is imposed on the actual colony of Brea in ML 49. The colonization of Ionia was also the subject of an epic by Panyasis (Suida s.v. *Πανύασις*).

[34] For the appropriation of the 'island' image as part of the Athenian self-representation see chapter 5, and more particularly 5.2.

[35] The only literary reference to a board of *amphiktiones* in Delos is much later: Athenaeus 4.173a. For the Athenian *amphiktiones* at Delos see Rhodes (1981) 693–4.

[36] Coupry (1937) 369.

[37] R. Parker (1996) 88 n. 87.

Athenian intervention, however, did not end with the creation of a mainly Athenian body of officials responsible for the administration of the sanctuary. Athens decided to repurify Delos in 426/5 (Thuc. 1.8.1, 3.104, Diod. 12.58.6, and Strabo 10.5.1 c485). This time the Athenians moved all the existing graves to Rheneia and prohibited anyone from dying or giving birth while on the island. This, in fact, transformed the Delians into polis-less citizens, which, according to an anecdote recorded by Plutarch, was what the king of Sparta Pausanias pointed out to them when they met him in order to complain about their harsh treatment by the Athenians (Plut. *Mor.* 230c–d).[38] Such a decision, however, was well within the context of

[38] The significance of this anecdote has not, as far as I know, been fully appreciated. Plutarch mentions Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus. The episode, however, should be dated in the period after the purification. Laidlaw (1933) 75 was right to point out that it could not possibly be Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus, because the rule about death and childbirth on the island was enforced long after this Pausanias died. It is also highly likely, as Prost (2001) 251 suggested, following Smarczyk (1990) 520 with n. 64, that if the story is true, it should take place before the Athenian expulsion of the Delians in 422. This could only mean that the Pausanias of our story is the son of Pleistoanax, who became king in 409, but may have engaged in negotiations with the Delians in an earlier period (Tod 99 = RO 3, a decree restoring to the Delians their sacred property, and therefore 'liberating' them from Athenian rule, dated to the period between 403 and 400, mentions this Pausanias). This, in turn, would mean that the Athenian suspicions of the Delians secretly negotiating with the Spartans during the Peloponnesian war, as mentioned by Diodorus (12.73.1), were not entirely unfounded. However, the specific argument of secret negotiations with the Spartans in the Diodoran narrative is linked with the later expulsion of the Delians in 422. Thucydides (5.1), on the other hand, as we shall see below, linked the expulsion with a religious motive. As Hugh Bowden pointed out to me, considering Thucydides' tendency to exclude religious matters from his narrative, it is quite important that he mentions the Delians' religious offence in relation to the expulsion. In other words, if the Spartan negotiations story (or the Diodoran version) was widely known in Athens at the time, Thucydides might have mentioned it, while Diodorus, or his source, may have made up the story as a more plausible reason for the expulsion (line followed by Meiggs (1972) 302: 'Ephorus is quite capable of adding such an explanation from his own imagination', a statement followed, however, by the assertion that the story is indeed plausible). On the other hand, it is always very dangerous to make arguments *ex silentio*, especially with Thucydides, and, as Prost has shown (2001), Spartan interaction with the Delians was certainly not unthinkable, even at the height of the Athenian empire. See also Smarczyk (1990) 508–12 discussing the evidence for the presence of the Spartan navy in the area in this period (Thuc. 3.29.1): in 427, forty Peloponnesian ships sailed in the Aegean and reached the port of Delos. I am therefore inclined to believe that Plutarch's anecdote is historically valid and that it reflects Delian tensions in the period between the purification (426/5) and the expulsion (422). See R. Parker (1996) 151 for a middle position.

Greek religious practices.[39] The problematic aspect of it was that it was the Athenians, and not the Delians, who were responsible for actually enforcing the restriction. One of the explanations put forward for the undertaking of this initiative connected the purification to the plague.[40] Indeed, as Matthaiou has recently argued, it is probable that the cult of Apollo Delios intensified in Attica as a response to the plague.[41] We could therefore place the purification in the context of Athenian reactions to the plague. Although such an explanation is indeed likely, we should not fail to see the purification as yet another demonstration of Athenian control over the sanctuary.[42] As in the case of the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens, the Athenians were demonstrating to the entire network of participants in the cult of Delian Apollo, who were also their subject allies within the context of the Delian league, who was in control of

[39] See, for example, the prohibitions of death or childbirth applied in the sacred grove of Asclepius in Epidaurus (Paus. 2.27.1) and an inscription from the Athenian Acropolis prohibiting death and childbirth in all sacred ground (*IG* II^2 1035 10). See also Thuc. 1.134.3, Xen. *Hell.* 5.13.9, Plut. *Dem.* 29.6, Ar. *Lys.* 742 ff.; *Syll.*^{3} 1168 1: evidence of people leaving a temple in order to die or give birth. For the subject of pollution and the case of Delos see R. Parker (1983) 33, 163 and 276–7. On the ritual of purification (sacrifice of a pig) in case of death on Delos see Bruneau (1970) 50–1, with reference to *IG* XI.2 199 50.

[40] Diod. 12.58.6 on the connection between the purification and the plague. See Meiggs (1972) 300–1, Hornblower (1991) 519 and (1992b) 195, R. Parker (1983) 276 and (1996) 149, and Bowden (2005) 112–13. Contra Mikalson (1984) 221, who does not accept a relation to the plague, based on Thucydides' dismissive language about the effectiveness of religion during the plague in 2.47.4. However, this applies to the most crucial period of the plague, and there is no evidence of similar beliefs or feelings in a later period. See Brock (1996), using the evidence presented by Lewis (1985), for an identification of Cleonymus as the person behind the purification.

[41] See Matthaiou (2003) for an analysis of the cult of Apollo Delios in Athens with references to a sanctuary in Marathon (Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F75), Prasiae (modern Porto Rafti) (Paus. 1.31.2: the author refers to a temple of Apollo, but his reference to the Hyperboreans make it plausible that it is a temple of Delian Apollo), Phaleron (*IG* I^3 383 153–4, dated to 429/8), and possibly in the Athenian asty, close to the Olympieion, according to Theophrastus F 119 (Wimmer) in Athen. 424e–f: see comments in 89–92, where Matthaiou tentatively suggests that the cult of Apollo Delios took place in the same sanctuary as that of Apollo Pythios. Lewis (1960) restored *IG* I^3 130 and interpreted it as a reference to the cult of Apollo Delios at Phaleron, but see Matthaiou (2003) 87, following Mattingly (1990) 112–13: the restoration τὸς Δελί[ος] in the inscription is not secure.

[42] As rightly Hornblower (1991) 521: 'I would explain the Delian activity of 426 in its imperial aspect' and (1992b) 195.

the most sacred island in the Aegean sea. It was not simply an affirmation of Ionianism, or a reaction to the plague; it was more an attestation of control over the common religious and festival background that united the subject allies.

Finally, we can place in the same context the Athenian decision to expel the Delians from their island in 422 (Thuc. 5.1 and Diod. 12.73.1). Thucydides provides a religious motive for this action, namely that the Delians were polluted because of a crime that they had committed in the past. This crime may have been the murder of some Aetolian pilgrims on Rheneia; this crime is adduced by Hyperides in his Delian speech, when he was called to defend Athenian control over Delos in 345 before the Delphic amphictiony (*FGrH* 401b F67–75).[43] Expulsion because of sacrilege was certainly not an unknown practice: the Athenians had expelled the Aeginetans in 431 because of a crime of sacrilege in the past (Hdt. 6.91).[44] Certainly, the very fact that Thucydides places the purification of Delos and the expulsion of the Delians in the same sentence in 5.1 might imply that he treated the two as aspects of the same religious policy. However, apart from the religious implication of pollution, the expulsion of the Delians may safely be placed in the context of Athenian exhibition of power.[45] This act of manifesting power, even if thinly disguised as an act of piety, was not long-lived; the Athenians reinstated the Delians in their island a year later, following the Delphic oracle (Thuc. 5.32.1).[46]

What were the Delian reactions to such obvious acts of intervention in the administration of their sanctuary and the very lives they were living? There must have been some degree of unhappiness and discontent among at least some sections of the population, and in the

[43] See R. Parker (1996) 224–5 and Hornblower (1996) 422. For the murder of the Aetolian pilgrims on Rheneia as an example of the dangers involved in the act of pilgrimage see Rutherford (1995) 280.

[44] See R. Parker (1983) 184 on the long lasting effects of the crime of sacrilege.

[45] See Lateiner (1977) 45–6 for the episode as a paradigm of suffering in the work of Thucydides.

[46] Lanzilotta (1996) 278 discusses two oracles linked with the expulsion of the Delians: one to the Athenians (which we know from Thucydides), and another to the Delians, where the Delians were ordered to sacrifice to the birthplace of Apollo, an oracular instruction that understandably caused much confusion to the Delians (Plut. *Mor.* 412c–d).

period of the expulsion negative feelings towards the Athenians must have intensified. The Delians must have regretted the fact that they were not allowed to be born or die on their home island, not only because of the symbolic significance of the restriction (they became polis-less, in Pausanias' comment in Plutarch's anecdote in *Mor.* 230c–d), but also because of the practical difficulties that such a restriction must have created in their lives. It must have been extremely uncomfortable, to say the least, to be transferred while heavily pregnant to the neighbouring island of Rheneia in order to give birth, or while gravely ill in order to die.[47] On the other hand, Delos did not pay any tribute to the Athenian empire, and many products of Athenian policy, such as the restored festival of the Delia and the sometimes very conspicuous presence of Athenian choruses, may have been perceived as contributing to the fame and glory of the sanctuary.[48] Certainly, we should not assume that all Delians harboured the same feelings of resentment towards Athenian imperialism at all times. It is inevitable that variations of reaction and disposition will exist within communities and that feelings of resentment or contentment will not remain unchanged over a period of time. Keeping in mind this degree of variation, we may now turn our attention to the one piece of information that vividly records the degree of anger towards Athenian rule, albeit in the fourth century. In 376/5, some Delians dragged the Athenian *amphiktiones* from the temple of the Delian Apollo and beat them up. For this act, they were found guilty of impiety and condemned to a fine and perpetual exile (RO 28 = *ID* 98 B 24–30). The religious implications of the act were at the forefront of the accusation (the Delians were found guilty primarily of impiety), but we should not fail to see this incident as a violent illustration of bitter resentment of Athenian domination.[49] In the 330s (probably), a pro-Athenian had to leave

[47] Roussel (1916) 207 on the installations on Rheneia to accommodate pregnant women and gravely ill men, but see Bruneau (1970) 48 with some reservations.

[48] On the restored festival see Thuc. 3.104 with Hornblower (1991) 517–26, (1992) 191–4, (2004) 15–16 and R. Parker (1996) 150–1. On the conspicuous presence of Athenian choruses see Plut. *Nic.* 3.4–6 and Xen. *Mem.* 3.3.12, with Rutherford (2004a).

[49] R. Parker (1996) 223, and comments in Osborne (1974) 171–2 (suggesting that this was perhaps inspired by the activities of the Spartan navy at that time), and RO 28, pp. 145–7.

Delos in order to save his life, but at least the Athenians honoured him (and his descendants) with citizenship and maintenance at public cost (*IG* II^2 222).[50] We may not hear of similar episodes in the fifth century, but considering the degree of resentment exemplified in these two examples from the fourth, as well as the anecdote about the polis-less Delians in Plutarch, one must assume that Athenian intervention in the life of the sanctuary and the polis created tensions within the Delian community.

During the fifth century, then, Athens more than once manifested her interest in demonstrating her control over Delos. The Athenian nomination of Delos as the headquarters of the new league (if we are to believe Diodorus), as well as the decision for the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens and, finally, the symbolic importance of the name *amphiktiones* which Athens reserved for her own officials responsible for the administration of the sanctuary, all this, in a way, aimed at presenting Athens as the one and only guardian of Delos and its sanctuary. Control of Delos, however, could result in an increase of influence in the entire network of participants in the cult of Delian Apollo, both Ionian and non-Ionian alike. The network of participants also had a particularly strong *nesiotic* character, a fact that Athens must have been aware of. This 'island' character of the archaic network must have been inherited in the new Delian league. Through the control of the sanctuary and the partial substitution of Athens, as the centre of a maritime world, for Delos, Athens acquired a new relation with the islands participating in the cult. Islands, which could be viewed as the core of the network around Delos, came under Athenian control. The dance of the islands, as the conceptual understanding of the network of islands around Delos, was to be linked integrally with Athens. Braudel has suggested that sea networks survived through their connection with a big city.[51] In that sense, the island network of the Delian league found its big city in Athens. This, in turn, may have affected the conceptual significance of islands, insofar as our sources allow us to examine it. The network of participants was now under Athenian control. Island participants now became subject allies. The new context within which islands were viewed was the context of Athenian sea power.

[50] M. Osborne (1974) 175–82. [51] Braudel (1972) 145.

3.2. ISLANDS AS ALLIES

Even after the move of the treasury from Delos to Athens, as we have seen, Athens never lost interest in Delos and the cult of Apollo. In fact, the Delian league and the Athenian empire were in many ways a transformation of the previous cult network into a political and military alliance and (eventually) empire. If our interpretation of the network of participants in the cult as primarily an island network is correct, we should be able to identify an essentially similar predominance of insularity within the context of connotations of the Athenian empire. In fact, as we shall see below, fifth-century texts in many cases invariably use the word islander (*nesiotes*) as a synonym for subject ally (*xymmachos*). We are now going to turn our attention to a close examination of fifth-century texts (Herodotus, Aristophanes, and Thucydides) in order to understand how and why insularity was so closely associated with Athenian imperial domination.

3.2.1. Herodotus

The beginnings of an equation of islanders and subject allies are implied in some of the episodes in Herodotus' work. When Themistocles asked the Andrians for money (8.111.2), the Andrians were 'the first of the islanders to refuse'.[52] Themistocles demanded money from the other islands (8.112.1);[53] as a result, Carystos and Paros did indeed give a sum of money. Herodotus acknowledges that he does not know whether the other islands followed the example of Paros and Carystos (8.112.2). The explanation provided by Herodotus for this demand is that the islands had previously medized (8.112.2).[54] Still, Themistocles asked for money in this first stage after the Persian defeat at Salamis from the islands only (even if in some cases like Carystos, the islands had

[52] Hdt. 8.111.2: *πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἄνδριοι* ***νησιωτέων*** *αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν*. For this story as indicative of portrayal of islands as poor (and in many ways insignificant) places see chapter 4.2.1.1.

[53] Hdt. 8.112.1: *Θεμιστοκλέης δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων* ***ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους*** *ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἴτεε χρήματα*.

[54] Andros had medized in 8.112.2. The medism of the islands is referred to in 6.49.1.

medized only after considerable pressure from the Persians in 6.99.2) and not from any other city which had medized. Herodotus in this narrative certainly emphasizes the insular nature of the states required to pay money (see above on 8.111.2 and 8.112.1). If the story is true, then the islanders were the first to experience what would later be transformed into Athenian control and domination. In any case, Herodotus' choice to emphasize insularity presumes the inevitable link between the islands and imperial domination.

Similar is the undestanding of insularity in our second Herodotean story. The islands and the Hellespont are described by Herodotus as the prizes (ἄεθλα) for the victorious party in the battle of Mycale (9.101.3). Eventually, it was the Greeks who won the battle; in this way, they took the islands as their prize. The word 'prize' certainly implies a degree of domination over the islands and the Hellespont for the winning party of the war. The islands in this story, along with the Hellespont, become the symbols for the later transformation of allies into subjects. It is possible, then, to argue that in both these instances in Herodotus' narrative we have the first stages of what later will become an almost necessary equation: that islands must necessarily be Athenian subject allies, and consequently that the word for subject ally can be replaced by the word islander.

3.2.2. Aristophanes

This conceptual equation between islanders and subject allies is clear in Aristophanes. In the *Knights* (170), the Sausage-seller is encouraged by Demosthenes to 'view the islands all around'.[55] The context makes it clear that Demosthenes is referring to the present state of the Athenian empire, as opposed to the future possibilities of conquest, like Carthage (174). The islands here are a definite synonym for the Athenian subject allies. The scholiast, in particular, comments on the use of the expression 'all around' ('in circle' in the Greek) in this particular context as an allusion to the Cyclades, which were under Athenian rule.[56] Certainly, the word 'circle' is strongly associated

[55] Ar. *Knights* 170: τὰς νήσους ἁπάσας ἐν κύκλῳ.

[56] Σ Ar. *Knights* 170: ἐν κύκλῳ: ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος τὰς κυκλάδας νήσους, κύκλῳ κειμένας, ὠνόμασε.

with the Cyclades: the Cyclades took their name from the fact that they 'circled' Delos.[57] It seems, therefore, that Aristophanes is using the 'circling' islands in order to denote the subject allies *par excellence* for the Athenian empire. Similarly, in another passage, the Sausage-seller is reading one of the oracles in the oracle-contest against Paphlagon. In this oracle, a Cerberus-type dog (a possible allusion to Cleon[58]), is sneaking into the kitchen and his tongue 'will clean out the islands' (1034).[59] The reference is again clearly to the tribute-paying cities of the empire. The islands have become the synonym for all the subject allies of Athens. Later on, Athens is called 'helper and friend of the islands' (1319).[60] Here, the allusion to the islands seems to be a clear allusion to the entire Athenian empire, which, under the guidance of the Sausage-seller, will be less oppressed.

The same use of the concept of island is found twice in *Peace*. The first occasion is Trygaeus' call for peace (296–8): 'O, all farmers, merchants, artisans, craftsmen, metics, foreigners and islanders, come here, all people.' Sommerstein noted that we have here a complete list of the population one would expect to find at Athens, and more particularly among the audience in the City Dionysia.[61] The islanders on this occasion replace the members of the allied states who were present in Athens and at the performances at the City Dionysia.[62] Aristophanes uses the word 'islanders' to refer to the empire as a whole. In the parabasis, the chorus proclaims that 'I fought for the safety of you and also for the islands and prevailed' (760).[63] What is interesting in both these references to islands and islanders as synonyms for subject allies is that they are also directed to the members of the city-states in question, who were present among the audience.[64] It seems then that the use of islands as subject allies was at least partly recognizable by the citizens of the empire as well as the Athenian public.

[57] See above chapter 1.3: Strabo 10.5.1 c484, Plin. *NH* 4.12.65, Dionys. Perieg. 526.

[58] Sommerstein (1981) 199.

[59] Ar. *Knights* 1034: *καὶ τὰς νήσους διαλείχων.*

[60] Ar. *Knights* 1319: *ταῖς νήσοις ἐπίκουρε.*

[61] Sommerstein (1985) 147.

[62] See in particular Aristophanes' complaint on the treatment he received by Cleon after his *Babylonians*, because he slandered Cleon in the presence of foreigners in the *Archanians* 377–8 and 502–6.

[63] Ar. *Peace* 760: *ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πολεμίζων ἀντεῖχον ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων.*

[64] As Sommerstein (1985) 199 notes.

Finally, the last example comes from the *Birds*. A sycophant visits Nephelokokkygia announcing himself as 'a summons-server for the islands and a sycophant' (1422).[65] This *νησιωτικὸς κλητὴρ* suggests a specialist in summoning citizens of 'allied' states in order to be tried in the courts at Athens.[66] The same use is attested in a comic fragment recorded in Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* (7.8 = adesp. F41 Kock): the demos, like a horse, under the influence of the measures of Ephialtes, no longer dared to obey, but bit Euboea and leapt on the islands.[67] Meiggs saw the fragment as an allusion to the cleruchies established in Euboea and Naxos, as recorded by Diodorus (11.88.3).[68] However, the joke could also be understood as an allusion to the general attitude the Athenians showed towards their allies. Islands, again, become a symbol of the entire empire.[69]

Such a symbolism may explain the quite frequent appearance of—now lost—comedies entitled *The Islands*. We know of a lost play of Aristophanes called *The Islands* (KA F402–14), and another by Plato entitled *Greece or The Islands* (KA F19–26). This comedy includes an interesting fragment with a direct allusion to the loss of Athenian sea power (F24).[70] We also have a comedy by Cratinus called *The Seriphians* (KA F218–32). In this case, the poet does not use an allusion

[65] Ar. *Birds* 1422: *ἀλλὰ κλητήρ εἰμι νησιωτικὸς καὶ συκοφάντης.*

[66] Dunbar (1995) 678. See also Meiggs (1972) 585–7.

[67] Plut. *Per.* 7.8: *ὥσπερ ἵππον ἐξυβρίσαντα τὸν δῆμον οἱ κωμῳδοποιοὶ λέγουσιν πειθαρχεῖν οὐκέτι τολμᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐνδάκνειν τὴν Εὔβοιαν καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐπιπηδᾶν.*

[68] Meiggs (1972) 120–1. Stadter (1989) 100 sees this as a reference to the Euboean expedition of 446.

[69] Fourth-century sources which treat the subject of the fifth-century empire also use the term islanders to denote subject allies. See for example Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F94: *παρὰ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἔλαβε πέντε τάλαντα ὁ Κλέων, ἵνα πείσῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κουφίσαι αὐτοὺς τῆς εἰσφορᾶς. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἱππῆς ἀντέλεγον καὶ ἀπῄτησαν αὐτόν*; Xen. *Anab.* 7.1.27: *ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν νήσων ἁπασῶν καὶ ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πολλὰς ἔχοντες πόλεις καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ*; Plut. *Per.* 15.1: *περιήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξηρτημένα πράγματα, φόρους καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ νήσους καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ πολλὴν μὲν δι' Ἑλλήνων, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ βαρβάρων ἥκουσαν ἰσχὺν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν*. In this passage, islands form one of the composite elements, along with control of the sea, the triremes and the tribute, of the empire. Xen. *Poroi* 5.6 (reference to the second Athenian confederation): *ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ ὠμῶς ἄγαν δόξασα προστατεύειν ἡ πόλις ἐστερήθη τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ καὶ τότε, ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἀπεσχόμεθα, πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἑκόντων προστάται τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐγενόμεθα;*

[70] The god Poseidon addresses the Spartans and threatens them: *εἰ μὲν <οὖν> ταύτην σὺ τὴν θάλατταν ἀποδώσεις ἑκών, εἰ δὲ μή, <τὰ> πάντα ταῦτα συντριαινῶν ἀπολέσω.*

to the islands as a general group, but instead uses a specific island to illustrate the same idea of subject allies and weakness in relation to the context of thalassocracy.[71]

3.2.3. Thucydides

For Thucydides, islands and islanders are a well-defined concept, placed in the wider context of sea power. Thucydides wrote with his historical analysis firmly fixed upon the one subject that really interested him: the nature of the Athenian empire.[72] It is interesting to see what an island is for Thucydides, whether his idea of an island corresponds to that of his contemporary Aristophanes, and how it relates to other concepts such as sea power and empire.

In the beginning of his second book Thucydides lists the allies of both Sparta and Athens on the eve of the Peloponnesian war (2.9). The only insular Spartan ally is Leucas (2.9.2), which makes the argument for islands as natural Athenian allies even stronger, since Leucas was only just an island (Strabo 10.2.8 c452).[73] On the contrary, practically almost all the Greek islands belong to the Athenian alliance: Chios, Lesbos, Corcyra, Zacynthos, all the islands between Peloponnese and Crete to the east and all the Cyclades, with the exception of Melos and Thera.[74] Thucydides chooses to adopt a dry

[71] See also chapter 4.2.1.2. Ruffel (2000) 492–3 sees this an example of a dystopian mirror of Athens.

[72] See, for example, Hornblower (1987) 171: the Athenian empire is 'the main preoccupation of the hedgehog Thucydides'. See also the opening remarks by de Romilly (1963) 16.

[73] Leucas was originally a peninsula of Acarnania, but the Corinthians dug a canal through the isthmus and made Leucas an island: *καὶ τῆς χερρονήσου διορύξαντες τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἐποίησαν νῆσον τὴν Λευκάδα*. See also Ps. Scylax 34: *αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ νῆσος τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀποτεταφρευμένη*. For the construction of the canal see Murray (1988). In the fifth century, the canal between Leucas and the mainland was not always navigable, as the comments of Thucydides in 3.81.1 and 4.8.2 show. See also Hornblower (1991) 476.

[74] Thucydides here follows broadly the geographical organization of the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists, which divided Athenian subject allies into five groupings until 438: the Ionian, the Hellespontine, the Thracian, the Carian, and the Island. After 438 the Carian and the Ionian districts merged into one called the Ionian. As Hornblower notes (1991) 248, Thucydides does not clearly distinguish in his catalogue of allies between the empire and other allies, since he does not mention Samos among the *xymmachoi*, but rather seems to place her under Ionia. See also Piérart (1984) on the Dorian Cyclades in the context of the Athenian empire.

style for the list, which does not allow him to enter into a discussion about the nature of the Athenian rule over its allies (*xymmachoi*) and its subjects (*hypoteleis*). However, it is clear that islands have a special status as subject allies. The most articulate statement of island status within a context of sea power comes from his analysis of the Melian question. His wording in 3.91.2 is remarkable: 'they wanted to subdue Melos, which, *although it was an island*, had refused to submit to Athens or even to join the Athenian alliance'.[75] The simple fact that Melos was an island obliged her, according to Thucydides' portrayal of Athenian reasoning, to be subdued to Athens.[76] Islands, then, were the natural subjects of Athens. The same perception is expressed in 5.84.2, again in relation to Melos: 'the Melians . . . did not want to be subdued to Athens, like the other islanders'.[77]

For Thucydides, then, the natural state of an island was as a subject in the Athenian empire. The case of Melos, however, shows that islands were more than that: they were in effect symbols of empire. As we have already seen, in the Herodotean story of the battle of Mycale, the islands became the 'prize' for the winner (9.101.3: ἄεθλα). Melos in particular, and islands in general, are the embodiments of Athenian empire. They are fought for not only because of their strategic importance but for their symbolism as objects of imperial rule.[78]

Thucydidean islands even become the substitute term for subject allies, in the same way that Aristophanes used the term. In his speech right before the first major battle outside Syracuse (6.68.2), Nicias refers to the part of his army consisting of subject allies (in contrast to free allies such as the Argives and the Mantineians) as 'first of islanders'.[79] In the next chapter, however, Thucydides uses the

[75] Thuc. 3.91.2: τοὺς γὰρ Μηλίους **ὄντας νησιώτας** καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ αὑτῶν ξυμμαχικὸν ἰέναι ἐβούλοντο προσαγάγεσθαι.

[76] See Morrison (2000) 132: 'it is the island status of Melos that concerns the Athenians'.

[77] Thuc. 5.84.2: Μήλιοι. . .τῶν δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἤθελον ὑπακούειν ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται.

[78] King (1993) 22 reaches a similar conclusion in his analysis of the Falklands war.

[79] Thuc. 6.68.2: νησιωτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι. Leimbach (1985) 94 attempted to see in the expression νησιωτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι a differentiation in the status of the various islanders in the context of the Athenian empire. In other words, some islanders are 'better' than others, and Nicias is using this differentiation in order to boost the morale of his army (i.e. you are the 'best' of the islanders, who, on the whole, are not that good). It is true that the use of πρῶτοι is puzzling. Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover (1970) 344,

word 'subject allies' to describe the same part of the army (6.69.3).[80] It seems, then, that Thucydides uses the two terms interchangeably, that is, islanders and subject allies, at least in the context of the Sicilian narration.

Additionally, where rights to revolt are concerned, islands appear to be at the bottom of the scale. The islands' destiny is to be the subjects of Athens; revolt is unacceptable. Cleon articulates this perception in his speech in the Mytilenean debate (3.39.2). Cleon can understand why some cities revolt, but for an island to revolt is totally unacceptable, since islanders have nothing to fear from any Athenian enemy, while Athens controls the sea. Again, it is the importance of islands in the context of sea power that makes island revolt unacceptable for the Athenians.[81]

This concept of islands as natural subjects of Athens reached its extreme limits in the case of Scione. Scione was not an island but a small polis on the peninsula of Pallene in Chalcidice. Thucydides describes Brasidas addressing the Scionians and congratulating them because 'although they were nothing else but islanders they had nonetheless come forward of their own accord to claim freedom' (4.120.3).[82] Scione had been transformed into an island by the Athenian occupation

saw nothing derogatory in the term and they compared it with other instances, as in 6.77.1 and 7.5.4, where a contemptuous tone is obvious. I believe that the use of the term 'islander' in this context is simply an alternative to subject ally. Thucydides may use *νησιώτης* here rather than *ὑπήκοος* because of the context of Nicias' speech. Nicias is trying to persuade his men to fight: a reference to their subject-status might have been insulting. *πρῶτοι*, on the other hand, may be explained in terms of ranking within the Athenian army. Nicias acknowledges the superior rating of troops like the free allies of Athens (Argos and Mantineia) and Athens herself, but then does not believe in the equal quality of the army of all of Athens' subjects, and thus has to refer to them as 'the best'.

[80] Thuc. 6.69.3: *τὸ ὑπήκοον τῶν ξυμμάχων*.

[81] See de Romilly (1963) 66–7 and 157 with n. 2.

[82] Thuc. 4.120.3: *καὶ ὄντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ νησιῶται*. Hornblower (1996) 379 translated this passage as 'Scione was as exposed as if it were an island'. However, the cutting off of a city from the mainland it is attached to through occupation or fortification systems *does* transform a city into an island in the Greek mentality, as the oracle given to the Cnidians attests in Herodotus 1.174.5, on which see more in chapter 5.2. Therefore, I do not find it necessary to include a conditional participle (as if it were an island, in Hornblower's translation) in the translation, since the explanation of the transforming of Scione into an island is given by Thucydides a line before: *τῆς Παλλήνης ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἀπειλημμένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων*: in other words, the Athenian blocade of the isthmus of Pallene does indeed transform, in a way, Scione into an island.

of Potidaea, which had cut off the Scionians from the mainland.[83] The use of the island symbolism, however, acquires new dimensions as Thucydides progresses through his narrative. The Athenians, Brasidas fears, would send a force to Scione 'as if to an island' (4.121.2).[84] The implication is that the Athenians gave priority to defending the islands. The Athenians, on the other hand, were 'furious at the idea that now even islanders dared to revolt from them' (4.122.5).[85] Scione, then, becomes an island in Thucydides' narration because she is basically a subject of Athenian power.[86] Here again we see the use of the term 'island' to denote the concept of a place subject to Athens.[87] The metaphor of Scione as an island was later picked up by Arrian (*Anab.* 1.9.5). In a passage referring to Athenian atrocities during the Peloponnesian war, he characterizes both Melos and Scione as 'island cities' (*νησιωτικὰ πολίσματα*).[88] Such was the strength of the representation of islands as subject allies that for Arrian, who probably confused the geographical status of Scione because of Thucydides' statements, Scione is not simply a *metaphorical* island, because of its position within the system of Athenian power, but became instead a real island polis.

One may also feel justified in suggesting that the explanation for the Athenian failure in the Sicilian expedition lay exactly in the ambiguous status of Sicily.[89] Islands, as we saw, were understood as natural subjects of the Athenian empire. Sicily, however, is not exactly an island, as Thucydides himself accepts (6.1.2).[90] Her status

[83] See note above on the transformation of a peninsula into an island through occupation or fortification systems.

[84] Thuc. 4.121.2: *ἡγούμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθῆσαι ἂν* ***ὡς ἐς νῆσον***.

[85] Thuc. 4.122.5: *εἰ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἤδη ὄντες ἀξιοῦσι σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι.*

[86] Rougemont (1990) 213 offers a different interpretation for the presentation of Scione as an island in Thucydides and Arrian: it has to do with the massacre that occurred there (as well as in Melos), since according to his analysis, mass killings are a way of controlling island populations. For Scione's preeminence in fourth-century ideas about Athenian imperialism see Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3 and Isoc. 4.100.

[87] Rood (1998) 77 n. 56 notes that the 'unqualified language [in the passage] may express the Athenians' distorted perception'.

[88] See Bosworth (1980) 88, Hornblower (1995) 54 n. 29 and (1996) 379 on the specific passage.

[89] Rood (1998) 177 n. 67 uses the island status of Sicily as an explanation for the Athenian interest, but not as an explanation for their ultimate defeat.

[90] See Connor (1984) 160 and 172 n. 36. For Sicily and whether or not she is an island see chapter 1.2.

as 'almost a mainland' may be a sufficient reason in Thucydides' frame of explanation for the Athenian failure. In other words, if Sicily had been a 'proper' island, then the Athenians might have succeeded in subjugating her.

3.3. CONTROL OF THE ISLANDS AND CONTROL OF THE SEA

Fifth-century authors, such as Herodotus, Aristophanes, and Thucydides, understood insularity as a state inevitably linked with the state of imperial subjugation. Thucydides, in particular, who is preoccupied with the nature of power through his understanding of the Athenian empire, understood islands as the natural subjects of Athens. At the same time, the period of the fifth-century Athenian empire was the historical context within which ideas about sea power and empire became intimately and inextricably connected.[91] Within that context, the representation of islands as necessary subjects of the Athenian empire was closely related to the function of Athenian sea power. One of the best expressions of such a deterministic relation between the position of islands and Athenian sea power can be found in Diodorus' narration of the events of the Euboean revolt (13.47.3–4). In this passage it is clearly stated that the Chalcidians and almost all the inhabitants of Euboea revolted, and because of that they were afraid that they would be placed under siege by the Athenians who had sea power, since they (i.e. the Euboeans) lived on an island.[92] The implication of the passage is that the status of islands as natural subjects to the Athenian empire is a direct result of the Athenian thalassocracy.

We also have further indications that the conceptualization of islands as necessary subjects of Athens was related to ideas about sea power. We have seen how we can find ideas about the islands being necessary subjects of Athens in Herodotus. Herodotus, as Momigliano argued, also had a very clear idea about what thalassocracy

[91] See Momigliano (1944), Ober (1978) 125 and Starr (1978).

[92] Diod. 13.47.3–4: *Χαλκιδεῖς δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν Εὔβοιαν κατοικοῦντες ἀφεστηκότες ἦσαν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιδεεῖς ἐγίνοντο, μήποτε* ***νῆσον οἰκοῦντες*** *ἐκπολιορκηθῶσιν ὑπ᾿ Ἀθηναίων* ***θαλασσοκρατούντων.***

is and how it functions.[93] Similarly, Thucydides' analysis of the nature of imperialism in general was heavily influenced by the reality of Athenian imperial rule. In other words, the reality of Athenian rule over the Aegean islands transformed perceptions about what an empire is. Hence, Thucydides famously claimed in his Archaeology (1.15.2) that 'there was no warfare on land that resulted in the acquisition of an empire'. This statement implies that only navy and sea power can bring about the creation of empires.

Islands were certainly important for controlling the sea and maintaining sea power in an area. In one of the most dramatic moments in the Melian dialogue, the Melians claim that the Peloponnesians can help them and when the Athenians insist that, while they have the command of the sea (as *ναυκράτορες*), the Peloponnesians will not reach them, the Melians reply that 'the Cretan sea is a wide one, and it is harder for those who control it to intercept others than for those who want to slip through it to do so safely' (5.110). The Cretan sea is a 'wide one'[94] exactly because it lacks the number of islands the Aegean has. It is implied, then, that it is extremely difficult to control a sea without the 'stationary fleet' of islands, as Braudel calls the islands under Venetian rule.[95] In another instance in the Melian dialogue, the Athenians proclaimed that the conquest of Melos was necessary for their safety (5.97 and 5.99). The Athenians may have been addressing Melos when they made these assertions. Their arguments, however, are not related specifically to the danger Melos posed, but rather to the general status of being an island.[96] The unavoidable destiny of islanders like the Melians is emphasized in 5.109: the Lacedaemonians, in the Athenians' argument, are not likely to cross the sea to arrive at an island, when the Athenians are masters of the sea (*ἡμῶν ναυκρατόρων ὄντων*). A little particle like *γε* in this sentence shows the limitations of insularity in this context: *ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐς νῆσόν* ***γε*** *αὐτοὺς* (. . .) *περαιωθῆναι*. The island–subject analogy is deeply embedded in the reality of sea power for Thucydides.

[93] Momigliano (1944) 1.

[94] Thuc. 5.110: *πολὺ δὲ τὸ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος*.

[95] Braudel (1972) 149.

[96] See in particular the phrase in 5.97: *ἄλλως τε καὶ νησιῶται ναυκρατόρων καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι ἑτέρων ὄντες εἰ μὴ περιγένοισθε*: the reference is general to the islanders and not the Melians in particular. On the general character of the Melian dialogue see de Romilly (1963) 72, 271, and 287.

However, even with most of the islands under Athenian control, enemy ships could still get away with sailing through the Aegean. For example, when Mytilene revolted and asked for Spartan help against Athenian attack, as many as forty enemy ships sailed as far as Delos 'without being observed by the Athenians' (Thuc. 3.29.1).[97] When the Spartan fleet reached Asia Minor, the Ephesians 'made no effort to run away; instead they came to meet the ships, under the impression that they must be Athenian, since they never even imagined that, with Athens in control of the sea, a Peloponnesian fleet would come across to Ionia' (Thuc. 3.32.3). These particular episodes, however, should be viewed as the exception to the rule about control of the islands and control of the sea. It was certainly difficult for the Athenians to control all sailing routes in the Aegean. The Ephesian episode, in particular, implies that this possibility of a 'leaky sea' through which enemy ships avoided Athenian detection was almost unthinkable for the Aegean Greeks.

Sea power is also what made islands 'easy to take over' (*εὐλήπτους*), an argument used by Euphemus in his speech (6.85.2). The same idea is expressed in the list of allies of Athens and Syracuse during the Sicilian expedition (7.57.7). The islands round the Peloponnese may be independent (*αὐτόνομοι*), but in fact 'with Athens in command of the seas, their position as islanders (*νησιωτικόν*) left them little freedom of choice'.[98] The *nesiotikon* seems to be a strong concept in the mind of Thucydides, one that forces states to submit themselves to Athenian rule.

It seems, then, that the use of the term islands and islanders to denote subject-allied cities was used quite widely in our fifth-century sources. The obvious question is why. The answer may be twofold. One explanation combines the use of the term islanders with the reality of sea power in general and with the reality of Athens' position within the Delian league in particular. We have already seen how Thucydides, our main source, understood the concept of island in close relation to that of sea power. For Thucydides, the Athenian empire was almost an 'island' empire, as is implied by Archidamus'

[97] For this episode see above chapter 3.1.2.

[98] Thuc. 7.57.7: *τῶν δὲ περὶ Πελοπόννησον νησιωτῶν Κεφαλλῆνες μὲν καὶ Ζακύνθιοι αὐτόνομοι μέν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ νησιωτικὸν μᾶλλον κατειργόμενοι, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.*

speech (1.81.3).[99] However, this equation of islands as subject allies cannot be explained in terms of the superior numbers of island city-states in the Delian league as opposed to mainland city-states. In fact, the reality is exactly the opposite. If we count the entries in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists of members who were assessed or paid tribute at least once, then we can see that island entries formed less than one third of the total number of tribute-paying entries ever recorded.[100]

However, it was not the superior number of island city-states that affected Athenian perceptions, but their importance within the context of sea power. Gomme was among the first to point out that the Greek warship *par excellence*, the trireme, was in need of a friendly shore practically every few hours' journey.[101] In fact, we cannot overestimate the importance of islands for ancient navigation in general. We have already mentioned the importance of mutual visibility when sailing in the Mediterranean.[102] The large number of Aegean islands provided a wealth of inlets and bays where a ship, and more particularly an oared warship, could shelter during storms or be beached during an overnight stay.[103] The Aegean islands, then, were extremely important in the sense that they created a bridge between mainland Greece and the Asia Minor coast; any power wishing to maintain control over the Aegean sea had to control its islands as well. Athens was definitely aware of this reality. We have already looked at Thucydides' portrayal of islands as necessary subjects for the Athenian sea power as well as a potential threat for the Athenian empire. Another fifth-century text, the so-called Old Oligarch, expresses the same perception of islands as subjects of any sea empire (2.2): 'those subject to a naval power are unable, in so far as they are islanders, to unite the city-states. The sea separates them, and the holder of the supremacy is just master of the sea.' The islanders cannot unite and therefore cannot possibly resist the power that has control over the sea. What is interesting about this

[99] Thuc. 1.81.3: *εἰ δ' αὖ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφιστάναι πειρασόμεθα, δεήσει καὶ τούτοις ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν* ***τὸ πλέον οὖσι νησιώταις.***

[100] See appendix 1.

[101] Gomme (1933) using Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.27–30. See also Pryor (1995) 208–9, Morrison, Coates Rankov (2002) 96 and Morton (2001) 277–8.

[102] See chapter 1.3.

[103] See Morton (2001) 108, 116–20, 171, 173–5.

passage is its generalized character: the author might have the Athenian empire as a model, but his analysis revolves around the nature of sea power in general.[104] In fact, most of the text can be understood as a treatise on the consequences of sea power within the Athenian city-state (e.g. the democratic constitution) and outside Athens, that is in the context of the Athenian thalassocracy and empire. Islands are so vulnerable to sea power that they actually pose a threat to the mainland, along with projecting headlands and straits (2.13).[105] Sea power and control of the islands are inevitably linked in our fifth-century sources, since sea power is an absolute prerequisite for the control of islands, and control of islands leads to further control, and therefore to an increase of sea power. The understanding of the link between the two, that is islands and sea power, seems to be a result of the Athenian empire.

3.4. CONCLUSION

I have attempted to argue that the strong island character of the early network of cult of Apollo Delios evident in the literary sources and the archaeological remains was later inherited in the political formation that was called the Delian league. Athenian interest in Delos and the cult of Delian Apollo was manifested through conspicuous acts of intervention, from Peisistratus' purification of the sanctuary to the decision to build a new temple for Apollo in the 470s, the choice of the island as the headquarters for the new league, the creation of an Athenian body of officials for the administration of the sanctuary, the re-purification of the island, and finally the expulsion of the Delian

[104] As noted by Frisch (1942) 243.

[105] Kirchhoff (1874) 12 thought that the specific passage referred to the events connected with the occupation of Pylos. Contra Frisch (1942) 265: the text has too general a character to allow us to draw parallels with specific historical events. The author may have had in mind the Athenian occupation at Pylos (if indeed he wrote after 425), but there is still general truth in his comment. See also Pericles' general comment in Thuc. 1.142.4 on the tactical advantages of sea power and Lapini (1997) 207–8 on the multiple examples of the use of islands or peninsulas as bases for the attack of a sea power. On the general character of the Old Oligarch see Ostwald (1986) 189.

population in 422. Such interventions aimed to promote Athens' position within the entire network of participants in the cult; in other words, we should not see them as actions targeting primarily an Ionian audience. With the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens, Athenian intervention in the life of the sanctuary became more pronounced. At the same time, Athens in a way wished to appropriate the role of the central *island* in the Aegean. I have tried to explain the conceptual equation between the term 'islander' and 'subject ally' in our fifth-century sources as essentially the result of the islands' central conceptual position within the context of the Delian league and the Athenian empire. Control of islands was also necessary for the very existence of any sea power. This reality as well as the inherited 'true' island nature of the Delian league and the Athenian empire created a context through which islands were viewed as essentially the 'natural' subjects of sea power. In the next chapter, we shall investigate further the new connotations that the concept of insularity acquired as a result of the Athenian empire.

4

Islands and imperialism

In the previous chapters, we explored how the development of imperial control over the geographical area of the Aegean and its islands was based partly on the existence of the religious network around Delos; in other words, how Athens, through the transfer of the treasury, became the new central island for the Aegean. The importance of islands within the religious network of Delos and within the imperial context of the Athenian empire resulted in the adoption of the term 'islander' to denote the imperial subject ally. Similarly, the new images of imperialism now included the necessary subjugation of islands. Such realities of island subjugation were seen as the inevitable result of sea power. We are now going to turn our attention to the ways in which the reality of sea power and Athenian imperialism affected the images of insularity in a fifth-century context.

4.1. PROJECTIONS OF CONTROL INTO THE PAST: THE LIST OF THALASSOCRACIES

The idea of a clear succession of sea powers in the world of the Aegean appears for the first time in the fifth century in the works of authors such as Thucydides and Herodotus. My main argument is that this idea was the result of the reality of Athenian sea power under the empire and that such a reality influenced the way in which older and mythical thalassocracies were portrayed in the fifth century. This idea of a succession of sea powers in the Aegean was fully expressed in the creation of lists of thalassocracies as an analytical tool of early Greek history in fifth-century and later sources.

The first list of successive thalassocracies is preserved in Eusebius' *Chronicle*, which was based on the now lost seventh book of Diodorus' *Library* (Diod. 7.11). I find it extremely difficult, to say the least, to attempt to establish the historical value of the specific list of successions.[1] The earliest entries reach into the mythical past of the late second to early first millenium and cannot, therefore, represent any kind of 'historical' reality for that period. The later entries which belong to the seventh or sixth centuries may reflect to a certain extent the understanding of particular states as having a significant impact in the seascape of the Aegean. At the same time, however, the list should not be seen as a form of early history of sea power, let alone be used as evidence for its existence for specific states in the seventh and early sixth centuries.[2] The list is useful only in that it articulates the idea of succession in a clear form: that of a list. Diodorus must have based his version on an earlier version of the list, the author of which, in turn, may have used even earlier material. It has been suggested that the appropriate historical context for the first lists must have been the fifth or the fourth century.[3] In any case, the idea of a clear understanding of sea power as an analytical tool with which one can interpret the past cannot have originated in a period before the fifth

[1] For this see Myres (1906) 130, where he argues that the list 'embodies data which can be shown to be historically accurate into the later half of the eighth century'; contra Fotheringham (1907) 89: 'I do not regard the list as of any historical value'; see the response by Myres (1907); Momigliano (1944) 1 accepts that the idea of a succession of thalassocracies originates from the fifth century, but is more reluctant to accept a fifth-century date for the list as we have it; Forrest (1969) 98, reasserts the relative historic validity of the list: 'by his own rules the author of the list has given a reasonable account of Mediterranean sea power between 750 and 480'; and finally, Miller (1971) 177, who examines the relation between the list and the archaeological data and concludes that 'the thalassocratic history, on the whole, follows the same contours as the archaeological history, but often with a different sense of direction'.

[2] See, for example, Walker (2004) 226 and 277, who accepts the list as valid evidence for the existence of an Eretrian thalassocracy, but in 225 is dismissive of the existence of a Spartan thalassocracy recorded in the list. Similarly, Mason (1993) 228 with n. 15 uses the list as evidence for a Mytilenean thalassocracy in the mid-seventh century, although the list refers to a thalassocracy of Lesbos.

[3] Myres (1906) 130, followed by Forrest (1969) 106, who sees the list as the product of at least two hands: the first, a fifth-century Athenian and the second, an editor belonging to the post-Timaean school of chronographers. Momigliano (1944) accepts that the lists fit well within a fifth-century mentality, but acknowledges that there is no direct evidence which would prove any date earlier than the fourth century. See also Mills (1997) 70, n. 84. Contra de Souza (1998) 287–8.

century, when for the first time the idea of control of the Aegean under a single sea power became a potential reality. Indeed, the list reflects Thucydides' analysis of thalassocracies and it sits well within the context of Athenian attempts to appear as the natural successors of a long series of historical thalassocrats in the Aegean area.

This idea is certainly present in Thucydides' understanding of the past.[4] In Thucydides' Archaeology, we get a clear succession of sea power: Minos initially rules the sea (1.4), then the Carians and Phoenicians occupy the islands (1.8), then Agamemnon is presented as ruling many islands and Argos (1.9.4, a quote taken from *Iliad* 2.108) and finally Polycrates is said to have subdued the islands (1.13.6). The fact that the succession of thalassocracies is included in the Archaeology is very significant. Thucydides uses the digression into the early Greek past in order to produce a statement of his theory of history,[5] as well as an introduction to the main themes of his narrative:[6] the rise and fall of power, the importance of resources, the importance of fortifications as symbols of power and the separation of his world between the spheres of land and sea. The past is firmly shaped by his understanding of the present, and more particularly by his understanding of the rise and fall of the Athenian empire; indeed, as Hunter noted, 'Thucydides uses the present, in particular the model of Athens and her *arche*, to make inferences about the past.'[7] The reason for the inclusion of the list of sea powers at this point is to prove Thucydides' assertion that the war he is writing about was 'more memorable than any previous war'.[8] In order to do that, he has to demonstrate that Athenian sea power at the time of the war was greater than the sea powers in the past; in other words, he has to produce a narrative of the past where the existence of thalassocracies becomes an essential feature for the very essence of power. Sea power becomes a constant parameter in the progression of human history and the best way that such a concept of progression can be articulated is in the form of a succession of thalassocracies in the world of the Aegean.

[4] Romilly (1956) 274–8 and (1963) 67–8 on Thucydides' Archaeology. See also Starr (1978) 345.

[5] Hunter (1982) 20.

[6] Hornblower (1991) 8.

[7] Hunter (1982) 38.

[8] Thuc. 1.1.1: ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων.

The concept of successive sea powers seems to exist in Herodotus' work as well, although it is not as fully articulated. In his digression on the origin of the Carians, Herodotus refers to Minos' rule of the islands and then adds that the Carians were later driven out of the islands by the Ionians and the Dorians (1.171–2). Herodotus states that the Carians were subjects of Minos (*Μίνω κατήκοοι*), but he is reluctant to accept that they paid any tribute, adding a certain note of doubt.[9] Herodotus mentions tribute because it was an essential feature of the understanding of sea power in his own time, along with control over the islands. If he is reluctant to accept the payment of tribute to Minos, it is because he has a different agenda from Thucydides in his understanding of the past. Thucydides needs to show that the nature of power in the past was similar to his present and that the wars, resources and sheer size of power in the past were impressive. As a result, the image of Athenian power and consequent conflict with Sparta becomes even more magnified and glorified, if indeed this war was the greatest of all wars. On the other hand, Herodotus, as van Wees has argued, wants to create the starkest possible contrast between the Greek world and the vast empires of the east in his narrative of the Persian wars.[10] As a result, sea power is not an important element of the early Greek past, even if his understanding of the past, like Thucydides', is solidly based on his experience of the present and therefore shaped by the limitations of his own understanding of power. That is why he includes a form of sea power in his description of the Greek world in the distant past; in this, he uses the experience of his present to make sense of the past. In contrast, however, to Thucydides, there has to be a difference between that past and his present; sea power may exist in the form of Minoan subjugation of the islands, but it was not a 'proper' thalassocracy—therefore, it did not include the payment of tribute. However, the passage discussing the origin of the Carians shows a clear understanding of a succession of control over the islands, and therefore of a form of thalassocracy: first the Minoans controlled the Carians, and then the Carians were expelled by the Dorians and

[9] Hdt 1.171.2: *ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ.*

[10] Van Wees (2002) 337–43.

Ionians. The idea of successive control is implied, but not fully expressed.[11]

Both Herodotus and Thucydides, then, viewed the past through their understanding of their present.[12] One of the dominant features of their present was the reality of the Athenian empire and the changes that such a reality had brought to the lives of the Greeks, on the one hand, and to the conceptual understanding of the nature of sea power, on the other. The present shaped the past; as a result, older mythical thalassocracies came to resemble the Athenian present. The most striking example of such a conceptualization of the past is the depiction of the Minoan thalassocracy in fifth-century sources.

For Herodotus, Minos had some sort of sea power, since he controlled the islands (1.171–2). In another passage, where he discusses the Samian Polycrates, Minos is referred to as a thalassocrat, but here Herodotus adds a note of scepticism (3.122.3).[13] As with the exclusion of the payment of tribute as an element of Minos' control over the islands, here again Herodotus makes a distinction between the distant past and the more recent present. As we have already seen, this difference between the distant past and the present may be explained by Herodotus' formative theory of the nature of the struggle between the Greek world and the east. An additional explanation, and by no means contradictory, may be Herodotus' claim to fidelity to his informants.[14] He may have heard of Polycrates' power from his Samian informants who, in turn, may have heard this from their ancestors. However, in the case of Minos he cannot claim any direct access to knowledge other than the mythical stories of his time. Both his understanding of the past, therefore, and his historical methodology force him to accept Polycrates as the first *proper* thalassocrat. Thucydides, on the other hand, attributes the first thalassocracy to Minos in a more

[11] I disagree with Myres (1906) 87, where he asserts that 'there is no trace of any such scheme of classification by sea power' in Herodotus' work. See Forrest (1969) 96: 'both Herodotus and Thucydides thought of naval history in a way which was broadly similar to the one who produced [Eusebius'] list'.

[12] Starr (1989) 12. On Thucydides and Minos see Kallet-Marx (1993) 26.

[13] Hdt. 3.122.3: *Πολυκράτης γάρ ἐστι* ***πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν*** *Ἑλλήνων ὃς θαλασσοκρατέειν ἐπενοήθη, πάρεξ Μίνω τε τοῦ Κνωσσίου καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἦρξε τῆς θαλάσσης.*

[14] Argument put forward by Shimron (1973).

straightforward manner (1.4).[15] The language he uses is quite similar to Herodotus,[16] but the difference is the degree of acceptance of the reality of Minos' thalassocracy. For Thucydides, Minos may be the first to exercise control over the sea and the islands but such a statement is presented with a fall-back clause 'of whom we know by tradition'. As we have seen, the existence of sea power in the past is an essential element of Thucydides' understanding of history. Minos' thalassocracy, therefore, fits well into his image of power in the Aegean.[17] Minos' power becomes the predecessor to the Athenian power of his present.

It may be in some ways self-evident that Thucydides' presentation of Minos' thalassocracy is a product of his understanding of the nature of power in the past. Thucydides' authority, however, was so strong that considerable research has been done on the subject of the reality of Minoan thalassocracy.[18] Whether Minoan Crete exercised considerable influence over settlements in the Cyclades, is a question beyond the interests of this book.[19] Besides, in order to argue that Thucydides did not project the Athenian reality into the past, but genuinely recorded what was a historical reality a thousand years before his time, one

[15] Thuc. 1.4: *Μίνως γὰρ παλαίτατος* ***ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν*** *ναυτικὸν ἐκτήσατο καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἦρξέ τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο.*

[16] For the similarities between Herodotus and Thucydides in relation to the specific subject see Hornblower (1991) 19–20 and (1992a) 143.

