Karia and Krete:
a study in social and cultural interaction

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I, Naomi H Carless Unwin, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

My thesis focuses on social and cultural interaction between Karia (in south western Anatolia) and Krete, over a long time span; from the Bronze Age to the Roman period. A persistent tradition existed in antiquity linking the Karians with Krete; this was mirrored in civic mythologies in Karia, as well as in cults and toponyms. My research aims to construct a new framework in which to read these traditions.

The way in which a community 'remembered' its past was not an objective view of history; traditions were transmitted because they were considered to reflect something about a society. The persistence of a Kretan link within Karian mythologies and cults indicates that Krete was 'good to think with' even (or especially) during a period when Karia itself was undergoing changes (becoming, in a sense, both 'de-Karianized' and 'Hellenized'). I focus on the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, from which most of our source material derives. The relevance of a shared past is considered in light of actual contacts between the two regions: diplomatic, economic, cultural and military.

Against the prevailing orthodoxy, which maintains that traditions of earlier contacts, affinities and kinship between peoples from different parts of the Mediterranean were largely constructs of later periods, I take seriously the origins of such traditions and explore how the networks that linked Minoan Krete with Anatolia could have left a residuum in later conceptualisations of regional history. That I am able to do so is mainly thanks to developments in recent archaeological and linguistic research into Bronze Age western Anatolia. Such a diachronic approach throws up obvious questions of methodology: one cannot draw straight lines between the late Bronze age and the second century BC, and so must develop a way of analysing how, and in which contexts, traditions survived.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank Riet van Bremen for her patience and precision in supervising this thesis. Hans van Wees and Simon Hornblower have also provided valuable comments on early drafts, and I have appreciated their insights. The opportunity to participate in the Labraunda excavations over the last three years has enhanced my research, and I would like to thank Lars Karlsson for welcoming me as a member of the team; also Pontus Hellström, for sharing his knowledge about the region, and Olivier Henry, for answering all my archaeological questions. Grants from UCL and the British School at Ankara made such trips possible, and my knowledge of the history and geography of Karia has improved vastly as a result. The Jacobi scholarship at the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik, München, gave me the opportunity to pursue my research in a stimulating environment, and I would like to thank everyone there for making it a profitable stay. My friends deserve special mention for their support over the last four years, especially Laura and Esther, and my sister Abbie. Also Patrick Finn, who introduced me to the ancient world, and Genevieve, for first suggesting we take a trip to Turkey. Most of all I would like to thank my parents, for everything along the way.

Abbreviations

ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
Achaie 3	A.D. Rizakis (2008), *Achaie III. Les inscriptions de cite achéennes. Épigraphie et histoire* (Athens).
Ager *Interstate Arbitrations*	S. L. Ager (1996), *Interstate Arbitration in the Greek World, 337-90 BC* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London).
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
ala2004	C. Rouché (2004), *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions*, revised second edition, available at http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004
AM	A. Goetze (1933), *Die Annalen des Mursilis (MVAG* 38) (Leipzig).
Austin	M.M. Austin (2nd ed. 2006), *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: a selection of ancient sources in translation* (Cambridge).
Bagnall & Derow	R. S. Bagnall & P. Derow (eds.) (2004), *Historical Sources in Translation: The Hellenistic Period* (2nd ed. Oxford).
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*
BE	*Bulletin Épigraphique*, pub. in *Revue des Études Grecques*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BMC Greek (Caria, Cos, Rhodes)	B.V. Head (1897), *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes &c.* (London, 1897).
BMC Greek (Ionia)	B.V. Head (1892), *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia* (London).
BMCR	*Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu
Bresson *I. Pérée*	A. Bresson (1991), *Recueil des inscriptions de la Pérée rhodienne (Pérée intégrée)* (Paris).
Callimachus (Pfeiffer)	R. Pfeiffer (1949), *Callimachus Vol. I: Fragmenta* (Oxford).

CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin, 1845-1853).
Clara Rhodos	*Clara Rhodos.* Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi. 10 vols. (Rhodes 1928-1941).
CPG	E. von Leutsch & F. W. Schneidewin (eds.) (1839), *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Göttingen).
CTH	E. Laroche (1971), *Catalogue des texts hittites* (Paris).
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens*.
FD 3	G. Daux & A. Salac (1932-43), *Fouilles de Delphes, III. Epigraphie 3. Depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Géelon,* 2 vols. (1 (1932): nos. 1-178; 2 (1943): nos. 179-441) (Paris).
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.
GIBM	*Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* (Oxford 1874-1916).
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.*
HTC	P. Debord & E. Varinlioğlu (eds.) (2001), *Les hautes terres de Carie* (Bordeaux).
IAph2007	J. Reynolds, C. Rouché, G. Bodard (2007) *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, available at: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007.
IC	M. Guarducci (1935-50), *Inscriptiones Creticae,* 4 vols.
ID	F. Durrbach, P. Roussel, M. Launey, J. Coupry & A. Plassart (1926-72), *Inscriptions de Délos*, 7 vols. (1 (1950): nos. 1-88; 2 (1972): nos. 89-104.33; 3 (1926): nos. 290-371; 4 (1929): nos. 372-509; 5 (1935): nos. 1400-1496; 6-7 (1937): nos. 1497-2879) (Paris).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
I. Didyma	A. Rehm, R. Harder (1958) *Didyma, II. Die Inschriften* (Berlin).

I. Ephesos	H. Wankel, Ch. Börker, R. Merkelbach, H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, R. Meric, S. Şahin, J. Nollé (1979-1981), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 7 vols. *Inschriften griechischer Städte Kleinasien* Band 11-17 (Bonn).
I. Erythrai	H. Engelmann & R. Merkelbach (1972-1973), *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, 2 vols. *Inschriften griechischer Städte Kleinasien* Band 1 & 2 (Bonn).
I. Iasos	W. Blümel (1985), *Die Inschriften von Iasos*, 2 vols. *Inschriften griechischer Städte Kleinasien* Band 28, 1&2 (Bonn).
I. Kaunos	C. Marek (2006), *Die Inschriften von Kaunos. Vestigia: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte.* Band 55 (München).
I. Knidos	W. Blümel (1992), *Die Inschriften von Knidos. Inschriften griechischer Städte Kleinasien.* Band 41 (Bonn).
I. Labraunda	J. Crampa (ed.) (1969 &1972), *Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches 3 (I & II): The Greek Inscriptions* (Stockholm).
I. Magnesia	O. Kern (1900), *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin).
I. Mylasa	W. Blümel (ed.) (1987-1988), *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, 2 vols. *Inschriften griechischer Städte Kleinasien.* Band 34 & 35 (Bonn).
I. Priene	F. Hiller von Gaertringen (1906), *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin).
I. Rhod. Per.	W. Blümel (ed.) (1991), *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. Band 38 (Bonn).
I. Stratonikeia	M. Ç. Şahin (ed.) (1981-1982), *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien.* Band 21 & 22. (Bonn).
Iscr. di Cos	M. Segre, M. (ed.) (1993), *Iscrizioni di Cos*, 2 vols (Rome).
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig & Berlin).
Konuk, Coinage of the Hekatomnids	K. Konuk (1998), *The Coinage of the Hekatomnids of Caria* (PhD Thesis Oxford).
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin).
Le Rider *Monnaies*	G. Le Rider (1966), *Monnaies crétoises du VIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris).
Lindos 2	C. Blinkenberg (1941), *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches,1902-1914*. Vol II, *Inscriptions*. 2 vols. (Copenhagen & Berlin).
Maiuri *NSER*	A. Maiuri (1925), *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Firenze).
Meiggs & Lewis	R. Meiggs & D. Lewis (eds.) (1969), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC* (Oxford).
Milet 1. 3.	A. Rehm (1914), *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*. Band 1, Heft 3. *Das Delphinion in Milet* (Berlin).
Milet 1. 7.	H. Knackfuss, mit epigraphischen Beitrag von A. Rehm (1924), *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*. Band 1, Heft 7. *Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen* (Berlin).
Milet 6. 3.	P. Herrmann, W. Günther, N. Ehrhardt (eds.) (2006), *Inschriften von Milet. Teil 3. Inschriften n. 1020-1580* (Berlin).
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*.
P.Cair.Zen.	C.C. Edgar (ed.) (1925-31), *Zenon Papyri, Catalogue general des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Cairo.* 4 Vols. (Cairo).
P.Col.Zen.	W. L. Westermann & L. Sayre Hasenoehrl (eds.) (1934-40), *Zenon Papyri. Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt.* 2 Vols. (New York).

P. Lond.	F.G. Kenyon & H.I. Bell (eds.) (1893-1917), *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (London).
P. Mich.	A.E.R. Boak, J.G. Winter, E.M. Husselman, W.F. Edgerton, H.C. Youtie, O.M. Pearl (eds.), *Michigan Papyri.*
P. Mich. Zen.	C.C. Edgar (ed.) (1931), *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection* (Ann Arbor).
PP	*La Parola del Passato*.
PSI	*Papiri greci e latini*, Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papyri greci e latini in Egitto.
REA	*Revue des Études Anciennes*.
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*.
Rhodes & Osborne	P.J. Rhodes & R. Osborne (2003), *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404 – 323 BC* (Oxford).
Rigsby *Asylia*	K.J. Rigsby (1996), *Asylia: territorial inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley).
Robert & Robert *Amyzon*	J. Robert & L. Robert (1983), *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie. Tome I. Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions* (Paris).
Roesch *I. Thesp.*	P. Roesch (2007-2009), *Les Inscriptions de Thespies*, édition électronique mise en forme par G. Argoud, A. Schachter et G. Vottéro, (http://www.hisoma.mom.fr/thespies.html).
RPhil	*Revue de Philologie*.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden).
SNG	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (Oxford).
Syll.[3]	W. Dittenberger (1915-24), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn. 4 vols. (Leipzig).
TAM 2	E. Kalinka (1920-44), *Tituli Asiae Minoris II. Tituli Lyciae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti* 3 vols. (Vienna) (1 (1920): nos. 1-395; 2 (1930): nos. 396-717; 3 (1944), nos. 718-1230).
TAM 3	R. Heberdey (1941), *Tituli Asiae Minoris III. Tituli Pisidiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti* (Vienna).

Tit. Cam.	M. Segre & I. Pugiliese Carratelli (1952-54), 'Tituli Camirenses,' *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene a delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 30-32, pp. 211-246.
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*.

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Introduction: Approaching the Question of Karian-Kretan Interaction

Introduction: Approaching the question of Karian-Kretan interaction*

Throughout antiquity individuals were travelling between communities and cities, in pursuit of exchange or commercial opportunities, diplomatic endeavours, or for reasons of war, to name but a few motivations. Tracing the volume and frequency of such contact is a difficult task; the evidence that remains is fragmentary and, it can be supposed, only reveals a fraction of the interaction that actually occurred. The ramifications of such connectivity are even more problematic to reconstruct; while we know that individuals were coming into contact with people(s) from outside their immediate sphere, and that this led to some level of social and/or cultural confrontation and interaction, we are largely dealing with processes that leave little discernible record. But the potential implications are wide reaching, and despite the inherent difficulties, the effects of such interaction remain crucial to our understanding of the ancient world; both in terms of how travel and mobility could affect the transmission of cultural and religious ideas, and how this could influence the long-standing cultural orientation of a region.

I aim to analyse the mechanisms involved in cultural interaction between individuals and/or states as applied to the case of Karia and Krete. In the ancient world there was a persistent tradition that associated the region of Karia, in south western Anatolia, with the island (Map 1). Several versions of this were transmitted in antiquity, but in its broadest outline tradition held that the Karians had at one time inhabited the islands of the Aegean, where they were brought under the dominion of the Kretan king Minos as part of his thalassocracy; subsequently they were forced to migrate to the Anatolian mainland. The earliest extant version is recorded by Herodotos, who wrote that the Karians had earlier inhabited the islands, at which time they were called Leleges; they fell within the realm of Minos, although rather than paying tribute to the Kretan king they took on the responsibility of manning his ships.[1] The Karians were driven from the islands (ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων)

* All names will be used in their Hellenized form, except in certain cases where the Latinized versions are noticeably more familiar in the English speaking world; thus Thucydides, rather than Thukydides; Cyprus and the Cyclades, rather than Kypros and the Kyklades.

by the arrival of the Ionians and the Dorians, after which they settled in mainland Anatolia.[2] Thucydides gave a similar account, whereby the Karians had in earlier times colonised most of the islands of the Aegean in their capacity as pirates.[3] However, in this version it was Minos who drove them to the mainland when he sought to establish his own colonies in the Cyclades.[4] The widespread acceptance of the outline of this tradition is reflected in Strabo, who in the Augustan period wrote that 'of the numerous accounts of the Karians, the one that is generally agreed upon is this, that the Karians were subject to the rule of Minos, being called Leleges at that time, and lived in the islands.'[5] Strabo does not record under what circumstances the Karians migrated to the Anatolian mainland, although he wrote that they acquired much of the coast and of the interior, 'taking it away from its previous possessors, who for the most part were Leleges and Pelasgians.'[6] The migrations of the Ionians and the Dorians subsequently deprived the Karians of part of their coastal territory.[7]

Beyond this core, a larger corpus of material suggests some association or affiliation between south western Anatolia and Krete, although not necessarily within the framework of Minos' rule over the region. The Minoan connection is mirrored in a number of civic mythologies that awarded some role to Krete in their foundation legends; various cults and toponyms within Karia also suggest a relationship, notably in a Hellenistic cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus.[8] The communities of Karia retained a 'memory' of early interaction with Krete, which was fed into their local mythologies and rituals. It is a diverse but pervasive collection of material, and the task of making sense of the various strands is far from

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[1] Hdt. 1. 171. 2: εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ: οἱ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας.
[2] Hdt. 1. 171. 5.
[3] Thuc. 1. 8. See n. 35.
[4] Thuc. 1. 4.
[5] Strab. 14. 2. 27: πολλῶν δὲ λόγων εἰρημένων περὶ Καρῶν ὁ μάλισθ' ὁμολογούμενός ἐστιν οὗτος ὅτι οἱ Κᾶρες ὑπὸ Μίνω ἐτάττοντο, τότε Λέλεγες καλούμενοι, καὶ τὰς νήσους ᾤκουν. Translation H. L. Jones (Loeb).
[6] Strab. 14. 2. 27: εἶτ' ἠπειρῶται γενόμενοι πολλὴν τῆς παραλίας καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας κατέσχον τοὺς προκατέχοντας ἀφελόμενοι: καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Λέλεγες καὶ Πελασγοί.
[7] Strab. 14. 2. 27: πάλιν δὲ τούτους ἀφείλοντο μέρος οἱ Ἕλληνες, Ἰωνές τε καὶ Δωριεῖς.
[8] See below p.155ff.

straightforward for the modern historian. The way in which a community 'remembered' or 'recalled' its past was not an objective view of history; traditions were ingrained in a society and transmitted across generations because they were considered to reflect something about that society which remained relevant. Furthermore, the process of 'remembering' was continual and liable to shifts; communal self-identification was often reactive, and conceived in response to outside enquiry or in confrontation with an unknown 'other.'[9]

The persistence of a Kretan link within Karian civic mythologies and cults, beyond the broader tradition associating the Karians as a people with Minos, indicates that Krete somehow remained 'good to think with' in a Karian context, and continued to be relevant within the articulation of local identities. The prestige and antiquity of a link with the mythologies of Minoan Krete were certainly a part of this; communities in the ancient world frequently sought to emphasise the depth of their history by tracing their origins back to the age of myth and heroes.[10] The 'golden age' of Minoan Krete and its associated mythologies were significant in a number of ancient traditions, and more generally, Krete played a role in a number of foundation tales.[11] However, I do not think that the significance of Krete in a Karian context can be explained solely in terms of establishing the prestige of their early history; rather, the Kretan link reflected something about the participation of Karians in the social and cultural networks of the Aegean.

I will analyse the role that these myths played in communal self-conception, or their 'social function', and examine the historical circumstances in which certain versions rose to prominence. The focus will be on civic mythologies; during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, from which the majority of our evidence derives, local histories and foundation tales tend to collect around the *polis*. However, I will also consider how they corresponded with and played into regional narratives

[9] Konstan (2001) 30. The literature on the topic of identity in the ancient world is extensive; see below n. 188. On memory and identity, see Connerton (1989); Fentress & Wickham (1992).
[10] Thomas (2011). See below p.74f.
[11] See p.226ff.

concerning a link; the notion of 'Karian' and even 'Kretan' identities in themselves went through a process of crystallisation.[12]

Recognising the 'social function' of mythologies in the formation of communal identity does not negate interest in their origins, and another part of this thesis will address how certain aspects of the historical mythologies reflected distant events. Rather than regarding them solely as later inventions, I will examine whether and how the traditions linking Karia and Krete preserved an awareness of Late Bronze Age mobility. The topic is complex, and bound up with how much credence we should place in later recorded mythologies: accepting the premise that there may be some historical basis to certain themes is not the same as expecting historical accuracy, but determining where to place such traditions between legend and fact remains far from straightforward. In this thesis I will be trying to construct a framework in which to read these traditions most intelligibly, placing them within a context of early Karian and Kretan communication and interaction.

Some level of interaction between south western Anatolia and Krete was continual, and the chronological scope of this thesis will be broad; examining evidence from the Bronze Age through to the Roman period. The majority of the sources date from the Classical period or later, and there were numerous versions and adaptations; my focus will be on evidence from the Hellenistic period, for which we can reconstruct the civic life of the communities in Karia in some detail. The reception of historical traditions was not constant in the ancient world, but reflected the contemporary social, political and cultural context. In this regard, Herodotos' comment that the tale surrounding the Karian settlement of the islands was the 'Kretan' version of Karian history is of interest. The Karians themselves are said to have denied it, claiming 'to have been mainlanders from the first and never to have been known by any other name than their present one.'[13] They asserted their indigenous roots within Anatolia, and claimed that their eponymous father Kar was a brother to Lydos and Mysos, the founding figures of Lydia and Mysia.[14]

[12] To this picture we should add tribal mythologies, although unfortunately we have little evidence to substantiate any associated traditions.
[13] Hdt. 1. 171. 5. Translation A.D. Godley (Loeb).
[14] Hdt. 1. 171. 6.

The notion of a 'Karian' identity went through a process of evolution, and a shift in mentality can be detected in the post-Classical sources, when it seems that the Kretan element was developed and more widely endorsed within the region. Strabo, who himself had been educated at Nysa in Karia, refers to the Kretan version as the one widely accepted, while in Aelian, who was writing in the early third century AD, we can detect an attempt to reconcile both strands; in relating how the Karians got their name, he writes that it was after Kar, the son of Zeus and Krete.[15] How and why this shift occurred will be discussed in light of Karian-Kretan interaction from the fourth century BC onwards.

Karia as a geographical unit is broadly identified as the region south of the Maeander River, extending east to the Salbakos Mountains; it shared borders with Lydia to the north, Phrygia to the east, and Lykia to the south east (Maps 1 & 2). However, in antiquity the boundaries of Karia were never clearly defined. Strabo wrote of the Maeander valley that it was occupied by 'Lydians and Karians mixed with Greeks'[16], while further south towards the Taurus mountains, the Phrygian, Karian, Lydian and Mysian parts were 'hard to distinguish, since they merge into one another' (δυσδιάκριτα εἶναι παραπίπτοντα εἰς ἄλληλα).[17] The point at which a regional identity emerged, or was transformed, remains unknown: the potential identification of Karia with the Karkisa/Karkiya mentioned in the Hittite sources is attractive, although the Bronze Age history of south western Anatolia is obscure.[18] The conception of Karia as a region is strongly present in the *Iliad*, where a Karian contingent is found fighting on the side of the Trojans; the definition was geographical, with the Karian troops described as originating from the region around 'Miletos and the mountain of Phthires, dense with its foliage, and the streams of the Maeander, and the steep crests of Mykale.'[19]

Karia adjoined the Ionian and Dorian settlements along the coast of Anatolia. According to Homer, Miletos was 'Karian' in the age depicted in the *Iliad;* although

[15] Ael. *Nat. Anim*. 12. 30: ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Κρήτης καὶ Διός.
[16] Strab. 14. 1. 38: ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα Λυδοῖς καὶ Καρσὶν ἐπίμικτα καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι.
[17] Strab. 13. 4. 12.
[18] See p. 216ff.
[19] Hom. *Il.* 2. 869-871. Translation A.T. Murray (Loeb). Herda (2009) 43, equates the mountain of Phthires with Latmos; Mykale he places on the north side of the bay from Miletos, in the vicinity of Priene (Abb. 3, p. 45).

it seems that he was not reflecting his own society, but rather envisaging a previous era.[20] In later traditions, Miletos was one of the original Ionian states, founded by Neileus, along the coast of western Anatolia, and as we will see, a number of their foundation legends stressed conflict with the native 'Karians.'[21] However, we should not expect a clear demarcation between population groups, and interaction led to assimilation and interchange between Karians and Greeks over time. During the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, when Karia had been 'Hellenized' in many ways, a number of the 'Greek' *poleis* on the periphery of Karia maintained an awareness of their pre-Hellenic past within the various strands of their civic histories; as will emerge, the 'Karian' narrative of a connection with Krete was also prominent among these communities.

Cultural coherence within Karia was not assured: a distinction should be made between the coastal regions, which were more readily in contact with the cultures of the Aegean, and those areas located inland.[22] This division can also be identified in the reception of the 'Kretan link' in Karia, with a concentration in those areas with ready access to the sea. As seen, a prominent strand of the myth linking the Karians with Minos held that the Karians had originally inhabited the Aegean islands. However, such traditions are not in themselves consistent: the narratives in which the Karians inhabited the islands under the rule of Minos do not involve the migration of Kretans to the coast of Anatolia, but rather the movement of the Karians themselves to mainland Anatolia. Local and civic mythologies, on the other hand, tend to stress the arrival of the Kretans.[23] It is not my intention to reconcile the different strands, or construct a neat correspondence between later mythologies and real contact; but rather to consider the role that the central mytheme of contact between Karians and Kretans had in the conception of local histories.

An extension of the tradition relating Karian involvement in the islands can be traced in the notion of a 'Karian thalassocracy' known from certain ancient

[20] Herda (2009) 44-5.
[21] See p.54f. Cf. Herda (2009) 43f.
[22] Debord (2005).
[23] See Chapter 2.

sources.[24] According to Diodoros, after the fall of Troy, the Karians 'steadily increased their power and became masters of the sea'; they took possession of the Cyclades, 'expelling the Kretans who had their homes on them, but in some islands they settled jointly with the Kretans who had been the first to dwell there.'[25] The traditional reputation of the Karians as mercenaries may also be connected to this; according to Strabo, in earlier times 'the Karians roamed throughout the whole of Greece, serving on expeditions for pay.'[26] At Memphis in Egypt, the ancient toponym *Karikon* preserved some form of Karian settlement[27], and Karians are attested in Babylonia at Borsippa.[28] The involvement of Karians in the maritime networks of the Mediterranean is further suggested by the Καρικόν τεῖχος, 'Karian gates,' described by Ephoros as a *polis* in Libya, left of the 'Pillars of Herakles.'[29] The Karians can also be detected around the Black Sea, where a Καρῶν λιμὴν was located on the western coast.[30] It is not known when these places were named and by whom, although at Memphis the toponym seems to be related to the employment of Karian mercenaries by the Egyptian pharaohs[31]; if they do reflect Karian mobility, it is further unclear whether we are talking about a limited portion of the population, restricted to those inhabitants of Karia with coastal access.

The chronology of the Karian occupation of the islands is not known, with two separate traditions recorded: one related their occupation of the islands at the time of Minos, while the other outlined their dominance of the sea during the 'Dark Ages.' There is also some confusion and conflation of the Karians with the Leleges

[24] Diod. Sic. 5. 84. 4. Translation C.H. Oldfather (Loeb). Cf. Eusebius *Chronica* p.226 in Schoene-Petermann edition.
[25] Diod. Sic. 5. 84. 4: καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων κρατήσαντες τινὰς μὲν ἰδία κατέσχον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς κατοικοῦντας Κρῆτας ἐξέβαλον, τινὰς δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν προενοικούντων Κρητῶν κατῴκησαν.
[26] Strab. 14. 2. 28, ll. 54-5: οὗτοι δὲ καθ' ὅλην ἐπλανήθησαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα μισθοῦ στρατεύοντες.
[27] Steph. Byz. s.v. Καρικόν, τόπος ἰδιάζων ἐν Μέμφιδι, ἔνθα Κᾶρες οἱ κήσαντες, ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς Μεμφιτας ποιησάμενοι, Καρομεμφῖται ἐκλήθησαν. See p. 57.
[28] Waerzeggers (2006); the Karian community at Borsippa originated from Egypt (5). Cf. Ray (1995).
[29] Steph. Byz. s.v. Καρικόν τεῖχος, πόλις Λιβύης ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, ὡς Ἔφορος πέμπτη. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καρικοτειχίτης. Cf. Robert (1990) 108-9, who notes that names in –τειχος often refer to 'un établissement grec, un fortin, à l'orée du monde indigene.' In the case of *Karikon teichos*, it seems that the Greek form had been adopted to refer to a Karian outpost; although it is not known whether it was designated as such by Karians or Greeks.
[30] Cf. Herda (*forthcoming*). Pliny (*NH* 6. 7) also mentioned that the Karians settled around the river Tanais before the Greeks from Klazomenai and the Lydians arrived in the seventh century BC.
[31] See below p. 56f.

in many of these traditions.[32] The historicity of these traditions is far from assured, and not assumed in this thesis; although it is worth noting that the notion of the mobility of the Karians within the Aegean is also preserved in the historical traditions of a number of islands. Thucydides wrote that in the time before Minos, Karians and Phoenicians had settled most of the islands in the Aegean (οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ᾤκησαν),[33] which he supported by relating that when the Athenians purified Delos, they discovered that half the graves were of Karians; 'being recognised by the fashion of the armour found buried with them, and by the mode of burial, which is that still in use among them.'[34] In the foundation mythology of Naxos, a number of traditions preserved a Karian element. According to Diodoros, Karians from Latmia settled on the island after the Thracians abandoned it, and named it after their king Naxos, who was the son of Polemon[35]; Naxos left behind a son Leukippos, whose own son Smerdios subsequently became king of the island. A similar account was preserved by Stephanos, in which the island of Naxos was named after the son of Endymion, who had led Karian settlers to the island.[36] The Karian connection is strengthened by the existence of another place in Karia of a similar name: according to Stephanos, Naxia was a πόλις Καρίας.[37]

While not historically accurate accounts, these traditions might preserve something about the maritime interests of the Karians during the Bronze Age and into the 'Dark Ages', and their mobility within the Aegean, in particular the Dodekanese.[38] Other indicators of Karian mobility in the cultural realm can tentatively be traced in place names; in the Dodekanese, Karpathos and Karis,

[32] For further discussion on the Leleges, see below pp. 68-70.
[33] Thuc. 1. 8. 1.
[34] Thuc. 1. 8. 1: γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσιν. Translation C. Forster Smith (Loeb). In the ancient world the Karians were renowned for their warlike character, and Herodotus (1. 171) credited them with three military inventions: fitting crests on helmets, putting devices on shields, and making shields with handles. Cf. Strab. 14. 2. 27.
[35] Diod. Sic. 5. 51. 3.
[36] Steph. Byz. s.v. Νάξος; the link with Latmos is preserved in the figure of Endymion (see below).
[37] Steph. Byz. s.v. Ναξία. In another version, Naxos was the child of the Kretan nymph Akakallis and Apollo, and was related to a city of Naxia on Krete; in antiquity 'Naxian stone' was called the Kretan whetstone; Steph. Byz. s.v. Νάξος. Suda, s.v. Ναξία.
[38] Herda (2009) 57ff. has suggested that these traditions of a Karian thalassocracy could be related to the 'Sea Peoples' at the end of the Bronze Age/early Iron Age.

another name for Kos, could be linked with their mainland neighbours[39]; S. Sherwin-White has drawn attention to the Koan kinship group, the Karindai, which can tentatively be connected with Kar and the Kares.[40] Strabo also recorded that Samos had at one time been inhabited by Karians, at which point it was called Parthenia, while the island of Thera shared its names with places both in Karia and Rhodes.[41] In such cases it is difficult to determine the direction of influence, let alone the origin of the name; did the traditions involving the Karians settling the islands reflect their early mobility, or were they developed later?[42] It is difficult to distinguish a possible 'historical core' from later accretions.

The cohesiveness of Karia as a region in antiquity, and what it meant to be 'Karian,' has to be examined further. In the Archaic period, the inhabitants of the region were united by a shared language, and this can likely be traced back further; but, the coastal communities of Karia also had close cultural links with the neighbouring islands. Did this affect the unity of the region? 'Karia' as a geographical entity had an enduring significance in antiquity; however, it does not necessarily follow that we are dealing with a distinct and definable population group, or that the concept of Karia remained constant over time. The question of what we mean when we speak of 'Karia', and what it meant to be 'Karian' in the ancient world, are thus important to the study of this topic, and will be addressed further in Chapter 1. I now want to consider the history of scholarship on the topic of cultural interaction between western Anatolia and Krete through the example of the double axe; it will help to outline the main themes of this thesis, and the issues involved in the study of cultural interaction.

[39] Steph. Byz. s.v. Κῶς…ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Καρίς. Cf. Craik (1980) 51.
[40] Sherwin-White (1978) 167; many of the names of the kinship groups were named from mythology (165-168). Names ending in *–ndai* were common in Anatolia; see p. 61.
[41] Strab. 14. 1. 15; Steph. Byz. s.v. Θήρα. The Karian Thera was located south east of Stratonikeia, near the modern Yerkesik; *HTC* 32-6.
[42] Cf. Herda (2009) 43-5.

The Labrys and the Labyrinth

The consequences of interaction between Karia and Krete are the focus of this thesis: re-examining the evidence for the links within a context of multi-directional contacts from the Late Bronze Age to late antiquity. It is a topic that has long occupied scholars, in particular concerning the possible cultural debt of Bronze Age Krete to the civilisations of Anatolia and the Near East. In the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, the excavations of Arthur J. Evans on Krete, and the discovery of the 'Minoan' civilisation, led to a renewed interest in the question of contact between the Aegean and the Near East. Evans perceived a particular affiliation between Krete and the civilisations of Anatolia, and went as far as to postulate a population influx from western Anatolia to Krete in the Early Bronze Age.[43]

Within this context, the symbol of the double axe came to acquire an especial significance. According to Plutarch, writing in the late first/early second century AD, the cult of Zeus Labraundos in Karia was named after the Lydian word for the double axe, the *labrys*: in *Greek Questions* 45, he asked why the deity carried the *pelekus* instead of the thunderbolt or sceptre, and his answer traced the origins of the double axe to the Amazons. When Herakles had slain the Amazon queen Hippolyte, he gave her double axe to the Lydian queen Omphale; it was then passed onto successive Lydian rulers, before arriving in the hands of Kandaules. When Kandaules was defeated in battle, after the revolt of Gyges, the double axe passed into the possession of a certain Arselis of Mylasa, who took the double axe to Karia: 'he constructed a statue of Zeus and placed the axe in its hand, and called the god Labraundeos; for the Lydians call the axe '*labrys*.''[44] (See Figs. 1 & 2).

In 1892, M. Mayer proposed an etymological link between this Lydian word for the double axe, *labrys*, and the Greek word *labyrinth*.[45] This idea was revived after the excavations of Evans on Krete revealed the frequent occurrence of the

[43] Evans (1964) 268.

[44] Plut. *Quaes. Gr.* 45: καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα κατασκευάσας τὸν πέλεκυν ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ Λαβρανδέα τὸν θεὸν προσηγόρευσε: Λυσοὶ γάρ 'λάβρυν' τὸν πέλεκυν ὀνομάζουσι. Translation F. C. Babbitt (Loeb).

[45] Mayer (1892) 191. A similar link was made separately by Kretschmer (1896) 302ff.

double axe across the island. The myth of the labyrinth of Minos and the Minotaur on Krete was well known in antiquity, and led Evans to suggest that the labyrinth was, in origin, the place of the double axe.[46] Occurrences of the double axe were widespread on Krete, most famously as the attribute of the primary Kretan goddess (often equated with the Mother Goddess)[47], and the symbol became central to Evans' hypothesis that Minoan culture was associated with the civilisations of the Near East. The double axe served as a tangible manifestation of the connection between the Bronze Age cultures of Anatolia and Krete.[48]

The notion of an affiliation came to characterise early research into the 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean' cultures that dominated the Aegean during the second millennium BC, and their relationship with Karia drew particular attention. W. Dörpfeld proposed that the Karians were the originators of the Aegean civilisation, and were responsible for the early palace structures on Krete[49], while U. Köhler connected the Mycenaean civilisation with the 'Karian thalassocracy' known from literature.[50] This 'Karian hypothesis', as David Mackenzie termed it[51], was criticised by W.R. Paton and J. L. Myres after their research in south western Anatolia in the late nineteenth century revealed little evidence for Bronze Age contact with the Aegean.[52] But the notion of some form of affiliation between Anatolia and the

[46] Evans (1901) 109, n.7.

[47] A schist mould from Palaikastro depicts what we think is the goddess holding a double axe in both hands. A number of Bronze Age seals, both from Krete and from Mycenae, also seem to depict a goddess with the double axe: one seal from Krete depicts a female figure with what appear to be griffins on either side with a double axe positioned above her head; at Mycenae, a scene on a ring shows a female, frequently thought to be a goddess, seated under a tree, with two female attendants approaching from the left; a double axe hovers in the centre (Evans (1964) Vol. II, Part I, 341, fig. 194e). There is further more general evidence for the cultic associations of the double axe, for example on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (Evans (1964) Vol. I 440, fig. 317); the so-called 'Shrine of the Double Axe' (Evans (1964) Vol. II, Part I 335-344) and 'Tomb of the Double Axes' (Evans (1914) 41, fig. 53) at Knossos both contained oversized ornamental double axes. At the Diktaean Cave, a number of small double axes were discovered embedded in the stalactites that appear to have been votive dedications. The coincidence of the double axe with the horns of consecration, another familiar religious motif from Bronze Age Krete, appears to further confirm the religious significance of the double axe. Other double axes were employed as tools, while the inscription of double axes on walls and pillars at Knossos has been interpreted as mason marks.

[48] Evans (1912) 279: 'the fetish cult of the Double Axe is inseparable from that of the Carian *labrys* which survived in the worship of the Zeus of Labraunda.'

[49] Mackenzie (1905-1906) 216.

[50] *Ibid.* 217. See n.24 above.

[51] *Ibid.* 216-217.

[52] Paton & Myres (1896) 263. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the current state of archaeological research into Bronze Age Karia.

Aegean continued to influence scholarship into the twentieth century; W. Burkert postulated numerous 'oriental' influences on Greek religion, while C. Picard thought that 'primitive' Greek religion found its origins in Anatolia, with other influences from Egypt and further east.[53]

Archaeologists working in south western Anatolia were also directed by considerations of contact with the Aegean. A.W. Persson initiated the Swedish excavations at Labraunda in 1948 with the purpose of seeking evidence for contacts with Krete. As he wrote, 'it is possible, in my opinion, that the Carian syllabic signs originated directly from the Minoan and did not travel via the Cypriot script.'[54] During his excavations at Labraunda, he was hoping to find bilingual inscriptions in Karian and a proto-Karian script: 'as written documents from the second millennium BC are known both from Crete in the west and the Hittites in the east, there should be a possibility to find inscriptions from the same period in Caria.' He thought that this earlier script might prove to be connected with the ancient scripts of Krete, and thus aid in their decipherment[55]: 'such an intermediate link might lead to the final solution of the Minoan script problem.'[56] Persson's excavations in south western Anatolia were directed towards probing the idea of a linguistic and cultural affinity between Karia and Krete, and in this he was not alone: research began at the coastal site of Iasos in Karia under Italian directorship in 1960 in the hope of discovering evidence for early Minoan and Mycenaean interaction with south western Anatolia.

It is tempting to regard the prominence of the double axe at Labraunda as one of the main motivations behind Persson's choice of the site as the place to conduct his investigations. But what value, if any, is the symbol of the double axe to a study of Karian-Kretan interaction? With the available evidence, a direct correspondence between the occurrences of the double axe on Krete and in Anatolia cannot be established: the symbol disappeared from Krete in the tenth century BC, while the main evidence for the double axe in western Anatolia dates to the late

[53] Burkert (1992); Picard (1948) 225. Cf. West (1997).
[54] Persson (1948) 8. With thanks to Pontus Hellström for discussion and the translation. See also Hellström (2007) 49.
[55] Persson (1948) 31.
[56] Persson (1948) 8.

Archaic/Classical period.[57] Yet, the especial frequency of the double axe on Bronze Age Krete, and later in western Anatolia, is unparalleled in the ancient world. While the double axe is sometimes attested in other locations, the high symbolic value attached to the axe within these two contexts is exceptional, even though they are chronologically separate.

There are earlier iconographic parallels for the double axe in Anatolia within Hittite imagery. At the sanctuary at Yazılıkaya, near the Hittite capital of Hattuša, a series of reliefs dated to the late thirteenth century BC depict a processional scene of deities; behind the central female figure, a younger male deity is shown standing on a panther, and carrying a double axe.[58] In other contexts, the double axe served as the attribute of the Sun-God.[59] More broadly, the symbolic value of the axe within Hittite iconography is confirmed in the images of the Hattian storm god Teshub, who is frequently depicted carrying an axe (although it is not double) and a thunderbolt.[60] The symbolic value of the double axe within Karia from the Classical period could therefore be connected with precedents within Hittite iconography; but what of the connections of both with the Kretan symbol?

A shared origin for the cultic significance of the axe within Anatolian and Aegean imagery can be envisaged; however the implications in terms of religious transfer remain complicated. The only attestations of the double axe in western Anatolia during the Bronze Age seem to arise as a result of contact with the Aegean; at Miletos, a fragment of a Mycenaean pot decorated with a double axe has been

[57] Some of the earliest evidence is on coins, for example on the coin types of the Hekatomnid dynasts in the fourth century BC (Konuk, *Coinage of the Hekatomnids,* Hekatomnos 160; Maussollos 16, 18), and on the island of Tenedos, off the coast of Anatolia in the fifth century BC (*SNG* Copenhagen 506-7).

[58] Macqueen (1986) Ill. 114; 116, pp. 126-127.

[59] As seen in the relief from Chamber 2 at Hattuša (Boğazkale), and in a Neo-Hittite relief of the Sun-God and the Moon-God from Gaziantep, now in the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara.

[60] An axe is also found on the King's Gate at Boğazkale, where a figure is depicted holding up the tool, apparently as a weapon; there is no indication that the figure is divine. There are indications that the axe, single or double, may have also held a ritual significance within the cultures of Assyria and Egypt: from the Assyrian realm, a frieze from Nimrud depicts a statue of the thundergod Adad being carried by Assurbanipal's soldiers, and in his right hand he carried a single bladed axe (Blinkenberg (1911) 24, fig. 11); in Egypt, a 'priest of the double axe' may be attested during the fifteenth dynasty, and again in the twenty sixth dynasty, although little is known (Newberry (1908)).

discovered[61], while at Ephesos a Mycenaean double axe was discovered in the east area of the temple courtyard.[62]

The religion and material culture of western Anatolia during the second millennium BC remains little understood, but it should not be regarded as coterminous with the Hittite realm. Hittite texts referred to the kingdoms of Arzawa and Mira, which broadly covered the region from the coast to the area later occupied by Phrygia; there were also references to the Lukka lands and Karkisa/Karkiya, which are thought to roughly equate to the Classical Lykia and Karia.[63] While these regions were in contact with, and linguistically affiliated to the regions and kingdoms of central Anatolia, it does not follow that their cultural and religious practices were indistinguishable. The coastal region of western Anatolia, including the region of Karia, should rather be visualised as an interface between two realms.[64]

In antiquity the link extrapolated by Mayer and Evans between the Lydian *labrys* and the labyrinth of Minos was not made: Herodotos wrote that the labyrinth was of Egyptian origin, and there are no other traditions in support of an Anatolian link.[65] The connection between the *labrys* and Labraunda was only made in Plutarch; elsewhere Aelian wrote that Zeus received the title Labraundeus because 'he sent down furious (λάβρῳ) and heavy rainstorms.'[66] While numerous traditions in antiquity connected the Karians and the Kretans, the double axe as a visual link between Krete and Anatolia was nowhere made. But consideration of the problem illustrates the issues involved in the study of cultural interaction in the ancient world. If a clear connection between the double axe in Karia and Krete existed, an overlap in the *significance* of the symbol would be expected. A symbol can have a variety of meanings within different contexts, and functions through the associations it evokes; with regard to the question of interaction it is not enough to simply identify where the double axe occurred as a symbol, and thereby reconstruct lines of contact and interchange. Establishing the meanings of a symbol in the first instance is not

[61] Niemeier (1998) 40.
[62] Bammer & Muss (1996) 27.
[63] See discussion below, p. 216.
[64] Cf. Mountjoy (1998). See below p. 216ff.
[65] Hdt. 2. 148.
[66] Ael. *Nat. Anim.* 12. 30. Translation A.F. Scholfield (Loeb).

without complications, as a symbol is often employed as 'shorthand'; its associations did not require explanation to a contemporary audience. There is also the question of what degree of correlation between two contexts is required: a direct replication of practices might serve as an indicator of contact, but would similarities in cultural or religious forms be equally suggestive? How similar do such practices have to be to allow us to postulate the influence of one society on another, rather than a parallel development within two different contexts?