[17] In this I disagree with Luraghi (2000) 233, where he argues that Thucydides does not necessarily believe in the historicity of Minos' thalassocracy; 'rather he takes for a moment the standpoint of someone who does believe in it, in order to argue that also from that standpoint the sea powers of the past had been inferior to those of the present times'. Minos' sea power is an indispensable element of Thucydides' understanding of the past as essentially similar to his present; in that sense, Thucydides very much 'believes' in its historicity. Luraghi's statement seems to be the result of a modern reluctance to accept that Thucydides' approach to history could allow for the inclusion of such 'mythical' elements.

[18] See in particular Hägg and Marinatos (1984).

[19] See Buck (1962) 137: 'no value can be attached to the conjecture that the theory of the Minoan thalassocracy originated in Athens during the fifth century'. Buck identifies the Minoan influence in the Cyclades as a result of sea power. Many scholars still take Thucydides' authority for granted: see Rougé (1981) 80, who states that 'the idea that no Cretan thalassocracy ever existed has not been accepted by very many authors, and as matters now stand, it really seems that it should be abandoned', and Wiener (1990) establishing the reality of Minoan thalassocracy through the (very open to interpretation) material evidence. Against such a view see Starr (1955) and more recently Payen (1997) 283–4 and de Souza (1999) 16.

must also be able to suggest, as Robin Osborne argued, 'some sort of possible mechanism by which some genuine memory of the historical reality might have been preserved'.[20] Myth may have preserved an echo of Crete's glory and power, but to attribute to Minos a potent thalassocracy, with the necessary implications of a centralized authority and a will to exercise political control, is beyond proof.

From Herodotus and Thucydides to later sources, Minos' thalassocracy resembles the Athenian empire.[21] Minos was a founder (*οἰκιστὴς*) of the Cyclades (Thuc. 1.4), a parallel perhaps to the Athenian cleruchies and to the myth of Athenian colonization of the islands, which played such an integral role in the propaganda of the Athenian empire. The children of Minos also appear as founders in Plutarch's *On Exile* (*Mor.* 603b). The control of islands is one of the characteristics most frequently attributed to the Minoan thalassocracy. Herodotus presents the islands as subjects of Minos (1.171.2: *κατήκοοι*), whereas Thucydides clearly states that 'he ruled the Cyclades islands' (1.4). Similarly, Diodorus presents Minos as sending large forces to colonise the Cyclades (5.84.1). Such was the strength of Minos' power that the Aegean sea was called 'Minoan sea' (*πέλαγος Μινώιον*) in the work of Apollonius (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1564). This idea of a unified Aegean under the control of a single power, reflected in the name 'Minoan sea', is a clear indication of the Athenian empire, which was the first power to centralize control over the sea. The deliberate parallelism between Athens and Minos is fully articulated in Plato's *Laws* (706a). Plato actually compares Minos' sea power and collection of tribute from the Athenians with the similar practices of imperial Athens. And as Minos' thalassocracy was the result of Crete's central position in the Mediterranean, according to Aristotle's arguments in his *Politics* (1271b 3–45), similarly Athens was portrayed as the centre of the known world in terms

[20] Osborne (1996) 35. Wiener (1990) 152 attempts to establish a way through which memory of Minos' thalassocracy might have been preserved in order to be recorded by our classical authors, but his line of thought lacks an understanding of the way oral memory and tradition might have been preserved through the generations.

[21] See Romilly (1963) 67, Hornblower (1987) 88, and Calame (1996) 426: 'la thalassocratie minoenne est bien le miroir, ou la préfiguration, de l'hégémonie athénienne sur le bassin égéen'.

of commerce and trade of goods.[22] Finally, perhaps the best parallel between Athens and Minos is the tradition of a Sicilian expedition of Minos preserved in Herodotus (7.170) and Diodorus (4.79.1). The Herodotean story tells us of a Cretan expedition against Sicily so that the Cretans could avenge the death of king Minos. In the subsequent preservation of the tradition, however, the expedition was lead by Minos himself, making in this way the parallel between the Athenian Sicilian expedition and the Minoan one even stronger, since they are connected through the personification of sea power, king Minos himself.[23]

Control over the islands eventually became an integral part of any thalassocracy. Diodorus' fifth book has abundant references to past thalassocracies and their control or subjugation of island territories. This theme is entirely appropriate to the context of Diodorus' fifth book, which is entitled *Nesiotika*, and is, as the name implies, an exploration of island history.[24] Let us have a brief look at these references. Minos' brother, Rhadamanthys, possessed many islands which he later gave as gifts to his generals (Diod. 5.79). The Carians also controlled islands through their sea power (Diod. 5.84.4). The Etruscans were also thalassocrats and took possession of the neighbouring islands (Diod. 5.13.4). Additionally, the mythical ruler of Lesbos, Macareus, 'won for himself the neighbouring islands' (Diod. 5.81.5), although, arguably, such an occupation was not related to any concept of sea power.

Finally, Polycrates was a famous thalassocrat. Both Herodotus and Thucydides agree that he had under his control a large fleet and that he subdued the islands and some mainland cities (Hdt. 3.39.4 and 3.122.2, Thuc. 1.13 and 3.104).[25] Anacreon may already refer to Polycrates in

[22] Old Oligarch 2.12 and Thuc. 2.38.2. For this theme see more in chapter 5.3.

[23] Diodorus (4.79.1) begins the story with a reference to the sea power of Minos: *Μίνως δ' ὁ τῶν Κρητῶν βασιλεὺς θαλασσοκρατῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ πυθόμενος τὴν Δαιδάλου φυγὴν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἔγνω στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτήν. Παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δύναμιν ναυτικὴν ἀξιόλογον ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης*. Diodorus' tradition, therefore, makes the connection between sea power and the tradition of a Cretan expedition to Sicily explicit.

[24] See Ceccarelli (1989) for an analysis of the genre of *Nesiotika*.

[25] For Polycrates' thalassocracy see also Strabo 14.1.16 c638 and Africanus, quoted by Malalas (Migne 97.260).

the context of ruling the sea, but the passage is unclear and does not allow us to draw any specific conclusions (F491 = Himer. *Or.* 29.22).[26]

Control over islands, then, became an essential feature of the understanding of sea power in the past for fifth-century and later writers. Such an understanding, as we have seen, can be viewed as the result of Athenian sea power and its control over the islands of the Aegean. The link between island subjugation and thalassocratic power, however, did not appear for the first time in the fifth century. On the contrary, the usefulness of islands for a sea power was recognized from an early period. The Homeric poems provide the earliest evidence for this perception. In particular, Agamemnon is presented in the *Iliad* as ruling over Argos and many islands (2.108). As van Wees has argued, Argos here probably does not denote the specific territory around the city of Argos (of which Diomedes, not Agamemnon, was the ruler) but is instead 'a collective name for the "Greek" heroic states, among which there were many islands'.[27] Even in this sense, control over islands should be understood within the context of sea power.[28] Herodotus later picked up this image of island control by the Argives (1.82.2). Apart from the obvious fact that ruling over islands in the Homeric world required a considerable navy (and hence some sort of sea power), the *Iliad* itself preserves a magnificent documentation of sea power: the Catalogue of Ships. The list of 1186 ships is a declaration of 'Greek' sea power,[29] which, however, does not necessarily mean that it was a reality in the Mycenaean era. Rather it is an ideological construction expressing what Nicholas Purcell called a vision of the world as a conceptual collectivity of units.[30] In this vision of unity through the sea, control over the islands may be considered an important part.

[26] Himerius refers to Polycrates as the king 'of the whole Greek sea' (*καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἁπάσης θαλάσσης*), but Anacreon's fragment consists simply of the description of the sea as 'by which the earth is bounded' (*ἀφ' ἧς γαῖα ὁρίζεται*). As far as we can tell, Anacreon may have never spoken of Polycrates as a thalassocrat.

[27] Van Wees (1992) 40.

[28] For a full bibliographical list on the question of Mycenaean sea power see Schallin (1993) 173, where, however, she disagrees with those scholars who claim that the Mycenaean thalassocracy was a historical reality.

[29] See Meijer (1986) 7, who, however, links the Homeric catalogue of ships with 'general notions about the Mycenaean thalassocracy'.

[30] Purcell (1990) 35–6.

Ideas about sea power and insularity, therefore, existed in archaic accounts of power such as the Catalogue of Ships, Agamemnon's control over the islands, as well as the possible reference to Polycrates by Anacreon. The difference between these articulations of the understanding of sea power and our fifth-century sources, however, is that the archaic sources did not assume any coherent concept of sea power as a fully developed entity. The development of a clear concept of sea power and the discourse about its form and consequences was the product of fifth-century Athenian power and its impact on Greek history.

4.2. IMAGINARY CONSTRUCTIONS OF INSULARITY

The reality of the Delian league and Athenian control over the Aegean islands did not only affect historical interpretations of the past, through the creation of ideas of successive thalassocracies as an analytical tool of early Greek history. It also affected the ideological implications of the concepts of island and insularity. In other words, it created new meanings and connotations or strengthened existing ones. We are now going to turn our attention to these imaginary constructions of insularity, articulated in our fifth-century sources.

4.2.1. The 'feeble islander'[31]

It is perhaps striking how often islands were negatively portrayed in ancient sources. Negative images of poverty and misery are possibly the most common representation of the concept of insularity in antiquity. Such representations, as we shall see here, are closely related to ideas about sea power, and this relation may be an explanation of the frequent occurrence of misery and contempt for islands and islanders. It is impossible to include here an exhaustive presentation of the ancient sources in that respect. However, it may be useful to provide some indicative examples in order to discuss how

[31] Term taken from Brun's excellent article (1993) entitled 'La faiblesse insulaire: histoire d'un topos'.

poverty and contempt were in fact the result of the position of islands within the context of Athenian sea power.

4.2.1.1. Poor islands

Let us start with perceptions about poverty. Poverty is represented as a common feature of island life. Isocrates, in an often-cited quotation, spoke of 'the islanders who deserve our pity, seeing that because of the scarcity of land they are compelled to till mountains' (4.132).[32] Isocrates here must be referring to the technique of cultivating the slopes using terraces. Rather than using this remark as evidence of the relative poverty of the islands and particularly the smaller Aegean insular units,[33] we could treat this statement as an expression of the topos about islands being generically poor places, since the technique of cultivation in slopes was quite widespread in antiquity and certainly not restricted to island territories.[34] This conceptual link between scarcity of good agricultural land and insular territories is also used by Plato in his description of primeval Athens: after the war with Atlantis and the consequent storm, Athens' soil was washed to the sea so that 'what remains . . . is like the skeleton of a sick man, as in small islands' (*Critias* 111b). Xenophon also used the islands as an example of poverty in order to contrast them with the mainland which, according to him, was the source of wealth: 'as for money', Polydamas of Pharsalus reporting the speech by Jason, the tyrant of Pherae, argues, 'we surely should be likely to enjoy a greater abundance of it, for we should not be looking to little islands (*νησύδρια*) for our revenues, but drawing upon the resources of peoples of the continent (*ἠπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη*). . . . It is by drawing upon the resources, not of the islands, but of a continent, that the King of the Persians is the richest of mortals' (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.12). Xenophon's contemptuous reference to islands as 'little' (*νησύδρια*) cannot be viewed as an

[32] Isoc. 4.132: *καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς φύσει καὶ μὴ διὰ τύχην μέγα φρονοῦντες τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νησιώτας δασμολογεῖν, οὓς* ***ἄξιόν ἐστι ἐλεεῖν****, ὁρῶντας τούτους μὲν διὰ σπανιότητα τῆς γῆς ὄρη γεωργεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους.*

[33] See for example, Rougemont (1990) 204 and Debord (1999) 264 for such a use.

[34] On terrace cultivation see mainly Foxhall (1996) and Price and Nixon (2005), as well as Rackham (1990) 103–5, Rougemont (1991) 128, Rackham and Moody (1992) and Brun (1993) 174–5 and (1996a) 64–71. For the technique of slope cultivation on the island of Delos see Brunet (1990–3) and for the island of Ceos see Doukellis (1998).

example of the diminished importance of islands in the fourth century, as Ceccarellli argued,[35] but rather as a typical example of an understanding of insularity as synonynous with poverty.

The most striking comment in this respect, however, can be found in the Old Oligarch. The author draws direct links between the state of insularity and the lack of self-sufficiency, especially in relation to an attempt to synoecize as a way to resist sea power (2.2): 'those subject to a naval power are unable, in so far as they are islanders, to unite the city-states. The sea separates them, and the holder of supremacy is just master of the sea.' We should note here that the weakness and lack of self-sufficiency of large island populations alluded to in the passage is linked directly with the reality of sea power.[36] The insular inability to have *autarkeia* (self-sufficiency), however, may also be the result of an understanding of insularity inherently linked with what was going on in Athens during the Peloponnesian war. As we shall see in the following chapter, the construction of the Long Walls and the partial abandonment of the Athenian *chora* during the Peloponnesian war transformed Athens into an island in the rhetoric and imaginary understanding of fifth-century sources. The concept of insularity was used to encapsulate in contemporary discourses a series of images about Athens: Athens becomes an island separated from its surroundings through the construction of the Long Walls, Athens is a 'safe' island because of the Long Walls,[37] and Athens is viewed as the central island of the imperial world. This 'island Athens' rhetoric depended partly on the abandonment of the *chora* and the consequent total dependence on imports for survival for Athens. This connotation of insularity in

[35] Ceccarelli (1989) 935: 'nel IV secolo a.C. l'importanza delle isole era molto diminuita (in conseguenza della fine della talassocrazia ateniese: la seconda lega delio-attica non ebbe l'importanza della prima . . . basta pensare ad un passo come quello di Xenophon *Hell.* 6.1.12'.

[36] See Frisch (1942) 243, noting that 'what is interesting in the whole point of view in this passage is just its general character', contra Kalinka (1913) 182, who believes that it alludes to specific events related with the attempted synoecism of the poleis of Lesbos during the Mytilenean revolt. Even if the author did know of the Mytilenean revolt, the specific passage, as well as the text as a whole, is a comment on the consequences of sea power *in general*, viewed, of course, through the looking glass of Athenian fifth-century experience. For this passage see also chapter 3.3.

[37] On islands and safety see below section 4.2.3.

relation to the imaginary perception of Athens during the Peloponnesian war may have affected presentations of insularity in general. It is reasonable, then, to suggest that the Old Oligarch's statement about the necessary links between islands and lack of self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) should be viewed within this context.[38] Certainly, islands were capable of supporting quite large populations, both in antiquity and in more recent times. The Old Oligarch's statement, therefore, has more to do with contemporary understanding of insularity rather than real population densities in the Mediterranean islands of the period.[39]

Apart from these remarks on island poverty or lack of self-sufficiency as a generic condition of insular life, we have abundant examples of individual islands being characterized as poor, desolate locations, where life is synonymous to misery.[40] Archilochus, for example, used the word Myconian as a synonym for stingy and greedy people; according to Athenaeus who quotes the source, the explanation for such a use lay in the poverty of the island (Athen. 1.7f–8b = Archil. F124). Gyaros is 'wretched' (Strabo 10.5.3 c486: δειλῇ),[41] Samothrace is 'mountainous and rocky' (Antiph. F 50 Thalheim: ὑψηλὴ καὶ τραχεῖα),[42] and even Thasos, an otherwise wealthy island in the classical period,[43] is 'like the backbone of an ass' (Archil. F21: ὄνου ῥάχις). Archilochus' comment, however, as Purcell argued, can be explained in terms of Thasos' state of development:[44] in other words, the island may be bare in the time of the initial colonization of the Parians, but that does not mean that it is inherently 'poor'; rather, it is in an early state of development that can potentially produce wealth (as it did).

[38] For a fuller analysis see chapter 5.

[39] See Horden and Purcell (2000) 346 and 381–2 on islands supporting large populations in antiquity: it is networks of communications, in which islands play an important role, that affect population densities. On dense occupation on island sites in the geometric period see Morris (1987) 146. For large populations on modern islands, like the famous examples of Hermoupolis at Syros in the nineteenth century, see Kolodny (1974) 197, noting at the same time that such a population density resulted in the high death rate in Syros during the Second World War.

[40] For a full list of references see Brun (1996a) 199–200.

[41] See, however, Brun (1996a) 102–3: Gyaros was not such a bad place after all, and below section 4.3.2.

[42] See chapter 7.2.

[43] See below in section 4.2.1.4, and also 7.2 for the wealthy Thasian *peraia*.

[44] Purcell (2005) 125.

Most useful for our purposes is the story of the poverty of the Andrians. Herodotus describes how Themistocles and the Athenian fleet demanded money from the Andrians.

Themistocles is arguing,

> The Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, Persuasion (*Πειθὼ*) and Necessity (*Ἀναγκαίη*), and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, to which the Andrians answered, it is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods; as for us Andrians, we are but blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are even fain to dwell there, Poverty and Impotence (*Πενίην* and *Ἀμηχανίην*); being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability. (Hdt. 8.111.2–3)

The story is later picked up by Plutarch with a small alteration in the name of the two gods (*Πενίαν* and *Ἀπορίαν* in *Life of Themistocles* 21.2). What is important in the passage is that it appears in the context of one of the first attestations of Athenian sea power. Significantly, the protagonist in the episode is Themistocles, the personification of Athenian naval might, the man most responsible for what Athens became in the course of the fifth century. Poverty here may not be the result of sea power, but the two are intrinsically connected and presented as two aspects of island life under Athenian rule. Poverty, then, is definitely an important aspect of portrayals of insularity in fifth-century and later sources.[45]

Finally, it is perhaps worth mentioning that island poverty became such a significant feature of insularity that we can identify hyperbolic tendencies in our sources, like Demosthenes' description of the famously wealthy island of Aegina as small and insignificant (23.211: *οὕτω μικράν*).[46]

4.2.1.2. Seriphos

Apart from the references to the apparent poverty of individual islands, there exists an island which became the absolute synonym

[45] I disagree with Brun (1998a) 658 that the theme of island poverty 'est né au IVe siècle avec Platon et Isocrate'.

[46] Interestingly, Oswyn Murray also portrays Aegina as a 'small and markedly infertile' island (1993: 224), but also mentions that it was one of the richest and most powerful cities of the time.

for poverty, misery, and above all insignificance: Seriphos.[47] In a famous speech and a unique source for the Megarian decrees, Aristophanes' protagonist in the *Acharnians*, Dicaeopolis, uses Seriphos as an emblem of insignificance (542). Dicaeopolis is attempting to convince the extremely hostile chorus of Acharnians that the Spartans have been acting reasonably in relation to the Megarian decrees: 'What ought they to have done?' he asks, 'Come, supposing one of the Spartans had sailed forth in his bark and denounced and sold a puppy-dog belonging to the Seriphians (*κυνίδιον Σεριφίων*), would you within your halls have sat? Far from it!', and he continues with a description of Athenian preparations for war (*Ach.* 540–3). The parallelism between the Megarian decrees and the act of theft of a Seriphian puppy is a brilliant joke exactly because of the huge contrast of importance. What we have here is the first use of Seriphos as a topos of insignificance.[48] Aristophanes uses Seriphos not because as Sommerstein argued 'it was one of the most insignificant states in the Athenian alliance',[49] but because it was an insignificant *island*.[50] If the degree of insignificance was at stake, the poet might have chosen an insignificant mainland ally. It is the island nature of Aristophanes' choice that is important: firstly, because the act of theft by the Spartans from an island,[51] which, as we saw earlier, was regarded as a natural ally of Athens as well as being in the indispensable domain of Athenian sea power, was the ultimate insult to Athenian power. Secondly, it seems that by the time the comedy was performed insularity was already linked with concepts of poverty and weakness, making the choice of an island the most comprehensive option for anyone who wanted to bring out exactly these aspects.

[47] See in particular Brun (1993) 166–75.

[48] See Brun (1993) 168: 'cette réflexion comique prouve que l'insignificance sériphienne était déjà proverbiale au début de la guerre du Péloponnèse'.

[49] Sommerstein (1980) 183.

[50] See *Σ Ach.* 541: the scholiast combines insignificance with insularity: *Σερίφου τῆς εὐτελεστάτης νήσου τῶν Ἀθηναίων*.

[51] Taillardat (2001) interprets the lines in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (541–2) *εἰ Λακεδαιμονίων τις ἐκπλεύσας σκάφει ἀπέδοτο φήνας κυνίδιον Σεριφίων* as an act of theft of a puppy belonging to the Seriphians from a port in the Peloponnese. His main argument rests on his interpretation of *σκάφος* as essentially a small boat, which, according to his argument, would not be able to cross the Aegean. I do not see why we should accept such an intepretation—the joke works better if we imagine the theft taking place on Seriphos. Indeed, the very thought of Spartans sailing in the Aegean on a small boat marks very well how preposterous this situation is.

Seriphos as a topos of poverty and insignificance was picked up by other authors. Cratinus wrote an entire comedy entitled *The Seriphians* (KA F218–32). From the very few fragments that survive we can only speculate on the subject of the play. What seems to be the case, however, is that here, as in the other fragmentary comedies that have survived from antiquity entitled *The Islands*, Seriphos becomes an example of suppressed Athenian allies who lack the power to do anything about their condition. Poverty is essential in this picture of insignificance: Isocrates mentions a woman of Seriphos 'belonging to a family of greater consequence than might be expected of a native of their polis' (19.9), while Strabo describes the island as 'rocky' and explains this feature of the landscape through the connection with the Gorgon myth (10.5.10 c487). The overall misery of Seriphos became anecdotal: Plutarch narrates the tale of Stratonicus asking a Seriphian, what crime was punished there with banishment; when told that persons guilty of fraud were expelled, he said: 'then why not commit fraud and escape from this confinement?' (*Mor.* 602a–b).

Finally, Seriphos is perhaps best known for the famous anecdote regarding Themistocles. In the original version of the story preserved in Herodotus, we find the otherwise unknown Timodemus of Aphidnae accusing Themistocles that 'it was thanks to Athens, not to his own merits, that he had been honoured by the Lacedaemonians', to which Themistocles replied 'it's true that if I came from Belbina the Spartans wouldn't have honoured me as they did, but they wouldn't have honoured you, my friend, even though you came from Athens' (Hdt. 8.125). The small island of Belbina (modern Aghios Georgios to the south of Sounion)[52] was later substituted by Seriphos in this particular Themistoclean anecdote as reported by Plato in his *Republic* (329e). By Plato's time, Seriphos may have been well established as the ultimate synonym for insignificance and considerations of clarity and usefulness made Plato go for the easier and more comprehensive option. Plato's version was the one used in later sources (Plut. *Them.* 18.5, *Mor.* 185c and Cic. *Sen.* 3.8), possibly because of Plato's wide appeal.[53]

[52] Belbina's tribute appears in the re-assessment decree of 425/4: see more in chapter 6.5.

[53] As argued by Frost (1980) 171, followed by Marr (1998) 116–17.

The name of the island may have changed over time and from author to author,[54] but, as Patrice Brun convincingly argued, the common thread in all versions is the choice of an island as the example of political insignificance.[55] However, I find it difficult to accept Brun's claim that 'in Herodotus' work there is no allusion to the subject of insular *astheneia*'.[56] Such a statement is in fact an erroneous understanding of the Belbina episode, since it is because of its political insignificance and weakness that the Herodotean Themistocles uses it as an example in this particular anecdote. If the anecdote is indeed true, then an understanding of insularity as weakness can be dated to the 470s. At the latest, the link between insularity and poverty can be dated in the period when Herodotus was writing. The historian may have heard of the episode, but with no specific recollection of the location chosen by Themistocles as a symbol of insignificance; if so, Herodotus must have chosen the name of an island in order to create the most impressive contrast between Athens and its complete opposite.

4.2.1.3. Contempt for islanders

It was only natural, then, that an understanding of insularity linked with poverty and insignificance would generate contempt. We have already glimpsed this negative aspect of the portrayal of islands in our sources. For example, Stratonicus' story in Plutarch's *Moralia* implies a certain degree of contempt for the Seriphians who lived in such a wretched place (602a–b). However, the best examples of genuine contempt for island life and the islanders can be found in tragedy.

In Euripides' *Heracleidae*, Iolaus answers the typical question of origin asked by the chorus with the remark that he does 'not live the life of an islander, but from Mycenae I come to your land' (84–5).[57]

[54] See Dillon (2004) 186–7 for the function of anecdotes: details may change, while the essential point is preserved.

[55] Brun (1993) 169.

[56] Brun (1993) 181: 'il faut tout d'abord noter qu'aucune allusion à une quelconque *astheneia* insulaire n'affleure jamais dans l'oeuvre d'Hérodote'.

[57] Eur. *Her.* 84–5: *οὐ νησιώτην τρίβω βίον*. On the subject of contempt for islanders in tragedy see Wilkins (1993) 64.

The reference to islands here may be explained by the chorus' reference to Euboea in the previous line, but at the same time it serves well as the absolute antithesis to noble Mycenae, the true origin of the hero. Similarly in the *Andromache*, the heroine explains her fate after the fall of Troy: 'then I found myself a slave, I, whose family all men regarded as subject to none, and I came to Greece as the pick of the Trojan spoils, awarded to the islander Neoptolemus as his battle prize' (12–15). The reference to the *islander* Neoptolemus serves to contrast even more dramatically Andromache's present situation with her previous status in Troy. Contempt for islanders is again the underlying concept of the reference.[58] In *Hecuba*, the chorus reflects on the future awaiting them: 'whose house will I go to, who will get me as his slave? Shall I go to some port of the Dorian land, or of Phthia . . . or as our oars sweep the sea, shall my sad voyage take me among the islands, where I shall find my pitiful home' (448–57). The reference to an island destination serves as an exaggeration for the alteration of fate of the captive women of Troy, since islands as a location are considered to be extremely impoverished. A similar use of islands as a possible destination for the women of Troy can be found in the *Troades*. Once again the chorus asks: 'what man of Argos or of Phthia will take me away from Troy? Who will take me to an island place (*νησαίαν χώραν*)?' (187–9). Finally, we have *Rhesus*. The chorus is wondering about Odysseus' origins: 'Is he of Thessaly, born by the Locrian sea, or *νησιώτην σποράδαν κέκτηται βίον*?' (701). The word *σποράδαν* is quite difficult to translate and the translators' interpretations have been quite diverse.[59] The link, however, between associations with piracy, poverty, or simply loneliness found in the

[58] See Stevens (1971) 90 and Lloyd (1994) 109.

[59] See F. A. Paley, London 1872, who links the term with the act of piracy: see his commentary on the line: 'the inhabitants of the islands are here indirectly accused of piracy and plunder in common with the coast nations of Thessaly and Locris', followed by Arthur S. Way in the Loeb Classical Library (1912): 'or, an islander, lives he by piracy'. Similar is Porter's comment on the line (1929) 79, explaining the grouping together of Locrians, Thessalians and islanders in the passage. However, Porter translates it as 'a lonely island life'. Gilbert Murray, Oxford (1913) translates it as 'harvester of some starved island's corn'. Richard Emil Braun, New York (1978) as 'one of those islanders, always scavenging'. Dietrich Ebener, Berlin (1966), as 'oder ein Mann, der sein Leben her und da auf den Inseln fristet?'. James Morwood, Oxford (1999), as 'a lonely life on a distant island', but in his commentary (p. 224), he links the passage with ideas of contempt for islanders as well as their reputation for piracy.

translations of the term is always the apparent contempt expressed by the chorus for the lifestyle of an islander.[60]

We should perhaps pause and consider why a specific genre like tragedy contains so many contemptuous references to islanders. The answer may be that it is the very nature of tragedy that provides the best setting for reversal of fate and status. Within these circumstances, references implying contempt for islanders become extremely useful in order to illustrate these reversals of fate and status: such is the context in *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, and the *Troades*, where the reference to an island or an islander concerns the destination of the enslaved women of Troy. These uses serve to highlight the ultimate misfortune of the heroines.

Contempt for islanders can also be seen in Thucydides. The two obvious instances of contemptuous attitude towards islanders are both found in the context of speeches. The first is Hermocrates' speech at Camarina, where he praises Dorianism against 'Ionians, Hellespontians and islanders who may change masters, but are always slaves either to the Persians or to someone else' (6.77.1). The term 'islander' here is not contemptuous by itself but in its relation to the subject states of Athens. Similarly, in Gylippus' indirect speech after the Syracusans suffer a defeat, he argues that 'as for morale, it would be an intolerable thing if Peloponnesians and Dorians could not feel certain of defeating and driving out of the country these Ionians and islanders and rabble of all sorts (*ξυγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων*)' (7.5.4). Gomme, in relation to this passage, noted that the islands 'were conventionally despised by the Dorians of the Peloponnese and Dorian colonists'.[61] Apart from the fact that such a comment implies actual knowledge of Peloponnesian contempt towards the islanders, of which we have no direct evidence, it implicitly denies a similar contemptuous treatment in Athens, as we have seen, even though our sources implying contempt are of Athenian origin. Thucydides may have reserved the references to islanders as weak and inferior for speeches in order to achieve a further dramatic tone, using perhaps the already discussed passages of tragedies as a parallel.[62] We

[60] Ritchie (1964) 246–7, in fact, used the passage and its implications of contempt in order to connect *Rhesus* with the other Euripidean tragedies expressing the same connotations of island life.

[61] Gomme et al. (1970) 384.

[62] On Thucydides' intellectual affinities with tragedy see Hornblower (1987) 117–20.

could treat these two contemptuous remarks about islanders as articulations of Dorian propaganda,[63] but Athenian tragedy shares an understanding of island life as inferior and despicable. Besides, as Alty argued, there is no inconsistency between an Athenian policy promoting kinship between Athens and the Ionians, including the islanders, and feelings of contempt towards the same allies.[64]

Contempt towards islanders is perhaps best manifested in the contrast between insular cities and Athens.[65] Islands are used primarily as the 'other' Athens, a place where some of the most important features of imperial Athens are non-existent. Demosthenes argues that 'if I felt sure that you were Siphnians or Cythnians or people of that sort I should counsel you to be less proud, but since you are Athenians, I urge you to get your force ready' (13.34), contrasting, thus, Siphnos and Cythnos with Athenian imperial ambitions.[66] Siphnos and Cythnos are also paired by Plutarch in order for him to provide a contrast between the two islands and Sparta in the debate over the leader of the Greek army in the war against Persia (*Mor.* 863f). Plutarch could be imitating Demosthenes' passage, but it may also be that by his time the small insular units of the Aegean were synonymous with insignificance. Similarly, Plato used Peparethos as the opposite of Athens in a dialogue discussing the nature of the *agathon* and the *dikaion* (*Alc. I* 116d). The specific reference to the Athenians and the Peparethians in the dialogue could easily be linked with a context of political power, or even Athenian imperialistic practices: the question here is whether 'just things are

[63] See Romilly (1963) 83–4, where she includes both these passages as part of the theme of racial opposition between Ionians and Dorians. Thucydides may present contempt for islanders as part of this ethnic differentiation, but according to Romilly, his presentation of the ethnic issue is put forward in order for the historian to dismiss it as the real reason for the conflict between the two sides. Contra Alty (1982), esp. 3–4: ethnic differentiation did play an important part in the history of the Peloponnesian war, and Hermocrates' references to the islanders in 6.77.1 are not merely rhetorical schemes; similarly Crane (1996) 159.

[64] Alty (1982) 8, particularly referring to the Athenian comic poets making fun of the Ionians' luxuriousness and even playing on the disagreeable connotations of the word Ionian itself.

[65] Conclusion reached by Brun (1996b) 298 in relation to Pholegandros and Sicinos in Solon's remark (F2 West), on which see below: Pholegandros and Sicinos are 'paradigmes de la faiblesses politique, antithèse absolue de la gloire d' Athènes'.

[66] See Brun (2000) 235 on this passage: Demosthenes' choice of islands, according to Brun, could be accidental.

sometimes harmful . . . or just and expedient the same' (apparently the latter), a dilemma which carries strong echoes of the Mytilenean debate in Thucydides.

Finally, an excellent source for contemptuous attitudes to islands can be found in Plutarch's remark in relation to the Persian wars that 'it is very strange (*δεινότατον*) that Sophanes and Aeimnestus and all the men who fought with distinction in that battle never objected when the Cythnians and Melians had their names engraved on the trophies (that is the Serpent Column)' (*Mor.* 873d–e).[67] Plutarch's surprise at the inscribing of the names of island cities on the Serpent Column is a uniquely strong articulation of contempt: surely, if island poleis fought for the Greek cause, they deserved at least a mention in the dedicatory inscription at Delphi.[68] We need to clarify, however, that this contemptuous attitude towards islands found in Plutarch's work cannot be directly linked with ideas about sea power. Rather, we can see how contempt and the idea of insignificance, which as we shall argue originated in a context related to perceptions about sea power in general and Athenian imperial practices in particular, persisted in time and acquired an independent existence as a literary topos.[69]

4.2.1.4. The opposite of poverty: island wealth

How do we explain this negative image of islands? Islands could certainly be poor, since, as Purcell has argued, 'sea is poor';[70] it was the surplus of agricultural produce that mostly provided wealth in antiquity. Island poverty may be a topos in our ancient sources, but as Peter Rhodes has argued, the fact that a passage is a topos need not exclude its authenticity or truth.[71] However, although this image of poverty is not totally unrealistic, it is the overall generalization of *all*

[67] On the Cythnian mention on the Serpent Column see Brun (1998a) 657.

[68] See ML 27 for the inscription on the Serpent Column: it includes the islands of Myconos, Ceos, Melos, Tenos, Naxos, Cythnos, and Siphnos and the island poleis Eretria, Chalcis, and Styra. However, Seriphos, which fought in the wars according to Herodotus (8.46 and 48, where Seriphos provides one penteconter), is not mentioned.

[69] For the negative portrayal of islands in the Roman period in relation to their use as places of exiles see more below in section 4.3.2.

[70] Purcell (1995a) 134.

[71] Rhodes (1994) 157–8.

islands as poor and desolate that deserves an explanation. Not all islands, in fact, were poor; some of them had great claims to wealth and certainly control of the wealthy agricultural land of a *peraia* in the care of many islands,[72] must have altered the picture considerably. We have Naxos, which according to Herodotus was wealthy (5.28),[73] Siphnos, which enjoyed great prosperity through the gold (and silver) mines (Hdt. 3.57),[74] Euboea, a 'great and wealthy island' (Hdt. 5.31.3) and Thasos, which according to Herodotus was able to produce 200 to 300 talents a year (Hdt. 6.46.2–3), to name but a few examples. At the same time, famous products of islands may be considered as an indication of wealth: it cannot be simply coincidental that specific islands were famously associated with certain products, like Chian (Ar. *Eccles.* 1139–40) or Naxian wine, which is compared with nectar (Archiloch. F290 West),[75] the almonds of Thasos (Ath. 2.54b), cheese from Cythnos (Alexis F172 Kock = Ath. 12.516e), Parian marble, etc.[76] It is not the scope of this study to present exhaustively the evidence for island wealth. In this respect, the work by Patrice Brun is unparalleled in the breadth of the material covered and the depth of analysis.[77] Rather, it is more interesting to attempt to throw some light on what Brun rightly called a paradox:[78] that is, the ancient Greek insistence on the

[72] On the topic of the *peraia* see chapter 7.

[73] On the tradition of wealth of Naxos see Mills (1997) 14 with n. 51, who associates it with the myth of Dionysus.

[74] See also Paus. 10.11.2 and Suida s.v. *Σίφνιοι*. On the wealth of Siphnos see Kourou (1994) 272–3, Reger (1997) 463–4, Brun (2000), and Neer (2001) esp. 305–12, where he examines the impact that the distribution of the profits from the mineral resources among the citizen population would have on the social structure of the population.

[75] On famous insular wines, such as the wine of Thasos, Chios, or Lesbos, see Davidson (1997) 42–3.

[76] For famous insular products see Brun (1997). See also Horden and Purcell (2000) 345–6: island mineral resources have had a privileged place in the history of Mediterranean exchange, and that is because of their advantageous position in the networks of communication; and 216 and 225: in relation to the ancient fame of island wines, 'the answer can only be connectivity'.

[77] See Brun (1996a) using evidence concerning agricultural production (pp. 64–8), pastoral activities (88–104), bee-keeping (194–6), quarries and mines (121–31), fishing (131–6) and commercial activities (136–44). See also his overall conclusion about island prosperity(153–62).

[78] See the title of Brun's sixth chapter (1996a) 183: 'Richesse et pauvreté: les paradoxes de l'insularité'.

negative portrayal of islands as poor and insignificant, although islands, as we have repeatedly argued in this book, were central to the ancient networks of communication.

4.2.1.5. Political weakness and sea power

A reasonable conclusion from the evidence discussed so far is that the concepts of contempt and poverty are mostly related to political weakness. More particularly, when an island was used in order to exemplify what Athens was not, as in the cases of Demosthenes (13.34) and Plato (*Alc. I* 116d), the political weakness implied in the insular status was the characteristic which most contrasted with the Athenian state. Insignificance on the political level was another essential part of the depiction of islands in our period, and one that appears from a very early stage. The first attestation of such a presentation can be found in Solon. In one fragment Solon attempts to persuade the Athenians to fight over Salamis; in this context, he uses the conceptual opposition between Athens and the islands as a powerful argument: 'May I change my country and be a man of Pholegandros or Sicinos[79] instead of an Athenian, for full soon would this be the report among men: this is an Athenian of the tribe of Letters-go of Salamis' (*Σαλαμιναφετῶν*) (F2 West).

This negative image of islands and their particular association with a state of insignificance is generated by their position within a context of sea power in general, and Athenian sea power in particular. If we look more closely at some of the references we have already examined in relation to understandings of poverty and insignificance, we can see that these depictions of insularity are the result of a presentation of sea power and its regular consequences, that is the conceptualization of islands as 'natural' subjects of sea power. More particularly, Xenophon's reference to island tribute as opposed to mainland tribute is related to imperial practices, although, admittedly, not those of a traditional thalassocracy (*Hell.* 6.1.12); the Old Oligarch's understanding of islands as units lacking self-sufficiency can be associated with the reality of the insulation of Athens as a result of her empire

[79] For a history of Sikinos see Frantz, Thompson, and Travlos (1969) 397–99, Brun (1996b), and recently Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 772.

during the Peloponnesian war (2.2); Herodotus' story of Themistocles and Andros is a magnificent attestation of early imperial practices (8.111); and finally Aristophanes' use of Seriphos as a paradigm of insignificance in the *Acharnians* occurs in a passage openly criticizing imperial practices (542).

There are further references to political insignificance as an intrinsic characteristic of insularity. Insular weakness underlies the entire confrontation between Melians and Athenians as presented in Thucydides' Melian dialogue: the Melians may present reasonable arguments, but the decisive element in shaping the form and reality of Athenian aggression is the fact that their state is an island.[80] The connotations in the use of the term 'islanders' to describe the people of Scione may be similar (Thuc. 4.120.3). We have already discussed how this passage reflects the equation between islands and Athenian allies and is by itself an expression of the results of the exercise of sea power.[81] We may now add another parameter to this bizarre Thucydidean expression: that of weakness. Islands may be the natural allies of any sea power; that in turn transforms them to weak allies, to insignificant political entities, where powerlessness is a constant feature of their political existence. Here again we find the presentation of weakness portrayed as a result of sea power. The two are closely linked.

In this respect, it is interesting to see that insular political weakness is linked with sea power in the narration of an episode concerning the origins of Athenian sea power. We have already referred to the episode of Themistocles and the Andrians as narrated by Herodotus. What we need to add here is that the incident is interjected in a narration that explains how Themistocles asked money from *all* the islands (Hdt. 8.111–12). Herodotus adds that the Carystians and the Parians gave money, and that he has no knowledge of any other islands conforming with Themistocles' request (8.112.2). The three island poleis, that is Andros, Carystos, and Paros, hardly make a compelling case for believing in Themistocles' request for money from all the islands, as Herodotus claimed. I believe that it is reasonable to suggest that this Herodotean generalization is the result of his

[80] See Thuc. 3.91.2 and 5.84.2. See also chapter 3.2.3 and 3.3.
[81] See chapter 3.2.3.

understanding of insular feebleness: surely, according to Herodotus, Themistocles must have asked money from all the islands, since islands are the 'weakest links' in the matrix of political alliances. Island feebleness, then, is again present.

This story shows us that in terms of the conceptual linking of insularity with weakness, Herodotus implies what Thucydides fully articulates, that is the weak position of islands in the political networks of antiquity. The difference between the two historians is less one of period and more one of outlook. Thucydides' centre of interest is the rise and fall of Athenian power, where sea power, imperial practices, and of course the position of islands in this complicated nexus, play an important part. Herodotus, on the other hand, is not aiming to provide theoretical answers to the questions of sea power and its consequences: hence the presentation of islands in general and island weakness in particular is more contingent, but still extremely indicative of contemporary attitudes.

Contempt, as we saw, was linked with what was seen as insular political weakness. Consequently, an understanding of insularity as weakness was the result of the understanding of islands as natural subjects of any sea power. Both these constructions were the result of the position of islands within the context of the Athenian empire, where the reality of Athens' power must have been a constant parameter in both insular and Athenian perceptions. As we have already noted, links between insularity, poverty, contempt, and insignificance predate the creation and development of the Athenian empire: in this respect, Solon's reference is crucial. His contemptuous reference to Pholegandros and Sicinos as symbols of insignificance, however, can be linked with Athenian expansionistic ambitions, or, in other words, the fight over Salamis. Island poverty and weakness, already evident in the archaic period, according to sources like Solon and Archilochus, can be viewed as the normal consequence of interaction. In discussing Melos and the Melian dialogue, Horden and Purcell suggested that the vulnerability of Melos in the fifth century 'has been more typical of its long term history than has any quiet autarcy'.[82] Exposure to interaction made islands vulnerable to fluctuations of power. Island weakness was not simply an ideological

[82] Horden and Purcell (2000) 74–7, esp. 76.

construction of the fifth century, but a fact of life for Aegean islanders. Pausanias' appeal to weakness (*ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας*) as the reason behind Tenedos' uniting with Alexandreia Troas on the mainland (Paus. 10.14.4) is not merely a rhetorical scheme.[83] It reflects what must have been a constant reality of insular life. At the same time, however, the very presence of Athenian sea power in the fifth century took what was a realistic feature of insular life in antiquity and brought it one step further, made it into a symbol and a literary topos. As I have already argued, the fifth century was the first time that a sea power got control over the entire Aegean and its insular world and held this control firmly for a considerable period of time. Athenian imperial practices and the necessity of islands for the existence and continuation of sea power took what was one of the many diverse aspects of insularity and gave it particular prominence.

4.2.2. The 'dangerous' island

Fifth-century understandings of the consequences of sea power for the state of insularity, as we have seen, resulted in images of contempt, poverty, and insignificance. These, however, were not the only constructions of insularity present in fifth-century sources. The vulnerability of islands to any sea power was responsible for another imaginary construction of insularity: that of the 'dangerous island'. Undoubtedly, the reality of sea power made offshore islands extremely dangerous for mainland states that had no naval power. Sea power allowed the use of islands as bases for expeditions against the mainland or any polis that did not have adequate resources at sea. Hence, islands could become really dangerous, just as they could also be 'safe' for a thalassocratic power against enemies that did not have sea power, as we shall see below.[84] This image of insularity as a 'dangerous place' acquired its full potential in the course of the fifth century.

The most famous episode expressing such an understanding is Demaratus' advice to Xerxes to occupy Cythera as the way to destroy Sparta (Hdt. 7.235.2): 'there is an island called Cythera in those parts',

[83] See more in chapter 7.4. [84] See following section 4.2.3.

Demaratus informs the king, 'not far from the coast, concerning which Chilon, one of our wisest men, made the remark that Sparta would gain if it were sunk to the bottom of the sea'. The fear of Cythera as a base for an offensive against Sparta became reality, however, only during the Peloponnesian war.[85] Thucydides describes how the Athenians, under the command of Nicias, gained control over the island in 424 (4.53–6) and used it as a base for attacks against the Spartan territory (4.56.1).[86] Control over Cythera posed a serious threat to the Spartan state, since the island was considered as an extension of the Lacedaemonian mainland territory.[87] Thucydides also tells us that the Spartans were particularly fearful of Cythera because loss of the island would make Laconia vulnerable to pirates, who, the assumption is, would use Cythera as a base (4.53.3). Use of offshore islands by pirates is a well-known phenomenon and one we shall examine in some detail in a following chapter.[88] The Athenian success in the campaign against Cythera, which resulted in making the island the only non-allied city which paid tribute to Athens, has been considered as 'an unprecedented event in the history of the war as well as significant proof of Athens' power',[89] exactly because of the significance of the island as a threat to the Spartan state.

The disappearing island of Cythera in Chilon's advice, then, conveys the anxieties of mainland powers about the potential threat of an offshore island. Disappearing islands, however, are not uncommon in insular geography. They are, in fact, attestations of the understanding of islands as seats of the supernatural and the bizarre.[90]

[85] Fornara (1971a) used the Cythera episode as evidence for the publication of Herodotus' work: Herodotus may have been writing under the influence of contemporary events. See Hornblower (1996) 214.

[86] For Nicias' campaign against Cythera see Kallet-Marx (1993) 159–60. For the importance of Cythera see Holladay (1978) 408 and Gras (1995) 15. For an early history of Cythera see Huxley (1972).

[87] See Pikoulas (1999a) 71: '*τα Κύθηρα, παρότι νησί, υπήρξαν στην πραγματικότητα μια προέκταση της Λακωνίας, όντας περιοικίδα περιοχή με άμεση εξάρτηση*'. For Cythera's relation to Sparta see also Graham (1964) 95. See, however, Malkin (1994) 81–2: Cythera did not have strong links with the Peloponnese in the eighth century.

[88] See chapter 6.1.5.

[89] Kallet-Marx (1993) 160.

[90] Detienne and Vernant (1974) 153–4. Utopian societies are also commonly located on islands for this same reason: see Plato's Atlantis in his *Timaeus* and *Critias*, Hecataeus of Abdera and his island of the Hyperboreans (*FGrH* 264), Euhemerus of

Islands did not only disappear, but also floated or emerged from the sea.[91] Geographic instability may be a generic condition of insularity, according to the Scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes (3.41.3): 'in old times, all the islands were wandering and did not have any foundation'.[92] This representation of insularity may be related to navigation techniques. The ancient lack of technology for the determination of the exact longitude and latitude of insular locations may have created the myth of the floating islands through the mariners' inability to arrive at an exact location in the open sea.[93] Navigation anxieties, then, strengthened the image of insularity as unstable and exotic, as did the creation of islands by volcanic activity (Strabo 1.3.16 c57 and Plin. *HN* 2.202).[94] We could place the image of the disappearing island within this context, but we should also add the parameter of fear and danger. Another famous instance of disappearing islands comes from Herodotus' story about Onomacritus' exile under Hippias' rule (Hdt. 7.6.3). According to the story, Onomacritus was exiled because he included in the collection of writings of Musaeus a prophecy that the 'neighbouring islands to Lemnos would

Messene and his Panchaea and Hiera (*FGrH* 63 F1–30), and Dionysius Scytobrachion and his Hespera (*FGrH* 32). For links between insularity and utopia see Constantakopoulou (2002a) 178–82 with bibliography. See also Vernière (1988) and Racault (1996).

[91] Floating islands: Homer's Aeolia (*Od.* 10.1–4, on which see Vidal-Naquet (1986a) 22 and Germain (1954) 154–6), Delos (Pind. *Pae.* 7b, on which see Rutherford (2001) 243–52, and *Hymn to Zeus* F33d, on which see Rutherford (1988) 73–5, Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* 4.36–52, on which see Bing (1988) 102–3, Barchiesi (1994), Bruneau (1997), Depew (1998) 163–5, Nishimura-Jensen (2000), and Borca (2000) 125–8), Patmos (A. Cook (1940) 985–6), Chemmis, an island in Egypt (Hdt. 2.156, on which see Simon (1997)). There are also a number of islands named Plotai or Planesiai, names which certainly imply some degree of floating or wandering condition: see Moret (1997) for a collection of references. See also Verg. *Aen.* 8.690 for a poetic use of floating islands. Emerging islands: Rhodes in Pind. *Ol.* 7 (7.54–64), on which see Calame (1990) 291–2, Chryse off Lemnos still there in 72 BC: App. *Mith.* 77, vanished later in Paus. 8.33.4, sacred volcanic isle between Thera and Planasia in Plut. *Mor.* 399c. See also Paschalis (1994) for Anaphe and Delos suddenly appearing (but not necessarily emerging) in Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1694–730 and *Orphic Argonautica* 1353–9. In Strabo's understanding of the distinction between island and continents, the ability to emerge is of crucial importance: see 1.3.10 c54, for which see more in chapter 1.2.

[92] See Moret (1997) 44–5 for an analysis of this passage.

[93] Lestringant (1989).

[94] Gabba (1981) 56.

disappear under the sea'. Salomon is right to place this story within the context of tensions between the Peisistratids and the Philaidai over control in the north-eastern Aegean.[95] At the same time, however, the story about the disappearing islands off Lemnos may articulate Athenian fears about control in the Aegean. In other words, with the islands near to Lemnos gone, Athenian rule in the area might be more secure. I would place, then, this story, like the Cythera story, within a broader understanding of islands as 'dangerous' places.

What Cythera was for Sparta, the islands of the Saronic gulf were to Athens. The first appearance of the idea of an offshore island creating problems for the mainland city in an Athenian context is Solon's famous complaint about Athenian inactivity in relation to Salamis (F2 West). In the fifth century, Aegina became the 'dangerous island'. Plutarch records that Pericles called Aegina the 'eyesore of Piraeus' (*Per.* 8.7) and the same expression was used by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1411a 15).[96] Strabo used the same expression for another offshore island, Psyttaleia (9.1.14 c395). The Athenians did take steps toward removing the 'eyesore of Piraeus'. Thucydides describes how in the beginning of the war the Athenians expelled the population of Aegina (2.27.1): 'they thought it would be safer since Aegina lies off the Peloponnesian coast (*τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην*), if they sent out people to occupy it'. The initiative could be explained in terms of the possibilities an island gave to an offensive power against the city on the mainland (i.e. what the Athenians were using Cythera for) or, if we follow Thucydides' reasoning, it would be a very convenient base for an offensive against the Peloponnese.[97] In both the cases of Sparta and Athens, offshore islands posed a considerable threat. Indeed, both Athenians and the Peloponnesians used islands as bases for attack. The Athenians used the island of Chalce, situated off the north-east shore of Rhodes in their operations against Rhodes (Thuc. 8.44.3 and 8.55.1) and the Oinoussae islands in their operations against Chios (Thuc. 8.24.2). Athenian forces also used the island of Lade in their operation against Miletus (Thuc. 8.17.3). The

[95] Salomon (1997) 31–3. For the Athenian control over Lemnos see also Rausch (1999).

[96] See comments in Stadter (1989) 108.

[97] See Hornblower (1991) 282, following Figueira (1990).

Peloponnesians, on the other hand, used the island of Leros for similar purposes (Thuc. 8.26.1). There is no need to list here more examples of such a use of islands: the examples are numerous indeed.[98] What is sufficient to note is that the actual use of islands as bases for attacks against an enemy is directly linked to practices and ideas about sea power; these, in turn, created the topos of the 'dangerous' island.

4.2.3. The 'safe' island

If sea power made islands dangerous for mainland powers as bases for an offensive attack, sea power also made islands safe against an offensive. The two images, danger and safety, may seem contradictory, but they both express an understanding of insularity as essentially a condition shaped by the realities of sea power. However, whereas the image of the 'dangerous' island is part of the general understanding of insularity as a node in the complex network of connectivity in the sea, the 'safe' island has an additional underlying connotation. Both may be seen as the result of sea power, but with the image of the 'safe' island we come to address another important aspect of insularity: that of isolation.

Isolation and uniqueness was an important part of the concept of insularity.[99] As we have already seen, this understanding of isolation is a result of the very definition of an island as a territory surrounded by water, that is, of a territory clearly defined and therefore 'separated' from its surrounding area.[100] The presence of the sea, clearly defining the insular territory and potentially cutting it off from its surroundings, potentially created a safe area, secure from external attack. An island, therefore, was a safe territory for the power that controlled the sea.

Since isolation is an essential component in perceptions of insularity, ideas of safety became intrinsically linked with island

[98] See for example Reger (1992) 368 for the use of Andros as a base against Athens, as well as the control during the Chremonidean war by Patroclus of the small island to the south-east of Attica, which took its name from him.

[99] Kolodny (1974) 20–2. See also chapter 1.1.

[100] See chapter 1.2.

territories.[101] I cannot resist the temptation of quoting here Montesquieu in relation to islands and security. In his *Spirit of the Laws* he argued that

> island peoples are more inclined to liberty than continental peoples. Islands are usually small; one part of the people cannot as easily be employed to oppress the other; the sea separates them from great empires, and tyranny cannot reach them; conquerors are checked by the sea; islanders are not overrun by conquest, and they preserve their laws more easily.[102]

Islands, according to Montesquieu's understanding, were places safe from the oppression of empires. The underlying assumption here, however, is that such empires could not have controlled the sea.

Islands were used as secure bases in military operations exactly because of the security and isolation they provided. The Athenians, for example, fortified Atalante, the small island off Locri, in their attempt to control the crossing to Euboea (Thuc. 2.32). Similarly, when the Athenians attacked Megara, they first took care to fortify the island of Minoa which was separated from the Megarian shore by a channel (Thuc. 3.51.1 and 4.67.1).[103] We could, in fact, re-interpret the examples of islands as potential threats to a mainland power, examined in the previous section, as indications of the use of islands as 'safe'. In other words, what for the enemy was a 'dangerous' island, for the Athenians was a 'safe' base.[104]

On many occasions people sought refuge from attack on islands, since a narrow strait of the sea provided some security against an enemy that did not control the sea. Security in such

[101] For islands as synonyms for security see Febvre (1932) 205: 'isolated fragments of the globe, separated from all other countries by the surrounding water, an effective protection, especially in archaic times'; Malamut (1988) 176: 'l'île est alors synonyme de sécurité'; Starr (1989) 13; Patton (1996) 1; and Borca (2000) 95: 'cinta d'un abbraccio liquido, l'isola è sinonimo di sicurrezza'.

[102] Montesquieu part 3, chapter 5: 'On island peoples'.

[103] On the location of Minoa see Hornblower (1991) 442, discussing the problems of identification of a suitable island in the area with reference to Legon (1981) 29–33. See also chapter 1.2 for Minoa as an example of the fluidity of definitions of islands: Minoa is both an 'island' and a 'peninsula'.

[104] See section 4.2.3: Alcibiades and the Chians occupying the island of Lade in their operation against Miletos (Thuc. 8.17.3); Athenians based their navy at Oinoussae while sailing to Chios (8.24.2). In addition, when the Athenians sailed to Chios they based their navy at Oinoussae (Thuc. 8.24.2); Athenians used the island of Chalce as a base in their operations against Rhodes (Thuc. 8.55.1).

cases was not absolute, but the barrier of the sea did provide the islanders with a sense of distance, especially against enemies from the mainland.[105] Hence the Athenians moved their children and wives to the neighbouring island of Salamis when the Persians occupied Athens (Hdt. 8.60b). Herodotus articulates very well the understanding of islands as secure places when writing about the subjugation of Asia Minor first by the Lydians and then by the Persians. He believed the location of a city on an island provided some sort of protection. He particularly stated that when the Lydians first started to subjugate the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, the islanders did not fear; they were at first indifferent to events on the mainland (1.143.1).[106] Surely, the existence of a *peraia* on the mainland and the possible loss of it, if Asia Minor got under Persian control, would definitely affect the attitude of the islanders.[107] In this sense, Herodotus' comment is even more indicative of perceptions related to island isolation and safety: it is the result of a specific understanding of insularity as an effective means of defence rather than a real attitude of the islanders towards the Persian danger from the east. At the same time, this understanding may have been the result of the 'island' rhetoric used by the Athenians during the Archidamian war, as we shall see below.[108] The Long Walls created the 'island of Athens', while also providing security from attack. In other words, safety became an essential component of the self-image of 'island Athens'. Such a conceptualization may have affected contemporary perceptions of insularity in general and Herodotus' understanding of insularity in particular.

Islands appear in other instances in Herodotus' work as secure places, even when they were never used as such. For example, Hecataeus advised Aristagoras to use the island of Leros as a safe base, if Miletus ever fell into Persian hands (Hdt. 5.125).[109] Similarly, Bias suggested that all the Ionians should move to Sardinia to avoid

[105] As Kolodny (1974) 128 stated: 'l'obstacle marin est susceptible de décourager l'envahisseur'.

[106] Hdt. 1.143.1: *τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νησιωτῶν ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν.*

[107] As rightly noted by Ceccarelli (1996a) 43.

[108] See below chapter 5.1.4.

[109] On this passage see Nenci (1994) 326.

confrontation with the Persians and an almost certain defeat (Hdt. 1.170).[110] Sardinia, of course, is not a typical island.[111] It had the reputation as the biggest island in the world,[112] and it may have been outside the normal geographical knowledge of the period. Still, it seems that an insular location was the determining factor in this case, as well as the exceptional size of the island: Bias specifically states that by moving to Sardinia, the Ionians will have the 'biggest of all islands',[113] implying, thus, that the choice of the island was an important parameter in the Ionians' quest for security. Additionally, the Phocaeans initially sought refuge on a neighbouring island, according to Herodotus (1.165). They attempted to buy the Oinoussae islands from the Chians, but the whole enterprise met with Chian rejection.[114] Still, it is worth noting that the small strait of sea that divides Oinoussae from the Asia Minor coast was considered a reasonable means of defence by the Phocaeans against Persian aggression. Finally, the Phocaeans reached Corsica, yet another island, where they established a settlement.

The story of the Cnidians is another excellent articulation of the equation of islands and security (Hdt. 1.174). The Cnidians worked out that their fortifications system was not strong enough to resist the forthcoming Persian attack, and so they decided to cut off their city physically from the mainland by digging a channel. The story is famous for the oracle which stopped the Cnidians from completing their labours,[115] but is also a clear indication of the perception of islands as secure locations against enemy attacks.

[110] On the Bias episode see Cusumano (1999). On Bias' council belonging to the Homeric tradition of understanding insularity see Vilatte (1991) 182, who, however, fails to address the issue of islands as synonyms of security.

[111] Braudel (1972) 148 places Sardinia among the 'miniature continents'.

[112] See for example Hdt. 5.106 and 6.2 and Paus. 4.23.5 and 10.17.2. For a vindication of the validity of Herodotus' comment see Rowland (1975): Herodotus had no way of calculating the actual size of an island. In terms of length of coastline, however, his comment is correct: Sicily's coastline is 680 miles long, whereas Sardinia's is about 830 miles long.

[113] For this passage see Ceccarelli (1993a) 30.

[114] For this episode see chapter 5.1.1.

[115] On this subject see chapter 5.2. See also comments in Vilatte (1991) 185–6, who sees a symbolic value in the concept of insulation (and isolation) of Cnidos, since the Cnidian canal 'n'aurait peut-être pas constitué, matériellement parlant, un obstacle infranchissable pour les Perses'.

Herodotus may have preserved an echo of actual facts and debates that took place during the subjugation of the Greek cities of the Asia Minor coast.[116] However, he was also heavily influenced by events that took place during his lifetime.[117] The use of islands as secure places is indeed much in evidence for the period of the Athenian empire.[118] Additionally, two of the greatest advocates of the empire, Thucydides and the Old Oligarch, show that such an understanding was inherent to their perception of insularity.

Thucydides mentions the transfer of the Athenian animals to 'Euboea and the adjacent islands' as part of the measures taken during the Archidamian war to protect Athenian assets (Thuc. 2.14.1). And whereas this example belongs to the realm of real use of islands as places of refuge, Thucydides also preserves on a conceptual level the understanding of islands as secure places. In the Mytilenean debate, Cleon uses the security factor in his argument (3.39.2). He claims that the Athenians should not forgive Mytilene's revolt. Islands, according to the Thucydidean Cleon, are secure as long as the sea power in the area is a friendly one, and in that sense the Mytileneans have nothing to fear since they have their own navy to protect them. The image of the secure island here is closely related to sea power: control of the sea makes an island a secure base for a naval power.[119] This perception is most famously articulated in Pericles' speech. In order to convince the Athenians to follow his defence policy of abandoning the *chora* and remaining within the Athenian walls, the Thucydidean Pericles asserts that islanders are the most impregnable people (1.143.5).[120] Islands, then, are depicted as locations with superior defence mechanisms.

[116] See Ceccarelli (1996a), who places Bias' and Hecataeus' advice in the wider context of Ionian tradition in relation to thalassocracy.

[117] On this subject with references to the Herodotean concept of insularity see Payen (1997) 281–2 and Ceccarelli (1996a).

[118] See Mossé (1996) 96: 'on le voit, pour un Athénien du Ve siècle, le premier avantage de l'insularité c'est d'assurer la sécurité'.

[119] See chapter 3.3 on the relation between sea power and security of islands. See also chapter 6.1 for the use of islands as secure bases for a naval power, and specifically 6.1.5.

[120] Thuc. 1.143.5: *σκέψασθε δὲ· εἰ γὰρ ἦμεν νησιῶται, τίνες ἂν ἁληπτότεροι ἦσαν;* On the passage and the subject of Athenian defence and perceptions of insularity see more in chapter 5.1.4.

The same idea is expressed in the Old Oligarch.[121] In the passage discussing defence, the author of the pamphlet acknowledges that the only disadvantage the Athenians have is that they do not live on an island (2.14–16).[122] The island metaphor is used repeatedly in the passage.[123] Additionally, the similarities with Thucydides' text discussed above suggest that such an understanding of defence was in fact broadly debated in Athens.[124] However, the Old Oligarch adds another parameter to the idea of island security. Islands, he says, are relieved of yet another fear: no betrayal to the enemy or stasis against the democracy can take place on an island (2.15).[125] The topos of the safe island is taken even further in the Old Oligarch, with allusions to safety from internal danger. Aristotle in his *Politics* expresses the same opinion (1272b 16–19). He reveals how the *perioikoi* in Crete never revolt, precisely because Crete is an island, and therefore external help is unlikely to arrive. In this sense, security is the direct result of geographical isolation.[126] Here, as well as in the Old Oligarch, the concept of security, whether from inside or outside danger, is closely related to the image of insularity.

The underlying assumption of islands as secure places is perhaps responsible for the image of islands as towers. We have two such representations in our ancient sources. The first and oldest one is the description of the island of Aeolus in the *Odyssey* (10.3–4). This island is portrayed as being surrounded by a bronze wall, an image which stresses its isolation and exceptional character. This kind of perception may also explain a bizarre expression used to

[121] On the understanding of insularity as defence in the Old Oligarch see Payen (1997) 292–3.

[122] Old Oligarch 2.14: *ἑνὸς δὲ ἐνδεεῖς εἰσιν· εἰ γὰρ νῆσον οἰκοῦντες θαλασσοκράτορες ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπῆρχεν ἂν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν μὲν κακῶς, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, πάσχειν δὲ μηδέν, ἕως τῆς θαλάττης ἦρχον, μηδὲ τμηθῆναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν μηδὲ προσδέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους.*

[123] Five times in the passage: *εἰ γὰρ νῆσον οἰκοῦντες...εἰ νῆσον ᾤκουν...πῶς γὰρ νῆσον οἰκούντων...εἰ δὲ νῆσον ᾤκουν...οὐκ ἔτυχον οἰκήσαντες νῆσον.*

[124] See Gomme (1945) 461 on Thuc. 1.143.5: 'the idea must often have been discussed in Athens'. Same view expressed in Romilly (1963) 117. On the subject of intertextuality between Thucydides and the Old Oligarch see chapter 5.1.4.

[125] On this subject see more in Frisch (1942) 269–72. Ramirez-Vidal (1997) 55 believes that the passage is an allusion to the Herms episode.

[126] On Cretan isolation see Payen (1997) 283.

describe the Islands of the Blessed. In Pindar's second *Olympian*, the poet describes the island as 'a tower of Cronos' (70–1: *Κρόνου τύρσιν*). The expression is unique in Greek literature. Contrary to attempts to identify this tower as a feature of the landscape in the Canaries,[127] it is reasonable to claim that the expression formulates in a poetic way the understanding of impenetrable barriers and isolation that characterize the image of insularity.[128] Within this context, then, it is no surprise that, in Philostratus' chapter on islands in his work *Imagines*, the first image is of an island 'steep and sheer and fortified by a natural wall' (2.17.2).

I will end this section with Diodorus. In his fifth book entitled *Nesiotika*, Diodorus includes a description of a distant island, located in the Atlantic Ocean (5.19–20). The description contains many features that are typically utopian, such as excellent climate, fertility, and miraculous vegetation. The Carthaginians, who, according to Diodorus, discovered the island, forbade the Tyrrhenians from establishing a colony there because they wanted 'to have ready in it a place in which to seek refuge against an incalculable turn of fortune, in case some total disaster should overtake Carthage' (5.20.4).[129] It is impossible to know whether the story is true or not; what is interesting, however, is the representation of insularity as safe.

4.3. IMPERIALISM AND ISLAND SUBJUGATION

We have seen how the fifth century was a seminal period for the consolidation of a series of images of insularity: that of the 'poor and weak islander', the 'dangerous' island and the 'safe' island. Although early expressions of such perceptions can be found in archaic sources, such as Homer and Solon, the fifth century was the period in which these images became commonly associated with insularity.

[127] See for example Manfredi (1993) 35–51, who identifies the Islands of the Blessed with the modern Canaries. But as Vidal-Naquet commented (1986a) 32 n. 29, the study of 'Homeric geography' and the 'identification' of sites is a sport likened to the search for the rabbit-hole through which Alice entered Wonderland.

[128] See comments in Romm (1992) 126.

[129] See Amiotti (1988) 171 and (1994) 272 for the story.

The reality of Athenian sea power and its control over the Aegean area was, in my interpretation, the underlying reason for these concepts of insularity. Indeed, the Delian league and the Athenian empire created, as we saw earlier, the context through which the past was interpreted. Athenian imperialism and its consequent subjugation of the Aegean islands to Athenian rule created two new images of insularity: that of islands as the ideal territories for the practice of island 'netting' and the conceptualization of islands as 'prisons', or ideal locations for exile. With these two concepts we move from the sphere of the imaginary to the sphere of real historical practices involving insular territories. Island 'netting' and exiles to islands were two ways through which imperialism manifested itself on the islands. Indeed, as we shall see below, island 'nettings' and island prisons can be indicative of the understanding of islands as particularly sensitive to imperial rule.

4.3.1. Island 'nettings'

Herodotean stories about island 'nettings' are wonderful expressions of the idea of an island as a well-defined place, clearly separated from its surroundings through the medium of water. These stories have been examined in relation to their value as sources for human traffic in the ancient Mediterranean.[130] However, their implications for the understanding of insularity have not been fully explored. In the occasions that Herodotus mentions the practice of 'netting' in his *Histories*, the territory which is being 'netted' is always an island. The first island is Samos. The story goes as follows: 'the Persians "netted" (σαγηνεύσαντες) Samos and delivered it up to Syloson, stripped of all its men' (Hdt. 3.149).[131] The Persians also 'netted' Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. On this occasion, Herodotus gives us a full description of the process:

whenever they became masters of an island, the barbarians, in every single instance, 'netted' the inhabitants. Now the process in which they practice this 'netting' is the following. Men join hands, so as to form a line across from the north coast to the south, and then march through the island from

130 Horden and Purcell (2000) 390.

131 For the symbolic importance of the episode as an example of Persian *hybris* see Vilatte (1991) 195–6.

end to end and hunt the inhabitants. In like manner the Persians took also the Ionian towns upon the mainland, not however 'netting' the inhabitants as it was not possible. (Hdt. 6.31)[132]

His final comment is particularly illuminating: the barbarians used the 'netting' technique in the islands alone; such practices were not feasible in the mainland (*οὐ γὰρ οἷά τε ἦν*). We should immediately note the hyperbolic character of these passages. How could an empty Samos (*ἔρημον ἐοῦσα ἀνδρῶν*) man sixty triremes in the battle of Lade (Hdt. 6.8.2)?[133] Syloson's empty Samos became proverbial, as Strabo's narration shows, (14.1.17 c638) and this may imply an anti-tyrant tradition, which inflated the negative consequences of tyranny for Samian society.[134]

Let us examine the practice of 'netting' in some detail. A modern version of the practice of netting was implemented in Tasmania during the so-called Black war in 1823–4. The European settlers 'netted' the whole island and captured only two aboriginal inhabitants.[135] The failure of 'netting' in this modern setting exemplifies the difficulties of such an attempt. Still, the fact that the Persians were believed to have used the 'netting' technique in island territories must be related to a conceptual understanding of islands as well-defined spaces. It is impossible, however, to say with any certainty whether this understanding was an exclusively Greek one, which was then ascribed to the Persians as part of their more general barbarian-imperial practices, or whether the Persians themselves shared with the Greeks (and Herodotus) this conceptualization of islands as defined territories *par excellence*. We can only say with certainty that, by Herodotus' time, the stories of Persian subjugation of the islands were linked with the understanding of islands as defined territory, as well as ideal locations on which to exercise imperial power. Island 'nettings', then, are another expression of the theme of island weakness and of the understanding of islands as territories subject to imperial rule.

[132] See comments in Nenci (1998) 195–6 and Scott (2005) 155, noting a possible exaggeration in the tradition.

[133] As observed by How and Wells (1928) vol. 1, 299.

[134] See also Aristotle F 574 Rose and Eust. *Comm. Dion. Perieg.* 333. See comments by Asheri (1990) 354.

[135] Robson (1997) 12–13.

The only other reference to 'netting' in our sources concerns Eretria (Pl. *Laws* 698d and *Menex.* 240b). The Athenian stranger in Plato's dialogue, however, expresses some doubts over the validity of the story of the Eretria 'netting', and perhaps this is related to Eretria not being a proper 'insular' city, since, as was acknowledged by Herodotus, the only territory where such a technique could be successful was that of an island. Plato's account is the earliest of the stories about the Eretria 'netting'.[136] These stories, as Whittick showed, tell us more about Greek perceptions of Persian subjugation than actual Persian military techniques.[137] We could also place the specific stories in the broader context of stories which use the metaphor of subjugated peoples as fish caught in a net, as indeed Ceccarelli does.[138] Such stories were popular both in Greek and eastern sources,[139] of which the story of Cyrus' parable of the fish, found in Herodotus (1.141), is perhaps the most famous example.[140] Again, as in the case of the 'netting' which applies to island people only, the metaphor seems to imply mostly maritime people. Whether the 'netting' stories belong to the same tradition of stories using maritime metaphors to denote imperial subjugation or not, these stories of island 'nettings' positively express the idea of defined space: whether successful or not, the choice of islands as the territory where 'netting' could be applied typifies the understanding of the sea as a

[136] Strabo also reports the 'netting' of Euboea, but wrongly attributes the story to Herodotus in 10.1.10 c448, possibly using Plato, or his source, who could be Ephorus, as Nenci (1998) 196 notes. See also Diog. Laert. 3.33.

[137] Whittick (1953).

[138] Ceccarelli (1993a) 48: 'l'*αἶνος* des poissons dansants et en tout cas l'image de peuples conquis comme des poissons ont été mis en relation dès l'antiquité avec le procédé typiquement perse de la *σαγήνευσις*'. The parallel of fish and subjugated people is fully articulated in Philostratus' *VA* 1.23, where Apollonius dreams of fish which are thrown out on land and cannot breathe and relates it to the Eretrians who were brought by Darius to an area close to Babylon and who 'are said to have been treated at their capture like the fishes that we saw in the dream; for they were netted in, so they say, and captured one and all (*σαγηνευθῆναι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἁλῶναι πάντας*).

[139] See Brinkman (1989) 55–6, followed by Kuhrt (2002) 19: king Sargon II (721–705) claims that he caught the Ionians in the midst of the sea like fish. The royal inscriptions of king Sargon include stock passages which associate the Ionians with the Mediterranean: the Ionians are either in the midst of the sea, or are caught like fish in the midst of the sea.

[140] Hirsch (1985–6).

defining factor in terms of territory.[141] At the same time, however, the 'netting' stories presume a certain degree of imperial power and its impact on the maritime sphere of the Aegean.

4.3.2. Exiles on islands

Isolation, safety, and subjection to imperial rule also made insularity linked to the idea of prison and islands the ideal locations for exile. Indeed, as Pantalacci observed, there seems to be an intrinsic relationship between islands and exile.[142] We can see the beginnings of such a representation in Homer.[143] In the island of Circe, Aeaea, Odysseus and his comrades are not only practically imprisoned, but are also turned into swine (*Od.* 10.235–42). Their magical transformation symbolizes the extremity of their imprisonment and allows us to place Aeaea among the first examples of the use of islands as prison. An empty island becomes the place of exile and eventual death for the poet-guardian of Clytemnestra, whom Aegisthus sends there to die (*Od.* 3.269–71). The best expression, however, of the relation between insularity and seclusion is Ogygia, the island of the nymph Calypso. In Proteus' description, Odysseus is kept there 'shedding big tears, in the halls of the nymph Calypso, who keeps him there by force and he cannot come to his native land, for he has at hand no ships with oars and no comrades to send him on his way over the broad back of the sea' (*Od.* 4.556–60). Ogygia is a prison for Odysseus exactly because of its insular nature. The geographical isolation of the island is used for the construction of the conceptual isolation of the prison.

Islands were not only portrayed as prisons. They were actually used as such. In the pre-Delian league period, use of islands as secluded locations for unwanted persons is indeed rare: one of the few instances of such a use of an island is the transfer of the

[141] See in particular Plato's comment on 'netting' in the *Menex.* 240b: ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν διαστάντες. Another instance of 'netting' in our sources is found in Appian's narration in relation to Cappadocia, which Armenius netted (*Mithr.* 67). I will not discuss this passage, since it refers to a much later period, and should not affect our conclusions in relation to the understanding of insularity and its links with the practice of 'netting' in the classical period.

[142] Pantalacci (1995). See also King (1993) 20 and Vilatte (1999) 129.

[143] For the subject of the prison island in Homer see Vilatte (1991) 31–4.

inhabitants of Eretria to Aegilia, the island of the Styreans, by the Persians during the first Persian expedition (Hdt. 6.107.2). In the period of the Athenian empire, however, we have more examples. During the *stasis* at Corcyra, the demos moved 400 people to the island opposite the Heraion (Thuc. 3.75.5).[144] Similarly, the Athenian sent to the islands their prisoners of war (Thuc. 4.57.4) or the citizens who displayed pro-Spartan feelings in allied cities as in the case of the 300 Argives (Thuc. 5.84.1, 6.61.3). Paches also transferred the oligarchs of Mytilene to the island of Tenedos in order to remove them from the area (Thuc. 3.28.3). Even the Persian king used islands as prisons, as is reported by Herodotus in relation to the islands in the Red sea (Hdt. 7.80).

It is the Roman period, however, when the portrayal of islands as prisons as well as the use of islands as proper prisons acquires its full potential.[145] Juvenal called the Aegean islands 'rocks crowded with our noble exiles' (13.246). The list of Aegean islands used as locations where unwanted individuals were deported is long: Amorgos, Andros, Cythnos, Delos, Donoussa, Naxos, Patmos, Seriphos, and, perhaps the most famous of all, Gyaros.[146] Gyaros, in particular, appears to have been an exceptionally bleak option.[147] Tacitus reported the discussion about the exile of Vibius Serenus: 'a motion by Asinius Gallus, that the prisoner should be confined in Gyaros or Donoussa, he also negatived: both islands, he reminded him, were waterless, and if you granted a man his life, you must also allow him the means of living' (Tac. *Ann.* 4.30). What is interesting in this passage is the totally negative picture preserved for Gyaros. Gyaros was definitely poor, as we know from the anecdote in Strabo, where a local fisherman is picked up by the ship on which Strabo is travelling in

[144] For an identification of the island as Viod island, as opposed to Fortezza Vecchia, see Gomme (1956) 370–1.

[145] See Balsdon (1979) 114–15 for a list of the Aegean islands used as locations for exile in the imperial period. See also Nigdelis (1990) 221, Brun (1993) 169 and (1996a) 23 with n. 65, and Vilatte (1999) 139–41.

[146] Tac. *Ann.* 3.68–9 and 4.30, and Juv. 1.73 and 10.170. For Gyaros as a place of exile see Plut. *Mor.* 602c (*De exil.*); Brun (1996a) 102, and Borca (2000) 143–4.

[147] Plutarch in his treatise about exile (*Mor.* 602c) claims that if someone has the right attitude towards exile, he can choose 'to live even on an island, Gyaros or Cinaros' (*αἱρήσεται* ***καὶ*** *νῆσον οἰκεῖν, φυγὰς γενόμενος, Γυάρον ἢ Κίναρον*). Notice the insulting ***καὶ***: Gyaros here seems to belong to the bottom of the scale in relation to decent living.

order to go to Augustus and ask a reduction in the tribute the islanders were paying (10.5.3 c486).[148] However, the image of a totally inhospitable island is misleading: Gyaros produced coinage in the second century and was able to support a small community, as we saw in Strabo's narration.[149] It seems then that the description of the desolate and waterless 'exile' islands was more an imaginary construction than a description of the real conditions which prevailed on the islands of the Aegean.[150] The obvious question, then, is why; why were the Aegean islands perceived in this negative way? How did they become remote and isolated, ideal locations for exile and prison, when in a previous period they were active parts of networks?

An explanation to what seems at first sight a paradox must lie within the concept of sea power. We have already examined how the creation of the topos of the 'feeble' islander was intrinsically related to thalassocracy.[151] Both the ideas about the necessary weakness and poverty of islands and the use of islands as locations for exile share some similar connotations.[152] The reason islands are chosen under the Roman empire as places for seclusion is exactly the fact that they do not seem to offer a pleasurable life (hence the use of the word *scopuli* to denote the Aegean islands),[153] while at the same time they appear isolated and distant. The same ideas can be seen as part of the topos of the 'weak' islander: poverty, isolation, political weakness. What is a literary construction of the fifth century almost becomes a reality in the Roman period: islands, especially the smaller Aegean islands, do become isolated and desolate, and hence ideal locations

[148] See above section 4.2.1.1.

[149] See Head (1911) 486 and Liampi (1998) 223–4 on the coins of Gyaros and Young (1956a) 143 n. 62 on the tower of Gyaros. The demos of the Gyarians also issued an honorary decree for a certain Sosistratos (*IG* XII suppl., p. 117). See also Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 732. See also chapter 6.4 for the use of Gyaros as a goat island and chapter 6.5 for a possible *synteleia* between Gyaros and a neighbouring island in the fifth century.

[150] See mainly Rougemont (1990), where he shows that climate alone cannot determine the population of an island; rather the determinant factor is political conditions: for example, Amorgos, an island which at first sight, and especially in the eyes of the summer tourist, appears barren and almost waterless, was able to support a large population in classical antiquity.

[151] See above section 4.2.1.

[152] Doukellis (2001) 51: 'on remarque toutefois que pauvreté et isolement peuvent être les deux faces de la même monnaie'.

[153] See for example Juv. 10.170 and Tac. *Hist.* 1.2.

for exile. Plutarch, who is writing during the Roman period, but is also deeply involved in the classical past, is unable to understand the change between the glorious Greek world of the past and his not so glorious present. He complains in his treatise *On Exile* about the 'thoughtless exiles' (ἀνόητοι φυγάδες) who are unable to understand the importance of the Aegean island on which they are exiled (*Mor.* 603b).

A complementary explanation for the use of islands as prisons and their consequent representation as isolated and remote locations may lie, as Rougemont has suggested, in the existence of a central political authority which exercised control over the islands.[154] The first occasion of actual use of islands as prisons, as we have seen, took place during the time when the Persians were attempting to exercise control over the Aegean and when the Aegean was under the control of Athens. Arguably, the above cases are not exactly the same type of use of islands for exile as the one we encounter during the Roman period. However, in these instances we find the beginnings of what would much later be a quite widespread practice. Besides, islands were also understood as 'safe' places, whether that would mean safe from outside attack (islands as refuge), or safe places for social and political exclusion for those who threaten the security of the community (islands as prison), as in the case of the 400 oligarchs isolated on the island opposite the Heraion in Corcyra. The Athenian rule over the islands was relatively short-lived, especially if we compare it with the centuries of Roman rule over the Mediterranean. If the explanation for the transformation of the islands from active parts of a network into desolate and isolated places lies in the existence of a central authority of control and ultimately subjugation, as Rougemont proposed, then the Athenian rule did not exist for a long enough period to achieve such a transformation. Such a transformation could only be achieved under Roman rule.

[154] Rougemont (1990) 210 on Amorgos: 'Amorgos a été aussi, sous l'empire romain comme au XXe siècle, une île de relégation, une île d'exil; mais on remarquera que ce fut en des temps où les Cyclades faisaient (et font) partie d'un ensemble politique centralisé et que c'est là une condition qui fut assez rarement remplie dans le monde grec pre-romain, et il suffit à cette démonstration qu'Amorgos n'ait pas toujours été, loin de là, à l'écart des grands courants méditerranéens de circulation et d'échanges.'

Indeed, as we briefly saw earlier, Roman use of islands as exile locations was an extensive one. Additionally, *relegatio* and *deportatio in insulam* were among the harshest forms of exile.[155] Plutarch, when writing his thesis *On Exile*, reserved five chapters for islands (*Mor.* 602b–604a). The Aegean islands were not the only islands preferred for such a practice. Exiles were also sent to the Balearic islands,[156] as well as the islands off Italy.[157] It is perhaps interesting to note that islands have been used as exile locations in other periods, during which we encounter the existence of a central authority exercising control over the Aegean. In the Byzantine era, islands were the location *par excellence* for political exiles, as Malamut notes.[158] Between the eighth and the twelfth centuries AD, Samothrace, Thasos, Lesbos, Rhodes, Tenedos, Chios, Samos, Cos, all were typical 'prison' islands for the Byzantine authority. The exclusion of any Cycladic island from the above list serves as additional evidence for our proposition of connecting the use of 'prison' islands to central authority: the Cyclades in the above period were the frontier between the Arab threat and the world of Byzantine sovereignty,[159] and, therefore, they did not fit exactly the profile of islands under central control.

The next occasion on which a Greek island was used as a location for political exiles was in the twentieth century, once again a period when the Aegean islands were under the control of a single central authority, that of the Greek state. During the dictatorship of Metaxas, political opponents, primarily key political figures and numerous communists, were exiled to Cythera, Anaphe,[160] Cimolos, Ios, Amorgos, Pholegandros, Icaria, Gavdos, and Ai Stratis.[161] At the end of the Second World War and during the Greek civil war, Makronisi, Gyaros, and Ai Stratis, among others, served as prisons, where members of the former resistance group ELAS (Greek Popular Liberation Army) and

[155] Borca (2000) 142–3.

[156] P. Suillius, consul under Claudius, exiled in 58 AD: Tac. *Ann.* 13.43.6.

[157] Corsica, Lipari islands, Pandateria, Planasia, Pontiae Insulae, Sardinia, Sicily, and Trimerus: for full list of references see Balsdon (1979) 114.

[158] Malamut (1988) 175: 'l'île byzantine fut par excellence le lieu d'exil des Byzantins indésirables au pouvoir, pouvoir civil ou ecclésiastique'.

[159] Malamut (1988) 175.

[160] For a survey of the life of the exiles on the island of Anaphe during the Metaxas dictatorship see Kenna (1991) and (2001b).

[161] Kolodny (1974) 446–8.

EAM (Greek Liberation Front) were secluded, often under the most horrendous conditions.[162] Finally, in the period of the military Junta of the Colonels in the years between 1967 and 1974, prison islands were once again used to 'host' those who opposed the dictatorship (mainly Makronisi, Gyaros, Ai Stratis, and Leros).

The 'prison' island is one of the strongest expressions of the theme of island isolation.[163] The 'prison' island does take to an extreme the isolated characteristics of island life. These characteristics were inherent to the whole notion of an island even in periods when, as we briefly saw, islands were not fully exploited by a central authority as locations for exile. And whereas the 'prison' island is the result of thalassocracy and control by a central authority, it is also the very nature of islands that allows such an understanding of a geographical reality. The understanding of islands as 'the very type of an isolated domain on the seas',[164] in Febvre's words, led to the understanding of islands as units. This latter conceptualization led to the understanding and later use of islands as prisons. Such was the strength of the notion of isolation for islands that in the words of Elisée Reclus islands are 'prisons or places of exile' not only for exiles but also for the very 'people who inhabit them'.[165] The concepts of isolation and prison are also intrinsically connected in Manassis' comment that the island of Cyprus is a garrison, a *phrourion*.[166] Again, geographical determination through the existence of the sea is what makes islands prisons.

4.4. CONCLUSION

Imperial subjugation of the Aegean islands during the fifth century had an impact on perceptions of insularity in fifth-century and later sources. The necessity of islands for the existence of any sea power

[162] My father, who was exiled in Macronisi during 1949, has told me that the lack of water and shade on the island was amongst the most agonizing aspects of his exile.

[163] Malamut (1988) 176: 'en effet la fonction d'île comme prison politique est sans doute un des phénomènes qui rélèvent le mieux ce qu'est une île'.

[164] Febvre (1932) 219.

[165] Reference taken from Febvre (1932) 220.

[166] Reference taken from Malamut (1988) 30.

may have been recognized in the archaic period, but in the fifth century the recognition of this necessity gave the concept of insularity new dimensions. We examined how the Athenian empire with its control over the Aegean sea had an impact on fifth-century historiography: most notably Thucydides, and, to a lesser extent, Herodotus. The understanding of sea power as an essential element of imperial power in general resulted in the creation of a list of thalassocracies of the past. Older and mythical thalassocracies, including that of Minos, came to be represented as essentially similar to Athenian imperial control over the Aegean. The idea of a succession of sea powers in the Aegean, in fact, became an analytical tool for the interpretation of the past.

Insularity as a synonym for subjugation, however, was simply one of the connotations that the concept acquired during the fifth century. Weakness, poverty, insignificance, and contempt are among the most often used images of insularity in our sources. I have attempted to explain the predominance of these images as a result of the position of islands as subjects under Athenian rule. Islands were politically weak in relation to any power that controlled the sea. As a result, some aspects of insular life, such as poverty, political weakness, and lack of self-sufficiency, became the predominant connotations of insularity in general, even though, as we have seen, some islands in reality had nothing in common with this 'negative' picture; islands, such as Thasos, Paros, or Naxos, to name but a few, were at times powerful and rich. Yet, this negative image of insularity resulted in generating contempt.

Sea power also made islands 'dangerous'. The topos of the 'dangerous' island is fully expressed in stories about Cythera and the danger it posed on Sparta, or about the islands of the Saronic gulf for Athens. The disappearing island of Cythera in the Herodotean story (7.235.2) may articulate a general unease for the state of insularity. Islands, in many ways, can be viewed as unpredictable: they may float (Delos, Planesiae), disappear, or emerge from the sea. The distinct nature of insularity, however, also resulted in the creation of the image of the 'safe' island. In other words, if sea power made islands 'dangerous' for the mainland powers without control of the sea, sea power also made islands 'safe' from external attack. We have looked at historic examples where islands were used as places of refuge

against attack during the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. The connotations of safety also became important when discussing another use of the concept of insularity: that of island Athens, which we shall examine in the following chapter.

Imperialism and island subjugation was also responsible for another two images of insularity: that of 'island nettings' and of exile. Stories about island nettings express the understanding of insularity as essentially a geographic entity particularly prone to imperial subjugation. The use of islands as ideal locations for exiles, on the other hand, only found its fullest expression under Roman rule.

Succession of thalassocracies and control of the islands, weakness, poverty, insignificance, and contempt, 'danger' and 'safety', island 'nettings', and exiles on islands, all these images strengthened during the fifth century and eventually became intrinsic connotations of the concept of insularity. We may now turn our attention to the Athenian use of some of these connotations for the representation of imperial Athens herself. Fifth-century 'island Athens' was the new important island of the Aegean.

5

The island of Athens

In our investigation of insularity and connectivity in the Aegean, the chronological focus has been mainly the fifth century, and more particularly the period of the Athenian empire. Indeed, a large part of this book has been devoted to the changes brought to the concept of the 'island' and the 'islander' by the very reality of the Athenian empire. The main underlying theme for our purposes may be maritime and insular connectivity, but emphasis has also been placed on the consequences of imperial practices for the understanding of the concept of insularity in the fifth century, within and, where possible, outside an Athenian context. We have touched upon themes of islands as parts of networks, but also of islands as distinct and isolated locations, 'safe' from the dangers of the 'outside' world. Both these two aspects of insular representations were enhanced in the fifth century by the reality of the Athenian empire, and both acquired new connotations and meanings. The changing image of insularity, however, affected not only the Aegean islands and their islanders. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the quite conspicuous appearance of the image of an island for the centre of fifth-century imperial practices, namely Athens herself. As will be argued below, the existence of the Athenian empire changed Athenian self-representation to an important extent. An integral part of this self-representation was the incorporation of the imagery of insularity in the second part of the fifth century.

5.1. THE LONG WALLS AND ATHENIAN INSULATION

In the 450s the Athenians decided to reinforce their already quite impressive system of fortifications by building two new walls running

from the Athenian *asty* to the Piraeus (Fig. 7). These two Long Walls, and the later construction of a third wall running parallel to the northern Long Wall, called the Middle Wall, created the possibility of uninterrupted communications between the *asty* and the port, in case of an enemy invasion of Attica. The construction of the Athenian Long Walls can be viewed as the result of a gradual development in Athenian mentality during the fifth century, which altered the perception of what was considered worth defending. During the Peloponnesian war, what was simply a possibility became a reality: the Athenian *chora* was evacuated, at least to a degree, while the *asty* and the Piraeus became 'islands' in the contemporary rhetoric discussing the strategy of defence. The advantages of insularity in terms of defence, a theme we have explored already in some detail,[1] may have formed the basis of such an articulation of Athenian imagery.

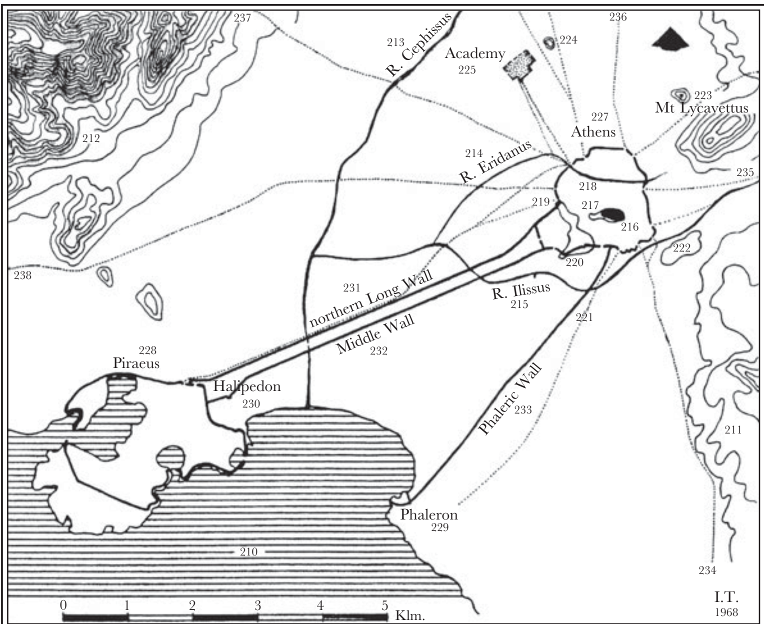


Fig. 7 Athenian Long Walls (after Travlos (1971) fig. 213, p. 164).

[1] See chapter 4.2.3.

However, the importance of islands in the Athenian empire, as well as the strength of the concept of insularity within the context of sea power, played an important role in Athenian uses of insularity. We shall start with a rough outline of the practice of insulation of the Athenian *asty* in the fifth century through the building of fortifications and continue with an attempt to re-examine fifth-century Athenian history in the light of the debate concerning the advantages and disadvantages of insularity. Finally, we will examine some aspects of a 'utopian' discourse on the theme of island Athens. The themes of utopian insular Athens and imperial insular Athens are wonderfully combined in the Platonic narrative of the Atlantis story in the *Timaeus* and the *Critias.*

5.1.1. Themistocles and his ideal

In the beginning of the fifth century, the Athenians decided to fortify Piraeus. Themistocles, according to our sources, was primarily responsible for the initiative (Thuc. 1.93.3–7, Diod. 11.41, and Plut. *Them.* 19). Fortifications probably began in the year 493/2, when Themistocles was the eponymous archon, but the date of his archonship has been debated.[2] For Thucydides, the Piraeus fortifications and Athenian sea power belong to the same policy (1.93.3–4).[3]

[2] Main source for the dating of Themistocles' archonship is Thuc. 1.93.3: *ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν (ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἧς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε)*. This may refer to the eponymous archonship of 493 (when a certain Themistocles held it: Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 6.34), as Cadoux (1948) 116 with n. 252, Lewis (1973), Develin (1989) 55, and Gouschin (1999) 171 seem to believe, or to another magistracy, such as *ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν νεωρίων*, as Gomme (1945) 262 suggests, followed by Chambers (1984). The problem of Themistocles holding the archonship in 493/2 is that it contradicts Herodotus' evidence in 7.143.1 on Themistocles' recent arrival on the scene of Athenian politics in 480. However, Thucydides does not usually use this particular expression other than to refer to the eponymous archonship. See also Evans (1987) for an interpretation of *νεωστὶ* in Herodotus, which does not contradict Thucydides' evidence for the archonship. For a full bibliography on the subject see Hornblower (1991) 138–9. For the date of the construction of the walls see Travlos (1960) 68, Boersma (1970) 37–8, and Garland (1987) 14–19.

[3] Thuc. 1.93.3–4: *ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς. . .νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν (τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστί) καὶ* **τὴν**

Certainly, the new harbour offered important advantages to a city which attempted to pursue a policy of sea power, since the old harbour of Phaleron could not be easily protected against enemy raids.[4] As Diodorus remarked, with the addition of Piraeus to the city of Athens, the Athenians 'would be able to compete for the hegemony at sea' (11.41.3). Even if we cannot substantiate any claim that the Athenians in the 490s were aiming at hegemony at sea and therefore pursued the policy of harbouring Piraeus, still, it is obvious that the two were conceptually connected in overview of the period presented by later sources, such as Thucydides and Diodorus.

It becomes, therefore, very interesting to see that there is some evidence that Themistocles himself, the primary architect of Athenian sea power, was associated with the construction of the Long Walls. In Aristophanes' *Knights*, for example, Paphlagon attempts to compare himself to Themistocles as a benefactor of the city. The Sausage-seller refers to Themistocles as the one 'who, while she (i.e. Athens) was lunching, threw in Piraeus as an additional dish' (815).[5] The scholiast believed this was a clear reference to the Long Walls as the means by which Piraeus was attached to the city. Similarly, Pausanias, in his description of the walls, attributes the construction of the Long Walls to Themistocles (1.2.2). Themistocles, however, was not responsible for the construction of the Long Walls.[6] Quite the contrary: if we trust Thucydides, Themistocles' ideal plan was the complete evacuation of the *asty* and the transfer of the whole population to Piraeus, where no enemy invasion could prove effective as long as the Athenian navy controlled the sea and guaranteed supplies

ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατασκεύαζεν. *Arche* here may mean beginning as well as empire. However, see Hornblower (1991) 140 for *arche* meaning empire in this context, followed by von Reden (1995b) 26–7.

[4] Such as the ones mentioned in Hdt. 5.81.3.

[5] Ar. *Knights* 813–16: *σὺ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἀντιφερίζεις; ὃς ἐποίησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστὴν εὑρὼν ἐπιχειλῆ,* ***καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀριστώσῃ τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν****, ἀφελών τ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἰχθῦς καινοὺς παρέθηκεν.*

[6] Ancient associations between Themistocles and the Long Walls seem to have provided the basis for modern misunderstandings. See for example H. Walker (1995) 195: '[Pericles'] policy continues that of Themistocles, who had argued that the Athenians should rely on their naval defences and had persuaded them to refortify the city and build the Long Walls after the Persian wars', and von Reden (1998) 185, who attributes the plan to link the harbour to the *asty* and to merge the two places into one single fortification to Themistocles.

of food in the case of a siege (Thuc. 1.93.7). Furthermore, in one of the most famous anecdotes concerning Themistocles, we can see the expression of the dissociation of the Athenian population from its *chora* and its complete turn to the sea (Hdt. 8.60–3). When the Corinthian Adeimantus accused Themistocles that he had no polis (*ἄπολι ἀνδρὶ*), Themistocles replied that his polis and land were the men he had on board his ships. He furthermore threatened the Greek generals that if they did not listen to his advice to stay and fight in Salamis, he would leave with the Athenian triremes and found a new state in Italy.[7] In this story the concept of the polis is debated. For Adeimantus, polis is the land and the city, both of which were occupied by the Persian army. For Themistocles, both polis *and land* were the men in the ships (8.61.2):[8] the concept of the polis in this case is entirely dissociated from the land of Attica.

In that sense, then, the construction of the Long Walls, which included the Athenian *asty* in the wall circuit, was, in fact, a modification of Themistocles' ideal of complete evacuation of the Athenian *chora* in the case of an enemy invasion.[9] At the same time, however, the construction of the Long Walls was the realization of a policy roughly along the lines of Themistocles' policy of dissociation of the population from the surrounding land and their turn towards the sea. This similarity of intentions may explain the later attribution of the building of the Long Walls to Themistocles, expressed in our sources. We do not have to disregard the explicit association made by the scholiast to Aristophanes' *Knights*.[10] The association of Themistocles with the Long Walls could have been a reality in the fifth century owing to Themistocles' policy on one hand, and the building of the Long Walls on the other.[11] Themistocles

[7] See Harrison (2000c) on this anecdote as reflecting an attempt to turn the Athenians' evacuation of their territory into a source of pride.

[8] Hdt. 8.61.2: *ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἴη* ***καὶ πόλις καὶ*** *γῆ μέζων ἤ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσιαι νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι.*

[9] I disagree with Ste Croix (1972) 379 that it 'would have been tempting to see Themistocles as the possible originator of the policy of building the Long Walls'. He does add, however, that Thucydides' evidence in 1.93.7 is against this.

[10] See Sommerstein (1981) 187, who believes that the joke must be understood as Piraeus making Athens wealthier.

[11] This fifth-century association must also be the source of Pausanias' erroneous comment in 1.2.2.

might not be responsible for the Long Walls, but his policy of abandoning the *chora* and the inland *asty* and of turning to the sea was along the same lines as the insulation of the Athenian *asty*, which was achieved by the construction of the Long Walls. That is why he could be associated with their construction, although, in reality, the Long Walls were a compromise and an adaptation to his original plans.

5.1.2. The construction of the Long Walls (Fig. 7)

Thucydides, in his narrative of the Pentecontaetia, describes how 'the Athenians at about this time (*κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους*) began to build their two long walls, one to Phaleron and the other to Piraeus' (1.107.1).[12] Unfortunately, Thucydides' phrasing is quite vague. What seems to be certain is that the Long Walls were under construction during the year 458/7, the year of the battle of Tanagra, since, according to Thucydides, some Athenians went to the Lacedaemonian army before the battle 'hoping to stop the democracy and the construction of the Long Walls' (1.107.4).[13] The whole project must have been completed after the battle of Oenophyta, that is either in late 457 or, the latest, early 456 (Thuc. 1.108.3).

Most scholars believe, following Thucydides' evidence, that the construction of the Long Walls began in the year 458/7, that is the year of Tanagra.[14] However, Thucydides' reference to 'this time' (*χρόνους*) in 1.107.1 may, in fact, imply a period of time lasting more than one year. The phrase *κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους* may refer, as Conwell convincingly argued, to the events described in the previous paragraph, that is events leading to the first Peloponnesian war in the late 460s.[15] Another argument for a longer period

[12] For the archaeological remains of the Long Walls see Papademetriou (1953), Liagouras and Papachristodoulou (1972), and more recently Conwell (1992).

[13] On the significance of the Tanagra episode see below chapter 5.2.

[14] See Bickerman (1968) 171, Boersma (1970) 156, Badian (1988) 318, Ober (1985) 192, and Garland (1987) 32.

[15] Conwell (1992) 30–9. Ellis (1994), who accepts that the begining of construction must be placed in the late 460s, explains Thucydides' reference to the walls in 1.107.1 as an indication of Thucydides' structure of the Pentecontaetia, following the structure of ring composition.

of construction is the sheer size of the walls, which reached a total length of 12 km.[16] It is quite unlikely that the Athenians had the resources available to complete a work on such a massive scale in under a year, especially since we do not have any indication in our sources of any massive mobilization of the Athenian population, comparable to the one mentioned in the description of the building of the city circuit after the Persian wars.[17] In fact, what we do have in our sources is that the Athenians faced problems during the construction because of a marshy area either close to Phaleron, by the delta of the river Ilissus, or directly to the north of the Piraeus fortifications, by the river Cephissus. According to Plutarch, Cimon provided the necessary funds to consolidate the site and correct the effects of subsidence (*Cimon* 13.6). Even if we doubt Cimon's involvement in the construction of the Long Walls,[18] this story certainly communicates the problems in the building of the walls, indicating a period of construction longer than one year.

It seems, then, that the Athenians began to build their Long Walls some time in the late 460s and completed them shortly after the battle of Oenophyta. We cannot be sure as to what triggered the decision for the construction. It is probable, however, that the events leading to the first Peloponnesian war made clear that an enemy invasion of Attica was not such a distant prospect after all.[19] The construction of the Long Walls, the one to Piraeus and the other to Phaleron, marks the first phase of the process of insulation of Athens. The Long Walls allowed an inland *asty*, like Athens, to become attached to its port in such a way that it could not be easily conquered by an enemy force, at least with the siege techniques which were available to fifth-century armies.[20]

[16] Conwell (1992) 3 n. 7.

[17] See mainly Thuc. 1.89–91, Diod. 11.39–40, and Plut. *Them.* 19. The city circuit was 5.5 km in total: see Boersma (1970) 154. On the considerable cost and efforts required for the building of walls in general see Ducrey (1986) and Camp (2000) 47.

[18] Gomme (1945) 311 expresses some doubts but is reluctant to dimiss the story: 'invented stories are usually in accord with the traditional picture, not contrary to it'.

[19] See Ober (1991) 253 for a discussion of the possible framework of the original Athenian decision to build the walls.

[20] Winter (1971) 111, Lawrence (1979) 155, Ober (1991) 253.

5.1.3. The construction of the Middle Wall

The construction of the first two Long Walls may have marked, as I argued, the first stage in the long process of the insulation of the Athenian *asty*. These two Long Walls, however, were a considerable distance from each other (see Fig. 7), and included quite a large area fit for cultivation. The eastern wall, the one to Phaleron, was still in use at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. 2.13.7). In 404, however, it seems that the Phaleric Wall was obsolete (Lys. 13.8 and Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.15). It is possible that it had fallen into disuse by 415.[21] This was owing to the construction of a third Long Wall, parallel to the northern Long Wall to Piraeus on its south side, the so called Middle Wall (Pl. *Gorg.* 455e with scholiast).[22] The Middle Wall and the first Long Wall to Piraeus created a narrow corridor from the *asty* to the port through which products could be transported and communications could be established. These fortifications did not include any arable land. The construction of the Middle Wall represented the second step in the process of 'insulation' of Athens. In other words, it reflected yet greater confidence in the potential of Athenian naval power for importing food in case of a siege. Athens could now be wholly dependent on her imports. The dating of the construction of the Middle Wall is placed in the years between 445 and 443 or 444 and 442, according to an inscription mentioning the receipt of money from the *Teichopoioi* by the Superintendents of the Parthenon, which is dated to 443/2 (*IG* I^3 436–449 127).[23] The decision for its construction was perhaps triggered by the Lacedaemonian invasion in Attica in 446 (Thuc. 1.114.2 and 2.21.1). However, when Pericles stopped the Spartans at Eleusis, the wall was no longer urgent, which would explain the jokes against Pericles for the delays in its construction (Plut. *Per.* 13.8 = Cratinus F326 KA).[24]

[21] See Conwell (1992) 107, interpreting the oracle from Dodona telling the Athenians to colonize Sicily in Paus. 8.11.12.

[22] See also Plut. *Mor.* 351a and *Per.* 13.8 and Harpocration s.v. *διὰ μέσου τείχους* (Antiph. F37 Thalheim and Ar. F569 KA). Andoc. 3.7. and Aeschin. 2.174 refer to it as the 'Southern Long Wall'. See also Dodds (1959) 210.

[23] Boersma (1970) 74: 445/3; Dodds (1959) 210: 444/3–443/2.

[24] Boersma (1970) 74, and Stadter (1989) 171.

5.1.4. The Archidamian war and the Periclean strategy of defence

The outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, which brought the annual Lacedaemonian invasions of Attica during the Archidamian war, and the Periclean strategy of defence converted a potential development into reality.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Pericles promoted a defensive strategy,[25] which was considered unusual, given ancient Greek war mentality.[26] Instead of confronting the enemy outside the walls in order to protect the countryside, the Athenians stayed inside their walls and ignored the devastation of their *chora.* Such is the image presented to us by Thucydides, in the passages where he recounts the Periclean strategy of defence (mainly in 1.143.3–5, 2.13.2, and 2.65.7). The necessary consequence of this kind of strategy was the abandonment of Attica and the concentration of the rural population within the security of the walled *asty.* Thucydides, in particular, gives us a very gloomy picture of the conditions of life inside the walls for a large part of the rural population (2.17.3).[27] The evacuation of Attica may not have been as complete as Thucydides presents it,[28] but it was certainly heavily emotionally charged: 'it felt', Thucydides states, 'like leaving behind them what each man regarded as his own polis (2.16.2).[29]

[25] On the whole, most scholars discuss as Periclean the policy of abandoning the *chora* and surviving in the period of enemy invasions through imports sustained by sea power. See, however, Allison (1983), followed by Krentz (1997), who emphasizes that this strategy is not so much the creation of a single man, but rather the necessary development of a strategy based on sea power.

[26] On the traditional way of waging war see Garlan (1974) 20–44, Ober (1985) 32–50 and (1996) 53–71, Spence (1990) 93–4, and Hanson (1995) mainly 221–89.

[27] For the subject of evacuation see Pretagostini (1989), Demand (1990) 195–7, and Gouschin (1999), following Hornblower (1991) 259, who brings out Thucydides' parallelism between the events of the Archidamian war and the ancient synoecism of Theseus (Thuc. 2.15). For particular links between Theseus and insularity see Vilatte (1993) 23–4.

[28] Chandler (1926) and Hornblower (1983) 128. See also Ar. *Acharn.* 1018 ff., where a man from Phyle, a deme on Mount Parnes near the Boeotian border and therefore liable to plundering raids in wartime, visits Dicaeopolis' market. He has problems because of the Boeotians who have stolen his ox, but he still lives in the countryside. See Sommerstein (1980) 206 and MacDowell (1995) 47.

[29] Thuc. 2.16.2: *καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος*. See below chapter 5.2, for an analysis of this passage within the context of opposition to the practice of Athenian insulation.