In a recent article, C. Ulf (2009) has sought to reconsider the processes involved in cultural contact, emphasising the stages involved in the process of transmission: the culture of origin for a certain form or idea (the producer), the channels of transmission for this form (the transmitter), and how it is received by the recipient culture.[67] A direct correlation between the cultural significance assigned to an object by the producer and the recipient should not be expected, as the potential for adaptation in the process of transmission has to be taken into consideration.[68] The receiving culture would interpret a new form or idea within its own cultural context, and thus its significance could shift during the process of incorporation. The processes by which the two cultural contexts came into contact may not have been direct, but rather conducted through an intermediary; thus there was the potential for adaptation during transmission. Processes of cultural interaction would also not be unilateral: influence could be continual and mutual.[69] Various factors need to be taken into consideration in the study of cultural interaction, and for an ancient historian this task is made all the more difficult by fragmentary evidence and chronological discrepancies.

The question of the *labrys* ultimately remains intractable, as the evidence is such that we cannot prove a direct connection. But neither can we assert that the high symbolic value of the double axe found in both contexts was entirely unrelated. It is possible to envisage a common source for the proliferation of the double axe on Krete and in Anatolia, born out in some way by early channels of cultural exchange. This notion has many critics, who rightly stress the inherent difficulties with the

[67] Ulf (2009) 83-86.
[68] *Ibid*. 89.
[69] *Ibid*. 90.

evidence; yet they often substantiate their arguments through recourse to this same body of evidence. For instance, the close association of the double axe with a female deity on Krete is often cited as evidence for its distinction from the double axe in Karia, as in Anatolia it is the attribute primarily of a male deity.[70] However this does not allow for the potential adaptation in significance in different regions and in different periods. Furthermore such a clear division between male and female divinities does not stand up to scrutiny. According to Plutarch, the double axe was closely associated with the Amazons in Anatolia, and the *labrys* of Zeus Labraundos had originally belonged to the Amazonian queen Hippolyte.[71] M. Haysom has recently sought to analyse the contextual associations of the double axe during different periods, and has concluded that secure evidence for the double axe as an object of cult on Krete, and its association with a female deity, only occurs in Late Minoan II-III contexts (roughly c.1500-1350 BC; see fig. 13).[72] While the association of the double axe with the goddess was important, it served as one of her various attributes rather than denoting divinity, and the significance of the symbol was both wider and antedated any visible association with the deity.[73]

If we are looking for an overlap in significance, there are hints that in both contexts the double axe was employed as a weapon, or in a military context.[74] The first literary reference to the sanctuary at Labraunda occurs in Herodotos' account of the battle between the Karians and the Persians in 497 BC: the Karians were

[70] Vanschoonwinkel (2004).

[71] See n. 44. The Amazons were claimed as founders at a number of sites in Anatolia (although not in Karia), including Ephesos and Smyrna; Roman coin types from both these cities frequently depicted their Amazonian founders with the double axe. See now Blok (1996). In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the symbol also served as an attribute of female deities in a number of cities in Anatolia, albeit less frequently; for example at Nysa (Cook (1925) 564, fig. 452), on the northern side of the Maeander; and at Eumenia. According to Appian (*BC* 1. 11. 97), Sulla dedicated a golden double axe to Aphrodite at Aphrodisias during his campaign in the region. The double axe appears on a number of coin types of the second/first century BC foundation of Aphrodisias/Plarasa, although it is not clear to which deity it refers. Aphrodite is one alternative, although it may have been invoking the local cult of Zeus Nineudios, or the little known Zeus Spaloxos. For the latter, see below p. 90.

[72] Haysom (2010) 35-55; thus the Hagia Triada sarcophagus has been dated to 1375-1325 BC, and the mould from Palaikastro to LM IIIB.

[73] The goddess could also be accompanied by lions, or sometimes by snakes. The association between the double axe and female deities was made most forcefully by Waites (1923), and since then has found currency. However, Evans and Cook both regarded the double axe as associated with male as well as female deities.

[74] Blinkenberg (1911) 13-27, conceived of the axe as the thunderweapon, yet the coincidence of an axe alongside a lightning bolt in the cult of Teshub suggests that each attribute had a different significance.

overwhelmed, and shut themselves up at Labraunda, 'in the great grove of sacred plane-trees known as the precinct of Zeus Stratios.'[75] Strabo also wrote that Labraunda contained 'an ancient shrine and statue of Zeus Stratios.'[76] The epithet 'Stratios' (στράτιος), or 'warlike,' implies that the cult statue referred to was armed, and thus the attribute of the double axe could be interpreted within a militaristic context. The relationship of this Zeus Stratios to the axe-wielding Zeus Labraundos is unclear: Herodotos' account implies that the two deities were coterminous, yet inscriptions from Mylasa, dating to the second century BCE, make reference to ἱερέως Διὸς Στρατίου καὶ Ἥρας.[77] The cult of Zeus Stratios appears to have been distinct from that of Zeus Labraundos, but a similar root for both cults can perhaps be sought. In antiquity, the Karians were renowned for their warlike nature, and their deities appear to fit this mould: beyond Zeus Stratios, a cult of Mars (probably Ares) at Halikarnassos is noted by Vitruvius[78], while a Zeus Areios is attested at Hydisos.[79] If the local deities of Karia were typified by their warlike character, the attribute of the double axe could represent a weapon.[80]

On Krete, the symbolism of the double axe could also be connected to its capabilities as a weapon; Haysom has suggested that the double axe served as a status symbol during the Neo-Palatial period, employed in rituals, and possibly connected with warfare.[81] This is further suggested by the finds at the Diktaean cave, where, alongside votive double axes, a number of daggers, model swords and arrow heads were dedicated as votives.[82] Rather than necessarily designating a cult or divinity, these dedications could be commemorating a specific event, such as a military victory.[83]

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[75] Hdt. 5. 119. 2.
[76] Strab. 14. 2. 23: ἐνταῦθα νεώς ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος καὶ ξόανον Διὸς Στρατίοι.
[77] *I. Mylasa* 204.16; 405.3.
[78] Vitr. 2. 8. 11.
[79] Delrieux (2007): Hellenistic coin types: HH/1, HH/4, HH/5, HH/6; Roman coin types:HP/1, HP/2, HP/5 (pp. 61-71).
[80] Certain coin types of Aphrodisias have the double axe on the obverse, and a cuirass on the reverse, which again may suggest a warlike context for the cults concerned; *BMC Greek (Caria, Cos, Rhodes)*, Nos. 1-3, p. 25.
[81] Haysom (2010) 43-47. Cf. Nilsson (1950) 160-161; Verlinden (1985) 136-138.
[82] Haysom (2010) 48.
[83] *Ibid.*

The main problem in seeking an affiliation between the double axe on Krete and the *labrys* in Anatolia remains the widely different time periods from which our evidence comes; even if the ritual and cultic significance attached to a specifically double axe within these two regions may be connected in origin, the subsequent reception and development of the symbol within each context would have been separate. The meanings of the symbol would have shifted over time, as it came to be used in new contexts, or lose some of it associations. As for Persson's theory of a linguistic affiliation between Anatolia and Krete, the advances in our understanding of the languages of Anatolia, including Karian, and the decipherment of Linear B, have served to disprove his notion of a direct linguistic affinity. Karian is now known to belong to the same linguistic family as Luwian, and was connected to other local Anatolian languages.[84] Linear B, on the other hand, has been shown to be an early form of Greek.[85] However, such a corrective to certain aspects of early thinking need not lead us to discard the broader implications of this research, namely the hypothesis that the Bronze Age cultures of western Anatolia and Krete may have been in contact with, and influenced, one another.[86]

In the study of cultural exchange, rather than categorising elements as 'Eastern' or 'Greek', the emphasis is better placed on the mobility of individuals within the networks of the Aegean, and their role as agents of social and cultural interaction. Mayer's proposal of a connection between the Lydian word *labrys* and the Greek word *labyrinth* in the late nineteenth century has now been questioned by scholars. However, with our increasing knowledge of the languages of Anatolia, new etymological links between these languages and early forms of Greek continue to be proposed. I. Yakubovich has suggested that both labyrinth and Labraunda could be connected to the Hittite/Luwian word *tabarna/labarna*, the meaning of which was related to kingly power.[87] The similarity between the Greek word for the double axe,

[84] Adiego (2007) 345-347. Cf. Yakubovich (2008) 130.
[85] Although they do all belong to the Indo-European linguistic family, indicating a broader linguistic affinity.
[86] Yakubovich (2008) 127-8 for the evidence of contact between Luwian and Greek.
[87] Yakubovich (2002); cf. Melchert (2003c) 19. Labarna was one of the early Hittite kings, and possibly the founder of the dynasty; see now Bryce (2003), 46ff. Another recent proposition has connected the name of Labraunda to the Hittite word *–wanta*, meaning a 'place rich in', and *labra*, which likely means some form of plant; Hellström (2009) 271, suggested that it may be connected to the plane trees at Labraunda, commented on by Herodotos (5. 119).

πέλεκυς, and the Karian names *plqo* (transcribed in Greek as Πελλεκως or Πελεκως) and *pλeqs* (transcribed as Πελδηκος) has also long been noted.[88] The presence of a certain Πελεqος Οὐδαμου among the inscriptions of Abou Simbel in Egypt is almost certainly a dedication by a mercenary bearing a Karian name, 'Peleqos son of Eudamos.'[89] However, in the wake of its initial discovery, and perhaps due to the apparent Dorian character of the inscription, the proposal arose that the scribe was not a man at all, but 'axe son of nobody.'[90] I. Adiego has since argued against a connection between the Karian name and the Greek axe[91], but the possibility of linguistic borrowings between Greek and the languages of Anatolia remains a fertile area of research.

The population movements suggested by Evans, or the so-called 'Karian hypothesis', now seem out-dated; but the underlying assumptions of contact and exchange remain pertinent, and the role of Anatolia within the networks of the ancient world is increasingly being considered as instrumental in discussions of cultural interaction.[92] Rather than focusing on the origin of a cult or myth, or attempting to determine the direction of influence from one context to another, discussions of social and cultural interaction are becoming more nuanced.[93] The transmission of cultural and religious forms would have been continual: it is possible to postulate interchange without fully comprehending the stages involved. With regard to the symbol of the double axe, the evidence is too problematic, and our parameters too flexible, to form any definitive answers about the question of interaction; yet that does not mean that the notion of a connection between its occurrence in Krete and Anatolia should not be considered. It is possible to envisage the double axe as a kind of 'proto-symbol,' which was adopted and adapted in

[88] Adiego (2007) 399-400.
[89] Masson (2000) 214-217. The name of the father, Eudamos, is a widespread Dorian name, particularly frequent on Kos and Rhodes; Masson thus suggests (217) that Peleqos' father might have married a Karian woman, which would serve to explain his choice of a Karian name for his son.
[90] Harrison (1927) 2-3.
[91] Adiego (1994); cf. Adiego (2007) 399.
[92] The renewed focus on the evidence for Minoan and Mycenaean contacts along coastal Anatolia is one element in this, but there has also been a shift towards considering the cultures of Anatolia independently and as worthy of discussion in their own right; see, for example, the title of the recent volume edited by Collins, Bachvarova & Rutherford (2010): *Anatolian Interfaces. Hittites, Greeks and their Neighbours*.
[93] The work of Ulf (2009) has already been mentioned; see also the discussion of Csapo (2005) 67-79, on the similarities between Hittite and Greek myths.

different regions; in origins they were affiliated, but the development of their imagery was distinct. As David Mackenzie observed in 1905-1906, while it is not possible to substantiate the origin or direction of influence, there remains the valid alternative that 'the roots may be cognate without there having been derivation one way or the other.'[94]

Constructing Networks in the Ancient World

The factors influencing the direction and volume of mobility in antiquity were ultimately dictated by expediency and utility. In this regard, the notion that the Karians and Kretans came into contact with each other is entirely rational. The region of Karia was integrated into a mutual network with the neighbouring islands, and geologically the islands of the Dodekanese form an extension of south-western Anatolia. Routes connecting Karia to inland Anatolia were restricted by the mountainous terrain: inter-regional traffic was conducted principally via the Maeander valley and its tributaries, and these served as the primary communication line to central Anatolia.[95] In contrast, the extended coastline of Karia, which included the branching Datça and Bodrum peninsulas, was favourable to the communities of the region pursuing contacts within the maritime networks of the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean.[96]

This was primarily governed by practicality; the most efficacious means of transporting goods and people in antiquity was across water. The sea played a large role in the formation of networks, and maritime routes constituted an important means of delineating one's landscape[97]; navigation was directed according to visible

[94] Mackenzie (1905-1906) 219. As a product of the early twentieth century, Mackenzie's discussion is largely focused on the notion of the racial origins of the Aegean civilisations; he dismisses the hypothesis that the civilisation of Minoan Krete originated in Karia, but continues that this 'does not equally exclude the possibility of racial affinity between the peoples of the provinces in question.'

[95] Cf. Thonemann (2011) Chapter 1, 1-50.

[96] Melas (1988) 109.

[97] Horden & Purcell (2000) 11; 'in the ancient geographical tradition the sea shapes the land, not the other way about.' Cf. Strab. 2. 5. 17: 'Most of all it is the sea that delineates precisely the layout of the land, creating gulfs, sea-basins, traversable narrows, and in the same way, isthmuses, peninsulas and capes; in this rivers and mountains also play their part' (πλεῖστον δ' ἡ θάλαττα γεωγραφεῖ καὶ σχηματίζει τὴν γῆν, κόλπους ἀπεργαζομένη καὶ πελάγη καὶ πορθμούς, ὁμοίως δὲ

landmarks, and routes were defined by the harbours or inlets visited.[98] In their important study *The Corrupting Sea* (2000), P. Horden and N. Purcell rightly emphasise the significance of the coast-wise voyage, or *periplous*, as an 'expression of geographical coherence.'[99] When one observes their relative locations on a map, an association between south western Anatolia and Krete recommends itself (Map 1); a natural route goes from the east of Krete to Karpathos, Rhodes, and the harbours of south western Anatolia.[100] The coastal ports of Karia were integral both within the maritime itineraries of the eastern Aegean, and the longer distance trading networks of the eastern Mediterranean.

Navigation was primarily dictated by the direction of winds and the currents; during the summer sailing season, from mid-May to mid-September, the prevailing north western winds, the etesians (or the meltem) encouraged travel in an anti-clockwise direction (see Fig. 3.1). Travel from Egypt to the Aegean was primarily conducted via the Levant and along the south coast of Anatolia, whose harbours and inlets provided the necessary shelter.[101] However, the weather conditions became more unpredictable during the winter months; in particular the prevalent northerly winds around Cyprus would have discouraged travellers from making the journey east from Alexandria, around the Levant (see Fig. 3.2).[102] M. Zimmerman has suggested that during this period a route directly north between Alexandria and Rhodes, or via Libya, would instead have been preferred.[103] Zimmerman has drawn attention to a letter in the Zenon archive, from Antimenes to the Ptolemaic official Zenon, which records the journey of a certain Doris from Alexandria to Arsinoë in Kilikia, conducted between November/December 258 and April 257 BC. Her trip was disrupted after her ship was damaged in a storm, and it was forced to put in at

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ἰσθμοὺς καὶ χερρονήσους καὶ ἄκρας· προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὄρη).

[98] Horden & Purcell (2000) 11.

[99] *Ibid.* 11.

[100] Constantakopoulou (2007) 20, has noted that in the Dodekanese it is difficult to sail out of the sight of land. Cf. Chaniotis (2008) 3.

[101] Bresson (2011) 398-400. Cf. Arnaud (2011) 417-418, who discusses how to translate the Greek word *limen* accurately; rather than necessarily indicating a harbour or port, it was used to refer to naturally occurring inlets which provided shelter and safe anchorage.

[102] Zimmerman (1992) 205ff. Cf. Arnaud (2011) 416, who suggests that the letter records the return journey to Egypt.

[103] Cf. Plb. 34. 4; Strab. 1. 2. 17.

Patara in Lykia (Map 1). Zimmerman has consequently suggested that the direction of travel would have been east along the south coast of Anatolia[104]; the implication being that the journey from Egypt was conducted directly north, perhaps via Rhodes, before they travelled along the coast of Karia and Lykia.

P. Arnaud has recently argued that 'offshore' routes, travelling long distances across the open sea, were a regular feature of ancient navigation despite their inherent difficulties.[105] Naval routes ran directly, without touching land, from Egypt to Rhodes and southern Anatolia (and vice versa), albeit affected by the seasons. Thucydides recorded that in the winter of 411/20 BC, the Spartans sent out ten ships to Knidos; half were ordered to guard Knidos, while the other half were dispatched to sail around Triopion (the promontory of Knidos; Map 2)[106] 'and seize all the merchantmen arriving from Egypt.'[107] At this time of year, it is likely that they were following a route directly north to Rhodes and the Aegean.[108] According to Demosthenes, the uninterrupted voyage between Egypt and the Aegean could be successfully charted two or three times during the winter months; while the accuracy of this statement is not assured (whether three journeys could actually be completed), the existence of such a route is presupposed.[109] Routes directly south to Egypt from southern Anatolia and Rhodes are also attested: the *Ephesian Tale* of Xenophon of Ephesos recorded that the lovers Anthia and Habrokomes departed from Ephesos, sailed past Kos and Knidos before arriving on Rhodes, from where they set sail across the Egyptian Sea.[110]

The evidence of Medieval 'portolans', or nautical itineraries, offer further insights; while they are of a later date, the practicalities dictating certain routes were the same as those of the ancient world. P. Gauthier Dalche has recently examined a series of such documents, dating from the end of the twelfth to the fifteenth

[104] *PMich* 1. 10. See discussion of Zimmerman (1992).
[105] Arnaud (2011) 416.
[106] Cf. Bresson (2011) 395-8: the site of Knidos was moved, likely at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, to the end of the peninsula, near Cape Triopion (see Map 2). Bresson suggests (396) that this move 'correspondit manifestement à la volonté d'installer la ville de Cnide sur le grand axe de navigation qui longeait la côte micrasiatique et qui joignait les Détroits à la Syrie et à l'Egypte.'
[107] Thuc. 8. 35. 2: ταῖς δὲ περὶ Τριόπιον οὔσαις τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁλκάδας προσβαλλούσας ξυλλαμβάνειν.
[108] Arnaud (2011) 416.
[109] Dem. 56. 30.
[110] Xen. Eph. 1. 11-12. They were subsequently intercepted by Phoenician pirates and taken to Tyre.

centuries, in relation to the coastal navigation of Karia and Lykia.[111] They record distances between coastal 'ports', safe places of anchorage, and the practicalities of specific sea crossings; itineraries from Rhodes and Patara in Lykia south to Alexandria are preserved (see Fig. 4).[112] While it is not possible to reconstruct the volume of traffic that would have travelled directly from southern Anatolia and the Dodekanese to Egypt, the existence of such a trajectory in antiquity does seem assured. Indirect evidence can be sought in the well-attested mobility of Karians during the Archaic and Classical periods in Egypt; the majority of known inscriptions in the Karian language have been discovered in Egypt, and the Karian mercenaries frequently served under the Egyptian pharaohs.[113]

Islands played a central role in ancient navigation due to their function as valuable pointers demarcating the horizon. As C. Constantakopoulou (2007) has stressed in her study on insularity within the Aegean, the increased visibility that islands afforded sailors placed them 'at the heart of the navigational systems.'[114] The networks that formed between the islands were a natural and intrinsic aspect of the conceptualisation of insularity. Within the sphere of the south eastern Aegean, Constantakopoulou has noted the 'grouping' of the islands of the Dodekanese as early as Homer.[115] Insularity was articulated as much in relation to an island's neighbours as internally, and this pattern can also be identified in how islands related to the mainland: the continental coastal areas and peninsulas that bordered the Aegean were naturally incorporated into the maritime networks.[116]

The links between south western Anatolia and the surrounding islands were permanent, and the powers vying for regional supremacy frequently attempted to assert their authority across this wider domain. The Rhodian *peraia* was established

[111] Gautier Dalche (2011).
[112] *Ibid.* 436. Cf. Lane Fox (2008) 69.
[113] Adiego (2007) 17; around 170 Karian inscriptions and/or graffiti have been discovered in Egypt to date. See below pp. 56-57.
[114] Constantakopoulou, (2007) 20.
[115] *Ibid.* 25; in Homer, Kos, Kalymnos, Nisyros, Karpathos and Kasos are grouped together (Hom. *Il.* 2. 676-680).
[116] See now the comments of Constantakopoulou (2007) 228-231, on the extension of the influence of Miletos into the surrounding islands. Gauthier Dalche (2011) 437 notes the numerous small scale links that connected the islands of the Dodekanese with the continent (Fig. 4).

at the end of the fourth century BC on the Loryma peninsula[117] (see Map 2), and the subsequent attempts of the Rhodians to expand their influence in south western Anatolia during the Hellenistic period were linked with their attempts to stake their claim as the major power of the south east Aegean at this time.[118] Similarly, the Hekatomnid dynasty that ruled much of Karia during the fourth century BC extended its domain to many nearby islands, including Rhodes, and Kos, and as far north as Chios.[119] The Karian Hekatomnids involved themselves in the business of the sea as a means of asserting their regional influence.[120]

The place of Krete within this pattern is not conventional[121]: it is more geographically remote within the Aegean than the majority of islands, and no other islands are visible from it[122] (although it is said that the island is visible from the summit of Mt. Atabyros on Rhodes on a clear day).[123] According to Strabo, Krete could not be described as situated within the Aegean proper, but rather between Kyrenaia and Greece; 'washed on the north by the Aegean and the Kretan seas, and on the south by the Libyan sea, which borders on the Egyptian.'[124] In antiquity, Krete was renowned for the thalassocracy of Minos[125]; the ancient proverb ὁ Κρὴς ἀγνοεῖ τὴν Θάλατταν ('the Kretan does not know the sea'), described by Strabo to apply to those 'who pretend not to know what they do know'[126], further seems to

[117] Following the dating of Badoud (2011); he has made a persuasive case for pushing back the date of the establishment of Rhodian interests on the Chersonesos to the end of the fourth century BC. Pseudo-Skylax, active in the fourth century BC, made reference to Rhodian possessions on the mainland (Ps.-Skyl. 99); however his work is likely a compilation. Badoud (2011) 545, suggests a date between 323 and 297 BC for his work on Karia; more precisely (553-55), Badoud places the integration of the *peraia* into Rhodian territory to the immediate aftermath of the siege of Rhodes by Demetrios Poliorketes in 305 BC (Diod. Sic. 20. 82).

[118] See the comments of Horden and Purcell (2000) 133, regarding *peraiai*, areas of land opposite islands: 'the terminology, defining a piece of the mainland in terms of its relationship to an offshore island rather than vice versa, strikingly reflects the conceptual primacy of the maritime world.' On the Rhodian *peraia*: see n. 117.

[119] Dem. 5. 25. Hornblower (1982) 130; the Hekatomnids also seem to have maintained fortified strongholds on Nisyros, Kalymnos and Telos, in light of the similarity of their fortifications to those at Hekatomnid sites on the mainland (136). For further discussion of the Hekatomnids, see p. 63f.

[120] See p. 41f.

[121] Constantakopoulou (2007) 13: Krete 'does not fit the pattern of insular geography that is typical for the Aegean.'

[122] Chaniotis (2008) 5.

[123] Apollod. 3. 2. 1.

[124] Strab. 10. 4. 2: κλύζεσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄρκτων τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πελάγει καὶ τῷ Κρητικῷ, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νότου τῷ Λιβυκῷ τῷ συνάπτοντι πρὸς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος.

[125] Hdt. 1. 171.

[126] Strab. 10. 4. 17; Alcm. fr.164.

indicate the maritime reputation of the Kretans. The historicity of the Kretan thalassocracy is unverifiable, and continues to be debated[127], but the rationale behind the engagement of the Kretans in maritime activities from an early period should not be overlooked. In the fourth century BC, Aristotle was able to reflect on the special advantages of Krete's geographical position, as 'both very well placed and naturally suited to dominate the Hellenic world.'[128]

The location of the island had natural benefits within the long-distance trading networks running east-west across the Mediterranean. Trunk routes from the Levant can be traced west along the south coast of Anatolia, often via Cyprus, before meeting again in the ports of Rhodes and Karia; from there, itineraries went to Krete and the western Mediterranean.[129] St. Paul is recorded as making such a journey: travelling west from the Levant, he crossed to the coast of Kilikia and Pamphylia via Cyprus, before arriving at Myra in Lykia. There he joined a ship travelling to Italy, and journeyed along the south coast of Anatolia; however, the winds were too great for them to put in at Knidos, so they sailed to Krete, and made their way along the south of the island.[130]

The north west winds of the sailing season reached a peak at the end of the summer, during which period travellers benefited from the protection provided by the harbours along the south coast of Krete.[131] These winds also benefited trajectories directly south, and routes from western Krete to Kyrene and other parts of north Africa are attested; the promontory of Κριοῦ μέτωπον offered the shortest crossing, and according to Strabo the journey took two days and nights.[132] The early evidence of Kretan interaction with Egypt, and the Phoenician involvement on the island from the eighth century BC, would seem to confirm the place of Krete within trade routes.

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[127] See now the comments of Constantakopoulou (2007) 90-96 and Niemeier (2009). See Macdonald, Hallager & Niemeier (eds.) (2009) for a comprehensive survey of current archaeological research; below, Chapter 5.

[128] Aristot. *Pol.* 2. 1271b32: δοκεῖ δ᾽ ἡ νῆσος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πεφυκέναι καὶ κεῖσθαι καλῶς: πάσῃ γὰρ ἐπίκειται τῇ θαλάττῃ, σχεδὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱδρυμένων περὶ τὴν θάλατταν πάντων. Translation T.A. Sinclair (Penguin).

[129] Horden & Purcell (2000) 138.

[130] *Acts* 27. 4-12.

[131] Perlman (1999) 152; Bresson (2011) 399-400.

[132] Strab. 10. 4. 5. Cf. Pliny *NH* 4. 20.

While Krete was not naturally incorporated in the other 'groupings' of islands within the Aegean, its location was central to the establishment of routes running both east and west, as well as linking the Aegean with Egypt. During the Hellenistic period, the Ptolemies installed a garrison at Itanos, in order to secure their interests in the Aegean and south western Anatolia[133], while other Hellenistic dynasts also established treaties with the states of Krete at various times.[134] The island was not exempt from the wider patterns of connectivity within the Aegean, and through their geographical alignment, Krete was integrated into the networks of the Dodekanese and western Anatolia.

The logic of contact between Karia and Krete does not presuppose continuity in interaction from the early attestations of contact in the Bronze Age throughout antiquity.[135] Strabo's remark about the Kretan who does not understand the sea is immediately qualified by the statement that 'now the Kretans have lost their nautical knowledge' (νῦν δ᾽ ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ ναυτικόν).[136] The levels of connectivity between Krete and western Anatolia were to a large extent dictated by social and political factors, and there are certain periods in which the advantages of their proximity seem to have been exploited more than in others.

But the natural advantages of the communication networks between Karia, Krete, and the surrounding islands remained constant. Thucydides, when detailing an expedition from Sparta during the 'Ionian War' of 412/411 BC, described the voyage of the Spartan ships from Melos, via Krete 'as a measure of precaution', before they put in at Kaunos in Karia.[137] When the Karian dynast Maussollos sought to expand

[133] An inscription from the second century BC records that when the Itanians had been 'pressed hard' (θλιβόμενοι) by the Praisians, they had sought assistance from King Ptolemy to help protect their city and territory, including the islands: *IC* 3. 4. 9, ll. 40-1: ἐπεσπάσαντο χάριν βοηθείας καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας, | ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν νήσων, τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαντα Πτολεμαῖον. Cf. Spyridakis (1970) 71; Chaniotis (2005) 19; Viviers (2011).

[134] An inscription from Lyttos, dated to April 249 BC renewed the friendship and alliance that existed between the city and Antiochos II (*IC* 1. 18. 8). Two treaties were concluded between Attalos I and various Kretan states in order to secure access to mercenaries (Ducrey & van Effenterre (1969): Attalos and Lato, 278-80; Attalos and Malla: 281-84. Ducrey (1970)), while a treaty between Eumenes II and the Kretan *koinon* was concluded in 183 BC (see n. 534). Antigonos Doson agreed treaties with Hierapytna and Eleutherna c. 227-224 BC (*IC* 3. 3. 1. A; *IC* 2. 12. 20), and Philip V was named as *prostates* of the Kretan *koinon* in 217 BC (see n. 530).

[135] Constantakopoulou (2007) 4, for instance, draws attention to the apparent isolation of Karpathos after the collapse of the Minoan kingdoms.

[136] Strab. 10. 4. 17.

[137] Thuc. 8. 39. 3.

his influence beyond mainland Anatolia into the neighbouring islands, he and his sister/wife Artemisia made a grant of *proxenia* to the Knossians; revealing their interest in Krete as part of their wider scheme to establish their standing.[138] A possible forebear of the Hekatomnid dynasts in the fourth century is attested during the Persians Wars, when a certain Artemisia led the contingent from Halikarnassos, Kos, Nisyros and Kalyndos against the Greeks.[139] It is recorded that on her father's side she was of Halikarnassian lineage, while her mother was Kretan; it is possible that social and diplomatic ties existed between the prominent families of south western Anatolia and Krete.'[140]

The relative locations of Krete and Karia encouraged an association between the two regions that could be exploited in particular socio-political circumstances. The focus of this thesis is the ancient world, but a brief digression will illustrate the continued importance of Krete within the networks of the Mediterranean, and the role it could play in the development of links with Anatolia. During the late Middle Ages, maritime activities in the Mediterranean were dominated by Italian merchants from Venice and Genoa[141]; both states secured posts on a number of the Aegean islands, and their sailors were active within the trading networks.[142] Krete, or Candia as it was known, was acquired by Venice in the aftermath of the partition of Byzantium in AD 1204, and it became an important stronghold for the Venetians, serving as a platform from which to explore commerce in the eastern Mediterranean. In particular, the island played a significant role in the Venetian mercantile policy towards the emirates of western Anatolia, focused on Menteshe and Aydin. The Venetian governor of Krete, the Duca di Candia, was delegated the responsibility of negotiating relations with western Anatolia[143], and a series of treaties were concluded between the Venetians and the Turkish emirates from the late thirteenth, and into the fifteenth centuries, to secure their mutual trading interests in the

[138] *I. Labraunda* no. 40 (= Hornblower (1982) M7).
[139] Hdt. 7. 99.
[140] Cf. Hornblower (2011) 356-357.
[141] See above p. 37f. and Fig 4.
[142] Fleet (1999) 4-5.
[143] Zachariadou (1983) xxxiv. Zachariadou argues that Venice delegated relations with Menteshe and Aydin to Krete from the very beginning of the establishment of political and commercial relations (5).

region.[144] While a number of anti-Turkish leagues were joined by the Venetians during this period, for example the Smyrniote crusades (1343-51), commercial links with Anatolia were more pragmatic; they were directed by the Italians based on Krete and their Turkish counterparts for their mutual benefit.[145]

Individuals travelling within the navigational itineraries of the Mediterranean left little archaeological trace; the material record, primarily ceramics, provides evidence for the movement of goods, though it is not possible to establish the circumstances of their exchange.[146] But even in between periods of well attested contact, mobility within the networks of the eastern Mediterranean did not cease entirely. Attention has increasingly turned to the evidence from the so-called 'Dark Ages,' between the eleventh and eighth centuries BC, and it is becoming apparent that while there was a decrease in inter-regional contact, there was not a complete cessation in communications.[147] Networks, and the physical constraints of mobility, remained the same, as did the impetus for voyaging.

Contact and Cultural Interaction

Contact and confrontation between different communities generated opportunities for influence and acculturation, and these in turn created opportunities for the reinterpretation of cultural forms, resulting in regional variations or additional themes. Trade was only one mechanism of mobility in the ancient world: interstate diplomacy and conflict provided further stimuli for the movement of individuals, while large religious and cultural festivals would have attracted foreigners, both as

[144] Zachariadou (1983) xxxii. The Venetians established official commercial relations with the Seljuks at the beginning of the thirteenth century AD; from AD 1300 onwards, evidence for contact between Krete and Anatolia becomes increasingly frequent (4). The Genoese also concluded treaties with a number of the Turkish emirates during this period; Fleet (1999) 10-12.

[145] Fleet (1999) 10; on the crusade, cf. Zachariadou (1983) 45.

[146] Shipwrecks provide something of an exception; offering a snapshot of a vessel's cargo. See, for example, the Uluburun wreck, discovered off the coast of south western Turkey in what was ancient Lykia: Pulak (2010), with bibliography. It was dated to the 14th century BC, and is thought to have been sailing west, perhaps to Rhodes, with an assemblage of goods.

[147] See now Lane Fox (2008), discussing Euboian maritime activities; von Rüden (2007), for evidence of exchange between Krete and Cyprus during the Submycenaean period.

performers and spectators.[148] I propose to explore the intricacies and complexities of such processes, as they can be reconstructed in the case of Karia and Krete. The reasons for my choice are various; the persistence of the claimed connection between the two regions across antiquity and its manifold strands offers the opportunity to explore the evidence from a number of angles and within different historical contexts. I will look at the factors that could have prompted a community to reflect upon its past and 'recollect' an affiliation between Karia and Krete, as well as examining the connection between archaeologically attested contacts and later claimed relationships.

It is also significant that we are dealing with a Greek and a non-Greek population. The Karians were not Greek, and indeed could be envisaged as the quintessential 'barbarian' in Hellenic thought.[149] It has been suggested that the claims of a Karian affinity with Krete could be an attempt to provide the Karians with a Greek heritage.[150] However, this is a narrow way to interpret the traditions, and overlooks the apparent attempts of the Karians themselves to dismiss the link with Krete during the fifth century BC.[151] It further presumes that a connection with Minos' Krete would have provided an unequivocal Hellenic lineage. Yet according to myth, Minos and his brothers Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon were the sons of Zeus and Europa, the latter by origin a Phoenician princess[152]; Herodotos further commented that in the past none that lived on Krete was Greek.[153] The tales surrounding Minos and his family were fundamental to Greek mythology, but the Hellenic origin of the central figures was far from assured.[154] Ultimately an

[148] Cameron (1995) has drawn attention to the 'mushrooming musical events of the age' (47). Cf. Chaniotis (2009a).
[149] See below p. 50ff.
[150] Hornblower (2011) 357-358, suggests that Maussollos may have wanted to be considered Greek in order to compete in one of the big four PanHellenic games. Cf. Jones (1999) 16; Bresson (2007b) 226.
[151] See n. 13.
[152] Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 1. 1: Europa was the sister of Kadmos, Phoenix and Kilix; although in certain versions she was the daughter of Phoenix. Cf. Hdt. 4. 45.
[153] Hdt. 1. 173. 1. Cf. 7. 171, 1-2, for discussion of the stages of settlement of Krete; Hom. *Od.* 19. 175-180. See also Strab. 10. 4. 6 for a discussion of the Eteocretans.
[154] Strabo (10. 4. 9) recorded that there was disagreement over whether Minos himself was a foreigner, or a native of the island. Cf. Hdt. 7. 169, where the Kretans were advised not to join the Greek cause against Persia because the Greeks had not previously helped the Kretans avenge the death of Minos.

affiliation with Minos did not affect the Karians' status as non-Hellenes, just as the role of the Lydian/Phrygian Pelops or the Egyptian Danaos in the early histories of the Peloponnese and Argos respectively did not bring into question their Hellenicity.[155]

While the Karians were 'non-Hellenes', this should not dominate how we approach the question of interaction between south western Anatolia and the Aegean. The notion that they were striving to establish a link with the Greek world is to filter such mythologies through the familiar dichotomy between peoples and cultures that are labelled 'Greek' and those that are 'non-Greek'; or in another formulation, elements that are designated as 'Near Eastern' and 'Hellenic.' It is a construction that has historically played a large role within scholarship on the question of cultural interaction between the Aegean and Anatolia. In this thesis, I intend to reconstruct the framework within which we read Karian-Kretan connections; readdressing the theoretical divide between Greek and non-Greek, and focusing on the practical realities of interaction between the Aegean and south western Anatolia. Contact and confrontation were the processes that generated the potential for cultural and religious interchange. It is against this background of connectivity that I aim to deconstruct and contextualise the numerous traditions surrounding Karian and Kretan affiliations; addressing how mobility could have influenced the way in which communities conceptualised their history.

Such a project will obviously face limitations with evidence, and it will quickly become apparent that discussion of the cultural impact of interaction is largely limited to Karia. This could be a distortion created by the surviving evidence; however it could also be connected to the unique role that Kretan mythologies played within the broader framework of ancient mythology. In order to understand the traditions connecting Karia with Krete, we must develop a way of analysing how, for what purpose, and in which context, these narratives survived. Chapter 2 will focus on collecting the numerous local histories, mythologies and cults of Karia, both on a *polis* and a regional level, which reflected or claimed Kretan influence within the region. While the familiar tradition linking the Karians with the Krete of

[155] Pelops: Pindar, *Olymp.* 1. 24; Diod. Sic 4. 74; Paus. 5. 1. 6. Danaos: Hdt. 2. 182. 2. Paus. 2. 19. 3. Cf. Gruen (2011) 226-227.

Minos may have informed and provided a useful background to the numerous manifestations of a Kretan link, it does not in itself explain the wide-ranging scope of the evidence.

The continued relevance of the traditions linking Karia and Krete in antiquity will also be explored; why certain mythologies survived, what the Kretan link continued to mean within a Karian context, and whether this varied in different parts of the region. A significant portion of our evidence for Karian-Kretan interaction, and for the appearance of Kretan toponyms and cults in Karia, dates to the late Classical and into the Hellenistic period; this will be the focus of Chapters 3 and 4. Until the fourth century BC, Karian history is primarily reconstructed through the role the region played in the events affecting the wider Greek world. During the Persian Wars, the Karians are recorded as fighting on the side of the Persians, before they joined the Ionian revolt[156]; later, they were incorporated into the Athenian Empire and are found paying tribute.[157] The picture changes after the installation of the Hekatomnids as regional dynasts in the early fourth century BC, and the subsequent establishment of the Hellenistic kingdoms; in particular, the rise of the 'epigraphic habit' means we are in a better position to understand civic life.

It was a period of transformation in Karia: the expanded parameters of the Hellenistic world precipitated a process of 'Hellenization', and the resultant cultural *koine* prompted a renewed interest in civic histories and mythologies, with an emphasis on the relationship of local narratives within the wider mythological framework. In Chapter 3 I consider the relevance of the shared past between Karia and Krete in light of actual contacts between the two regions: diplomatic, economic, cultural and military; Chapter 4 then examines whether such interaction influenced the endurance of the Kretan connection within Karia.

The origins of these traditions will be the focus of Chapter 5; examining whether, and how, we can trace the root of the later claimed affiliations back to a period of Late Bronze Age contact between Karia and Krete. Rather than reading traditions of earlier contacts, affinities and kinship between peoples from different parts of the Mediterranean solely as constructs of later periods, I will consider

[156] Hdt. 5. 117-121.
[157] See n. 160.

whether early interaction could be reflected or refracted within later conceptions of history. Such a diachronic approach throws up obvious methodological problems: it is difficult to separate the content of the historical 'core' from later additions, and we should not presume that all traditions can be approached in the same way. However, in the case of Karia and Krete, the renewed attention paid to the Bronze Age archaeology of western Anatolia has facilitated a re-evaluation of the possible connection between archaeology and later tradition.

Part of the chapter will consider the current state of this research, focusing on the early contacts between the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures of the Aegean and south western Anatolia. The work of C. Sourvinou-Inwood, in her book *Hylas, the Nymphs, Dionysos and Others* (2005) has been especially influential in pioneering a new approach to the relationship between archaeology and the development of civic histories, noticeably with regard to Miletos.[158] While it is not possible to prove a direct correspondence, the notion of early mobility between the regions of Karia and Krete emerges strongly in both forms of evidence, and I will investigate whether and how the networks of the Bronze Age left a residuum in later mythologies.

[158] See also the recent work of A. Herda on Miletos (2009).

Chapter 1:
Articulating a ‘Karian’ Identity

Articulating a 'Karian' identity

Before we can assess the impact of Kretan interaction with Karia on the histories, mythologies and religious landscape of the region, we need to consider what we mean when we talk about 'Karia': where to draw its boundaries, whether we can recognise such a thing as a 'Karian' identity, and what we think such a label meant in antiquity. The question is not straightforward, and, as noted in the Introduction, the geographical and/or social cohesiveness of Karia as a region should not be assumed. Did 'Karia' always signify an *ethne*, or was it used to denote a geographical entity?

For much of its history Karia was incorporated in the domains of greater powers, and it is possible that 'Karia' as a clearly demarcated geographical division originated as an administrative unit within a larger empire. Within the Achaemenid Empire, Karia was referred to as Karkā and constituted one of their provinces, and it is possible that they inherited such a structure from the Lydian empire.[159] The Athenian empire in the fifth century BC seems to have adopted a similar model when exacting tribute from the communities of western Anatolia; the tribute lists attest to the existence of a *Karikos phoros*.[160] However, such a division does not seem to have been an attempt to organise the subjects along ethnic lines, for the Karian group incorporated the Dorian foundations along the coast and the neighbouring islands, including Rhodes[161]; the subsequent integration of this tributary division within the Ionian *phoros* further suggests that such a grouping was largely a matter of convenience. In the fourth century BC, Karia was again incorporated into Persian territory, and the region constituted a separate satrapy within the region; it was ruled by the local Hekatomnid dynasts, who were natives of Mylasa.[162] During the Hellenistic period, the region was never fully incorporated into one particular domain, but under Roman rule, a distinct province of Karia was created in the

[159] DNa l. 30; XPh l.28. Cf. Eilers (1935).
[160] *IG* 1^3 271, Col. I-11, l.63; 272, Col. I-II, l.67. Cf. Debord (2003) 116.
[161] Cf. Thuc. 2. 9.
[162] Hornblower (1982) remains the seminal work on the Hekatomnid dynasty. Cf. Ruzicka (1992).

third/fourth century AD, and this nomenclature continued in use into the Byzantine period.[163]

A coherent conception of 'Karian identity' should not be envisaged; the fluctuations in the socio-political context affected the way a community interacted with its environment, and the criteria by which a conception of Karia was articulated inevitably shifted over time. The notion of 'Karia' in itself went through periods of crystallisation, but also decline, throughout antiquity. However, for all the complexities in trying to define 'Karia' and the 'Karians' in the ancient world, the perception of a regional identity never disappeared. In this section I am primarily interested in how the communities of the region, including the Greek settlements along the coast, responded to the 'Karian' aspects of their history, and what such a label signified within the construction of local identities. There are notable deficiencies in our source material for such a task; while it is known that regional histories were written in antiquity, and that both Philip of Theangela[164] and Apollonios of Aphrodisias[165] served as chroniclers of Karian matters (writing in Greek) during the Hellenistic period, only fragments now remain. The dominant perception of the Karians within the Greek sources casts them within the mould of the 'barbarian.' In this role they fulfilled a particular purpose within Greek discourse, but that does not reflect what the communities of south western Anatolia thought their identity as 'Karian' meant.[166] The Greek conception of the Karians requires deconstruction before the question of how the inhabitants of Karia articulated their identity can be addressed.

'The Karians of Barbarian Speech'

Homer employed a term related to 'barbarian' only once in the *Iliad,* and this was in reference to the Karian contingent of the Trojan alliance, where Nastes is said to have led 'the Karians of barbarian speech' (Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο

[163] Roueché (1981) 118; initially it was a joint province of Karia and Phrygia, with Aphrodisias as the *metropolis.* Ruggieri (2009), has noted that the term 'Karia' is used in the acts of the Second Council of Nikaia in 787 AD (207).
[164] *FGrH* 741 (Strab. 12. 2. 28, l. 25).
[165] *FGrH* 740.
[166] Bresson (2007b), esp. 223-224.

βαρβαροφώνων).[167] Within this context *barbarophonos* seems to denote their 'incomprehensible speech' or 'bad Greek' rather than containing the pejorative ethnic connotations that the term later acquired. Early impressions of the Karians stressed their travels as mercenaries and pirates in the Greek world, and according to Strabo, 'already from that time, the barbarous element in their Greek was strong.'[168]

The definition of βαρβαροφωνεῖν, and its use in relation to the Karians, was discussed at some length by Strabo in the Augustan period; he reflected that in origin, 'barbarian' was perhaps uttered onomatopoetically 'in reference to people who enunciated words only with difficulty and talked harshly and raucously.'[169] He continued that at first the Greeks used the term 'barbarians' derisively, 'meaning that they pronounced words thickly or harshly'; they then 'misused (κατεχρησάμεθα) the word as a general ethnic term,' making a 'logical distinction' (ἀντιδιαιροῦντες) between the Greeks and all other races.[170] According to Strabo, the Karians were described as *barbarophonoi* by Homer because they were among the first foreign people to have intercourse with the Greeks; indeed there were said to be many Greek words mixed up in their language.[171] The term βαρβαρίζειν had thus been used originally to refer 'to those who speak Greek badly, not to those talking Karian.'[172]

Strabo's discussion continued within the introduction of a new term, καρίζειν: as he wrote, 'it was from 'Karize' (καρίζειν) that 'barbarize' (βαρβαρίζειν) was used in a new sense (μετήνεγκαν) in works on the art of 'Hellenism'' (εἰς τὰς περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ τέχνας).[173] As S. Radt has commented, the appearance of this word is curious, and its meaning is not completely clear.[174] Verbs in -ίζειν were frequently used in relation to speaking a language; thus

[167] Hom. *Il.* 2. 867.
[168] Strab. 14. 2. 28, ll. 55-57: ἤδη οὖν τὸ βαρβαρόφωνον ἐπ' ἐκείνων πυκνὸν ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτῶν στρατείας.
[169] Strab. 14. 2. 28. ll. 25-7: οἶμαι δὲ τὸ βάρβαρον κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐκπεφωνῆσθαι οὔψως κατ' ὀνοματοποιίαν ἐπὶ τῶν δυσεκφόρως καὶσκληρῶς καὶ τραχέως λαλούντων.
[170] Strab. 14. 2. 28, ll. 36-40: ἐκείνους οὖν ἰδίως ἐκάλεσαν βαρβάρους, ἐνἀρχαῖς μὲν κατὰ τὸ λοίδορον, ὡς ἂν παχυστόμους ἢ τραχυστόμους, εἶτα κατεχρησάμεθα ὡς ἐθνικῷ κοινῷ ὀνόματι ἀντιδιαιροῦντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.
[171] Philip of Theangela *FGrH* 741 F1 (Strab. 14. 2. 28, ll. 24-25). Cf. Thuc. 1. 8.
[172] Strab. 14. 2. 28, ll. 62-64: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας καὶ τὸ βαρβαρίζειν λέγεται· και γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν κακῶς ἑλληνιζόντων εἰώθαμεν λέγειν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν καριστὶ λαλούντων.
[173] Strab. 14. 2. 28, ll. 66-67.
[174] Radt (2009) 98-9.

ἑλληνίζειν meant 'to speak Greek.'[175] However, in this context it is not clear whether *karizein* meant simply 'to speak Karian'; its discussion in relation to *barbarizein* has prompted translators, including Radt, to conclude that they had a similar meaning. The definition of καρίζειν in Liddell-Scott is thus related to the manner in which the Karians spoke Greek, and is translated as 'to speak Greek like a Karian', or in other words 'to speak barbarously.'[176]

The high level of interaction between Karians and Greeks was particularly encouraged by the employment of Karians as mercenaries. Their reputation in this profession was ingrained in Greek thought to the extent that in the seventh century BC Archilochos used the ethnic 'Karian' (Κὰρ) synonymously with 'mercenary' (ἐπίκουρος).[177] Various proverbs also arose that centred on the dominant impression of the Karians as mercenaries; the saying 'the risk on the Karian' (ἐν Καρὶ τὸν κίνδυνον) referred to the fact that mercenaries often faced the dangers of combat first. Apostolius, writing in the fifteenth century AD, explained that the particular association with the Karians arose as 'the Karians introduced such worthlessness through their service for pay' (εἰσάγονται δὲ οἱ Κᾶρες καὶ ὡς εὐτελεῖς, διὰ τὴν μισθοφορίαν).[178]

The source is late, and the hostile reading of its origin may not coincide with earlier attitudes; although it does suggest that such ethnic stereotypes had a long tradition. The earlier origins of this proverb are preserved in variations found in both Plato[179] and Polybios, the latter writing 'let the experiment be for the Karian, as the proverb has it, and not for the general' (δεῖ γὰρ ἐν Καρὶ τὴν πεῖραν, ὡς ἡ παροιμία φησίν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ γίνεσθαι).[180] The substitution of ἡ πεῖρα ('experiment', 'trial') for τὸν κίνδυνον gave the phrase the equivalent

[175] Liddell-Scott s.v. Ἑλληνίζω.
[176] Liddell-Scott s.v. Καρίζω. Cf. Janse (2002) 351; Herda (*forthcoming*). Strabo is the earliest source (14.2.28, l. 66). See also *CPG* Diogenian 7. 65: Πρὸς Κᾶρα καρίζεις: ὡς καὶ τὸ, πρὸς Κρῆτα κρητίζεις. Καὶ, Μεγαρικὰ δάκρυα. Cf. Suda s.v. Κρητίζειν: τὸ ψεύδεσθαι… καὶ ἑτέρα παροιμία: Κρητίζειν πρὸς Κρῆτας. ἐπειδὴ ψεῦσται καὶ ἀπατεῶνές εἰσι; mirrored in the quote attributed to the Kretan poet Epimenides, St Paul's Epistle to Titus 1: 12: Κρῆτες, ἀεὶ ψευδεῖς; see also Kallimachos, *Hymn to Zeus*. On 'Megarians' tears' cf. Suda s.v. Μεγαρέων δάκρυα.
[177] Fr. 216 (West): καὶ δὴ ʼπίκουρος ὥστε Κὰρ κεκλήσομαι. Cf. Herda (*forthcoming*).
[178] *CPG* Apostolius 7, 39: Ἐν Καρὶ τὸν κίνδυνον: τουτέστιν, ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις σώμασι. Cf. *CPG* Gregorius Cyprius 3, 45: Ἐν Καρὶ τὸν κίνδυνον: ἀντὶ τοῦ· οὐ περὶ μεγάλων ὁ κίνδυνος.
[179] Pl. *Lach*. 187b; *Euthyd.* 285b-c.
[180] Plb. 10. 32. 11. Translation W.R. Paton (Loeb), slightly amended.

meaning to the Latin 'corpus vile', or 'worthless body,' and it was employed in this context by Plato.[181] Aelius Aristides, the Greek orator of the second century AD, also employed the saying; he wrote that the Athenian forces rushing to relieve Konon at Mytilene conducted themselves 'as if they were running risks with 'Karian' and not their own bodies.'[182]

The frequent enslavement of the Karians was another aspect of this corpus, preserved in the saying Ἐν Καροὸς μοίρᾳ: 'For the Karians are a worthless (εὐτελὲς) people, always prisoners of war and slaves, and from this slaves were called Karians.'[183] Again, the source is late, but it reflects a long-established trope that was ingrained in the Greek psyche; Aristophanes was apparently playing on such an association in his comedy *Wealth* when he named the character of the slave Kario.[184]

According to Apollodoros, the common term 'barbarians' was used by the Hellenes 'in a particular and abusive sense against the Karians' (ὅτι τῷ κοινῷ ὀνόματι ἰδίως καὶ λοιδρως ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τῶν Καρῶν)[185]; he posited that this was because of Karian 'enmity and their continuous military campaigns.'[186] Another saying, still in currency in the Middle Ages, reinforced the Greek scorn for their Karian neighbours: 'the Lydians are bad, the Egyptians come second, the Karians are the third most abominable of all' (Λυδοὶ πονηροὶ, δεύτεροι δ' Αἰγύπτιοι, τρίτοι δὲ πάντων Κᾶρες ἐξωλέστατοι).[187] Greek negativity was in part based upon the perceived cultural inferiority of Karians as non-Hellenes, and the notion of Greek superiority over other nations is a recurrent

[181] See n. 179.
[182] Aristid. *Panath*. 241: ἐν δὲ τῷ Καρὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς αὑτῶν σώμασι τὰς πείρας ποιούμενοι.
[183] *CPG* Appendix 2, 60: Κᾶρες δε ἔθνος εὐτελὲς, αἰχμαλωτιζόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ δουλούμενον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι Κᾶρες ἐλέγοντο.
[184]Aristoph. *Plut.*, s.v. Καρίων. Ll. 6-7: τοῦ σώματος γὰρ οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸν κύριον κρατεῖν ὁ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐωνημένον ('for fortune does not allow him to be lord of his own body, it belongs to his master who has bought it') echoes the proverb 'the risk on the Karian.'
[185] Apollodoros of Athens *FGrH* 244, F207 (= Strab. 14. 2. 28, ll. 12-16): Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ γραμματικός, ὅτι τῷ κοινῷ ὀνόματι ἰδίως καὶ λοιδόρως ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τῶν Καρῶν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Ἴωνες μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς στρατείας.
[186] *Ibid*.
[187] *CPG* Diogenian 6. 24. Cf. Herda (*forthcoming*).

theme in our sources; the Karians particularly were rebuked because of their familiarity to the Greek world.

The Greeks who had settled on the seaboard of Anatolia lived alongside the Karians; it was within this context of propinquity that they sought to cast the Karians as 'barbarians' and thereby emphasise their difference and foreignness. The struggle against the 'barbarian' was immediate in western Anatolia, and the anti-barbarian rhetoric served to forge a PanHellenic consciousness against the barbarian 'Other.'[188] However, while the Greeks projected a distinct polarity between themselves and the 'barbarian', a clearly demarcated boundary between the two is difficult to envisage and cannot be directly translated onto a map.[189] The 'Ionian' and 'Dorian' migrants to Anatolia were settling in areas that were already inhabited, and some degree of contact between the Greeks and the 'native' population was inevitable.

Discord between Greeks and Karians was a recurrent theme in the foundation tales of a number of the Asiatic Greek cities, as the Greeks sought to distinguish between the historical narratives of the Greeks and their Anatolian neighbours.[190] Vitruvius reported that the Ionian migration had been led by Ion; the settlers are described as occupying the borders of Karia, after driving out the Karians and Lelegians (cum Caras et Lelegas eiecissent), before building the great cities of Ionia.[191] Another motif frequent in these traditions was the murder of the 'indigenous' males by the Greek settlers, and their subsequent marriage to the local women.[192] In the tale related by Plutarch, the city of Melia in Karia was founded by Greek settlers under the leadership of the young Nymphaios.[193] They were initially

[188] The bibliography on this topic is extensive; see for example: Hall (1997), Malkin (2001), Harrison (2002), Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 24-63; Gruen (2011).
[189] Cf. Malkin (2001).
[190] Bresson (2001), 153-155.
[191] Vit. *De Arch.* 4.1.4-5. Vitruvius named thirteen original Ionian states: Ephesos, Miletos, Myus, Priene, Samos, Teos, Kolophon, Chios, Erythrai, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Lebedos and Melite; however, Melite was expelled from the league due to the arrogance of its citizens, and Smyrna was subsequently admitted as a mark of favour to King Attalos.
[192] Hdt. 1. 146. 2-3: 'For this slaughter, these women made a custom (νόμον) and bound themselves by oath (and enjoined it on their daughters) that no one would sit at table with her husband or call him by his name, because the men had married them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons. This happened at Miletos.' Cf. Bresson (2009) 115f.
[193] The location of Melia is not secure, although it likely equates to the Melite recorded by Vitruvius (see n. 191). See Hommel in Kleiner, Hommel, Müller-Wiener (1967) Chapter 3, 78-97. References to the '*chora* of Melia' and 'τὸν Μελιακὸν πόλ[εμον]' in *I. Priene* 37 (ll. 55-56; 108) suggest a

welcomed by the Karians inhabiting the region, but relations soured after they expanded their influence, and the Karians plotted to drive them out. The Greeks were warned of this plan by a young Karian woman, Kaphene, who had fallen in love with Nymphaios, and so the Greeks acted pre-emptively; at a banquet the Greeks murdered their Karian hosts and sacked the city, before re-founding it on the same site.[194] This tale of conflict may in part find a basis in history, and interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks in western Anatolia was likely to have been characterised by antagonism during certain periods; but such a discourse also served the interests of the Greeks who wanted to emphasise the gulf between them and their 'barbarian' neighbours, and underplay their contact.[195]

Vitruvius' account of the history of Halikarnassos and the Salmakis fountain outlined a similar narrative; in attempting to dismiss the popular belief that the fountain infected those who drank it with an 'unnatural lewdness' (venerio morbo), he related a tale about the early conflict between the native Karians and the Greeks at the site. The settlers from Troizen were said to have driven the barbarian Karians and Lelegians into the mountains, from where they made raids and plundered the Greeks and their land. However, the barbarians were enticed down when one of the Greek colonists set up a shop near the spring. As Vitruvius continued, through contact with the Greeks, the Karians 'gave up their rough and savage ways for the delights of Greek customs'; thus the water acquired its peculiar reputation, not because it induced unchastity, but because the barbarian Karians had been tamed by the 'delights of civilization' (humanitatis dulcedine).[196] This narrative is again informed by the Greek desire to emphasise their opposition to the Karians, with cooperation only arising after the Karians had abandoned their 'barbarian' ways.

Greek settlers did not live entirely in isolation from the surrounding non-Greek communities. The incorporation of sections of the pre-existing population

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location between Priene and Samos; the inscription records a dispute between the two states over the right to own the territory around the fortified post of Karion (see n.723).

[194] Plut. *Mul. Virt.* 7. Cf. Bresson (2009) 115.

[195] Bresson (2001) 157; Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 306.

[196] Vit. *De Arch.* 2.8.12 (trans. M.H. Morgan (1914)): ita singillatim decurrentes et ad coetus convenientes e duro feroque more commutati in Graecorum consuetudinem et sua vitatem sua voluntate reducebantur. ergo ea aqua non inpudico morbi vitio, sed humanitatis dulcedine mollitis animis barbarorum eam famam est adepta.

groups would have continued to inform the cultural identity of the Ionian and Dorian *poleis*, and a level of social, diplomatic and commercial interaction between Greek and non-Greek settlements should be expected. The cultural character of Melia, for instance, was not easily categorised in antiquity; Vitruvius described it as one of the ancient Ionian cities, while Hekataios designated it as Karian.[197] We can presume that its identity combined different cultural elements; continued interaction and intermarriage between the Greek settlers and the native Karians would have blurred the division, resulting in assimilation and interchange.[198] A number of ostensibly Ionian cities, including Miletos and Ephesos, maintained an awareness of earlier 'Karian' stages of their histories.[199] Describing the twelve Ionian cities of western Anatolia, Herodotos designated four different dialects: Miletos, Myus and Priene were 'all settlements in Karia' and shared a common language, while Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia, 'all of them in Lydia', shared a language that was 'wholly different from the speech of the three former cities'; the Chians and the Erythraians were further said to speak alike, but the Samians had a language 'which is their own and no-one else's.'[200]

The settlement of Greeks along the coast of Anatolia during the Early Iron Age certainly intensified interaction between Karians and Greeks; as Strabo wrote of the Karians, 'even here they were not able to live apart from the Greeks.'[201] The early cooperation between Karians and Ionians is demonstrated in their travels abroad, particularly to Egypt, where they are both attested exploring commercial opportunities and serving as mercenaries. According to Herodotos, the Egyptian king Apries employed a body of 30,000 Karians and Ionians against Amasis,[202] while in another episode 'sea-raiders' from Karia and Ionia were enlisted by Psammetichos to help him defeat the eleven kings and gain the throne.[203] As a reward for their help,

[197] Vit. *De Arch.* 4.1.4-6; Steph. Byz. s.v. Μελία (=*FGrHist* 1 F 11). Hommel in Kleiner, Hommel, Müller-Wiener (1967) 79-82.
[198] Hommel in Kleiner, Hommel, Müller-Wiener (1967) 81.
[199] See Chapter 2.
[200] Hdt. 1. 142. 3.
[201] Strab. 14. 2. 28, ll. 59-60: οὐδ ἐνταῦθα χωρὶς Ἑλλήνων οἰκεῖν ἠδύναντο.
[202] Hdt. 2. 163. 1.
[203] Hdt. 2. 152. 4-154. 5. According to Herodotos, Psammetichos had received an oracle that 'bronze men would appear from the sea'; thus when the men from Karia and Ionia were forced by bad weather to land on the Egyptian coast, Psammetichos believed this was in fulfilment of the oracle and 'by the promise of rich rewards persuaded them to enter his service.'

Psammetichos granted the Karians and Ionians two pieces of land opposite one another on each side of the Nile, which came to be known as 'the Camps' (Στρατόπεδα).[204] They were subsequently moved to Memphis by Amasis[205]; this might explain the later existence of a 'Greek quarter' (Ἑλληνικόν) and a 'Karian quarter' (Καρικόν) in Memphis, in which the populations were known as *Hellenomemphitai* and *Karomemphitai*.[206] Herodotos credited them with being 'the first of foreign speech to live in Egypt' (πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν), and it was as a result of intercourse with these settlers that the Greeks began to acquire knowledge about Egypt.[207]

The evidence for a Karian presence in Egypt is well attested by the presence of Karian inscriptions, which supports the notion of early Karian involvement in the maritime networks of the Mediterranean.[208] The collusion of Ionians and Karians in overseas endeavours, especially if the Ionians could learn from Karian expertise, seems to have been one product of their close association in Anatolia. The Karians remained distinct from the Greeks, and as noted, Psammetichos settled them separately. However, they remained closely associated; even at Naukratis, which is regarded as a characteristically Greek settlement in our sources, a Karian presence has been detected with the discovery of 'Karian' pottery fragments.[209] This could be a product of trade, but the inclusion of non-Hellenes in an otherwise Greek settlement is a possibility, and indeed should not be unexpected.

The location of Karia meant that some level of interaction with the Greek world was highly probable, whether through the establishment of trading and diplomatic networks, the travels of Karian mercenaries, or their possible settlement in the Aegean islands.[210] The cultural character of Karia was as much influenced by this interaction with the Greek settlements along the seaboard, and with the islands of the Aegean, as with the cultures of inland Anatolia. Not all interaction would have been cordial: as noted, the foundation of Ionian and Dorian settlements in an already

[204] Hdt. 2. 154. 1.
[205] Hdt. 2. 154. 3.
[206] Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἑλληνικόν; Καρικόν. See above n. 27.
[207] Hdt. 2. 154. 4.
[208] See above p. 22f.
[209] Williams & Villing (2006) 47-48.
[210] See above pp. 22-23.

inhabited area would have resulted in displacement and, if the foundation legends and regional histories are to be believed, a certain level of destruction. But the notion of a frontier between the Hellenes and non-Hellenes in western Anatolia was largely a Greek construct, associated with the increasing solidification of the concept of a Greek identity during the Archaic period, and their desire to dissociate themselves from the 'Other.'[211] All such labels were forged within the Greek world and reflected their Hellenocentric perspective.[212] While this is revealing about the attitudes of the Greeks to their non-Greek neighbours, it does not reflect the reality of their interaction, or how the communities of Karia themselves articulated their cultural and ethnic identity. The connections between the 'Greek' and 'Karian' inhabitants of south western Anatolia were ultimately more complex than the image of a clear demarcation would imply: the task is to try to reconstruct what the label 'Karian' signified for the communities of the region.

Language and Identity

A level of bilingualism among the Karians developed from an early period, particularly in the cities located on the coast. When Ephoros recorded the expedition of Kimon to western Asia Minor in the early fifth century, he distinguished between the coastal foundations that had been settled by Greeks, and those bilingual (δίγλωττοι) communities that still possessed Persian garrisons.[213] Such assimilation was a direct result of the interaction between Greeks and Karians. Further anecdotal evidence for bilingualism is proffered by Herodotos in the tale of the Karian Mys from Europos (Euromos), who had been sent by Mardonios 'to visit the places of divination' and 'inquire of all the oracles which he could test'[214]; for such a task, a proficiency in Greek would be expected. On his travels, Mys visited the oracle of the Ptoan Apollo near Thebes, and at once the diviner prophesied in a foreign tongue (βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ); it was unidentifiable to the Thebans who had accompanied him, but Mys immediately identified it as Karian.[215] In Thucydides, we also find one

[211] See n. 188.
[212] Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 41.
[213] Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 191, frag. 8; Diod. Sic. 11. 60. 4.
[214] Hdt. 8. 133.
[215] Hdt. 8. 135.

of Tissaphernes' confidants identified as a certain Gaulites, 'a bilingual Karian' (Κᾶρα δίγλωσσον).[216]

Linguistic acculturation was not unilateral, and could also have occurred among the Greek populations; as already noted, the distinct dialect of the Ionian communities in Karia may have developed out of interaction with the Karians.[217] Herodotos referred again to local dialects when describing the restrictions placed on entry to the temple of Zeus Karios; only the Karians and their brother races, the Mysians and Lydians, were permitted to use the temple, 'but those of another people, even those which speak the same language as the Karians, are excluded from it.'[218] Such restrictions prohibited the participation of the Greeks, in the same way that the Panionion was strictly the reserve of the twelve Ionian Greek states.[219] However, it is interesting that language was not the determining factor, as those sharing a the same language with the Karians could also be refused entry. This could refer to the high level of bilingualism, and even the dominance of Greek, in certain areas of Karia at this time; it could also indicate that certain segments of society in the Greek cities of coastal Anatolia spoke Karian and were 'Karianized' to some degree.[220]

Karian has now been identified as an Indo-European language, and it was connected to the other languages of Anatolia; more precisely it was a member of the so-called 'Luvic' group, closely related to Luwian, Lydian and Lykian.[221] The inhabitants of south western Anatolia shared a language, and this would have contributed to the notion of a unified 'Karian' identity. However, the Karian language is only attested epigraphically from the Archaic period down to the late third/early second century BC, while the use of Greek in puüic inscriptions became

[216] Thuc. 8. 85. 2.
[217] See p.56.
[218] Hdt. 1. 171. 6: ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.
[219] Hdt. 1. 143. 2-3: according to Herodotos, the Ionians of Asia Minor were unusual in their willingness to identify themselves as 'Ionians'; as he wrote, they 'gloried (ἠγάλλοντο) in this name, and founded a holy place (ἱρον ἱδρύσαντο) for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among themselves to allow no other Ionians to use it.' Cf. Hdt. 1. 148. 1: 'the Ionians used to assemble there (the Panionion) from their cities and keep the festival to which they gave the name of Panionia.'
[220] Graffiti in Karian have been discovered at Iasos (Berti & Innocente (1998)) and at Miletos (Herda & Sauter (2009) 51-52). Cf. Herda (*forthcoming*).
[221] Adiego (2007) 4; 345-7. See also Melchert (2004c).

increasingly frequent during the fourth century BC.[222] It seems that Karian continued to be used in official inscriptions, as well as Greek, during the reign of the Hekatomnids, although it is notable that their public dedications at the sanctuary of Labraunda were all inscribed in Greek.[223]

What impact did the decline of the Karian language have on the conception of 'Karian identity'? Language was certainly important in establishing a sense of commonality; but it was not the only basis on which the conception of what it meant to be 'Karian' was founded. South western Anatolia had already assimilated many outward signs of 'Hellenization' by the early stages of the Hellenistic period; the adoption of the Greek language in official business was one manifestation, as was the assimilation of local deities to the Greek pantheon.[224] Most communities within the region had also adopted the civic model of the *polis* and the standard administrative and political bodies associated with it. However, such an outward demonstration of 'Hellenization' did not necessarily diminish the 'Karian' character of the region; the adoption of Greek titles for their deities, for instance, does not seem to have altered the fundamentally local character of the cults.[225] It is not known how long the Karian divine names persisted concurrently with the Greek, but it is likely that the transition was gradual rather than abrupt.

The disappearance of the Karian language coincided with the broader acceptance of the Greek *koine* as the dominant dialect across the Hellenic world, and it should be considered as part of this wider trend. A sudden conversion should not

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[222] Piras (2010) 219.

[223] *Ibid.* 219-222. Maussollos dedicated the *stoa* (*I. Labraunda* no. 13) and Andron B (*I. Labraunda* no. 14); Idrieus dedicated Andron A (*I. Labraunda* no. 15), the *naos* of the temple (*I. Labraunda* no. 16), the *oikoi* (*I. Labraunda* no. 17), the *pylon* of the South Propylaia (*I. Labraunda* no. 18), and the *hieros oikos* (*I. Labraunda* no. 19). The Hekatomnids are often credited with the 'Hellenization' of Karia during the fourth century; however, especially linguistically, the process had already begun in the previous centuries through interaction and assimilation. Cf. Hornblower (1982) 332-51; (1990); Pedersen (1994).

[224] According to Aristophanes, the Karians traditionally inhabited fortified hilltop settlements: *Birds* 292-293: 'They are like the Karians, who cling to the crests of their mountains for greater safety.' Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* 7. 4. 1. Archaeological evidence does support this to some degree (*HTC* 66-68; Bresson (2009b) 212-213).

[225] There was a proliferation of local cults of Zeus in south western Anatolia, which might reflect a characteristic of the original Karian deities; see the discussion of the warlike character of a number of cults in south western Anatolia in the introduction, of which the popularity of Zeus may be an aspect. Cf. Herda (*forthcoming*), who has suggested that the cults of Zeus in Karia were the local manifestation of the Luwian storm god *Tarhunt*, called *Trquδ-* in Karian.

be envisaged: as already seen, the beginnings of bilingualism in the region can be traced to the travels of the Karians as mercenaries and interaction with the Greek settlement in Anatolia during the Archaic period. It is also not known at what point the Karian language stopped being spoken; we can only detect when it was superseded by Greek in the official realm. It can be supposed that it continued in use for some time after it disappeared from official documentation.[226] While the decline of the Karian language would have had an impact on Karian identity, it was not fatal to its existence. The definition of communal identity was dependent on self-determination, and even if the criteria on which it was founded shifted over time, the incorporation of 'Karian' narratives into local histories indicates that it continued to be valid as one level of identification.

An awareness of the Karian language endured in a number of Karian place names[227], most clearly recognised in the suffix *–nda*, which was common to a number of Anatolian languages. In Karia it can be identified in the communities of Labraunda, Alinda and Alabanda.[228] The place names Πηδασα, Πιδασα and Πεδαναssος[229] seem to be related to the Hittite word *peda-* and the Lykian *pddẽ* meaning 'place'[230], while *puna-* and *pana-*, another frequent element within Anatolian onomastics, were also found in Karia.[231] The *–ss-* element was also common in Anatolian names, and is reflected in both Karian personal and place names; the Hekatomnid dynast Μαύσσωλλος is a prominent example, though other instances are preserved in the names Ὑσσωλλος[232], Αρλισσις and Θυσσωλλος, and the father of Hekatomnos Ὑσσαλδομος.[233] Pausanias recorded that the Zeus of

[226] Bresson (2007) 220ff; Herda (*forthcoming*). Cf. Janse (2002). It is not clear whether Strabo's discussion of the Karians as *barbarophonoi* (see above) indicates that Karian was still spoken in his day; he writes that *barbarizein* was not used in reference to those who speak Karian, although he could have been looking back, rather than referring to the contemporary situation.
[227] Extensive lists of both Karian personal and place names are provided in Blümel (1992), (1998); Adiego (2007), Appendix C.
[228] Adiego (2007) 11. Cf. Blümel (1998).
[229] Blümel (1998) 178-179.
[230] Adiego (2007) 336-337; Pidossos was also the name of an island near Halikarnassos.
[231] For instance, Panamara; Adiego (2007) 337-338.
[232] There was a variant spelling with *–λδ* rather than *–λλ*; Clerc (1882) *BCH* 6 191-3, l. 11: Ὑσσολδος.
[233] Blümel (1998); Piras (2010) 222-224. Cf. Konuk (2009) regarding the possibility that Hyssaldomos, father of Hekatomnos, was the first satrap of Karia for a short period, before Hekatomnos adopted the role; numismatic evidence supports the possible rule of Hyssaldomos, although it is not certain this was as satrap.

Mylasa was 'called in the native voice Osogoa', suggesting a continued awareness of the Karian language, even if it was no longer spoken.[234] Stephanos wrote that the name Alabanda was a compound of two Karian words: *ala* meaning 'horse', and *banda* meaning 'victory.'[235] The word division envisioned in this late etymological explanation has since been questioned, due to the frequency of *–anda* as a locational suffix.[236] However, we should not dismiss the source automatically: a continued knowledge of aspects of the Karian language could have been preserved in older sources, and such traditions in themselves reveal the continuity of an awareness of the Karian past of the region.

Karian personal names are common in inscriptions during the fourth century BC, and continued into the Hellenistic period; however, as with the Karian language itself, the occurrences of Karian names had declined by the second century BC, and Greek names were preferred, at least among the elites.[237] The question of whether this was a conscious process of 'Hellenization', at the expense of a 'Karian' identity is complex. While criteria such as language and onomastics serve as important gauges to the modern observer in trying to ascertain the existence of a distinctly 'Karian' identity, they do not necessarily reflect cultural self-identification amongst the inhabitants of south western Anatolia; the adoption of Greek names, for instance, may have been closely connected with status.[238] On the other hand, the continued popularity of names associated with the Hekatomnid dynasty into the Imperial period, notably Hekatomnos and Artemisia, might indicate a desire to recall a distinctly Karian 'golden age' of regional history.[239] The process of 'Hellenization' during the Hellenistic period witnessed the evolution of a level of cultural conformity in western Anatolia between 'Greek' and 'non-Greek' elements; but within this *koine*, localism and the individualism of communities continued to be affirmed and perpetuated through local mythologies and historical traditions, in which the 'Karian' past remained relevant.

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[234] Paus. 8. 10. 4: φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίᾳ καλοῦσιν Ὀσογῶα. Translation W.H.S. Jones (Loeb).
[235] Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀλάβανδα.
[236] Adiego (2007) 11.
[237] Piras (2010) 224-231. Hornblower (1982) 347-51.
[238] Cf. Piras (2010) 218; 222.
[239] Bresson (2007b) 228; Piras (2010) 226.

Delimiting 'Karia' and the 'Karians'

Indications of a Karian commonality can be detected in the religious realm: the cult of Zeus Karios at Mylasa was shared by all Karians[240], although according to Herodotos it was also open to the Mysians and Lydians as their brethren (κασιγνήτοισι); 'for Lydos and Mysos, they say, were brothers of Kar' (τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφέους).[241] Whether this sense of a regional religious identity translated into a social or political organisation is less clear. Herodotos described the Karians collectively as putting up a defence against the Persians during the Ionian revolt, and S. Hornblower has suggested that this might be the first attestation of an organised 'Karian League.'[242] However, this reference could equally denote a coalition forged to meet a common threat, rather than a clearly demarcated body.

Fragmentary references to a 'king of the Karians' are more tantalising, though far from assured. An inscription from Mylasa, thought to date to the fourth century BC, mentions Καρῶν βασιλ[έως] in the same context as ξατράπης, although it is not clear in this text whether βασιλεύς should be read in conjunction with Καρῶν.[243] Another Hekatomnid inscription recorded a plot against Maussollos in 367/366 BC, and recounted that the would-be assassin, Arlissis son of Thyssollos, had been sent ὑπὸ Καρῶν πρὸς βασιλέα.[244] A recently discovered inscription from Iasos seems to confirm the notion that the Hekatomnid dynasts had adopted the title of *basileus* in Karia, alongside that of satrap; it records an epigram in honour of Idrieus, in which the dynastic family are referred to as *basileis.*[245] The title continued in use into the Hellenistic period, when a reference to ἱερεύς [καὶ] βασιλεύς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Καρ[ῶν] is found in an inscription from Olymos.[246] In this case the

[240] See n. 504.
[241] Hdt. 1. 171. 6.
[242] Hornblower (1982) 55; Hornblower also pointed (61) to a reference in Diodoros (17.24.2-3), in which the 'Karians' are said to have welcomed Alexander, as another possible action of the 'Karian *koinon.'* Cf. Debord (1999) 178; (2003) 118ff.
[243] *I. Mylasa* 10 (= Hornblower (1982) M15).Cf. Hornblower (1982) 55, n. 28; 59-60.
[244] *I. Mylasa* 1, l. 5.
[245] Nafissi (*forthcoming*). This view was already favoured by Hornblower (1982) 59ff, who suggested that it may have reflected a local hereditary title. He points to the Herakleides of Mylasa, known from Herodotos (5. 121), who in the Suda is called τὸν Μυλασσῶν βασιλέα, and speculates that the Hekatomnid dynasty may have usurped this kingship, based at Mylasa, before being appointed satraps.
[246] *I. Mylasa* 828, l.12.

role of *basileus* was clearly associated with a 'Karian *koinon,*' or 'league,' although the existence of a priest indicates a religious element.

How clearly this organisation was delimited, and whether all communities within Karia were active, remains uncertain. Two inscriptions dated to the fourth century BC, discovered at Sekköy (see Map 2), record treaties; one between Kindya and Mylasa, concerning the sale of land[247]; the other between Mylasa and an unknown community.[248] Both list delegations sent from communities in Karia (identified as *poleis* in the treaty between Kindya and Mylasa) to act as witnesses, and it has been speculated that they could reflect actions of the *koinon* and its members.[249] If this is the case, it is notable that the 'Dorian' communities of Halikarnassos and Iasos were included among their number.

If the Hekatomnids did adopt the title 'king of Karia', it is not known how this interacted with the functions of satrap. Was it merely another title of their rule, or did it involve additional functions, for instance in the religious sphere? The Hekatomnid domain extended beyond the geographical confines of Karia into Lykia, Ionia and the neighbouring islands; did they assume the title of *basileus* in their entire realm, or was it geographically limited?

Another league of Karian communities emerged in the third century BC, known as the Chrysaoric League. According to Strabo it was 'a commonality that consists of villages' (συνεστηκὸς ἐκ κωμῶν), with its activities centred on a temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus in Stratonikeia; it is described as 'the common possession of all Karians, whither they gather both to offer sacrifice and to deliberate on their common interests.'[250] The division of the league into villages reflected traditional Karian society; however, Strabo qualified his description with the statement that the members 'who provide the most villages have greater voting

[247] Blümel (1991) 30-32; *I. Mylasa* 11; *HTC* 90.
[248] Blümel (1991) 32-34; *I. Mylasa* 12; *HTC* 91.
[249] Debord (1999) 179f.; (2003) 119-24; *I. Mylasa* 11 lists Kasolaba, Kyblissa, Kildara, Iasos, Syangela, Halikarnassos, Kaunos, Pladasa and another city for which only]ος remains; Blümel (1991) 32, thought it could be Knid]os; Debord (1999) prefers a restoration of Mynd]os. *I. Mylasa* 12 lists Arlissos, Hydai, Koarenza, Hiera Kome, Alabanda, Keramos, Armelitai, Ouranion, Koliorgos, Koloneis, and again Kaunos and Pladasa.
[250] Strab. 14. 2. 25: κοινὸν ἁπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς ὃ συνίασιθύσοντές τε καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. Hornblower (1982) 62f.; Debord (2003) 125ff.

strength.'[251] This seems to indicate that votes were allotted according to *poleis,* and weighted according to the number of smaller communities incorporated in their territory. This is reinforced in an inscription from Labraunda in which 'the Chrysaoreis from the cities' are said to have come together (although this could suggest that there were also 'Chrysaoreis from the villages').[252] Members were expected to contribute financially to the league, as outlined in an inscription from Amyzon dated to the reign of Antiochos III[253]; it listed contributions to the Chrysaoric league made by the male citizens of the city, and a preliminary decree described the process by which the funds were raised.[254]

The character of the Chrysaoric League was distinctly Karian; it was named after the local mythological figure of Chrysaor, who, along with his brother Pegasos, had strong connections with the region.[255] Pausanias recorded that 'anciently' (παλαιότερα) both the city of Stratonikeia and the surrounding area were called Chrysaoris[256]; Stephanos further strengthens the association, writing that Mylasa was founded by the son of Chrysaor, while the city Idrias was 'ἡ πρότερον Χρυσαορίς.'[257] The traditions associated with Pegasos and Bellerophontes also spun a complicated web across the region, and extended to Lykia.[258] Within Karia, Pegasos and Bellerophontes feature as foundation figures in the early history of

[251] Debord (2003) 132-3.
[252] *I. Labraunda* no. 43, ll. 2-3: συνελθόντων Χρυσα[ορέ]ι[ω]ν τῶ[ν ἀπὸ] τῶν π[ό]λεων πρὸς τὴν. Cf. Debord (2003) 132-3; van Bremen (2004) 381-2.
[253] Robert & Robert *Amyzon* no. 28.
[254] A number of citizens provided an advance of the total due, which all citizen men had to reimburse within a year; van Bremen (2004) 380f.
[255] Hes. *Theog.* 281. Hadzis (1997) argued that the Chrysaoreis were named after Chrysaor, son of Glaukos, mentioned in *SEG* 38. 1476 (see below pp.138-9); rather than Chrysaor, son of Poseidon and Medusa, and brother of Bellerophon. This is followed by Debord (2003) 126-7. However, the frequency of Pegasos on a number of Karian civic coin types, including at Stratonikeia, would suggest that there may have been a conflation of both traditions (see n. 258); see below p. 101, for a similar conflation in the traditions surrounding Sarpedon in Lykia. Cf. Debord (2010).
[256] Paus. 5. 21. 10.
[257] Steph. Byz. s.v. Μύλασα; Ἰδρίας. See Fabiani (*forthcoming*), on a cult of Zeus Idrieus, likely connected to a place of area of Karia.
[258] Pegasos, his brother Chrysaor, and Bellerophontes all hold strong links within Karia and Lykia, featuring in the foundation mythologies/early histories of a number of cities within the region. Pegasos features on the coinage of Alabanda/Antiocheia in the second century BC (*BMC Greek (Caria, Cos, Rhodes)* Nos. 1-4, 1; No. 10, 2), Bargylia from the first century BC (*SNG Copenhagen* 175-176, 178; *BMC Greek (Caria, Cos, Rhodes)* Nos. 1-3, p.71) and Stratonikeia from the first century BC (*BMC Greek (Caria, Cos, Rhodes)* Nos. 24-30, p.150 (first century BCE); No. 38, p. 152). Cf. Debord (2010) 238.