However, there is evidence that the image of abandonment of Attica to the mercy of the Archidamian army is, in fact, an oversimplification of the actual strategy pursued by both Pericles (Thuc. 2.19.2 and 2.22.2) and his successors (Thuc. 7.27.5). As Ober and Spence have showed,[30] in many cases Athenian cavalry forces would confront the Peloponnesian army in order to protect to some extent the agricultural land, especially that lying close to the city walls.[31]

Still, even if the evacuation of the Athenian *chora* was not thorough, and even if the land was somewhat protected by the quite effective use of the cavalry, this did not change the image of insulation of the Athenian *asty* and the Piraeus through the use of the Long Walls. It is no surprise, therefore, that our two main sources, Thucydides and the Old Oligarch, refer to this period when articulating for the first time the understanding of Athens as an island.[32] The Archidamian war, the annual Lacedaemonian invasions of Attica,[33] the—even partial—evacuation of the Athenian *chora* and the destruction of the agricultural land,[34] actively transformed Athens into an island for the first time since the construction of the Long Walls.

The adoption of an island rhetoric for the representation of Athens during the Archidamian war is reflected in Thucydides and the author of the pamphlet generally known as the Old Oligarch. Let us start with Thucydides. In Pericles' first speech, in the presentation of the strategy that the Athenians should follow during the war and the annual Lacedaemonian invasions, there is a famous passage on the advantages of sea power: 'think then', says the Thucydidean Pericles, 'if we were islanders, who could be more secure from an attack (than us)?', immediately after asserting that sea power is of enormous importance (1.143.5). This, as we have already seen,[35] is an excellent articulation of the understanding of islands as secure

[30] Spence (1990) and (1993) 127–33, Ober (1996) 72–85.

[31] For such a use of the cavalry see also Xen. *On Horsemanship* 7.4, referring to exactly this period.

[32] See below for a discussion of the historical context of the Old Oligarch.

[33] There were five Peloponnesian invasions in the period between 431 and 425, when the events of Pylos forced the Lacedaemonians to change tactics: see V. Hanson (1998) 133–5.

[34] See below chapter 5.1.5 for the subject of the degree of devastation of agricultural production.

[35] See chapter 4.2.3.

places. The implied parallelism between an island and Athens during the war shows explicitly the adoption of an island rhetoric in the debate about the best strategy of defence during the Archidamian war. The same use of insularity as the ideal state of Athens in terms of defence can be found in the Old Oligarch, a text presenting far more difficulties than Thucydides. In the second chapter of the text, the author discusses what he thinks is the only disadvantage of Athens in terms of defence (2.14–16). The key argument here is that sea power enables Athens to import anything she wants from the known world. However, Athenian power would be even greater 'if Athens were an island'. The island metaphor is, in fact, repeated six times in the text.[36]

The apparent similarities between Thucydides and the Old Oligarch, with particular reference to the passages discussed above and the conspicuous use of the 'island' metaphor, have been frequently noted.[37] This might be explained with reference to intertextuality between the two texts: either Thucydides was replying to the Old Oligarch,[38] or the Old Oligarch was aware of Thucydides.[39] However, the greatest problem with this approach is the uncertainty about the dating of the Old Oligarch. While most scholars date the text to the years of the Peloponnesian war, and more particularly in the early years of the Archidamian war, the proposed datings stretch from the 440s to the fourth century.[40] However, as Frisch noted,

[36] Old Oligarch 2.14–6: *εἰ γὰρ νῆσον οἰκοῦντες . . . εἰ νῆσον ᾤκουν . . . νῆσον οἰκούντων . . . εἰ νῆσον ᾤκουν . . . εἰ νῆσον ᾤκουν . . . οὐκ ἔτυχον οἰκήσαντες νῆσον.* See Bonanno (1962) stressing the oral nature of the text.

[37] See for example Frisch (1942) 79–85, which includes a juxtaposition of the relevant passages, Romilly (1962) and (1963) 116–17, and Hornblower (2000) 367.

[38] As Momigliano (1944) 2 argued; but see Hornblower (2000) 371: 'by assuming that Thucydides went out of his way to reply to Old Oligarch it attributes very considerable importance to an awkwardly written and badly organized pamphlet which no other contemporary writer quotes or shows knowledge of'.

[39] Lapini (1987–8) 36 and Hornblower (2000).

[40] For a date in the 440s see Bowersock (1966). Frisch (1942), followed by Romilly (1962), who noted the lack of any atmosphere of war in the text, and Sealey (1973), suggested a date in the 430s. Forrest (1970) suggested a date in the year 425/4 and certainly before Brasidas' expedition to Thrace in the summer of 424. A date in the early Archidamian war, i.e. 430–424, has been supported by most scholars, notably Momigliano (1944), Lewis (1969), Ste Croix (1972) 308–9, Moore (1975), Will (1978), Flores (1982), Ostwald (1986) 182 n. 23, and Rhodes (2000) 128. A late date has been promoted by Yunis (1996) 38 (late 420s), Gomme (1962) 52 (420–415), followed by Leduc (1981) (421–418), Lapini (1987–8) (415/14: the same year as Aristophanes'

although the ideas expressed in both authors are very much alike, the strength of the collocation of the quotations is *exclusively* in the contents.[41] We can bypass the hurdle of intertextuality, if we put emphasis on the historical context of the texts. Hornblower, who supports the latest date for the Old Oligarch, accepts a dramatic date of the text in the fifth century, in the period of the Athenian empire.[42] Even if we do accept, then, that the Old Oligarch is not a fifth-century composition, we might yet see it as representative of Athenian assumptions about the empire, and, in particular, what is most interesting for our case, about the insulation of the Athenian *asty* and its relevance to successful strategies of defence, even if these assumptions belong historically to the fourth century. Alternatively, we can agree with Romilly that both texts reflect the same political debates over the nature of empire.[43] More specifically, we do not need to solve the problem of intertextuality between the two texts to argue that the reference to island Athens may have been a popular catch phrase describing the policy of abandoning the *chora* and focusing on the income provided by the empire.[44]

The Archidamian war, then, and the annual Lacedaemonian invasions followed by the destruction of valuable agricultural land, as well as the concentration of a considerable part of the rural population of Attica inside the walls, created the necessary conditions for the conceptual transformation of Athens into an island. The Long Walls created such a possibility, but its realization was the result of the war. It is perhaps appropriate here to turn our attention to Herodotus. I have already discussed how the concepts of insularity and safety from attack were linked in the work of Herodotus, with particular reference to the Lydian and Persian subjugation of Asia Minor.[45] An understanding of islands as safe can certainly be associated with an understanding of insularity as separate and distinct.

Birds), Ramirez-Vidal (1997) and Mattingly (1997), whereas Fontana (1968) lowered the date to 413–406. Recently Hornblower (2000) suggested a fourth-century date.

[41] Frisch (1942) 85.

[42] Hornblower (2000).

[43] Romilly (1963) 117.

[44] See, in particular, Bowersock's comment in Hornblower (2000) 370: 'such striking phrases lived on in the memory of educated people'; and Gomme (1945) 461: 'the idea must often have been discussed in Athens'.

[45] See chapter 4.2.3 above.

However, it is possible that Herodotus' articulation of the topos of the safe island was the result of the conspicuous Athenian imagery in the period of the Archidamian war. Islands may already have been regarded as safe places, and indeed we have seen how islands were used for the evacuation of people and animals during the Persian wars. But, at the same time, it has been successfully argued that Herodotus was writing under the influence of the events of the Peloponnesian war, with a particular interest in the nature of Athenian empire.[46] It is possible to suggest, then, that the strong articulation of the theme of the safe island in Herodotus' work is partly the consequence of a similar fixation in Athenian debates about strategies of defence, and of the use of insularity as a metaphor in these debates.

5.1.5. The final stage: the Spartan occupation of Deceleia

The Archidamian war may have transformed Athens into an island, but such a transformation lasted essentially a couple of weeks per year, while the Peloponnesian invasions were taking place.[47] However, as I have already noted, during this period of the war, there is evidence that the evacuation of the countryside was not complete. Island Athens was a reality for a great part of the Athenian population which experienced the consequences of war owing to their seclusion within the walls, but such an insulation of the *asty* was ephemeral. With the Spartan occupation of Deceleia in 413,[48] however, we can detect the final stage in the process of insulation which began with the construction of the Long Walls and took a fuller form at the beginning of the war.

With a Spartan force residing in Deceleia, the Lacedaemonians were able to devastate Attica more thoroughly. The degree of devastation of the Athenian *chora* is a subject which has received much

[46] Fornara (1971a) and (1971b), Boedeker (1988), Moles (2002), and Fowler (2003).

[47] See Hanson (1998) 133–43 for the duration of the Peloponnesian invasions. We know from Thucydides that Archidamus' second invasion in 430 was the longest (2.57.2) and the most destructive (3.26.3).

[48] For the use of the strategy of *epiteichismos* see Westlake (1969) 84–100 and Garlan (1974) 33–40.

attention.[49] Certainly, as Hanson convincingly argued, the extent of agricultural destruction of Attica in the period of the Archidamian war has been exaggerated.[50] However, as Bosworth noted, Thucydides does mention cases where some areas of Attica were completely devastated (3.26.3).[51] Additionally, there is no need for a *complete* devastation of the land to take place for the farmers to feel the burden of a year's production lost. Even so, we do have some evidence in our sources that the devastation of Attica was far worse after Deceleia. According to the Oxyrhynchus Historian, before the occupation of Deceleia, 'the Athenians' territory was the most lavishly equipped part of Greece, for it had suffered only slight damage from the Spartans in the previous attacks' (17.5), but the situation drastically worsened after 413.[52]

The most powerful statement of the consequences of Deceleia and the increased devastation of land for the Athenian process of insulation is Thucydides' remark that, as a result of Deceleia, Athens 'instead of a polis became a fortress (*φρούριον*)' (7.28.1).[53] According to Thucydides, the previous stages of insulation did not fully transform the essence of the polis of Athens, which, although the Athenians had partly abandoned their agricultural land, remained the entirety of *chora* and *asty*. With the occupation of Deceleia, the polis lost one of its components, namely its *chora*. It became a fortress, in other words, an inhabited island within the sea of hostile landscape. What is extremely interesting, in this case, is that this final stage of insulation of Athens was *not* the result of an internal Athenian decision, but rather imposed on the Athenians from the circumstances

[49] Hardy (1926), Garlan (1974) 44–65 and (1989) 93–114, Spence (1990) 104–5, Ober (1991) and (1996) 72–85, Foxhall (1993), Cawkwell (1997) 40–55, Hanson (1998), Thorne (2001).

[50] Hanson (1998) 131–78, following Hardy (1926), based on the physical difficulty of devastation and on literary references, which show that the Peloponnesians actually spared some crops such as the sacred olive trees (Androtion *FGrH* 324 F39, Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F125 and Istros *FGrH* 334 F30). Similar remarks in Foxhall (1993).

[51] Bosworth (2000) 7 with n. 33 on Thuc. 7.26.3: *ἐδῄωσαν δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τά τε πρότερον τετμημένα καὶ εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει καὶ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἐσβολαῖς παρελέλειπτο.*

[52] *Hell. Oxyr.* 17.5: *τότε δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ χώρα πολυτελέστατα τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατεσκεύαστο˙ ἐπεπόνθει γὰρ μικρὰ κακῶς ἐν ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*. See Hanson (1998) 153–7.

[53] Thuc. 7.28.1: *τῶν τε πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπακτῶν ἐδεῖτο ἡ πόλις*, ***καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλις εἶναι φρούριον κατέστη***. See comments in Longo (1975) 89.

of war. As we shall see in the following section, the process of Athenian insulation did not emerge without internal opposition. We may assume that the strength of internal opposition was such that the completion of an island state for Athens could only have happened without an Athenian consensus. The importance of Deceleia as the final stage in the process of insulation did not pass unobserved by the fourth-century orators. As Garlan observed, the evacuation of the countryside after Deceleia is mentioned far more than the previous evacuations.[54]

5.2. IMAGINING INSULARITY: 'IF WE WERE AN ISLAND'

We have examined the process through which the building of the Athenian Long Walls created the necessary circumstances for the transformation of Athens into an island. Fortifications and insularity have been some of the key concepts in our interpretation. We are fortunate enough to have a wonderful story combining the two from a contemporary source. Fortifications and insularity appear as linked concepts in Herodotus' story about Cnidus (1.174.2–6). The Cnidians, wishing to protect themselves from Harpagus, decided to cut a channel through the isthmus which united the peninsula on which their city was located, to mainland Asia Minor, transforming, thus, their city into an island.[55] A series of accidents during the works obliged them to turn to Delphi for advice. The oracle they received was 'fence not the isthmus off, nor dig it through. Zeus would have made an island, had he wished' (Hdt. 1.174.5).[56] It is not important for our purposes to discuss the authenticity or not of the oracular

[54] Garlan (1974) 53.

[55] Hdt. 1.174.3: *ὤρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ Ἅρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο* ***βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι.***

[56] See Fontenrose (1978) 305–6 for a classification of the oracle as 'not genuine', against Parke and Wormell (1956) vol. 2, 29 (PW 63), followed by Kebric (1983) 39–40. Asheri (1988) 367 expresses reasonable reservations over accepting the authenticity of the oracle, whereas Vilatte (1991) 185–6 seems to accept it. See also Pausanias' negative comment in 2.1.5. See Harrison (2000a) 64–5 on the Cnidian episode as an example of 'miracle' in Herodotus.

response; what is important is the underlying assumptions of the response itself, since the response, by the time of Herodotus, has become an essential part of the Cnidian tradition. For the oracle, then, both the actions of digging through the isthmus, that is materially creating an island out of a former peninsula, *and* fortifying the isthmus lead to the same result: the creation of an island. And this is certainly not Zeus's will. What we have here is a clear attestation that fortifications can result in the transformation of a polis into an island.[57] We could go further. We could see the Cnidian story with the divine retribution of Zeus against the Cnidians who wished to change the natural order of things as a backhanded Herodotean remark on the reality of the Athenian insulation and her Long Walls, and on its precondition, the Athenian empire: both, it seems, are against the divine order of the world.[58]

How did fortifications, however, actively transform a polis into an island? The ancient polis consisted of two 'complementary conceptual elements', as Finley observed, the *asty* and the *chora*.[59] In the case of Athens, in terms of political rights, as Osborne observed, not only was there no difference between the citizens who lived in the *chora* and the ones who lived in the *asty*, but 'politically the distinction between *asty* and country is not only ignored, it is effaced'.[60] The Long Walls, however, disrupted this unity of the city centre and the countryside, by creating, as Jones argued, a 'formidable social and cultural divide'.[61] The existence of walls of such a grand scale must also have transformed the very existence of a unified landscape: for example, how would a

[57] See comments in Ceccarelli (1996a) 43–4: 'en premier lieu, l'action de fortifier un isthme et celle de la creuser sont mises sur un même plan, ce qui marque une évolution vers l'abstraction dans le concept d'île'.

[58] See Harrison (2000a) 238–9 on the Cnidian story implying strongly that 'man should let his environment be'.

[59] Finley (1973) 123. See also Longo (1975) 92, Humphreys (1978), Ste Croix (1981) 9, Raaflaub (1991) 566–8. See, however, the recent publication of an extremely interesting *horos* inscription dating from the second half of the fourth century from Paros which describes itself as ὅρος πόλεως (publication by Matthaiou and Kourayos (1992–8)). As Matthaiou showed (1992–8), this is one of the very few epigraphic attestations where the concept of the polis is identified with that of the *asty*, since Paros was a single polis island and therefore did not have borders with another polis. Matthaiou concludes that the *horos* inscription may have served as a marker of the public land of the city.

[60] Osborne (1985) 188.

[61] N. Jones (2004) 8.

farmer owning plots on both side of the walls commute between his farms? Apart from this difficulty of physical communication, the Long Walls were the realization in terms of construction of the emphasis put on the urban centre and the imports provided by the empire rather than on the actual agricultural production of Attica.

Certainly, this was not the first time that the Athenians had abandoned their countryside. During the Persian wars, the Athenians had evacuated Attica and found refuge on board their ships. This dissociation of the polis from the *chora* is explicitly stated in Themistocles' famous reply to Adeimantus (Hdt. 8.61.2),[62] as well as in Herodotus' remark in relation to an oracle about the Persian occupation of Attica: 'it was necessary, according to the oracle, that *all Attica on the mainland* should come under Persian rule' (8.53.1).[63] For Herodotus, there exists an Attica which is not mainland, that is an Attica on board the Athenian triremes. Perhaps, as we shall see below, this is a reflection of attitudes to Athenian land contemporary with Herodotus: namely the land of the empire. Still, the evacuation of Attica during the Persian wars was a *temporary* solution to a crisis, similar to the solution adopted by the Milesians during the siege of Alyattes (Hdt. 1.17–22).[64] The Long Walls, however, signified the adoption of a potentially *permanent* policy of dissociation from the Athenian *chora*.[65]

Unquestionably, what is important for my argument is the adoption of the rhetoric of insularity for the articulation of the policy of dissociation of Athens from its *chora*. The obvious parallelism between Athens and an island has been noted by many scholars, among whom was Braudel himself.[66] I would like to suggest that this policy of insulation can be identified in both external and internal Athenian

[62] See above chapter 5.1.1.

[63] Hdt. 8.53.1: *ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν* **τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ** *γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι.*

[64] Significantly, the Milesians are also presented as thalassocrats (Hdt. 1.17.3). As Garlan argued (1974) 33, this story may be a reflection of the events of the Archidamian war.

[65] I disagree with Raaflaub (1991) 567, who accepts that there was no 'permanent division or tension between the country and the city'. It seems to me that the construction of the Long Walls articulated the potential adoption of a permanent policy of division.

[66] Braudel (2001) 265. See also Longo (1974) 8–9, Villate (1993), Mossé (1996), Payen (1997) 290–319, and Harrison (2000b) 72.

politics, in other words, island Athens was an expression of both the empire and the democracy.

Let us look at the empire first. Gabba argued that 'in the context of the political history of Athens, her resemblance to an island became an essential characteristic of her imperialism'.[67] An island identity for Athens was an excellent expression of the empire.[68] As we have already seen, islands not only were considered as an integral part of every sea power, but also became the synonym for the Athenian subject allies.[69] By adopting a self-representation of insularity, Athens could come closer to the island world of the Aegean, which formed the 'home riding of the empire'.[70] It is interesting to note that Athens promoted this policy of insulation through the construction of Long Walls for a number of allied cities. Athens was responsible for the construction of the Megarian Long Walls, connecting the city to its port, Nisaea, in the early 450s.[71] Similarly, Long Walls were constructed in Argos (Thuc. 5.82.5 and Plut. *Alc.* 15.4–5) and Patrae (Thuc. 5.52.2 and Plut. *Alc.* 15.6).[72] The construction of both these Long Walls was seen as symbolic of the development of a subservient relationship with Athens. It is possible that the construction of Long Walls eventually became almost symbolic of Athenian penetration in the internal affairs of allied cities.[73]

It was not just Athens and cities allied to her, however, that had Long Walls. Corinth constructed Long Walls from the *asty* to her western port, Lechaeum, in the late 450s.[74] It is possible, judging

[67] Gabba (1981) 57. [68] See comments in Mossé (1996) 99.

[69] See chapter 3.2.

[70] *ATL* I.526. See also Vilatte (1993) 38: 'Athènes est maîtresse d'un empire *essentiellement* insulaire' (my emphasis).

[71] For the Megarian Long Walls see Thuc. 1.103.4, 4.66.3 and 4.109.1, and Ar. *Lys.* 1170, where they are called σκέλη (legs). See Lawrence (1979) 156 and Legon (1981) 184 for the date of construction. For a map see Travlos (1988) 263. No traces of these Long Walls have survived.

[72] See Camp (2000) 45 for the construction of the Argive Long Walls and Lawrence (1979) 157 for the construction of the Long Walls at Patrae.

[73] See for example Legon's comments on the construction of the Megarian Long Walls in Legon (1981) 189: [the Long Walls] 'surrendered the city hostage to Athens'. See also Plutarch's remarks on the building of the Long Walls in Argos and Patrae, under the instigation of Alcibiades in *Alc.* 15.4–6.

[74] For the chronology of the walls see Carpenter, Bon, and Parsons (1936) 121–7, followed by Salmon (1984) 33 and 180; chronology based on archaeological criteria. The first literary reference to these walls comes from a later period: Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.9 with reference to events in 392. See also Strabo 8.6.22 c370. See Lawrence (1979) 157 for the walls being at a considerable distance from each other.

from the date of construction, that Corinth in this respect was imitating Athens. More particularly, the choice of the western port, Lechaeum, rather than the eastern port, Cenchreae, rather than being a purely practical option, since Lechaeum is considerably closer to the Corinthian *asty* than Cenchreae, may signify that Corinth was attempting to replicate in the Corinthian gulf what Athens was achieving in the Saronic gulf, namely the ultimate control of the sea.

One of the most conspicuous results of the Athenian insulation, as well as a prerequisite for the survival of 'island Athens' during enemy invasions, was that the Athenians replaced their own *chora* with the land of their empire.[75] According to the Thucydidean Pericles, in the same speech where the island metaphor is used to express the new strategy of defence, the Athenians 'have plenty of land both in the islands and on the continent' (1.143.4).[76] Aristophanes seems to have ridiculed this policy in his *Frogs*, where Aeschylus advises the Athenians to 'count the enemy's soil their own, and theirs the enemy's' (1463–4).[77] We have further indications that Euboea, in particular, was seen as a substitute for the Athenian *chora*. This is certainly implied in Pagondas' speech (Thuc. 4.92.4). In order to convince his army to proceed to battle against the Athenians, he argues that the Athenians 'are trying to spread their domination far and wide', giving Euboea as an example. 'Look', he says, 'at the way they treated the Euboeans across the water and look at the way they have treated most of Greece' (4.92.4).[78] The potential occupation of Boeotia would mean its attachment to Attica, that is, its transformation into an Athenian *chora*. By giving the example of Euboea and the rest of Greece, Pagondas implies that the Athenians had been treating Euboea and their allies as the extension of their own *chora*. The particular status of Euboea, as substitute for the Athenian *chora*, is apparent in Thucydides' remark that the Euboean revolt 'caused

[75] See Longo (1974) 20: 'la *chora* di Atene non sarà più l'Attica, sarà lo stesso impero ateniese'. See also comments in Lintott (1982) 101: 'Athens subjects cities directly to the Athenian demos, as if they were outlying districts of Attica', with reference to Euboea and, particularly, to the status of Chalkis, for which see ML 52.

[76] Thuc. 1.143.4: *ἡμῖν δ' ἐστὶ γῆ πολλὴ καὶ ἐν νήσοις καὶ κατ' ἤπειρον*. For this passage as an indication of the structural opposition in Thucydides' work between islands and mainland see also chapter 1.2.

[77] Dover (1993) 378, Sommerstein (1996) 291–2.

[78] For this speech see Romilly (1963) 42–3.

the very greatest panic that had ever been known there', much greater than even the Sicilian disaster, since they lost Euboea, 'which had been more useful to them than Attica itself' (8.96.1–2).[79]

Island Athens and empire were, in fact, concepts so intrinsically linked that for Thucydides the Spartan occupation of the Long Walls, along with the simultaneous occupation of Piraeus, signified the end of the Athenian empire (5.26.1).[80] The identification of the Long Walls with the most imperialistic aspect of the Athenian *arche* is also apparent in the Corinthians' speech, where they allege that the Lacedaemonians, by allowing the Athenians to build their Long Walls, practically conceded to the Athenians enslavement of their allies (1.69.1). Finally, perhaps the most characteristic example of identification between the Athenian empire and the Long Walls is the Long Walls' symbolic destruction.[81] According to Xenophon, at the end of the war and the Spartan occupation of Athens, 'the walls were pulled down among scenes of great enthusiasm and to the music of flute girls. It was thought that this day was the beginning of freedom of Greece' (*Hell.* 2.2.23).[82] It is perhaps worthwhile to examine for a moment the implied symbolism of the use of flute girls during the destruction of the walls. The presence of the flute girls gives the whole procedure an almost ritual aspect, as if the destruction of the walls was the inversion of a foundation ritual.[83] The Long Walls were such strong symbols, not only for the Athenians but for the rest of the Greek world, that when Lysander decided to proceed to their destruction, he also decided to make a performance out of the act of destruction. In this inversion of a foundation ritual, Lysander can be seen as laying the foundations of the new order in the Greek world.

[79] Thuc. 8.96.2: *καὶ τὸ μέγιστον Εὔβοιαν ἀπωλωλέκεσαν, ἐξ ἧς πλείω ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὠφελοῦντο.*

[80] Thuc. 5.26.1: *μέχρι οὗ τήν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέλαβον.*

[81] Green (1991) on a chronology of the destruction, as well as on the material difficulties of destroying a work of such a grand scale.

[82] Xenophon may refer to the destruction of the walls in general, but see Lys. 13.14 and Plut. *Lys.* 14.8 for particular reference to the Long Walls. On the problem of identification of which walls were destroyed at the end of the Peloponnesian war see the thorough analysis by Conwell (2002): the walls referred to by Xenophon must be the Long Walls and the Piraeus walls, and not the Athenian city circuit walls, which seem to have been left intact.

[83] For the symbolic importance of the flute girls see the comments in Green (1991) 10.

A fourth-century text relates the practice of insulation to Aristeides. In the *Athenaion Politeia*, we learn that Aristeides 'began to advise the Athenians to aim at the hegemony, now that the state was emboldened and much money had been collected, and to come down from their farms and live in the city, telling them that there would be food for all' (*Ath. Pol.* 24.1). Rhodes is right to attribute the connection between Aristeides and the concentration of rural population in Athens to later theorizing.[84] This later association, however, is interesting in itself: it shows how the understanding of 'island Athens', expressed, on this occasion, through the abandonment of the Athenian *chora*, was linked with the existence of the empire. Hence Aristeides, who was considered responsible for the founding of the empire was also associated with an early articulation of the insulation of Athens. This can be seen as the result of the same fundamental conceptual connection between the empire and the image and reality of 'island' Athens which we witnessed in the stories linking Themistocles, the other 'founding father' of the empire, with the idea of constructing the Long Walls.

The understanding of Athens as an island, and its material symbol, the Long Walls, were not linked just with the empire, but also with internal policies, namely the democracy.[85] According to Thucydides, during the construction of the Long Walls and before the battle of Tanagra, a group of Athenians secretly contacted the Spartans, who at this time were stationed in Boeotia, 'hoping to put an end to democracy and prevent the building of the Long Walls' (1.107.4).[86] In this case, the visible representation of 'island Athens' is directly linked to the democratic constitution. The Tanagra conspiracy is an extremely interesting event in Athenian history. Not only is it one of the very few instances of opposition to democracy at the height of the Athenian empire, it also gives us a unique opportunity to interpret Athenian politics in terms of a debate on insulation, rather than in purely

[84] Rhodes (1981) 297.

[85] For the Long Walls revealing a 'democratic mentality' see Boersma (1970) 58. Kagan (1969) 87 and Garlan (1974) 49, following Walker (1957), believe that the Long Walls helped the consolidation of democracy, since they obstructed a potential Spartan intervention.

[86] See Hornblower (1991) 171, against Badian (1988) 318 with n. 43, who is inclined to dismiss the event.

political terms. We cannot identify the conspirators simply as oligarchs,[87] since it seems that their specific impetus was associated with the construction of the Long Walls. Ostwald's identification of them as rich landowners is more in line with Thucydides' evidence.[88] The conspirators' concern was the potential policy of insulation of the Athenian *asty*, promoted through the building of the Long Walls, as well as the possible abandonment of the Athenian *chora* in a period of war, which was what happened in the Archidamian war. They could have been oligarchs, but their opposition to democracy seems to be related to the promotion of insulation by democracy, rather than a purely political position.

In fact, we can interpret the Tanagra episode as the first instance of internal opposition to the strategy of insulation, achieved, as we have already seen, in four distinct stages during the fifth century. Certainly, the outbreak of the war brought to the surface the already existing tension between those who accepted and promoted 'island Athens' and those who apparently had something to lose. As von Reden convincingly argued, locality was extremely important for the creation of identity,[89] and Athenian insulation was trying to efface that. There is ample evidence pointing to Athenian discontent with the Periclean policy of defence, in other words, with the reality of Athenian insulation. Thucydides implies that the planned evacuation of Attica did not receive the full cooperation of the rural population.[90] In the first year of the war, the Athenians found it painful (*χαλεπῶς*) to move 'since most of them had been always used to living in the country' (Thuc. 2.14.2). The same expression (*χαλεπῶς*) is used again a few lines below, with the remark that 'it felt like leaving behind them what each man regarded as his own city'.[91] Additionally, in the second year of the war, Thucydides presents us

[87] As Meiggs (1972) 99, following Gomme (1945) 319. Ste Croix (1972) 361 makes a brief allusion to this event and identifies the conspirators as oligarchs. Pritchett (1996) 168 also seems to support the 'oligarchic' interpretation.

[88] Ostwald (1986) 178.

[89] Von Reden (1998).

[90] See comments in Ober (1985) 55 and (1991) 254.

[91] Thuc. 2.16.2: *ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ* ***χαλεπῶς*** *ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλείποντες καὶ ἱερὰ ἃ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια δίαιτάν τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν* ***καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος***. On the translation of *οὐδὲν ἄλλο* see Whitehead (2001) against Skydsgaard (2000).

with a summary of Athenian opposition to Pericles (2.59).[92] Similar is the spirit of a fragment of Hermippus, ridiculing Pericles (Plut. *Per.* 33.8 = Hermippus F47 KA),[93] while, according to Bosworth, Pericles' Funeral Oration reflects a general atmosphere of discontent.[94]

We have more information about this kind of opposition to the Athenian insulation in relation to a specific deme, Acharnae. Thucydides presents the Acharnians as particularly warlike, 'forcing others as well to come out and fight' (2.20.4). The Acharnians may express what Connor described as 'regional tensions, persistent within Attica even in the high classical period',[95] but at the same time they are the most visible articulators of the opposition to the insulation of Athens. Furthermore, old comedy preserves wonderful instances of Athenian discontent. Significantly perhaps, Aristophanes chose the Acharnians as the demesmen for his chorus of Athenians forcefully opposing peace in his *Acharnians.* A comedy by Eupolis called *The Prospaltioi* might have had a similar subject, namely the willingness of another deme, that of Prospalta to the south of Athens, to go out to war.[96] Aristophanes' main character in the *Acharnians*, Dicaeopolis, is himself a farmer, complaining vigorously about city-life conditions, especially in wartime. He wishes to 'gaze fondly country-wards, longing for Peace, loathing the town, sick for my village home' (32–3).[97] We can safely assume that this statement was indicative of the feelings of many members of the audience. In fact, perhaps the most fascinating thing about *The Acharnians* is the absence of any character in the play who advocates the positive elements of the urbanization of the rural population as a result of the Athenian defence in the Archidamian war. In other words, the entire play represents different ways of resisting the insulation of Athens, whether that be pro-war action, in the case of

[92] On Thucydides' relative brief treatment of the Athenian attempts to make peace with Sparta see Cawkwell (1975) 56–7.

[93] For a discussion of this fragment and the general sentiment of discontent in Athens see Garlan (1974) 53–60.

[94] Bosworth (2000).

[95] Connor (1994) 38. For the Acharnians see also Pretagostini (1989) 85–7, Osborne (1985) 188–9, Whitehead (1986) 397–400, Bowie (1993) 39–44, von Reden (1998) 186, and Jones (2004) 92–100.

[96] See Garlan (1974) 55 against Page in *Selected Papyri* (Loeb III) (1960) 216–20.

[97] Ar. *Acharnians* 32–3: *ἀποβλέπων ἐς τὸν ἀγρόν, εἰρήνης ἐρῶν, στυγῶν μὲν ἄστυ, τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶν*. See Longo (1974) 17 for an analysis of Dicaeopolis' character as expressing the discontent of the farmers of Attica.

the chorus the Acharnians, or pro-peace, in the case of Dicaeopolis.[98] This is also what makes it such a good source for the existence of an opposition to 'island Athens': as Pelling argued, the play could not have been so outrageous as to be alienating, since it actually won the first prize.[99] We do not have to read the *Acharnians* as a play advocating the seeking of peace with Sparta,[100] nor indeed do we have to see Dicaeopolis as essentially a 'selfish' character, whose claims would have no impact on the audience.[101] Rather, it seems to me that the central theme of the play is the insulation of Athens and the abandonment of the countryside, which may have been brought by the war, but was not solely the result of the war. It was also the result of internal political processes, which we have tried to examine earlier in this chapter.

Dicaeopolis himself remains throughout the play firmly rooted to his village and his village-ways,[102] even if in the beginning of the play

[98] Jones (2004) 200–1 does not see the unifying factor in both Dicaeopolis' and the Acharnians' reactions. Rather he sees them as the two 'responses exhausting the human repertoire', that is fight or flight.

[99] Pelling (2000) 161.

[100] See Moorton (1999) for a summary of scholarly opinions discussing whether the play advocates peace or not. He concludes that the play is a combination of both positions: a stand for the merits of peace, but also an elaborate defence of the Athenian empire as a worthy cause for war (in the *parabasis*).

[101] Dover (1972) 87, Whitman (1964) 78–80, and Newiger (1980) see Dicaeopolis as essentially a selfish character. Contra MacDowell (1995) 77–9 for Dicaeopolis as a character sympathetic to the audience. Olson (2002) xliv adopts a middle position.

[102] I disagree with Compton-Engle (1999), who has argued that Dicaeopolis acquires an 'urban' persona at the end of the play. Her arguments are based on: (a) her identification of the location of his agora as the Athenian Agora, rather than his local deme, which is entirely conjectural; (b) on Dicaeopolis assumption of 'urban roles' such as that of the cook at his celebrations of the festival of the Anthesteria; and (c) on Dicaeopolis' dropping of his earlier aversion to the agora. Even if we accept some urban connotations in the profession of the cook, still, the cook persona is part of the Anthesteria festival, which was celebrated locally in the demes (as well as the city centre). Similarly, the setting of Dicaeopolis' local agora for the second half of the play does not have to have 'urban' connotations. Rather, it serves as the creation of an alternative local 'polis', outside the urban connotations of 'island Athens', as well as, of course, being an extremely convenient setting for one of Aristophanes' favourite scenes of ridiculing various visiting characters. Jones (2004) 196 sees as the setting of the play Dicaeopolis' deme, which, however, he places within an urban setting. I cannot see how we can read the play in such a way: Dicaeopolis, in his own words, is fond of the countryside, gazing at his village (from the urban setting of the beginning of the play, 32–3). His deme (Cholleidae in 406), as Jones himself admits in 197 and 295 n. 27, cannot be securely located, but it was not one of the five demes contained within the city walls.

he does his best to be part of the urban political life. His victory over the initially hostile chorus of the Acharnians as well as his celebrations of peace in his festival of the Anthesteria at the end may be indications of enthusiasm for the victory of 'country' people, such as Dicaeopolis, over central Athenian politics of war and insulation. The cleavage between the two is undeniable.

The destruction of the cohesive unity of the Athenian polis as a result of the war and Athenian insulation is also visible in another aspect of the play: that of its festival connotations.[103] In the scene of the Rural Dionysia, Dicaeopolis and his family alone celebrate the god, bringing, in this way, to the attention of the Athenian audience more vividly the fact that the war and the abandonment of the countryside has interfered with the religious celebrations of this Dionysiac festival. In the scene of the celebration of the Anthesteria, elements of the Athenian population are excluded, through the long juxtaposition between Dicaeopolis' festive bliss and the pitiful ridiculing of Lamachus. Additionally, as Bowie argued, there is no evidence that anyone other than Dicaeopolis is actually participating in this festival: the chorus is not invited and there is no sign of his fellow citizens.[104] In both these festival scenes, the sense of disunity

[103] Ham (2004) recently argued that the play in fact represents a gradual movement from disunity to inclusiveness through the increasingly integrative nature of the festivals mentioned in the play: from the Apatouria, a festival of the phratry (146), to the Anthesteria at the end of the play, a religious festival 'inclusive for all': Apatouria, Rural Dionysia, Lenaea, Lesser Mysteries, Anthesteria. However, the two main festivals in the play are the Rural Dionysia and the Anthesteria. The other three cases in Ham's analysis are not integral to the plot or function as simple references. The Apatouria appear as an allusion of the wish of the Thracian Sitalces to become an Athenian citizen (146); the Lenaea represent a shift from the temporal context of the play to the actual performative time during Aristophanes' 'advice' to the Athenians in his *parabasis* (502–8); finally, the reference to the Lesser Mysteries is a ploy to allow the poet to play with the rude connotations of the word 'piglet' in the Megarian's attempt to sell his daughters to Dicaeopolis' market (747, 764). The two festivals openly celebrated by Dicaeopolis, are the Rural Dionysia (237–79) and the Anthesteria (1000–1235). Even if we do accept Ham's interpretation that there is a gradual move from local to Athenian communal identity in the order that the festivals are mentioned and their participatory connotations for the Athenian audience, nonetheless, in the presentation of the two main religious festivals in the play there is nothing to suggest that 'Athenians are redefined . . . in positive terms of their communal religious experience'.

[104] Bowie (1993) 36, followed by Moorton (1999) 31.

and dissociation from the polis is apparent through the hero's celebration of Dionysus without the participation of his fellow citizens.

Ehrenberg has rightly noted the expression in comedy of the undeniable cleavage between townsfolk and country folk.[105] The stress of war and the realization of the insulation of Athens made this differentiation of the Athenian population visible. As Osborne has stated, 'the system was capable of malfunctioning under stress'.[106] Townsfolk complained about the presence of country folk in the *asty*, as a fragment of Andocides reveals (F4 Blass), and country folk, such as Dicaeopolis, longed for the countryside and complained about the townsfolk. There is even evidence of townsfolk complaining that the evacuated country folk were better treated than the townsfolk in a fragment in Eupolis' *The Demes* (F99 KA, 12–14).

This tension within the Athenian citizen body in relation to the war seems to have been well understood by Archidamus, according to Thucydides. The Spartan general expected 'a lack of unity' (*stasis*) as a result of his ravaging Acharnae (2.20.4). Ravaging the *chora* of a city was a major factor in creating inner tension.[107] The already existing division among the Athenians in attitudes to the insulation of Athens became more acute in the period of war. But even with the existing opposition to the reality of 'island Athens', the importance of the Long Walls to the Athenians continued to be substantial. Hence, even right before the end of the war and after the Athenian disaster at Aigos Potamoi, when the Athenians sent an embassy to the Spartans to discuss a peace treaty, their only demand was the maintenance of the Long Walls and the Piraeus fortifications, a demand rejected by the Spartans (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.11). Archestratus, who proposed that the Athenians should accept the terms of the treaty suggested by the Spartans, which included the demolition of a part of each Long Wall,

[105] Ehrenberg (1951) 86, followed by Wilkins (2000) 106. This unbridgeable gap between town and country is also the main theme of Jones' new study of rural Attica (2004).

[106] Osborne (1985) 188. See also Cataldi (1984) 15, for the period of the Archidamian war.

[107] Point made by Osborne (1987) 157, followed by Foxhall (1993) 142 and V. Hanson (1998) 81. Thorne (2001) seems to disagree that this was an important element in the process of agricultural devastation and focuses instead on the economic consequences. For the creation of inner tension in the case of a siege see also Xen. *Oec.* 6.6–7.

was thrown into prison and a law was passed which forbade any similar proposal in the future (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.15 and Lys. 13.8).

I have attempted to present a history of the fifth century centred on the idea of insularity, which seems to have been partly the result of the building of the Long Walls. I have discussed the use of insularity as a concept intrinsically linked with ideas about safety. However, as I have briefly mentioned above, island Athens can also be seen as the expression of an attempt to identify the 'tyrant city' with its subject allies, since islands were considered as natural subjects for any sea power. As we have seen in our discussion of Delos,[108] the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens was a means by which Athens assumed the previous role held by Delos as the most significant island in the Aegean. Imperial Athens, then, can be viewed as the new Delos. The construction of the Long Walls and the transfer of the treasury are two roughly contemporary events which signify, I think, the adoption of island imagery for Athenian self-representation. I believe that it is possible to interpret the tensions existing in Athenian society before and after the Archidamian war as reactions to the attempted insulation of Athens. 'Island Athens' lasted for a brief period of time, essentially for a little longer than five decades. As we shall see below, there is some evidence that in the fourth century the Athenians continued to use island imagery, but this time, they applied the idea of insularity to the entire territory of Attica.[109]

5.3. UTOPIAN ATHENS AND PLATO'S ATLANTIS

Up to this point I have argued that over the course of the second half of the fifth century, and more particularly during the Peloponnesian war, Athens incorporated the image of an island into her self-representation. As we have seen, the idea of island Athens was fundamentally linked with the Athenian empire. It is perhaps time to bring another parameter to this use of insularity by imperial Athens: that of utopia, and more particularly, the image of abundance of goods or more precisely *automatos bios*, that is, of life without toil. The theme of abundance of goods was a persistent

[108] See chapter 3.1.2. [109] See below section 5.4.

feature for most utopian constructions.[110] I do not aim to present here a comprehensive study of the links between insularity and utopia in the ancient world,[111] but I shall attempt to explore very briefly the image of imperial Athens as a utopian place,[112] as a way of introducing the Atlantis story, with its underlying themes of insularity, imperial power, and utopia.

The themes of abundance of goods and of *automatos bios*, which echoed utopian narratives, appear in a series of fragments of now lost comedies, recounted in Athenaeus (6.267e–270a).[113] These are Cratinus' *Wealth* (F172 and 176 KA), Crates' *Wild Beasts* (F16 KA), Telecleides' *Amphictyons* (F1 KA), a fragment with many typical utopian elements, Pherecrates' *Miners* (F113 KA) and *Persians* (F137 KA), Aristophanes' *Masters of the Frying Pan (Tagenistai)* (F504–42 KA), Nicophron's *Sirens* (F21 KA), and finally Metagenes' *Thuriopersians* (F6 KA). As Wilkins noted, the theme of abundance of goods and its toil-less production appears to have been particularly popular in old comedy.[114] In these fragments, the theme of abundance of goods may be placed in the past (as in 'Cratinus' *Wealth* or Telecleides' *Amphictyons*) or in a distant location (as in the Underworld in Pherecrates' *Miners* and among the barbarians in his *Persians*), but, as Ceccarelli showed in a well-presented case, the passages appear to belong to an agon, and therefore there is good reason to suppose that they are not narratives but part of a contesting ideological discourse set in the context of the 430s and 420s.[115] More particularly, these

[110] Giannini (1967) 122–3.

[111] For a more detailed discussion of the links between insularity and utopia, as well as a presentation of island utopias from the ancient world see Constantakopoulou (2002a) 178–205, with bibliography.

[112] For the image of utopian Athens see Baldry (1953), Bertelli (1982) 521–2, Ceccarelli (1996b) and (2000), Ruffell (2000), Wilkins (2000) 110–15, and Constantakopoulou (2002a) 227–33.

[113] See Pellegrino (2000) for a commentary on these fragments.

[114] Wilkins (2000) 114.

[115] Ceccarelli (1996b) and (2000) 463. See also Ruffell (2000) 470, arguing that the utopian theme of *automatos bios* should be seen in the context of utopia as a means of articulating popular grievances and popular dissent. Ruffell seems to agree with Ceccarelli's interpretation of the fragments as expressing the ideological discourse of Athens during the Peloponnesian war, but he does not relate this discussion to the imperial context of the same period. Pellegrino (2000) 31–9 emphasizes the carnavalesque distortion of reality found in the theme of the abundance of goods, with reference to the Peloponnesian war and the Athenian grievances during this period, but does not link it with the theme of insularity nor with the Athenian empire.

fragments have parallels in Aristophanes' comedies, where the theme of abundance of goods is securely located in contemporary imperial Athens.[116] In addition, in *The Birds*, 'Aristophanes' grandest comic utopia',[117] we get an alternative form of Athens in the creation of Nephelokokkygia, with elements that many Athenians could easily recognize as their own, especially in the later part of the play and in the imperial aspect of this imaginary city.[118] *The Birds* shows us the relevance of utopian discourse when presenting alternative representations of fifth-century Athens.

The themes of abundance of goods and *automatos bios*, however, exist also outside the realm of comic parodies. In Thucydides' Funeral Oration, among the features of idealized Athens, we get the image of a spontaneous flow of goods: 'the greatness of our city brings it about that all the good things from all over the world flow to us, so that to us it seems just as natural to enjoy foreign goods as our own local products' (2.38.2).[119] The Old Oligarch is more explicit in his connection of the image of continuous flow of goods and the existence of Athenian sea power and empire.[120] Luxurious products, in particular, come to Athens from all over the world (2.7),[121] while

[116] Ar. *Wasps* 676–9: Bdelycleon uses the theme of abundance of goods in a passage recounting Athenian imperialistic practices towards the allies. See also 519–20: through the existence of the empire, Athens can collect the 'fruits of Greece'. See also *Acharnians* 975: αὐτόματα πάντ᾽ ἀγαθὰ τῷδέ γε πορίζεται. See Zimmermann (1991) 69–70 for an interpretation of this passage as a reference to Athens in a period of peace. F707 KA, a fragment from an unknown Aristophanic comedy, includes an explicit reference to Athens as the ultimate symbol of abundance: ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀμαλθείας κέρας.

[117] Dobrov (1997) 121. See also Sommerstein (1987) 2 and Konstan (1997) for an analysis of the different types of utopia that Nephelokokkygia represents.

[118] Whitman (1964) 198, Bertelli (1983) 235, Zimmermann (1991) 80–1, Bowie (1993) 177, Dunbar (1995) 4, and Ceccarelli (2000) 460.

[119] See Loraux (1986) 87 and Hornblower (1991) 303 on the similarities between this passage and Archidamus' speech in 1.81.2. A similar image of the centrality of Piraeus where goods from the entire Greek world flow is preserved in Isocrates' *Panegyricus* 42, where, however, Athens is also presented as a great exporting power.

[120] As Loraux (1986) 87 noted, there is an important difference between the Funeral Oration and the other texts recounting the theme of abundance of goods: Pericles integrates the prosperity of Athens into the theme of the self-sufficiency of the city, and does not, as the Old Oligarch does, connect it openly with the advantages of maritime imperialism.

[121] See Braund (1994) and Wilkins (2000) 162 on the importance of luxury and its relation to democracy.

the Athenians 'alone among the Greeks and barbarians are capable of possessing the wealth deriving from the sea' (2.11). The Old Oligarch may not speak of food in particular, but the implication is clear: Athens, through its control of the empire, is able to possess all available products and have them in abundance. Imperial Athens is the background against which the idea of *automatos bios* can be placed. The Old Oligarch is once again explicit about the relation between empire and toil-less production (2.12): 'and without doing anything (*οὐδὲν ποιῶν*) I get everything from all the world by the aid of the sea'.[122] The *Athenaion Politeia* may, in fact, preserve an echo of such an understanding. As we saw above,[123] the text communicates a story of Aristeides advising the Athenians to abandon the countryside and move to the *asty*, where there would be enough food for everyone (24.1: *τροφὴν γὰρ ἔσεσθαι πᾶσι*). Rhodes is right to connect this reference to the revenue provided by the empire.[124] It is interesting to note that the sources reflecting an understanding of Athens as the centre where all goods flow, and therefore where there is a toil-less production of goods, are the same as those using the imagery of insularity for Athenian self-representation: notably Thucydides and the Old Oligarch.[125] 'Island Athens' and utopia Athens, in terms of the abundance of goods, are both understood as the results of Athenian sea power and empire.

The understanding of 'island Athens', therefore, took two distinct forms, that of the insulation of the Athenian *asty* and that of a utopia. Distinct though they are, these two 'readings' of insularity are fundamentally linked also with the Athenian empire, whether, in the case of the insulation of the *asty*, it is the empire that allows the abandonment of the Athenian *chora*, or, in the case of 'utopia Athens', the empire provides the necessary means for the *automatos bios* of the Athenians. Within this context, then, it is interesting to examine the Atlantis story.

[122] Old Oligarch 2.12: *καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν ποιῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα ταῦτα ἔχω διὰ τὴν θάλατταν*. I agree with Ceccarelli (1996b) 146 against Frisch (1942) 263 on the translation of *οὐδὲν ποιῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς*: the phrase *ἐκ τῆς γῆς* seems to refer to the centrality of Athens, rather than being a clarification of *οὐδὲν ποιῶν*.

[123] Chapter 5.2.

[124] Rhodes (1981) 297.

[125] Loraux (1986) 380 n. 42, in relation to Thucydides 2.38.2: 'this passage may be identified with a variation of Athens' actual insularity'.

The Atlantis story is part of the narrative of two Platonic dialogues, the *Timaeus*, where it forms the introduction to the main theme of the dialogue, the Platonic cosmology (20d–27b), and the unfinished *Critias*. In the *Timaeus*, Socrates states that he would like to see his ideal constitution in action (19c).[126] Critias narrates a story that would fit Socrates' expectations, the story of the war between primeval Athens and its opponent, the island of Atlantis. Solon, the original narrator of the story, heard of the war in one of his voyages to Egypt. The Egyptian priests informed him that their records referred to a great war between Athens and the island of Atlantis, located outside the pillars of Heracles in the Atlantic ocean. The kings of Atlantis ruled not only the island but also Libya and Europe as far as Tyrrhenia (25b). But when they tried to conquer Athens, then

> the power and courage of your city became clear for all men to see . . . She led an alliance of the Greeks, and when they deserted her and she was forced to fight alone, after running into direst peril, she overcame the invaders and celebrated a victory; she rescued those not yet enslaved from the slavery threatening them, and she generously freed all others living within the Pillars of Heracles. (25b–c)

But then earthquakes and flood destroyed the biggest part of Attica, while the island of Atlantis vanished into the sea.

Plato resumes the story in the *Critias*. In the beginning of the world, the gods divided up the earth between them: Athena and Hephaestus were to protect Athens and Poseidon Atlantis. Primeval Athens is presented as an ideal Platonic city, with fertile soil (111a) and an ideal constitution: the different classes lived in completely separate areas, while the class of the Guardians provided security and stability (112d). The Athenians had neither gold nor silver (112c), nor, although they lived near the sea, harbours or navy of any kind. Atlantis, on the other hand, was the realm of Poseidon. The main city and its inhabitants were immensely wealthy (114d), while the island had easy access to the sea, with three harbours and docks (115c) full of triremes (117d). The stability of the political constitution was secured by complex rituals involving a bull sacrifice and the royal

[126] See Taylor (1928) 27–34, Cornford (1937) 4–5, Friedländer (1969) 356–7, Gill (1979a) 152, and Rutherford (1995) 287 on the relation of the *Timaeus* to the *Republic*.

vow of the kings handed down by the god himself. But, as Plato notes, 'when the divine element in them became weakened by frequent admixture with mortal stock, and their human traits became predominant, they ceased to be able to carry their prosperity with moderation' (121a–b). Zeus decided to interfere and he summoned an assembly of the gods. At this point the narration suddenly stops.[127]

Vidal-Naquet offered a political interpretation of the story of the war between primeval Athens and Atlantis.[128] He insisted that we must not sever the two cities of the narrative which Plato has linked so closely, by examining, for example, the details of the Atlantis section, while ignoring the Athenian part of the narrative. The whole narrative is based on the structural opposition of the two cities, an opposition which almost inevitably would lead to war. Brisson examined these structural differences between Athens and Atlantis and showed that they exist on all the levels of description: from the gods that protect the city, the structure of the royal genealogies, the agricultural and merchant activities, the resources of each city, to the political infrastructure, which in the case of Athens leads to stability, and in the case of Atlantis to instability and chaos.[129] Vidal-Naquet argued that the structural oppositions between the two cities, as well as the war, reflected both the Persian *and* the Peloponnesian wars. The description of Atlantis, in particular, shared characteristics with the Athenian conception of the Persian empire in the period of the Persian wars, but also, at the same time, elements which fitted the description of Athens during the Peloponnesian war.

If we take a closer look at the description of the two cities, we can see that there are enough details to make both these parallelisms valid. On the whole, the war between Atlantis and Athens can be seen as a conflict between a large empire with innumerable resources 'which arrogantly advanced from its base to attack the cities of

[127] Rosenmeyer (1956) and Welliver (1977) argued that the *Critias* is a complete work in the sense that Plato intended to leave it unfinished. See, however, Rutherford's comments in (1995) 286 with n. 41. For the structure of what originally must have been planned by Plato as a trilogy see Cornford (1937) 6–8.

[128] Vidal-Naquet (1986b), originally published in *REG* 77 (1974) 420–44, followed by Brisson (1970), Gill (1976), (1977), and (1980), Dusanic (1982) (with some reservations) and (1994) 91, and Desclos (1996).

[129] Brisson (1970).

Europe and Asia' (*Timaeus* 24e) and a small power that had 'outstanding bravery and military skill' (*Timaeus* 25b). To take the earliest war first, we can see a deliberate parallelism between, on one hand, primeval Athens and Marathonic Athens, and on the other, Persia and Atlantis. For example, the description of the walls of Atlantis (*Critias* 116) resembles Herodotus' description of Babylon (1.178) and Ecbatana (1.98). Atlantis' technological skills in the building of bridges and canals (*Critias* 115–16) preserve echoes from Xerxes' technological achievements of bridging the Hellespont (Hdt. 7.36) and of digging a canal through the mountain of Athos (Hdt. 7.22). In addition, the moral decline of Atlantis (*Critias* 121e) corresponds to the moral decline of Persia as described in the *Laws* (695 ff.). As Vidal-Naquet put it, 'the massive irrigation and the scale of the kingdom are sufficient indication that Plato is thinking here primarily not of the tiny world of the Greek city states but of the universe of oriental despotism'.[130]

At the same time, primeval Athens shares characteristics with early fourth-century conceptions of the Athens of the first Persian war. She is a small city able to destroy in battle a huge empire, even when she is left alone to fight. Plato reserves an encomium for the citizens of such a city: they were the 'finest and best race of men that ever existed' (*Timaeus* 23b 7) and 'their reputation and name stood higher than any other in Europe or Asia for qualities both of body and character' (*Critias* 112e4–6), while the city was described as 'preeminent in war and conspicuously the best governed in every way' (*Timaeus* 23c5–6). Significantly, an almost identical vocabulary is used by the same author for the encomium of Marathonian Athens in the *Menexenus* and in the *Laws* (698 ff.).[131]

The parallelism of the war between Atlantis and Athens and the Persian wars becomes obvious through the conspicuous use of Herodotean vocabulary in the Platonic text.[132] In particular, a passage in *Timaeus* (25b5–c6) recalls a similar Herodotean passage (7.139), where the ancient historian articulates in one passage the core of

[130] Vidal-Naquet (1986b) 267. See also Bidez (1945) 33–40 on Atlantis' resemblance to eastern empires and the use of Persia as a model in Plato's thought.