Halikarnassos (as recorded on civic coinage (Fig. 5) and in the Salmakis inscription) and Aphrodisias.[259]

Despite being distinctly Karian in its character, membership of the Chrysaoric league does not seem to have included all Karian communities, and the lack of overlap with the Sekköy inscriptions is striking.[260] Stratonikeia was included, and indeed the meetings of the Chrysaoreis were held in the city, even though, as Strabo writes, 'they are not of Karian lineage' (οὐκ ὄντες τοῦ Καρικοῦ γένους).[261] Strabo referred to it as a *systema*, likely meaning 'commonality' or 'association'[262], while τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Χρυσαορέων is attested in an inscription from Lagina.[263] Two inscriptions describe the Chrysaoreis as an *ethnos*[264], and in a number of documents individuals were identified both as a member of the *Chrysaoreis* and by their *polis* ethnic.[265] But the Chrysaoric league did not fulfil the function of a wide-reaching 'Karian *koinon',* and in an inscription from Labraunda they are described as distinct from the 'Karians': in a letter from Philip V to Mylasa as part of the long running dispute between Mylasa and the priests of Labraunda, he decreed 'that the shrine belonged neither to the Chrysaoreis nor to the other Karians' (οὔτε Χρυσαορεῦσιν προσήκει[ν] οὔ̣τ̣ε [τοῖς] | λοιπ̣οῖς Καρσίν).[266]

The Chrysaoreis were excluded from Labraunda as a result of this dispute, because 'they desired to appropriate it for themselves' (ζητοῦντας ἐ[ξι]διάσασθαι αὐτ[οῦ).[267] Their earlier activities at the sanctuary are attested in another inscription from Labraunda, dated to 267 BC, recording an honorific decree

[259] Pegasos and Bellerophontes feature on the basilica reliefs from Aphrodisias, dated to the late imperial period (*IAph2007* 6.1, a. i-ii). For Halikarnassos and the Salmakis inscription; see below p.172ff.

[260] Those attested so far are Mylasa, Stratonikeia, Amyzon, Alabanda/Antiocheia, Alinda, Thera and Keramos (Map 2). Gabrielsen (2011a) 341, suggests that the fragmentary *–nos* in a recent inscription from Lagina should be restored as another *polis*; although this is not sure, as there does not seem to be enough space for an ethnic. Van Bremen (2004) 387f, suggests that the Laodeikeis (Muğla) were also members, on the basis of an inscription from Panamara.

[261] Strab. 14. 2. 25. Stratonikeia was a Makedonian settlement, but there were a number of pre-existing settlements in the region. There is evidence that the region was under Ptolemaic control during the 270s BC; Cohen (1995) 268f. Cf. Van Bremen (2003), for evidence of a Ptolemaic presence at the nearby sanctuary of Panamara.

[262] Strab. 14. 2. 25. Cf. Gabrielsen (2011a) 334.

[263] Şahin (2003); *SEG* 53, 1229.

[264] *I. Mylasa* 101, l.17. *FD* 3. 4. 163, l.12.

[265] Gabrielsen (2011a) 336.

[266] *I. Labraunda* no. 5, ll. 15-16.

[267] *I. Labraunda* no. 5, ll. 16-18.

of the Chrysaoreis; this might suggest that the regular meeting point at Stratonikeia had not yet been established.[268] Mylasan membership of the Chrysaoric League is attested elsewhere, and it is not known how this apparent rift affected the standing of Mylasa within the league; or more broadly, how civic interests interplayed with league interests. The organisation of the Chrysaoric League will only be illuminated by further discoveries. P. Debord has suggested that in its early stages, the Ptolemies may have played a role in establishing its regional profile.[269] It is an intriguing proposition, although one that does not necessarily reflect the origins of the league. At the moment we can only assert the regional prominence of the Chrysaoric League and its strong religious character.[270]

A distinct and well-defined notion of a 'Karian' identity continues to elude the modern observer. It is possible to trace a sense of commonality through shared language and religion, and in unclearly defined regional *koina*, but such conceptualisations of a regional commonality did not remain constant; 'Karian identity' was not a tangible or constant entity. Attempts to determine the extent to which the inhabitants of south western Anatolia saw themselves as a distinct population group are perhaps in themselves misleading; different aspects of identity could be stressed or minimised at different times as an individual or a community responded to different circumstances. Any attempts to articulate a 'Karian' identity would have been formulated to reflect a certain self-image, and within contexts where this level of identification resonated; that is to say, when it was deemed significant to both individual and/or communal identity. For instance, defining oneself as a 'Karian' would become more relevant when interacting with individuals from outside the region, or when dealing with non-Karians; within south western Anatolia, the *polis* or tribal ethnic would be more significant. Conscious attempts to assert a regional identity are more likely linked to specific periods of cooperation

[268] *I. Labraunda* no. 43: Thyssos from Mylasa proposed that honours be voted for one Apollonios 'for his virtue and benevolence [which he continually has] towards king Ptolemy and towards the Chrysaoreis' (ll. 13-14). Cf. Debord (2003) 137; he also suggests that the transfer of the base of the league to Stratonikeia may have been a Seleukid initiative, so they could utilise the league for their own profit (137-8).
[269] Debord (2003) 137f.
[270] Gabrielsen (2011a) 342-344, suggests that it has a political dimension, and was a 'federal state'; however, with the available evidence this remains speculative. Cf. Debord (2003) 131ff.; Hellström (2009) 291-292.

between communities; in such instances, a shared ethnicity would have helped to unite the communities.

The variations within the region recognised as Karia should not be disguised. During the Archaic and into the Classical periods, when cultural interaction with the Greek settlements of the coast was most intensive, the effects of interchange between Karians and Greeks were most prominently felt in the coastal area, rather than in the Karian interior. The level of cultural coherence between east and west Karia remains uncertain. At the site that later became the city of Aphrodisias (Map 2), the discovery of a Lydian text, thought to be dated to the fourth century BC, might indicate the cultural links of the region with Lydia at that time.[271] Even in the Imperial period, when Aphrodisias became the metropolis of Karia, the community commemorated the complexities of their history; the so-called basilica reliefs embraced various cultural influences, including Phrygian, Lykian and even Assyrian alongside the Karian.[272]

The Karians were also not the only 'native' inhabitants of the region, and the relationship of the Karians with the Leleges requires examination.[273] Broadly the Leleges were regarded in a similar vein to the Pelasgians, and 'Leleges' was employed as a generic label to refer to the pre-Hellenic peoples of the Aegean.[274] However, they had a particular association with south western Anatolia, and with the Karians especially. According to Herodotos the Karians were known as Leleges when they inhabited the Aegean islands.[275] Similarly, Strabo wrote that during the period when the Karians settled the islands, they were 'called Leleges'; when the Karians subsequently migrated to the mainland, they took possession of most of the coast and interior, 'away from its previous possessors, who for the most part were Leleges and Pelasgians.'[276]

There is confusion in our sources over whether the Leleges were coterminous with the Karians. According to Strabo, 'some conjecture that they are the same as the

[271] Carruba (1970).
[272] *IAph2007* 6. 1. On the frieze, see now Yildirim (2004), Chaniotis (2009b); on the cultural complexity of Aphrodisias, see van Bremen (2010).
[273] On this topic see: Flensted-Jensen & Carstens (2004); Rumscheid (2009b).
[274] Flensted-Jensen & Carstens (2004) 110.
[275] Hdt. 1. 171. 2.
[276] Strab. 14. 2. 27.

Karians, and others that they were only fellow-inhabitants and fellow-soldiers of these.'[277] Elsewhere he wrote that the Leleges 'in earlier times were so numerous' that they not only took possession of parts of Karia, but also a large portion of Pisidia; later 'when they went out on expeditions with the Karians, they became distributed throughout the whole of Greece, and the tribe disappeared.'[278] In the third century BC, Philip of Theangela distinguished between them, and his historical work on the region was said to have been titled 'On the Karians and the Lelegians.'[279] In a fragment of his work he described the Leleges as serfs of the Karians, both in the past and present times.[280] This is the only reference to the Leleges as an inferior population; however, the possibility arises that the 'Leleges' developed a distinct identity within the history of the region.

Strabo was able to identify monuments as characteristically 'Lelegian' in the Augustan period, which might suggest that the 'Lelegian' past of the region was distinct from the Karian. He wrote of certain 'Lelegian settlements' in the vicinity of Miletos, as well as so-called Lelegian tombs and abandoned forts in Karia.[281] In the region around Halikarnassos, a further eight cities were said to have been settled by the Leleges, six of which were incorporated by Maussollos into the *synoikism* of Halikarnassos.[282]

Scholars have attempted to identify the structures that Strabo was referring to, and A.-M. Carstens has surveyed a number of fortifications along the Halikarnassian peninsula in this context. She concluded that the evidence does not support a theory of a subdivision in the population between Karians and Leleges[283]; however that does not impact upon the *belief* that there was a distinction. At this point in time it is not possible to determine the nature of the 'Leleges' in relation to the Karians, but they add another level to the already complex history of the region;

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[277] Strab. 7. 7. 2.
[278] Strab. 13. 1. 59.
[279] *FGrH* 741 F2, Athen. 6. 101: Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεὺς ἐν τῶι Περὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λελέγων συγγράμματι καταλέξας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων εἵλωτας καὶ τοὺς Θετταλικοὺς πενέστας καὶ Κᾶράς φησι τοῖς Λέλεξιν ὡς οἰκέταις χρήσασθαι πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν. Cf. F1, Strab. 14. 2. 28, τὰ Καρικά*;* F3, Scol. Eur. *Rhes.* 509.
[280] *FGrH* 741, F2.
[281] Strab. 7. 7. 2. Cf. 13. 1. 59.
[282] Strab. 13. 1. 59.
[283] Flensted-Jensen & Carstens (2004) 120.

it is possible that some concept of a 'Lelegian' identity was developed and assumed by certain peoples within south western Anatolia..

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In the process of demarcating 'Karia' and what it meant to be 'Karian' we are faced with numerous local historical and mythological traditions, shifting emphases and contradictions. The intricacies of such a picture should not be simplified in order to seek a 'genuine' conception of 'Karian identity'; the criteria by which an individual or a community identified themselves as Karian were continuously being redefined in antiquity and shaped by interaction with other cultures, most notably with the Greeks. The Hekatomnid dynasts of the fourth century BC were native Karians, and this aspect of their history was not diminished by their adoption of the Greek language in official documents, or by the employment of Greek architects and sculptors on the Maussolleion.[284] The iconography of the Maussolleion mixed eastern and Greek elements, with figures in Persian dress appearing alongside others wearing Greek dress or Karian tunics.[285] While the Hekatomnids employed various Greek architectural models in their patronage of the sanctuary of Labraunda, there were clear deviations from canonical forms, leading to the creation of a distinctively 'local' style.[286] The mixture of Ionic and Doric elements, and the inclusion of local architectural forms, should not be interpreted as 'barbarisms' or the Hekatomnids 'getting it wrong', but rather a distinctively regional process of experimentation and even modernisation[287]; receptiveness to foreign cultural influences did not undermine the Anatolian character of the Hekatomnid dynasty. [288]

'Karian' was only one level of identification within the region; the significance of *polis* and tribal identities continued, and were promoted in festivals and in the practice of shared cults.[289] Communities recognised and incorporated the

[284] Pedersen (1994) 17-18; Waywell (1997). Cf. Kuttner (2005) 145, n. 13.
[285] Waywell (1994) 65.
[286] Pedersen (1994) has termed this period of innovation during the fourth century BC the 'Ionian Renaissance.' Cf. Hellström (2009).
[287] *Ibid.* 24-5; 31-2.
[288] *Ibid.* 24. Cf. Gunter (1985); with the response of Hornblower (1990).
[289] At Mylasa, the three separate *phylai* (Otorkondeis, Hyarbesytai, Konodorkondeis) seem to have retained their own separate cults of Zeus (e.g. Zeus Otorkondeis). See now Debord (2001) 294; he

complex past of the region into their civic narratives. In the case of Halikarnassos, the city was said to have been a Dorian settlement founded by the Troizenian Anthes, and it was an original member of the Dorian Hexapolis.[290] However, it was established in a region already inhabited by Karians, and the tale surrounding the Salmakis fountain related by Vitruvius claimed both initial conflict between the Dorian settlers and the Karian natives, and their subsequent concord.[291] While the tale itself is a later construct, the eventual integration it envisaged likely reflected some level of interaction between Greeks and Karians in the area around Halikarnassos.

In the fourth century BC, Halikarnassos was re-founded by the Karian dynast Maussollos, effectively making it the capital of his satrapy. A number of the communities incorporated into the realm of Halikarnassos continued to bear Karian names, including Salmakis itself[292], while according to tradition a number of 'Lelegian' communities were also brought under its administration.[293] Culturally, the city also shared close links with Ionia, and the Ionian dialect was employed in Halikarnassian civic inscriptions, before being replaced by *koine* Greek in the Hellenistic period.[294] The different phases of settlement at Halikarnassos were publicly commemorated in the Salmakis inscription in the second/first century BC, and the diversity is striking; rather than solely projecting a Dorian past, the Halikarnassians embraced numerous different elements, awarding roles to Pegasos and Bellerophontes, Endymion, and Anthes among others.[295]

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suggests that this may also have been the case for the *syngeneia*, the subdivisions of the *phylai* at Mylasa.

[290] Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἁλικαρνασσός. Hdt. 1. 44, records that Halikarnassos was later expelled from the league.

[291] See p.55.

[292] Steph. Byz. s.v. Σαλμακίς, πόλις Καρίας. Cf. Blümel (1998) 180. Bresson (2009) 111, suggests that Karian was likely to have been widely spoken in Halikarnassos until the Hellenistic period. Herodotos, the most famous son of Halikarnassos, is thought to have had a Karian father by the name of Lyxes; his mother, called Dryo, seems to have been of Greek origin; Suda s.v. Ἡρόδοτος. Cf. Herda (*forthcoming*).

[293] Strab. 13. 1. 59.

[294] Bresson (2009) 111, argued that it was this cultural flexibility that was the real reason behind the expulsion of Halikarnassos from the Dorian League.

[295] Here I disagree with the assessment of Bresson (2007b) 224, and Bremmer (2009) 308, that the text was actively promoting the city's Hellenic heritage and eliding its Karian past; as established, Pegasos and Bellerophon had strong traditions within Karia, while the appearance of Endymion should again be considered within a local context, due to his association with Mt. Latmos. Cf. Gagné (2006) 22ff. See below p. 172f.

In this thesis I am exploring the complexities of cultural identity, and how it was shaped by interaction between populations, for which it is not necessary to set finite boundaries in any definition of 'Karia' and the 'Karian' people. I will describe Karia inclusively, and consider evidence from all the communities that fall into the geographical parameters of the region as it is conventionally defined. Those 'Greek' settlements along the south west coast of Anatolia and on the neighbouring islands that retained an awareness of an earlier, 'Karian' stage of their history, including Miletos, Magnesia-on-the Maeander, and Ephesos, will also fall within the scope of enquiry. As with all aspects of identity, the notion of a 'Karian' identity was adaptable; but equally, an awareness of this aspect of regional history was maintained by the inhabitants of the region throughout antiquity. Such a notion did not depend on a shared language or shared cults, but rather on the mutual recollection and assertion of what it meant to be 'Karian.'

I will initially approach the question of cultural interaction between Karia and Krete through the local mythologies and historical traditions that transmitted an affiliation; Chapter 2 collects the various ways in which a Kretan link was claimed in the region of Karia.

Chapter 2:
The Role of Krete in the Mythologies, Local Histories and Cults of Karia

The Role of Krete in the Mythologies, Local Histories and Cults of Karia

In the ancient world the 'mythological' past was not clearly distinguished from the 'historical' past; the world of myth, populated by the gods and heroes, was simply regarded as temporally more remote.[296] Genealogies were employed by both individuals and communities to establish the antiquity of their history, and to anchor them within a broader network that made recourse to a shared body of myth and history.[297] The legendary past was prioritised within this scheme, and used to claim prestigious lineage and to legitimise relationships. Ties between peoples and states were frequently justified through descent from a common mythological source.[298] This was made possible by the flexibility of mythological tradition; before the advent of literacy, mythologies and histories had been communicated orally, resulting in numerous local variants and contradictions. Writing in the late sixth/early fifth century BC, Hekataios of Miletos began his *Genealogiai* with the now renowned statement: '*I write what I deem true; for the stories of the Greeks are many and seem to me ridiculous.*'[299] But such plurality did not undermine their significance, and Hekataios' apparent scepticism did not equate to a dismissal; rather it referred to the multitude of myths that were transmitted, and Hekataios' intention was to bring order to this diverse body, not challenge its value.[300] The expansion of literacy did not signal the end of the malleability of mythologies, and the potential for 'renegotiation', as aspects were emphasised or elaborated, continued to be a central aspect of their transmission in the ancient world.[301]

The process of 'remembering' the past was linked to civic self-perception, a concept that itself was constantly being reworked in antiquity. This section is concerned primarily with 'communal traditions', those that are transmitted in our sources recording the mythology and history of a particular *polis* or community. It is

[296] Cf. Gehrke (2001) 295; (2011) 47.
[297] Gehrke (2011) 47; Thomas (2011).
[298] Thomas (2011) 77.
[299] *FGrH* 1 F1a: Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν.
[300] Thomas (2011) 84.
[301] Cf. Thomas (1989), esp. Ch.1.

a vague term that is necessarily broad in its remit: it is not always clear in what sense traditions, as they have survived in our sources, reflected 'common knowledge' or an 'official' narrative endorsed by a particular community.[302] Within a community, various versions of their past would have been preserved within the 'memory' of individuals that made up the group; these overlapped and influenced one another through contact and communication between individuals to form a pool of 'common knowledge', or shared versions of their past.[303] There remained the potential for diffusion, and thus the versions that are preserved in our literary sources are not necessarily a direct reflection of a communal 'narrative.'[304]

The concept of 'collective memory' in the ancient world was not a straightforward process of 'remembering,' but rather 'recollecting.' While the preservation of certain strands did not necessarily involve a conscious editing of the past, it was nevertheless selective, as only elements that were deemed of significance were maintained within communal narratives. Socially constructed versions of the past, or what H.-J. Gehrke has termed 'intentional history,' were for the most part schematised versions of history; however, they reveal the agency of a community in moulding the way it 'interprets and understands itself,' and the role it played in transmitting its historical narratives.[305] Such a process permitted the existence of multiple traditions that did not necessarily accord with one another, but could coincide within the conception of 'communal identity.'[306] Despite, or perhaps because of this flexibility, mythological traditions were fundamental to civic self-perception in antiquity.[307]

Traditions involving Krete were preserved in the myths of Karia in numerous and diverse ways. In the majority of narratives, the 'Kretan link' reflected only one phase of settlement in the region, and often it was one of the earliest. It is not my intention to prioritise this aspect of regional history over other traditions, for instance those of the 'Ionian' and 'Dorian' migrations; rather, I want to consider its

[302] Thomas (1989) 197-198.
[303] Vansina (1985) 153. Cf. Csapo (2005) 134-5 for a discussion of 'collective consciousness.'
[304] The epigraphic record can offer a greater insight into civic self-perception; see below p. 171ff.
[305] Gehrke (2001) 286-287.
[306] Vansina (1985) 148: the 'corpus of oral traditions' is larger than the body of recorded material that relates to oral tradition.
[307] Cf. Csapo (2005) 132ff.

prevalence in the region, and what this aspect of their history reflected about regional identity. I will begin by exploring the place of Krete, and figures related to the island, within the mythologies, cults, and local histories of Karia.

Miletos and Kaunos

The city of Miletos was situated at the mouth of the Maeander valley, in the territory that is traditionally identified as Karia. It was one of the twelve original Ionian cities in western Anatolia, and according to the historical mythologies of the city, the Ionian foundation was led by a Neileus, son of Kodros, the king of Athens.[308] However, a number of other traditions recorded an earlier stage of settlement, in which the founding figure derived from Krete. According to Ephoros, the site was founded by Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, who brought settlers from the island, and named the city after the Kretan city Miletos.[309] Another variant centred on a figure of Miletos, who fled from Krete and founded the city in Anatolia. Different reasons were recorded for why Miletos was forced to escape from the island, although broadly his departure was due to Minos' aggression. The tale outlined by Apollodoros described a quarrel between the brothers Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys for the affection of the youth Miletos, who was the son of Apollo and Areia, the daughter of Kleochos.[310] Miletos was friendlier to Sarpedon, which enraged Minos and resulted in a war between the brothers in which Minos prevailed. Miletos and Sarpedon fled to Anatolia, where Miletos founded the eponymous city in Karia; Sarpedon allied himself with Kilix against the Lykians, and became king of Lykia.

Herodoros of Herakleia related a similar account: Miletos left Krete to escape the envy of Minos, and travelled first to Samos before founding the city in Karia.[311] In another version, Antoninus Liberalis described Miletos as the son of Apollo and Akakallis, the daughter of Minos; fearing Minos, Akakallis exposed him in a wood, but by the will of Apollo he was nurtured by wolves. As Miletos grew up, Minos

[308] Strab. 14. 1. 3; Ael. *VH* 8. 5.
[309] Strab. 14. 1. 6.
[310] Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 1. 2. Cf. Aristokritos *FGrH* 493 F 3 (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 185. 8a).
[311] Herodoros *FGrH* 31 F 45.

developed an uncontrollable lust for him, and so on the advice of Sarpedon, Miletos boarded a boat and escaped to Karia.[312] In Pausanias, the skeleton of the tale is again preserved, with Miletos fleeing from Minos and travelling to Anatolia; although the reason why Miletos needed to escape from Minos is not recorded.[313]

The mythologies surrounding the arrival of the Kretan Miletos in Karia create the impression of his peaceful acceptance within the region. In certain versions, the foundation of Miletos involved the introduction of Kretan settlers, and according to Pausanias, the Karians 'lived together with the Kretans' (σύνοικοι τοῖς Κρησὶν).[314] This is in contrast to the later arrival of the Ionians, which is characterised by discord; Herodotos wrote that the Ionian settlers married Karian girls and women after killing their parents and husbands[315], while Pherekydes recorded that the Ionians expelled the Karians before settling in the region.[316] The Kretan migration to Miletos, on the other hand, involved their integration with the native Karians.

Another potential connection between Krete and Miletos can be conjectured for the figure of Asterios. According to Pausanias, Asterios was the son of Anax, an ancient king of Miletos, and grandson of Ge; an islet in the bay of Miletos was named after him, and it was claimed as the location of his grave.[317] However, Asterios/Asterion was also known as a Kretan: according to Apollodoros, he was a Kretan prince, who married Europa and brought up her children, Minos, Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon. Diodoros recorded a similar account, although Asterios was described as the king of Krete[318], while in Pausanias, Asterion was the son of Minos, who was killed by Theseus.[319] A link between the Milesian and the Kretan Asterios is not developed in our sources, but a common source for both figures should be considered.[320]

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[312] Ant. Lib. 30.
[313] Paus. 7. 2. 5.
[314] *Ibid.*
[315] Hdt. 1. 146. 2: οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἠγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας.
[316] Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 155. Such a narrative of conflict is familiar within the mythological traditions surrounding the Dorian and Ionian colonisation of the Anatolian coast; see above p. 54f.
[317] Paus. 1. 35. 6.
[318] Diod. Sic. 4. 60. 3.
[319] Paus. 2. 31. 1.
[320] On the value of names as potential evidence, see below p. 236f.

An associated strand of the Miletos myth revolved around the figure of Kaunos, as the son of Miletos, and his sister Byblis.[321] According to Ovid, the twins Kaunos and Byblis were the offspring of Miletos and Kyane, the daughter of Maeander[322], while Antoninus Liberalis claimed that they were born from Miletos and Eidothee, the daughter of the king of Karia.[323] Parthenios of Nikaia recorded the tradition surrounding the twins in his *Story of Byblis*, based upon the *History of Miletos* by Aristokritos and the lost *Foundation of Kaunos* by Apollonios Rhodios. Parthenios wrote that in the most familiar version of the tale, Byblis felt an unnatural love for her twin brother. In his horror, Kaunos fled and 'crossed over into the land at that time possessed by the Leleges,' where he founded the city named after himself.[324] Byblis blamed herself for Kaunos' exile, and in her despair 'she fastened her girdle to an oak tree and put her neck in it'; 'some also say that from her tears flowed the everlasting stream called Byblis.'[325] According to Parthenios, 'over her Milesian maidens rent their robes', which might indicate the development of a ritual associated with her myth in Miletos.

In another version of this myth, attributed to the Alexandrine poet Nikainetos, it was Kaunos who fell in love with Byblis; unable to rid himself of his passion, he left his home and travelled far from his native land, where he founded a city, 'settling there the scattered Ionians' (τοὺς ἀπεσκεδασμένους τότε Ἴωνας ἐνοικίσαι).[326] Konon, a mythographer writing in the first century BC, also related that it was Kaunos who developed a 'hopeless desire' (ἔρως… ἀμήχανος) for his sister, forcing him to depart from Miletos. With his departure, Byblis was 'possessed with numberless griefs' (μυρίωι ἄχει κατεχομένη) and also left her paternal home. She wandered through the desert, 'bidding farewell to her unfulfilled longings' (πρὸς τοὺς ἀτελεῖς ἱμέρους ἀπαγορεύουσα), before she hanged herself from a walnut tree; 'there from her weeping the tears ran down and formed a

[321] Cf. Marek *I. Kaunos* T103-110, 39-44.
[322] Ov. *Met*. 9. 451-454.
[323] Ant. Lib. *Met.* 30. Parth. 11: Miletos united with the daughter of Kelainos.
[324] Parth. 11. 1-3. Translation J. L. Lightfoot (*Hellenistic Collection*, Loeb).
[325] *Ibid.* 11. 4-5.
[326] *Ibid*. 1. Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Καῦνος.

spring, the name of which among the locals is Byblis.'[327] In his wanderings, Kaunos travelled to Lykia, where he learnt of Byblis' fate from the Naiad Pronoe; she persuaded him to live with her on the condition that he adopted the kingship of the county. Pronoe bore Kaunos a son called Aigialos, who took up the kingship on his father's death; 'he gathered together the people who were living scattered about and founded a great and well-favoured city on the river, which he named Kaunos for his father.'[328] In a final variant recorded by Nonnos, Kaunos was the brother of Miletos, rather than his son, and 'led the Karian people into the Indian War.'[329]

Kaunos' descent was traced back via Miletos to Krete. This broadly accords with the account of Kaunian history recorded by Herodotos, who wrote that the Kaunians claimed that they originally came from Krete, although he qualified this with the statement that he himself believed that they were of native stock (αὐτόχθονες).[330] Herodotos considered Kaunos to be distinct from the other Karian cities; he wrote that while their dialect resembled the Karians, in their way of life 'they diverge widely' (κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν).[331] The continued significance of the Kretan link within the civic history of Kaunos is suggested by a tribe named after Rhadamanthys; while the brother of Minos and Sarpedon does not play a direct role in the foundation mythologies of Kaunos, he is connected with the region more broadly.[332] Stephanos also recorded that there was a *polis* called Kaunos on Krete.[333] Such traditions did not deny the Anatolian aspects of their history; the partnering of Miletos with figures rooted in Karia, whether the daughter of the river Maeander or of Eidothee, the daughter of the king of Karia, maintained a distinctly local element. Byblis was also closely associated with the region, and variously gave her name to a fountain in Karia[334], or to a stream in the region that sprang from her tears.[335]

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[327] Konon *FGrH* 26 F1 2: ἔνθα δὴ κλαιούσης αὐτῆς ἐρρύη τὰ δάκρυα καὶ κρήνην ἀνῆκε, Βυβλίδα τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ὄνομα. Translation: Brill's New Jacoby.

[328] Konon *FGrH* 26 F1 2: ἤθροισέ τε τὸν λαὸν σποράδην οἰκοῦντα καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἐπὶ τῶι ποταμῶι μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, Καῦνον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπονομάσας.

[329] Nonn. *Dionys.* 13. 546. There are also allusions to the tale surrounding the relationship of Kaunos with Byblis.

[330] Hdt. 1. 172. 1.

[331] Hdt. 1. 172. 1.

[332] *I. Kaunos* no. 64; another tribe at Kaunos was named after the mythical Athenian king Kranaos. There may be a reference to Rhadamanthys in the Salmakis inscription from Halikarnassos; see n. 892.

[333] Steph. Byz. s.v. Καῦνος... ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη πόλις ἐν Κρήτῃ.

[334] Ov. *Met.* 9, 663-665.

The various myths associated with the travels of Sarpedon and Miletos from Krete to western Anatolia coexisted with the traditions surrounding the introduction of Ionian settlers under the leadership of Neleus. They were not incompatible: tradition held that the settlement of Kretans predated the arrival of the Ionians, and thus various stages of foundation were recorded in Milesian mythology. Miletos and Kaunos were not the only communities that awarded a role to Krete or an individual from Krete in its foundation, but were part of a wider pattern across south western Anatolia.

The 'Minoan' Ports of Anatolia

According to Diodoros, writing in the first century BC, when Minos was 'master of the sea' (ἐθαλαττοκράτει), he 'sent forth from Krete many colonies' (πολλὰς ἀποικίας ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης), 'settled the greater number of the Cyclades' (τῶν δὲ Κυκλάδων νήσων τὰς πλείους κατῴκισε), and 'occupied no small part of the coast of Asia' (οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς παραθαλαττίου κατέσχε).[336] The lasting impact of Minos' rule remained in Diodoros' day, and served to explain 'why the harbours on the islands as well as on the coast of Asia have the same designation as those of Krete, being called 'Minoan.''[337] The mythologies of Minos centred on his 'rule of the sea', and he was considered to be the first ruler to establish a thalassocracy within the Aegean.[338] According to tradition, Minos was not alone among his brothers in exerting his influence in western Anatolia: the role of Sarpedon in the foundation of Miletos is consistent in all versions of the myth, and he was also said to have travelled to Lykia.[339] Rhadamanthys too was described by Diodoros as having come to possess

[335] Ant. Lib. *Met.* 30; Parth. 11. According to Stephanos (s.v. Βύβλος), the πόλις Φοινίκης of Byblos was also named after the sister of Miletos.
[336] Diod. Sic. 5. 84. 1.
[337] Diod. Sic. 5. 84. 2: διόπερ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι Κρητῶν λιμένες καὶ Μινῷαι καλούμεναι.
[338] Hdt. 3. 122; Thuc.1. 4.
[339] See below p. 98ff.

'no small number of the islands and a large part of the sea coast of Asia, all men delivering themselves into his hands of their free will because of his justice.'[340]

Diodoros did not list the communities he was referring to in his statement, though it can be presumed that Miletos was among their number. By extension, the island of Samos would also have been included, as an additional aspect of the Milesian foundation corpus claimed that Miletos initially escaped to Samos, where he founded another eponymous settlement before he moved on to Karia.[341] The first inhabitants of Karpathos were also said by Diodoros to have been certain men 'who joined with Minos in his campaigns' at the time when he was master of the sea.[342] Rhadamanthys played a direct role in the foundation of a settlement on the island of Chios, where certain tales recorded that he had settled the Kretan Oinopion.[343] According to Pausanias, the tomb of Oinopion was one of the sights of the island, where certain stories about the deeds of Oinopion were told (τε παρέχεται καί τινας καὶ λόγους ἐς τοῦ Οἰνοπίωνος τὰ ἔργα).[344] C. Habicht has argued that these stories were inscribed on the tomb itself[345], and the discovery of an inscription on Chios, dated to the late Hellenistic period, might support this suggestion; it lists the people who travelled with Oinopion to Chios, including three sons and three wives (a fourth wife did no travel with him).[346]

Erythrai was another coastal settlement that incorporated the figure of Rhadamanthys into its foundation tradition: the eponymous figure of Erythros was said to have been one of the sons of Rhadamanthys, and Rhadamanthys bestowed on him the kingship of the city which came to be named Erythrai.[347] Kretan settlers were involved in its foundation, although the population was also said to have incorporated Karians, Lykians and Pamphylians: 'Lykians because of their kinship

[340] Diod. Sic. 5. 79. 1: κατακτήσασθαι δὲ καὶ νήσους οὐκ ὀλίγας καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας πολλὴν τῆς παραθαλαττίου χώρας, ἁπάντων ἑκουσίως παραδιδόντων ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. This tradition may serve to explain the tribe at Kaunos named after Rhadamanthys; see above n. 332.
[341] Herodoros *FGrH* 31 F45.
[342] Diod. Sic. 5. 54. 4: τὴν δὲ Κάρπαθον πρῶτοι μὲν ᾤκησαν τῶν μετὰ Μίνω τινὲς συστρατευσαμένων, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐθαλαττοκράτησε πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
[343] Diod. Sic. 5. 84. 3; Paus. 7. 4. 8.
[344] Paus. 7. 5. 13. Trans. Ormerod (Loeb): 'One of the sights of Chios is the grave of Oenopion, about whose exploits they tell certain legends'; cf. Habicht (1984) 44-5.
[345] Habicht (1984) 45.
[346] Condoléon (1949), no. 1; Condoléon (9) suggests that it came from Oinopion's tomb. Cf. Habicht (1984) 45.
[347] Diod. Sic. 5. 79. 1; 84. 3; Paus. 7. 3. 7.

(συγγένειαν) with the Kretans, as they came of old from Krete, having fled along with Sarpedon; Karians because of their ancient friendship (φιλίαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ) with Minos; Pamphylians because they too belong to the Greek race.'[348] They together inhabited Erythrai until Kleopos the son of Kodros introduced settlers from the cities of Ionia, after which Erythrai was considered one of the twelve Ionian communities in Anatolia. However, the myth of Erythros continued to be commemorated in the city; an inscription dated to the second century BC reveals that sacrifices were made to Erythros[349], while civic coin types from the third century AD bore the legend Ἐρυθρος κτίστης.[350]

The origins of the sanctuary of Klaros, attached to the Ionian city of Kolophon, also claimed a Kretan connection, although not immediately linked to Minos and his family. Pausanias attributed its foundation to Rhakios from Krete[351], although another version described him as the son of Lebes, a Mycenaean.[352] In Pausanias' account, which he described as the one retold by the people of Kolophon, Klaros was founded in 'the remotest antiquity' (ἐκ παλαιοτάτου) when the Karians still held the land.[353] Rhakios led the first of the Greeks to arrive at the site, which were predominately Kretans, and they occupied the shore; although the region largely continued in the possession of the Karians. When Tiresias arrived in the land with his daughter Manto, Rhakios took Manto for his wife, and in certain versions, Klaros was said to have derived its name from her tears.[354] Rhakios and Manto became parents to Mopsos, who drove the Karians from the country altogether, and permitted the Ionians to live with the Greeks in Kolophon on equal terms.[355]

The civic traditions that have been preserved reveal the way in which local mythologies interacted with broader regional traditions; how the *poleis* responded to

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[348] Paus. 7. 3. 7: ἐχόντων δὲ αὐτὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Κρησὶ Λυκίων καὶ Καρῶν τε καὶ Παμφύλων, Λυκίων μὲν κατὰ συγγένειαν τὴν Κρητῶν καὶ γὰρ οἱ Λύκιοι τὸ ἀρχαῖόν εἰσιν ἐκ Κρήτης, οἳ Σαρπηδόνι ὁμοῦ ἔφυγον - , Καρῶν δὲ κατὰ φιλίαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ πρὸς Μίνω, Παμφύλων δὲ ὅτι γένους μέτεστιν Ἑλληνικοῦ.
[349] Varınlıoğlu (1980) 1, l.6 (p. 150); a new fragment of *I. Erythrai* 207. Cf. Robert (1981) 355, n. 80; Habicht (1984) 44.
[350] Imhoof-Blumer (1911) 1; *BMC Greek (Ionia)* no. 227, p. 142.
[351] Paus. 7. 3. 1; 9. 33. 2.
[352] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 308 (*Epigonoi* Fr. 4 West).
[353] Paus. 7. 3. 1.
[354] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 308 (*Epigonoi* Fr. 4 West).
[355] Paus. 7. 3. 2-3.

the notion of a migration from Krete to south western Anatolia, and wove this aspect into their own civic histories. They did not always correspond precisely to one another, and were liable to develop over time; thus Herodotos writes in the fifth century BC that the Kaunians claimed to have travelled originally from Krete, while the traditions that developed in the Hellenistic period stress both the Kretan and Karian lineage of Kaunos. Similarly, while the migration of Rhakios to Klaros can be traced to a period before the Ionian foundation of the site, he does not seem to be related to Minoan mythology. However, such divergences should not detract from the broad pattern that awarded an important role to Krete in the early history of the communities of Karia, and that was largely marked by concord with the native Karians.

The prevalence of traditions surrounding a Kretan presence in south western Anatolia, predating the arrival of the 'Greek' colonies in the Dark Ages, will be examined in relation to the archaeological material in the final chapter; here it is worth stressing the ways in which the core narrative of interaction was drawn upon by the communities, and remained relevant to their civic self-conception. These traditions also retained their currency through their incorporation into the civic landscape; thus the tribe named after Rhadamanthys at Kaunos[356], while at Miletos the Kretan Kleochos, father of Areia and grandfather of Miletos, was said to have been buried in the Didymeion.[357] Landmarks played an important role in preserving and transmitting aspects of *polis* history, whether as the site of a deity's birth, in the graves of a local hero, or in a particular toponym.

The relevance of the 'Kretan link' in south western Anatolia extended beyond Karia to the surrounding area and the neighbouring islands. The broad outline of a tradition claiming contact with Krete permitted a great deal of local diversity, as communities appropriated the core theme of a Kretan link on a local level; while Minos and his family were prominent, they were not included in all civic traditions preserving a Kretan connection. The Aiolian city of Magnesia-on-the-

[356] See above n. 332. Robert (1936a) 164, observed that at Kolophon, the *genos Prometheioi* and the *genos Hegetorides* must be named after Promethos, son of Kodros and Hegetor, son of Neleus and grandson of Kodros. Cf. Habicht (1984) 43-46.
[357] Leandrios of Miletos *FGrH* 492 F10. See above p.81 regarding the tomb of Oinopion on Chios.

Maeander was located on the periphery of Karia, however it was affected by these wider regional narratives, and one strand of its civic history maintained strong Kretan and Anatolian links.