[131] On the similarities between *Menexenus* and the Atlantis story see Loraux (1986) 300–8 and K. Morgan (1998) 106–7.

[132] For Plato's use of Herodotus in particular and history in general see Weil (1959), Gill (1977) 292, and (1979b), and Vidal-Naquet (1982).

Athenian propaganda in relation to the salvation of Greece. Similarly, *Timaeus* 20e4–6 is strikingly similar to Herodotus' opening statement (1.1). Primeval Athens is represented as the archetype of a hoplitic, land-based power, with the typical defensive weapons, such as the shield and the spear (in *Timaeus* 24b4), and a fixed number of warriors (*Critias* 112d) resembling both Marathonian Athens and, as we shall see later, Sparta.

But, at the same time, the war between Athens and Atlantis could be seen as an allegory of the more recent (in Plato's perspective) Peloponnesian war. Only this time the role of the aggressive empire is played by fifth-century Athens. The description of Atlantis' aggression resembles the accusations made against Athens and her role in the Delian league: in the *Critias* (121b6), Atlantians are characterized as 'filled with lawless ambition and power',[133] a comment that would fit superbly with the Old Oligarch's line of accusation. Moreover, in the *Timaeus*, the Atlantis empire is described as one having control 'many other islands as well as parts of the continent' (25a). The control of the islands, as we have seen, was one of the most important aspects of Athenian imperial power.[134] Even the metal to which Atlantis owed much of her wealth, *oreichalkos*, may be an allusion to the silver of Laurion, which certainly played an important part in the growth of the Athenian economy and military power. Finally, both Atlantis and historical Athens shared the same claim of *autochthony* (*Critias* 113).

What is most significant for our purposes in this series of deliberate similarities between Atlantis and imperial Athens is Atlantis' attitude to sea and her use of the navy, which is one of the most important characteristics of the Platonic description of the island. The description of the harbours and their fortifications in the *Critias* (117d–e) is greatly indebted to the port of Piraeus with its arsenals full of triremes (Thuc. 2.13.7). Plato's description of the harbour of Atlantis also includes the tell-tale sign of democratic activities: namely *thorubos* (117e).[135] Moreover, as we have seen

[133] *Critias* 121b6: *πλεονεξίας ἀδίκου καὶ δυνάμεως ἐμπιπλαμένοι.*

[134] See chapter 4.1.

[135] *Critias* 117e: *ὁ δὲ ἀνάπλους καὶ ὁ μέγιστος λιμὴν ἔγεμεν πλοίων καὶ ἐμπόρων ἀφικνουμένων παντόθεν, φωνὴν καὶ θόρυβον παντοδαπὸν κτύπον τε μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ πλήθους παρεχομένων*. For the significance of *thorubos* as a democratic element see Bers (1985), Tacon (2001), and Wallace (2004) 223–7.

above, fifth-century Athenian self-imagery, like Atlantis, included a reliance on trade and imports to sustain a luxurious lifestyle (*Critias* 114d–e).[136]

Similarly, primeval Athens can be seen as the reflection of Sparta, the hoplite power *par excellence* in the Greek world.[137] But it is not only the land-based aspect of primeval Athens that reminds us of fifth-century Sparta. Athens is also described as *eunomotate* (*Timaeus* 23c5–6), *eunomotate* being very much a code word for Sparta, as Hornblower has shown.[138] Additionally, the absence of money (*Critias* 112c) was part of Sparta's image, as well as the extreme preoccupation with demography (112d). There is, in fact, evidence for Platonic and even Socratic admiration for Sparta based on the stability, unchanging laws and education of this city-state, features which were also part of Plato's own ideal state.[139]

It is safe to conclude, then, that certain allusions in the text aimed specifically at establishing a mythical parallel to the Peloponnesian war and Athenian policy during that war. Atlantis became the mythical parallel of fifth-century Athens, and primeval Athens, the decent, yet proud, land-based power, became the parallel of Sparta. Plato is actually doing what the Athenians had done before him by glorifying mythical battles of the Athenians against barbarians: he is creating a mythical past in order to allude to the more recent historical past and to draw a specific moral lesson out of this allusion, such as a lesson concerning the degrading effects of sea power.[140] The story becomes an allusion to what Athens was in the beginning of the fifth century and what it gradually became through sea power and empire. The choice for two of the characters of the dialogues can support such a reading. One is Hermocrates from Sicily, who can be identified with the famous Syracusan general who had an important part in the Athenian failure in the Sicilian expedition. His presence in the dialogue cannot be an accident: it provides an additional pointer to the political implications of the text, especially in relation to Athenian politics in the period of the Peloponnesian war. Critias, on the

[136] Gabba (1981) 57. [137] Gill (1976) 8.

[138] Hornblower (1991) 51–3 on Thuc. 1.18.1.

[139] Hornblower (1987) 163 with n. 37 on Socratic admiration for Sparta, based on *Crito* 52e.

[140] Momigliano (1944), Luccioni (1959), and Gill (1976) 9.

other hand, must have been the famous Critias, one of the thirty tyrants.[141] Critias as the narrator of the story becomes a symbol of the Athenian empire at the time of the Peloponnesian war. The presence of Hermocrates in Athens, finally, is a strong indication of a dramatic date of the dialogue set firmly within the period of the Peloponnesian war. The text implies that he was well known among the Athenians (*Timaeus* 20a7). In real historical time, Hermocrates would be known at a date after 424, when he appears in Thucydides as a participant in the conference of Gela (4.58).[142] It is most probable that the Athenians would be informed of his active role in organizing a Sicilian defence. At the same time, the setting of the dialogue must predate 415, because, after the failure of the Athenian expedition in Sicily, Hermocrates' presence at Athens could hardly have been tolerated. Therefore, the years between 420 and 415 seem to be the most probable date for the setting of the dialogue, a date well placed in the middle of the Peloponnesian war. This may be too historical an analysis for the dramatic date of the *Timaeus* and the *Critias*, when it is more than plausible that Plato did not pay so much attention to historical detail in the setting of his dialogues. Still, I believe that the presence of Hermocrates and Critias point to a date during the Peloponnesian war, (possibly to the earlier rather than the later period), and therefore to the height of Athenian power.

Plato carefully constructed his descriptions of both primeval Athens and Atlantis in order to allude to the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars. In such a carefully constructed narrative, then, we need to explain the particular choice of an island for the location of Atlantis, which is, as we have seen, the symbol of naval and imperial power. Certainly, Atlantis has many typical utopian features, such as the presence of exotic animals (*Critias* 114e), the unbelievable fertility of the land, the wealth and the size of the city (*Critias* 117a). These utopian overtones justify the choice of an island location, since

[141] For Critias' identification with the tyrant, rather than his grandfather, see J. Davies (1971) 325–6 and Thomas (1989) 170–1, where the omission of the two generations in the description of the transmission of the story is explained as a side effect of the oral transmission of the story in Critias' own family, followed by Kalfas (1995) 29 with n. 5, contra A. Taylor (1928) 23, Cornford (1937) 1, Welliver (1977) 51, and Forsyth (1980) 44, who identify Critias with the tyrant's grandfather.

[142] Westlake (1969) 174–202.

islands were considered the ideal locations for utopias.[143] At the same time, the deliberate parallelism between the island of Atlantis and the imperial aspect of Athens may have been based on the articulation of an insular representation of Athens in the second half of the fifth century. In other words, such was the strength of Athenian self-perception as an island that when Plato wanted to create an imaginary imperial Athens in the fourth century,[144] he chose an island to locate his city. Atlantis then, as Gill stated, is not simply an utopian island in the distant west, but also the articulation of the theme of island Athens of the late fifth century.[145]

5.4. CONCLUSION: ISLAND ATTICA?

We have looked at the ways in which imperial Athens adopted the image of insularity as an expression of her identity. 'Island Athens' was the result of the Long Walls and the policy of insulating the Athenian *asty* from its surrounding *chora*. But, at the same time, strong connotations of insularity can be found in another important image with imperial overtones: that of utopian Athens with its dominant theme of abundance of goods. The Atlantis story, in Plato's *Timaeus* and *Critias*, combines pointedly the two aspects of insularity in their relation with Athenian imperial representation: Atlantis becomes the imperial island, with its aggressive tendencies, while also maintaining strong utopian features. Atlantis, in other words, *is* fifth-century 'island Athens'.

What happened in the fourth century, then, when the empire had disappeared? In an interesting passage in Xenophon's *Poroi*, the author uses the island metaphor to describe, not Athens, but Attica: 'then too, though she is not wholly sea-girt (περίρρυτος), all the

[143] Vernière (1988) 162, and Racault (1996) 247: 'cette figure topographique de l'île restera durablement associée au genre de l'utopie narrative'. For a fuller discussion of the links between insularity and utopia in the ancient Greek world see Constantakopoulou (2002a) 178–82.

[144] For the creation of an imaginary Athens in the fourth century and its relevance to the Atlantis myth see Morgan (1998).

[145] Gill (1977) 295–6.

winds bring to her the goods she needs and bear away her exports, as if she were an island (ὥσπερ νῆσος); for she lies between two seas (ἀμφιθάλαττος) (i.e. the Euboean and the Saronic gulf)' (Xen. *Poroi* 1.7). The idea of an 'island' peninsula deserves some attention.[146] In this respect, Fernand Braudel's work is fundamental. Braudel used the category of 'almost islands', islands that the sea does not surround, to describe isolated areas, for the most part peninsulas, that experience little or no communication with the mainland.[147] Following Braudel, a series of areas have been described as islands. To name but a few examples, Carthage, according to Borca, is a peninsula 'surrounded by sea' (*mare cincta*),[148] Mani, according to Panayiotopoulos, is 'almost an island',[149] and the southern Argolid is 'an island of a sort, but it is an island tied to the rest of the Peloponnese by seafaring and transhumance',[150] whereas Kolodny identified Mount Athos and the region of Sphacia in Crete as islands.[151] Xenophon's description of Attica as 'almost island' shows that the concept of insularity could be applied liberally to describe an area characterized by maritime communications. This is possibly the earliest enunciation of Braudel's category of 'islands that the sea does not surround'.

At the same time, however, Xenophon's articulation of 'island Attica' also reflects a considerable change in defence mentality which occurred in the fourth century and which is, rightly, linked to the loss of the empire.[152] The Athenians developed a new strategy, which involved the protection of their *chora*.[153] This evident change is manifested in the construction of a series of border forts, as well as in the interest in 'guarding the *chora*' (φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας).[154] It is possible, although we only have Xenophon's remark, to suggest that

[146] Létoublon, Ceccarelli, and Sgard (1996).

[147] Braudel (1972) 160–1, followed by Horden and Purcell (2000) 382. See also Davies (1998) 45 for the usefulness of an 'island' metaphor.

[148] Borca (2000) 92.

[149] Panayiotopoulos (1996): η σχεδόν νήσος Μάνη.

[150] Van Andel and Runnels (1987) 22–3.

[151] Kolodny (1974) 21.

[152] Ober (1991) 258: 'the loss of empire made Athens economically dependent upon production of her home territory'. For the change of Athenian mentality in the fourth century see also van de Maele (1992) and V. Hanson (1998) 94.

[153] For the fourth-century strategy of defence see Garlan (1974) 66–8, Ober (1985), and Munn (1993).

[154] See, for example, *Ath. Pol.* 43.4 and *IG* II^2 204.19–20.

the concept of insularity was used once again as a metaphor for safety, although this time it was applied to the entire territory of Attica, rather than the Athenian *asty* and Piraeus. Fourth-century use of insularity as a synonym for safety may be analogous to 'island Athens' in the fifth, but there is a considerable difference in the identification of the metaphorical insular territory.[155] To paraphrase Ober's title *Fortress Attica*,[156] fourth-century Attica may indeed be viewed as *Island Attica*.

[155] Lapini (1997) 211 uses Xenophon's comment as a parallel to the Old Oligarch's statement about 'island Athens', failing, in this way, to distinguish between Athens and Attica. Gauthier (1976) 51, however, rightly refuses to draw parallels.

[156] Ober (1985).

6

The smaller picture: mini island networks

We have examined how the religious network of the islands around Delos was gradually transformed into the core network of subject allies of the Athenian empire, and how this island character of the empire affected perceptions of insularity in the classical period. Our focus has been one of large scale: we have examined the interaction and conceptual groupings of the Aegean islands, with unavoidable emphasis on the Cyclades. However, in the wider area of the Aegean sea, the *archipelago par excellence*, there existed also smaller clusters of islands, what Patrice Brun has called *archipels*.[1] This geographical segmentation of the Aegean is apparent in the one speech in praise of this sea: in Aelius' Aristeides' speech *On the Aegean Sea*, the author states that 'the Aegean is made up of many seas and many gulfs, and in each place there is a different kind of sea' (44.8).[2] It is time to turn our attention to another important way in which islands interacted, this time on a slightly smaller scale.

The importance of small-scale sailing between islands has been stressed in modern works.[3] Through the practices of cabotage and island hopping, interaction between islands was maintained almost all year round. Alongside this frequent interaction we can observe more fixed forms of formal interaction, which could be expressed as control of one island by another. The pattern we usually encounter in the Aegean sea is that of a larger island controlling its smaller

[1] Brun (1996a) 7: 'l'archipel égéen est riche d'abord de sa diversité—ce qui explique le titre pluriel d'*archipels égéens*'.

[2] On the fragmentation of the Mediterranean landscape into microregions as a dominant geographic feature see Horden and Purcell (2000), esp. 79–80.

[3] Kolodny (1974) 129, and Horden and Purcell (2000) 142. See also below section 6.6 on island *porthmeutike*.

neighbours. We also find clusters of small islands being perceived as a single unit, like the Hecatonnesoi, between Mytilene and the Asia Minor coast, or the Calydna group in the Dodecanese. In that sense, some islands formed mini networks within the wider networks of communication and interaction which existed in the island world of the Aegean. Proximity, of course, was one of the defining agents for the creation of such clustering of islands.[4] Still, geographical determination, such as proximity, was not the sole factor in shaping island relations. Rather, as Kolodny argued, geographical proximity had a secondary function to the existence of political relations.[5] We shall explore some of the manifestations of these mini networks, by examining, where possible, the formal attestations of such relationships. Commercial activity and exchange between islands is, of course, another important aspect of the phenomenon of island interaction. However, we shall focus on formal relations, that is relations which are attested through the literary references and the inscriptions which survive from the islands in question. I cannot claim to offer a systematic coverage of all the islands in the Aegean, but rather examine some types of patterns of interaction between islands. As a result, a number of islands are omitted from this survey, since they do not fit any pattern of interaction examined in this section.[6]

6.1. LARGE AND SMALL ISLANDS

The pattern of a larger island controlling its smaller neighbour is attested for the large islands off the Asia Minor coast. Samos, Chios,

[4] As acknowledged by Brun (1996a) 167: 'ce qui signifie qu'à côté de la notion de soumission politique ou d'influence religieuse, il est indispensable de faire intervenir l'idée de proximité dans les échanges entre insulaires'.

[5] Kolodny (1974) 29.

[6] For example, Donoussa and Astypalaea are not examined, for the reason that there is no existing evidence that records any formal relationship between these islands and their neighbours. For Donoussa see Kolodny (1973) as an example of self-sufficiency and (1974) 655–9. For Astypalaea see Robert (1962a) 142–3 with n. 2, and Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973) 157–69. There have been some attempts to link Astypalaea with Rhodes, but the existing evidence does not seem to support this: see Fraser and Bean (1954) 81 n. 6 and 138 n. 2. and Papachristodoulou (1989) 245 n. 375.

Rhodes, and Cos all at some point incorporated or controlled other islands. In fact, as we shall see later, the control by Cos of the neighbouring islands has been used as an explanation for the absence of a Coan *peraia*.[7] However, Cos was the only island in the above list that did not control a piece of the mainland. Samos, Chios, and Rhodes all had *peraiai* while also controlling smaller islands. It is reasonable to suggest, then, that the absence of a Coan *peraia* cannot be explained in terms of control of neighbouring islands.

We could place the manifestations of control by a large island of smaller neighbouring islands within the context of what John Ma has described as 'micro-imperialism'.[8] Opportunities for expansion were seldom ignored by ancient Greek states, and the control of smaller islands could be placed within such a context of imperialism on a small scale. Although the evidence for some of the cases of control of smaller islands by a larger neighbour is scarce, especially in relation to the classical period, patterns of behaviour in later times may provide interesting parallels for island interaction and control in an earlier period. However, before we examine the patterns of control of larger islands, it is perhaps worth mentioning that on some occasions even small islands took the opportunity to make moves against their neighbours. A famous example is the Peparethian occupation of Halonessos (modern Ai Stratis) in 341, as recorded in [Demosthenes]' letter (12.12–15). Even Leros erected a monument in Icaria in order to honour Octavian, but in this case it was with the permission of the Samians (*IG* XII.6 1219).[9]

6.1.1. Chios

In the case of Chios, we are extremely fortunate to have a secure date for the control of her neighbouring islands. Already from the second half of the sixth century, the Chians controlled the group of islands called Oinoussae, situated in the strait between Chios and the Asia Minor coast (Fig. 8). According to Herodotus (1.165), the Chians

[7] Sherwin-White (1978) 32.

[8] Ma (2000b) 352.

[9] Manganaro (1965) 295: *Σαμίων ἀποίκων Ἰκαρίας Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λέριοι πανδημεί*. See, however, J. and L. Robert in *BE* (1960) 341, on the status of the Samians as 'colonists' of Icaria.

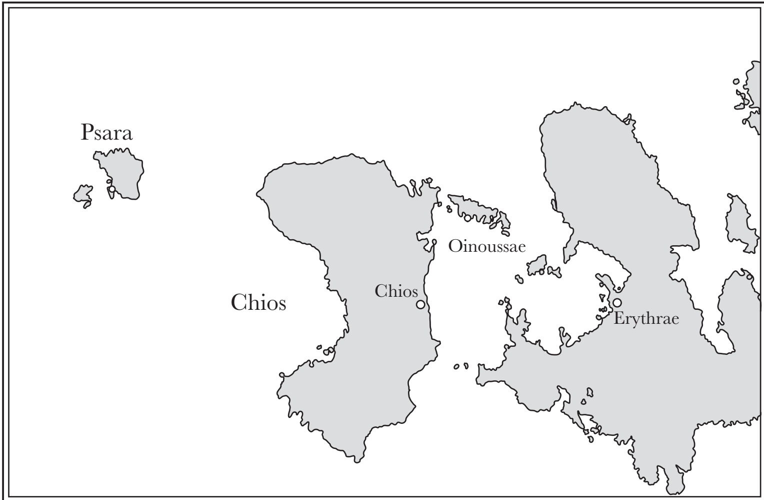


Fig. 8 Chios, Oinoussae, and Psara.

refused to sell Oinoussae to the Phocaeans, when the latter were forced to abandon their city.[10] The Chian reason for the refusal was the fear that the Phocaeans might establish rival *emporia*, which would inevitably harm Chian activities.[11] What is also interesting in the passage is the fear of exclusion and isolation. The implication here is that the loss of Oinoussae by Chios could bring its potential isolation within the maritime hinterland of the eastern Aegean. Control of islands meant control over the sea and provided the means to maintain accessibility to the intercommunicating maritime world. The Chians could hardly jeopardize such conditions by selling the Oinoussae to the Phocaeans. Finally, in addition to the Oinoussae islands, Chios controlled another cluster of neighbouring islands, the Psara islands, at least in the Roman period, as a series of Chian *polemarchs* on Psara attests.[12]

[10] Sarikakis (1998) 12 and 87. See also Rubinstein in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1065.

[11] Hdt. 1.165: *οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες, ἐπείτε σφι Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσσας καλεόμενας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνευμένοισι πωλέειν δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκλῃσθῇ τούτου εἵνεκα.*

[12] Sarikakis (1989) 312 (M86) and 331 (M223). For Psara (ancient Psyra) see more in section 6.1.5.

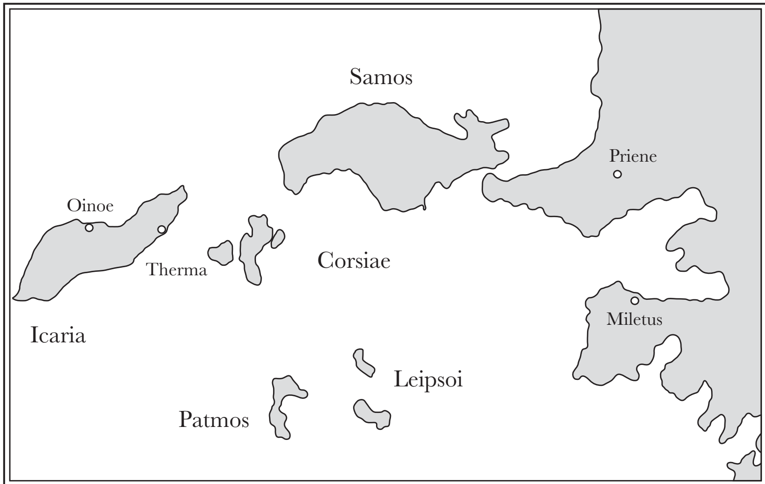


Fig. 9 Samos, Icaria, and Corsiae.

6.1.2. Samos

The situation in Samos is less straightfoward. Samos exercised some control over Icaria, the cluster of islands called Corsiae (modern Fourni) and even Amorgos (Fig. 9). Direct evidence for Samian control of Icaria is Strabo's testimony that during his time Icaria was deserted and used as pasture land by the Samians (10.5.13 c488 and 14.1.19 c639).[13] The use of—usually deserted—islands as pasture land is another common aspect of the phenomenon of interrelating islands in antiquity, and one which will be discussed in some detail below.[14] Even before Strabo's time, however, we have some indications that the Samians exercised some kind of control over Icaria. The evidence is mainly epigraphical, with two decrees and

[13] Shipley (1987) 19 and 205, Papalas (1992) 64 and 82–3, Horden and Purcell (2000) 229.

[14] See below section 6.4.

five honorary inscriptions mentioning Samians on Icaria.[15] More particularly, an honorary inscription for Timesileos is issued by the 'Samians residing in Oine' (one of the two poleis of Icaria: *IG* XII.6 1218).[16] Rehm initially dated the inscription to the third or second century, but Robert argued convincingly that a third-century date for Samian control of Oine, one of the two poleis of Icaria, should be rejected on the basis of the mention of Oinaeans in an inscription dated to the end of the third century from Magnesia on the Maeander (*Inscr. von Magn.* 50 = *Syll.*^{3} 562) and a mention of Oinaean *proxenoi* at Delos at the very beginning of the second century (*IG* XI.4 811–812).[17] More recently Matthaiou supplemented 'Sam[ians residing in Oine]' (*Σάμ[ιοι οἱ οἰκοῦντες Οἴνην]*) in an inscription from the first half of the second century from Icaria, honouring a certain Eparchides with a bronze statue, following the evidence provided by Rehm (*IG* XII.6 1217).[18] More evidence on Samians in Icaria has been presented by Robert, who argued that the change of the name of Thermaeoi to Asclepieis (the other polis of Icaria), as is preserved in the inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander, in fact reflected the change of status from an independent city to a city controlled by the Samians.[19] The Samians, then, started by taking control of the less important city of Therma at the end of the third century, before proceeding into the larger city of Oine, at some point

[15] See now Matthaiou and Papadopoulos (2003), inscriptions no. 1 (*IG* XII.6 1218): honorary decree for Timesileos by the Samian residing in Oine, dated to the period post 133; no. 47 (*IG* XII.6 1217): honorary decree for Eparchides by the Samians residing in Oine, dated to the first half of the second century; no. 3 (*IG* XII.6 1220) honorary inscription for the emperor Nerva, dated to 96–97 AD; no. 4 (*IG* XII.6 1221) honorary inscription for the emperor Hadrian, dated to the years after 117 AD; no. 5 (*IG* XII.6 1222) honorary inscription for the emperor Antonine, dated to 138–161 AD. See, in particular, Matthaiou's comments in 24 n. 5., correcting Papalas (1992) 183 and 185.

[16] First noted by A. Rehm, s.v. Oine, *RE* 17.2 (1937) cols. 2190–1, now in Matthaiou and Papadopoulos (2003) 19–25 n. 1.

[17] Robert (1938) 113 inscription no. 1, followed by Matthaiou (1999) and Matthaiou and Papadopoulos (2003) 19, who propose a date after 133, based on the mention of a Samian *demiourgos* Theodoros, son of Demetrios, who also appears in *IPriene* 42. 1–2, which is dated to 133.

[18] Matthaiou (1999) 228, inscription no. 2. See now Matthaiou and Papadopoulos (2003) inscription no. 47.

[19] Robert (1969b), followed by Shipley (1987) 206, suggests that the third-century Samian expansion took place under the protection of the Ptolemaic power. Buraselis (1982) 154–5 with n. 152 refers to Ptolemaic interests in having stepping-stones of control through the Samian mainland possessions.

before the 120s, when we have an inscription from Samos honouring Domitius for services rendered to the Icarian Artemis Tauropolos (*IGR* IV 968 = *IG* XII.6 351).[20]

Samian control over the cluster of islands called Corsiae is also assumed for the same period.[21] Initially, the Corsiae were regarded as a Milesian colony,[22] but the evidence presented by Dunst points to Samian control.[23] It seems, then, that the Samians in the third and second centuries were expanding their influence in the neighbouring islands. Shipley has noted that since access to their *peraia* was unrestricted during this period, it was probably not the need for land that drove the Samians to establish settlements in Icaria and Corsiae.[24] Such an interpretation would imply that control over islands was an alternative form of territorial expansion to control over *peraiai*. Both processes, it is true, are the result of established connectivity,[25] but at the same time, they could very well differ in terms of the benefit that was sought. It is hard to see how the lack of access to the wealthy agricultural land of the Samian *peraia*[26] could be negated by the acquisition of the extremely mountainous Icaria (with very little land available for agriculture), or by the tiny Corsiae. Control over these islands could provide the Samians with alternatives to agricultural resources (such as timber or pasture), but I would be more hesitant to explain their control as the result of limited access to the *peraia*. In other words, control of mainland territories is not the alternative to control of islands: both forms of expansion existed in antiquity, sometimes in relation to the same

[20] For the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos on Icaria see Pleket (1960). For this inscription see also *SEG* 41.709 and Eilers (1991), who dated the decree in the years between 126 and 122.

[21] Chiefly Dunst (1974). See also Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 733.

[22] Haussoullier (1902) 141–2. On Haussoullier's category of 'Milesian islands' see chapter 7.1.

[23] Dunst (1974), followed by Ehrhardt (1983) 17 and Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 733, noted the existence of an *ἄρχων τῶν στρατιωτῶν* on Corsiae (*IG* XII.6 1204), which has a parallel with the *ἄρχων τῶν στρατιωτῶν* attested for the Samian Heraion (*SEG* 1.378 = *IG* XII.6 464). See also *IG* XII.6 1203, where [*Σάμιοι οἱ ἐν Κορ*]*σίαις* is supplemented.

[24] Shipley (1987) 205. I cannot accept Shipley's conclusion that Samos controlled Corsiai at most periods ((1987) 19). Although it seems a reasonable conjecture, there is absolutely no evidence for the period before the third century that would definitely prove such a supposition.

[25] As we shall see later in chapter 7, when examining the existence of island *peraiai*.

[26] On the wealth of the *peraiai* see chapter 7.3.

island, like Rhodes, and certainly, as we shall see later in the case of Cos, the lack of a *peraia* cannot be explained through control of neighbouring islands. The two, that is control over neighbouring islands and control over a *peraia*, could be seen as complementary, as in the cases of Rhodes and Chios, where we have both neighbouring islands *and* a *peraia* being simultaneously controlled by a large island; but at the same time they may have fulfilled different functions.

Samian ambitions extended as far as Amorgos during the third century. In fact, the dating of the beginning of Samian control over Amorgos has been a controversial subject. Some scholars have argued that the Samians sent out colonies to Amorgos as early as the late seventh century,[27] while Shipley explains the Samian expansion in the seventh century as the result of problems with the Cimmerians, which forced the Samians to abandon their *peraia*.[28] The evidence for such an expansion is the extremely problematic entry 'Amorgos' in Stephanus Byzantius and 'Simmias' in the Suida. Again Shipley uses here the argument of the existence or lack of mainland possessions as an explanation for the expansion to neighbouring islands. We can certainly witness links between Samos and Amorgos in the archaic period in the archaeological remains,[29] as well as the alphabet used.[30] It is, however, extremely problematic to use such similarities as evidence for colonization and control: both could be the result of simple commercial activity between the two islands. Besides, as Marangou herself noted, Samian workshops are some of the many workshops whose products reach Amorgos in the archaic period.[31] Consequently, it is reasonable to argue that we have no solid evidence to suggest Samian colonization and control for the archaic period. In fact, as Rougemont argued, it may well be that the establishment of a Samian colony at Amorgos in the archaic period was in fact a tradition created

[27] Marangou (1983) 122–3, Shipley (1987) 49–51, Nigdelis (1990) 11 with n. 1 and Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 734, tentatively. See also Marangou (2002) 123 and 131–4, where the Samian colonization of Amorgos in the seventh century is presented as the 'dominant opinion' (*επικρατέστερη άποψη*).

[28] Shipley (1987) 49–51.

[29] Marangou (1983) 122–3 and (2002) 123–8.

[30] Jeffery (1990) 293.

[31] Marangou (2002) 127.

in a later period to justify the later Samian expansion.[32] What is certain is that the Samians established a settlement at Minoa at some point in the second half of the third century.[33] The first attestation of Samian presence at Minoa is an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander (*Inscr. von Magn.* 50 = *Syll.*^{3} 562 80), dated to 243/2.[34] We also have numerous references in inscriptions to the 'Samians residing in Amorgian Minoa' or to the 'demos of the Samians residing in Minoa' (*IG* XII.7 226 12, 231, 237, 239, 240). In fact, Amorgos in the Hellenistic period seemed a place where anyone could exercise some control, from the Milesians in Aegiale (*IG* XII.7 395–410)[35] to the Naxians in Arcesine (*IG* XII.7 50).[36]

What seems to be clear in the evidence above is a tendency on the part of the Samians to expand control, when and where it was possible, in the extended maritime hinterland of the Aegean. We get a wonderful glimpse of what it must have felt like being a Samian in one of the settlements in the neighbouring islands: a certain Damodoros has left us graffiti on the acropolis on Corsiae in which we can detect a resentful undertone: 'all things considered, I, Damodoros, the partisan of Apollocrates, lusting after Epigonos, guard the Acropolis of the Corsiatae' (*IG* XII.6 1213 XI).[37] Obviously, things were not always rosy when spending time in garrisons away from home.

[32] Rougemont (1983).

[33] Robert (1969a) 532 and (1969b) 564–8, Shipley (1987) 205 with n. 1, Nigdelis (1990) 14, Reger (1994b) 57 with n. 107, Brun (1996a) 21.

[34] Robert (1969b) 564. See also *BE* 92 (1979) 484–5.

[35] Nigdelis (1990) 20–3 and Marangou (2002) 63.

[36] *IG* XII.7 50: *Ναξίων τῶν Ἀμοργόν Ἀρκεσίναν οἰκούντων*. See now Marangou (2002) 27. There is a later tradition of Naxian colonization of Amorgos in the archaic period preserved in *Σ* Dionys. Perieg. 525. Again, as with the case of the Samian colonization of Amorgos, it is impossible to prove or disprove such a hypothesis. What is certain is that there were links between the two islands, as is evident in an inscription from Naxos from the third quarter of the seventh century, which reproduces an Amorgian idiom in denoting the term 'grave': see the publication of the Naxian inscription by Matthaiou (1980), with the Aegialian inscription from the first half of the seventh century (*IG* XII.7 442).

[37] *IG* XII.6 1213 XI): *τἆλλα σπεύδων Ἀπολλοκρ[άτει Δ]αμόδωρος, ᾿Επίγονον ποθῶν φυλάττω Κορσιητῶν ἀκρόπολιν*. This Epigonos seems to be a constant preoccupation for the author or authors of the graffiti on the Corsian acropolis: see also *IG* XII.6 1213 VI: *᾿Επίγονος <κ>αλὸς Σάμιο[ς]*, and VII: *᾿Επίγονος{ς} καλὸς οἶς δοκεῖ τῶν φρουρῶν*.

6.1.3. Cos

Another example of a large island which came to incorporate a smaller neighbouring one is the incorporation of Calymnos by Cos (Fig. 10). The two islands appear together in one contingent, along with Nisyros, Carpathos, and Casos in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.676–80).[38] Sherwin-White, although reluctant to accept the reference in the *Iliad* as evidence of Coan control of neighbouring islands, argued that possession of nearby islands could be used to

Fig. 10 South-eastern Aegean islands.

[38] See below section 6.3 for a discussion of Calydnae.

explain the absence of a Coan *peraia*.[39] She added that the Homeric tradition 'may conceivably reflect a historical Coan possession of the islands'. I hope to have shown that control over neighbouring islands was a common manifestation of inter-island relations already from the archaic period. The Homeric Catalogue of Ships should not be used as direct evidence for political relations in the early archaic period, but rather as an articulation of geographical perceptions and groupings. We can use the catalogue to note that the above mentioned islands form a cluster in the Homeric understanding of Aegean geography, but the existence of a single political authority over this island grouping for the same period is beyond proof. In that sense, control of Calymnos in the archaic period cannot be used as an adequate explanation for the lack of a Coan *peraia*. As we have briefly noted in relation with Samos, *peraiai* and control of islands may have served different functions, and certainly one does not exclude the other.

The first direct evidence for a political incorporation of Calymnos into Cos comes from the third century. In the second quarter of the third century, Calymnos seems to have been under Ptolemaic influence, as is attested by a decree for a judge responsible for the settlement of civil strife on the orders of Ptolemy II (*Tit. Cal.* 17).[40] In the late third century, however, Calymnos was incorporated into the Coan state, according to an inscription dated to the period of the first Cretan war (*Tit. Cal.* 12). The decree is a *homopoliteia* agreement, including provisions of friendship (*philia*) and alliance (*symmachia*) toward king Ptolemy. The Coan incorporation of Calymnos is described as 'restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) of the *homopoliteia*' (15–16), which shows that the original incorporation happened at a date before the outbreak of the Cretan war,[41] but not significantly

[39] Sherwin-White (1978) 32.

[40] Bagnall (1976) 104, Sherwin-White (1978) 124 n. 227, Höghammar (1993) 88, Reger (2004) 153. Contra Koukoulis (1980) 42–3, who dates the inscription to the period immediately after 287 and therefore identifies king Ptolemy as Ptolemy I.

[41] Thompson (1971) 619, followed by Sherwin-White (1978) 126–7, and Baker (1991) 11–12. Buraselis (2000, 10 with n. 18) suggests that the original *homopoliteia* must have taken place under the auspices of Ptolemy IV Philopator (end of the third century), and the restoration under Ptolemy V Epiphanes (early third century). Habicht (2000) 312–14 examines the incorporation of Calymnians into the Coan citizen body, which he places already in the late third century. Philip V later detached Calymnos from Cos: Ma (2000a) 77 with n. 90.

earlier, since we have a series of inscriptions establishing the independence of the Calymnian state for most of the third century.[42] The incorporated status of Calymnos continued in the following centuries, as a funerary epigram of a Calymnian in the late second or early third century AD attests (*Tit. Cal.* 219).[43] The motive for the initiative of incorporation is obscure. It could be a manifestation of Coan power,[44] a way for the two islands to strengthen their alliance against the Cretan pirates and Philip V,[45] or a symptom of the general insecurity the citizens of an island like Calymna had to deal with in the troubled third century.[46] It is plausible to argue, however, that whatever the main problems arising from the political situation in the Aegean during the last part of the third century were, the incorporation of Calymnos was a normal expression of the relations between neighbouring islands, as we shall see in the case of Rhodes.[47]

6.1.4. Rhodes

Finally, we come to the island with the most attested cases of control over neighbouring islands, Rhodes. The Rhodian state reached the pinnacle of its power in the first half of the second century. Apart

[42] See for example the Calymnian *theoroi* and dedications at Delos in 278 (*IG* XI.2 161 B70) and in 250 (*IG* XI.2 287 B41). See *Tit. Cal.* 15. We also have a Calymnian inscription dated to the period of the Cretan war honouring Lysander, a Calymnian commander of a Coan naval squadron (*Syll.*[3] 567): see comments in Paton and Hicks (1891) 353–4. Höghammar (1993) 88–93 argued convincingly that an inscription honouring a Ptolemaios should also be connected with the act of the Calymnian incorporation to the Coan state (PH 8). The inscription confers honours, including a cult to an individual (who, according to Höghammar, should be identified with Ptolemy IV), for his role in the Coan incorporation of Calymnos.

[43] Sherwin-White (1978) 129. *Tit. Cal.* 219 9–10: *οὔνομα δὲ κλέομαν Ξενοκλῆς, δῆμος δὲ Κάλυμνα, Κῷ δὲ πάτρα*. For a commentary see Koukoulis (1980) 407–11.

[44] As implied by Bagnall (1976) 105: 'in an agreement of the late third century, probably imposed by Cos, Calymnos became a part of Cos and lost its independence'.

[45] Sherwin-White (1978) 128, followed by Baker (1991), who stresses the overall insecurity of the Aegean islands. Similar remarks in Buraselis (2000) 10 with n. 18, who mentions the 'collective self-defense against imminent Aegean dangers'.

[46] Koukoulis (1980) 146–7.

[47] Sherwin-White (1978) 129 draws parallels between the Coan incorporation of Calymnos and the similar developments in the Rhodian state and suggests that, in this case, the Coans were following the example of the Rhodian expansion of the third century.

from the Rhodian *peraia*, the Rhodian state gradually incorporated a large number of the neighbouring islands. Carpathos, Casos, Chalce, Syme, Telos, Nisyros, and Megiste, were all at one point or another incorporated in the Rhodian state (Fig. 10).[48] Rhodian territories, as we shall see in the following chapter, were divided into 'Incorporated', whose citizens ranked politically equal to the Rhodians, and 'Subject', whose citizens stood to Rhodes in the relation of subject to suzerain.[49] We shall examine each island separately in order to show that these islands, although some of them were incorporated to Rhodes at a late date and should normally have the same status as that of the subject *peraia*, belonged all to the category of incorporated territory.

Chalce[50] seems to have been independent during the fifth century, since it was assessed independently in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists.[51] Independence must have continued in the fourth century: we have a fourth-century Cnidian inscription which grants various privileges to the *Chalkeatai* (*SEG* 12.419).[52] It is safe to assume that at the period of the publication of the decree, the island was independent from Rhodes, since there is no reference to the state of Rhodes.[53] However, the island must have been incorporated into the Rhodian state before the end of the fourth century since it is mentioned as part of Rhodian territory in a passage in Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* 7.2.9). Fraser and Bean have claimed that Chalce belonged to Rhodes in a period before the Rhodian synoecism, since in a Camirian inscription of the end of the third century Chalce is

[48] Plin. *NH* 5.133: *Rhodiorum insulae Carpathos quae mari nomen dedit, Casos, Hagne, Eulimna, Nisyros . . . et eodem tractu media inter Rhodum Cnidumque Syme . . . praeter eas circa Rhodum . . . Chalce.* I follow here the restoration proposed by Susini (1963) and (1965) 260–1, based on Mayhoff's edition. See Fraser and Bean (1954) 138 and Papachristodoulou (1989) 43–8.

[49] Definition provided by Fraser and Bean (1954) 53. On the distinction between Incorporated and Subject *peraia* see chapter 7.2.

[50] For the archaeology of Chalce see Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973) 156–7. For the inscriptions of Chalce see Susini (1965) 247–60. See now Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 738.

[51] *ATL* I.436 and 561.

[52] Originally published in Bean and Cook (1952) 187.

[53] Fraser and Bean (1954) 145, followed by Papachristodoulou (1989) 230 n. 90, against Susini (1965) 156–7, where he notes that the formula '[ὁ δᾶμος ὁ] *Χαλκητᾶν*' survives in the period of Rhodian domination.

mentioned in relation to the *ktoinai*, that is the survival of the old territorial divisions of the island before the synoecism (*Syll.*^{3} 339 = *Tit. Cam.* 109).[54] According to this hypothesis, the Athenians presumably detached the island from Rhodian control[55] and Chalce kept its independence until the fourth century. However, as Fraser and Bean themselves accept, the people of Chalce enjoy an exceptional degree of independence *vis-à-vis* the *ktoinai* of Cameiros in the inscription.[56] In that sense, it is not necessary to accept that Chalce had been incorporated to Rhodes before the synoecism.[57]

Syme[58] also appears in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists, which points to the independence of the island during the period of the Delian league.[59] Fraser and Bean believed that the island was incorporated into the Rhodian state in a period before the synoecism, because of the existence on the island of the system of *ktoinai*.[60] It is possible that there was an early incorporation of Syme, which was later cancelled by the Athenians. Indeed, the existence of the system of *ktoinai* on the island may point to an early incorporation since the *ktoinai* were a local division of the Rhodian territory which was abolished after the unification of the state. In any case, the reincorporation of Syme into Rhodian territory must have happened by the middle of the fourth century.[61]

Carpathos[62] also seems to have been incorporated into the Rhodian state at a date before the synoecism. As Fraser and Bean argued, the island may have been a *ktoina*, forming part of the deme

[54] Fraser and Bean (1954) 145, followed by Berthold (1984) 41. On the *ktoinai* see Gabrielsen (1997) 151–2.

[55] The Athenians used the island as a base in their campaign against Rhodes, as described in Thuc. 8.55.1. See chapter 4.2.3 on the use of islands as secure bases.

[56] On this point see Papachristodoulou (1989) 43 and (1999) 38, and Gabrielsen (1997) 31. The inscription reads: *τὰς κτοίνας τὰς καμιρὲων τὰς ἐν τᾷ νάσῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν τᾷ ἀπείρῳ ἀναγράψαι πάσας καὶ ἐχθέμειν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀθαναίας ἐστάλαι λιθίναι χωρὶς Χάλκης. ἐξήμειν δὲ καὶ Χαλκήταις ἀναγραφήμειν αἴ κα χρηΐζωντι.*

[57] Cook (1961) 58.

[58] For the archaeology of Syme see Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 168–9 and (1970a) 63. See now Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 774–5.

[59] First entry in 434/3: *ATL* I.416–17 and 552–3.

[60] Fraser and Bean (1954) 139, using *IG* XII.3 6, followed by Berthold (1984) 41, and Jones (1987) 251.

[61] Papachristodoulou (1989) 44.

[62] For the archaeology of Carpathos see Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 159–67; Melas (1991) for Potidaeon. For the inscriptions see Susini (1965) 225–44. See now Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 745–7.

Carpathiopolitai.[63] In addition, there is evidence for the cult of Athana Lindia, a distinctly Rhodian cult which shows Rhodian influence, at Potidaeon (*Syll.*^{3} 570). Potidaeon, however, does not seem to have been an independent polis, but was instead a settlement in the territory of Carpathos, one of the poleis of the island.[64] However, in the case of Carpathos, as in the case of the islands previously discussed, there must have been an Athenian intervention during the fifth century, which resulted in the independence of the poleis of the island, confirmed by the separate assessment in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists,[65] as well as the separate mention of the Rhodians as allies in the decree of the Eteocarpathians, recently dated to the fifth century (Tod 110 = *IG* I^3 1454 = *Syll.*^{3} 129 32).[66]

Megiste (modern Castellorizo) was incorporated into the Rhodian state by the fourth century, as the reference of Ps. Scylax confirms.[67] It is, of course, possible that the Rhodian occupation on the island dated from an earlier period, as Bresson argued, but it is impossible to know.[68] There are also six inscriptions mentioning Rhodian *epistatai*

[63] Fraser and Bean (1954) 142–3 with n. 3, using *Syll.*^{3} 570, which however applies to the site of Potidaeon alone.

[64] Papachristodoulou (1989) 45. However, as Bresson showed (1985), Potidaeon seems to be the most likely authority to have produced the problematic *ΠΟΣ* coins. Ps. Scylax 99 asserts that Carpathos is a tripolis island with Carpathos, Arcaseia, and Brycous as the main poleis. The Athenian Tribute Quota Lists assess separately these three poleis, but include the additional entry of the obscure Eteocarpathioi. Potidaeon may have not been a polis recognized as such by the Greeks (or Ps. Scylax would have included it in his work), but it does seem to have exercised some central authority, at least in the archaic period, when the *ΠΟΣ* coins are dated. For Carpathos and her number of poleis, see Reger (1997) 453, challenging Strabo's evidence 10.5.17 c489. For the Eteocarpathian *koinon* see the entry in the *ATL* I. 274–5, with Anderson and Dix (1997) 129–30 with n. 6. The main evidence for the *koinon* is the Athenian decree honouring an Eteocarpathian, his sons and the *koinon* (Tod 110 = *IG* I^3 1454 = *Syll.*^{3} 129), dated to the third quarter of the fifth century.

[65] *ATL* I.234–5 for Arcaseia, 250–2 for Brycountioi, 274–5 for Eteocarpathioi, 300–1 for Carpathioi. See also comments in 497–8.

[66] Fourth-century dating: Tod, followed by Fraser and Bean (1954) 143, Cook (1961) 58 and more recently Flensted-Jensen and Hansen (1996) 150. Fifth-century dating: Meiggs (1982) 498 n. 36, followed by Smarczyk (1990) 67 with n. 33, and Anderson and Dix (1997). The name Eteocarpathians disappears after the fifth century. See also Constantakopoulou (2005) 26–7 n. 101.

[67] Ps. Scylax 100: *νῆσός ἐστι Ῥοδίων Μεγίστη*. Fraser and Bean (1954) 54–5 and 97; Papachristodoulou (1989) 44–5; more recently Ashton (1995), especially 9–17 on the written evidence. On the archaeology of Megiste see Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970a) 73–5.

[68] Bresson (1999) 104–6.

stationed on the island of Megiste dating from the fourth/third centuries.[69] The existence of the Rhodian *epistatai* may indicate the strategic importance of the island.[70]

It has been assumed that the four islands discussed above, that is Chalce, Syme, Carpathos, and Megiste, had a similar status to the incorporated Rhodian territory, precisely because they were included in the Rhodian state at a date before the synoecism.[71] However, as we have seen, although such a conclusion is probable for the cases of Carpathos, Syme, and Megiste, it is not at all certain for the case of Chalce, where the existence of *ktoinai*, the otherwise tell-tale sign of an early incorporation, seems to have been linked with a special status for Chalce. Besides, if the differentiation between subject and incorporated territory is indeed based on the use or not of the Rhodian *demotic* in the specific areas, as everyone seems to accept, then even in the islands of Telos, Nisyros, and Casos, which were incorporated in a later period, the rule is that the Rhodians used their *demotic* rather than their ethnic. It is reasonable to conclude, then, that all the islands were part of the incorporated territory, although they were attached to the Rhodian state at a period which would have made them subject territory. This may reflect the importance of the islands for the Rhodian state: the citizens of the Rhodian islands were full Rhodian citizens. The only difference between the first category, that is Chalce, Syme, Carpathos, and Megiste, and the second one, that is Casos, Telos, and Nisyros, was in the process through which the islands came to be part of the Rhodian state.[72]

[69] Collected by Ashton (1994) 18–22. For the strategic importance of Megiste see also Bresson (1999) 105, with particular reference to the war against Antiochus II.

[70] Ashton (1994) 19.

[71] Rice (1984) 185.

[72] I agree with Papachristodoulou (1999) 38 against Rice (1984). Rice believes that the second category of islands, that is Nisyros, Telos, and Casos, although they were incorporated in the Rhodian state at a date after the synoecism, were still linked with one of the old cities of the island, as the islands of the first category were (hence Carpathos was linked with Lindos, Chalce and Telos with Cameiros). However, I find it improbable that although the Rhodians proceeded to a full political and physical synoecism, they continued to use an old political division that simply made no sense in the third or second centuries, as a valid distinction through which their incorporated islands were attached to the Rhodian state. Rather, I agree with Papachristodoulou that the newly attached islands were linked with the *entire* Rhodian state, through a process that we simply know nothing about.

Let us look briefly into this last category of Rhodian islands, namely Telos, Nisyros, and Casos. Telos[73] was probably independent until c. 200.[74] We have an inscription from the early third century in which the Telians form an alliance with Rhodes (*SEG* 25.847). In the early second century, however, we do not get the formula 'the damos of the Telians' but 'the Telians' which may imply a change of status, in other words, the island's incorporation into the Rhodian state (*IG* XII.3 30).[75]

Nisyros[76] was the most northerly island to have been incorporated by Rhodes. Before the Rhodian incorporation, however, this island was more closely related to Cos, in myth as well as in history.[77] According to the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.676), Nisyros was ruled by a Coan king. We also have the tradition preserved in Strabo (10.5.16 c489) and Pausanias (1.2.4), that the island had been formed when Poseidon cut off a large part of Cos and threw it away in his fight against the giant Polybotes.[78] Additionally, there is another tradition which attributed the population of Nisyros to an early colonization by Cos (Diod. 5.54.3). In history, the ties between Nisyros and Cos may have been reflected in the existence of an aristocratic group on Cos called Nisyriadae (PH 368 VI 38–9). We have ample evidence of the independence of Nisyros for the fourth and most of the third century.[79] At the end of the third century we have a letter of Philip V to the independent Nisyrians and the consequent honorary decree of the Nisyrians for Philip's envoy

[73] For the archaeology of Telos see Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970a) 63–8. For the inscriptions of Telos see Susini (1965) 261–90. See now Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 776.

[74] Fraser and Bean (1954) 146, Papachristodoulou (1989) 46.

[75] For the dating of the inscription see Fraser and Bean (1954) 146, Susini (1965) 270–1, Papachristodoulou (1989) 46–7.

[76] For the archaeology of Nisyros see Bean and Cook (1957) 118–19; Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 169. See now Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 763–4.

[77] Sherwin-White (1978) 32.

[78] See also Suida s.v. *Νίσυρος*, explaining the myth in terms of the proximity of Nisyros to Cos and the smallness of Nisyros. The myth obviously explains the volcanic nature of the island; however, it is significant that the island chosen as the origin of Nisyros was Cos.

[79] Papachristodoulou (1989) 47 for the use of the ethnic 'Nisyrios' in Delian honorific inscriptions (*IG* XI.4 595 and 622), as well as the inscriptions from Nisyros (*IG* XII.3 89–91), which show an independent polis in action. See also Fraser and Bean (1954) 147–8.

(*IG* XII.3 91 = *Syll.*^{3} 572, dated to 201).[80] The incorporation of Nisyros must have taken place before the period of the second Cretan war (155–153), when we have an honorary inscription to a Nisyrian who had been *strategos* of the Rhodian state (*IG* XII.3 103 = *Syll.*^{3} 673).[81] This Nisyrian had served in the Rhodian navy under three *nauarchs* who were active in the period from 201–190 BC. As Fraser and Bean argued, it is improbable that a Nisyrian could be active as a *strategos* in the Rhodian navy, unless Nisyros was already part of the Rhodian state.[82] Nisyros seems to have remained part of the Rhodian state at least until the second or third century AD.[83]

Finally, Casos[84] was the most western island to be incorporated by Rhodes. The first occurrence of Casioi is in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists.[85] The incorporation into the Rhodian state must have taken place after 275/4, when we find some Casian *theoroi* at Delos alongside some Rhodians (*IG* XI.2 199 B14).[86] It is probable that the incorporation took place after the early second century, when the Cretan city of Olus sent a copy of an honorary inscription to the Casians (*IC* I xxii 4 C62 ff.). However, as Papachristodoulou has argued, it is unlikely that the incorporation of Casos took place in the second half of the second century, that is after the power of Rhodes reached its pinnacle.[87]

It looks as if Rhodes took to an extreme what for the other major islands close to the Asia Minor coast was a limited expansion. The difference between Rhodes and Chios, Samos or Cos was that Rhodes in the Hellenistic period was acclaimed for her sea power. We have already looked at the importance of island control for any sea power,

[80] Fraser and Bean (1954) 148–9, Rice (1984), Papachristodoulou (1989) 47. See also Thompson (1971) 616 for an interpretation of the historical context of the period, followed by Ma (2000a) 77 with n. 91.

[81] Dating argued by Rice (1984), followed by Papachristodoulou (1989) 47.

[82] Fraser and Bean (1954) 148.

[83] Rice (1984), publishing an inscription from Physcos. The inscription commemorates a family whose male members were demesmen from the Rhodian island of Nisyros, who had died in the Rhodian *peraia*. Menestheus and his son are styled Nisyrioi, the appropriate Rhodian demotic.

[84] For the archaeology of Casos see Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 168 and (1970a) 69. For the topography and inscriptions see Susini (1965) 203–24. See now Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 747.

[85] *ATL* I.302–3.

[86] Fraser and Bean (1954) 152–3, Papachristodoulou (1989) 48.

[87] Papachristodoulou (1989) 48.

and how this necessity also resulted in the creation of a topos of islands as subjects in relation to the Athenian *arche*. In other words, control and incorporation of the neighbouring islands into the Rhodian state was an expression, and in many ways a prerequisite, of Rhodian sea power. For example, Rhodes may have needed these islands for safe anchorage.[88] Even a small island could provide a safe anchorage for (at least part of) the Rhodian fleet, and hence its importance could be far greater than its size. This could explain the evidence of Hellenistic shipsheds of various sizes on the small island Alinnia to the east of Rhodes and very close to Chalce.[89] The island has been identified as the ancient Eulimna, mentioned by Pliny as one of the Rhodian islands (*HN* 5.133).[90] Similarly, on the east coast of Saros, the island to the north of Carpathos, there are some deep cuts on the rocks which may have been used as docks.[91] Rhodian interest in safe anchorage may also explain the presence of three (probably Hellenistic) towers on the islets of Pergousa and Pachia off the shore of Nisyros.[92] However, apart from the natural interest of the Rhodian sea power in adjacent islands, the incorporation of all these territories could be seen as the politically aggressive result of island interaction, or imperialism in the small scale.

What is interesting in all the above cases of a large island controlling its smaller neighbours is that all the islands controlling small islands off-shore were single polis islands. Even in the case of Rhodes and Cos, the definite evidence for controlling neighbouring islands comes from a period when the citizens of Cos and Rhodes have already unified into a single political entity.[93] That may explain why a large island like Icaria

[88] Gabrielsen (1997) 41.

[89] Susini (1965) 210–11, Gabrielsen (1997) 41. For modern Alinnia see Kolodny (1974) 135, in relation to his analysis of the tendency of small island populations to orientate towards larger islands.

[90] Eulimna is the restoration proposed in Mayhoff's edition and accepted by Susini (1963) and (1965) 210–11.

[91] Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 167.

[92] Two towers on Pachia and one on Pergousa: see Dawkins and Wace (1906) 171.

[93] On the synoecism of Cos see Diod. 15.76.2 and Strabo 14.2.19 c657, mentioning the *metoekesis* of 366; Sherwin-White (1978) 40–68 is the most important discussion on the subject. See also Constantakopoulou (2005) 12–13 with bibliography. On the synoecism of Rhodes in 408/7 see Diod. 13.75.1, Strabo 14.2.11 c655, Conon *FGrH* 26 F1, Plin. *NH* 5.132, Aristides 43.552 (Dindorf): a full list of references is provided by Moggi (1976) 214–20. See also Constantakopoulou (2005) 12 with bibliography.

never controlled any of its off-shore neighbours, whereas Chios or Samos did. The same is true for the poleis of Lesbos. Although Mytilene had a *peraia*,[94] none of the cities, as far as we know, controlled any off-shore islands, not even the geographically close Hecatonnesoi, which seem to have been independent throughout antiquity.[95] Therefore, it may be reasonable to suggest that although control of neighbouring islands and even political incorporation of them was a common phenomenon of interaction in the Aegean, such an expression of interrelation was possible only when the more powerful island was politically unified into a single entity.

6.1.5. Reasons for expansion and control

After this short presentation of the major islands in the eastern Aegean and their dependencies, we may now turn our attention to the motives and reasons behind the control of neighbouring islands by a larger insular state. One reason that has been frequently presented, especially in the case of the Chian control of Oinoussae, is the apparent strategic importance of smaller insular units.[96] Off-shore islands could be used by a power in order to control or issue attacks from, against a larger insular unit: for example, in more modern times such a use was preserved for Spinalonga, a small island off Crete, by the Venetians in the second half of the seventeenth century. Although the Ottomans occupied Crete in 1669, Spinalonga remained a Venetian stronghold until the treaty of Passarowitz in 1718.[97]

We have already discussed the construction of the 'dangerous island' as a topos in classical literature.[98] It is time to add yet another

[94] See chapter 7.2.

[95] See below section 6.3.

[96] Brun (1996a) 102: 'on comprend que ces îlots désolés, parfois sans la moindre source, avec de rares surfaces fertiles, n'avaient pas qu'une importance stratégique'. For the strategic importance of islands see also Febvre (1932) 221–2, Kolodny (1974) 160, and Chaniotis (2002) 99 on the attempts of even relatively small poleis to gain control over other communities. See also Chaniotis (1996) 418–20, with particular reference to establishment of troops by Gortyn on the small island of Caudos to the south of Crete. For the strategic importance of the Oinoussae islands, in particular, see Boardman (1967) 255, as part of the argument for the location of Leuconion on the Asia Minor coast.

[97] Kolodny (1974) 153.

[98] See chapter 4.2.2, with a discussion of Cythera and Sparta in Hdt. 7.235.2.

parameter in this respect: piracy.[99] The reason behind the Chian refusal of the Phocaean offer for the purchase of the Oinoussae islands, according to Herodotus, was the fear that the Phocaeans would establish a competitive *emporion*. However, it is possible that the Chians were also afraid of Phocaean piratical activity near their territory, and control over the islands minimized such a danger. As Horden and Purcell have argued, 'islands were naturally as important to piracy as to other forms of seaborne traffic'.[100] Theophrastus says of the cowardly man that he is the sort who 'when at sea says that the cliffs are pirate ships' (*Characters*, 25.2). We can imagine that islands, in particular, could be a frequent source of frustration for such a man. We do know of pirates using small islands as bases, especially in the troubled Hellenistic period. It is impossible to include here all the references in ancient sources that mention islands as bases for pirates. I will offer a handful of what I believe are indicative examples of quite a widespread practice.[101] Strabo mentions Tragia, off Miletus, and its neighbouring islands as places used for anchorage by pirates (14.1.7 c635). Additionally, Myonessos, an islet to the south of Thessaly and to the west of Artemision promontory, was famously a nest of pirates.[102] The Spartans, as we have already seen, were fearful of Cythera because it could serve as a base for pirates' activity against Laconia (Thuc. 4.53.3).[103] It is also possible, as Gary Reger suggested, that the pirates who raided Syros and Siphnos in the early first century were based on the little island to the south of Siphnos (modern Citriane) where they took refuge with their captives (*IG* XII.5 653 22–3).[104] Similarly, we have an inscription

[99] For the use of islands as strongholds for pirates see Braudel (1972) 149: 'to rid the coasts of corsairs waiting for a good chance, or taking fresh water, is called in the correspondence of the viceroys of Sicily, "limpiar las islas", "cleaning up the islands", that is checking the moorings of a few dozen islets which were all classic places for an ambush'.

[100] Horden and Purcell (2000) 388, with particular reference to Palagruza in the Adriatic.

[101] For a fuller list of references see Pritchett (1991) 314 with n. 443. For the importance of islands as bases for pirates see also Morton (2001) 176–7.

[102] See Aeschin. 2.72, where Athens under Demosthenes acquired a reputation of Myonessos and its pirates. For the location of Myonessos see Strabo 9.5.14 c435.

[103] See chapter 4.2.2.

[104] See Reger (1994a) 262, Bielman (1994) 184–9, and Nocita and Guizzi (2005) on the inscription. On the islet Citriane see Pantou and Papadopoulou (2005) 92–5.

from the first half of the third century, published by Segre.[105] It is an honorary inscription from Rhodes honouring various soldiers for their participation in the expedition in Aegila (*τὰν στρατειὰν τὰν ἐς Αἴγιλαν*), a small island between Cythera and Crete (modern Anticythera).[106] The particularly strong military contingent of this expedition against an otherwise insignificant island may imply that Aegila was a stronghold of pirates during the period.[107] Recent excavations on the island have revealed late classical-Hellenistic fortifications with military finds which include iron spear and arrow heads, and lead and stone balls, possibly for slings.[108] These finds speak for a military stronghold on the island. Anticythera was in many ways an ideal base for pirates, with a long history of such a use: it was used as a base for pirates at the end of the eighteenth century as well; in 1786 Venice issued an order for the clearing of Cerigotto (ancient Aegila) from pirates, but the instruction was never executed.[109] A reaction to these pirate islands would be to impose garrisons on islands, and indeed there is some evidence that such a practice was employed.[110]

We have already mentioned the aspect of anchorage in relation to control of smaller islands. Indeed, small islands could provide refuge in the case of the very common strong regional winds of the Aegean;[111] a good instance is the port in Psyra (modern Psara), which, according to the source of Eustathius in his *Commentary to the Odyssey*, could provide refuge for twenty ships (1462 46–50).[112]

[105] Segre (1932) inscription 1.

[106] For modern Anticythera and its population see Kolodny (1974) 132–3.

[107] Interpretation by Segre (1932), followed by Rice (1996) 209–10. Wiemer (2002) 131–3 rejects Segre's interpretation that piracy was the underlying cause for the expedition, and stresses instead the overall strategic significance of Aegila because of its geographic position between the Peloponnese and Crete. I do not see why one interpretation, that is piracy, excludes the other, that is the overall geographic and strategic significance of the island. Certainly, unless there were pirates or some other forces (but which?) on the island, we cannot explain the quite strong forces sent there by the Rhodians; they must have expected significant resistance, to say the least.

[108] *Archaeological Reports for 2003–2004* (2004) 15.

[109] Kolodny (1974) 133.

[110] Chaniotis (2002) 106 with n. 54, following Launey (1950) 644–8. Protection against piracy, among other things, could also be the function of the Samian garrison on Corsiae, discussed above in section 6.1.2.

[111] Morton (2001) 108 and 116.

[112] For ancient Psyra see Meyer, s.v. Psyra, *RE*, vol. XIV suppl. with references to Hom. *Od.* 3.171 and Strabo 14.1.35 c645. For the importance of islands as convenient stops along sailing routes see also chapter 1.3.

Small islands could also be convenient stops in the journeys to and from the large islands. We have already discussed the case of the shipsheds of Eulimna. We should add here the recently discovered large shipshed on Aegila,[113] which could prove Gabrielsen's suggestion that after the clearing of Aegila from pirates by the Rhodians, the island was used by Rhodes as a base of anchorage.[114] Hellenistic towers found on a number of islands may add to our understanding of the importance of islands for maintaining connectivity in the Aegean.[115] We have already mentioned the Hellenistic towers on the islets Pergousa and Pachia in relation to Rhodian interests in expanding control in their local maritime hinterland.[116] We may add here the Hellenistic tower on the islet of Seriphopoula (to the north of Seriphos) and the tower on Citriane, to the south of Siphnos, which, as we saw, served as a refuge for pirates in the first century.[117]

Another obvious consideration is the economic advantages from the control of an island.[118] Even though in the cases that most concern us, the arable land available in most of the smaller islands would not be large enough to justify expansion and control, even small arid islands could be used for pastoralism (which we shall discuss in detail below) or fishing. We should not see the control of islands as predominantly a form of control of *land*, but rather as a safe base in the complex matrix of intercommunications in the seascape of the Aegean. At the same time, however, there are no absolute rules in the history of the Aegean sea and its islands. As we saw in the case of Rhodes, the islands controlled were large enough to produce substantial agricultural returns.

[113] Tsavaropoulos (1997) 17–18.

[114] Gabrielsen (1997) 42. See also de Souza (1999) 51.

[115] On island towers in general see Ormerod (1924) and Mendoni (1998b). Specific islands (this is an indicative, and by no means comprehensive, list): see Marangou (2005) and Korres (2005) on Amorgos; Koutsoukou and Kanellopoulos (1990) on Andros; Mendoni (1998a) on Ceos; Young (1956a) 143 n. 62, on Gyaros; Spencer (1994) on Lesbos; Haselberger (1972) on Naxos; Young (1956b), Ashton (1991), and Pantou and Papadopoulou (2005) on Siphnos; Étienne (1990) 31–4 on Tenos; Osborne (1986) on Thasos.

[116] See chapter 6.1.4 above.

[117] Pantou and Papadopoulou (2005).

[118] See comments in Viviers (1999) 226 with reference to the island of Leuce to the south of Crete. See also Kopaka (2005) 96–7 on valuable resources that the islands to the south of Crete (with particular emphasis on Gaudos) could provide.

We could also allude to the specific political considerations and circumstances that led to formal cooperation between two islands, as we saw in the case of Calymnos and Cos. However, specific political conditions cannot be an adequate explanation to cover the diversity of expressions of expansion and control we have witnessed in inter-island relations in the Aegean. Specific political and social conditions could provide the opportunity for expansion and control, mostly, as we have seen, by a large island towards its smaller neighbours. This form of micro-imperialism is a recurrent theme in the history of the islands of the Aegean. The one theme, however, that should be central to our discussion is the underlying interconnectivity of the sea and its islands: what allowed the islanders to create insular networks was the possibility of maintaining maritime accessibility in their islands and their ports.

6.2. CASES OF DISPUTE FOR THE CONTROL OF SMALL OFF-SHORE ISLANDS

Control of small islands was considered so important that on many occasions their exact status was the subject of long disputes between other islands or poleis. For example, the small group of islands to the south of Crete which included the island called Leuce (modern Kouphonissi) was the subject of a long dispute between several Cretan cities.[119] In a third-century treaty between Praesos and Stalae, the Praesians agree to give to the Stalitae 'the *chora*, the polis and the islands' (*IC* III vi 7 4–5). In the second century, control over the islands was disputed between the Cretan cities of Hierapytna and Itanos (*IC* III iv 9). Both the cities advanced long arguments about their right to control the islands, including the existence of a Ptolemaic garrison on Leuce, put there to protect Itanian interests (ll. 97–100). The length of the arguments as recorded in this inscription is sufficient evidence for the importance attached to their control.[120]

[119] Perlman (1999) 148–9, Viviers (1999) 222–6.

[120] For the importance of the Cretan off-shore islands see Rackham and Moody (1996) 202–8, where, however, they admit that the difference between the desolate present and the consistently rich Minoan and Roman past is a puzzle (208). See,

Similarly, in the late third or early second century, the Gortynians in Crete took great care to establish their control over the dependent population of the small island Caudos (modern Gavdos) to the south of Crete (*IC* IV 184).[121]

A more famous example of dispute over possession of small islands is perhaps the dispute between Melos and Cimolos in relation to the uninhabited islands Polyaegos, Hetereia, and Libeia (modern Aghios Eustathios and Aghios Georghios; Fig. 11), dated to shortly after 338 (*IG* XII.3 1259 = Tod 179 = *Syll.*^{3} 261 = RO 82).[122] The decree we have was set up on Cimolos, as should be expected since it was Cimolos that won the dispute. Unfortunately, there is no reference on the decree as to why the Melians and the Cimolians were in dispute over these three islands. However, it has been reasonably deduced that the most important factor behind the dispute was use of the islands as pasturage.[123] In this case, the people of Cimolos and Melos chose to request outside arbitration; it is possible to speculate that an attempt at a settlement at a local level could have resulted in bloodshed,[124] as indeed it had in the case of Heracleia, as we shall see below.

6.3. GOAT ISLANDS[125]

This last example of Polyaegos, Hetereia, and Libeia brings us to the topic of goat islands, that is, usually uninhabited islands used for

however, Horden and Purcell (2000) 616: 'the explanation which they themselves [i.e. Rackham and Moody] advance for the contribution of Dia to the network of maritime communications also seems a more promising explanation of the demography than one centred on the islands' own productive capacities, such as the murex of Kouphonisi'. See also Kopaka (2005).

121 Chaniotis (1996) 407–20.

122 Calabi (1953) 116–18 with a commentary on the inscription; Georgoudi (1974) 182, Ager (1996) 43–5 n. 3.

123 Georgoudi (1974) 182 and Reger (1997) 484 n. 37, following Robert (1949b) 167.

124 Renfrew and Wagstaff (1982) 59: 'this dispute . . . in the past would have been settled at a local level and most likely with bloodshed'.

125 An earlier version of this section appeared as an article in the *Proceedings of the First International Colloquium held at The Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, 21–22 September 2001*: see Constantakopoulou (2004).

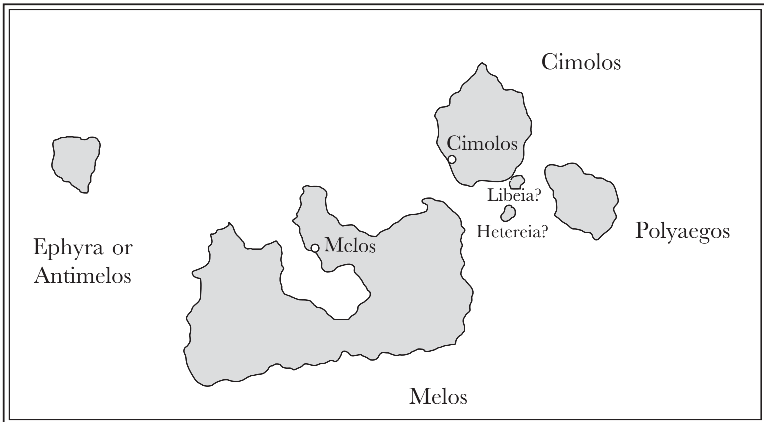


Fig. 11 Melos, Cimolos, and Polyaegos.

grazing by the inhabitants of neighbouring islands.[126] Such a use of the numerous islands of the Aegean was, in fact, quite common throughout antiquity and in modern times.[127] Small islands have been used as areas for what has been described as micro-transhumance, a practice found in Greek antiquity which involved the transfer of animals over a relatively small distance over the winter months,[128] although there are some cases where the transfer of the animals on goat islands took place over the summer months.[129] Indeed, the case of the goat islands shows that transhumance in ancient Greece did not necessarily involve the transportation of animals over long distances,[130]

[126] For a definition of a 'goat island' see Robert (1960) 173, using the description of the island Leuce in the Black sea in Arrian's *Periplous* 32–3: ἡ δὲ νῆσος ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἐρήμη ἐστὶν, νέμεται δὲ αἰξὶν οὐ πολλαῖς. Robert adds that 'ces chèvres peuvent y vivre en grand nombre'. See also Alfaro Giner (1998) 863 and Brulé (1998) 267.

[127] See Horden and Purcell (2000) 224 for references to the use of islands as pasture land.

[128] Robert (1960), Georgoudi (1974) 182, Alfaro Giner (1998) 873, Chaniotis (1999) 191, Horden and Purcell (2000) 225.

[129] Girard (1879) 190 discussing the small islands between modern Halonessos and Skopelos: Kyra-Panaghia, Gioura, Psathoura, Piperi.

[130] Short-distance transhumance: see Skydsgaard (1988) 80. Krasilnikoff (2000) 183, when discussing ancient Attica, seems to understand transhumance as the transportation of animals over long distances and outside the limits of the Athenian polis: such an understanding of transhumance, however, is extremely limited since it

but rather the exploitation of all available land within a close range, especially land which was not suitable for agricultural production[131] (goat islands, in general, would be too dry to produce considerable quantities of humanly consumable food; goats, on the other hand, can survive for long periods by drinking sea water). In addition, it is perhaps worth noting here that the practice of transhumance was on the whole related to large flocks and specialized pastoralism, rather than to small flocks kept as part of subsistence agriculture.[132]

Use of goat islands is known already from Homer and his description of the island Thrinacia in the *Odyssey*, where 'the cattle and the fat sheep are pastured of the god Helios, even herds of oxen and as many beautiful sheep flocks and fifty to each herd' (12.128–30). We even have the detailed description of a proper 'goat island' situated off the land of the Cyclopes (9.116–24). This could be a typical goat island of the Mediterranean.[133] The island is 'neither close in to the land of the Cyclopes nor far out from it', which would benefit easy transport for the shepherds, there are 'wild goats beyond number there for there is no coming and going for human kind to disturb them, nor are they visited by hunters . . . nor farmers, but all its days, never ploughed and never planted, it goes without people and supports the bleating wild goats'. The goat island of the *Odyssey* shows us how early we can place the preoccupation of utilizing the landscape, in this instance the off-shore island, for pastoral or agricultural purposes. As Byre noted, the purpose of the lengthy description of

does not take into account the much smaller and possibly more frequent transportation of animals over short distances within Attica. For a comprehensive presentation of the debate about the nature (and existence) of ancient Greek transhumance see Chandezon (2003) 391–7: I agree with all his conclusions in this particular debate: that is, transhumance did exist, both on a large and small scale, but this acceptance does not negate the existence of mixed, non-specialized pastoralism as a norm for Greek agricultural practices.

[131] For pastoralism as a way to exploit that proportion of landscape not suitable for agriculture see Forbes (1995) 329 and Chandezon (2003) 305–7. See similar comments in relation to Delos in Brunet (1999) 49: it was only the north and south ends of the island which were used for pastoralism because of the ferocity of winds, which made agricultural production difficult.

[132] Halstead (2002).

[133] Bremmer (1986) 257: 'Homer's description of a "goat island" was based on his knowledge of similar goat islands in the Greek world', against Strauss Clay (1980), who emphasizes the metaphorical value of the description.

the island is to portray Odysseus' personality while in the palace of the Phaeacians: the hero is someone who certainly understands the potential of a locality to serve the needs of men.[134]

Pastoral use of islands in antiquity includes Icaria, which according to Strabo was used by the Samians as pasture land (14.1.19 c639). Additionally, the dispute between Hierapytna and Itanos in the second century over the control of the island of Leuce to the south of Crete seems to have been, among other things, about the use of Leuce as pastoral land (*IC* III iv 9 76–80).[135] The use of the prefix *aix*- or *aig*- in many names of Greek islands may attest a common use of the islands for pasturage,[136] but as Alfaro Giner rightly observed, such goat-toponyms do not *necessarily* denote pastoral activity.[137] They could, however, certainly serve as indications of the ancient understandings of the use of insular spaces: even if the specific islands in question were not used as goat islands as such, the plethora of goat-toponyms for the Greek islands seems to imply that it was a common conception that the primary characteristic of such islands was their close relation to goats. In fact, there are indications that the name of the Aegean sea itself may originate from the *aig*- goat root. Pliny tells us that the Aegean sea takes its name from an island, 'or more truly a rock suddenly springing out of the middle of the sea, between Tenos and Chios, named Aex from its resemblance to a she-goat' (*HN* 4.51).[138] Again, the story may not allude to a widespread use of the Aegean islands as pasturage, but shows the constant presence of goats in the Greek imagination of the islands and the sea.

The use of goat islands is fully attested for modern times: in the seventeenth century, Syros used as pasture land the island of Gyaros, Myconos used Rheneia, Ceos used Helene nesos, otherwise

[134] Byre (1993–4).

[135] Chandezon (2003) 177. See chapter 6.2 above for the dispute over Leuce as evidence for the importance attached to off-shore islands.

[136] See for example the names collected by Georgoudi (1974) 182: *Αἰγιαλία*, *Αἴγιλα* (modern Anticythera, on which see Robert (1960) 173), *Αἰγίλεια*, *Αἰγίμορος*, *Αἴγουσα*, *Αἰγίλιψ*. I would also add Aigina, Polyaegos, and Tragia, the island to the south of Samos, which was the location of one of the naval battles between the Athenians and the Samians during the Samian revolt (Thuc. 1.116).

[137] Alfaro Giner (1998) 874.

[138] Similar story in C. Iulius Solinus 11.1. See also Alfaro Giner (1998) 864–5.

Macronisi, Amorgos used Ceros[139] and Donoussa,[140] Seriphos used the islet Seriphopoula,[141] and Pholegandros used Cardiotissa, ancient Lagoussa.[142] Similarly, Calymnian shepherds used a small off-shore island called Calolimnos (or else Gaidouronissi, i.e. Donkey Island) as grazing ground,[143] while Cretan shepherds used the small islets near the Cretan coast (Gavdos, Gavdopoula, Thodorou, Gramboussa, Agriogramboussa, Gaidouronissi, Dia).[144] Antimilos, ancient Ephyra,[145] a small island off Melos, also had goats, which probably belonged to shepherds of Melos, freely grazing its territory.[146] A fifteen-century text preserved in a Greek translation and published by Buondelmonti includes among the basic characteristics of the Greek islands the presence of wandering goats (Introduction 32).[147] Halstead is right to warn us against using traditional practices uncritically as analogies for antiquity.[148] Yet, even if modern day parallels cannot (and should not) be used as evidence for ancient agriculture, they are certainly useful because they indicate how widespread some practices could be in the same or very similar environmental context as that of the classical Aegean. In the case of goat islands, in particular, the state and the nature of the ancient sources is such that the references are few and only in passing. They do, however, pop up in the most unusual of places, the passage from the *Odyssey* discussed above being, perhaps, the most striking example. Modern day parallels, I believe, indicate how widespread the use of goat islands may have been in the ancient world, though they certainly do not provide unequivocal proof.

Dispute over pastureland, as we saw in the case of Polyaegos, was a common feature of interstate relations during the classical and

[139] Lambrianides (1995) 87 n. 4.

[140] Kolodny (1974) 657. Donoussa did not have a permanent settlement until 1830. Up to that point it was used as pasture land by Amorgian shepherds.

[141] Pantou and Papadopoulou (2005) 87.

[142] Brun (1996a) 101.

[143] Bean and Cook (1957) 133.

[144] Chaniotis (1995) 54 and (1999) 191. For a comprehensive list of all the islands off Crete and their economic exploitation see Kopaka and Kossyva (1999).

[145] Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἔφυρα: καὶ νῆσος οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχουσα Μήλου.*

[146] For goats on Antimilos see Kolodny (1974) 132.

[147] Legrand (1897) publishing Buondelmonti 2: *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς ξηροτάταις πέτραις πλανωμένας αἶγας.*

[148] Halstead (2002). Similar comments in Chaniotis (1999) 191.

Hellenistic periods.[149] If the goat islands were uninhabited, then the most problematic situation that could arise was the one we saw in the case of Polyaegos (which is described as empty, *eremos*, by Ptolemy, 3.15.28), namely the two larger neighbours entering into a dispute over its control. In the case of an inhabited island, however, an attempt to use it as a goat island by introducing large number of goats could be catastrophic for any agricultural production. Indeed, already in antiquity goats had a reputation of eating pretty much all available vegetation: Eupolis' lost comedy *Goats* includes a passage which praises the 'all-inclusive and wondrous diet' of the goats (in Plutarch's words in his *Table Talk* 4, which includes Eupolis' fragment): the goats claim that 'they feed on every kind of tree', and they continue with a long list of edible vegetation (Plut. *Mor.* 662d = Eupolis, *Goats* F13 KA).[150] Plato too noted the ability of goats to do damage on cultivated land, when grazing without proper supervision (*Laws* 639a).

We are fortunate to have an exceptional piece of information regarding the small island of Heracleia (to the south of Naxos) (Fig. 12).[151]

[149] This subject is particularly extensive, so I will restrict myself to a handful of examples. For a fuller treatment of the subject see Sartre (1979), Hodkinson (1988), Chaniotis (1999) 192 and 198–201, and Chandezon (2003) 351–89 with a full list of epigraphic attestations of *epinomia*, the right to graze land. Thucydides informs us (5.24.1) that part of the background of the dispute between the Athenians and the Boeotians over Panacton was pasture land. Additionally, in Plato's *Republic*, one of the reasons that would inevitably lead to war is dispute over grazing land (373d–e). We also have evidence for a dispute between Hermione and Epidauros as to common grazing land in the area between the two cities, resolved by arbitration of the Rhodians and the Milesians in the early second or late third century (*SEG* 11.377 and 31.328); for an early second-century date see Ager (1996) 170–3 n. 63 and Dixon (2001); for a late third-century date see Chandezon (2003) 28–33. Similarly, we have a series of inscriptions regulating the right to graze in borderland: a few of this type of inscriptions belong in fact to the category of *isopoliteia* treaties: one of their first concerns was to regulate the grazing privileges of the citizens of both cities, as is the case in the *isopoliteia* agreement between Hierapytna and Priansos in the second century (*IC* III iii 4). Cretan cities have produced a series of inscriptions in relation to interstate agreement about grazing: see Chaniotis (1995) 61–7 and Chandezon (2003) 169–81. Chandezon (2003) 303 and 381–4 made the interesting observation that rights to *epinomia* are attested for mainland communities, or communities controlling mountainous areas (such as poleis on Crete); island communities, on the other hand resort to rules of exclusion of animals or regulating access to space; belonging to this category is the decree from the island of Heracleia which we are going to examine in detail.

[150] See Brulé (1998) 260–1 for a discussion of goats' diet.

[151] For the little we know of the archaeology of Heracleia see *AD* 22 (1967) 465–7 and 46 (1991) 382, with a description of a Hellenistic fortress on the north-east of the island.

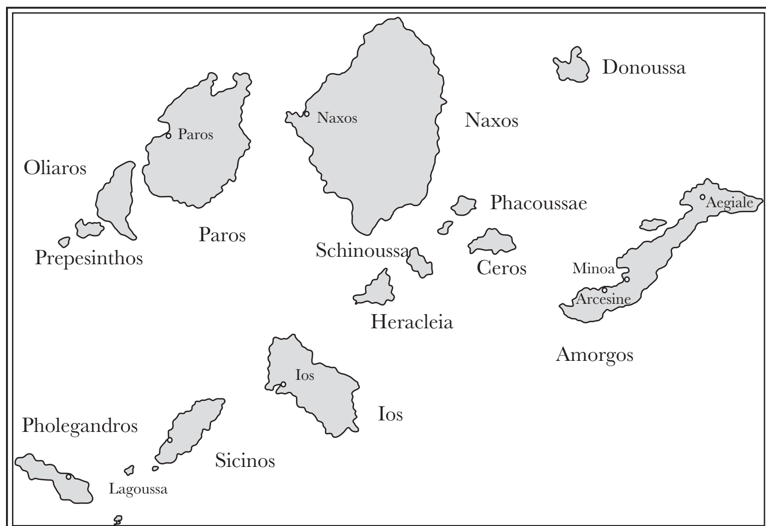


Fig. 12 Central and eastern Cyclades.

This interesting case is worth examining in detail. The only surviving inscription of the island is a third-century decree put forward by the '*koinon* of the islanders' (*IG* XII.7 509). The decree regulates the judicial procedures for crimes committed during the illegal entrance of goats onto the island. The reference to the *koinon* of the islanders (5–6) has been the first subject of scholarly discussion about the decree. In 1911 Pierre Roussel demonstrated that the *koinon* could not have been the well-known League of the Islanders, but a local *koinon* of the people of Heracleia.[152] The main reason for this interpretation is the reference to a Metroon (8) as the place of publication of the inscription. There is no known Metroon in the Cyclades, so we must assume that the place referred to is a building on the island of Heracleia. This represents an exceptional place of publication: other decrees of the islanders' league were published in the headquarters of the league at Delos, frequently in

[152] Roussel (1911) 35, followed by Robert (1949b). See also Fraser and Bean (1954) 157 n. 1; Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 250. Contra Tarn (1913) 77, who includes Heracleia in the list of members of the League of the Islanders on the basis of this inscription. Billows (1990) 22 does not address the issue of Heracleia in his discussion of the members of the league.

addition to the island in question. The absence of any reference to Delos means that the *koinon* in the decree is in fact a local *koinon* of Heracleia.

Island *koina* are not uncommon in antiquity. We encounter *koina* on the multi-polis islands of Euboea,[153] Crete,[154] Lesbos,[155] Carpathos (the *koinon* of the Eteocarpathians),[156] as well as the single-polis islands of Delos[157] and Syme. Most interesting for our purposes is the Symian *koinon*, mentioned in two second-century inscriptions (*IG* XII.3 1269 and 1270 suppl.).[158] As we have seen, Syme was incorporated into the Rhodian state by the middle of the fourth century,[159] but the existence of the *koinon* as well as the double dating used in the public documents of Syme imply that the island had a

[153] For the Euboean *koinon* see Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 248–9: we have evidence for one decree of the Euboean *koinon* in the fourth century and one in the third, and two from the second century. See also Wallace (1956), Larsen (1968) 97–103, and Picard (1979).

[154] For the Cretan *koinon* see Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 308 and 312, Mijnsbrugge (1931), Guarducci (1950), Willetts (1955) 225–34 and (1975), Ager (1994), and Chaniotis (1996), especially 6–7 and 99–100. For the existence of an early *koinon* on the island of Crete see Forrest (2000) 283.

[155] For the Lesbian *koinon* see *IG* XII suppl. 9, 120 and 136. See Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 258 and Robert (1969d) for an analysis of *IG* XII suppl. 139, an early second-century inscription found at Delphinium honouring some Milesian judges mentioning the *παραγενόμενοι εἰς Μέσσον* (70), as essentially a decree related to the Lesbian *koinon* and (1969c) 209 on *IG* XI.4 1064, an *isopoliteia* agreement between the four cities of Lesbos. Contra Mason (1995) 401 who regards *IG* XII suppl. 120 as a document not of a Lesbian *koinon* but rather of individual cities. See also Constantakopoulou (2005) 15.

[156] The main source is an Athenian honorary decree: Tod 110 = *IG* I^{3} 1454 = *Syll.*^{3} 129, now dated to the third quarter of the fifth century: see Meiggs (1982) 498 with n. 36, citing D. Lewis, followed by Smarczyk (1990) 67 with n. 33 and Anderson and Dix (1997). See Constantakopoulou (2005) 26–7 with n. 101.

[157] The main source is *IG* XI.4 1055= *Syll.*^{3} 493: it is a decree of the people of Histiaea honouring Athenagoras, son of Peisodoros. The *koinon* of the Delians is mentioned here in relation to the erection of the decree (28: *τόπος αἰτησαμένους τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Δηλίων*). The phrase *to koinon* followed by the genitive of the ethnic may be used in the sense of a polis or a *demos*: see Tréheux (1987b). It is possible, then, that this decree records a similar use of the term *koinon* as an alternative expression to the usual Delian *demos* and *boule* which appears in relation to the permission for the erection of decrees in the sanctuary.

[158] *IG* XII.3 1269 suppl. 7: *κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Σύμᾳ κατοικεύντων*, and 1270 suppl. 4: *κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Σύμᾳ κατοικούντων*.

[159] See section 6.1.4 above.

special status within the extended Rhodian state.[160] It is, then, reasonable to argue that this *koinon* was in fact the collective political body of the local Symians and that part of the population which had Rhodian citizenship. Using the island of Syme as a parallel, it is reasonable to suggest that the Heracleian *koinon* was a similar body which included members of the political community as well as non-members, perhaps foreign residents. This, at least, seems to be implied by the last line of the decree, where it is stated that this is done for 'all the Heracleians and the inhabitants of the island' (17: Ἡρακλειωτῶν πάντων καὶ τῶν οἰκούντω[ν ἐν τῆι νήσωι]).

The obvious question that needs to be addressed is why we find such a *koinon* in an inscription regulating the legislative process for crimes committed in relation to goats. The inscription is extremely interesting since it reveals a situation of acute crisis for the local community. It seems that there was a law forbidding the import and feeding of goats on the island of Heracleia (4–5: αἶγας εἰσάγ[ειν ἢ] τρέφειν ἐν τῆι νήσωι), perhaps inscribed above the existing decree. Someone attempted to act against the law using force (4: βιασόμενος), and during the act killed someone. The surviving decree legislates that the prosecution of the defendant shall be pursued not only by the family of the victim (7–8: οἵ τε προσήκοντες τοῦ παθόντος), but also by the entire *koinon*. The language used is quite harsh and the background seems to be one of violence and death. One question is, why were goats prohibited on the island in the first place?

Pierre Roussel, who was among the first to comment on the decree, confessed that he did not know the reason for such measures: 'it must be related', he said, 'to religious practices'.[161] The exclusion of animals from islands for religious purposes is not unknown from antiquity; we know, for example, of the exclusion of dogs from the island of Delos (Strabo 10.5.1 c485).[162] However, Louis Robert

[160] See Cook (1961) 59: 'decrees are not dated (as they are in Rhodian incorporated territory) by a single eponym, but with the double dating by the *damiorgos* and the Rhodian priest of Helios'. The double dating, according to Cook, points not to a Rhodian incorporation but to some sort of protectorate or condominium.

[161] Roussel (1911) 451: 'nous ignorons la raison de cette measure. Elle pouvait être d'ordre religieux.'

[162] Parker (1983) 163; Lane Fox (1996) 126. For the exclusion of animals from sacred sites in general see Dillon (1997) 120–2 with n. 68 and Chandezon (2003) 293–302 with analysis of the epigraphic sources discussing exclusion, their reasoning and

established a less religious context for the decree, following the suggestions put forward by Delamarre.[163] Robert claimed that the whole island was to be forbidden territory for the goats and not just a specific territory belonging to the god, as was normal in other sacred laws. In addition, he noted the absence from the decree of any terminology that is usually used for sacred laws.[164] It is clear that it is a civic affair: the entire community is involved in the maintenance of order.[165] What we have here is a community taking measures to protect itself against the bitter struggle that has arisen in relation to the exploitation of the land of the island. On the one hand we have the farmers struggling to survive in the environment of a small island, and on the other the herdsmen. I find it extremely difficult to accept that the prohibition of goats would have been aimed at farmers owning a couple of goats for their everyday requirements of cheese, milk, meat, and leather. These animals could graze the land under supervision in such a way as not to harm the cultivated areas.[166] They could also be stall fed with leaves of figs and olives, a practice attested on another island of the Aegean, Ceos (Ael. *NA* 16.32). The inhabitants of Heracleia may very well have pursued mixed pastoralism, that is the combination of agriculture with livestock holding.[167]

implications, including notions of *miasma* and protection of the existing vegetation, which, as Robert showed in relation to the decree regulating the administration of the sanctuary of Apollo Coropaios, may have been in a bad state (*Syll.*^{3} 1157 73–4: *δένδρα . . . κατεφθαρμένα*, with Robert (1948) 27–8).

[163] Robert (1949b), following Delamarre (1902).

[164] See also Chandezon (2003) 302.

[165] See for example the final lines of the decree: *ταῦτα δ' εἶναι εἴς τε φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν Ἡρακλειωτῶν πάντων καὶ τῶν οἰκούντω[ν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ]*.

[166] Leguilloux (2003) examined the evidence of animal bones from a small farm in the south-eastern part of Delos, to conclude that the southern part of the island was used as pasture land. What is most interesting for our purposes is her note (256) that the animals must have grazed the land under close supervision: indeed, all ancient tracks were enclosed on both sides with wall, as were the plots with cultivated crops and vines. The case of Delos is an indicative parallel to what may have happened on all Aegean islands, including Heracleia, whose inhabitants engaged in the practice of mixed pastoralism. On mixed pastoralism on Delos see also Chandezon (2003) 280.

[167] Hodkinson (1988) against Skydsgaard (1988). Hodkinson's approach is followed by Forbes (1994) and (1995) 327, and Brun (1996a) 96–7, who believes that the practice described by Aelian for Ceos (*NA* 16.32) could also apply to the other Cycladic islands. Mixed farming or pastoralism is the norm also for Chandezon

The problem which led to the legislation must be related to large herds of goats grazing the land without supervision, destroying the agricultural production in an environment where survival depends on the careful exploitation of the available resources. The problem, in other words, is that the herdsmen against whom this decree is primarily aimed wanted to treat Heracleia, an inhabited island, as a goat island, releasing large numbers of goats and following the practice of specialized pastoralism. In that sense, survival for the farmers meant the prohibition of the introduction of goats on their island. This measure must have provoked reactions, to the extent that someone used force to import goats on the island (5: *βιασόμενος*). The struggle obviously assumed a violent form involving deaths and revenge to the extent that the community had to take measures for the protection of the inhabitants.[168] The decree is particularly clear at this point (15–17): 'all this is for the protection and salvation of *all* the Heracleians and the inhabitants of the island'. The decree, as we have seen, does not draw its authority from the citizen body, but rather from the entire community of inhabitants, the *koinon.* This peculiar situation indicates the degree of the crisis the islanders faced.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is the identity of the people attempting to import goats to Heracleia. The answer can only be hypothetical. It is unlikely that the herdsmen themselves were also the owners of the goats. Normally shepherds were slaves or members of the lowest classes.[169] Robert saw them as the agents of 'rich and

(2003) 284–5. See Halstead and Jones (1997) 280 for the modern practice in the island of Amorgos of combining agricultural work with the keeping of livestock. See also Chang (1994), who stresses the high degree of variation of pastoral strategies across the terrain and environmental zones. Chaniotis (1999) 190 uses the regulations on inheritance from Gortyn (*IC* IV 75 B7) as evidence for the use of pastoralism in combination with subsistence farming: 'the law takes for granted that a household included among other things small and large livestock, which could also be owned by unfree persons'.

[168] We have some evidence of struggle amongst the population of an island in relation to use of pasture land: for example, in the eleventh century, the inhabitants of Leros were in dispute with the monks of the monastery of Patmos in relation to rights of grazing: see Malamut (1988) 390–1. A similar dispute between monks and inhabitants is attested in Amorgos: see Kolodny (1974) 203. On the colonization of the Greek islands by the monasteries in the Byzantine period see de Siké (1998–9).

[169] See Robert (1949a) for an epitaph of a slave shepherd from the island of Thasos, with references to slaves acting as *poimenes.* For shepherds as members of the lowest classes, and usually slaves, acting as labourers for wealthier individuals see

powerful men'.[170] Additionally, the wording of the decree seems to point to an origin outside the island.[171] Indeed, a fifth- or fourth-century decree regulating grazing rights on the neighbouring island of Ios makes particular reference to 'foreigners' (*xenoi*) and limits the period of time that grazing is allowed to foreigners' sheep to five days (*IG* XII.5 1). The decree from Ios is a wonderful example of another form of regulating grazing in the limited area of a Cycladic island. I agree with Chandezon that this decree does not regulate access to sacred space,[172] but rather is an expression of a communal effort of making sure that grazing is firmly controlled and therefore not capable of resulting to a situation of crisis, such as the one we witnessed on Heracleia. As with Heracleia, the decree itself presupposes maritime micro-transhumance, and is therefore an explicit expression of maritime interaction between islands on a small scale.

To come back to our Heracleian decree, we can look at the neighbouring islands of Naxos, Amorgos, or Ios[173] as the place where the goats came from, but it is impossible to know.[174] I would argue that Naxos and Amorgos are more suitable candidates: Amorgos was a tripolis island and very likely in need of extra grazing land outside its insular borders, possibly in order to avoid friction between the citzens of the three poleis of the island in relation to grazing rights. Meanwhile, Naxos, a single polis island, was extremely wealthy at times and therefore capable of imposing such a pastoral 'coup' on the territory of a much smaller and poorer neighbour. I am personally inclined in favour of Amorgos, where one of its poleis, as we shall see below, already had another, albeit small, goat island under its control.

Forbes (1994) 192 and (1995) 332. See also Chaniotis (1999) 190: shepherds were serfs, slaves, or just the family's youngsters.

[170] Robert (1949b) 170.

[171] Robert (1949b) 170, followed by Hodkinson (1988) 55.

[172] Chandezon (2003) 141–2: the decree does not belong to the category of 'sacred laws', contra Dillon (1997) 121, who follows Sokolowski *LSCG* 104.

[173] I would like to thank Panayotis Doukellis for pointing out to me that Ios too is a potential candidate.

[174] In modern times Amorgos was the island which colonized Heracleia: see Kolodny (1974) 185–6 and (1992) 202. Tournefort, writing in the early eighteenth century, notes the existence of two Amorgian monks on Heracleia, taking care of a flock of animals (1741) 262.

Two late fourth- or early third-century inscriptions from Arcesine, one of the three poleis of Amorgos, regulate the terms of the loans according to which the Arcesinians borrowed money from private individuals: a certain Praxicles from Naxos (*IG* XII.7 67B = *Syll.*[3] 955), and a certain Alexander (*IG* XII.7 69).[175] The conditions of the loans are not at all unusual, but the guarantee used as security for the loans is quite unique.[176] In 67B 7–9, we read that 'all the public property of the city and the private property belonging to the Arcesinians and those dwelling in Arcesine is mortgaged to Praxicles, that which is *eggaia* and *hyperpontia*'.[177] What is interesting for our purposes is the term *hyperpontia* used in these two inscriptions. The term is not very common: it may mean 'over the sea', especially in the context of lyric parts of Greek tragedy,[178] or, as the *LSJ* interpreted the term in relation to these two Amorgian inscriptions, 'overseas'. Dittenberger understood the term to mean 'overseas' in the context of our inscriptions, and compared it to *hyperoria*, which is found in Attic texts.[179] Dittenberger's interpretation had been generally accepted,[180] until Philippe Gauthier argued that the reference to *hyperpontia*, as opposed to *eggaia*, should be interpreted as

[175] See also Migeotte (1984) 164–83 (nn. 49 and 50) with commentary and bibliography and more recently Magneto (1997) 109–19 (nn. 17 and 18).

[176] Tarn (1923) 109–11 noted that what is certainly exceptional in these two loans is the fact that the city mortgages all of its property as security for loans that are not particularly high.

[177] *IG* XII.7 67 B7–9: *ὑπέθετο δὲ Πραξικλῆς τά τ[ε] [κ]οινὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντ[ακ]αὶ [τ]ὰ ἴδια τὰ Ἀρκεσινέων καὶ τῶν οἰκούν[τ]ων ἐν Ἀρκεσίνῃ* ***ὑπάρχ[οντα] ἔγγαια καὶ ὑπερπόντια***. Translation by Bagnall and Derow (2004) 121. Similarly, in *IG* XII.7 69 8–11, the provision for the guarantee includes the *hyparchonta ktemata kai eggaia kai hyperpontia* (*[ὑπέθετο δὲ Ἀλέξ]ανδρος [τ]ά <τά> τε κο[ινὰ] [τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ ἴδια τὰ Ἀρ]κεσινέων καὶ τῶν οἰκ[ούν][των ἐν Ἀρκεσίνῃ ὑπάρχοντα* ***κτήμ]ατα καὶ ἔγγαια καὶ ὑπερπόντ[ια]***).

[178] Aesch. *Ag.* 414, *Supp.* 41 and Soph. *Ant.* 785.

[179] Dittenberger in *Syll.*[3] 955: '*Atqui ὑπερπόντιος non est marinus vel navalis, sed transmarinus, ita ut in insula exigua fere ad idem redeat atque ὑπερόριος*', contra Dareste et al. (1891–1904) vol. 1. 331: 'Quant aux propriétés situées sur mer, il fait entendre les biens qu'ils possédaient sur mer, c'est à dire leurs navires et la cargaison de leurs navires'. For *hyperorios* see Xen. *Symp.* 4.31: *νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὑπερορίων στέρομαι καὶ τὰ ἔγγεια οὐ καρποῦμαι.*

[180] See Rostovtzeff (1941) 3.1370, with n. 43; Finley (1952) 90 and 278 n. 16, who argues that *hyperpontia* cannot be given the meaning 'on sea'; Baslez (1976) 349 with n. 24; and more recently Bagnall and Derow (2004) 122. See also Nigdelis (1990) 49–50: the guarantee for the loans is land, with no discussion, however, of the term *hyperpontia* or the question of overseas possessions.

'non-land', that is ships and cargo.[181] Gauthier saw the juxtaposition between *eggaia* and *hyperpontia* in the Amorgian loans as an alternative to that between *eggaia* and *nautika* found in [Dem]. 35.12.[182] Gauthier rejected the interpretation 'overseas' on the basis that the citizens of Arcesine could not have had considerable possessions (*κτήματα* and *ὑπάρχοντα* in our two inscriptions) outside Amorgos.[183] However, Gauthier himself admitted that Gramboussa, a small rocky island to the west of Amorgos, was within the territory of Arcesine, and therefore could, strictly speaking, be an 'overseas' possession. Gauthier rejected this interpretation on the basis that even if Gramboussa belonged to the Arcesinians and was used as a goat island, it could not be considered as a valuable asset, equivalent to the possessions of the Arcesinians within the limits of the territory of their polis.[184] The fact, however, that Gramboussa is a small islet does not pose any problems in our interpretation of *hyperpontia* as 'overseas'. Even a small island could be an important asset when dealing with grazing rights—indeed, in a tripolis island such as Amorgos, grazing land could be a constant source of friction.[185] I would even be so bold as to suggest that the Arcesinians may have been behind the conflict in Heracleia, which eventually led to the production of the degree prohibiting the entry of goats to the island. If I am correct in this interpretation, then it is quite probable that the *ὑπερπόντια ὑπάρχοντα* and *κτήματα* in the two Arcesinian inscriptions of the late fourth–early third century may have included herds of goats not only on Gramboussa, but also on the neighbouring and inhabited island of Heracleia. It is far more reasonable to follow Dittenberger's original interpretation of *hyperpontia* as 'overseas' and then to attempt to locate these 'overseas' possessions, rather

[181] Gauthier (1980) 197–205, followed by Migeotte (1984) 172–3. Tarn (1923) 110 combines the two interpretations: 'overseas property, which here means ships and cargoes, as Arcesine owned no property overseas'. Andreades (1979) 174 with n. 2 follows Tarn's mixed position: he refers to property 'both that in the city and that beyond the sea. That is to say... even the right to seizure of their ships in the open sea'.

[182] [Dem.] 35.12: *ἔστω ἡ πρᾶξις τοῖς δανείσασι καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἁπάντων, καὶ ἐγγείων καὶ ναυτικῶν.*

[183] Gauthier (1980) 202–3.

[184] Gauthier (1980) 202, followed by J. and L. Robert in *BE* (1981) 366.

[185] See Chaniotis (1999) on the potential friction between the Cretan poleis on rights of grazing.

than to understand it as 'ships and cargo', which linguistically is very strained.

In any case, the very existence of goat islands, uninhabited, as in the case of Polyaegos and Gramboussa, or inhabited, as in the case of Heracleia, had as a necessary condition the frequent travel back and forth from the goat island to the larger island, where the owner of the goats lived. The case of Polyaegos, as well as the practice in modern times, shows that the right of pasture land was reserved for the entire community, which presumably at a later stage regulated the way that this right was to be exercised within its citizen body.[186] The animals could be transferred to the island for several months, where they would graze freely, and then transferred back to the island of origin for meat or cheese production. In some cases, cheese production could take place on the goat island itself. The goat islands of the Aegean show how extensive the exploitation of land may have been: as Forbes rightly observed, 'uncultivated land is not at all *unproductive* land'.[187] The practices of pastoralism on the small (and usually uninhabited) islands of the Aegean must have relied on a frequent and solid network of communications in the Aegean and are a magnificent and underexplored manifestation of the phenomenon of mini island networks.

6.4. CLUSTERS OF SMALL ISLANDS

Up to this point we have examined the attested relations between neighbouring islands which took the form of a large island controlling smaller off-shore ones, as in the case of Chios and Samos, or gradually incorporating not so small islands close to its shores, like Rhodes and Cos incorporating their neighbouring islands. We are

[186] The privilege of *epinomia* was sometimes given to citizens of the same polis: see, for example, a third-century inscription from Acraephia published in *SEG* 3.356 14: *Ἁ πόλις Ἀκρηφιείων ἔδωκε Κάλλωνι Σωσιφάνιος αὐτῦ κὴ ἐγγόνυς ἐπινομίαν βοτῦς Ϝιδίυς πεντείκοντα*. See Bogaert (1979) on this and Chandezon (2003) 45–7 and 372–3. Same privilege is given to a certain Cleuedras in a second-century decree from Boeotia (*SEG* 22.432 16: *ἐπινομίας πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος καθ' ὁμολογίην ἑκάτερη βότων ἰδίων διακατίων*).

[187] Forbes (1996) 69.

now going to explore another manifestation of island interaction in the Aegean, the case of the conceptual or even political unification of clusters of small islands.

Such a cluster of small islands was Calydna, or Calydnae, already mentioned in the discussion of the Coan incorporation of Calymnos. The group is first mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.677) in the same contingent with Nisyros, Carpathos, Casos, and Cos. The Homeric Calydnae group was identified with Calymnos together with the islet Pserimos and possibly Leros.[188] The group is also mentioned in Herodotus as part of Artemisia's realm, together with Cos and Nisyros (Hdt. 7.99.2). However, the Calydnioi in the fifth century were assessed in the Carian district independently from Leros, which proves that at that period at least Calydnioi as an ethnic did not include the people of Leros.[189] The group may have included Calymnos as well as Pserimos[190] and the small off-shore islands Telendos, Gaidouronissi, Calabros, Nera, and Aghios Nikolaos.[191] A third-century inscription mentions the islands of Calymnos or Calydnae, which may in fact point to this obscure Calydnian group (*SGDI* III.i 3586 = *Syll.*^{3} 567 = *Tit. Cal.* 64).[192] By the time of Strabo, the identification of the Calydnae group was already a subject which aroused much speculation (10.5.19 c489).[193] Strabo's evidence has

[188] Kirk (1985) 228. See also the discussion in Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970b) 123–4. Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 743 identifies Calydna as an earlier name for Calymnos.

[189] *ATL* I.294–5: assessment of Calydnioi. *ATL* I.330–1: assessment of Leros, already from 454/3, under the heading *Milesioi ek Lero.* From 450/449 to and including 429/8 the tribute of Leros was included in the payment of Miletos: see *ATL* I.510–11. On this see chapter 7.1.

[190] The only inscription from the islet of Pserimos is dated to the third century AD and indicates that by that time Pserimos was under Coan control: see *Tit. Cal.* 250. For a commentary on this inscription see Koukoulis (1980) 425–7.

[191] Identification proposed by Segre (1944–5) 219–20.

[192] Inscription dated to 205/4–202, according to Segre (1944–5) 219, followed by Sherwin-White (1978) 125 with n. 230, Koukoulis (1980) 130, and Baker (1991) 24–30. Lines 9–10 read: ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ **τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰς νάσος τὰς** Κα[**λυμνίων** στόλῳ]. It is impossible to know which restoration to follow, that is Καλυμνίων or Καλυδνίων. Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 743–4 suggests Κα[λυμνίων]. As Bean and Cook argued (1957, 133), the polis in the inscription must be Cos, and the islands in question the Calydnae group, which must have included Calymnos, which, of course, by this time was incorporated by the Coan state. See also Baker (1991) 26 with n. 7.

[193] For a commentary on Strabo's testimony see Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) 154.

been used as proof for the inclusion of Leros in the Calydnae group,[194] but a careful examination of the text reveals that such an interpretation was simply one of the available interpretations at the time of the author. Apart from the conceptual grouping of Calydnae which also acquired some formal structure, as we saw in the case of the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists, it is perhaps interesting to note that this cluster of islands also had links with its neighbouring islands of Nisyros, Carpathos, Casos, and Cos in Homer, and Nisyros and Cos in Artemisia's time. Here again we have evidence that island relations and island groupings were a very common phenomenon, especially in the area of the Dodecanese.