The 'Kretinaion' of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander

Magnesia was located near to the Maeander River on the north side of the valley; although, as Strabo writes, it is much nearer the Lethaios River (see Map 2).[358] It is recorded that the Magnesian settlers travelled from Magnesia in Thessaly to settle in Anatolia.[359] This aspect of their history is undisputed in the ancient sources, though two other elements of their history were also transmitted in antiquity. In one version, recorded in a fragment of Aristotle, the Magnesians were described as 'colonists of the Delphians' (Δελφῶν ἄποικοι)[360], and this connection is reinforced by Strabo, who remarked that the Magnesians were 'descendants of the Delphians who settled in the Didyman hills in Thessaly.'[361]

The other version of their foundation tale awarded a role to Krete. Strabo separately recorded that the city was 'a colony of the Magnesians of Thessaly and the Kretans' (Μαγνήτων ἀποικία τῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ καὶ Κρητῶν).[362] Konon seems to have attempted to reconcile both strands; in his account the Magnesians settled at Delphi on their return from Troy, from where they later crossed over to Krete. They subsequently sailed to Anatolia under force, in order to assist the newly founded Ionia and Aeolis in their troubles; 'and from there they arrived at the place where they are now and founded a city, naming it Magnesia after their ancient fatherland.'[363]

It was the Kretan version that gained prominence during the Hellenistic period, and at the end of the third century BC this account of their foundation myth

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[358] Strab. 14. 1. 39. Thonemann (2011) 25, n. 62, suggests that the Lethaios river might be related to the Manthios river, known from the Magnesian 'origin myth' (*I. Magnesia* 17, l. 48) and *IG* 14. 933; Ebert (1985) suggested that Manthios may rather be an old name for the Maeander (62-63).
[359] Konon *FGrH* 26 F1 29; Strab. 14. 1. 39; Pliny *N.H.* 5. 31; Ant. Lib. 23; Parth. 5.
[360] Athenaeus 4. 173.
[361] Strab. 14. 1. 40: Δοκοῦσι δ' εἶναι Μάγνητες Δελφῶν ἀπόγονοι, τῶν ἐποικησάντων τὰ Δίδυμα ὄρη ἐν Θετταλίᾳ.
[362] Strab. 14. 1. 11.
[363] Konon *FGrH* 26 F 1 29: ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικνοῦνται ἐν ὧι νῦν εἰσι καὶ κτίζουσι πόλιν, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος Μαγνησίαν αὐτὴν ἐπικαλέσαντες.

was publicly inscribed in the agora at Magnesia (Appendix 1 and Fig. 7).[364] The text is incomplete, with the beginning and end of the inscription on blocks that are now lost, however it can be established that the text recounted the journey of the Magnesians to Anatolia. The reason for the departure of the Magnesians from their original home in Thessaly is missing; as it is preserved, the text begins with their arrival on Krete. The Magnesians are said to have founded a city between Gortyn and Phaistos, bringing their wives and children.[365] They remained there for eighty years, at which point 'the white ravens appeared' and they sent to Delphi to ask about their return home.[366] The responses of the oracle are purportedly quoted in the inscription, and the Magnesians were told that they 'must go to (settle) a country away from their fatherland.'[367] They then enquired as to where they were to be sent, and were told to seek a man 'who stands beside the doors of the temple,' who would lead them 'beyond high Mount Mykale to the land of Pamphylia.'[368] According to the oracle, 'there you will find the house of Mandrolytos with his many possessions on the banks of the much winding river.'[369] The Magnesians consulted the oracle again as to the identity of this man, and were told that on leaving the temple they would encounter a 'brave man, descended from the line of Glaukos.'[370] As prophesied, they met the Lykian Leukippos 'and renewed their kinship with him' (καὶ τὴν̣ συγγένεια[ν] πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιππον ἀνανεωσαμένων).[371] Leukippos

[364] *I. Magnesia* 17. Cf. Kern (1894).
[365] *Ibid.* ll. 6-9.
[366] *Ibid.* ll. 11-13: ὡς δὲ περὶ ὀγδοιήκονθ′ ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐφά[νησαν οἱ λευκοὶ] | κόρακες, vacat εὐθέως ἅμα θυσίαις χαριστηρίοις vacat πέμ[ponταi εἰς Δελ]|φοὺς ἐρωτήσοντες περὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἰδί[αν] ἐπανόδο[υ]. The restoration of 'white' ravens is confirmed l.17. The omen of 'white ravens' recalls the ancient proverbial phrase used to refer to something seemingly impossible coming to pass, which, according to the explanation of Demon, also found its origins in Thessaly (*FGrH* 327 F7. Cf. Zen. *Prov.* 3. 87). A group of Boiotians had settled in Thessaly, displacing the native Aiolian population, and resulting in conflict. The Boiotians consulted the oracle at Delphi about what they should do, and were told that 'white ravens' would appear before the Boiotians were deprived of their land. Thinking this highly unlikely, the Boiotians organised a celebration; during the festivities, some youths caught ravens and covered them in chalk, making them white. The sight of this omen caused panic among the Boiotians, and in the subsequent confusion the Aiolians were able to drive them from their land. Cf. Huxley (1981), 334-335. The omen of ravens also recalls the tale about the origin of the oracle at Dodona: Hdt. 2.55.
[367] *I. Magnesia* 17, l. 20: ἀλλὰ χρεὼγ γαίης ἀπ[ὸ π]ατρίδος ἄλλοθι νεῖσθα[ι].
[368] *Ibid.* ll. 29-31: ὔμμι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἕστηκε πάρος νηοῖο θυράων,| [ὃ]ς γ′ ὑμῖν ἄρξαιτο καὶ ἡγήσαιτο κελεύθου | Πα̣μφύλων ἐπ′ ἄρουραν ὑπὲρ Μυκάλης ὄρος αἰπύ̣.
[369] *Ibid.* ll. 32-33: ἔνθα δὲ Μανδρολύτου δόμος ὄλβιος ἐμ περιωπῆ[ι]| πολλοῖσιν κτεάνοισι πολυστρεφέος ποταμοῖο.
[370] *Ibid.* ll.38: ἔστι τις ἐν τεμένει Γλαύκου γένος ἄ<λ>κιμος ἀνήρ.
[371] *Ibid.* ll. 42-43.

then consulted the oracle himself, and was told to lead the arms-bearing people of Magnesia, his kinsmen (φέροπλον / λαὸν ἄγωμ Μάγνητα ὁμοσύγγονον)[372], to settle in Anatolia, by 'Mount Thorax and the Manthios River, opposite Mount Mykale and Endymion.'[373] According to the oracle, 'there the Magnesians will inhabit the house of Mandrolytos and be happy and admired by their neighbouring cities.'[374]

Despite its poor state of preservation, it is clear that the inscribed 'origin myth' awarded a prominent role both to the Magnesian period of settlement on Krete and the figure of Leukippos as founding hero.[375] In the inscription, Leukippos is identified as a descendant of Glaukos, the royal Lykian line known from Homer.[376] This version is corroborated by Parthenios of Nikaia in his *Story of Leukippos*, wherein Leukippos was the son of Xanthios, a descendant of Bellerophon.[377] Leukippos outshone all of his contemporaries in warlike valour, but the wrath of Aphrodite led him to fall in love with his sister, and eventually he gave into his desires. When his father learnt of the affair, he confronted the pair, and in the confusion that followed killed his daughter and received his own deathblow from Leukippos. Having been banished from his native land, Leukippos then put himself 'at the head of a band of Thessalians who were on their way to Krete', from where he travelled with them to Anatolia and to the country near Ephesos, 'where he founded the place called *Kretinaion*.'[378]

Parthenios' account does not entirely accord with the version recorded in the inscribed 'origin myth.' In Parthenios, Leukippos joined with the Thessalians before their arrival on Krete, and their advance to the island was aggressive, whereas in the

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[372] *I. Magnesia* 17, ll. 46-47.
[373] *Ibid.* ll. 47-49.
[374] *Ibid.* ll. 50-51: ἔνθα δὲ Μ[α]νδρολύτου δόμον ὄλβιοι οἰκήσο[υσιν] | [Μ]άγνητ<ε>ς πολίε̣[σσι] π̣ερικτιόνεσσιν ἀγητ[οί.].
[375] The historical context of the inscription, and how this could reflect its reading, will be discussed below, pp. 179-89. The figure of Leukippos as *ktistes* has tentatively been identified with the riding horseman that appears on Magnesian coin types; *BMC Greek (Ionia)* nos. 2-13, pp. 158-159; nos. 18-35, pp. 160-161 (350-190 BC); no. 38, p. 162; nos. 43-45, p. 163 (after 190 BC). There is a rare fourth century BC type, which depicts a Persian king on the obverse, surrounded by a Maeander pattern, with the Leukippos figure on horseback on the reverse: http://odophil.ch/numismatik/griechen/ionien/ ionien-div/1894.html (accessed 05/02/2012).
[376] Hom. *Il.* 6. 154-211.
[377] Parth. 5.
[378] Parth. 5. 6: ἔνθα χωρίον ᾤκησε τὸ Κρητιναῖον ἐπικληθέν.

inscription the Magnesians had already been settled peacefully on Krete for eighty years when they encountered Leukippos. In the inscription, Leukippos is identified as a descendant of Glaukos, the royal Lykian line known from Homer[379], while in Parthenios, Leukippos as a descendant of Bellerophon appears to be distinct from the Lykians, and is described as having plundered their land.[380] In another account Leukippos is not connected with Lykia at all, although he remains a native of Anatolia: according to the Scholion on Apollonios Rhodios, the 'Magnesia situated near Ephesos' was founded ὑπο Λευκίππου τοῦ Καρὸς[381], which could either be interpreted as his ethnic, or as his patronymic, 'son of Kar.'[382]

Parthenios was writing during the Augustan period, and he would have been recording the version of the tale that was current; his account raises the possibility that a place named after Krete existed in the vicinity of Magnesia and Ephesos at this time. This is reinforced by the expression ταχύτερον ὁ Μάνδης Κρητίνας ἀπεπέρασε, or 'more quickly than Mandres sold off *Kretinai*,' which was used in antiquity to refer to a sudden act of foolishness, and was so coined after the Magnesians had lost a place called *Kretinai* to the Ephesians. In the tale, Mandres, the son of Mandrolytos, had been forced to sell it off as a consequence of his drinking and dice playing.[383] The figure of Mandrolytos had strong local links, and he was said to have ruled over the region before the arrival of the Magnesian settlers; according to Pliny, Mandrolytia was an earlier name of the settlement.[384] P. Thonemann has demonstrated that his and other Μανδρο- and -μανδρος names were likely connected to the river Maeander.[385] According to Parthenios, this

[379] See n. 376.
[380] Parth. 5. 1.
[381] Scol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 584.
[382] Kern (1900) viii, no. xxii; Jones (2002) 116.
[383] Ps.-Plut. *Prov.* 57: Ταχύτερον ὁ Μάνδρης Κρητίνας ἀπεπέρασε Ἐφέσιοι Κρητίνας ἐκτήσαντο τὰς Μαγνήτων ἀπεπέρασε δέ σφιν Μάνδρης ὁ Μανδρολύτου παρ' οἶνον καὶ μέθην καὶ κύβην. See now Huxley (1981) 340-341.
[384] Plin. *NH* . 114.
[385]Thonemann (2006), esp. 36ff.; *Mandros-* and *–mandros* names were especially frequent in southern Ionia (see the catalogue pp. 16-20). Thonemann demonstrates (see esp. 28-29) that the earlier identification of Mandros as a deity is likely incorrect; this idea had been proposed by J.-A. Letronne in his essay of 1851, 'Mémoire sur l'utilité qu'on peut retirer de l'étude des noms propres grecs, pour l'histoire et l'archéologie' in *Mémoires del'institut national de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 19/1, pp. 1-139; it was subsequently widely accepted. Cf. Rayet & Thomas (1877) 141-142, n.3; Laumonier (1958) 524-526. (2011) 27. Cf. Thonemann (2011) 27f.

Mandrolytos was the father of Leukophrys, who fell in love with Leukippos and betrayed the town to her father's enemies. The name of Leukophrys was clearly connected with the primary deity of Magnesia, Artemis Leukophryene[386], and it is recorded that her tomb was located in the Artemision.[387]

The existence of a place called '*Kretinai/Kretinaion'* within the vicinity of Magnesia can be surmised. It would find a parallel on Rhodes, where a place called Kretinia was also found in antiquity. According to Apollodoros, Katreos, the son of Minos, had enquired of an oracle about the manner of his death, and was informed that he would die at the hands of one of his children. When his son Althaemenes learned of the oracle, he feared that he would be his father's murderer, and so set sail to Rhodes with his sister Apemosyne, where they founded a place called Kretinia[388]; this tale persisted, and according to Stephanos, Κρητινία was a τόπος Ῥόδου, founded by Althaemenes.[389] According to legend, Althaemenes climbed Mt. Atabyrion and 'beheld the islands around'; catching site of Krete, he called upon the god of his fathers and founded the cult of Zeus Atabyrios.[390]

The presence of a toponym *Kretinaion/Kretinia* in the neighbourhood of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander and Ephesos might indicate some form of settlement, sanctuary or structure in the region of a distinctly Kretan character.[391] The appearance of the Kouretes on a civic coin type of Magnesia[392], and the sacred functionaries of the same name at Ephesos, could further be connected to this *Kretinaion*[393]; the wider significance of the Kouretes in south western Anatolia will be explored in the following section.

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[386] Xenophon refers to Leukophrys rather than Magnesia when naming the city (*Hell.* 3.2.19; 4.8.17). Cf. Wilamowitz (1895) 183f. See below for discussion of the civic games in honour of Artemis Leukophryene.

[387] Clemens Alex. *Protr.* 3.45.3, citing Zenon of Myndos: it was considered improper to walk over the memorial of Leukophryne, which was located in the temple of Artemis at Magnesia (Ἐνταῦθα τῆς Λευκοφρύνης τὸ μνημεῖον οὐκ ἄξιον παρελθεῖν ἑπομένους Ζήνωνι τῷ Μυνδίῳ, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κεκήδευται). Wilamowitz (1895) 184, wrongly identifies Leukophryne as an Amazon.

[388] Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 2. 1.

[389] Steph. Byz. s.v. Κρητινία.

[390] Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 2. 1.

[391] Endings in –ιον and -ειον often indicate some form of building; see below n. 484 and p. 129.

[392] Rayet & Thomas (1877) 139, fig. 36.

[393] See below p. 90f.

The 'Kretan link' in the Magnesian foundation legend does not involve figures associated with the Minos myth, as was often the case in the local histories of the region; but the broader theme of a Kretan connection is again preserved, and I would suggest that it was developed in response to the wider Karian narratives of a connection with the island. The historical context in which the Kretan 'origin myth' was inscribed at Magnesia will be explored in detail in Chapter 4; here it is worth stressing the local variations and inconsistencies within the corpus of traditions claiming a link with Krete in south western Anatolia.

The Karian Kouretes

The figures of the Kouretes were traditionally associated with the birth of Zeus on Krete, and according to myth they danced and banged their shields in order to hide the sounds of Rhea giving birth from Kronos.[394] However, their significance extended much further, and traditions surrounding the Kouretes can be detected in Akarnania and Aitolia among other places[395]; the links were also strong in western Anatolia, and the body of evidence surrounding the Kouretes within Karia provides further evidence for a possible connection with Krete.

Diodoros records a story about the migration of a group of five Kouretes from Krete to south western Anatolia. He described them as the descendants of those Kouretes who had received Zeus from his mother Rhea on Mt. Ida on Krete, and wrote that they sailed to the Chersonesos (see Map 2) with a 'notable expedition.' Expelling the Karians dwelling there, the Kouretes settled on the land, and divided it into five parts, each founding a city named after himself.[396] In a related tradition,

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[394] Hes. *Th.* 477-84; Strab. 10. 3. 11; Diod Sic. 5. 65. 4. Cf. the Palaikastro Hymn, *IC* 3.2.2.

[395] Strab. 10. 3. 1: 'As for the Kouretes, some assign them to the Akarnanians, others to the Aitolians; and some assert that they originated in Krete, others in Euboia.' Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 122a (= Strab. 10. 3. 2) wrote that 'from the beginning, Kouretes were in possession of the whole country' of Aitolia, but on the arrival of Aitolos, the son of Endymion from Elis, the Kouretes retreated to the present Akarnania. Archemachos of Euboea *FGrH* 424 *F* 9 (= Strab. 10. 3. 6) wrote that the Kouretes had their settlement at Chalkis. Cf. Strab. 10. 3. 8.

[396] Diod. Sic. 5. 60. 1-3: ὡς δέ τινες ἀναγεγράφασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δυναστεύσαντος τῶν τόπων ὄνομα Χερρονήσου προσηγόρευται. οὐ πολλῷ δ᾽ ὕστερον τῆς τούτου δυναστείας λέγεται πέντε Κούρητας ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς αὐτὴν περαιωθῆναι: τούτους δ᾽ ἀπογόνους γεγονέναι τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων Δία παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς Ῥέας καὶ θρεψάντων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην Ἰδαίοις ὄρεσι. στόλῳ δ᾽ ἀξιολόγῳ πλεύσαντας εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησοντοὺς μὲν κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν Κᾶρας ἐκβαλεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ κατοικήσαντας τὴν μὲν χώρανεἰς πέντε

recorded in the Byzantine *Etymologicum Magnum*, three Kouretes travelled to Karia after receiving an oracle, and fell asleep on the banks of a river near Tralles that subsequently was called Εὔδωνος.[397] The Kouretes were named Labrandos, Panamaros and Palaxos or Spalaxos. The cults of Zeus Labraundeus and Zeus Panamareus were both prominent in Karia, and the third Kourete (S)Palaxos was also named after a cult of Zeus. Currently little is known about this cult: a dedication to Zeus Spalôxos, inscribed on a small altar adorned with a double axe, has been discovered near Mastaura in the Maeander valley, north west of Aphrodisias.[398] Further evidence for the existence of the cult was found in the vicinity of Aphrodisias, where another small altar decorated with a double axe was dedicated to Διὶ Σπαλωξίῳ.[399] An Imperial coin from Aphrodisias also depicts Zeus seated with a sceptre and Nike, with the inscription ΖΕΥΣ ΣΠΑΛΩΞΟΣ.[400]

It is likely that the tradition of the migration of the Kouretes from Krete to Karia was not early, and probably does not date before the Hellenistic period; however, at some point aetiologies developed about some of the larger cults in the region that sought their origins on Krete.[401] On the Hellenistic temple frieze at Lagina, one of the scenes on the east side represented the birth of Zeus, and three Kouretes are depicted dancing and banging their shields in the background (Fig. 8).[402] The frieze is often interpreted as a visual representation of a number of local mythologies and traditions, and the Kouretes could be interpreted as the figures Labrandos, Panamaros and Spalaxos.[403]

The significance of the Kouretes stretched over a much wider region. At Ephesos, the Kouretes were associated with the birth of Apollo and Artemis at

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μέρη διελεῖν, καὶ πόλιν ἕκαστον κτίσαι θέμενον ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν. Cf. Bresson (2001) 148; Graf (2009) 343, suggests Loryma, Hasara, Phoinix, Thyssanos and Tymnos.

[397] *Et. Mag.* s.v. Εὔδωνος.

[398] Kubitschek & Reichel (1893) 93, no. 2: γ′ Διὶ Σπαλωξω Ἀμμι(ο)ν εὐχήν.

[399] Robert & Robert *Amyzon* 166, n. 27 (*SEG* 33, 857): Διὶ Σπαλωξίῳ | [κ]ατὰ ἐπιταγὴ[ν] | [Φ]ιλόμουσος.

[400] Hill (1924) 12, no. 16; the fourth letter from the left may be an alpha. Cf. Robert & Robert, *Amyzon* 166, n. 27.

[401] Laumonier (1958) 349; Graf (2009) 343.

[402] Baumeister (2007) Tafel 19.

[403] At Aphrodisias, the tradition of the Karian Kouretes and Spalaxos may also have been used to substantiate the claim of kinship made by the former Kretarchon Flavius Quintilus Eros Monaxius when he dedicated a gate to the city c. AD 355-360; in *ala2004* 19, the Aphrodisians are called συγγενεῖ Κρητῶν (l. 8).

Ortygia, a grove located near the city; according to Strabo, it was named after the nurse Ortygia, who tended to Leto during her travails. Above the grove on Mt. Solmissos, the Kouretes were said to have stationed themselves 'and with the din of their arms frightened Hera out of her wits when she was jealously spying on Leto.'[404] Strabo wrote that there were several temples in the place, and that a festival was held there annually, in which 'the youths vie for honour, particularly in the splendour of their banquets.' A special college of Kouretes also held symposiums and performed certain mystic sacrifices.[405]

The Kouretes of Ephesos were sacred functionaries, related to the worship of Artemis; the first epigraphic attestations of their existence date to the late fourth or early third centuries BC.[406] Towards the end of the Hellenistic period they were moved to the *prytaneion*, where their role seems to have become entwined with that of the *prytanis*; his duties and rituals were frequently performed in conjunction with the Kouretes.[407] Lists of members of the college were inscribed from the time of Augustus and continued during the Imperial period. The Kouretes were called *eusebeis* and from the late first century AD *philosebastoi* ('loyal to the emperor').[408] Their roles included hierophant, 'inspector of entrails', a flute player, a trumpet player, a dancer, a basket bearer and a perfume bearer.[409] The exact function of the college is not clear, but the initiation process for Kouretes transformed their status for life, and former Kouretes were designated as *kekoureutekotes* ('those who have been Kouretes').[410]

The inner workings of the mystery cult of the Kouretes at Ephesos remain little known, but the college was of considerable significance, and based on an important local myth that played a central role in civic ritual. Ephesos was one of a number of cities in south western Anatolia in which religious associations connected

[404] Strab. 14. 1. 20: ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ὄπος ὁ Σολμισσός, ὅπου στάντας φασὶ τοὺς Κουρῆτας τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκπλῆξαι τὴν Ἥραν ζηλοτύπως ἐφεδρεύουσαν, καὶ λαθεῖν συμπράξαντας τὴν λοχείαν τῇ Λητοῖ.
[405] Strab. 14. 1. 20: πανήγυρις δ' ἐνταῦθα συντελεῖται κατ' ἔτος, ἔθει δέ τινι οἱ νέοι φιλοκαλοῦσι μάλιστα περὶ τὰς ἐνταῦθα εὐωχίας λαμπρυνόμενοι: τότε δὲ καὶ τῶν Κουρήτων ἀρχεῖον συνάγει συμπόσια καί τινας μυστικὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖ.
[406] Graf (2003) 249. Cf. Bremmer (2008) 50-52.
[407] Graf (2003) 248.
[408] Knibbe (1981) B1-45; 54; cf. pp. 96-100.
[409] Graf (2003) 248.
[410] Knibbe (1981) B54 l.7; Graf (2003) 252; (2010b) 305.

to the Kouretes are attested. A Hellenistic cult of Basileus and the Kouretes is known at Priene, where a statue base was discovered *in situ*; it was inscribed with a dedication by a man and a woman to their father, ἱερητεύοντα Βασιλεῖ καὶ Κούρησιν.[411] This cult is also known from an inscription discovered at Volissos on Chios, which preserves a dedication made by a priestess of the Kouretes Βασιλεῖ καὶ Κούρησιν.[412] It is possible that two such priesthoods existed, although as the second stone was discovered out of its original context, it could be a *pierre errante* that originated in western Anatolia.[413] A cult group to Basileus finds a parallel at Kaunos, where βασιλεὺς ὁ θεός served as an important civic deity; the worship of Basileus Kaunios was further imported to Xanthos.[414] F. Graf has also drawn attention to 'the sanctuary of the king' outside Ephesos that is known from Strabo, and the late imperial dedication 'to the king who listens' from Miletos[415]; at Erythrai a cult of Διὸς Βασιλέως is also known.[416] An Imperial dedication from Miletos has been discovered to βασιλεύς ἄναξ[417], while a temple of Anax is mentioned in an inscription from Magnesia.[418] According to tradition, Anax was the first king of Miletos, and it seems likely that both attestations are related to this myth; although the figure of Anax as the prototypical king may also be a conflation of different traditions.[419]

It is possible that the figure of Basileus was equated with Zeus, and the two cults are sometimes combined. However, it should be considered that Basileus cults might reflect a Hellenic rendering of a particular Anatolian deity.[420] It might also indicate influence from the Near East; at Kaunos, the cult statue of Basileus is thought to have been depicted as a baetyl, or sacred stone, which might suggest a Semitic origin (see Fig. 6).[421] The Kouretes apparently served as the attendants of

[411] *I. Priene* 186, ll. 4-5.
[412] *Hesperia* (1947) 87-88, no. 13: Γόργιον Μελάντα ἡ ἱέρεια | τῶν Κουρήτων Βασιλεῖ | καὶ Κούρησιν.
[413] Graf (2010a) 74.
[414] Kaunos: *I. Kaunos* 35 C. 16, E. 4; 139 III c. 4; 142, 7. Xanthos: Metzger (1979), 'Le Texte Grec', ll. 7; 15-16; 22 (p. 32).
[415] Graf (2010a) 75-76. Strab. 14. 1. 26. *Milet* 1. 7. no. 285.
[416] *I. Erythrai* 201, l. 77.
[417] *Milet* 6. 3. 1304, l. 3: βασιλεῖ Ἄνακτι.
[418] *I. Magnesia* 94, l.9: ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἄνακτος.
[419] Paus. 7. 2. 5.
[420] Graf (2010a) 75-76. Cf. Laumonier (1958) 526.
[421] Konuk (1998) nos. 71-112.

Basileus at Priene, and received worship as minor deities. Further cults to the Kouretes are known from Mylasa and Olymos, where a priesthood of Zeus Kretagenes and the Kouretes is attested during the Hellenistic period.[422] A priesthood of the Kouretes is also known from a number of inscriptions from Didyma and Miletos[423], and from Termessos in Pisidia.[424]

The Kouretes fall within a wider category of young male consorts to a deity, whose myths and related cults interwove across the ancient world. Alongside the Kouretes should be listed the Korybantes, most closely associated with the worship of the Mother Goddess in Phrygia[425], and the Kabeiroi[426]; the Idaean Daktyli and the Rhodian Telchines were also related.[427] Even in antiquity the traditions surrounding the different groups were conflated.[428] Strabo recorded a number of different conflicting tales: in one the Kouretes were Telchines from Rhodes, who had accompanied Rhea to Krete; in another they were Phrygians who had been sent to Krete.[429] An assimilation between the Kouretes and the Korybantes, or Kyrbantes as they were earlier known in Anatolia[430], seems to have been particularly pronounced; Strabo wrote that they were frequently regarded as the same, 'being those who had been accepted as young men, or 'youths,' for the war-dance in connection with the holy rites of the Mother of the Gods.'[431] The association of the Korybantes with the

[422] On this cult, see below p. 155ff.
[423] *I. Didyma* 182, ll. 11-12; *I. Didyma* 277, l.9; Milet I 2, 24 (=*I. Didyma* 388), ll. 3-4. A dedication on an altar to the Kouretes: *I. Didyma* 131.
[424] *TAM* 3. 194, l. 1.
[425] Cf. Strab. 10. 3. 19.
[426] According to Strabo (10. 3. 21), the Kabeiroi were most honoured in Imbros and Lemnos, and in cities of the Troad. Cf. Hemberg (1950) 132-212.
[427] The Daktyli were also associated with the worship of the Mother Goddess, although there was again conflation with the Kouretes: Strab. 10. 3. 22; Paus. 5. 7. 6. Telchines: Strab. 14. 2. 7; Diod. Sic. 5. 55.
[428] Cf. Strab. 10. 3. 7: 'some represent the Korybantes, the Kabeiroi, the Idaean Daktyli and the Telchines as identical with the Kouretes, others represent them as all kinsmen of one another and differentiate only certain small matters in which they differ in respect to one another; but, roughly speaking and in general, they represent them, one and all, as a kind of inspired people and as subject to Bacchic frenzy, and, in the guise of ministers, as inspiring terror at the celebration of the sacred rites by means of war-dances, accompanied by uproar and noise and cymbals and drums and arms, and also by flute and outcry; and consequently these rites are in a way regarded as having a common relationship.'
[429] Strab. 10. 3. 19.
[430] In the fourth century BC, a cult of the Kyrbantes is known from Erythrai: *I. Erythrai* 206, l.2. Cf. Graf (2009) 341; (2010b).
[431] Strab. 10. 3. 21: οἳ περὶ τὰς τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἁγιστείας πρὸς ἐνόπλιον ὄρχησιν ἤθεοι καὶ κόροι τυγχάνουσι παρειλημμένοι.

Mother Goddess was prominent, although again there was conflation; Strabo writes that the Greeks used the name Kouretes for the ministers of the goddess, which they also called Korybantes.[432]

Within the cultic landscape of Anatolia, the Korybantes also featured prominently, most notably at Erythrai (see Map 1) where a priest and priestess of the Korybantes/Kyrbantes are attested from the fourth century BC.[433] A priesthood of the Kyrbantes is also known on Kos in the third century BC[434] and on Rhodes in the late Hellenistic period.[435] In certain cases, an affiliation between the Kouretes and Korybantes can be perceived; in one inscription from Didyma, dated c. AD 260, a certain Heraidos is named as priestess of the Korybantes[436], but earlier in the century (c. AD 230) the same woman is found as priestess of the Kouretes.[437] Separate cultic associations for the Kouretes and Korybantes are attested in Miletos in the early Hellenistic period, and it is possible in this instance that two different offices are referenced.[438] However, a potential priesthood of both the Kouretes and Korybantes is known from an Imperial inscription of Bargylia[439], and it is possible that the two associations had been conflated in the case of Heraidos.[440]

The Kouretes or the Korybantes were awarded a role in the civic mythologies of Halikarnassos, where, as at Ephesos, the tradition focused on the birth of a deity. The Hellenistic Salmakis inscription recounted the various episodes of civic history that bestowed honour on its people.[441] One such chapter related the tradition that the infant Zeus had been sheltered in the vicinity:

5 Γηγενέων μεγάλαυχον ἐτέκνωσε στάχυν ἀνδρ[ῶν
Ἀκραίου πάρεδρον κυδαλίμοιο Διός,

[432] Strab. 10. 3. 12.
[433] See n. 430. See also: *I. Erythrai* 201; *IG* 12. 6. 1197. Graf (2010b); there seems to have been a differentiation between *polis* cult and private cult.
[434] *Iscr. di Cos* 177, l.3; *SEG* 55. 925.
[435] *PP* 4 (1949), 73, l.6. See also *IG* 12. 1. 8, l.6; *Tit. Cam.* 90, l.34.
[436] *I. Didyma* 243, l. 11-12.
[437] *I. Didyma* 182, ll. 9-12.
[438] The inscribed alter of the Kouretes (*I. Didyma* 131) has been dated to the third century BC, while there is a reference to the Kyrbantes in a Hellenistic treasury list (*Milet* 6. 3. 1359, l.3). Graf (2009) 247, n.67.
[439] *I. Iasos* 616, l. 22.
[440] Graf (2009) 247.
[441] Isager (1998). See below p.172ff.

οἱ πρῶτοι κοίλην ὑπὸ δειράδα θέντο νεογνὸν
παῖδα Ῥέης κρύφιον Ζῆν' ἀτιταλλόμενοι
Γαίης ἀμφ' ἀδύτοισιν, ὅτε Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης
οὐκ ἔφθη λαιμῶι θέσθαι ὑποβρύχιον.

'She brought forth an illustrious crop of earth-born men, to lodge beside mighty Zeus Akraios, who first in secret placed the new-born child of Rhea, Zeus, beneath the hollow ridge, caring for him, in the shrine of Gaia, when Kronos of the crooked counsels had failed to get him into the depths beneath his throat in time. '[442]

Due to their role in the rearing of the infant Zeus, the 'earth-born' (γηγενεῖς) men could be identified with the Kouretes.[443] The idea is attractive, and Strabo referred to authors who also called the Kouretes γηγενεῖς.[444] However, as F. Graf has noted, the same adjective is used by Nonnos to describe the Korybantes.[445] As the text continues, these sons of Gaia were 'established as the famous ritual attendants who guard the secret dwelling' (ἀγακλέας ὀργειῶνας θῆκεν, οἳ ἀρρήτων πρόσπολοί εἰσι δόμων). H. Lloyd-Jones has suggested that the reference to an 'assistant' (πάρεδρος) of Zeus Akraios should be taken literally, and that there was a sanctuary, or a section of a sanctuary, in Halikarnassos dedicated to these 'earth-born men.'[446] As yet, there are no attestations of a cult or priesthood of the Kouretes in the city; but a priestess of the Korybantes is known from one inscription, and the attendants of Zeus mentioned in the Salmakis inscription could be the Korybantes.[447] For the time being, the identity of the 'earth-born men' remains unknown, though their identification as either Kouretes or Korybantes seems assured.[448]

It follows from this that the appearance of the Kouretes in Karia should not automatically be connected with Krete; as observed, the Kouretes were one of a number of groups that served as the attendants of a deity. The widespread occurrence of the Kouretes within Karia may reflect the pervasive Anatolian and Hellenic

[442] Translation Lloyd-Jones (1999).
[443] Isager (1998) 10; Lloyd-Jones (1999) 4-5; Gagné (2006) 8-12.
[444] Strab. 10. 3. 19.
[445] Graf (2009) 347. Nonn. *Dionys.* 14.13-35.
[446] Lloyd-Jones (1999) 4.
[447] Haussollier (1880) 399, no. 8, l.3.
[448] Graf (2009) 341-7.

tradition for young male acolytes to a deity, and in Anatolia the Korybantes were primarily involved in the worship of the Mother Goddess. However, there was frequent assimilation with the Kouretes and overlap in their associated mythologies, and the similarity between these various figures had long been noticed in antiquity.[449] In the fifth century BC, Euripides was aware of them, and he wrote in *The Bacchae* of the 'secret chamber' of the Kouretes on Krete in the same sentence as the 'thrice-helmed Korybantes' and the 'sweet voiced breath' of the Phrygian pipes.[450]

It is not possible or beneficial to seek a quintessentially 'Kretan' or 'Anatolian' origin for the figures of the Kouretes in Karia. Rather, they fit into a much broader pattern of ritual that finds parallels in both the Hellenic and the Anatolian spheres; as young male attendants to a deity, they may have developed out of associated religious rituals without being directly related. That does not mean that affiliations were not later established, and a connection between the Kouretes within Karia and Krete was sought at least from the Hellenistic period onwards; the cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus and the Kouretes from the region of Mylasa claimed a clear association, as did the traditions relating the arrival of the Kouretes in Karia from Krete. While such traditions may have been created comparatively late, they were drawing on links between Krete and Karia that had been established earlier.[451]

In this chapter I have sought to assemble the ways in which a Kretan connection was pertinent within a Karian context. A prominent theme to emerge has been the changing reception and emphases of such traditions, especially during the Hellenistic period. The on-going renewal of the Karian affiliation with Krete indicates that it retained its importance to their historical identity; why this was the case will be explored in Chapter 3 and 4, and contextualised against the socio-political background of the Hellenistic period. But I first want to discuss the particularity of the 'Kretan connection' in Karia through comparison with Lykia, a region closely related to Karia in both its history and mythologies.

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[449] As noted above, Strabo collected a number of different traditions, and writes that the frenzied dances and orgiastic rituals were shared by Greeks and Barbarians alike; Strab. 10. 3. 9.
[450] Eur. *Bacch.* 120-130. Translation D. Kovacs (Loeb). Cf. Strabo 10. 3. 14: 'they again combine Dionysiac and Phrygian rites, frequently confounding Ida and Olympos.'
[451] Graf (2009) 343.

Karia and Lykia

The region of Lykia bordered Karia to the east, with the boundary falling in the vicinity of the Indos river valley[452]; Telmessos was considered to lie within Lykian territory, and was described by Pliny as 'the frontier of Lykia' (see Map 2).[453] However, there was always some degree of flexibility and imprecision in attempting to establish distinct limits. According to Stephanos, the town of Daidala formed the eastern limit of the Rhodian *peraia*, and the neighbouring mountain of the same name was in Lykia[454]; Pliny placed Daidala in Karia, while Ptolemy regarded all the cities in the western part of the Gulf of Glaukos (including Kalynda and Karya) as Lykian.[455] The topography of the region also encouraged mutability around the borders; as C. Marek has noted, in the south eastern part of Karia, in the vicinity of Kaunos, western Lykia was more easily accessible than eastern Karia.[456]

Culturally and linguistically the two regions were affiliated; both the Karian and Lykian languages are now known to have derived from Luwian, and both adopted an alphabetic script based on the Greek alphabet (in the case of Lykia, this was Rhodian).[457] According to Strabo, the poets, 'especially the tragic poets', confused the tribes of Anatolia, and frequently muddled the Lykians with the Karians.[458] There was also a close correlation between their local mythologies, with the multifarious figures of Pegasos, Chrysaor and Bellerophon all featuring large in the cultural traditions of both Karia and Lykia[459]; these links were perpetuated in civic mythologies, and according to Stephanos, the Karian *polis* of Chrysaoris had first been founded by Lykians.[460] The archaic painted tomb at Kızılbel, in the northwest of the Elmalı plain (ancient Lykia), depicted the birth of Pegasos and Chrysaor from the neck of Medusa, indicating the early significance of this mythological narrative with the region; Pegasos is thought to be connected with the

[452] Cf. Marek, *I. Kaunos* pp. 80-81; Tietz (2003) 3-5.
[453] Pliny *NH* 5. 28.
[454] Steph. Byz. s.v. Δαίδαλα. Cf. Strab. 14. 3. 4.
[455] Ptol. *Geog.* 5. 3.
[456] Marek *I. Kaunos* p. 80.
[457] Keen (1998) 67.
[458] Strab. 14. 3. 3.
[459] See p.65f.
[460] Steph. Byz. s.v. Χρυσαορίς.

Luwian storm god of lightning, *pihaššašši*.[461] The figures of Bellerophon and Chrysaor were also known from Homer as members of the Lykian dynastic lines; although it seems that there was some degree of assimilation between these figures as they appeared in Homer and in the version wherein they were related to Pegasos.[462]

The neighbouring Karians and Lykians developed distinct regional identities, however, their proximity led to shared traits and the interchange of cultural ideas.[463] A connection with Krete in regional mythologies was shared by both the Karians and the Lykians. Herodotos again serves as an early source, and according to his account 'the Lykians were from Krete in ancient times (for in the past none that lived on Krete were Greek).'[464] The brothers Sarpedon and Minos had fought over royal power on Krete, and Minos had prevailed. Sarpedon was driven out with his partisans, settling in the Milyan land of Asia, which later came to be named Lykia. As Herodotos elaborated, 'what is now possessed by the Lykians was in the past Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilae, which was the name that they brought with them.'[465] The Termilae were later named Lykians after Lykos, son of Pandion, who had joined Sarpedon after being banished from Athens by his brother Aegeus.[466] According to Herodotos, their mixed heritage was still traceable in the fifth century BC, as the customs of the Lykians 'are partly Kretan and partly Karian.'[467] Strabo recorded a similar version, whereby the Termilae were settled in 'the country which is now called Lykia' by Sarpedon.[468] There was some confusion over whether the Solymi and the Lykians were the same people; according to Herodotos, they were coterminous, whereas Homer made a distinction between them. Accordingly, in

[461] Hutter (2003) 223; Debord (2010) 242-2.
[462] Hom. *Il.* 6. 154-211.
[463] A Lykian-style tomb has been found in Karia as far north as Kafaca, to the west of Muğla (Roos (2006) 16). Three other tombs have been discovered at Karadiken, to the east of Sekköy (see Map 2), which also display the potential for assimilation and exchange: one tomb is standardly Karian, one Lykian, and one mixes both styles (*HTC* 71-2; Roos (2006) 13-15).
[464] Hdt. 1. 173.
[465] Hdt. 1. 173. 2-3. The role of Sarpedon as leader of the Lykians was also preserved in certain versions of the Milesian foundation; see above p. 76f.
[466] Hdt. 1. 173. 3. Cf. Strab. 12. 8. 5; 14. 3. 10.
[467] Hdt. 1. 173. 4: νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται.
[468] Strab. 12. 8. 5.