Another cluster of small islands is the group called Hecatonnesoi or Nesoi, mentioned in Herodotus (1.151.2) and Diodorus (13.77.2).[195] This cluster of islands is located between Lesbos and the Asia Minor coast (modern Moschonesia or Yund Adasi) and amounts to about twenty larger and smaller islets (Strabo 13.2.5 c618).[196] It seems that this grouping of islands had a certain degree of independence throughout antiquity; there is no reference in our sources to their being subject to Lesbian control.[197] They were assessed independently

[194] See for example Benson (1963) 35. Strabo's information is probably the reasoning behind the inclusion of Leros in the group made by Kirk (1985) 228.

[195] For a collection of all literary, archaeological, epigraphical, and numismatic sources on Hecatonnesoi see Stauber (1996) 182–212.

[196] Kontes (1978) 77. Stauber (1996) 184 finds twenty-three islands in this cluster.

[197] Brun (1996a) 103 claimed that these islands were dependent on Mytilene until 333. Similarly, Mason (1993) 227, saw them as 'subject cities with local autonomy', and Stauber (1996) 208: 'sicher war diese aiolische Siedlung lange kulturell und politisch von Mytilene abhängig', followed by Rubinstein (2004) 1047 and 1049. However, there is no evidence in our sources for such dependency or a subject status. The fact that they appear in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists in a year after the Athenian detachment of the Mytilenean *peraia* does not prove that they were considered part of the *peraia* in the period before 427, although it does seem like a strong indication. However, the non-appearance in the lists could be the result of a variety of reasons. For example, it might be the result of a *synteleia* unknown to us. After the crushing of the Mytilenean revolt, the Athenians proceeded to reorganize the tribute provided by the Actaean poleis, which were previously part of the Mytilenean *peraia* (on which see below chapter 7.2). Perhaps, in the process of organizing the new tribute, the Athenians decided to assess them independently, whereas before they had either escaped the burden of the tribute, or they paid in a *synteleia* with another entry (more likely). I do not, therefore, consider as proof for a Lesbian dependence of the Hecatonnesoi their appearance in the *ATLs* in the period after the Lesbian revolt.

by the Athenians as one entry in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists as Nesos together with Pordoselene in the Acte district.[198] Strabo in his description of the area does not describe the islands in relation with their larger neighbours, but is interested in commenting on what seemed to some an extremely vulgar name (that is, Pordoselene in 13.2.6 c619). What remains problematic is the number of poleis on this cluster of islands.[199] Although Herodotus refers to one polis (1.151.2), the evidence of the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists seems to imply at least two paying entities, assessed in a single assessment.[200] However, as Stauber showed, the archaeological material and the numismatic evidence seem to point to a single polis on this group of islands, called Nasos on the island Pordoselene, which would agree with Herodotus' testimony and Strabo's ambiguous reference.[201] The entry in the Athenian Tribute Lists could be the result of this kind of double naming for the island and the polis.[202] This single polis on this cluster of islands would control as its territory more than the principal island on which it was located. Again we find here the conceptual grouping of many islands under a single name, as well as evidence for a form of political unity of a cluster of islands under what seems to have been a single polis.

Conceptual grouping of islands is also attested in the use of a single name for a group of more than one island. We can provide some examples of such cluster of islands: we have an island grouping called Araeae, which was situated between Syme and Cnidos

[198] *ATL* I.354–5: first and only secure entry in the list of 421. Possible entry in the reassessment list of the Thoudippos decree in 425/4 (ML 69).

[199] Kontes (1978) 77–85 arguing in favour of one polis on the island of Pordoselene, also called Nesos (modern Moschonissi), against the authors of the *ATL*s, who believe that there were two poleis, one Pordoselene and one Nesos: see *ATL* I.448. Carusi (2003) 33–4, following the convincing arguments of Stauber (1996) 204–8, sees one polis but with a territory spread over two islands.

[200] *ATL* I.526–7.

[201] Stauber (1996) 208, followed by Rubinstein in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1047 and 1049.

[202] In this respect, I cannot agree with Stauber's (1996) 208 conclusion that the 'Die Nennung *Νε͂σος Πορδοσελένε* in den Tributlisten der Jahre 425/4 und 421/20 ist einfach als "Insel Pordoselene" zu verstehen'. There is no parallel in the lists where the Athenians feel the need to identify an entry as an 'island', so I don't see why they would choose to do so in the case of Pordoselene. Rather, what we have here must be the recording of a double name in a single entry.

according to Athenaeus' source (6.262e);[203] the group of two islands known as Phacoussae, mentioned in Pliny (*HN* 4.58) and identified as modern Ano and Kato Kouphonissi and the Choirades islands, situated off Taras in Italy (Thuc. 7.33.4). We also have the Echinades islands, situated off the coast of Acarnania according to our sources (Hom. *Il.* 2.625, Strabo 10.2.19 c458 and Dionys. Perieg. 435). Diodorus, however, mentions the Echinades islands in relation to an Athenian defeat at sea in 323/2 (18.15.9). As Morrison suggested, the battle must have taken place in the Malian gulf, where the island group Lichades is located (Strabo 9.4.4 c426), and so the name Echinades must either be a mistake or an alternative name for Lichades, due to their proximity to the polis Echinus.[204]

My last example is the cluster of islands called Petalae or Petaliae (modern Petalioi), situated off the south-west end of Euboea.[205] A sixth-century inscription from Eretria, which according to the re-edition of Vanderpool and Wallace contained four separate texts or 'laws',[206] has an extremely interesting entry about Petalae (*IG* XII.9 1273 and 1274). Lines 10 and 11 read 'those who sail beyond Petalae or Cenaeon should receive wages. All should contribute to this payment.'[207] In this case, we see that this cluster of islands provided the boundary line for what the Eretrians may have considered as their own, so to speak, extended maritime hinterland; beyond the Petalae, lay the far-away sea and any trips there deserved payment.[208] It is not necessary to see this as evidence for an Eretrian thalassocracy, as

[203] Athen. 262e, based on Dieuchidas (*FGrH* 4 F 389): *Διευχίδας δ' ἐν τοῖς Μεγαρικοῖς* (. . .) *τὰς καλουμένας, φησίν, Ἀραιὰς (μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς Κνιδίας καὶ τῆς Σύμης εἰσί)*. See also Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀραί: Ἰωνίας νῆσοι τρεῖς, οὕτω λεγόμεναι διὰ τὰς ἀράς, ἃς Δωριεῖς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Πενταπολίτας, ὡς Ἀριστείδης. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀραῖος*. However, Reger located this group between Calymnos and Myndos in the Barrington Atlas, map 63 E3. For the name Araeae see Sherwin-White (1978) 30.

[204] Morrison (1987) 94–5.

[205] Strabo 10.1.2 c444, Plin. *HN* 4.71 and *GGM* I.500.

[206] Vanderpool and Wallace (1964).

[207] Translation by Cairns (1991) 313.

[208] Cairns (1991) 311 interpreted the text as reference to payment of the marines. Van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 332 raised the question of whether this payment referred to warships or any ships. See also J. and L. Robert in *BE* (1965) 322 for Petalae and cape Cenaeon as the two points fixing the limits of Euboean navigation: within and outside.

preserved in the thalassocracy lists,[209] but rather as an instance where islands are used for delineating the open space of the sea. Similar is the use of the Cyaneae (in the Black sea entrance) and Chelidonian (to the east of Megiste) islands in some of the sources recording the sea limits for the Persian fleet as one of the terms of the problematic peace of Callias.[210] It is not necessary for our purposes to discuss the many problems arising from the use of different landmarks in the sources referring to the peace for the creation of distinct geographical spheres in the Aegean.[211] It is worth mentioning, however, that even small rocks such as the Cyaneae could become significant landmarks in the geography of the sea.[212]

We can now move to an examination of island groupings in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists and the very interesting phenomenon of *synteleiai*. We have already mentioned the *synteleia* of the Calydnian islands as well as that which may have existed in the Hecatonnesoi. It is time to turn our attention to other more obscure *synteleiai* between island poleis. We should note here that the subject of island *synteleiai* has not received any attention in modern scholarship with the exception of the sporadic remarks made by the authors of *Athenian Tribute Lists* themselves.[213]

6.5. *SYNTELEIAI*

The example of Calydnae shows us that the phenomenon of *synteleiai* existed not only in islands which had more than one polis, such as Ceos or Myconos,[214] but also in groups of islands which were

[209] The inscription as evidence for an Eretrian thalassocracy: see mainly K. Walker (2004) 277. For the problems of using the thalassocracies list as evidence for early thalassocracies see chapter 4.1.

[210] Dem. 19.273, Plut. *Cim.* 13.4, Aelius Aristeides, *Panath.* 249 (Dindorf), Aristodemus, *FGrH* 104 F13 and Suida s.v. *Κίμων*.

[211] Some sources mention Phaselis as the south-eastern limit, others the Chelidonian islands. For a discussion of the testimonia recording the terms of the peace of Callias see Meiggs (1972) 487–95.

[212] For the Cyaneae see also Hdt. 4.85.1 and Eur. *Andr.* 863.

[213] For a collection of the known *synteleiai* see *ATL* I.446–9.

[214] For island *synteleiai* see Constantakopoulou (2005) 16–19. See also Reger (1997). For the assessment of Ceos, see Brun (1989) 130 and Nixon and Price (1990) 154–5. For Myconos see Reger (2001).

presumably assessed as one. An inscription documenting the reassessment of the tribute in the year 425/4, the famous Thoudippos decree (*IG* I^3 71 = ML 69), includes a very interesting entry. In the list of names of the cities assessed, Anaphaeoi is listed with Ceria (85–6). The single entry 'Anaphaeoi' appears three more times in the lists themselves, though without 'Ceria', in the years 428/7, 418/17 and 416/15.[215] What we have here is apparently an attempted *synteleia* between the island of Anaphe and Ceria.[216] One problem is the identification of 'Ceria'. The most suitable candidate in the island district, in which this double reassessment entry belongs, is the small island of Ceria situated to the south-east of Naxos, which today forms part of the grouping known as Small Cyclades (Mikres Kyklades).[217] Though we do not know why the Athenians created a joint reassessment for both Ceria and Anaphe in this document, this double entry reveals that the Athenians could be implementing a practice of combined assessments, disguised under a single entry. It is possible that Ceria, which, by the way, never appears in the lists by itself, paid tribute together with Anaphe in the other years and a change of policy or of recording practices made the Athenians register them independently in this specific reassessment inscription.

In fact, this recognition of Athenian practices solves a great problem in relation to the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists, namely what has happened to the quite numerous small islands which never appear on the lists. The solution is that they were assessed together with other islands and their names simply never appeared on the list. What of Heracleia, Phacoussae, or the other small islands to the south east of Naxos? Surely, if the smallest polis in the Greek world, that is the tiny island of Belbina (modern Aghios Georghios) to the south of Attica, was included in the reassessment decree of Thoudippos,[218] then these

[215] *ATL* I.231, but see *IG* I^3 287 I 9 for 418/17, and *ATL* II.79 (*IG* I^3 289 I 9). Paarmann (2004), includes a useful discussion on *Synteleiai*, geographic proximity, and processes of payment, but has only passing comments for island entries.

[216] For Anaphe see Robert (1962b) 13–17, Matthaiou and Pikoulas (1990–1), and now Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 735.

[217] This is also the conclusion reached by the authors of the *ATL* (I.501), who, however, wrongly believe that this grouping was also called Corsiae. For the Ceria assessment see Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 751.

[218] *ATL* I.245 for the year 425/4. For the assessment of Belbina see Figueira in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 622.

other islands slightly larger than Belbina must have also attracted the Athenian attention as tribute payers. The solution lies in accepting that such islands paid, or were assessed to pay, in a *synteleia* with their larger neighbours, whether Naxos, Amorgos, or Ios. Pottery finds from the island of Heracleia, in particular, show habitation in the fifth and fourth centuries.[219] It is reasonable to suggest, then, that the island must have been assessed together with one of its neighbours.

We can explore other possibilities: the islands of Oliaros (modern Antiparos) and Prepesinthos (modern Despotiko),[220] both of which may have had independent poleis in antiquity, may have been assessed together with Paros (Fig. 12); Gyaros, which was an independent political community, may have been assessed with one of its neighbours.[221] Similarly, Therasia may have had an independent existence as a polis, if we are to believe Ptolemy[222] and the existence of the ethnic *Therasiates* (*IG* XI.2 120 47–8).[223] However, it is most likely that the island was linked politically with Thera and that a *synteleia* occurred between Thera and Therasia.[224]

We do not know whether such *synteleiai* were suggested by the islanders themselves or imposed by the Athenians. Whatever the case, however, they are a remarkable and unexplored example of island connectivity at the formal level of political interaction. As in the case of the *synteleiai* in multi-polis islands, the citizens of the

[219] *AD* 22 (1967) 466.

[220] Schuller (1985) 353–7 for the archaeological remains on Despotiko. See more recently the truly spectacular finds by Yannos Kourayos in his ongoing excavation of what seems an impressive sanctuary dating from at least the seventh century on this small island: Kourayos (2004) and (2005).

[221] As Brun (1996a) 102 suggested. In this case, it is impossible to choose a suitable candidate: it could be Ceos, Andros, Tenos, Cythnos, or my personal favourite Syros, because of the modern links between the two islands. For Gyaros see Plin. *HN* 4.69 and 4.104 and Strabo 10.5.3 c486. See Head (1911) 486 and Liampi (1998) 223–4 on the coins of Gyaros and Young (1956a) 143 n. 62 on the tower of Gyaros. The demos of the Gyarians also issued an honorary decree for a certain Sosistratos (*IG* XII suppl. p. 117). For the existence of a polis on Gyaros in the Hellenistic period see Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 733. For Gyaros as an exile place see also chapter 4.3.2.

[222] Ptolemy 3.14.23: *Θηρασίας νήσου ἡ πόλις*.

[223] See Robert (1946) 92, Nigdelis (1990) 77–8, and now Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 784.

[224] For the assessment of Thera, with no reference to Therasia, however, see Sperling (1973) 63.

various poleis must have met and discussed the way in which payment was to be agreed and dispatched. It is possible that the Athenians did not impose a detailed amount of how much each of the various poleis participating in the *synteleia* must pay, but rather simply the overall sum for the whole *synteleia*. If that was indeed the case, then the islands in question must have found a way of reaching an agreement on the different sums based on each one's ability. That might have required endless meetings, discussions, and delegations before each reassessment, that is numerous trips back and forth from and between the islands. This kind of interaction is simply another instance of the frequent inter-island relations that existed in the Aegean.

6.6. CONNECTIVITY MAINTAINED: ISLAND *PORTHMEUTIKE*[225]

The obvious conclusion from the previous presentation of the evidence is that island interaction and networking was intense. The very existence of island networks raises the question of how such units, especially in the cases of political incorporation, achieved the connectivity necessary to maintain their unity. As we have already seen,[226] recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of small-scale interaction in the Aegean.[227] More particularly, the practice of cabotage is now considered an essential feature of Aegean navigation. Alongside the fixed lanes of navigation, there occurred innumerable short trips outside these fixed lanes, which required only minimal maritime installations, like the ones Kolodny saw while travelling in the Greek islands in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[228] The minimal state of the material evidence does not imply an equivalent lack of travel between small islands. Rather, attention should be focused on the existence of what the Venetians called a

[225] An earlier version of this section appeared as Constantakopoulou (2002b).

[226] See chapter 1.4.

[227] See Horden and Purcell (2000) 142.

[228] Kolodny (1974) 99: 'dans beaucoup d'îles les installations portuaires sont réduites au minimum'.

'scala', literally a small dock with a few steps for boarding vessels: such minimal maritime installations are still quite widespread in the Aegean. The maritime activity of *porthmeutike*, ferrying, was not necessarily restricted to the sailing season, but could take place whenever the weather permitted. Scholarship may still emphasize the importance of fixed routes in ancient navigation,[229] but an investigation of the practice of *porthmeutike* may perhaps reveal the importance of small-scale interaction, which, in the long duration, to use a Braudelian term, may have been far more significant for the lives of the Greeks than long journeys across the Mediterranean. We shall, therefore, examine the existing evidence for *porthmeia* in the island world of the Aegean.

Aristotle distinguished the *porthmeutikon*, the aspect of sea activities 'engaged in ferrying', from other maritime activities, such as the *polemikon*, the *chrematistikon*, and the *halieutikon* (Arist. *Pol.* 1291b 20–25). By comparing ferrying to warfare and commerce, Aristotle implies the importance of ferrying. Xenophon implies the same distinction between fishing and ferrying in his remarks on the activities of Teleutias in Piraeus (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.23): 'as he was sailing out of the harbour, he captured great numbers of fishing craft and ferry-boats full of people as they were sailing in from the islands'. Aristotle, in his *Politics* passage, also mentions the large size of the class of ferry men on the island of Tenedos. The use of Tenedos as an example may be explained partly by the existence of a Tenedian *peraia*, that is a piece of the mainland controlled by an island state, of which we have evidence dated to the second half of the fourth century, or earlier.[230] In fact, the very existence of the *peraiai* for almost all major off-shore islands in the Aegean indicates the indispensability of ferrying for everyday life and for the maintenance of control over the *peraia*.

[229] See, for example, Pritchett's comments (1991) 314: 'Traffic in the Mediterranean was restricted to fixed lanes in a way impossible on the open sea. The sea robber, therefore knew various points where he was sure to bag his game. The highways of the Mediterranean were well defined and well traveled.'

[230] For the Tenedian *peraia* see Aristotle's remark in his *Rhetoric* 1375b 30–1 and Strabo 13.1.32 c596 and 13.1.46 c604. For the territory considered as Tenedian *peraia* see Funke (1999) 61 and Rutishauser (2001) 202, contra Cook (1973) 197–8. On the original date of the acquisition of the *peraia* by Tenedos see Hornblower (1982) 128, followed by Rutishauser (2001) 202. For the Tenedian *peraia* see below chapter 7.2.

Two *horoi* found within the area of the ancient Emporion attest the existence of *porthmeia* in Piraeus (*IG* I^3 1104 a–b).[231] These moorings for ferry-boats were probably used primarily for ferrying across to the island of Salamis. Ferrying activity between Attica and Salamis is the subject of an obscene joke in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (58–60). Aeschines refers to a law passed 'governing the men who steer the boats across the strait to Salamis' (*Against Ctesiphon* 158), in order to protect the life of the passengers from careless ferrying.[232] The existence of the law indicates a practice both widespread and risky. It is interesting to note that Aeschines' passage mentions the protection of the lives of the *Greeks*, which may show that the activity of ferrying surpassed the limits of the polis. Even the sea-hating, land-loving Hesiod used a ferry to cross the Euripus channel from Aulis (*Works and Days* 650–1), using perhaps a *σκαφίδιον* (small boat), such as the one mentioned by Lucian for the ferrying of people from Attica to Aegina (*Navigium* 15).[233]

Many further attestations of ferrying relate to Euboea. One of the main occupations of the inhabitants of Anthedon, according to Heracleides (1.24 Pfister = Ps. Dicaearchus *FHGr* 2.259) was the ferrying of people across to Euboea. In addition, there was a fortress site, possibly east of Amarynthos, which was called Porthmos and was in a later period modified to Protimo.[234] Euboeans were closely connected with the activity of sea ferrying, as is shown by Philostratus, who records an epitaph of some Euboeans buried in Ecbatana: 'the various individuals', he says, 'had lived in Euboea, and engaged either in sea ferrying or in purple gathering, as sailors and dyers' (*VA* 1.24). The close relationship of these Euboeans to the sea is apparent in the wording of the epitaph, which ends with the quite touching 'hail, sea, my friend (*χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη*)'.[235] More importantly, an

[231] See Garland (1987) 152.

[232] See M. Taylor (1997) 121 for the ferry of Salamis with bibliography on the identification of the spot where the ferry docked. See also Lambert (1997) 102 on the people likely to have used the ferry.

[233] For the use of the word *porthmeion* to imply small boats for carrying people as opposed to cargo see Drijvers (1992) in relation to a passage in Strabo (8.2.1 c335) with references.

[234] Hierocles, *Synecd.* 645.7. See Knoepfler (1997) 358 with n. 46.

[235] Philostr. *VA* 1.24: *καὶ ναῦς ἐγκεχαραγμένας τοῖς τάφοις, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἔζη πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων ἢ θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ ἁλουργὸν πράττων, καί τι ἐλεγεῖον*

inscription regulating the settlement between Athens and Histiaea after the Euboian revolt of the 440s includes a section regulating the exact transport costs for the ferrying of people from Chalcis to Oropos (three obols), from Oropos to Histiaea (seven obols or one drachma, depending on the restoration) and from Chalcis to Oropos (four obols) (*IG* I^3 41 67–74).[236] The decree itself is an excellent example of the importance attached to the act of ferrying. Nothing is left to chance for the Athenian demos, which is now regulating all details of the life of the new settlers settling in the land of the Histiaeans, who were expelled as a punishment after their revolt (Thuc. 1.114.3).[237] Perhaps this Athenian preoccupation with ferrying costs is the result of the settling of Athenian cleruchs:[238] it is possible that such a settlement may have led to an increase of ferrying to and from Attica, which may, in turn, have resulted in the Athenian attempt to regulate more closely ferrying prices.

We can see more examples: Sappho wrote poems for Phaon, the ferry man, for whom the entire sea was a strait (*πορθμός*) (F211 Lobel–Page).[239] Ferrying people across channels was in fact so common that Plutarch used it as a metaphor for the symposium (Plut. *Mor.* 679c). It was also used as a metaphor for the act of indirect kissing while drinking from the same *kylix* (*Anth. Gr.* 5.260).[240] The act of ferrying must have also involved, on some occasions, the erection of particular buildings called *porthmeia* (ferry stations), which seemed to have been a favourite location for those people who spent their lives socializing or involved in 'indecent activities', and are, hence, condemned by the moralist Plutarch (*Mor.* 604a).

ἀναγνῶναι γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ ναυτῶν τε καὶ ναυκλήρων σήματι. οἵδε ποτ᾽ Αἰγαίοιο βαθύρροον οἶδμα πλέοντες Ἐκβατάνων πεδίῳ κείμεθ᾽ ἐνὶ μεσάτῳ. χαῖρε κλυτή ποτε πατρὶς Ἐρέτρια, χαίρετ᾽ Ἀθῆναι, γείτονες Εὐβοίης, χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη. See Scott (2005) 400–1 for these Eretrians at Ecbatana.

236 On the ferrying costs in this inscription see Loomis (1998) 191–2.

237 See Graham (1964) 170–2, followed by Hornblower (1991) 186.

238 Walker (2004) 196 adds the worship of Artemis on both sides of the strait as an important parameter in creating traffic in the channel.

239 Sappho F211 Lobel–Page = Ps. Palaeph. *De incred.* 48: *τῷ Φάωνι βίος ἦν περὶ πλοῖον εἶναι καὶ θάλασσαν. πορθμὸς ἦν ἡ θάλασσα.* For the role of Phaon in the love story of Aphrodite and Phaethon see Gantz (1993) 103–4.

240 *Anth. Pal.* 5.260: *πορθμεύει γὰρ ἔμοιγε κύλιξ παρὰ σοῦ τὸ φίλημα.*

We have some attestations of inter-island *porthmeia*, like the *porthmeion* in Rheneia (*ID* 442 A153) and the *porthmeion* in Myconos (*IG* XI.2 287 A39), both of which must have been related to the activities of the Delian sanctuary, which must have required numerous trips between Delos and the neighbouring islands.[241] We also hear of an island *porthmos* (*νησαῖος πορθμὸς*) in the *Anthologia Graeca* (9.242), in relation to Thasos, an island which possessed a *peraia*.[242] Additionally, we encounter a Poseidon Porthmios on the island of Carpathos, who had a sanctuary on the strait that divides Carpathos from Saros.[243] Heracles also had a temenos at the site called Porthmos at Sounion,[244] one of the centres of the group life of the *genos* of the Salaminioi,[245] which was also the site for the publication of at least one lease of public land from the fourth century.[246]

6.7. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have examined the ways in which islands formed groups or networks in the Aegean. Emphasis was placed on interaction on a small scale; whereas in a previous chapter we explored the

[241] Considering the importance of the Delian sanctuary, the ferries to and from the sacred island must have been numerous. In that respect, it is possible to interpret a bizarre line in a famous inscription recording the accounts of the Delian temple from 434 to 432, ML 62 = *IG* I^3 402. In line 24 there is a reference to *τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν πο–*. Meiggs and Lewis interpreted it as a pond or lagoon, and concluded that the specific reference must be related to leases of fishing rights, of which we have parallels in Strabo 14.1.26 c642 and the Delian inventory mentioning income generated from the *ἰχθύων τῶν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ* in *IG* XI.2 161A.36. The suggestion was picked up by Hansen (1987) 100, who added *τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν πο[λύκολπον]*, for this see also *SEG* 37.32. I have been for some time wondering whether this is a reference to the activity of ferrying, and that the sanctuary is, in fact, leasing the right to use a *porthmeion*, but, unfortunately, we have no epigraphic parallel for such an interpretation.

[242] On the Thasian *peraia* see Lazaridis (1971) and Funke (1999) 58–60. See also below chapter 7.2.

[243] For the sanctuary of Poseidon Porthmios in Carpathos see *IG* XII.1 1031.12, 1032.34, 1033.25, 1035.12 and 1036.12 = *Syll.*^{3} 586. Location of the sanctuary identified by Hiller in *IG* XII.1, p. 159 and accepted by Dittenberger in his commentary of *Syll.*^{3} 586.

[244] For the temenos of Heracles at Porthmos at Sounion see Garland (1984) 105. For the site of Porthmos at Sounion see Thompson's note at the end of Ferguson (1938).

[245] R. Parker (1996) 310.

[246] G.V. Lalonde et al. (1991) vol. XIX, inscription L4a 85.

manifestations of island networking on the Aegean scale, this time we turned our attention to the smaller scale of what we called 'mini networks'. Such networks took the form of island clusters, some small, like the Calydnae islands, and some larger, like Rhodes and its dependencies. Island clusters could be politically manifested, through, for example, the *homopoliteia* agreement between Cos and Calymnos in the third century, or conceptually understood as such. With regard to the latter, we examined the evidence presented in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships to argue that groupings of islands in a source of this kind could not be used as evidence for early archaic political links and subordination, but rather as evidence for the conceptual understanding of the undeniable links between islands. It was not necessary, in other words, for these links to have been expressed at the political level in such an early period. We have examined the ways in which islands interacted in myth, politics, the economy, and everyday life, as in the case of goat islands. We also looked at the importance of control of neighbouring islands by a larger insular unit: the cases of Chios, Samos, Cos, and Rhodes expanding in their local archipelagos are an excellent manifestation of the importance of interaction, as are the cases of dispute for off-shore islands. Goat islands and island *synteleiai* have been examined within this understanding of intense interaction in the Aegean sea in the classical and Hellenistic period. Finally, the practice of island ferrying, or *porthmeutike*, was included in our examination as a way through which connectivity was maintained. The picture of the island world of the Aegean which I have tried to depict, is one of frequent interaction, diversity, and sometimes, as in the case of the incorporation of the Rhodian islands, one of great confusion. The mini island networks of the Aegean are exemplary illustrations of the theme of interaction, which has been the focus of this book. The next chapter will examine interaction between islands and mainland.

7

Beyond insularity: islands and their *peraiai*

The existence of widespread connectivity, which we examined in the previous chapter, was the underlying factor in yet another manifestation of interaction. We are now going to turn our attention to the interaction between islands and mainland. From early on, some island states were able to overcome their insular boundaries and acquire possessions on the mainland, which were generally called *peraiai*.[1] Certainly, both the acquisition and the maintenance of these mainland dependencies relied on constant maritime connectivity and interaction. We have already examined the phenomenon of *porthmeutike* as the means by which connectivity was maintained. Aristotle, in his discussion of *porthmeutike* as a separate maritime activity, uses Tenedos to exemplify his case for ferrying (Arist. *Pol.* 1291b 20–5).[2] Tenedos, as we shall see, controlled a quite important piece of the Troad. Acquisition and control of a *peraia*, then, could be seen as the political expression of unifying maritime space through the act of ferrying and interaction.

7.1. THE OTHER SIDE OF *PERAIAI*: MAINLAND CITIES AND ISLAND TERRITORIES—THE CASE OF MILETUS

Control of mainland territories by an island state, however, is only one side of island–mainland relations.[3] The other side is control of

[1] For the possession of *peraiai* as a way in which islands overcame their insularity see Brun (1996a) 10.

[2] Hornblower (1982) 128 with n. 17: 'the trade of ferryman was a major source of employment at fourth-century Tenedos, which argues much toing and froing', and Rutishauser (2001) 201.

[3] Robert (1951) 11.

islands by a mainland state. Although I have chosen not to discuss this kind of interaction in full, a brief allusion to an interesting example of this kind of interaction should exemplify the variety of forms of relations that existed in the ancient Aegean. We have already discussed how important the control of islands was for the Athenian empire and how this understanding formed an integral part of any representation of islands in the fifth century.[4] It is perhaps interesting to note that a city which had an active relation with the sea,[5] as well as claims to sea power (Hdt. 1.17.3 and Diod. 7.11: ninth place in the list of thalassocracies), also appears to have controlled off-shore islands from an early date. The 'Milesian islands', in Haussoullier's terminology,[6] became an essential element of Miletus' territory; according to Robert's interpretation, a very fragmentary inscription from Aptera (*IC* II iii 16) includes a reference to the 'polis and the land and the islands' of Miletus, all of which were apparently dedicated to Apollo.[7] We know that Miletus had special links with Leros from the late sixth century, or at the latest the very early fifth century, according to our main source Herodotus (5.125), since Hecataeus suggested the island as a refuge in case Miletus fell into Persian hands.[8] Although we do not know how early Milesian penetration

[4] See chapter 4.2. [5] Bean (1979) 181–3, de Souza (1998) 276, Greaves (2000).

[6] Haussoullier (1902). See also Piérart (1985). Haussoullier included the Corsiae islands to that category; see, however, Dunst (1974) and chapter 6.1.2. J. and L. Robert in *BE* (1960) 312 interpreted the reference to *φρούρια τὰ Μιλησίων* in *Syll.*^{3} 633 40 as a reference to the Milesian islands.

[7] *IC* II iii 16: [*τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰγ χώρ*]*αγ καὶ τὰς νάσος ἱερὰς* [---*Ἀπόλλων*]*ος τοῦ Διδυμέως*. Robert (1940b) 113–15. The phrase 'the polis and the *chora* and the islands' is typical for the Hellenistic period: see, for example, *IC* III vi 7, a treaty between Praesos and Stalae: in 7–8, the Praesians swear that they are going to have *εὔνοια* to the Stalitai and the *chora*, the polis, the sea and the islands.

[8] Indeed, Herodotus' reference cannot prove without doubt a state of control of Leros by Miletus, as noted by Piérart (1985) 288: 'l'anecdote . . . ne permet pas de décider si Léros était alors une colonie ou si elle faisait déjà partie du territoire milésien', although it certainly implies a certain degree of dependence. If the Lerians were a completely independent community in the early fifth century, there would be no reason to accept the quite large refugee population of Miletus in the case of the complete evacuation of the city, as was Hecataeus' suggestion. Leros, therefore, must have been at this point part of the Milesian territory. Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 758 reasonably suggested that if Leros was not already a Milesian possession by c. 495, 'the circumstances of the [Ionian] Revolt may have impelled the Milesians to take full control of the island'. On the special relationship between Leros and Miletus see Piérart (1985) 280–1, where he suggests a status similar to that of a deme for the period of the

at Leros took place,[9] the island was definitely under Milesian control for the whole of the fifth century, as the entries in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists show.[10] Leros, however, was not the only island controlled by the Milesians.[11] Patmos[12] and Leipsoi[13] were also controlled by Miletus, although the evidence for both these islands is secure only for the Hellenistic period. It is also probable that Miletus also controlled, at some point, the cluster of islands called Argiae, as well as Tragia (modern Agathonissi) and Pharmacoussa, as

fifth century. Pimouguet (1995) 92 accepts a certain degree of independence for Leros before the Milesian incorporation, without, however, suggesting a time for such an incorporation. See also chapter 4.2.3 for an exploration of the theme of islands as refuge.

[9] Bean and Cook (1957) 136–7 see the Milesians occupation of Leros as a result of their early colonizing activity, followed by Gorman (2001) 49, who uses the date c. 700 as a rough *terminus ante quem*. Same suggestion in Benson (1963) 46, using Strabo 14.1.6 c635, who quotes Anaximenes of Lampsacus (*FGrH* 72 F26). Jacoby (1947) 51 n. 98 suggests 'a long time before 494'. Manganaro (1965) 297 believes that Milesian control of Leros took place in the sixth century, perhaps in the form of a cleruchy, using as evidence mainly the poetic fight between Phocylides of Miletus and Demodocus of Leros at the end of the sixth century.

[10] *ATL* 1.330–1 with the entry *Μιλήσιοι ἐκ Λέρο*. For an interpretation of the entry see Benson (1963) 48, Manganaro (1965) 297–8, Meiggs (1972) 112, Piérart (1985) 288–91, Robertson (1987) 394, Nixon and Price (1990) 141, Delorme (1995) 210–12, Gorman (2001) 223–4, and Hansen in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 114. Unfortunately, Thucydides' only reference to Leros in 8.26.1 does not give any information as to the status of the island in the period.

[11] Anaximenes of Lampsacus (*FGrH* 72 F26) also mentions Icaria as part of the colonizing activities of the Milesians. Papalas (1992) 18–19 accepts Anaximenes' evidence for Icaria as valid. Ehrhardt, however (1983) 18–20, rightly emphasizes that there is not enough evidence for such a claim. Similar is the position of Piérart (1985) 287–8, n. 48. However, the claim of a colonist relationship could easily belong to fabricated histories of colonization created by states to promote their own agenda: it cannot be taken as solid proof: see comments by J. and L. Robert in *BE* (1960) 341 with reference to *IG* XII.6 1219. Greaves (2000) 44, on the other hand, includes Icaria in the 'Milesian islands' category, but without any reference or substantiation. Gorman (2001) 50 does not take a stand in the question of Milesian Icaria: 'it may have been a Milesian settlement, or it may have been Samian'.

[12] Manganaro (1965) 329–31, Pimouguet (1995) 94. Ehrhardt (1983) 17 and 149 discusses the cult of Artemis Scythia as an indication of Milesian status.

[13] Evidence from the Hellenistic period: we know of a Milesian *φρούραρχος* being active on the island: see Manganaro (1965) 319, inscr. 18 5. See also Piérart (1985) 278–80, followed by Pimouguet (1995) 99–100, and Chaniotis (2002) 100. Bean and Cook (1957) 136–7: 'on the evidence of surface pottery, the Milesian settlement will will take place in early archaic times', followed by Gorman (2001) 49: however, Milesian pottery cannot prove Milesian dependence, even if the later history of the island make such an early dependence probable.

Pikoulas suggested.[14] We could also add the Milesian settlement at Aegiale on the island of Amorgos in the Hellenistic period (*IG* XII.7 395–410).[15] Finally, we should mention the island Lade, right next to the Milesian gulf as an important asset in Milesian sea power (Hdt. 6.7 and Thuc. 8.17.3). Certainly, as Ehrhardt stated,[16] geographic location, that is geographic proximity, played an important part in determining Milesian interests, but geographic determination was not the only parameter in defining the degree of Milesian expansion. As the case of Aegiale shows, Miletus was eager to explore further infiltration in the island world of the Aegean, whenever the opportunity arose.

7.2. *PERAIAI*: A SHORT PRESENTATION OF ISLANDS AND THEIR MAINLAND TERRITORIES

We may now turn to our main concern, the *peraiai* (Fig. 13). Islanders, as Febvre observed, are sometimes oriented to the continent,[17] and the existence of *peraiai* is an excellent example of this kind of orientation. Aristotle admitted that the conceptual linking of islands and mainland, which is clearly manifested through the existence of the *peraiai*, was common in the geographical descriptions of his time (Arist. [*Mund.*] 394a 3–4).

Certainly, it was not only island states that controlled a *peraia*. As Gabrielsen has shown, the legal sense of the word *peraia* is sometimes used to denote any region that was claimed or possessed by a state.[18]

[14] Pikoulas (1999b), with specific reference to Hellenistic fortifications on the island of Arcioi, the larger of the Argiae group. Greaves (2000) 44 seems to accept Pikoulas' position about domination of Pharmacoussa, but without giving any references. Gorman (2001) 50 believes that both Tragia and Pharmacoussa were Milesian colonies, because of the pattern of Milesian domination of neighbouring islands, but she accepts that we know nothing about them. Rubinstein in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1082 includes in the Milesian islands Leros, Patmos, Lade, Pharmacoussa, and probably also Lepsia.

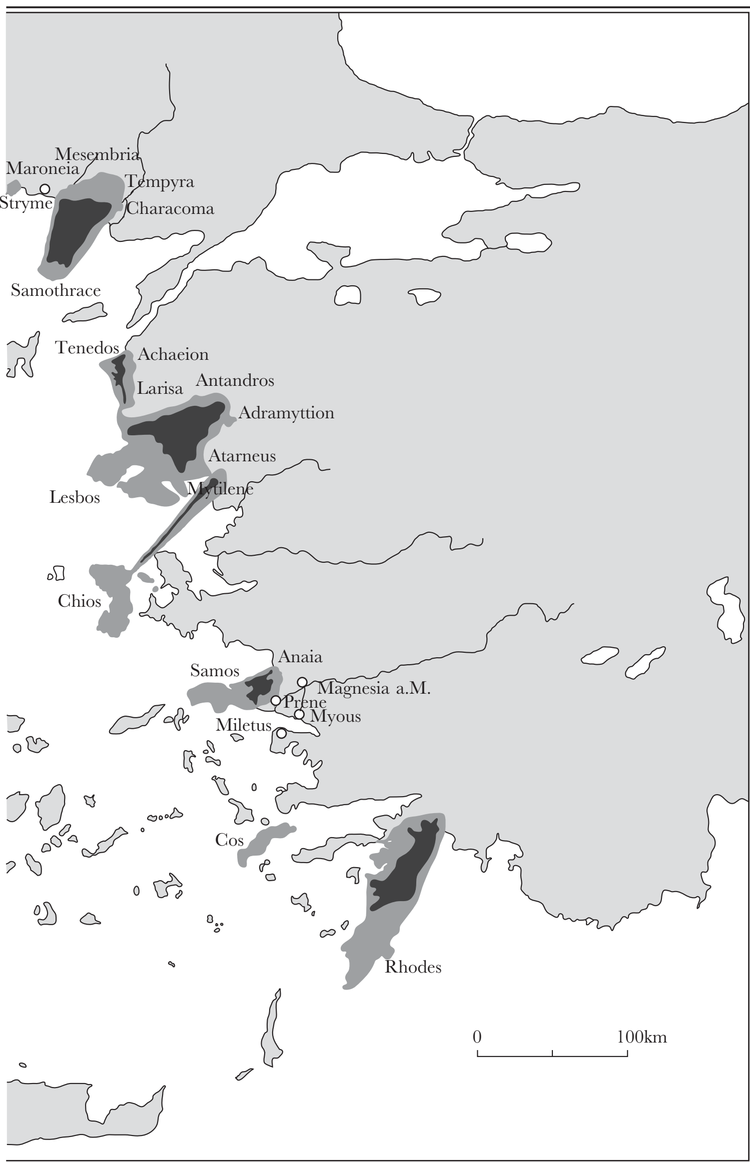
[15] See chapter 6.1.2.

[16] Ehrhardt (1983) 18: 'aber wenn Leros schon in archaischer Zeit in irgendeiner Form milesisch war, dann ist schon wegen der geographischen Lage wahrscheinlich, daß Milet auch früh Interesse für diese Insel hat'.

[17] Febvre (1932) 221.

[18] Gabrielsen (2000b) 149.

Fig. 13 Islands and their *peraiai* (after Funke (1999) fig. 1, p. 59).


Mesembria
Maroneia
Tempyra
Stryme
Characoma
Samothrace
Tenedos
Achaeion
Larisa
Antandros
Adramyttion
Atarneus
Lesbos
Mytilene
Chios
Anaia
Samos
Magnesia a.M.
Prene
Myous
Miletus
Cos
Rhodes
0
100km

In that sense we encounter the term *peraia* for mainland territories controlled (or disputed) by mainland cities.[19] Such is the case with the territory of Myous, which was disputed between Miletus and Magnesia on the Maeander (*Syll.*^{3} 588 = *Milet* 148),[20] or the case of Peiraeum, which belonged to Megara and Corinth and can be identified as Perachora (Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.1 and Plut. *Ages.* 2.18).[21] We also encounter the practice of controlling a piece of mainland across water, even when the term *peraia* is not attested, as in the case of Achaean attempts to control a part of the Aetolian coast in the early fourth century (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1 and Diod. 15.75.2).[22] In any case, what is most interesting for our case is the phenomenon of an island state controlling a piece of the mainland, usually that which lay directly opposite the island itself. Such *peraiai* are attested for Thasos, Samothrace, Tenedos, Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and perhaps most famously, Rhodes. A similar phenomenon can be found in the Ionian sea, but the evidence is scant.[23] The *Iliad* refers to an *epeiron* across the sea, as part of the territory ruled by Odysseus (*Il.* 2.635),[24] while in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus kept flocks on the mainland (*Od.* 14.100). Thucydides also seems to imply that both Corcyra (3.85.2) and Leucas (3.94.2) had mainland territories.[25] These attestations are indeed interesting, since they exhibit

[19] Funke (1999) 57, Welwei (2000).

[20] Ager (1996) 292–6 n. 109, who accepts the date proposed by Errington (1989): the inscription belongs to the second half of the 180s rather than the traditionally accepted 196 date.

[21] For the identification see Legon (1981) 50–2, followed by Shipley (1997) 266 and Funke (1999) 57; contra Salmon (1972) 194–6, but see more recently Salmon (1984) 30–1, 36–7, and 365–6.

[22] Stylianou (1998) 481. On the Achaean possessions in Aetolia see Bommeljé (1988) and Merker (1989).

[23] Funke (1999) 58.

[24] Funke (1999) 58 wrongly believes that the *peraia* mentioned here belongs to Cephallonia. His mistake originates from the phrasing of the text, which mentions the Cephallenians as the contingent ruled by Odysseus; these lived on Ithaca, Samos (later called Cephallenia), Zakynthos and also the mainland across: see Kirk (1985) 221.

[25] Thuc. 3.85.2: *ὕστερον δὲ οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων (διεσώθησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους) τείχη τε λαβόντες, ἃ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, ἐκράτουν τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς.* On the Corcyrean forts on the mainland see Graham (1964) 90. See also section 7.4 below for the *peraiai* as suitable location for exiles. Thuc 3.94.2: *καὶ οἱ μὲν Λευκάδιοι τῆς τε ἔξω γῆς δῃουμένης καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ Λευκάς ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πλήθει βιαζόμενοι ἡσύχαζον.* See Hornblower (1991) 490 on Thuc. 3.85.2, who stresses the economic importance of mainland acquisitions.

how widespread island and mainland relations were. However, I shall focus my attention in the Aegean area, which, as we shall see, provides the best-attested examples of islands controlling a *peraia*.[26]

Firstly, Thasos. The Thasian *peraia* covered roughly the whole area between the rivers Strymon and Nestos, with the addition of Stryme, the only city under Thasian control to the east of Nestos.[27] In this area we hear of the following settlements:[28] Galepsos, Apollonia, Oisyme, Antisara, Neapolis, Acontisma, Pistyros, and Stryme to the east.[29] The *peraia* became Thasian in a very early stage, almost a

[26] Recently, two scholars have examined in some detail the cases of islands and their mainland dependencies: Funke (1999) and Carusi (2003). I will therefore only provide a short summary on the evidence for the existence of *peraiai*, and focus more on the implications that such an existence brings to our understanding of island history and insularity in the Aegean sea.

[27] Lazaridis (1971a) 3. See also Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 854–5.

[28] List of settlements in the Thasian *peraia* in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1980) 311. See also the brief comments in Lazaridis (1971a) 37–8.

[29] On Galepsos, perhaps originally a Thracian settlement, see Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F152, Hdt. 7.122, Thuc. 4.107.3, Antiph. F22 Thalheim, Ps. Scylax 67, and Diod. 12.68.4. See also *ATL* I.476, Isaac (1986) 63–4, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 861. On Apollonia see Strabo 7 F33 and 35. See also Isaac (1986) 65 and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 858. On Oisyme (probably modern Nea Peramos) see Hom. *Il.* 8.304, Thuc. 4.107.3, Antiph. F24 Thalheim, and Diod. 12.68.4. See also Isaac (1986) 64, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 864. On Antisara see Athen. 1.31a. See also Isaac (1986) 65, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 856. On Neapolis (modern Kavala) see ML 89 = *IG* I^3 101. See also *ATL* I.525–6, Graham (1964) 84–8, Isaac (1986) 66–9, Picard (1990), and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 862–3. On Acontisma, mentioned in sources of the Roman period, see Isaac (1986) 69, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 856. On Pistyros see Hdt. 7.109. See also *ATL* I.509, Isaac (1986) 70, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 866–7. There is a considerable difference of opinion about the location of Pistyros: Lazaridis (1971a) 37 locates it in the lagoon area near Koumbournou point, Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1980) 324, a bit inland in modern Pontolivado, followed by Isaac (1986) 70. More recently Velkov and Domaradzka (1994), based on a newly found inscription dated to the period after 359, regulating the commercial relations between various centres of redistribution in inland Thrace and in the coastal regions, locate it in Bulgaria, in modern Vetren (see their map on p. 6), followed by Salviat (1999) and Bosnakov (1999). The inscription was published with corrections in Chankowski and Domaradzka (1999). Bravo and Chankowski (1999) argue that Pistyros was on the Aegean coast, while Vetren, the location of the inscription, was the obscure Velana Prase[..]n, mentioned in 24. Loukopoulou (1999) argues that the initial Pistyros was located on the Aegean coast, before being transplanted into the Thracian interior in the middle of the fifth century. On Stryme see Hdt. 7.108–9. See also Robert (1940a) 91–3, Isaac (1986) 70–1, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 880–1.

generation after the establishment of Thasos as a Parian colony.[30] During the period of Thasian control, there was a considerable fluctuation in the area considered as Thasian territory.[31] Most notably in the fifth century, as punishment for their revolt, the Athenians deprived the Thasians of their mainland possessions (Thuc. 1.101.3 and Plut. *Cimon* 14.2).[32] Thasian reestablishment of control over the *peraia* has been related to the rise of the Thasian tribute from 3 to 30 talents in 447/6,[33] but now it seems more reasonable to follow Brunet's interpretation for the years between 410 and 407 as the period when the reattachment of the coastal territory to Thasos took place.[34] In that sense, the siege of Neapolis in 410 by the

[30] See mainly Graham (1978) 95: we have archaeological evidence from the third quarter of the seventh century for Neapolis and Oisyme, the two earliest settlements in the *peraia*, and from the first half of the sixth century for the others. See also Graham (1964) 81, Lazaridis (1971a) 36–7, Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1980) 310, and Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 25. Contra Tsatsopoulou (1987–90) 324, who dates the Thasian control of the *peraia* to the beginnings of the seventh century, without any substantiation.

[31] Brunet (1997) 230.

[32] Lazaridis (1971a) 18, Meiggs (1972) 84–5 and 571, Funke (1999) 58, and Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 28.

[33] *ATL* I.282–3. For the traditional opinion that the rise of the tribute must be related to a reestablishment of Thasian control over the *peraia* see mainly Pouilloux (1954) 108–21, who, however, stresses that the rise in the tribute should also be linked with a more organized state of exploitation of commerce, followed by Pleket (1963) 71–2, Graham (1964) 83, Lazaridis (1971a) 18 and Finley (1979a) 20. French (1972) 9, followed by Samons (2000) 104, suggests that the rise in the tribute is the result of the entire sum paid in cash, as opposed to ship contribution in the period before. See, however, Meiggs (1972) 86: the rise of the tribute should not be explained through the acquisition or not of the *peraia*; rather, what needs to be explained is the very low sum of 3 talents for the first years of assessment: this 'probably represented a special reduction in the light of the indemnity that had to be paid'. Meiggs' opinion is followed by Isaac (1986) 48, Brunet (1997) 231–2, Picard (1998), and Funke (1999) 72 n. 16. In any case, even after 446, poleis of the Thasian *peraia* continue to appear separately in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists: see Galepsos in *ATL* I.252–3, Pistyros (which appears in the lists as Cistyros) in *ATL* I.324–5, for which see Salviat (1999) 271–2, and Neapolis par' Antisaran in *ATL* I.354–5. On the Thasian tribute see also Nixon and Price (1990) 152–3.

[34] See Brunet (1997), based on an interpretation of two Thasian inscriptions: ML 83, which is a law rewarding informers and *IG* XII Suppl. 347, a law regulating the wine trade. Both inscriptions were written in two separate phases. In both cases, the mention of the *epeiros* exists in the second law, the more recent one: ML 83.II 1: ἐν τῃς̂ ἀποικίῃσιν, and *IG* XII Suppl. 347 II 3: οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐπιτετραμμένοι. It seems, then, that the laws concerning the *epeiros* were inserted into laws that already

combined forces of Thasians and Peloponnesians mentioned in the Athenian decree honouring the Neapolitans (ML 89 7–8) can be seen not only as an act against a pro-Athenian city, but also within the context of Thasian attempts to regain control of their *peraia*.[35]

The Samothracian *peraia* extended over the area between Mesembria in the west and the river Hebrus in the east.[36] The known settlements in this area directly associated with Samothracian control are Mesembria, Drys, Zone, Sale, Characoma, and Tempyra.[37] Samothracian control over part of this territory is attested for the period before the early fifth century, as Herodotus mentions the Samothracian *teichea* in relation to Xerxes' march through Thrace (7.59 and 7.108.2).[38] We cannot provide a firm date for the initial settlement of

existed, at a time when the legislation could apply only to the interior of the civic territory, that is the island itself. Brunet argues convincingly that the reestablishment of control over the *peraia* must be placed chronologically in the period between the two phases of the inscriptions, that is in the years between 409 and 407. Followed by Pébarthe (1999) 150–2, and Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 29.

[35] On the subject of relations between Thasos and Neapolis see mainly Picard (1990), who explains the relative scarcity of Neapolitan coins found on Thasos as a result of the less than friendly relations between the two cities, even after the end of the Peloponnesian war and the resolution of the conflict, achieved through the arbitration of the Parians: *IG* XII.5 109, on which see Graham (1964) 76–9.

[36] Ehrhardt (1985) 65–8 and Isaac (1986) 125.

[37] On Mesembria see Lazaridis (1971b) 39, noting the difficulties in identifying the location, Isaac (1986) 128, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 880. On Drys see Ps. Scylax 67, with additional reference to Zone. See also Isaac (1986) 129–30, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 878. On Zone see Isaac (1986) 130–1, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 881–2. On Sale see Lazaridis (1971b) 39 (modern Alexandroupolis), Isaac (1986) 131, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 880. On Charakoma see Strabo 7 F 47, with reference to Tempyra as well. See also Lazaridis (1971b) 38 and 40, and Isaac (1986) 132–3. On Tempyra see Livy 38.41.5–8. See also Lazaridis (1971b) 40, Isaac (1986) 132–3, and Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 871. For an identification of the Samothracian settlements on the mainland see Robert (1940a) and *ATL* I.518, and more recently Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 871–82. Roussel (1939) notes the difference in the state of settlements between the fifth and later centuries, when their defensive character becomes apparent through the choice of names such as Characoma and Tempyra, known from Strabo, as well as from the famous reference in *Syll.*[3] 503 = *IG* XII.8 156 B 18 to an *ὀχύρωμα*, used to protect the *κληρουχήσοντας καὶ γεωργήσοντας τὴν χώραν*. On the inscription see Gauthier (1979); on the reference to the *ὀχύρωμα* see Robert (1963) 57 with n. 1, followed by Ma (2000b) 342.

[38] Hdt. 7.59 with reference to Sale and Zone, and 7.108.2: *παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηίκια τείχεα*. See Lehman (1998) 19–20.

Samothracians on the *peraia*, since there is still great uncertainty over the date of the Greek colonization of Samothrace. However, it is very probable that the occupation of the *peraia* must have taken place shortly after the colonization of the island itself, especially if we consider the Thasian parallel.[39] Like Thasos, Samothrace seems to have lost control of at least part of her *peraia* in the fifth century, when Drys, Zone, and Sale appear in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists.[40] We do not need to speculate as to the reasons behind this.[41] What is useful for our purposes is to note that the detachment of areas of the *peraia* may be the reason behind the Samothracian complaint about the tribute, known from Antiphon's speech *On the Samothracian Phoros* (F49–56 Thalheim).[42] There are not many fragments of this speech, but one of them in particular (F50) refers to the natural poverty of the island. We should certainly expect an orator making a case for the Samothracians to use all available arguments to strengthen his case, and the 'natural' poverty of the island was already a topos in classical literature.[43] If we move away, however, from the specific arguments in the speech, we can see how the occasion for the Samothracian appeal may have been the overall financial situation of the Samothracians without the resources originating from the relatively wealthy *peraia*.

The only reference to a Tenedian *peraia* is found in Strabo.[44] According to him, the Tenedian *peraia* began near the Achaeion

[39] Lazaridis (1971b) 19, 35, and 41 suggests a seventh-century date for the occupation of the *peraia*, but see now Graham (2000) 247, who brings down the date of the Greek colonization of the island to the first half of the sixth century, with some reservations since 'it is obviously possible that the date might be superseded by new archaeological discoveries'. Isaac (1986) 126 accepts that any date between the foundation of Samothrace and the end of the sixth century is probable, whereas an early date seems more likely, since the Thasian expansion of the *peraia* may serve as a useful parallel. Ehrhardt too (1985) 65, notes the Thasian parallel. Loukopoulou (1989) 64 with n. 5: last decades of the sixth century.