Homer the hero Bellerophon had been sent by the king of the Lykians to fight 'the glorious Solymi.'[469] The partial historicity of the nomenclature Solymi seems to be confirmed by its continued employment in reference to the population of the Pisidian city of Termessos[470], while the cult of Zeus Solymeos also seems to retain the same root.[471]

The early history of Lykia awarded prominent roles to certain figures: Sarpedon, Bellerophon and Lykos. Their characters were liable to change depending on which version you consulted; thus Lykos is described by Diodoros as a Rhodian Telchine, who travelled to Lykia and 'dedicated there beside the Xanthos river a temple of Apollo Lykios.'[472] According to Philip of Theangela, on the other hand, Lykos and his brother Termeros were 'Lelegians, savage by nature', and were 'said to have been the first to practise piracy, and not only around Karia, but also, having made rafts from wicker, to have sailed out to Kos.'[473] Whether the name of Termeros is connected with the Termilae of whom Sarpedon was leader is unclear, although the similarity in names might indicate an affiliation.[474] Stephanos noted a πόλις Λυκίας called Termera, and named after Termeros, which he linked with the Termilae described by Herodotos.[475] Philip of Theangela also credited Termeros with founding a city Termeron on the Myndian peninsula, which apparently resulted in the saying 'Termerian evils', connected with the piracy conducted by Termeros.[476] Epigraphic sources reveal that the name the Lykians employed in reference to themselves was *Tmmerli*, while their land was called *Trmmisa*, suggesting that the Termilae of myth did relate to a historical reality; the occurrence of a similar stem in the place names of Karia may add another dimension to the early cultural links between Lykia and Karia.[477]

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[469] Hom. *Il.* 6. 184. Cf. Strab. 14. 3. 10; 12. 8. 5: 'And likewise his (*Bellerophon's*) son Peisander was slain when fighting the Solymi by Ares.'
[470] *TAM* 3 103 l.5. Cf. *TAM* 3 127, l.1.
[471] *TAM* 352, l.2; 83, A.3; 84, l.1; 96, ll. 4-5; 113, ll. 4-5; 114, ll. 4-5; 129, ll. 2-3; 130, ll. 2-3; 154, ll. 19-20.
[472] Diod. Sic. 5. 56. 1.
[473] Philip of Theangela *FGrH* 741 F 3.
[474] Bresson (1999) 117, suggests that Diodoros' source was Zenon of Rhodes, and that this 'Rhodian interpretation' was connected with the Rhodian expansion in Lykia after 188 BC: 'perhaps this is another example of appropriation of a legendary motif.'
[475] Steph. Byz., s.v. Τέρμερα.
[476] Philip of Theangela *FGrH* 741 F 3; 3a. Cf. Suda s.v. Τερμέρια κακά.
[477] Bryce (1986b) 31; (2003) 113.

The Kretan connection with Lykia was focused on the figure of Sarpedon and the Termilae, although in both cases there were alternative versions that sought a more local origin in south western Anatolia. Even in antiquity there seems to have been some confusion in how to reconcile the two, focused in particular on the figure of Sarpedon. Diodoros (first centuty BC) recorded that Sarpedon, brother of Minos, crossed into Asia and subdued the region around Lykia. His son Euandros succeeded him as king of Lykia, and married Deidameia the daughter of Bellerophon; 'he begat that Sarpedon who took part in the expedition against Troy, although some writers have called him a son of Zeus.'[478] Thus the Kretan Sarpedon was considered as the ancestor of the Sarpedon who featured in Homer. Apollodoros, on the other hand, writing in the second century BC, regarded both figures of Sarpedon as the same: the Kretan Sarpedon sided with Kilix in his war against the Lykians, whereupon he became king of Lykia, 'and Zeus granted him to live for three generations.'[479] In Aeschylos' *Kares,* they are also one and the same; a fragment of the play sees Europe worrying about the fate of her youngest son Sarpedon, 'for Ares' warlike spirit hath laid hold of him', and he had joined the forces of the Trojans to repel the Achaean attack.[480] The setting was apparently Lykia, although it seems that it was here conflated with Karia.[481] This version seems to derive from Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women,* wherein Sarpedon, Minos and Rhadamanthys are the sons of Europa, and it is this same Sarpedon who reigned over Lykia and fought the Achaeans; again Zeus had ordained that 'he should live for three generations of mortal men and not waste away with old age', and so sent him to Troy, where he met his death at the hands of Patroklos.[482]

The legacy of Sarpedon, either as a native Anatolian or as a Kretan, continued to permeate the region of Lykia into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. At Xanthos, a structure called the Sarpedoneion was located near the agora; according to Appian, Roman troops fled there to avoid being surrounded by the

[478] Diod. Sic. 5. 79. 3.
[479] Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 1. 2: καὶ αὐτῷ δίδωσι Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς ζῆν.
[480] Aeschy. Fr.50 (Weir-Smyth).
[481] See comment of Strabo, n. 459.
[482] Hes. *Cat.* Fr. 19A (Evelyn-White); Fr. 141.8.19 (West); *Ox. Pap.*1358 Fr. 1, ll. 1-32.

Xanthians.[483] A.G. Keen has identified this Sarpedoneion with a building on the acropolis of Xanthos, dated c. 460 BC (the so-called Building G), which was close in style to the 'monumental ruler-tomb' of the Nereid Monument. Due to its early date, Keen suggested that the building was a genuine heroön, connected with a cult of Sarpedon.[484] Demes named after Sarpedon are further known at Xanthos[485] and at Tlos[486], while games named the Sarpedoneia are attested at Xanthos.[487] In the first century AD, Pliny the Elder recorded that the three time consul of Lykia, Mucianus, had purported to have read a letter on paper sent from Troy by Sarpedon, which was preserved in a temple there.[488] Another deme at Tlos bore the name of Bellerophon[489], reflecting the tradition that the Lykian hero was buried there.[490] The popularity of this strand of myth was further reflected in the frequent appearance of Bellerophon and Pegasos on reliefs in Lykia from the end of the fifth century BC.[491]

The corpus of myths concerning Sarpedon and his ancestor Bellerophon were commemorated in civic institutions and festivals in Lykia, and through the continued association with certain locations. It is not possible to determine from the evidence whether the figure of Sarpedon evoked by such monuments and associations was equated with the Kretan version or the Homeric hero; but, given the apparent conflation of the two figures in antiquity, it is perhaps not important to make a clear distinction. Sarpedon had acquired the role of a 'generic Lykian leader' who came to be associated with various aspects of Lykian history and mythology[492]; the inconsistencies between different features of this wider body of myth need not be

[483] App. *BC* 4.10.78. Cf. Keen (1992) 55.
[484] Keen (1992) 54-55. Jones (2010) 25, has noted that from at least the fourth century BC, and perhaps earlier, heroa frequently 'combined the name of a hero with an adjectival termination signifying possession or connection, *-eion*'; cf. 42-47. This ending was also used to signify a building or structure; see p. 129.
[485] *TAM* 2 264, l.2; 265, l.1: Αἴχμων Ἀπολλοδότου Σαρπηδόνιος.
[486] *TAM* 2 597a, l.2: Ἀντίφιλος Ἀχαιοῦ Σαρπηδόνιος.
[487] *SEG* 28. 1248, 6-7: honorary inscription for a *pankratiast* at the Sarpedoneia.
[488] Pliny *NH* 13. 27. The myths surrounding the battle of Bellerophon and Pegasos against the Chimaira, in which they slayed the fire-breathing creature, had also left their mark on the landscape of Lykia, with flames continuing to burn at night from Mt. Chimaira near Phaselis; Pliny *NH* 2. 110 (= Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F 45eβ); 5. 28. On the Chimaira myth, see Hes. *Th.* 319-325; Hom. *Il.*16. 327-329.
[489] *TAM* 2 548, l.36; 590, l.4.
[490] Quint. Smyrn. 10. 175-76.
[491] Keen (1998) 211: Bellerophon and Pegasos are depicted on the inside of the south wall of the fourth century BC Trysa Heroön (Oberleitner (1994) 28-29), while there was a statue group of Bellerophon, Pegasos and the Chimaira on the Limyra Heroön (Borchhardt (1976) 94-5).
[492] Keen (1998) 209.

reconciled, and apparently coexisted in the ancient world. The origins of the Lykian hero appear to be Anatolian, as the name Sarpedon is thought to derive from a Luwian name or title.[493] S.P.B. Durnford has recently suggested that it may be a rendering of an Anatolian compound noun, **sar-pēdan-*, related to a military rank or job position.[494] If the name Sarpedon did originate in Anatolia, it then raises further questions about the channels through which it arrived in Krete as the name of the brother of Minos. However, such discussion of the etymological beginnings of a myth need not affect our reading of the later elaboration and reception of the traditions surrounding Sarpedon.

Other possible connections between Lykia and Krete can be identified: the town and mountain called Daidala, located on the border between Karia and Lykia, were apparently connected with the Kretan figure of Daidalos.[495] According to Stephanos, following the *Lykiaka* of Alexander Polyhistor, Daidalos was bitten by a water snake while wading through the river Ninos and subsequently died; the *polis* was then founded at the point where he was buried.[496] Hekataios of Miletos also described Xanthos, the eponymous founder of the Lykian city, as either of Kretan or Egyptian origin[497], while in a late reference of St. Augustine, Xanthos is described as the king of Krete, and the abductor of Europa.[498] It should also be noted that Leukippos, *ktistes* of Magnesia on the Maeander, was in certain sources regarded as the son of Xanthios and descendant of Bellerophon; he had been forced to leave Lykia after the affair with his sister, whereupon he led the Magnesians to settle near Ephesos.[499] As in Karia, the regional connections between Lykia and Krete were mirrored on a local and civic level in the historical mythologies of the region.

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[493] Keen (1998) 209.
[494] Durnford (2008), literally meaning '(one having) top position'
[495] Cf. Tietz (2003) 232: 'Der Ortsname indes dürfte sich eher als vom Daidalos des attisch-kretischen Sagenkreises vom griechischen δαιδάλεος – 'bunt/gefleckt' herleiten, wozu die rötlich gescheckte Farbe der Hügel in der Umgebung Anlaß gegeben haben könnte.'
[496] Steph. Byz. s.v. Δαίδαλα.
[497] Steph. Byz. s.v. Ξάνθος.
[498] August. *De. Civ.*18.12: 'In those years Europa is alleged to have been carried off by Xanthus king of Crete (to whom we find some give another name), and to have borne him Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon, and Minos, who are more commonly reported to have been the sons of Jupiter by the same woman.'
[499] Parth. 5. See above p. 85f.

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The traditions linking Karia with Krete were based on their ancestral *philia;* during the Hellenistic period they were frequently conflated with local mythologies and cults that claimed the settlement of Kretans in the region. In later periods this process had been taken further, and the Kretan origin of the eponymous founder Kar, as the offspring of Zeus and Krete, had developed in certain versions.[500] The early history of the Karians was entwined with that of the Kretans, but traditionally their origins were not sought on the island. The Lykians, however, could claim a 'Kretan' heritage through the tradition that said they originally came from the island.[501] Yet in a study of cultural interaction with Krete, it is the region of Karia that provides the greater potential for the modern historian to analyse the significance of a Kretan link in south western Anatolia; both in addressing the origins of the tradition, and also in tackling the question of persistence and elaboration.

Part of this is due to the difference in the forms of evidence we have; to date there is virtually no archaeological evidence for occupation in Lykia during the Bronze Age, with the majority of the material evidence dating from the eighth century BC. This makes it difficult to reconcile the image of Lykia offered by Homer with the archaeology. The lack of evidence is further puzzling as it seems increasingly likely that the second-millennium Lukka lands known from the Hittite sources did in part refer to the region of south western Anatolia that equates to Lykia.[502] J. des Courtils has attempted to explain this by proposing that the Bronze Age inhabitants of Lykia predominately used wood in construction, and therefore have left little material trace.[503] The gap in the material evidence could also be related to the relative lack of interest in prehistoric Lykia displayed by archaeologists; as will be seen in Chapter 5, our increasing understanding of the Bronze Age archaeology of Karia has largely been a development of the last two

[500] See n. 15.
[501] It may be within this context that Cicero referred to the Lykians as a Greek people: Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4.21.
[502] Melchert (2003b) 5, citing the YALBURT hieroglyphic inscription of Tuthaliya IV, which recounts his campaigns in Lykia. Cf. Bryce (2003) 73-78; 107ff. Bryce (1974). suggested that the group of people that later became equated with the Lykians were originally a Lukka people, inhabiting the region of western Karia before moving further south east; however see Melchert (2003b) 5-6.
[503] Des Courtils (2001) 131.

decades. Thus in the case of Karia and Krete we are in a position to readdress more fully how the historical traditions surrounding some form of link may be related to Bronze Age interaction.

The role that the Kretan connection continued to play within a Lykian context is also difficult to establish. While the various traditions focused on Sarpedon persisted in antiquity, and left a conspicuous mark on the civic landscape of the region, it is not possible to establish whether his Kretan background remained prominent within these contexts. When considering the question of persistence, and the factors that could influence the continuation and development of certain historical mythologies, it is important to establish a secure context within which to read the evidence. In Karia the relevance of the Kretan link, and especially elaboration during the Hellenistic period, can be more readily traced; this is not to say the affiliation with Krete was not important in a Lykian context, but rather that it is difficult for a modern historian to access the 'social function' of such traditions with the available evidence.

The renewal and reinforcement of the Karian-Kretan links, whether in local traditions, rituals, cults or landmarks, should not be taken as a given within Karia. The process of preservation was dictated by the significance of these myths within Karian society, and the 'social function' they were perceived to play in the construction of local identities. The next two chapters will focus on what the affiliation meant in Karia in the Hellenistic period: Chapter 3 will first examine the wider social and political context of interaction between south western Anatolia and Krete during this period, before the cultural impact of this mobility is assessed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3: Interaction between Karia and Krete during the Hellenistic period

Interaction between Karia and Krete during the Hellenistic period

This chapter and the next are focused on interaction between Karia and Krete from the fourth to the first century BC, and how this affected the reception of the traditional affiliation between the two regions. The majority of the evidence for Karian-Kretan interaction in this period attests to Kretan mobility; thus the social and cultural ramifications of contact can best be reconstructed through an examination of their travels in south western Anatolia. I will trace the forms of interaction that occurred between Karia and Krete, focusing initially on a series of documents from Mylasa. Chapter 4 will then address the impact that such interaction could have had on the culture and religious life of Karia, and on the versions of history that were transmitted by communities.

Mylasa and Krete

Mylasa served as a regional centre within south western Anatolia; it was the native city of the Hekatomnid dynasty, and the location of the temple of Zeus Karios (Maps 2 & 3).[504] Even after the dynastic capital was moved by Maussollos to Halikarnassos, Mylasa remained an important city within the region, and Strabo described it as one of three noteworthy cities in the Karian interior.[505] The incorporation of coastal ports into the city's territory[506] and its involvement in

[504] Strab. 14. 2. 23. On Zeus Karios, cf. Debord (2001) 31-4.

[505] Alongside Stratonikeia and Alabanda (14. 2. 22). The efforts of the city to secure access to a harbour (see n. 507 below) further suggest that Mylasa served as a commercial centre. Within this context, one could also point to a fragment of Menander, *The Sicyonian* (ll. 3-15; Austin 104), which describes the capture of a group of people by pirates: 'the child and the slave they took to Mylasa in Karia and there offered them for sale in the market.'

[506] Strabo wrote that Physkos was the port (ἐπίνειον) of Mylasa, where 'the city is nearest to the sea' (14. 2. 23). In the sixth century AD, Stephanos of Byzantion recorded that Passala was the port of Mylasa (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάσσαλα), which seems to be confirmed by two inscriptions dated to the fifth century AD that refer to harbour taxes levied at Passala by Mylasa (*I. Mylasa* 611-612). Strabo's account has previously led to confusion, due to the distant location of Physkos from Mylasa (see Map 2). Bresson (2010) 450-1, has recently suggested that the port of Mylasa may have been changed over the course of time due to a process of silting; rather than Strabo being wrong in his identification, he suggests that he may have meant a different Physkos to the one near Marmaris, located in the vicinity of the 'Little Sea.' Reger (2010) 46, elaborates on this suggestion, and proposes that this other

interstate affairs during this period further indicate that it was far from inward looking in its ambition.

A significant collection of decrees voted by a number of cities on Krete for the city of Mylasa were inscribed by the Mylasans during the Hellenistic period.[507] Both the size of the collection and the decision to inscribe the decrees indicate that some form of relationship between the Mylasans and the Kretans was being specifically commemorated. They reveal the existence of diplomatic ties between the Mylasans and the *poleis* of Krete, and serve as a useful basis from which to explore the wider historical context of Karian-Kretan relations during this period.

The Kretan Inscriptions of Mylasa

Twenty three inscriptions survive from the collection (Appendix 2)[508]; the large number, and the fact that they seem to be approximately contemporary[509], suggests they were a series of decrees voted more or less simultaneously by different cities of Krete.[510] Unfortunately they are very fragmentary, and it is not clear what form of decrees are recorded: W. Blümel in *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* categorised them as 'Symmachieverträge und Asyliedekrete'[511], but there are no clear indications that they should be classified as either. In the entire series there is just one reference to ἄσυλον (*I. Mylasa* 646, l.8.) and one to συμμάχων (*I. Mylasa* 651, l.10). Any interpretation of this series of decrees needs to be rooted within its historical context; why the Mylasans sought to establish relations with the cities of Krete (or vice versa) at this time, and what they hoped to achieve.

Physkos may have been located on the south east shore of the 'Little Sea' (see below p.133f. for details of the dispute in the fourth century BC). In either scenario, it seems assured the Mylasans had long secured their possession of a port.

[507] *I. Mylasa* nos. 641-659; Blümel (1992) nos. 660-663. See below for discussion of dating.

[508] See n. 507. See also Chaniotis (1997) n. 8, drawing attention to another inscription discovered at Athens (Ager *Interstate Arbitrations* no. 164 IV, l.3), and in Kretan dialect which possibly mentions the Mylasans in the context of an arbitration (after Robert & Robert *BE* (1962) n. 107). However the restoration of the Mylasans is far from assured.

[509] See discussion of letter forms below.

[510] As is the case in the 'Kretan dossier' from Teos, *Asylia* nos.136-161; see below. There are a few references to specific Kretan cities in the Mylasan inscriptions: *I. Mylasa* 642, l. 5: [Γορτ]υνίος καὶ [Κν]οσίος*; I. Mylasa* 654, l. 5: ἁμὲν καὶ Κνώσιοι*; I. Mylasa* 663, l. 6: [Λ]αππαίων.

[511] Blümel *I. Mylasa* p. 241. Curty (1995) 162, also suggests that they were a series of grants of *asylia.*

The decrees were inscribed collectively, side by side, on architectural blocks that have been described as either marble or limestone (see Fig. 9).[512] While the difference in stone might indicate that the blocks come from separate buildings, it could also suggest that alternate materials were used within the same structure.[513] Letter height varies between inscriptions from 1.1-2.0 cm, which might indicate that not all were inscribed by the same hand or at the same time; this is further supported by an examination of the letter forms.[514] Figure 11 assembles the letter forms of the inscriptions where available; inscriptions nos. 661/662 appear to have been inscribed by a different engraver, and are less ordered in their layout. The letter forms of nos. 649/650 also show distinct differences from those of nos. 644/645 and 660/663, most notably in the diagonals of the *kappa* and the *nu*, perhaps again indicating a different hand. Yet the similarities between the inscriptions are also notable: they all share the lunate *phi*, and none has the broken bar *alpha*, suggesting that they were not inscribed at widely different periods.

In their original location the texts seem to have formed part of a collection of decrees, or a 'dossier,' that adorned a building(s), and recorded some aspect of the city's relations with Krete.[515] Unfortunately the site and nature of this building is not known, as the stones found to date were not discovered in secure archaeological contexts (many had been re-used in houses).[516] However, it can be speculated that the texts were originally displayed on or in the vicinity of the temple of Zenoposeidon at Mylasa, as well as in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos: *I. Mylasa* 652 includes the clause τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε παρὰ μὲν ἀ[μὶν ἐς τῶι ἱαρῶι τῶ]

[512] Inscriptions which share blocks: 644 & 645; 648, 649 & 650; 651 & 652; 660 & 663; 661 & 662. Marble blocks: 651 & 652, 654, 660 & 663; limestone blocks: 653, 657, 659. The material of the blocks has not always been recorded.

[513] As in the west stoa at the agora of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander: the documents regarding the Leukophryena (see n. 709) were inscribed on the lower, marble courses of the wall. See also *Asylia* p.111, where different types of marble were used within the sanctuary on Kos for the decrees to be inscribed. Another possibility is that the materials of certain blocks were mistaken on discovery; it is often difficult to distinguish the appearance of worn marble from limestone. The measurements of the blocks vary; the limestone blocks are all c. 21cm in height, as are 644/645 and 646/647; marble blocks 654 and 660/663 are 26 and 27 cm respectively, while 651/652 and 655 are 43 and 41 cm respectively.

[514] *I. Mylasa* 661 and 662 are inscribed on the same block, although their letter heights are not the same, and their lines do not align (Fig. 9).

[515] Curty (1995) 162.

[516] Blümel (1987) 244, notes that nos. 643, 644/645, 646/647 were all found in the same house by Le Bas.

Ἀπέλλωνος Πυτίο, παρὰ δὲ [Μυλασεῦσι —]αὐτῶν ἔς τε τῶ Ζανοποτε[ιδᾶνος καὶ τῶ Διὸς] τῶ Λαβραύνδω.[517] The location of the temple of Zenoposeidon is not known, although it appears to have been associated with the cult of Zeus Osogo/Osogollis, the primary civic deity of Mylasa[518]; a series of inscriptions dated to the reign of Maussollos make reference to a ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογωλλιος Ζηνοποσειδῶνος.[519] The civic coinage of Mylasa in the third century BC depicts Zeus Osogollis with a trident, again suggesting a maritime association and affiliation with the cult of Zenoposeidon (see Fig. 1).[520]

The collective inscription of civic decrees on the walls of temples or other public buildings was a common practice in the ancient world, which finds many parallels in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period. In particular, the Mylasan collection is comparable to a series of Kretan decrees granting *asylia* to Teos (see Map 1), which were inscribed on the wall of the temple of Dionysos in the late third century BC.[521] The date of the Mylasan inscriptions is far from certain: W. Blümel placed them in the second century BC, without attempting any greater precision, and this date has been widely accepted.[522] H.-U. Wiemer's analysis (in *Krieg, Handel und Piraterie: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hellenistischen Rhodos*) placed them within the context of the second Kretan War, and settled on a date soon after the liberation of Karia from Rhodian domination in 167 BC.[523] This is not certain, especially since there are no clear internal indicators in the decrees to help in their dating; the only diagnostic feature is the use of the term Κρηταιέας to refer to the Kretans collectively.[524]

This form of plural, as opposed to Κρῆτες, was an institutional term, and indicates that the Mylasan decrees were passed during an active period of the Kretan

[517] *I. Mylasa* 652, ll. 9-13. There is perhaps a similar clause in *I. Mylasa* 655, ll. 12-14.
[518] Strab. 14. 2. 23. Cf. Debord (2001) 21-4.
[519] Blümel (1990) 29-43. See below for further discussion of the nature of this cult.
[520] Delrieux (1999) 33-45.
[521] See n. 571; this series will be discussed below.
[522] For example Marek (1984) 307-308; Wiemer (2002) 349-351. Isager & Karlsson (2008) 39-52, use Blümel's date of the Kretan texts in their analysis of the newly published Olympichos inscription from Labraunda. See n. 549.
[523] Wiemer (2002) 351.
[524] The Teian decrees make virtually no reference to the Kretans collectively, with the exception of Rigsby *Asylia* no. 159; this might suggest that the Mylasan series is not precisely contemporary with the Teian series.

koinon.[525] The *koinon* was a league of independent Kretan *poleis* instituted during the Hellenistic period[526], though details of how it functioned, and the periods at which it was active, remain little known. Membership did not include all Kretan states, and its successful functioning seems to have been dependent on the cooperation between the two primary members, Knossos and Gortyn.[527] There was a council (συνέδριον) and a general assembly, who together issued the decrees of the *koinon*[528], although there is no evidence for federal citizenship.[529]

According to Polybios, Philip V was named *prostates* of the *koinon* c.217 BC[530]; however, the stability of the league under his influence did not endure. During the First Kretan War (205-200 BC), Knossos led a group of Kretan states (in an alliance with Rhodes) against Philip V and his association of Kretan allies (including Olous and Hierapytna), which suggests that the *koinon* had broken down by this point.[531] It seems to have been revived again in the early stages of the second century BC; according to Polybios, Rome dispatched Appius Claudius to Krete in 183 BC in order to settle the on-going disputes between Knossos and Gortyn.[532] In the same year, Eumenes II concluded a treaty with the Κρηταιέας, indicating the reinstatement of the *koinon*.[533]

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[525] *BE* 21 (1990) 443-444, n. 21; Chaniotis (1999c) 290. The ethnic plural Κρηταιεῖς was used by Polybios in reference to the league, and in inscriptions. Epigraphic references to the league as a *koinon* are found: *I. Magnesia* 20, l.1; 46, l.11; *FD* 3. 2. 135, II. 5; *IG* 12. 1. 77, l. 6. References to πάντες Κρηταιεῖς are also thought to refer to a *koinon*; see now Karafotias (1997) 104-105.

[526] The earliest attestation of the ethnic Κρηταιεῖς is in 267 BC (Chaniotis (1999c) 295).

[527] Chaniotis (1999c) 290. 'Koinon and koinodikion existed whenever the two alliances cooperated and fell apart when the two leading parties were in conflict' (294).

[528] For a wider discussion of the Kretan *koinon*, see van der Mijnsbrugge (1931); Willetts (1955) 225-234; Spyridakis (1970) 89-92; Chaniotis (1996) 30ff.; (1999c).

[529] Van der Mijnsbrugge (1931) 27ff. Cf. Brulé (1978) 85f., who argues in favour of κοινοπολιτεία. There was also an institution known as the κοινοδίκιον, which has been variously interpreted as some form of federal court (Guarducci (1950) 278; *IC* 4. 197, l. 24; Gauthier (1972) 317), or as a 'common law code' (Willetts (1955) 232f), or a more general term to refer to a joint court to which judges were appointed from two or more *poleis* (Van der Mijnsbrugge (1931) 35-51; van Effenterre (1948) 145-150). However, there was an institution for judicial problems that arose between the cities, laid out in a *diagramma*, which suggests an agreement between the states on how to deal with disputes (van der Mijnsbrugge (1931) 51; Chaniotis (1999c) 290). For a summary of the evidence, see Ager (1994); Chaniotis (1999c).

[530] Plb. 7. 11. 9: 'The Kretans united and entering into one confederacy elected Philip president (*prostates)* of the island, this being accomplished without any appeal to arms or violence, a thing of which it would be difficult to find a previous instance.'

[531] See pp. 120ff.

[532] Plb. 22. 19. 1-4.

[533] *IC* 4. 179; the thirty one member states were listed individually. Cf. Van der Mijnsbrugge (1931) 23-26.

We are only ever afforded snapshots of the functioning of the *koinon*; the reference to the Κρηταιέας in the Mylasan dossier is not enough in itself to date the documents. I will now examine the letter forms of the inscriptions to try and establish a more exact date. This procedure is far from precise, and there is no consensus on the accuracy of the criteria; the styles of individual inscribers will always affect letter forms, and regional differences should be expected.[534] But with such caveats in mind, broad trends are identifiable. All the inscriptions (where analysis is possible) share certain characteristics: the straight-barred *alpha*[535], the short right hasta of the *nu,* the unequal *pi,* the divergent *sigma* and the lunate *phi* (see Figure 11). Consequently, a similar date should be expected for all the inscriptions.

The general development in letter forms over the Hellenistic period witnessed a move towards the parallel *sigma* and the *mu*, equal arms on the *nu* and the *pi* and towards the broken bar *alpha*; the Kretan archive predates many of these changes. The date at which these changes occurred is difficult to establish precisely, but recent research carried out on the chronology of the land lease documents of Mylasa by G. Reger and R. Ashton, and by R. Descat and I. Pernin, has somewhat advanced our understanding of the epigraphy of Mylasa.[536]

The land lease documents record the sale of tracts of land in the vicinity of the city to different sanctuaries, and the subsequent leasing of the land, frequently back to the previous owner on a long-term basis.[537] They were dated by Blümel to the second century BC, and have traditionally been placed in the mid to late part of this century. Reger and Ashton, however, have established a case for pushing their date back to earlier in the century, beginning before c. 185 BC. They based their argument on the references to 'light Rhodian money' (ἀργύριον Ῥόδιον λεπτόν), as opposed to simply 'money' (ἀργύριον), which occur in some of the texts.[538] They related this to the appearance of a new Rhodian *plinthophoros*, that had been introduced at some point during the 180s BC, and perhaps as early as c. 190 BC;

[534] Woodhead (1967) 62-6.
[535] Nos. 661/662 display a slight move towards a curved bar *alpha*, which might suggest a slightly later date to the others. Cf. the *alpha* in the alliance inscription of Euromos: Errington (1986) (=*SEG* 36. 973; Ma (2000) no. 29); see n. 805.
[536] Reger & Ashton (2006); Descat & Pernin (2008).
[537] Reger & Ashton (2006) 125-126.
[538] *Ibid.*; for a list of the documents see 126, n.2.

thus the references to 'light Rhodian money' in the texts seem to refer to a period after the reforms.[539]

Descat and Pernin approached the same group of documents on the basis of their letter forms. The land lease texts contain letter forms characteristic of various stages of development, and Descat and Pernin attempted to establish a chronology for the evolution of the script from what they term 'l'écriture ancienne' (broadly speaking straight-barred *alpha*, divergent *sigma* and *mu*, unequal *pi* and *nu*, and small *omicron*, *omega* and *theta*) to 'l'écriture récente' (broken-barred *alpha*, parallel *sigma* and *mu*, equal *pi* and *nu*). They argued that the transition occurred in the 180s BC.[540] This accords with the new chronology proposed by Reger and Ashton, which pushes the earliest date of the land leases to before c.185 BC; it is satisfying to note that all the inscriptions mentioning 'light Rhodian money' contained letters characteristic of 'l'écriture récente.'

The chronology established by Descat and Pernin seems reliable; where possible, it is based on securely dated parallels or the construction of a sequence through the repeated appearance of named individuals. However, the question of where to place the land lease series is still not entirely settled, and it is possible that the beginning of the series should be pushed further back, perhaps to the end of the third century BC. Descat and Pernin pointed to *I. Mylasa* 217 B as a transitional text: the rounded bar *alpha*, an extended *pi* and an *omega* with bar seem to date to the last period of 'l'écriture ancienne.'[541] They related this text to the *isopoliteia* treaty between Miletos and Mylasa[542]: the youth Iason, son of Dionysios, who was

[539] Reger & Ashton (2006). Which coinage 'light Rhodian money' referred to is not entirely clear. The old Rhodian drachm was minted to a standard of 3.4g. From c. 225 BC the Rhodian began minting the so-called pseudo-Rhodian drachms, which weighed 2.8-2.5g; although other denominations were struck on the old Rhodian standard of 3.4g. The introduction of a new Rhodian denomination, the *plinthophoroi*, in the 180s BC was struck on a new standard of just over 3.0g; which was lighter than the old Rhodian standard, but heavier than the pseudo-Rhodian drachms that were previously in currency (2.8-2.5g). The references to 'light Rhodian money' could refer either to the new *plinthophoroi* or to the already circulating pseudo-drachms. It is also possible that 'light Rhodian money' referred to the pseudo-Rhodian drachm, in comparison with the old Rhodian drachm, after it was introduced c. 225 BC; although this would significantly alter the dating of the documents, which is not supported by the letter forms.

[540] Descat & Pernin (2008) 300. Descat & Pernin established their chronology independently of Reger's argument, rather than using it as a basis; however, their categories of letter forms accord with Reger's suggestion that the decrees mentioning 'light Rhodian money' were later (see n. 540).

[541] *Ibid.* 294.

[542] *Milet* 1. 3. 146A (= *I. Mylasa* T51).

mentioned in *I. Mylasa* 217 B[543], appears to be the son of one of the Mylasan ambassadors, Dionysios, in the treaty inscription.[544] The treaty text can itself be securely dated by the Milesian *stephanophoros* Ἀσκληπιάδης, who is included in the *stephanophoroi* lists of Miletos as Asklepiades son of Melas.[545] *I. Mylasa* 217 B can thus be dated within a generation of the treaty between Miletos and Mylasa, or perhaps less.[546] However, in constructing their chronology, Descat and Pernin did not take into account the re-dating of the *stephanophoroi* lists by M. Wörrle, and date the treaty to 209/8 BC, rather than 215/4 BC.[547] With the redated treaty, Descat and Pernin's dating of *I. Mylasa* 217, and their overall dating of the land lease documents, can be moved slightly back; the earlier land lease documents should be pushed to the end of the third century BC, rather than the beginning of the second century BC.

The Kretan inscriptions all display letter forms characteristic of 'l'écriture ancienne'; accordingly they should be dated prior to the 190s BC, or even the end of the third century BC.[548] Greater precision is offered through comparison with an inscription from Euromos, near to Mylasa (Map 3). The inscription in question records an alliance with Antiochos III that was passed in August/September 197 BC.[549] The letter forms display developments towards 'l'écriture récente' (see Figure 11); the bar of the *alpha* is rounded, and there is a move towards a parallel *mu* and *sigma*. The *zeta* also has the older vertical central, as opposed to the 'Z' form; this change is generally dated to the third century BC/beginning of the second century

[543] *I. Mylasa* 217 B (Blümel (1992a)), l. 7; also in *I. Mylasa* 215, l.2; 216, l.7.
[544] *Milet* 1. 3. 146A (= *I. Mylasa* T51), l. 4.
[545] *Milet* 1. 3. 124, l. 24.
[546] The letter forms of the treaty inscription display all characteristics of 'l'écriture ancienne'; *Milet* 1. 3. Abb. 83, p. 332.
[547] Wörrle (1988), esp. 431ff; Errington (1989). Cf. Sherk (1991) 254-255; (1992) 231, n. 27.
[548] Isager & Karlsson (2008) note the similarity between the *omega* of a new Olympichos inscription from Labraunda and that of the Kretan series. They use the dating of Blümel for this Kretan series to date their inscription to the second half of the second century BC; thus suggesting that the text had been reinscribed. However, this is not tenable in light of the observations of Descat & Pernin; the *alpha* is straight barred, and the *omicron*, *theta*, and *omega* are rather small. In my opinion, the letter forms suggest an earlier date, at the end of the third century; I see no reason to suppose that the decree was reinscribed, and the letter forms do not seem significantly different to the other Olympichos series, dated to the second half of the third century BC.
[549] See n. 805. Both the Mylasan series and the inscription from Euromos share the unusual lunate *phi*, which is characteristic of this region during this period; see Figure 11.

BC, and seems to indicate that the decree was inscribed soon after it was passed.[550] The inscription can thus be quite securely dated to the early second century. Comparison of the script of the Kretan series with that of the alliance inscription suggests that the Kretan archive is earlier. A date at the end of the third century BC/beginning of the second century BC is therefore proposed.[551]

The antiquity of the good relations between Mylasa and Krete was emphasised in the decrees, with the Mylasans described as 'kinsmen' διὰ προγόνων of the Kretans:

> ἐπε[ιδὴ Μυλασέεν ὑπάρχοντες]
> συγγενίεν καὶ φίλοι δ[ιὰ προγόνων τᾶς ἁμᾶς πόλιος]
> καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Κρητα[ιέων —].[552]
>
> *Since [the Mylasans] are kinsmen and friends]through their ancestors of our city] and of the other Kretans.* [553]

Claims of *syngeneia* were a common feature of diplomacy in the ancient world[554]; the invocation of ancient affiliations gave current associations greater authority.[555] The claim of *syngeneia* in the Mylasa dossier evokes the historical links between Karia and Krete as a means of reinforcing their diplomatic ties.[556]

The inscriptions also appear to cite more recent actions; references to φιλάνθρωπα[557] and εὔνοια[558], and συμφερόντων τᾶι νά[σωι][559], suggest that the Kretans were referring to Mylasan assistance or goodwill. Other allusions to [πό]λεμος Κρηταιέων πά[ντων] (*I. Mylasa* 650, ll. 7-8) and [πόλ]εμον ἦμεν (*I. Mylasa* 651, l. 13)[560] could suggest that this was in a military context; although references to ὁμόνοια (*I. Mylasa* 658, l. 5) and τᾶς κοινᾶς εἰρ[ήνας] (*I. Mylasa*

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[550] Woodhead (1967) 64.
[551] Cf. Laumonier (1958) 103 and n. 3, who dates *I. Mylasa* 652 to c. 200 BC, although he does not state on what basis.
[552] The restoration below is assured through comparison with *I. Mylasa* 649, ll. 1-4.
[553] *I. Mylasa* 650, ll. 2-4. Other examples: *I. Mylasa* 641, l. 5; 646, ll. 6-7; 649, ll. 1-4; Blümel (1992) 660, ll. 8-10.
[554] In the delegations sent by Teos to the Kretan states, we frequently find assertions of *syngeneia* in the decrees reconfirming *asylia* in the c.170s BC; Rigsby *Asylia* nos. 154, 155, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161.
[555] On Mylasa: Curty (1995) 163. Cf. Jones (1999); Erskine (2002). See discussion below, pp. 138ff.
[556] The importance of the past to conceptions of civic identity in the present will be explored below.
[557] *I. Mylasa* 657, l. 3.
[558] *I. Mylasa* 650, l. 14.
[559] *I. Mylasa* 651, ll. 16-17.
[560] Other references to a conflict: *I. Mylasa* 642, l.11; 654, l.3; 658, l.6.

650, l.6) might indicate that the conflict had been resolved, and that previous Mylasan aid was being cited to reinforce their current diplomatic relations. Mylasan aid may have been provided in the form of arbitration, a role that, for instance, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander is known to have taken. In *I. Magnesia* 46 the Magnesians refer to the aid they gave the Kretans in their 'civil war' (τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον)[561], which can most likely be identified as the Lyttian War of 221 to 219 BC[562]; it is possible that the Mylasans offered similar assistance.

The Mylasans were honoured by the Kretans in the decrees. It is stipulated that the Kretans will 'show favour to the Mylasans' (χαρίξασθαι Μυλασεῦσ[ι]),[563] while *I. Mylasa* 650 includes the terms ἐπαινῆσθαι τὸμ Μυλασ[έων δᾶμον καὶ στεφα]νῶσθαι αὐτὸν, 'to praise the demos of Mylasa and crown it.'[564] In *I. Mylasa* 643, the status of πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτας is conferred, although the name of the recipient does not survive.[565] It was common practice in antiquity for envoys to be honoured in the states they visited; in the Kretan series from Teos we find the Teian representatives proclaimed *proxenoi* by a number of the states.[566] The award of *proxenia* could thus have been made to one of the Mylasan delegates for his services as a representative of the Mylasans on his visit to Krete; although the single form indicates that not all of the envoys were honoured in this way. Another alternative is that the *demos* of Mylasa was being honoured as *proxenos*[567]; although such an award would be highly unusual, as *proxenia* was ordinarily awarded to foreign individuals rather than a city.

Even though the decrees are incomplete, they establish that Mylasa was in diplomatic contact with the communities of Krete at the end of the third century BC, and that the Mylasans were being praised by the Kretan *koinon* for their εὔνοια and

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[561] *I. Magnesia* 46, ll. 10-12. In the second century BC, the Magnesians also mediated between Gortyn and Knossos (*I. Magnesia* 65 a & b = Ager *Interstate Arbitrations* no. 127), and between Hierapytna and Itanos (*I. Magnesia* 105 a & b = Ager *Interstate Arbitrations* no. 158).

[562] Clearly the 'civil war' was an event of international renown: the role of Magnesia in the resolution of the civil war was regarded as of PanHellenic benefit, on a par with the help they offered at Delphi against the attack of the Gauls. Cf. Dušanič (1983) 20; Chaniotis (1988a) 39.

[563] *I. Mylasa* 652, l. 7.

[564] *I. Mylasa* 650, ll. 15-16.

[565] *I. Mylasa* 643, l.13.

[566] Rigsby *Asylia* nos. 155, 156, 159, 160.

[567] Restoration of A.Wilhelm for *I. Mylasa* 643, l.13: [ἦμεν δὲ καὶ π]ρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέταν [τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Μυλασέω]ν. The demos of Mylasa are honoured in *I. Mylasa* 650. J. & L. Robert do not support this restoration; *BE* (1953) 186.

φιλοστοργία[568] to the inhabitants of the island. The texts further attest to the desire on the part of the Mylasans to commemorate this interaction through the public and collective display of the documents. Mylasa had sent delegates to the island, as a result of which Kretan *poleis* voted the city various honours. Unfortunately the original purpose of the delegation is not preserved; however, the significance of the 'Kretan' dossier can better be understood by placing the texts within the wider context of diplomatic relations with Krete during the Hellenistic period.

Interaction with Krete during the Hellenistic Period

I. Mylasa 643 contains a clause that entails a level of obligation to the Mylasans:

> [βοαθῆν Μυλασεῦσι παντ]ὶ σθέναι καὶ τὸς ἐν
> [τᾶι νάσωι Κρηταιέας] καὶ τὸς ἔξω τᾶς νά-
> [σω οἰκίοντας ὡς αὐτᾶς] τᾶς Κρήτας πολεμω-
> [μένας][569]

[To assist all Mylasans] with force, [those Kretans living on the island] and those [living] away from the island, [as if] Krete was subject to war.

The Kretan city that decreed such terms was making a commitment to provide military aid to Mylasa, with the same degree of dedication as if the war were being waged against Krete itself. The situation in which such assistance would be required is not made explicit, though such terms were common in alliance, or *symmachia*, treaties. H.U. Wiemer has observed a comparable clause in the collection of Kretan decrees from Teos: καὶ ἐάν τινες ἀδικ[ῶσι Τηΐους ἢ τὴν] χώραν παραιρῶνται τὴν καθιερωμένην [βοα]θήσ[ει ἁ πόλις ἁ] <Μ>αλλαίων ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος.[570] If anyone wronged the Teians, the *polis* of Malla was to offer assistance 'as if it were their own fatherland.'

[568] *I. Mylasa* 650, l. 14.
[569] The restorations are assured through comparison with *I. Mylasa* 644, where we find similar terms: βοαθῆν Μυλασεῦσι παντὶ [σθένει καὶ τὸνς ἐ]ν τᾶι νάσωι Κρηταιέανς καὶ [τὸνς ἔξω τᾶς νάσω Κρ]ήτανς πάντανς τὸνς Ϝοικίον[τανς —]ΤΑΣ, ὡς αὐτᾶς τᾶς Κρήτας πο[λεμωμένας] (ll. 3-7). *I. Mylasa* 645, ll. 6-7 also contains a similar clause: βοαθεῖν Μυλ[ασεῦσι παντὶ σθένει… ὡς αὐτᾶς τᾶς] Κρήτας πολε[μωμένας].
[570] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 157, ll. 15-17; Wiemer (2002) 350.

The texts of the Teian inscriptions serve as a valuable parallel to the Mylasans series, as they survive in a more complete form, and the circumstances surrounding the granting of such a guarantee can be better reconstructed.

The 'Kretan Dossier' from Teos

The series of inscriptions from the city of Teos (Map 1) record the delegations sent by the city at the end of the third century BC to a number of states, requesting their recognition of Teian *asylia*, or inviolability.[571] While appeals had also been made to the Delphic Amphiktiony, the Aitolians and the Athamanian kings, the vast majority of awards were from the cities of Krete.[572] The primary request of the Teians was focused on the inviolability of the sacred space of Teos: there are repeated clauses regarding dedications τῶι Διονύσωι or τῶι θεῶι τᾶς τε πόλεως καὶ τᾶς χώρας τᾶς Τηΐων, and guarantees that 'it shall be sacred and enjoy *asylia*.'[573] The initial formal request of *asylia* then evolved into a request for security, with the added assurance that the Teians would be protected against seizure. In one decree, from the Kretan state of Arkades, we find the condition:

> καὶ αἴ τινες τῶν ὁρμι-
> ομένων <ἐξ> Ἀρκάδων ἀδικήσωντί τινα Τηΐων
> ἢ κοινᾶι ἢ ἰδίαι πὰρ τὸ γραφὲν δόγμα περὶ τᾶς
> ἀσυλίας ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς Ἀρκάδων, ἐξ-
> έστω τῶι παραγενομένωι Τηΐων ἐπιλαβέσ-
> θαι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ χρημάτων, αἴ τίς κα
> ἄγηι[574]

And if anyone going out from Arkades injures any of the Teians either communally or privately against the written decree regarding asylia by the city of Arkades, let it

[571] Rigsby *Asylia* 280-325, nos. 132-161. They are most commonly dated to c. 204/3 BC, and the documents are variously associated with the end of the First Kretan War, or with the presence of Antiochos III at Teos; Kvist (2003) 191, n.13; Gauthier (1972) 280-281, n.204. Piejko (1991) 13-69; based on a re-dating of the decrees of Antiochos III to Teos, argues for a date 197/6 BC. Rigsby *Asylia*, 285, argues for a date in 202 BC.

[572] Rigsby *Asylia* nos. 136-152, 154-157, 159-161. Seventeen grants are recorded as part of the first embassy, however the original number may have been higher; the second round of requests for reconfirmation at the beginning of the second century BC included communities that do not feature in the first series. Kvist (2003) 191.

[573] E.g. Rigsby *Asylia* no. 142, ll. 20-21.

[574] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 150, ll. 34-40.

be possible for any Teian present to recapture both people and property, if ever someone takes them. [575]

The Teians were seeking a practical result from their delegations to Krete, and it seems implicit in such a guarantee that Teos had previously had problems with seizures: the requests of the Teians for *asylia* were for real protection from potential attacks. In the ancient world, the most likely perpetrators would be pirates, or raiders, an occupation for which the Kretans were renowned. K. Rigsby has expressed doubt about the validity of such an interpretation, as the same reputation for piracy cannot be established for all of the other states that received a Teian delegation; instead, he has suggested that the decrees may have been establishing military alliances.[576] However, the absence of terms explicitly stating their military obligations to one another[577], and the emphasis on the right to reciprocate against seizure, makes it more likely that the Teian delegation was prompted by their experience of piracy. It is known that Teos was subject to attacks by pirates during the Hellenistic period; an inscription from the second half of the third century BC concerned a raid on Teos by pirates and the taking of hostages. The text records the measures taken by the city to raise funds to pay the ransom demanded by the raiders.[578] In this instance, the identity of the pirates is not revealed, and it should not be presumed that they were Kretan. Yet, the prominence of the communities of Krete among the recipients of the *asylia* requests does imply that Teos needed protection from predatory attacks carried out at least in part by Kretans.[579]

The impetus behind the appeals of the Teians was the desire to secure their possessions and people against the threat of seizure. Their response to such a danger was to forge alliances with the communities of Krete, hoping to prevent future raids by creating lasting diplomatic relationships with the communities of the raiders.[580]

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[575] Kvist (2003) 197-8, offers a different translation: 'And if any citizens of Arkades anchored injures any of the Teians.' Kvist suggests that ὁρμιομένων comes from ὁρμίζω, 'to be at anchor', rather than ὁρμάω, 'to rush/go out from.'
[576] Rigsby *Asylia* 288.
[577] Compare with the terms of the military treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna (see n. 611), c. 200 BC, in which their obligations to one another are clearly established.
[578] Şahin (1994) 1-40.
[579] Kvist (2003) 194-195. Cf. Gauthier (1972) 277-282: 'la situation géographique de la cité en faisant une proie facile pour les pirates de tout bord'; Brúle (1978) 93-102.
[580] *Ibid.* 207.

The requests of *asylia* do not mark an attempt to prevent Kretan acts of piracy altogether; the clause whereby the Teians could recapture goods and people does not actually guarantee that raids will stop, but rather that they have the right to retaliate.

A second round of appeals c.170 BC indicates that diplomatic relations had been maintained. There are seven remaining inscriptions from this series of delegations, and they are all similar in form: the Teians asked the Kretan community to renew their good relations, and to inscribe the previous dedication; the Kretan community granted their request.[581] Additional privileges are included, with the Teians repeatedly called φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς[582] and awarded honours including ἰσοπολιτεία καὶ ἔνκτησις γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀτέλεια.[583] The ambassadors, Herodotos and Menekles, are awarded *proxenia* by a number of states.[584] Such honours are to a degree formulaic[585], but they also had a legal basis, and it is likely that certain individuals took advantage of them.[586]

The dynamic between Teos and the states of Krete had changed in this second round of requests; whereas in the first delegations the Teians were ensuring their right of reprisal on the occasion of seizure, in the second we find the Kretan states granting military aid to Teos if it should be attacked.[587] The Teians forged links with Krete because they believed their appeals would have a positive result, and the second round of delegations suggests that they had met with success. While the initial Teian requests were motivated by concerns over their security, the consequence appears to have been the establishment of enduring reciprocal ties, resulting in the assurance of military aid.

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[581] Rigsby *Asylia* nos. 154-157, 159-161.
[582] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 159 (Arkades), ll. 2-3. Cf. no. 154 (Aptera), l. 27; no. 155 (Eranna), ll. 2-3; no. 156 (Biannos), ll. 3-4; no. 157 (Malla), ll. 2-3; no. 161 (unknown Kretan city), l. 17.
[583] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 159 (Arkades), ll. 37-38. Cf. no. 155 (Eranna), ll. 39-41: πολίτας Ἐραννίων, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοις καὶ ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἔνκτησιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας; n. 157 (Malla), l. 15: ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἰσοπολιτείαν. The additional guarantee by Malla that they would protect Teos as if it were their own πατρίς also features in the second round of delegations.
[584] See n. 566. As part of the first round of delegations, Knossos may have awarded *proxenia* to the original delegates (Rigsby *Asylia* no. 136, ll. 14-15).
[585] Compare with the honours awarded to the Kretan Euthybios by Euromos; see p.148f.
[586] Guizzi (1999) 235-236.
[587] Kvist (2003) 210. See above p.116, regarding Malla (Rigsby *Asylia* no. 157). Similar guarantees in Rigsby *Asylia* no. 154, ll. 42-47; no. 155, ll. 36-37; no. 156, ll. 29-30; no. 159, ll. 41-42; no. 160, ll. 8-9.

A series of treaties from Miletos offers another valuable parallel, recording a Milesian embassy to various Kretan cities in the second half of the third century BC.[588] The Milesians also were prompted by fears over their safety; the treaty between Miletos and Knossos witnessed the reaffirmation of a previous arrangement[589], and results in the provision that 'a Knossian shall not knowingly purchase a Milesian who is a free man nor a Milesian a Knossian.'[590] The presumption is that Miletos had previously faced such problems, with their citizens being enslaved, most likely by pirates. As at Teos, they were anxious to secure their protection, and responded by creating ties of goodwill with the Kretan states.[591]

In these instances, diplomatic relations with the island of Krete were instigated in part by communities seeking assurances of their security against the threat of piracy. The second round of Teian delegations reveals a new aspect of their discourse with Krete: the promise of military support is introduced because the diplomatic relations that had been established at the end of the third century BC were maintained. The value placed on diplomatic relations with the cities of Krete by Teos and Mylasa suggests that the stereotypical image of Kretan piracy needs to be redressed if we are fully to understand the nature of diplomacy with Krete during this period.

Kretan Piracy and the First Kretan War

During the Hellenistic period, Krete was renowned for its fractious political landscape; as Polybios wrote, 'owing to the constant succession of their civil wars and their excessive cruelty to each other, beginning and end are much the same in Krete.'[592] Territorial disputes were endemic[593], and this is reflected in the decline in the number of *poleis* attested on the island from the fourth to the first century BC.[594]

[588] *IC* 1. 8. 6; *Milet* 1. 3, 140A (Austin 107).
[589] *Ibid.* ll. 3-7.
[590] *Ibid.* ll. 18-20. At the end there is a list of other Kretan states that are said to have passed the same resolutions; other decrees from Gortyn and Phaestus record a similar treaty with Miletos (*Milet* 1. 3, 140 B & C).
[591] Miletos also granted citizenship to a group of Kretan mercenaries; see below.
[592] Plb. 24. 3. 1.
[593] In the Lyttian War of 221-219 BC, Lyttos was attacked and sacked by an alliance of Kretan states led by Knossos, although this fell apart after a number of allies defected to the Lyttians (Plb. 4. 53).
[594] Chaniotis (2005) 21. Cf. Chaniotis (1999b) 183: 'The fears of the Cretan communities are clearly expressed in the formulaic clauses of the Hellenistic treaties of alliance, in which the partner is called

These social and political conditions on Krete encouraged Kretans to look outside the island in pursuit of new opportunities for employment, including piracy.[595]

The reputation of the Kretans as raiders is prominent in the ancient sources. Strabo wrote that 'the Kretans succeeded to the business of piracy'[596], while according to Polybios, the Kretans were 'irresistible' (ἀνυπόστατοι) in ambushes and piratical excursions.[597] Undoubtedly such an image has something to recommend it (some Kretans engaged in piratical raids as a source of income in the ancient world); but to what degree should this dominate our impression of the island's role within the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period?[598] Certainly, piracy (*leisteia*) was viewed pejoratively in our ancient sources; as Gabrielsen has written, the labels of 'piracy' and 'pirate' frequently contributed to the stereotypes of 'marginal' peoples, including the Kretans.[599] But the dichotomy between notions of 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' in the trading networks of the ancient world needs to be re-evaluated: piracy and the 'raid mentality' were intrinsically connected to trading interests, and 'deeply entrenched in the economic, political and social structure of ancient communities.'[600] This is not the place to fully investigate the degree to which piracy was embedded in the ancient economy[601]; rather, I wish to stress that the widespread disapproval levelled at the Kretans did not stop their practice of *leisteia*, nor did it necessarily prevent their involvement in 'legitimate' forms of trade. Both forms of gain depended on private ship ownership, and thus an overlap in activities would be expected; piracy was not a formalised profession.[602]

The characterisation of the Kretans as pirates should in part be viewed in light of ancient prejudice, as the notion of 'legitimacy' within trade was open to manipulation. The image of Kretans as raiders is often set against the Rhodians'

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to assist, 'whenever someone invades the land, or occupies parts of the territory, or destroys private estates, settlements of the serfs, frontier forts, islands or harbors.'

[595] Spyridakis (1970) 43; Chaniotis (1999b) 183; 205; (2005) 81.

[596] Strab. 10. 4. 9: οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ διαδεξάμενοι τὰ ληστήρια.

[597] Plb. 4. 8. 11.

[598] The impression still permeates some modern scholarship; for example, see Ager (1991): regarding the First Kretan War, she writes that it marked one of Rhodes' 'most strenuous anti-piracy actions to date' (17-18).

[599] Gabrielsen (2001a) 222.

[600] Gabrielsen (2001b) 78.

[601] See now Gabrielsen (2001a); (2001b). For a discussion of Kretan piracy in particular, see Brulé (1978).

[602] Gabrielsen (2001b) 84.

naval supremacy during this period, and their reputation as protectors of the seas.[603] The little remaining evidence for the origins of the First Kretan War, fought between the cities of Krete and Rhodes in 205/4 BC, reinforces such an image; as Diodoros wrote:

> *'With a fleet of seven ships the Kretans began to engage in piracy, and plundered a number of vessels. This had a disheartening effect upon those who were engaged in commerce by sea, whereupon the Rhodians, reflecting that this lawlessness would affect them also, declared war upon the Kretans.'*[604]

The cause of the war is attributed to the raids of Kretan pirates, but the commercial interests of Rhodes, and their own expansionist desires within the region, were also significant.[605] During the Hellenistic period the Rhodians adopted the role of guardians against piracy; however, they were also interested in protecting their own trading interests, especially their role in the grain trade with the Black Sea and Egypt.[606] While the activities of Kretan pirates may have concerned them, the war was prompted by the more immediate threat to their regional monopoly posed by the advances of Philip V in the east, and his interference on Krete.[607]

Kretan piracy continued before and after this military engagement, and to an extent the role of the Rhodians as 'protectors' of the seas was dependent upon the activities of the pirates; as Gabrielsen writes, they were 'tangled into an intricate relationship of mutual dependence within the same economic and political structure.'[608] Furthermore, the activities of Kretan pirates did not prevent the Rhodians from entering into treaties with Kretan cities; thus during the siege of Rhodes by Demetrios, soldiers from Knossos were said to have sailed in as allies[609], while during the Lyttian War, the Rhodians are found lending assistance to Knossos.[610] In the aftermath of the First Kretan War, the Rhodians concluded

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[603] Diod. Sic. 20. 81. They are said by Strabo (14. 2. 5) to have overthrown 'the business of piracy.'
[604] Diod. Sic. 27. 3.
[605] For detailed discussion of the First Kretan War, see now Perlman (1999) and Wiemer (2003) 143-174.
[606] Wiemer (2003) 175: 'Der 1. Kretische Krieg hatte für Rhodier also durchaus eine hegemoniale Dimension.'
[607] See below p.122f.
[608] Gabrielsen (2001a) 228.
[609] Diod. Sic. 20. 88.
[610] Plb. 4. 53. 2.

alliances with Hierapytna, Olous, and Chersonesos[611]; in the treaty with Hierapytna, the Rhodians promised to send aid to the Hierapytnians in the event of someone depriving them of 'lawful revenues from the sea.'[612] The Rhodians clearly distinguished between the activities of 'legitimate' traders and pirates, but it did not affect their policy towards the Kretans states.[613]

Krete was naturally involved in the networks of exchange in the eastern Mediterranean, including with Rhodes and Egypt. While the level of Kretan involvement in commerce during the Hellenistic period continues to be debated, the activities of Kretans during this period were not limited to piratical raids.[614] Kretan *poleis* were able to derive an income from harbour dues and taxes, and commercial interests, however formalised, constituted one motivation for the mobility of individuals to and from Krete; even the reputation of the Kretans as raiders indicates some level of acquaintance with trading matters.

Awards of Proxenia and Mobility

There were numerous opportunities for contact between the island and Karia. As discussed, diplomatic relations were fostered between the cities of Krete and Mylasa, Teos and Miletos, encouraged in part by the unstable social and political background. Concurrently, the Hellenistic period witnessed a resurgence in the granting of honours by communities, with the awards of *proxenia* bestowed by states to foreign individuals rising markedly.[615] While the reasons behind the travels of an individual are rarely recorded, these grants offer an insight into the communication networks of the Mediterranean at this time.

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[611] *IC* 3. 3. 3A (=Austin 113); *SEG* 23 547; *SEG* 41 768. Cf. Perlman (1999) 135.
[612] Austin 113, ll. 68-69.
[613] Wiemer (2002) 158. Gabrielsen (2001a) 237: they were reserving the right to define what was legitimate.
[614] Perlman (1999) 146-51, has tried to redress the image of Kretan commercial isolation, and proposed that the island could have been involved in the production of wool and purple dye; Viviers (1999) 229, has also suggested that timber was exported from Krete. Such industries would not necessarily have left a trace in the archaeological record. Wine amphora handles from Hierapytna have been discovered in Egypt; Guizzi (1999) 242, suggests that they 'probably attest to long-distance trade in wine produced in Crete.' On the other side, Chaniotis (1999b) 210, has drawn attention to the lack of evidence for long-distance trade with Kretan products, as well as the lack of Kretan merchants and displays of private wealth during the Hellenistic period. Cf. *SEG* 49. 1207; Marangou (1999).
[615] Reger (2007b) 474.

The role of the *proxenos* in the ancient world was to represent the interests of a foreign *polis* (which had bestowed the honour) within his native city: in return, he was awarded special privileges within the foreign community. The value of such a status was within a context of mobility: the *proxenos* offered assistance to individuals travelling around the Mediterranean, having himself already forged a relationship with a foreign city.[616] In the fourth century BC, the award of Maussollos and Artemisia to the Knossians finds them described as benefactors 'both privately and publicly' (καὶ ἰδίηι καὶ δ̣ημοσίη[ι]) of Maussollos. They were awarded freedom from taxation in Maussollos' domain and were guaranteed the right to sail freely into and out of the coastal cities of Karia that were under Hekatomnid jurisdiction (ἔσ[π]λο̣[υν] καὶ ἔκπλουν ἀσυλὶ καὶ ἀσπονδεί).[617] Many *proxenia* decrees from this period contain similar terms: at the end of the third/beginning of the second century BC, two citizens from Magnesia-on-the-Maeander were named *proxenoi* of Knossos, and parallel privileges were bestowed. The Magnesians were called 'π[ρο]ξένονς ἦμεν καὶ εὐεργέτανς Κνωσίων αὐτὸνς καὶ ἐγγόνος'[618] and they were given guarantees of their entitlements:

> ἦμεν δὲ καὶ ἔσπλουν κα[ὶ] ἔκπλουν καὶ πολέμω
> καὶ εἰρήνας αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ χρήμασι
> τοῖς τούτων ἀσυλεὶ καὶ ἀσπονδεὶ καὶ κατὰ γᾶν
> καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

> *And the right to sail into and out of our (ports) either in wartime or in peace for themselves and their descendants and their business with inviolability and without special treaty either by land or by sea.*[619]

The terms of *proxenia* decrees stressed freedom of access to foreign ports. Other privileges bestowed include some level of ἀτέλεια (freedom from taxation), προεδρία (front seats at the theatre), πολιτεία or ἰσοπολιτεία (citizenship) and ἔγκτησις (the right to own land).[620] Such awards were formalised in their terms, but they were not only honorific; there must have been a perceived benefit to such grants

[616] Cf. Archibald (2001) 261-4.
[617] *I. Labraunda* no. 40. ll. 4-5 (=Hornblower (1982), M7).
[618] *IC* 1. 8. 10; *I. Magnesia* 67 ll. 12-13.
[619] *Ibid.* ll. 16-19.
[620] Marek (1984) 121ff.; Reger (1994) 72-75.

for them to have been well established as a mark of privilege. In the case of *ateleia*, a distinction between those grants that were purely honorific and those with a practical function has frequently been made[621]; tax exemption for building contractors, for instance, is often classified as an example of the latter.[622] However, in practice a community could not differentiate between the practicality, or legitimacy, of different awards; as V. Gabrielsen writes, the formal procedure by which a grant was issued did not have 'any bearing on the privilege itself.'[623]

Individuals could take advantage of the various honours bestowed on a *proxenos* while travelling in the Aegean, whether on diplomatic missions or in a private capacity. The occupation of individuals receiving grants is usually not recorded; though the primary advantage of an exemption from taxes, and of the right to sail into and out of ports ἀσυλεὶ καὶ ἀσπονδεὶ, would have been commercial.[624] This aspect remains disputed in modern scholarship, and G. Reger has concluded in his research on Delos that there is no clear connection between the privilege of *ateleia* and trade.[625] But such grants had the potential to affect the revenues of a state, and were endowed with some economic force.[626] It was the details of the texts, and not just their symbolic value, that gave them their worth.

Awards of *proxenia* are testament to the mobility of individuals in the ancient world, and they can be used to trace movement to and from Krete; the distribution of *proxenia* grants made by the Kretan *poleis* from the fourth to the first century BC are plotted in Figure 12. The dispersal of the grants is widespread: they incorporate much of the Aegean, with an especial concentration in western Anatolia. The geographical scope also extended further east, where individuals from Perge in Pamphylia were named *proxenoi* of Lappa and Olous during the Hellenistic

[621] Gauthier (1991) 39; see now Rubinstein (2009) 115.
[622] E.g. *ID* 500 & 502; Rubinstein (2009) 129. See also her discussion (126) of the swearing of oaths by a community to abide by tax exemptions; in the treaty between Miletos and Herakleia-under-Latmos (*Milet* 1 3 149) and between Olous and Lato (*IC* 1. 16. 5).
[623] Gabrielsen (2011b) 236. Cf. Rubinstein (2009) 127.
[624] Archibald (2001) 264.
[625] Reger (1994) 72.
[626] The formulaic nature of many of the texts was in part due to the constraints of space during inscription, with the priority given to the practical details of what privileges were being granted rather than the reasons why the individual was being honoured; Rubinstein (2009) 120. On the enforcement of such awards, see Bresson (2000) 145-6: he suggests that individuals were issued with papers outlining the details. Cf. Rubinstein (2009) 121-122, on the difficulties of establishing the real significance of hereditary grants.

period[627], while an individual from Tarsus was made *proxenos* of Knossos in the second century BC.[628] It is interesting that the Kretan communities who voted these honours were not limited to the maritime stations along the coast; for example, the inland *poleis* of Sybrita and Lappa both made numerous awards.[629] Some instances were prompted by diplomatic interaction, as in the awards of *proxenia* made to the Teian envoys[630]; in others, artists or entertainers were honoured, as at Sybrita, where Agathodoros son of Straton, an actor from Sidon, was made *proxenos.*[631] The presence of foreign troops on the island could also occasion the award of such honours. Again at Sybrita, three awards of *proxenia* were made to officers from Karia in the second century BC: Meleagros son of Artemidoros, *hegemon* from Alabanda[632]; Hierokles son of Menoitos, *hegemon* from Stratonikeia[633]; and another individual whose name has been lost, also from Stratonikeia.[634] The presence of Karian soldiers in Sybrita might indicate the installation of a garrison at the site, perhaps connected with Ptolemaic influence.[635]

The grant of proxeny was frequently accompanied by *politeia* or *isopoliteia*, which gave the individual the right to participate fully in the civic affairs of a foreign state and settle more permanently away from their native land.[636] Whether many *proxenoi* took advantage of this privilege is not known, but such grants created the potential for individuals to integrate themselves in a foreign community. The Karian

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[627] *IC* 2. 16. 7C; *IC* 1. 22. 4A.
[628] *IC* 1. 8. 12.
[629] Sybrita: Le Rider *Monnaies* 258-259, Epidauros: no. 1; Argos: no. 2; Sidon: no. 3; Mytilene: no. 4; Alabanda: no. 4; Stratonikeia: no. 5. Lappa: Kasos *IC* 2. 16, 4; Thera *IC* 2. 16, 5B; Hierapolis *IC* 2. 16, 7B; Perge (Pamphylia) *IC* 2. 16, 7C; Alexandreia *IC* 2. 16, 8A.
[630] See n. 566.
[631] Le Rider *Monnaies* 258, 3e metope; Tzifopoulos (2010) no. 7.
[632] Le Rider *Monnaies* 259, 4e metope; Tzifopoulos (2010) no. 3. Μελέαγρος Ἀρτε|μιδώρου Ἀλα|βανδεύς, ἡγε|μών, πρόξενος | καὶ πολίτης Συβρι|τίων, αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγο|νοι.
[633] Le Rider *Monnaies* 259, 5e metope; Tzifopoulos (2010) no. 5. [Ἱ]εροκλῆς | Μενοίτου τοῦ | Ἰατροκλέους | Στρατονικεύς, | ἡγεμών, πρό-| ξενος Συβρι|ντίων καὶ πολίτης, | αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.
[634] Le Rider *Monnaies* 259, 5e metope; Tzifopoulos (2010) no. 6. Ἀρ. [ca. 6-8. Με]-| νάν[δρου Στρατο]-| νικ[εύς, πρόξε]-| νος [καὶ πολίτης] | Συ[βριτίων, αὐ]-| τὸ[ς καὶ ἔκγονοι]. Le Rider restored the name in lines 1-2 as Ἀρ[ιστέας Με]| νανδρου.
[635] Tzifopoulos (2010) 366; citing private correspondence with A. Chaniotis. Marek (1984) 311ff, argues that the majority of awards of *proxenia* made by Kretan states were connected to warfare and security, or entertainment; however I think an overlap with commercial interests should also be considered.
[636] It seems that *isopoliteia* was effectively the same as a normal grant of citizenship. Cf. Gauthier (1985) 131ff.

soldiers at Sybrita seem to have been stationed in the city, and the award of citizenship created the opportunity for their settlement on Krete to be long-lasting. A decree discovered at Kydonia on Krete records the purchase of land by the city for a group of *proxenoi* to settle on and cultivate, suggesting their permanent relocation.[637]

Proxenia grants also reveal the travels of Kretans away from the island; for instance, the status was awarded to Theodoros of Rhaukos by Iasos at the end of the fourth/third century BC[638], while a third century BC inscription from Miletos reveals that they similarly honoured Nikanor son of Nikanor from Gortyn.[639] Another inscription, from Euromos, in the third century BC honoured one Euthybios, Κρὴς ἐξ Συβρίτιος.[640] While the motivations of Kretans travelling abroad are frequently not recorded, the employment of Kretans as mercenaries was a primary cause, and will be discussed below. However, it does not explain all the attestations of Kretans around the Mediterranean. A Kretan dancer is found at Miletos, and it is possible that more Kretans were employed as entertainers or actors[641]; commercial motivations, whether 'legitimate' or as pirates, can also not be ruled out.[642]

The Travels of Kretan Mercenaries

Mercenary service induced mobility, and in antiquity the Kretans were renowned as mercenaries, in particular as archers. During the Hellenistic period, Kretans are attested joining various dynastic forces[643]: in 220 BC, Kretan mercenaries were in the army of Antiochos III when he faced the rebel satrap Molon[644], while at the Battle of Raphia in 217 BC, there were Kretans in the opposing forces of Antiochos III and Ptolemy IV.[645] The activities of the Ptolemies, Antigonids and Attalids on the island were in part directed towards securing access

[637] *IC* 2. 10. 1. ll. 2-3: τάδε ἐπρίατο ά πόλις τοῖς προξένοις | καρπεύειν ἃς κα ἐπιτάδειοι ὦντι.
[638] *I. Iasos* 53.
[639] *Milet* 1. 3, 140b; *IC* 4. 161.
[640] Errington (1993) no. 2; *SEG* 43. 704. Chaniotis (2001) 216, has also drawn attention to the Kretan recipients of epigrams composed by Kallimachos, suggesting the presence of Kretans in Alexandria.
[641] Peek (1977) 215-216, no. 12.
[642] See n. 614.
[643] Brulé (1978), esp. 162-163; van Effenterre (1948) 184-194.
[644] Plb. 5. 53.
[645] Plb. 5. 79; 5. 82. It is interesting to note that a distinction is made between 'Kretan' and 'Greek' mercenaries.

to Kretan military aid and mercenary forces[646]; an honorific decree of Aptera awarded an Attalid king and his descendants the right to enrol mercenaries (ξενολο[γ]ῆσθαι) on Apteran territory.[647] The treaties concluded between Rhodes and a number of Kretan states also included clauses ensuring military assistance. In the agreement between Rhodes and Hierapytna, the Hierapytnians promised to 'do everything to assist the Rhodians in recruiting a mercenary army' in Krete, should it be required.[648] Earlier in the third century, King Magas (r. 276-250 BC) of Kyrene was found concluding an alliance with the Oreioi of Krete, 'just as with the Gortynians', to send military forces should either party be threatened.[649] The motivation of both the Rhodians and Magas was to secure access to Kretan military forces, and mercenaries played a significant role in the conduct of diplomacy with Krete.[650]

During this period south western Anatolia served as a frontier zone for the Hellenistic dynasties[651], which resulted in a frequent military presence in the region. Inscriptions from Amyzon and Labraunda attest to the presence of Seleukid troops at both sites.[652] Philip V garrisoned Euromos, Iasos, Bargylia, Pedasa and the Rhodian *peraia*, and his presence is also attested at Panamara (see Map 2).[653] As a consequence of the various campaigns conducted in south western Anatolia, the presence of Kretan mercenaries there can be supposed. The Mylasan dossier contains a suggestion of a mercenary presence in the region through the reference to τὸ ξενοτρόφιον in *I. Mylasa* 651 (l. 6). This term is connected with the maintenance

[646] Van der Mijnsbrugge (1931) 27-29.
[647] Aptera: *IC* 2. 3. 4C, ll. 12-13.
[648] *IC* 3. 3A, ll. 40-5 (Austin 113, 8). Similar terms are found in the treaty with Olous, where the Oluntians were required to dispatch allied forces to Rhodes on their request (*SEG* 23. 547, l. 28ff.); it is specified that the Olountian force must be at least one hundred free, armed men, while he Rhodians were required to transport the troops to Rhodes from Krete. Cf. Spyridakis (1992) 96-97.
[649] *IC* 2. 7. 1.
[650] Willetts (1955) 246-248: 'the activities of the Cretan mercenaries have now become a familiar aspect of the foreign relations of the Cretan cities.'
[651] For a narrative of this period, see Ma (2000) Chapters 2 & 3, 26-105; Reger (1999) 76-97; Errington (2008).
[652] Amyzon: Robert & Robert, *Amyzon* no. 10 (= Ma (2000) no. 6), a letter of Antiochos III to his army; no. 19 (= Ma (2000) no. 13), a honourary decree for the Seleukid soldiers and their general Ophelandros, recording that 'they put an end to the besieging' (l. 10). Labraunda: Crampa, *I. Labraunda* 1, 134-135; 2, no. 46 (= Ma (2000) no. 15), preserving the king's instructions not to camp in the sacred place or damage the sanctuary.
[653] Plb. 18. 2. 3-4; *I. Stratonikeia* 3.

of mercenaries or other foreigners (from ξένος, 'foreigner', and τροφή, meaning 'nourishment/food', or the means of procuring it).[654] C. Marek has suggested that it might apply to an institution in Mylasa that served as a form of 'guest-house,' to provide food, and/or a place to stay for *xenoi*, or assistance in another form.[655]

A similar term is found in the Teian dossier, where reference is made to [ἐξ]ενοτροφήθεν δὲ καὶ οἱ πρειγευταὶ καθὼς καθέσταται in one of the texts.[656] The term ξενοτροφέω here seems to relate to an established code of conduct with regard to the treatment and maintenance of foreigners; at Mylasa, τὸ ξενοτρόφιον also appears to refer to the hospitable reception of Kretans in their territory. The ending –ιον is frequently used in reference to something more concrete, and might indicate the existence of a structure or a building of some sort; one could draw a comparison with τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον, translated as an inn or lodging house for foreigners (Liddell-Scott s.v.). The possibility is raised that there was a similar institution in Mylasa, which could have supported Kretan troops stationed in the vicinity; the references to 'the Kretans living on the island and those living away from the island'[657] in the dossier could further suggest the presence of Kretans in or around Mylasa.

In a number of cases Kretans are attested settling permanently abroad. In the fourth century BC, the foundation of Kretopolis in Pisidia seems to have involved the settlement of Kretans.[658] There are also references to Kretans being involved in the settlement of Antioch by Seleukos[659], and a community of Kretans is attested in Egypt.[660] A series of inscriptions from Miletos, dated 234/33BC and 229/228 BC, attest to the settlement and enfranchisement of more than 1000 mercenaries in the territory of Hybandis, near Myus (Map 4). The majority of the ethnics recorded are

[654] Liddell-Scott s.v.
[655] Marek (1984) 308.
[656] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 147, ll. 10-11.
[657] *I. Mylasa* 643, ll. 1-3: τὸς ἐν [τᾶι νάσωι Κρηταιέανς] καὶ τὸς ἔξω τᾶς νά[σω Ϝοικίοντανς]; 644, ll. 4-6: [τὸνς ἐ]ν τᾶι νάσωι Κρηταιέανς καὶ [τὸνς ἔξω τᾶς νάσω Κρ]ήτανς πάντανς τὸνς Ϝοικίον[τανς].
[658] Sekunda (1997) 217-223, argues that it was founded by Nearchos, who was appointed satrap of Lykia by Alexander in 333 BC; following initial suggestion by van Effenterre (1948) 303, n.3. For appointment of Nearchos, see Arr. *Anab*. 3. 6. 6. Cf. Mitchell (1994) 129-136.
[659] Libanius, *Or*. 11. 91.
[660] Launey (1950) 1068-1072.

Kretan.[661] They settled in the region with their wives and families, and the total number of settlers is estimated at somewhere between 3000-4000.[662]

The level of their integration into the Milesian community remains unclear. The Kretan settlers were enrolled into the citizen body of Miletos, and swore to defend the city and its forts, but A. Chaniotis has noted the fact that they were not allowed to occupy the office of the *phrourarchos* until twenty years after their arrival in Miletos, suggesting their naturalisation was not complete.[663] After the territory was granted to Magnesia-on-the-Maeander by Philip V during his campaign in 201 BC[664], the Magnesians also discussed terms for the return of the settlers to Krete.[665] But even if these Kretans remained distinct within the population, it is significant that considerable groups of Kretans had settled in Karia; while some of these may have returned to the island, there is no reason to suppose that many others did not make south western Anatolia their permanent home.[666] Their migration away from their homeland also did not mean that they completely assimilated the identity of their new location, and there are indications that they remained distinctly Kretan.[667]

The implications of their presence in Karia are numerous, and will be explored in the next chapter. For the present purpose it is worth emphasising the role of foreign troops as social actors within the cities they visited; challenging the boundaries between the 'community' and 'outsiders' through their interaction and integration with the population.[668] This was instigated not only through the installation by a higher power of garrisons, whereby troops lived alongside the local population, but also through the decisions of states to recruit mercenaries as settlers, as at Miletos. On a less official level, it seems that mercenaries did not have to be enlisted to travel away from their homeland, and they could seek employment independently around the Mediterranean. A. Chaniotis has drawn attention to the

[661] *Milet* 1. 3. 33-38. See now Chaniotis (2002) 100-101, 105; Launey (1950) 660-664; Brulé (1978) 165-170. Cf. Brulé (1990).
[662] Estimate of Rehm in his commentary, *Milet* 1. 3. 196-202.
[663] Chaniotis (2002) 105. *Milet* 1. 3. 37d, 65f; 82ff.
[664] Plb. 16. 24. 9.
[665] As part of their arbitration between Knossos and Gortyn: *I. Magnesia* 65 a & b (= Ager *Interstate Arbitrations* no. 127). Cf. Launey (1950) 663-664.
[666] Brulé (1978) 163-164, citing the settlement of the Kretans' wives and children; contra Launey (1950) 276-277.
[667] Cf. Chaniotis (2004) 485-488.
[668] Chaniotis (2002) 108-12; Ma (2002) 115-122, esp. 118.

apergoi, unemployed mercenaries, mentioned as potential violators of order in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos.[669] While their travels did not leave much of a trace, we cannot preclude the notion that they participated in the communities in which they settled, forming personal ties that may have led to their eventual incorporation in the community.[670]

The division between 'official', state-sanctioned travel and that undertaken by individuals in a private capacity should not be drawn too distinctly. Representatives sent by a state on an official delegation to a city were often awarded with *proxenia* and the right to own land in the awarding state, creating the opportunity to establish lasting ties and even settle there; similarly with foreign judges called in to adjudicate in disputes between states.[671] An overlap between individuals pursuing diplomatic and private interests should be expected. The travels of individuals in a private capacity, whether commercial or otherwise, would have opened up communication networks further, which could subsequently have had an impact on diplomatic relations. The guarantees in *I. Mylasa* 643 and 644 that the Kretans 'living away from the island' would assist the Mylasans, carries with it the implication that the states of Krete sustained links with their citizens abroad, even if we cannot reconstruct how this was achieved. It is within this wider context of connectivity that the Mylasan Kretan series should be interpreted.

Contextualising the Mylasan Inscriptions

The series of Kretan decrees from Mylasa attests to the diplomatic ties that existed between the Mylasans and the Kretans in the later part of the third century BC. These texts were inscribed in the aftermath of a Mylasan delegation to Krete, and the responses in some cases included guarantees of military support, which suggests the conclusion of an alliance. Parallels have been drawn with a similar series of texts from Teos, and with the treaties concluded by the Milesians with a

[669] Chaniotis (2005) 92. *IG* 12. 6. 1 169.
[670] Cf. Hitchman (2010).
[671] See Robert (1973) 765-782; Crowther (1995) 91-138.

number of Kretan cities. Both cities were attempting to protect their citizens from the threat of seizure by raiders, though I have suggested that the risk of piracy should not dominate our interpretation of the interaction of Teos and Miletos with Krete.

The Mylasans sought to establish diplomatic links with Krete because they considered it beneficial within the context of the late third century BC. Control of Karia was disputed between various kingdoms throughout the Hellenistic period, with no dynast gaining overall authority. The Mylasans had been granted their independence by Seleukos II at some point before c. 246 BC[672], and they used the opportunity to pursue an expansionist policy within the region.[673] Over the course of the third and into the second century BC, Mylasa incorporated a number of surrounding communities in its domain, including Olymos, Hydai and Sinuri[674]; it also asserted its authority over the sanctuary of Labraunda.[675]

In the third century BC, Mylasa was attempting to reinforce its regional dominance. This was building on a process that had begun during the fourth century BC. As the native city of the Hekatomnids, Mylasa had served as the dynastic capital until the seat was moved to Halikarnassos during the reign of Maussollos.[676] However, its ambition was not diminished in the aftermath of the transfer. G. Reger has proposed that Mylasan territorial expansion began as an attempt to consolidate their regional status; an inscription from Sekköy, dated to 354/3 BC, records the

[672] *I. Labraunda* no. 3, ll. 7-8; no. 5, ll. 31-32; no. 7, ll. 9-10; pp. 81-85. Cf. Reger (2004) 166; (2010) 24f.

[673] Reger (2004) 164ff; (2010) 24; Ashton & Reger (2006) 125. This period of expansion has previously been dated to the late second century BC, however I follow Reger's redating to the end of the third/early second century BC; thus this process was roughly contemporaneous with, or within a generation of, the conflict between Mylasa and the priests of Labraunda; see below.