[40] Drys: *ATL* I.266–7; Zone: *ATL* I.278–9; Sale: *ATL* I.394–5. On the separate assessment of the Samothracian settlements in the *peraia* see Lazaridis (1971b) 38, Meiggs (1972) 241, Ehrhardt (1985) 69, Piérart (1985) 290–1, and Lehman (1998) 21.

[41] Meiggs (1972) 241: the reasons behind this may have been economic rather than political.

[42] Perdrizet (1909), Brun (1996a) 200.

[43] See chapter 4.2.1.1.

[44] On the territory which formed the Tenedian *peraia* see Cook (1973) 189–98. On the early history and myths of Tenedos see Specht (2001).

(13.1.32 c596),[45] and stretched further south, including perhaps Larisa and Colonae (13.1.46 c604).[46] Our only clue to a possible date of initial Tenedian control of the mainland territories is a reference in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* that the Tenedians used Periander the Corinthian as a testimony in a dispute they had with the people of Sigeion (1375b 30–1). The event is dated to the second half of the fourth century, but the reference to Periander may point to an early sixth-century date for the initial acquisition of mainland territories.[47] Periander, however, is linked in our sources with another arbitration in the area: that between Athens and Mytilene over the Troad (Hdt. 5.95.2). It is possible, then, that the Tenedians in the second half of the fourth century, according to Aristotle, were in fact referring to an old arbitration between the Mytileneans and the Athenians.[48] This, in turn, would make sense if we accept that the Tenedian *peraia* was an area which initially belonged to Mytilene, before the Athenians, as we shall see below, removed all Mytilenean mainland territories as a form of punishment for their revolt (Thuc. 3.50.3 and 4.52.3). With the fall of the Athenian empire, the Tenedians could have stepped in and taken control of what used to be part of the Mytilenean *peraia*.[49] Aristotle's reference to the dispute with Sigeion could be the outcome of a subsequent loss of the *peraia* as a result of the King's Peace;[50] with the new situation after Alexander, the Tenedians

[45] See also 13.1.44 c603. Leaf (1923) 168 identified Achaeion with the promontory of Kum Burnu. See, however, Cook (1973) 196: there is no evidence that Achaeion was a promontory (as Leaf suggested), and geographically it makes more sense if we place it a bit further north at modern Besika Burnu.

[46] Funke (1999) 61 and Rutishauser (2001) 202, contra Cook (1973) 197–8, who argues that the Tenedian *peraia* never included Larisa and Colonae.

[47] As suggested by Cook (1973) 360–3, followed by Carusi (2003) 245–6. It is quite improbable, however, that the Tenedians would be able to maintain mainland territories right at the middle of Mytilenean possessions.

[48] As suggested by Funke (1999) 61.

[49] Welwei (2000) 534.

[50] See Hornblower (1982) 128, followed by Rutishauser (2001) 202. Hornblower convincingly argues that the Tenedians, along with other islanders, lost their *peraia* as a result of the King's Peace. Contra Funke (1999) 73 n. 27, who argues that the Tenedians did not possess mainland territories before the King's Peace. This, however, would leave unexplained the reference in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* about the Tenedian use of Periander's arbitration in the dispute between the Mytileneans and the Athenians. Unless the Tenedians expanded into what used to be Mytilenean territory not long

stepped in and claimed what gradually came to be their territory after the fall of the Athenian empire.

The Mytilenean *peraia* (called *αἰγιαλὸς* by Strabo)[51] initially covered a very large territory of the opposite mainland coast, from the Hellespont to Atarneus (the Chian *peraia*) in the south (Strabo 13.1.38 c599).[52] Evidence for control by Mytilene can be dated already from the eighth century for the area of the Adramyttion or the first half of the seventh century for the Troad.[53] As we have noted above, part of this area later became the Tenedian *peraia*. Mytilene lost all mainland possessions as a result of her failed attempt to revolt from the Athenian empire in 427 (Thuc. 3.50.3 and 4.52.2–3).[54] The loss of the *peraia* is reflected in the first separate appearance of the Actaean poleis in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists:[55] Amaxitos,

after the Mytilenean loss, or soon after the fall of the Athenian empire, why use the reference to an old arbitration between the Mytileneans and the Athenians? A reasonable conclusion would be that the Tenedians gradually got hold of part of the old Mytilenean *peraia* after 403. Debord (1999) 265 and (2001) 208–9 does not take a stand on the issue of the date of the first acquisition of the Tenedian *peraia*. Mason (1993) 228 argues that the Mytileneans deprived Tenedos of its *peraia* in the sixth century: he must be basing this argument on the passage of Aristotle's *Poetics* (although no reference to the passage is made), but he offers no substantiation of such a wide relocation of a fourth-century passage in an early sixth-century context.

[51] See Strabo 13.1.49 c605: *ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἐστὶν αἰγιαλός, κώμας τινὰς ἔχων τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἤπειρον Μυτιληναίων*. Mason (1993) 226–7, argues for a Mythemnean control of part of the Asiatic mainland, through the colonization of Assos, which is called a Methymnean *ktisma* by Myrsilos of Methymna (*FGrH* 477 F17 = Strabo 13.1.58 c610). Even if we accept that such a tradition reflected accurately the historical reality of the seventh century, and it had nothing to do with local Methymnean manipulation of the past and claims to grandeur (Myrsilus was after all a local writer of Methymna and Hellanicus refers to Assos generally as Aeolian in *FGrH* 4 F160), even by the late archaic period there is no evidence that can firmly speak of a Methymnean *peraia*. The Methymneans may have colonized the site (perhaps jointly), but quickly and certainly by the early sixth century the area came under Mytilenean control and formed an integral part of its *peraia*.

[52] See also Hdt. 5.95.2: dispute with the Athenians over the control of Sigeion, on which see Carusi (2003) 52–8.

[53] Kontes (1978) 60: first half of the seventh century for the Troad; eighth century for Adramyttion.

[54] Meiggs (1972) 316, Kontes (1978) 77, Hornblower (1991) 441, and Debord (1999) 266 and (2001) 209–10.

[55] For the assessment of Actaean district see *ATL* I.467, Gomme (1956) 328, Meiggs (1972) 533, Kallet-Marx (1993) 147–8, and Carusi (2003) 22–30.

Antandros, Achilleion, Thymbra, Ilion, Colonae, Larisa, Ophryneion, Palamedeion, Petra, Rhoiteion.[56] With the end of the Peloponnesian war, Mytilene regained part of the opposite coast, but the area around the Troad was lost forever.[57] In the fourth century, Ps. Scylax reports that the *peraia* stretched from Adramyttion in the north to Atarneus to the south (98).[58] In a later period, we have evidence of disputes concerning the *peraia*: once with the Chians, according to an extremely mutilated fragment of Theopompus in relation to Hermias of Atarneus (*FGrH* 115 F291),[59] and once in the second century, when we hear of an arbitration of Pergamos in the dispute of the Mytileneans with the Pitanians in relation to mainland territories (*IG* XII Suppl. 142).[60] The acquisition and control of such a large part of the opposite mainland coast would make Mytilene exceptional in relation to the other poleis on Lesbos. Spencer noted the near complete lack of monumental constructions both in the *asty* and the *chora* of the Mytileneans in the archaic period.[61] He explained this difference between Mytilene and the other Lesbian cities as a result of the broader horizons of the Mytilenean elite, based on the plentiful evidence attesting to overseas trade. To this, I would add as a complementary explanation the early acquisition and control of a *peraia*. The control of such a large mainland territory by the Mytileneans would require substantial investment in resources and time. This channelling of resources outside the insular space controlled by Mytilene could be reflected in the relative lack of monumental constructions, that is of substantial communal architectural investments, in the *asty* and *chora* of the polis.

The Chian *peraia* was the smallest that we know of in the ancient world; it was basically the area including Atarneus, just south of the

[56] Amaxitos: *ATL* I.228–9; Antandros: *ATL* I.232–3; Achilleion: *ATL* I.242–3; Thymbra: *ATL* I.286–7; Ilion: *ATL* I.290–1; Colonae: *ATL* I.316–17; Larisa: *ATL* I.328–9; Ophryneion: *ATL* I.364–5; Palamedeion: *ATL* I.366–7; Petra: *ATL* I.376–7; Rhoiteion: *ATL* I.392–3 and Kallet-Marx (1993) 156–7. For Pordoselene and Nesos see chapter 6.2.

[57] Carusi (2003) 65–6.

[58] Kontes (1978) 63 calculated its length: 78.3 km.

[59] Lane Fox (1986) 111, Shrimpton (1991) 125 and Flower (1994) 87.

[60] Kontes (1978) 59, Curty (1995) 82–5, Ager (1996) 396–404, Labarre (1996) 202, and Carusi (2003) 73–80. See also Robert (1937) 114 n. 1, where he argues that a mention to the Mytilenean *peraia* should be added in an inscription recording the alliance between the Roman Senate and Mytilene: *IG* XII.2 35 = *IGR* IV 33 d 18.

[61] Spencer (2000).

Mytilenean *peraia* (Ps. Scylax 98). Our main source, Herodotus, tells us that the area was a gift to the Chians from the Persians in the middle of the sixth century, as a reward for their delivery of Pactyes (1.160.3–4).[62] According to Theopompus, in the fragment discussed above, in the middle of the fourth century, Atarneus seems to have been under the control of Hermias.[63] The *peraia* is probably alluded to by Polybius in relation to events of the second century (2.46.6).[64] It is possible that the location of the Chian *peraia* so far north along the Asia Minor coast was due to the existence of a powerful political entity, Erythrai, right across the sea from the island.[65]

The Samian *peraia* is perhaps most famous as the subject of a long dispute between the island and Priene. In two lengthy inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, we learn of the history of the debate, and therefore of the original acquisition of the *peraia* (*IPriene* 37 = *Syll.*^{3} 599, Rhodian arbitration, and *Syll.*^{3} 688, Roman arbitration).[66] According to the first inscription (*IPriene* 37 = *Syll.*^{3} 599 56, 108 and 118), Samos occupied part of what was originally Melian territory after the destruction of the polis in question during the so-called Melian war.[67] This event can be dated roughly to 700.[68] In the early sixth century, there was a war with the Prieneans, which was settled through the arbitration of Bias (Arist. F576 Rose and *IG* XII.6 155 15–23).[69] The Samian *peraia*

[62] See also Paus. 4.35.10. Hdt. (8.106.1) mentions Atarneus as a Chian possession in relation to the story of Hermotimus of Pedasa, on which see more in section 7.4 below. On the subject of the acquisition of the Chian *peraia* see Roebuck (1986) 86, Sarikakis (1998) 88, Funke (1999) 64, Debord (1999) 265 and (2001) 211, and Carusi (2003) 93–6.

[63] Sarikakis (1975) 356–7 with n. 1 and (1998) 161–2, on Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F291.

[64] Robert (1969c) 417 with n. 6 and Walbank (1979) 170.

[65] Funke (1999) 64.

[66] Ager (1996) 196–210 (n. 74) = Migeotte (1984) 293–4 (n. 92) and 450–7 (n. 160). On *IPriene* 37 = *Syll.*^{3} 599, see also Transier (1985) 24–5. On *Syll.*^{3} 688 see also Transier (1985) 33–5 and Scuderi (1991). It is impossible to include here the discussion about the role of Pergamos in the debate, or the history of the arbitrators. See Curty (1989).

[67] Fantasia (1986) 126–8.

[68] Fantasia (1986) 129–30 and Shipley (1987) 29–30, date according to archaeological finds, followed by Funke (1999) 62, and Carusi (2003) 129. Debord (1999) 268 and (2001) 212: late eighth century. Contra Ragone (1996) 230: ninth century.

[69] See also Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 20. On *IG* XII.6 155 see Ager (1996) 89–94 n. 26.

included Pygela (or Phygela) (*IPriene* 37 = *Syll.*³ 599 120) and Anaia (Ps. Scylax 98).[70] Pygela, however, was independent in the fifth century, as the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists show,[71] and also during part of the fourth.[72] The King's Peace almost certainly involved loss of the *peraia* for the islanders.[73]

Finally, the Rhodian *peraia*. Modern scholars have accepted Fraser and Bean's distinction between the incorporated and the subject *peraia*.[74] According to Fraser and Bean the distinction between the two types of territory which belonged to the Rhodian state is as follows:

> first, territory which formed an integral part of the Rhodian state and participated in the deme-system, and whose inhabitants ranked politically equal to those of the island; this we call the Incorporated *Peraia*; and secondly, territory acquired, and lost, at various time by Rhodes, whose inhabitants stood to the island city in the relation of subject to suzerain; this we call the Subject *Peraia*.[75]

Certainly, the differentiation between the two is a modern construction and the distinction between subject and incorporated territories is not always clear in our sources.[76] However, the use of names in the two types of territory has been considered as a criterion for the distinction between the two types. On the whole, in the incorporated areas the Rhodians are designated by their demotic, while in subject territory by the ethnic *Rhodios*.[77] The difference between incorporated and subject *peraia* is often visible in unexpected places. Garlan recently argued that the boundaries between

[70] On Samos and Anaia see mainly Fantasia (1986). For Anaia as a location for Samian exiles see below section 7.4.

[71] ATL I.390–1. For the assessment of Pygela see Ragone (1996) 232.

[72] For the fourth century see Ragone (1996) 232.

[73] Hornblower (1982) 128 with n. 184, followed by Shipley (1987) 135. Contra Fantasia (1986) 120–2.

[74] Berthold (1984) 42 with n. 16.

[75] Fraser and Bean (1954) 53.

[76] Papachristodoulou (1989) 242, Gabrielsen (2000b), and Carusi (2003) 220.

[77] Fraser and Bean (1954) 53, Rice (1984) 185, Papachristodoulou (1989) 43 and (1999) 38. Contra A. Jones (1971) 382 n. 6, who claimed that the use of the ethnic 'Rhodios' depends not on the status of the *peraia*, but rather on the position of the person, but see reply in Fraser and Bean (1954) 53 n. 2, followed by Papachristodoulou (1989) 241–2 n. 304.

incorporated and subject areas become visible in the types of amphoras used: the incorporated *peraia* and the neighbouring islands controlled by Rhodes almost always use the Rhodian type, whereas areas of the subject *peraia* vary in the type of amphora or stamp that they use.[78] What we call incorporated territory was roughly the territory between Loryma in the south and Cedreae in the north, expanding from the Cnidian frontier to the area east of Physcus.[79] However, the borders between incorporated and subject *peraia* were flexible: for example, it is possible that the area around Caunus at various times belonged to the incorporated *peraia*. The subject *peraia*, on the other hand, reached a wider area and included parts of Caria, Lycia, and the Cnidian Chersonese,[80] since parts of Lycia[81] and Caria[82] were received as a gift (δωρεά) after the conclusion of the war against Antiochus III in 189.[83]

Although direct evidence for the existence of a Rhodian *peraia* dates from the fourth century onwards, it is possible to agree with Fraser and Bean that the poleis of the island had control of at least part of what is known as the incorporated *peraia* in the period before the synoecism of 408/7.[84] The early parallels of the other major islands of the Aegean, as well as the links between poleis of the *peraia* with the demes of the Rhodian state in the period after the synoecism provide support for such a claim.[85] More particularly, as Papachristodoulou argued on the basis of a third-century inscription from Cameiros (*IG* XII.1 694 = *Syll.*[3] 339), the reference to *ktoina* existent on the *peraia* is definitely indicative of an incorporation of mainland territories in the

[78] Garlan (1999) 374–5.

[79] Berthold (1984) 42, Papachristodoulou (1989) 48. See also Pimouguet (1994), noting the relative unity of style in the architecture of the defensive systems of the incorporated *peraia*, and Papachristodoulou (1999) 41 on the Rhodian demes of the incorporated *peraia*.

[80] Papachristodoulou (1989) 49.

[81] Bresson (1999) gives an overview of the history of relations between Rhodes and Lycia from the archaic period to the second century.

[82] Reger (1999).

[83] Fraser and Bean (1954) 107–17, Berthold (1984) 167–78, Papachristodoulou (1989) 38–9, and Gabrielsen (1997) 47–53.

[84] Fraser and Bean (1954) 94–8, followed by Papachristodoulou (1989) 49–50, Debord (1999) 270–2 and (2001) 215–17, with some reservations.

[85] For the Rhodian synoecism see Moggi (1976) 214–20, Demand (1990) 89–94, Papaphristodoulou (1999), and Garbielsen (2000a). See also Constantakopoulou (2005) 12 with references.

period before the Rhodian synoecism.[86] This peculiar institution is closely linked to the pre-synoecized state of the Rhodian poleis. If we can see evidence of *ktoina* on the Rhodian *peraia*, then it means that part of it, at least, was incorporated in the period before the synoecism and attached to a perticular polis on the island (in this case Cameiros), which then exported the *ktoina* to the *peraia*. It is only if we accept a pre-408 date for the control of part of the Rhodian *peraia*, that the existence of such an institution on the mainland makes any sense.

7.3. SOME GENERAL REMARKS

The above examination of islands and their *peraiai* allows us to express some general remarks about the relationship between insular units and mainland territories. We need to stress, however, that there was no such thing as uniformity in the form of the *peraia* itself, as well as in the degree of dependence or control that the island imposed on its mainland territory.[87] Still, the very existence of the term *peraia* in order to denote most of the above mainland territories,[88] does imply that the mainland territories controlled by an island were perceived as expressions of the same phenomenon. Absolute uniformity may have never existed in the history of the Aegean world, but at the same time, we can certainly observe some general trends that the islands and their *peraia* shared. For example, most of the *peraiai* were tied to the islands at an early time,[89] and in the case of Thasos (and probably Samothrace) a very short period after the colonization of the island itself.[90] Most *peraiai*, with the exception of

[86] *IG* XII.1 694 1–2: *ἔδοξε Καμιρεῦσι τὰς κτοίνας τὰς Καμιρέων τὰς ἐν τᾶι νάσωι καὶ τὰς ἐν τᾶι ἀπείρωι ἀναγράψαι πάσας*. Papachristodoulou (1989) 50. For the *ktoina* see also Jones (1987) 244.

[87] Main point by Funke (1999), followed by Debord (1999) 264–72 and (2001).

[88] With the exception of Thasos, where the term *peraia* is not attested.

[89] Samothrace: seventh century, according to Lazaridis (1971b) 19, or early sixth, if we accept that the Greek colonization of the island cannot be pushed back beyond the first material evidence found archaeologically on the island itself: Graham (2000). Mytilene: eighth and seventh centuries: Kontes (1978) 60 and 142. Chios: middle of the sixth century: Sarikakis (1998) 88. Samos: c. 700: Shipley (1987) 29–30.

[90] Thasos: third quarter of the seventh century: Graham (1978) 95.

Chios, covered quite wide areas of the mainland coast,[91] which could later be reduced, as in the case of Mytilene, or enlarged, as in the case of Rhodes. The *peraiai* covered a mainly coastal territory with small inland penetration. This fact is obvious in the case of the Mytilenean *peraia*, where the term 'shore of the Mytileneans (*Μυτιληναίων αἰγιαλὸς*)' is attested to denote this territory (Strabo 13.1.49 c605). The only exception to this rule of the coastal character of the *peraia* is the recent identification of Pistyros with Bulgarian Vetren, according to a newly discovered inscription.[92] The location of the inscription now leaves no doubt of an existence of Thasian *emporia* in the heart of the Thracian inland territories.[93] The new identification of Pistyros, however, cannot alter what seems to be the rule for all the other Aegean *peraiai.* Still one should perhaps note that the prevalence of coastal territories as parts of the *peraiai* did not obstruct the islanders from maintaining valuable links with the wealthy hinterlands of the mainland. In this respect, bonds with the locals were sometimes pursued, as the evidence of intermarriage with the locals from Thasos and her *peraia* attests.[94] In any case, distance was an extremely important parameter in determining which territories would become island *peraiai.*[95] With the exception of Chios, which, as we saw, acquired her *peraia* as a gift in the sixth century, and therefore did not follow the 'normal' route of occupation and control, all other *peraiai* were in fact the coastal strip directly opposite the island itself.

Peraiai were undoubtedly extremely significant for island states. *Peraiai* provided the islands with valuable land for agriculture,

[91] Robert (1951) 11.

[92] Initial publication in Velkov and Domaradzka (1994); with some corrections in Chankowski and Domaradzka (1999).

[93] Velkov and Domaradzka (1994), followed by Pébarthe (1999) 150–1 with n. 184: 'cependant, l'existence d'emporia thasiens à l'intérieur des terres thraces au Ve siècle n'est pas à exclure', Salviat (1999) and Bravo and Chankowski (1999), however, doubt the identification of Pistyros with Vetren, but focus on the interlinks between the coast and the inland territories.

[94] Graham (1978) 93. See also comments in Loukopoulou in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 871 about the settlements in the Samothracian *peraia* exploiting their intermediary position between the Greek world of the Aegean and the Thracian hinterland.

[95] Graham (1978) 96–7. See also Bresson (1999) 99 stressing that geographical proximity was essential in the creation and maintenance of links between Rhodes and Lycia.

timber, and even salt.[96] For example, we have an inscription from the Samothracian *peraia* which mentions forts protecting the farmers of the area, the *κληρουχήσοντας καὶ γεωργήσοντας τὴν χώραν* (*Syll.*^{3} 502 = *IG* XII.8 156 b41–2).[97] In the case of Thasos, the mines of the *peraia* must have been a considerable source of wealth for an already quite wealthy island.[98] Certainly, control of the mines in the *peraia* must have been an important factor in the Thasians' decision to revolt from the Athenian empire, as Thucydides informs us (1.100.2).[99] Mines are also mentioned in Atarneus, the Chian *peraia*, but our source states that in his time they were already exhausted (Strabo 14.5.28 c680).[100]

Peraiai were an indispensable part of the economy of an island, which may explain the lengths to which island states went in order to protect their rights over their mainland territories. Cases of dispute are the best examples of the importance attached to *peraiai*, and as we have seen in the brief presentation of the material, such cases were far from uncommon. Hence, in 361/0 Thasos disputed with Maroneia over the control of Stryme (Dem. 12.17 and 50.20–2),[101] Mytilene disputed with Pitane over the control of mainland territories (*IG* XII

[96] Transier (1985) 79–85, and Shipley (1987) 34 for Samos. See also *IG* XII.6 172A = *Syll.*^{3} 976, a third-century inscription regulating the collection and distribution of grain from Anaia. Papachristodoulou (1999) 43 on agricultural activity in the Rhodian *peraia* and Rice (1999) 46–8, citing the leases of land from Amos: see *RIPR* 49–51. Debord (1999) 267 and (2001) 211 and Carusi (2003) 94–5 and 208–12 for the agricultural wealth of the Chian *peraia*. Isaac (1986) 125 on the fertility of the Samothracian *peraia*. Thuc. 4.52.3 on the timber of Mytilenean Antandros. On timber see also Meiggs (1972) 332 and (1982) 240, with reference to Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 5.6.1, and Carusi (2003) 204–5. On salt resources near Hamaxitos in the Mytilenean *peraia* see Strabo 13.1.48 c604. On the wealth provided from a *peraia* in general see Brun (1993) 177 and Funke (1999) 64–7.

[97] On the inscription see Robert (1963) 57 with n. 1, Bagnall (1976) 162–3, Gauthier (1979), Chaniotis (2002) 106: protection mainly from piracy, and Carusi (2003) 191: protection from the Thracian tribes.

[98] Main ancient source: Hdt. 6.46.2–3. For the mines as a source of wealth see Lazaridis (1971a) 17, Meiggs (1972) 570, Finley (1979a) 29, Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1980) 311, and (1990) 493, with an identification of the location of the mines in the Thasian *peraia*, Osborne (1987) 75, Nixon and Price (1990) 152, Brun (1996a) 128–9, Pébarthe (1999) 134–5.

[99] Lazaridis (1971a) 18, Meiggs (1972) 571, Ste Croix (1972) 42–3, and Hornblower (1991) 154–5.

[100] Sarikakis (1998) 88.

[101] Isaac (1986) 70–1.

Suppl. 142),[102] and with Chios in the fourth century, according to the fragment of Theopompus already discussed (*FGrH* 115 F291), and of course Samos was in a state of almost constant conflict with Priene over disputed areas (*Syll.*^{3} 599 and 688).

At this point, I should perhaps reemphasize the diversity of control exercised over a *peraia*. Poleis which territorially belonged to an island *peraia* sometimes had a high degree of autonomy. For example, Oisyme and Galepsos of the Thasian *peraia*, and Zone of the Samothracian, had their own coinage in the fourth century.[103] Most famous of all, however, is the case of Neapolis, a polis which actively affirmed her independence from her metropolis, as is evident from an Athenian inscription honouring the Neapolitans for their help, where in a later stage the words 'although colonists of the Thasians' were deliberately erased (ML 89 = *IG* I^3 101).[104] Neapolis also, perhaps unsurprisingly, minted her own coinage as early as the end of the sixth century.[105] A resolution of the problematic relations between Neapolis and Thasos was achieved through the arbitration of the Parians in the fourth century (*IG* XII.5 109),[106] but as Picard has shown, using as evidence the relatively scarcity of Neapolitan coinage on Thasos itself, it seems that the relations were not always amicable.[107]

Finally, it is perhaps worth noting that it is impossible to detect a common character for the islands that did control a *peraia*, other than the fact that they were at close proximity to the mainland coast. Reger has attempted to include the parameter of the control of a *peraia* in his search for what makes some islands have a single polis or more than one polis. However, he admitted that he sees 'no clear relation one way or the other between the possession of a *peraia* and

[102] Kontes (1978) 59, Curty (1995) 82–5 n. 40, and Ager (1996) 396–404 n. 146.

[103] On Oisyme see Head (1911) 892; on Galepsos see Isaac (1986) 64; on Zone see Lazaridis (1971b) 41.

[104] On the inscription see Graham (1964) 84–8, Isaac (1986) 66–9, and Picard (1990). I agree with Hornblower (1996) 73 that the alteration of the inscription was a deliberate act of Athens, which sought to erase the historical fact that the city was really a Thasian colony, contra Graham (1964) 85–7, who insists on the particularly shameful aspect for Greeks of a war between a colony and a mother-city, followed by Brunet (1997) 237.

[105] Kraay (1976) 150.

[106] Graham (1964) 76–9.

[107] Picard (1990).

the number of poleis on a given island'.[108] This admission contrasts with what we observed in a previous section; namely that control of off-shore islands is attested for larger islands that either have a single polis or have been politically unified through a synoecism.[109] Again what is striking is the apparent diversity in the expressions of interaction in the Aegean sea.

7.4. BETWEEN INSULAR AND MAINLAND: EXILES AND POLLUTION IN THE *PERAIAI*

Acquisition and possession of a *peraia* required frequent interaction between islands and mainland. Although, as we have seen, poleis of the *peraia* may have obtained a certain degree of autonomy, the *peraia* could also be considered as part of the political territory of the island. Interaction in both political and everyday life was common. In Rhodes, for example, an examination of the funerary inscriptions shows that many people of the *peraia* lived in the city of Rhodes, often marrying citizens or women of the island.[110] Such conditions demanded constant communication between *peraiai* and islands, even in cases like Samothrace, where the sea is considered as especially rough.[111] *Peraiai*, in that sense, can be considered as the extension of the island to the mainland. Similarly, *peraiai* also blurred the conceptual distinction in ancient Greek mentality between islands and mainland.[112] Again, as we have seen, *peraiai* territories rarely penetrated the mainland in great depth: they were usually coastal strips directly opposite the island in question. And although these mainland possessions gave the islanders the valuable opportunity to interact with local mainland populations and their resources, their geographical position orientated them towards the maritime world. They were the mainland extension of the insular units of the Aegean. In that sense, *peraiai* are excellent examples of the widespread phenomenon of maritime interaction, a subject that

[108] Reger (1997) 467. [109] See chapter 6.1.4. [110] Rice (1999) 51.

[111] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.61.4: *θαλάττῃ ἀγρίᾳ*. On the rough sea of the area see Kolodny (1974) 260 and Brun (1996a) 12.

[112] See chapter 1.2.

we have attempted to explore. At the same time, however, the differentiation between islands and mainland can be seen in our sources in the role *peraiai* have played in the history of islands in the classical period. *Peraiai* may have been integral parts of an island state, but at the same time they were considered as different. Such a differentiation can be seen in Diodorus' myth of post-cataclysmic history, where the 'mainland opposite the islands had suffered great and terrible misfortunes', while 'the islands were filled with greater and greater abundance' (5.82.1–2). The presence of exiles in *peraiai* is perhaps the best way to investigate this theme of geographical and conceptual differentiation.[113]

It was the combination of connectivity and partial isolation that made *peraiai* the ideal locations for exiles who fled the political conditions in their home island. According to Thucydides, the oligarchs of Corcyra found refuge in the mainland and from there proceeded to acts of defiance (3.85.2). Perhaps most famous is the case of the Samian exiles at Anaia, which, as we have seen, was part of the Samian *peraia.*[114] There seems to have been a community of Samians living in Anaia as a result of the Samian revolt in 440/439. We first hear of them in relation to events in 427 (Thuc. 3.19.2).[115] These Samians were in contact with the Lacedaemonian army (Thuc. 3.32.2). Their motives become clear in a later stage in Thucydides' narrative; according to him, the Samian exiles wanted to 'help the Peloponnesians by sending pilots to their navy, and by stirring up trouble with the urban population of Samos and by taking in refugees' (4.75.1). It is not necessary for our purposes to identify the specific political affiliations of this group of exiles.[116] What is worth noting is that it was the geographical differentiation between the island and its *peraia* that allowed this group of exiles to act against

[113] See chapter 4.3.2 on the subject of the use of islands for exiles.

[114] Balcer (1979) 262, Shipley (1987) 35–6, and Debord (1999) 269 and (2001) 213–14. Fantasia (1986) 122 argues that the Samian exiles settled at Anaia also in the period after 365.

[115] Reference to 'Anaites'. Shipley (1987) 35 argues that the use of the ethnic here does not denote a separate political community, followed by Hornblower (1991) 405.

[116] Quinn (1981) 18, followed by Fantasia (1986) 136–9, identifies them as anti-Athenian, whereas Balcer (1979) 261 as oligarchs. Meiggs (1972) 307 combines the two approaches: 'refugees hostile to the democracy installed in Samos by Athens'. Similar interpretation in Legon (1972) 154.

their home political community for such a long period of time. In this sense, the *peraia* acted as a marginal space within the territory of island poleis.[117]

Mytilenean exiles also found refuge in their *peraia*.[118] According to Thucydides, they initially captured Rhoiteion and then Antandros, which they used as a base in their efforts to 'harm nearby Lesbos and to conquer the Aeolian cities on the mainland' (4.52.2–3). It is interesting that, according to Thucydides, the intentions of the Mytilenean exiles in the minds of the Athenians are identical with those of the Samian exiles at Anaia (4.75.1). The common thread that connects these two incidents is the location of the exiles on the *peraia*: distant, yet close, the *peraia* was the ideal place for a factional group and its actions against the city. Finally, we encounter Chian exiles at Atarneus in 398/7 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11).[119] According to Diodorus, this group got control of the place in 410/409, when the Lacedaemonian general Cratesippidas banished 600 Chians who consequently seized Atarneus (13.65.4).[120] This must be the same group mentioned in one of Plutarch's stories (*Mor.* 241d). Diodorus' passage also mentions another group of exiles, this time with Lacedaemonian sympathies, which was later restored to the island once Cratesippidas got control of the area (13.65.3). As Piérart suggested,[121] it is possible to identify this group as the one supporting the Lacedaemonian cause with money in a newly found piece of a well-known Spartan inscription (*IG* V.1 1 and *SEG* 39.370 9).[122] Perhaps it is reasonable to suggest that this group of exiles also found refuge at Atarneus, from where they pursued their cause.

Peraiai, then, were considered both as part of the territory of the insular city and yet, at the same time, as different, marginal territories: ideal locations for exiles and other factional groups.

[117] Balcer (1979) stresses the importance of marginality in the case of a rival political faction within the polis.

[118] Meiggs (1972) 331–2, and Kontes (1978) 177–9.

[119] Matthaiou and Pikoulas (1989) 116–19, Krentz (1995) 169, and Carusi (2003) 102–5.

[120] Loomis (1992) 66, Piérart (1995) 267, and Sarikakis (1998) 151.

[121] Piérart (1995), following the interpretation of the Chian exiles suggested by Matthaiou and Pikoulas (1989) 101–3.

[122] IG V.1 1 and SEG 39.370 9: *τοὶ φεύγοντες τὸν Χίον*. New piece published by Matthaiou and Pikoulas (1989). See also Loomis (1992).

This understanding of the *peraiai* as marginal territories, positioned between the proper 'insular' and 'mainland' state is also evident in yet another aspect; that of pollution.[123] We have already mentioned the story of the acquisition of Atarneus by the Chians as a result of the surrendering of their suppliant to the Persians (Hdt. 1.160). Herodotus tells us that 'for a considerable time after this no Chian would use barley meal from Atarneus to sprinkle on sacrifice, or make any cake from the grain grown there; in fact they put a ban upon all the produce of the area so far as religious purposes were concerned' (1.160.5). The Chians treated as polluted the area of their *peraia* as a result of their having committed sacrilege.[124] Atarneus is also the location where, as Herodotus reports, 'the greatest vengeance' was achieved for the 'most infamous of actions' (Hdt. 8.105.1).[125] The use of superlatives in the passage emphasizes the peculiarity of the place; vengeance for Hermotimus of Pedasa through the repetition of the horrendous crime of castration to the man responsible for his condition takes place in the marginal area of the *peraia*, which in this story, as Hornblower emphasized, functions as the merging territory between Greek and non-Greek, feminine and masculine, island and non-island.[126]

Crimes and pollution, as well as active exiles, all make the *peraia* somehow different from the island upon which it depended. Yet, connectivity was the underlying reality of the existence of *peraiai*. The sea may have divided the island from the mainland coast, but at the same time it connected the two through the everyday activities of ferrying, as in the case of Tenedos. It was the sea that was the primary determining factor in uniting the two. Besides, as Horden and Purcell have argued, the very term *peraia*, that is the act of defining a piece of mainland in terms of its relationship to an off-shore island rather

[123] *Peraiai* as pollution in Hornblower (2003), esp. 54.

[124] R. Parker (1983) 185. See also Harrison (2000a) 103 with n. 5, where the case of Atarneus is treated as an example of divine retribution. On this passage see now Hornblower (2003).

[125] Hdt. 8.105.1: *ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν* ***τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη*** *ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἁλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμένον ὠνέεται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χῖος, ὃς τὴν ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ'* ***ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων***. For the story of Hermotimus of Pedasa and its role in the *Histories* as a whole see now Gray (2002) esp. 308–10.

[126] Hornblower (2003).

than vice versa, 'strikingly reflects the conceptual primacy of the maritime world'.[127] However, in at least one instance in the history of the ancient Aegean, the primary position of the island in the relationship between an island and its *peraia* was reversed, with the mainland becoming the determining party. Pausanias records that a mainland polis like Alexandreia Troas, in an area which was part of the Tenedian *peraia*, came to absorb the island itself (10.14.4).[128] This event is an excellent attestation of the diversity that existed in relations in the Aegean sea.

[127] Horden and Purcell (2000) 133.
[128] Brun (1996a) 14. On the Tenedian *astheneia* see also chapter 4.2.1.5.

Conclusion

In this book, I have attempted to illustrate some aspects of the fascinating history of the Aegean sea and its islands. To do so, I have moved between two overlapping spheres, which often prove difficult to separate: on the one hand, the history of the Aegean islands, and on the other, the history of the changing images and perceptions of insularity in ancient Greek thought. I have also tried to follow Malamut's approach in examining the history of this essentially 'insular' geographical region; that is to say, in order fully to understand the interaction between man and landscape in the Aegean sea, we need to differentiate between the world of the 'islands', a world dominated by interaction and connectivity, and the world of the 'island', an imaginary world of separation and seclusion.[1] A geographic analysis of insularity emphasizes the interplay between these two main features, interaction and isolation. However, as I have repeatedly stressed in this book, the predominance of islands in the Aegean sea made island isolation almost impossible. Rather, island connectivity was perhaps one of the most important features of the history of the Aegean. Islands formed active networks of communication and exchange from a very early period. Indeed, the Aegean sea has served as a primary example in recent archaeological works when examining patterns of interaction.[2] Although we cannot deny that some islands may have experienced little interaction with their neighbours over some periods of time (for example Donoussa in the early twentieth century, or Carpathos in the post-Minoan period), the norm for most periods must have been almost

[1] Malamut (1988) 598.

[2] See for example Helms (1988), Knapp (1990), Schallin (1993), and Cline (1994).

all-year-round connectivity in a variety of forms, means, and scale. Some islands became major centres for redistribution (Rhodes), or for religious cult (Delos in our period and Samothrace in a later period), or for political and/or naval power (Rhodes again, Samos in some periods). These islands obviously experienced a more dense form of interaction. Smaller and more insignificant islands than mighty Rhodes or holy Delos, however, were also exposed to forms of interaction. Indeed, one of my aims was to attempt to introduce to the history of the Aegean the image of small-scale interaction as a prominent element. Much has been said, for example, about navigation and major sailing routes (which, as we know well, normally followed the coastline). Next to this major traffic in the Mediterranean, there existed small-scale traffic, which, perhaps, in the long *durée* of Braudelian history may have played an equal, if not more important, role in the everyday lives of the inhabitants of the Aegean islands. Politics and imperialism are obviously essential for the forming of historical narrative. I have attempted, therefore, to integrate into my understanding of the history of the Aegean the impact of imperial Athens in the fifth century or even of micro-imperial Rhodes (and Cos, Samos, and Chios). Imperial Athens of the late fifth century, however, did not necessarily have a significant impact on the world and life of a shepherd in south-eastern Naxos, especially since he may not have participated greatly in the decision-making processes of his polis (as he was probably two to three hours' walking distance from the political centre of his island) or in the collection of the tribute to be dispatched to the imperial centre. What happened on the neighbouring islands of Ceria, Amorgos, or Heracleia in relation to goat management may have been far more important for his survival.

Networking and interaction, then, on a variety of scales was the central theme of this book. I have put particular emphasis on two specific areas of island interaction, which I might broadly refer to as 'religion' and 'politics'. These two areas, however, significantly overlap: religion may be seen as an expression of 'political' relations, and the politics, as I have argued, of imperial domination of the Aegean in the fifth century followed the underlying reality of religious interaction in the same area. Religion, in particular, was the starting point of my examination of island networking in the archaic

period. I examined two religious amphictionies as examples of island networking: Calauria and Delos. Recent archaeological excavations, as we saw in chapter 2.1, have confirmed that activity on the site of the Poseidon sanctuary in Calauria began in the eighth century and religious activity must have predated the sixth century, when the *temenos* was established. Archaeology can take us this far; a date for the beginning of the amphictiony cannot be established with equal certainty. It must come after the eighth century (activity is required on a site before it acquires the reputation to attract participant members in a cult and establish an amphictiony) and before the sixth: a date in the late eighth or early seventh century seems most likely. The network of participants in the cult of Poseidon at Calauria is an amphictiony in the maritime sense: only through the sea as a unifying factor can this diverse group of cities be understood as 'dwellers around'. The centre of the Calaurian amphictiony was situated on an island and may have expressed in terms of religious participation a network of interaction in the Saronic gulf. It certainly had a strong maritime aspect, which was articulated in myth in the oracle instructing Poseidon to give up Delos and take Calauria instead (Strabo 8.6.14 c374). The common link between these two cult places was their insularity and the fact that they were centres of amphictionies representing the maritime world of interaction between their participant members.

Calauria, then, may have been an amphictionic centre with strong maritime connotations and one similar to Delos. It is Delos, however, where we can truly witness a predominantly 'island' world. I have interpreted the religious network around Delos in the archaic period as essentially an island amphictiony, rather than an Ionian one. Ancient sources may discuss the Ionian character of the network of participants at Delos, but a closer look at the archaeology of the sanctuary and more importantly at the major participants in the processes of monumentalization, reveals that Delos was the religious centre of the island world of the southern Aegean, Ionian and Dorian alike. In chapter 2.2, I specifically discussed the erection of *oikoi* in the sanctuary, since the erection of such buildings implies the collective decision of communities to invest in monumentalization and display in the competitive arena of an interstate sanctuary. All the *oikoi* at Delos belong to islands (Naxos, possibly Paros, Andros, Carystos,

Myconos, and the *hestiatorion* of the Ceians), a fact that signifies, in my opinion, the centrality of island participants in the cult of Apollo at Delos.

The notion of a *nesiotic* religious amphictiony in the archaic period with Delos as its centre may help us make better sense of what happens in the fifth century in the Aegean. The fifth-century Athenian empire may have resulted in the unification of the Aegean under the control of a single power, albeit for a very brief period of time. Such an achievement, however, must be seen against the background of religious interaction in the Aegean. In other words, the religious amphictiony of Delos expressed on the religious level a certain degree of interaction between the Aegean islands. Participation in the cult of Apollo at Delos must have consolidated relations between participants and may have created the context for 'peer polity interaction', an essential component for the creation of a sense of identity. The Athenians would perhaps not have been as successful in creating and maintaining an *arche* of Aegean subject allies if they had not inherited a sense of regional affinity between the participants in the cult of Apollo on Delos. Athenian investment in Delos may have begun in Peisistratus' reign (a period marked by some proto-imperialistic behaviours on the part of the Athenians), but it was in the fifth century that Athens consciously emulated the role of Delos as part of her imperial policy. The transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens marked a key stage in the transformation of imperial policy: in the 450s, the transfer of the treasury was one of the ways through which Athens appropriated the image of insularity for her self-representation. In other words, imperial Athens was the new central island of the Aegean.

The Athenian empire may have transformed the ways in which islands interacted by creating a new context of formal imperial networking, but its impact was not restricted to the islands under its control. The Athenian empire resulted in the transformation of insularity as a concept: islands were now intrinsically linked with the concept of sea power (a cornerstone in Athenian imperial ideology) and became associated with ideas about poverty, insignificance, weakness, danger, but also safety. Late fifth-century authors, such as Herodotus, Aristophanes, and Thucydides, use the word 'islander' as a synonym for subject ally. This conceptual equation does not

simply express the importance attached to the Aegean islands in the new imperial context. It also indicates that islands were firmly associated with ideas of subjugation and sea power. In other words, if the Athenian empire is the result of Athens' supremacy at sea, then islands, which were viewed as essential assets in maintaining a *thalassocracy*, are 'natural' subjects of Athenian sea power. The idea of control of the islands as a necessary element of sea power, as well as the inherited island nature of the Delian league, created a context through which insularity was conceptualized and interpreted.

The reality of the Athenian empire was also the historical context for the reinterpretation and rewriting of the early Greek past. In chapter 4.1, I argued that Herodotus and Thucydides had a clear understanding of a succession of mythical *thalassocracies*; in fact, the idea of a succession of sea power became an important analytical tool for the interpretation of the past. Insularity was an important feature in this rewriting of history. Indeed, islands became linked with ideas of sea power not only for the fifth-century present, but also for the mythical distant past. Since islands were viewed as necessary subjects for any sea power, a whole range of perceptions became now closely associated with insularity. Some of them, such as poverty and insignificance, may have appeared in earlier sources. The difference between the fifth century, however, and earlier periods was that what may have been an aspect of the image of insularity now became a dominant feature, a topos. Islands, therefore, were depicted as poor, insignificant, desolate, and worthy of contempt. A primary example of such an image is the use of the island of Seriphos as the epitome of these features. Although there certainly were poor islands in the Aegean, it is the generalization that *all* islands are poor that deserves our attention. Such an association between insularity, poverty, and political insignificance is the result, I argue, of the political position of the islands within the context of sea power in general and Athenian imperialism in particular. In other words, the island world of the Aegean deserves to be ruled by Athens because it is a poor, insignificant world, prone to control by a great sea power. The understanding of islands as particularly sensitive to imperial rule was also responsible for the images of island 'nettings' and the use of islands as locations for exile. In this instance, we have moved from the world of the 'islands', a world of interaction (even if in this case interaction is

expressed in the form of imperial subjugation), to the world of the 'island', a world of island distinctiveness and separation. Insularity as a concept, as we have seen, moves between the spheres of integration and isolation; imperialism can use both these spheres in its depiction of islands.

I have already mentioned that the 450s was a formative period for the self-representation of Athens and its attempts to incorporate the theme of insularity in such a representation. Indeed, we examined one of the clearest enunciations of such an ideological use of insularity. In the second half of the fifth century, Athens used one of the perceptions of insularity, that of the 'safe' island, as part of a rhetoric of safety provided by the construction of the Long Walls. 'Island Athens' was not achieved overnight. In chapter 5, I traced four distinct stages in the process of transformation of Athens into an island. The rhetoric of 'island Athens' was essentially the argument of the advantages in terms of defence of a city cut off from her surrounding *chora*, relying mostly on imports for its survival in the case of enemy invasion. What was simply a potential development became reality with devastating consequences during the period of the Peloponnesian war. The Long Walls and the insulation of the Athenian *asty* were the result of the benefits of the empire, with its resources and its sea power. The existence of the empire was also responsible for yet another construction of imaginary Athens: the perception of 'utopia Athens'. Old comedy used the theme of abundance of goods and of toil-less life (*automatos bios*), a theme inherently linked with a utopian discourse, as a description (or even a critique) of the imperial present. Since the link between utopia and insularity was (and is) so strong, it is possible to argue that the idea about 'utopia Athens' can be viewed as yet another expression of the theme of Athens as an island. Indeed, such was the strength of the image of 'island Athens' that when Plato created a mythical story to reflect the Peloponnesian war, his famous Atlantis story in the *Timaeus* and the *Critias*, he chose an insular location, the island of Atlantis, to locate his imperial and maritime power.

Island interaction and networking may be at the heart of the history of the Aegean and of the Athenian empire. Interaction, however, also existed on a small scale. Beyond the understanding of the Aegean as a sea unified by Athenian sea power, there also existed

smaller networks of interaction, communication, and exchange between neighbouring islands. These networks existed on many levels: political, economic, and administrative, to name a few. In chapter 6, I examined island interaction on such a small scale by exploring the theme of control and political incorporation of smaller islands by their larger neighbours (Rhodes, Cos, Samos, and Chios). Goat islands are another excellent, yet understudied, manifestation of island interaction on a small scale. I have used the example of a decree prohibiting the introduction of goats to the island of Heracleia as the starting point for an exploration of the movement of goats in the islands of the Aegean. This kind of interaction (of people and of goats) depended on a solid basis of maritime communications between islands. I ended chapter 6 with an examination of the phenomenon of ferrying (*porthmeutike*) as an indication of the degree of small-scale interaction in the insular world of the Aegean.

Finally, I have included in my examination of island interaction an investigation of the theme of *peraiai*, pieces of the mainland controlled by an island state. The existence of *peraiai* is attested for the islands of Thasos, Samothrace, Tenedos, Lesbos (the polis of Mytilene), Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. *Peraiai* exemplify the rule that diversity is the norm in the Aegean, while also reflecting the conceptual primacy of the maritime world.

This book attempted to provide a much needed examination of the history of the Aegean islands in the archaic and classical periods, and also a parallel reconstruction of the changing images of insularity under the influence of the Athenian empire. I hope to have communicated to a small degree the fascinating history of the Aegean sea and its islands, moving between the spheres of reality and conceptual representation.

APPENDIX:

Island entries in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists

In chapter 3.3 I argued that the identification in our sources between the term islander (*nesiotes*) and the subject ally was not related to the higher number of allied island states, but rather to the importance attached to islands within the context of sea power. The purpose of this appendix is to substantiate this claim. I shall not include here any discussion on the actual tribute paid by islands, since Patrice Brun has presented the relevant material in a recent discussion.[1] In order to put together a list of island members of the Delian league, according to districts for the tribute-paying members, I have considered as separate island entries the following:

1. Islands with one polis that appear as a single entry (e.g. Aegina). This is the most common type of island entry in the lists.
2. Poleis situated on the same island, but assessed separately in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists (such as the poleis of Myrina and Hephaestia on Lemnos,[2] the poleis of Oine and Therma on Icaros,[3] or the various poleis of Euboea).
3. Islands that are assessed as a single entry (*synteleia*) although they have more than one polis (such as Amorgos, Ceos, Myconos, and Cos).[4]

[1] Brun (1996a) 185–92. On the assessment of the islands see also Meiggs (1972) 118–20 and 242, Nixon and Price (1990) 141, and Stadter (1992) 785–6.

[2] Lemnos was also once (in 452/1) assessed through the system of *synteleia*. For the tribute of Lemnos see Salomon (1997) 47–53.

[3] For the assessment of the poleis of Icaros see Constantakopoulou (2005) 14. For the poleis on Icaros see Papalas (1992) 48 and Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 740–1.

[4] Amorgos had three poleis: Arcesine, Aegiale, and Minoa: see Rougemont (1983) 131–4, Ruschenbusch (1984), Nigdelis (1990) 11–69, and Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 734–5. Ceos was a tetrapolis island with Ioulis, Carthaea, Coressos and Poiessa: see Brun (1989), Lewis (1997), Reger (1998), and Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 747–51. All entries in the lists appear as 'Ceioi' with the exception of 451/0, for which an independent entry 'Coressioi' appears on the lists. This separate assessment of Coressos may reflect a revolt, as Lewis (1994) 296 suggested, or it may be the result of delayed payment by the Coressians: see Constantakopoulou (2005) 17. For a summary of the assessment of Ceos see Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 748.

4. A group of islands that is assessed as a single entity (such as Calydnioi in the Carian district).[5]
5. Organizations such as the Eteocarpathioi in the Carian district that were based on an island (i.e. Carpathos) but were assessed independently.[6]

According to this classification, the island entries in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists and in the assessment decrees are as follows (the island entries here are based on the list of members of the Delian league in M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen (eds.) *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*):[7]

1. Ionian district.

Elaioussa (probably),[8] Leros, Nisyros, Oine (Icaros), Therma (Icaros).

2. Hellespont district.

Proconnesos, Tenedos.

3. Thracian district.

Icos, Peparethos, Samothrace, Sciathos, Thasos.[9]

4. Carian district.

Amorgos, Arcaseia (Carpathos), Astypalaea, Bricindarioi (Rhodes), Brycous (Carpathos), Calydnioi, Cameiros (Rhodes), Carpathos (the polis on the

Myconos was a dipolis island which synoecized, according to an inscription from the last quarter of the third century (*Syll.*^{3} 1024 2–3): see Reger (2001). Cos before the synoecism of 366: at least two poleis: see mainly Sherwin-White (1978) 40–68 and Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 752–5, who, however, identifies three possible poleis in pre-synoecized Cos. For *synteleiai*, that is island group assessments for islands that have more than one polis, see Constantakopoulou (2005) 16–19.

[5] See chapter 6.4.

[6] The Eteocarpathian *koinon* appears once outside the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists, in an Athenian decree which grants the title of benefactor to an Eteocarpathian, his sons, and the Eteocarpathian *koinon* in return for the cypress given to the Athenians for the rebuilding of the temple of Athena at Athens (Tod 110 = *IG* I^3 1454), now dated to the third quarter of the fifth century: Meiggs (1982) 498 n. 36, Smarczyk (1990) 67 n. 33, and Anderson and Dix (1997) 129–32. For the Eteocarpathian *koinon* as a loose political formation of a group of the population that was not integrated into any of the three poleis of the island, perhaps with some cultic responsibilities, see Constantakopoulou (2005) 27–8 n. 101. Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2005) 746 sees it as a separate organization, possibly set up by the Athenians.

[7] Index 18 in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1356–60.

[8] An island in Strabo 13.1.67 c614, but see Rubinstein in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1070: unlocated.

[9] On the tribute of Samothrace and Thasos see chapter 7.2. For the probable *synteleiai* of the poleis on the island of Sciathos, of the poleis of Peparethos (three poleis: Panormos, Peparethos, and Seleinous: see Reger in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 768–9), and of the poleis of Icos see Constantakopoulou (2005) 17.

island), Casos, Caryanda, Cedreai, Chalce, Cos, Diacrioi (Rhodes), Eteocarpathioi (Carpathos), Ialysos (Rhodes), Lepsimandos, Lindos (Rhodes), Oiae (Rhodes), Pedies (Rhodes), Saros, Syme, Taramptos, Telos.

5. Island district.
Aegina, Anaphe, Andros, Athenae Diades (Euboea), Belbina, Carystos (Euboea), Ceos, Ceria,[10] Chalcis (Euboea), Cimolos, Coressos (Ceos), Cythera, Cythnos, Diacres (Euboea), Diacrioi (Euboea), Dion (Euboea), Eretria (Euboea), Grynche (Euboea), Histiaea (Euboea), Hephaestia (Lemnos), Imbros, Ios, Melos, Myconos, Myrina (Lemnos), Naxos, Paros, Pholegandros, Posideion (Euboea), Rheneia, Seriphos, Sicinos, Siphnos, Styra (Euboea), Syros, Tenos, Thera.

6. Acte district.
Nesos–Pordoselene.[11]

According to the above list, we have the following sums: out of a total of 333 tribute-paying entries (some of which, however, are double entries; for instance Coressos appears one year separately from Ceos), the island entries are seventy-four. The total number of islands paying tribute to the Athenians (or assessed to pay tribute in the assessment decrees) is fifty-two. We should add to this number the number of islands that were members of the Delian league but did not pay tribute for various reasons: Delos, Chios, Samos, Lesbos (with its five poleis in the fifth century: Mytilene, Methymna, Pyrrha, Antissa, and Eresos), and Scyros.[12] We reach, therefore, a total of fifty-seven island members of the Delian league out of a total of around 330 recorded members. It is clear that in terms of numbers, islands do not constitute the majority of allied members of the league. The explanation of the use of the term 'islander' as a synonym for subject ally, therefore, must lie in the importance of islands within the context of seapower and the inherited *nesiotic* character of the league.

[10] See chapter 6.5 on the possible *synteleia* between Ceria and Anaphe.

[11] Double naming for a single entry, that is one polis with a territory spread over two islands: see chapter 6.4.

[12] See Hansen in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 110 with n. 1, and Ste Croix (1972) 103.

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