[674] See now Bresson & Debord (1985) 206; Reger (2004) 164ff. As part of this process, the subdivisions of the subject communities were 'downgraded' and assigned to one of the three Mylasan *phylai*; thus *phylai* became *syngeneiai*, and *syngeneiai* became *patrai.* Euromos seems to have entered into a *sympoliteia* with Mylasa at some point, although it does not seem to have endured; in *I. Mylasa* 102, ll. 14-15 they are described as συμπολιτευομένων. Cf. Reger (2004) 168-70. Blümel (*I. Mylasa* 102, pp. 26-27) originally dated the *sympoliteia* between Mylasa and Euromos to the late second/first century BC; however, letter forms would suggest a date in the first half of the second century BC.

[675] The Labraundan conflict is well documented in a series of texts (*I. Labraunda* 1-12); royal sanction was sought by both the Mylasans and the priests of Labraunda (Seleukos II: *I. Labraunda* 1; Antigonos Doson: *I. Labraunda* 5, ll. 5-8; Philip V: *I. Labraunda* 5). Mylasa prevailed in each appeal; although the priests of Labraunda apparently used the shifting dynastic landscape as an opportunity to renew their petition, making their appeal to the different kings that ruled during different periods. See now Virgilio (2001), Dignas (2002) 59-69; Reger (2010) 51-3.

[676] Strab. 14. 2. 23.

purchase of land from Kindye by the Mylasans, and Reger has suggested that this was an attempt by Mylasa to secure access to the sea.[677] Recent work on the dispute surrounding ownership of the 'Little Sea' in the fourth century BC, documented in an inscription from Iasos, further encourages the view of Mylasan expansionism, particularly with the aim of securing their maritime interests. In the inscription, we find the Iasians voting honours for Gorgos and Minnion, sons of Theodotos, because they petitioned Alexander ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς θαλάσσης to have it 'given back to the people.'[678] The location of the 'Little Sea' is commonly identified with the now marshy area forming the delta of the Sarı Çay, to the east of Iasos[679], and following a suggestion of L. Robert it is thought to have been returned to Iasos from Mylasa.[680]

The Mylasans perceived economic and socio-political advantages to securing their involvement in the maritime networks, and their engagement in interstate diplomacy during the Hellenistic period reveals their orientation towards the Aegean.[681] Interaction with Krete was a part of this, and there are indications in the dossier that the Mylasan delegation did not mark the instigation of their contacts with the island; the references to the 'goodwill' of the Mylasans, and their 'kinship' with the Kretans seem to be reinforcing rather than initiating contacts.[682]

While there are no indications that the Mylasans faced a problem with seizure, as at Teos and Mylasa, they clearly sought a practical benefit to establishing relations with Krete. In the context of the late third century BC, this may have been prompted by a perceived threat to their security and their independence. While an inscription from Labraunda attests to Philip V's official confirmation of Mylasa's

[677] *HTC* 90; see p. 62, n. 248. Reger (2010) 48-9, who relates this to the dispute over the 'Little Sea'; see below, n. 680.
[678] *I. Iasos* 30 (=Rhodes & Osborne 90), A ll. 5-8.
[679] Delrieux (2001) 163-168; he reconstructs where he thinks the 'Little Sea' would have been in antiquity in plans on 166-167; Reger (2010) 44-9.
[680] *BE* (1973) 161, no. 419.
[681] Debord (2001) 23, has linked these developments in the geopolitical landscape with the intriguingly named Mylasan cult of Zeus Osogollis/Zenoposeidon, and the obvious maritime associations. These cultic associations retained their importance to the Mylasans into the third century BC; the civic coinage of Mylasa frequently depicted Zeus Osogollis with a trident (Fig. 1), or sometimes a crab, while other smaller denominations featured the trident alone; Delrieux (1999) 44-45. Pausanias (8. 10. 4) recorded a legend about sea-water rising up in the sanctuary 'of the god called in the native tongue Osogo,' despite there being a distance of eight *stades* from Mylasa to the sea.
[682] See p. 114.

independence[683], Polybios recorded that the king had attempted and failed to take the city by treachery.[684] During this period, Philip V was attempting to advance his influence in the eastern Mediterranean; the Kretan guarantee to provide military assistance to Mylasa might reveal a proactive move on the part of the Mylasans to secure alliances in the face of a threat to their territorial possessions by the Antigonid king.

From early in his reign, Philip V had shown particular attentions towards Krete in an attempt to take advantage of the island's strategic importance as a gateway to targeting territory in Anatolia and further east.[685] His appointment as *prostates* of the Kretan *koinon* c.217 BC is relevant within this context[686]; Diodoros further recorded that he had encouraged the Kretans to engage in war with Rhodes to undermine the latter's control over the sea.[687] It was proposed above that the repeated references to the Κρηταιέας in the Mylasan inscriptions denote the activity of the Kretan *koinon*, and thus the appointment of Philip V as the leader of the Kretans would correspond with the late third century date of the inscriptions.[688] Part of Philip V's motivation in forming alliances with the island would have been to secure access to mercenaries, and since Kretan troops were frequently found in his army, it can be supposed that they travelled with him to Karia during his campaign of 201 BC.[689]

I propose that the Mylasan 'Kretan dossier' records a delegation(s) sent by Mylasa to the island to seek an assurance of military assistance from the members of the Kretan *koinon*, and that it was occasioned by the threat of Makedonian expansion in the region in the aftermath of Philip's alliances with the Kretan *poleis*. A more precise date between c. 217 BC (when Philip secured his interests on Krete) and 201-

[683] *I. Labraunda* no. 5.
[684] Plb. 16. 24. 1-9.
[685] Polybios (3. 2. 8) made reference to an alliance between the Philip V and Antiochos III, in which they agreed to cooperate to partition Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt. The discovery of an inscription, alluding to a treaty, seems to corroborate Polybios' account: according to the text, 'when war broke out from King Antiochos against King Ptolemy, the one now ruling,' Antiochos gained control of Kildara and Thodasa 'before Theangela was handed over to Antiochos by King Philip.' Ed. pr. Blümel (2000); Wiemer (2001); Ma (2000) 379-380 plus translation.
[686] See n. 530.
[687] Diod. Sic. 28. 1: Philip induced Dikaiarchos of Aitolia 'to support the Kretans in their war against Rhodes.'
[688] See pp. 109-110.
[689] Plb. 4. 61. 2; 67. 6.

197 BC (when Philip campaigned in Karia) can be suggested for the delegation to Krete, and for the inscription of the decrees. A date before 205 BC, and the First Kretan War is likely, if it is correct to assume that the Kretan *koinon* had foundered by that time.[690]

* * *

Both Mylasa and Krete were incorporated within the same networks. Despite its inland location, the regional ambitions of Mylasa meant that it had always involved itself in the 'business of the sea.' The *proxeny* decree of Maussollos and Artemisia for Knossos offers evidence from the fourth century for contact between Karia and Krete, and contacts continued into the Hellenistic period. The Mylasan dossier attests to a particular period of diplomacy between Mylasa and Krete at the end of the third century BC. However it should be placed within a broader context of interaction between the city and the communities of the Aegean that witnessed the mobility of Kreteans in the region around the city, and their engagement with the local population. In the next chapter I will consider how such contact was underscored by cultural and religious interchange during this period, and examine how it affected the reception and transmission of the traditional Karian-Kretan affiliation.

[690] See p.110.

Chapter 4:
Interaction as a Generator of Cultural Exchange

Mechanisms of Cultural and Religious Interaction

Contact between different regions in itself created opportunities for cultural interaction and interchange. In this chapter I address whether the communication between Karia and Krete during the Hellenistic period left a discernible trace in the cultural and religious life of individuals and/or communities, and whether this in turn had an impact on the reception of the traditions linking the two regions. What factors affected the transmission of the historical mythologies associating Karia and Krete, on both a local and regional level, during the Hellenistic period, and were they 'renegotiated' in response to particular circumstances? In order to approach this question, I will first examine some of the ways in which interaction both generated opportunities for acquaintance and assimilation between cultures, and crystallised a community's own sense of identity. I will then focus on the cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus that is attested in Karia at the end of the third century BC, before considering in more detail how interaction could cause a higher degree of self-reflection within a community, and potentially shape civic mythologies.

The Past within Diplomatic Discourse

The conduct of diplomacy created situations in which local traditions and mythologies could be transmitted and exchanged. In the Teian dossier, an inscription from the second round of delegations in the early second century BC honoured Herodotos and Menekles, the ambassadors from Teos.[691] The two men were praised for their deportment in the Kretan city of Priansos, and Menekles in particular was singled out and commended for the programme he organised for the Priansians; he is described as having 'put on a display with the kithara' (ἐπεδείξατο… μετὰ κιθάρας) of the works of Timotheos and Polyidos and 'of our other ancient poets finely and fittingly' (τῶν ἁμῶν παλαιῶν ποιητᾶν καλῶς καὶ πρεπόντως).[692] He also offered 'the historical cycle about Krete and the gods and heroes who were born in Krete, creating his compilation from many poets and historiographers' (εἰσ<ή>νεγκε δὲ κύκλον | ἱστορημέναν ὑπὲρ Κρῆτας, κα[ὶ τ]ῶν ἐν

[691] *IC* 1. 24. 1.
[692] *IC* 1. 24. 1, ll. 7-9.

[Κρή]ται γε|γονότων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, [ποι]ησάμενο[ς τ]ὰν | συναγωγὰν ἐκ πολλῶν ποιητᾶ[ν] καὶ ἱστοριογρά|φων).[693] It can be supposed that a similar performance was organised in the other Kretan cities the Teian ambassadors visited. The text reveals the conduct of delegations sent to foreign cities, and the behaviour expected of them; in order to impress the host *polis*, Menekles drew upon his knowledge of Kretan culture and mythology.

It is not possible to ascertain the extent to which the performance of Menekles was the norm in the ancient world, but to a lesser or greater degree, appeals to the history and culture of a community were a characteristic part of diplomatic discourse. A parallel to the Teian delegation can be sought in the Mylasan dossier, where in both *I. Mylasa* 652 and 653 we find references to a certain Thaletas. As A. Chaniotis has suggested, this figure can likely be identified as Thaletas of Gortyn, the seventh century BC Kretan composer of paeans and 'Kretan rhythms'[694]; *I. Mylasa* 652 also includes a reference to 'esteemed poets' (ἀξιολόγωμ πο[ιητ]ᾶν).[695] In a similar way to Menekles in the Teian delegation, it seems as though the Mylasan delegations to the cities of Krete included 'singing and dancing' ambassadors who staged a programme of Kretan music and performance for the *poleis* they visited on Krete.[696]

Such performances would have required careful thought and preparation, and the efforts expended reveal the high currency of the past within the contemporary interstate relations of the Hellenistic period.[697] The well-known inscription from Xanthos in Lykia, recording the arrival of an embassy from Kytenion in Doris in 206/5 BC, remains instructive in this regard.[698] Kytenion had been devastated by an earthquake twenty years earlier, and then invaded by Antigonos Doson; the Kytenian envoys arrived in Xanthos seeking funds for rebuilding their city walls. The

[693] *IC* 1. 24. 1, ll. 9-13. Translation K. Clarke (2008) 347-348.
[694] Chaniotis (1988b). Θαλήτα: *I. Mylasa* 652. l.2; 653. l.8. Cf. Plut. *On Music*, 9-10. Chaniotis (1988b) 155, suggests that the Kretan dancer Zenon, was also mentioned in *I. Mylasa* 652, at the end of l.2: καὶ Ζ[ήνωνος —]. On Zenon, cf. Ktesias *FGrHist* 688, F 31-32. Plut. *Artax*. 21. 3-4: '*by the mediation of Zeno the Kretan or Polykritos the Mendaean (the former being a dancing-master, the latter a physician).'* Athenaeus 1. 40.
[695] *I. Mylasa* 652, l.1.
[696] Chaniotis (1988b) 155.
[697] *Ibid.* 156.
[698] Bousquet (1988); *SEG* 38. 1476. Cf. Gauthier *BE* (1989) no. 275.

Xanthians recorded the transaction in detail in a public inscription, and as is frequent in diplomacy, a claim of *syngeneia* was made.[699] The Xanthian inscription is exceptional because it establishes the basis for this kinship, as outlined by the Kytenians as part of their entreaty. According to the inscription, the Kytenians cited 'the kinship that exists between them and us from gods and heroes', before proceeding to establish this affiliation on two bases. Initially they drew upon the common descent of both Kytenion and Xanthos from the god Apollo: tradition recorded that Leto, the primary goddess of Xanthos, gave birth to Artemis and Apollo in Lykia, while Apollo and Koronis (a descendant of Dorus) bore Asklepios in Doris, the land of the Dorians. The Kytenians then appealed to the heroic Lykian dynasty of Glaukos[700]:

> *As well, they indicated that the colonists sent out from our land by Chrysaor, the son of Glaukos, the son of Hippolochos, received protection from Aletes, one of the descendants of Herakles: for [Aletes], starting from Doris, came to their aid when they were being warred upon. Putting an end to the danger by which they were beset, he married the daughter of Aor, the son of Chrysaor.*[701]

Through the figure of Chrysaor, son of Glaukos, a tie of kinship was established between Xanthos and Kytenion. The Xanthians were apparently impressed at such a demonstration, and decided to inscribe the claim in full; although whether this was in part because such detail was unusual is impossible to establish. The Kytenians had received endorsement from the Aitolian League and the Dorians to send embassies to 'kindred cities' (τὰς πόλεις τὰς συγγενεῖς) and to the kings descended from Herakles in order to raise funds for the refortification of the city; the ambassadors reached Xanthos on their way to Antiochos III in Syria and Ptolemy IV in Egypt.[702] It can be presumed that this was not the only stop on their journey; the figure of Chrysaor had strong links in both Lykia and Karia, and we can speculate

[699] *Ibid.* ll. 15-6: ὑπαρχούσης συγγενείας ἀπό τε τῶν θεῶν και | τῶν ἡρώων.
[700] Cf. Hom. *Il.* 6. 154-211.
[701] *SEG* 38. 1476, ll. 24-30. Translation C. P. Jones (1999) 61-62.
[702] *Ibid.* ll. 73-76: Ἔδοξε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς | πρεσβείας δόμεν τοῖς Δωριέοις ποτί τε τὰς πόλεις τὰς | συγγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέος Πτόλε- | μαῖον καὶ Ἀντίοχον.

that the Kytenians would also have sought support from members of the Chrysaoric League.[703]

The Xanthians accepted the basis for kinship established by the Kytenians, though they only agreed to contribute a relatively modest sum of five hundred *drachmai* to help with the reconstruction of their city walls.[704] Their decision to inscribe the purported origins of this affiliation raises questions about how to understand claims of kinship made elsewhere in diplomacy. Appeals to *syngeneia* or *oikeiotes* were frequent within interstate relations, and the question of their significance has generated much literature, with opinion varying on whether they were endowed with a legitimating function in interstate relations or were merely a standardised aspect of diplomatic language.[705]

In argument against the latter, it is notable that claims of kinship were not universal, and while the strength of such claims in forging ties is not clear, the invocation of 'kinship' cannot be categorised solely as a formalised part of diplomatic discourse in the ancient world. It has long been noted, for instance, that the Athenians rarely claimed *syngeneia* with non-Ionian states, suggesting that in their case the choice of terminology was significant.[706] It is therefore surprising to find a claim of kinship in a decree between Athens and Kydonia in western Krete; this is the first example of kinship with Athens based on something other than colony status.[707] For a state ordinarily fastidious in the employment of such terminology, it can be suggested that Athens was able to demonstrate a link with the Kretan *polis*. The basis for this affiliation can no longer be established; although N. Papazarkadas and P. Thonemann have tentatively suggested that it could be connected with the common descent through Apollo of Kydon, the eponymous founder of Kydonia, and Ion.[708] In other instances where the claim was left

[703] Jones (1999) 69. For the mythological connections between Karia and Lykia, see above p. 97ff. For comments on the Chrysaoric League, see p.64ff.
[704] Ma (2003) 9, n.1: five hundred drachmai was the equivalent of a year's wages for a teacher in the *gymnasium.* This was 'not enough to make a large dent in the massive cost of fortification building, which was counted in talents (each talent being worth 6,000 *drachmai*).'
[705] Curty (1995); Jones (1999); Erskine (2002); Ma (2003); Patterson (2010).
[706] Jones (1999) 44.
[707] Papazarkadas & Thonemann (2008) 82.
[708] *Ibid.* 85.

unsubstantiated, we should consider that the basis was recognised, even if it is now lost to the modern historian.

In 208 BC the city of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander attempted to upgrade its civic games, the Leukophryena. They sent delegations to a number of states across the Mediterranean seeking international recognition of its *stephanitic* status, and the positive responses of the states were inscribed collectively in the agora.[709] The Magnesians employed various terminology in their dealings with different *poleis*; in some instances συγγενεία was claimed[710], and in others οἰκειότης[711], ὁμογένεια[712], or φίλια[713]; there is a further possible reference to ἀστυ[γείτονες].[714] The Magnesians apparently distinguished between different degrees of familiarity in their dealings with foreign states, and the gradation in terminology seems to have signified something of the nature of the relations realised. The Magnesians were thought to have originally derived from Thessaly, and thus it comes as no surprise to see that Gonnoi in Thessaly was one of the states with whom *syngeneia* was claimed.[715] In other cases, the basis for an affiliation is more surprising; for instance, the Kephallonians are described as *oikeiotatai* of the Magnesians, derived through the *syngeneia* that existed between Kephalos and Magnes; Deion, the father of Kephalos, was the brother of Magnes.[716] In this instance, it is not clear whether we should read anything into the claim of *oikeiotes* rather than *syngeneia*; however, as in the Kytenion delegation, the Magnesian ambassadors had been able to substantiate their claims of an affiliation through recourse to myth.

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[709] *I. Magnesia* 16-87; Rigsby *Asylia* nos. 66-131. Regarding the date, see Rigsby *Asylia* 182; the Seleukid responses (*I. Magnesia* 18 & 19; Rigsby *Asylia* nos. 69 &70) and those of some Attalid cities (*I. Magnesia* 83 & 85-87; Rigsby *Asylia* nos. 128-131) were dated a little later. The Aitolian decree (Rigsby *Asylia* no. 67) dates to 221 BC, and the Magnesians' first attempt; see below.
[710] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 83, l.5; no. 85, l.14; no. 88, l.20; no. 96, l.3; no. 97, l.3; no. 101, l.24; no. 111, l.11; no. 114, l.8; no. 118, l.2; no. 120, l.22; no. 125, l.15.
[711] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 67, ll. 6-7; no. 73, l.8; no. 79, l.4; no. 81, ll.10-11; no. 82, l.2, 5; no. 84, ll.6-7; no. 85, l.13; no. 86, l.3; no. 87, l.7; no. 91, l.4; no. 92, l.5; no. 93, ll.4-5; no. 94, l.5; no. 95, l.20; no. 98, ll.6-7; no. 99, l.3; no. 102, l.11; no. 105, l.3; no. 106, l.2; no. 108, l.5; no. 131, l.5.
[712] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 75, l.25.
[713] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 104, l.2.
[714] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 129, l.3.
[715] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 83, l.5.
[716] *I. Magnesia* 35, ll. 12-15.

The differentiation in terminology indicates a complexity to relations that is now lost to a modern observer, and the claims of *syngeneia* or *oikeiotes* in interstate diplomacy should not be dismissed as insignificant. If the substantiated claim of the Kytenians and Magnesians were typical, it can be proposed that during the course of diplomatic transactions the bases of affiliations, however convoluted, were often established. It was noted above that in the Kretan dossiers from Mylasa and Teos, *syngeneia* was invoked between both cities and various Kretan *poleis*; it can be suggested that such a claim was likely to have been substantiated. This was in part encouraged by the flexibility of ancient mythologies; the multifarious strands of the myths of gods and travelling heroes provided a wide framework within which cities could accommodate their local accounts of the past.[717] The result was not necessarily the 'invention' of traditions, but rather the perpetual potential for renegotiation within the confines of existing mythological traditions; what J. Ma has called an 'interweaving of kinships.'[718]

It is worth clarifying the circumstances in which it was necessary to demonstrate the interconnections of civic mythologies. The Kytenian embassy to Xanthos was motivated by their need to gain financial support, and we can suppose that their efforts to establish kinship between the two communities arose from this need. That does not mean that the subsequent claim of *syngeneia* was without significance, or merely a part of diplomatic formality; it was well researched, and displayed an awareness of local Lykian mythology and history. The Magnesian delegations sought to demonstrate the degrees of affiliation between Magnesia-on-the-Maeander and the cities visited in order to persuade the *poleis* to participate in the Leukophryena. Their envoys also made reference to the historical deeds of the Magnesians to further substantiate their case, including the help they provided to the Delphians against the Gauls (τοὺς | βαρ[β]άρους) in 279 BC[719], and 'the benefit they accomplished for the *koinon* of the Kretans, when they settled their civil war' (τὰν| εὐε[ργ]εσίαν ἃν [συ]νετελέσαντο εἰς τὸ κοινὸ[ν] τῶν Κρηταιέ[ων]

[717] Gehrke (2011) 47.
[718] Ma (2003) 20.
[719] *I. Magnesia* 46, ll. 9-10.

δι[α]λύσαντες τὸν ἐμφύλι|ον πόλεμον).[720] As discussed above, the 'civil war' of the Kretans can probably be identified with the Lyttian War c. 220-219 BC.[721] As part of the delegation to Megalopolis in Arkadia, the Magnesians further referenced the donation they had made in 370 BC to help in the construction of their city walls.[722]

Recourse to historical associations was an important method for a community to secure its reputation and its standing in relation to other states[723]; mythological traditions of a shared past served a 'legitimating function' in interstate diplomacy.[724] But initially it was diplomatic interaction in itself that generated the potential for cultural interchange; the figure of the travelling diplomat was an active agent in the diffusion of local mythologies and histories.[725] Whether particular links were only elaborated within the context of interstate communication does not affect how they were received or their significance in antiquity. The *poleis* of the ancient world regarded the validity of their civic histories as a serious business, and a claim of kinship could aid in forging long-lasting and reciprocal relationships.[726] In the Teian dossier, *syngeneia* was asserted in a number of the decrees recording the delegations sent to the Kretan cities at the end of the third century BC; similarly in the Mylasan texts.[727] The basis for their kinship is nowhere mentioned, although I would argue that it had been developed by the delegates. Diplomatic relations between Teos and Krete then continued into the second century BC, where their *syngeneia* is again

[720] *I. Magnesia* 46, ll. 10-12.
[721] See n. 561.
[722] *I. Magnesia* 38, ll. 22-29.
[723] At the beginning of the second century BC, a territorial dispute between Samos and Priene, regarding a fortress called 'Karion' on the mainland coast, was settled on the basis of civic histories establishing previous ownership of the land (*I. Priene* 37). Rhodes was called upon to act as arbitrator, and the appointed judges analysed seven city histories (disregarding one as inauthentic) to establish the earliest stage of ownership of the land in dispute, before passing judgment in favour of Priene. Cf. Ager *Interstate Arbitrations* no.74, 196-210; Magnetto (2008). See also Schepens (2001) 24; (2011) 61.
[724] Schepens (2001) 24.
[725] Chaniotis (2009a).
[726] Erskine (2002) 104: 'I want to suggest an alternative way of considering it, one which places less emphasis on the kinship claim as a means of directly gaining an objective and looks instead at the way in which kinship changes the nature of the relationship.'
[727] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 139, l. 3; no. 140, ll. 3-4; no. 142, l.3; no. 148, l.3; no. 149, l.2; no. 150, l.2; no. 151, l.2; no. 152, l.3. *Oikeiotata* was also claimed: Rigsby *Asylia* no. 138, l.6; no. 141, ll.6-7; no. 143, l.6.

asserted as part of the second round of delegations.[728] It was also as part of this second embassy that the Teian ambassadors prepared a performance for their Kretan audience, as they sought to garner the goodwill of the Kretan communities. Contact with foreign cities led to a clarification of a city's own civic identity, through examination of how their own traditions corresponded to the wider mythological network of the ancient world.

Mobility through Warfare

The turbulent political struggles that characterised the history of both south western Anatolia and Krete from the fourth century BC through the Hellenistic period further served as a generator of mobility. The travels of mercenaries, particularly those originating from Krete, were considered in the previous section, and as with diplomatic interaction, the implications of their movement extended into the cultural and religious realm. Soldiers serving away from their native land would have carried with them their own sense of cultural identity, and come into contact with foreign practices and rituals. In both directions, the potential for assimilation or interchange was created, with the ramifications most clearly identifiable in the religious realm.[729] Dedications by mercenaries have been identified in sanctuaries across Egypt: a Kretan solider can be traced making a dedication to Pan Euodus at the Paneion of El-Kaneis on the Red Sea[730], while a Ptolemaic officer, again from Krete, made an offering to Pan at Koptos.[731]

It was the private faith of individuals that induced them to engage with foreign cults, or introduce their own. Soldiers serving away from their native land frequently sought to establish contact with the familiar.[732] In a recent article, Z. Archibald has stressed the intrinsic difficulties of travelling for the purposes of employment, whether military or not; it was not the 'norm', and patterns of

[728] Rigsby *Asylia* no. 154, l.8; no. 155, l.3; no. 156, l.3; no. 157, l.3; no. 159, l.3; no. 160, l. 5; no. 161, l.17.
[729] See now Chaniotis (2005) Chapter 8, esp. 149-155.
[730] Bernand (1972) no.13.
[731] Bernand (1987) no. 86. Graffiti of mercenaries have also been found in the oracle of Ammon in Siwa, in Abydos, in the royal graves at Thebes, and in the temple of Isis at Philai (Chaniotis (2005) 151).
[732] Thus dedications were common in sanctuaries of Min, commonly assimilated with Pan: Chaniotis (2005) 151.

behaviour reveal that there were attempts to retain a sense of their local identity.[733] The resulting tendency was for individuals of the same origin to retain a sense of their group identity, based on shared history and experience.[734] The installation of foreign garrisons was a frequent by-product of warfare during the Hellenistic period, presenting the soldiers with an opportunity to recreate conditions they would feel more accustomed to.[735] A number of Egyptian cults were dispersed around the Mediterranean under such circumstances; the cult of Tyche Protogeneia Aienaos (Isis) at Itanos on Krete seems to have been introduced by foreign soldiers[736], while on Thera, cults to Sarapis, Dionysos, and the ruler cult appear after a Ptolemaic garrison was stationed on the island.[737] The appearance of dedications to Zeus Atabyrios, a Rhodian cult, at Loryma in the Hellenistic period also seems to be a consequence of its incorporation into the Rhodian *peraia*, and the stationing of Rhodian officials in the city.[738] A rock-cut sanctuary was located on the eastern tip of the harbour fortress, and an inscribed dedication was made by an officer, καὶ τοὶ συνστρατευσάμεν[οι].[739]

The Kretan mercenaries settled near Myus, who were enrolled as Milesian citizens in the late third/early second century BC, may also have retained an awareness of their island origin.[740] The circumstances in which they came to be in the region are not clear; military activity within south western Anatolia at this time was such that they could have been serving with any number of dynastic forces. But at the time of their settlement, they had left military service and were established in the region. Not all mercenaries would have returned to their native land on being

[733] Archibald (2011) 50-51.
[734] *Ibid.* 51.
[735] Chaniotis (2002) 100.
[736] Philotas from Epidamnos, who was stationed in the Ptolemaic garrison in Itanos made a dedication to Zeus Soter and Tyche Protogeneia. Cf. Spyridakis (1970) 99-102; Chaniotis (2005) 152.
[737] Chaniotis (2005) 152; cf. 153, for the worship of Zeus Soter and Athena Nikephoros, deities associated with Pergamon, at Attalid garrisons in Aigina and Thrace. See Launey (1987) 956.
[738] Held (2010) 364-367.
[739] *I. Rhod. Per.* 2; Bresson *I. Pérée* 185; Held (2003) 2A. The name is not fully preserved:]Σ[...]ΑΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ. Blümel restored Sokrates; Held restored Timaskrates. Cf. *I. Rhod. Per.* 1, 5; Bresson *I. Pérée* 186, 178; Held (2003) 2B, 1. Zeus Atabyrios is also attested at Pisye (*HTC* (2001) no. 26, 129-130), and at the Lykian settlement of Sura (Bean (1962) no. 5, 7-8; Bresson (1999) 105).
[740] See p.130.

discharged from service.[741] When serving abroad, there was always the potential for soldiers to settle on a more permanent basis; whether as part of a group settlement, as at Kretopolis and perhaps at Myus, or on an individual basis. R. Hitchman has noted the frequency of names that have strong connections with Karia amongst the Kretan settlers and their families at Myus; he has proposed that this was an indicator of the intermarriage of the Kretan settlers with local women.[742] It seems probable that these Kretans had been resident in the region for some time 'unofficially' (that is before becoming citizens), and had already established personal ties and families within Anatolia.[743]

The potential for mobility through warfare was not unique to the Hellenistic period, but the conquests of Alexander, and the subsequent struggles of the Diadochoi, witnessed a renewed intensity of military engagements and the multiplication of such opportunities.[744] The Hellenistic kings required a standing army, and the enlarged horizons of their kingdoms created the potential for service abroad on a more permanent basis. New dynastic foundations frequently involved the recruitment of settlers, and so generated migration. Within Karia, Stratonikeia was founded at some point in the third century BC, and is described by Strabo as 'a settlement of Makedonians', although the new *polis* incorporated a number of pre-existing communities in the vicinity.[745] While the numbers involved in this foundation are not known, the Makedonian element was likely to have integrated with the local population to some degree, and Stratonikeia is known to have

[741] An Athenian inscription, dated to 283/2 BC, honoured a certain Philippides, son of Philokles, who had at one time served at the court of Lysimachos (*IG* 22. 657); after the battle of Ipsos in 301 BC, a number of Athenians who had been serving on the losing side had been taken prisoner, and Philippides petitioned Lysimachos on their behalf. He made arrangements for them to join other regiments, or, for those who wanted to be released from service 'he supplied them with clothes and gave them what they needed for travel' (ll. 23-25); according to the text, there were more than 300 men that Philippides equipped in such a fashion, and he 'sent them away where each of them in fact wanted to go' (ll. 25-26). It is by no means clear whether they returned to Athens, and the possibility was created for them to settle in Asia. Cf. Oliver (2007) 92-4; (2011) 349-51.

[742] Hitchman (2010): he points to the appearance of possibly Karian names among the women named in the Milesian inscriptions, including Ἀβάς, Ἄρτεμις, Ἀρτεμισία, Μηνιάς, Μητροδώρα and Νάννιον. He also connects the appearance of Karian names on Krete with Milesian emigrants who returned to Krete (53-58).

[743] *Ibid.* 51-52.

[744] Chaniotis (2002) 100; the presence of mercenaries of different origins in the garrisons of the Hellenistic period was a significant difference from the Classical period.

[745] Strab. 14. 2. 25.

participated in the Chrysaoric League. That does not mean that an awareness of their foreign origin was lost, and we can speculate that the group settlement of Makedonians in Karia would have introduced Makedonian customs and rituals.

A group of tomb inscriptions from Mylasa, published by W. Blümel in 2004, recorded the burial of individuals of foreign origin in the region: Aristeas and Dionysios from Achaia, Perdikkas from Epeiros, and an unknown individual from Ainos in western Thessaly.[746] Based both on their script and the types of monument, they are thought to date to the late fourth/early third century BC.[747] The circumstances in which these individuals found themselves in Karia are not known, although within this historical context their enlistment as mercenaries is a plausible scenario; perhaps as part of Alexander's campaign, or in the army of Asandros, who ruled over Karia in the wake of his campaign (323-313/12 BC).[748] It is not possible to establish whether the presence of these individuals in the region was temporary, or whether they were settled in Karia for a period before their deaths. J.-M. Carbon has related the presence of Makedonians in the vicinity to the existence of ἡ φρατρία τῶν Δαρρωνιστων, attested in an inscription from Mylasa dated to the late fourth century BC[749], which seems to have been centred on the cult of the little known Makedonian deity Δαρρων.[750]

Individuals travelling abroad on military endeavours, whether on a temporary or more permanent basis, could transmit their native rituals into a new environment, and introduce foreign cults or rituals on return to their homeland. The cult of Isis at Gortyn on Krete seems to have been introduced by the Kretan mercenary Pyroos, who had been active on Cyprus in 155/4 BC, and made a dedication to the deity on his return.[751] The transmission of the cult of Zeus Atabyrios into south western Asia Minor may have been linked with the presence of Rhodian troops, though that does

[746] Blümel (2004) nos. 34-37.
[747] Rumscheid in Blümel (2004) has further reflected that the monuments were of a regional form, with parallels found on Rhodes (23).
[748] Carbon (2005) 4.
[749] Blümel (2004) no. 20.
[750] Carbon (2005) 1. Cf. Heschyius s.v. Δαρρων. The associated name in the inscription, Δημοκρίτη, is also uncommon in Asia Minor, strengthening further the suggestion that the association was foreign. The description of the organisation as a *phratry* is unusual within Karia; see comments of Carbon (2005) 3. See also Wörrle (2003a) 126-128.
[751] Chaniotis (2005) 15.

not mean that it was not also practised more widely among the civilian population of the region. A dedication to the deity has been discovered at the inland site of Pisye, part of the Rhodian 'subject' *peraia*; while practice of the cult could indicate the presence of Rhodians, the assimilation of the cult by the communities under Rhodian dominion is a possibility. Certainly, the spread of the Egyptian cults of Isis and Sarapis across the ancient world, particularly during the Hellenistic period, indicated the broader reception of these ostensibly 'foreign' deities in the *poleis* concerned.[752]

What is marked in the travels of both soldiers and diplomats is the role of the individual in cultural interaction; while they may have travelled in an official capacity, it was how they personally conducted themselves in, and related to, a foreign environment that created the potential for interchange. Cultural exchange was to a large extent dependent on private initiative, both in the adoption of new practices, but also in their transmission and reception within a new context. [753]

Interaction and Interchange

In the third century BC, Euromos awarded *proxenia* to the Kretan Euthybios[754]; he was granted *isopoliteia* (ll. 6-7), the right to own land and a home in Euromos (l. 7), and the right to partake in the sacrifices of the city (l. 8). He was also enrolled in a *phyle* (ll. 9-10), and these privileges were extended to his descendants. As is frequent in the epigraphic record, the honours are recorded in full, but there are no indications as to why he came to the region initially. Euromos was a small *polis* with no ready access to the coast, and there are no obvious commercial links; he could have been there in a military capacity, although this has to remain speculation.[755] It is not known whether Euthybios availed himself of the honours bestowed, yet the possibility was created for him to settle at Euromos as a citizen. The patterns of mobility revealed by awards of *proxenia* may often have been short-

[752] An inscription from Priene preserved a decree concerning the priesthood of 'Sarapis, Isis and the gods with them', including Apis: *I. Priene* 151, ll. 20-21. These Egyptian cults were incorporated into the religious life of Priene, although it is notable that they preserved their Egyptian character, and it is specified that the priest would provide an Egyptian who would 'help to perform the sacrifice expertly.' The text continues, ll. 22-23, 'it is forbidden for anyone else to perform the sacrifice for the goddess without expertise, except for the priest.' Cf. Graf (2010a) 66-67.
[753] Chaniotis (2005) 153.
[754] Errington (1993) n. 2.
[755] See below, p. 167ff.

term; but this was not always the case, and in some instances *proxenoi* moved more permanently away from their native land.[756]

As discussed above, grants of *isopoliteia* were frequent in *proxenia* decrees, and effectively gave the individuals concerned citizenship in the granting state[757]; straight grants of *politeia* were also made as part of the process of naturalisation. The Kretan mercenaries enrolled as citizens at Miletos may be remarkable for the numbers involved, but such a group grant of *politeia* can be paralleled in other documents. A decree from Dyme in Achaia granted citizenship to fifty two men, for their contribution to the defense of the city[758]; in other instances, grants of citizenship were made after a *dokimasia*, as at Phalanna in Thessaly in the second half of the third century BC.[759] In the Milesian case, it seems that the mercenaries had already been settled in the region for a period before their enfranchisement[760], and the inscriptions from Dyme and Phalanna have also been interpreted as the legitimation of individuals already resident in the region.[761] Cases of multiple citizenships also became increasingly frequent during the Hellenistic period. An inscription from Ephesos, dated to the second century BC, records the award of citizenship to a certain Athenodoros son of Semon; he had won the boys' boxing contest at the Nemean games, and subsequently the Ephesians voted that he was 'to be an Ephesian, as he was proclaimed in the contest.'[762] It is not known where Athenodoros originated, yet he is described as 'dwelling in Ephesos.'[763] It seems that the official grant of citizenship was made after Athenodoros had declared himself to be an Ephesian at the games; the Ephesians likely endorsed his claim due to the glory that his athletic victory bestowed upon the city.

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[756] See n. 637.
[757] See n. 636.
[758] *Achaie* 3, 4.
[759] *IG* 9. 2. 1228. F. Marchand (2010) has recently readdressed the list of names in *IG* 7. 2433 from Thebes, including individuals identified as 'Philippeis.' Feyel (1942) believed that the inscription listed grants of citizenships, and attributed the erasures to the process of *dokimasia.* Marchand proposes that the Philippeis originated from the Karian city of Euromos, which was renamed after Philip V at the end of the third century BC, and that they were mercenaries; she is more cautious about what honour was being bestowed, although citizenship remains one option.
[760] See p. 146.
[761] Marchand (2010) 341-2.
[762] *I. Ephesos* 1415.
[763] *I. Ephesos* 1415, ll. 2-3.

Dual citizenship among victors can be paralleled elsewhere, as in the case of the tragic poet Asklepiades, son of Ikesios, who was named as a Theban in the list of victors at the Sarapeia of Tanagra, but was listed as an Athenian during the prize giving ceremony.[764] Similarly, Metrodoros, son of Dionysios, is listed as a Smyrnaian for his second place in the *kithara* contest at the same Sarapaia, while in the lists of victors at the Amphiaraia at Oropos he is named as a Nikomedian.[765] Whatever the circumstances surrounding such fluctuating civic allegiances[766], these men must have possessed *politeia* in both cities; at the least they must have had a degree of familiarity with the community concerned, as was the case with Athenodoros and Ephesos.

Itinerant athletes, poets, musicians and artisans all found employment away from their native lands, whether permanent or temporary; the trade in slaves further stimulated the movement of individuals, albeit forced. The reputations of 'specialised' professionals, such as doctors, also spread beyond their *polis,* encouraging their mobility within regional networks. In the fourth century BC, it is recorded that the Koan doctor Dexippos was employed by Hekatomnos to cure his sons Maussollos and Pixodaros[767]; while during the third century BC another doctor from Kos, Hermias is attested both on Krete and at Halikarnassos.[768]

Individuals also sought advancement through employment within Hellenistic royal bureaucracy; Zenon of Kaunos moved to Egypt in the third century BC and served as secretary of Apollonios, the finance minister to Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III. Zenon's predecessor Panakestor was a Karian from Kalynda[769], while Zenon's brothers were also employed in his circle[770]; it has been suggested that Apollonios

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[764] *SEG* 25. 501 l. 12; 18.
[765] *SEG* 25. 501 ll. 30-31; *IG* 7. 419, l.22. Strasser (2004) 152-153: see also the case of Gnaios Ponpeios Zosimos, who is described as Κορίνθιος ὁ καὶ Θεσπιεύς (*BCH* 19 (1895) 341, no. 16, ll. 13-14; Roesch *I. Thesp.* 177).
[766] Strasser (2004) 152, suggests that Asklepiades chose to be named as a Theban in the awards ceremony due to the proximity of Tanagra to Thebes.
[767] Suda δ 238 (Adler), s.v. Δέξιππος.
[768] Krete (Gortyn: *IC* 4. 168; Knossos: *IC* 1. 8, 7); Halikarnassos: *Iscr. di Cos* ED 132. Cf. Chaniotis (2005) 97. Another Koan, called Dion, was honoured by the Plataseis in the late fourth century BC (*I. Labraunda* 42). Cf. Benedum (1977), concerning honorary inscriptions for doctors discovered on Kos, and the discussion of Robert (1989).
[769] *PSI* 509.
[770] *P. Lond.* VII 2033; *P.Cair.Zen*. 59341 b & c. Wörrle (1977) 643-65.

himself may have originally come from Karia.[771] During his time in Egypt, Zenon maintained connections with his native town, and one letter in the archive records an appeal made by three Kaunians to Zenon, asking for his advocacy in approaching Apollonios.[772] Such opportunities were not unique to the Hellenistic period; in the fourth century BC, Nearchos the Kretan served under Alexander[773], while the presence of Olophernes the Persian on Kos also seems to be related to his employment by the Hekatomnid satrapy.[774]

It has already been noted that the effects of the mobility of individuals can most clearly be traced in the religious realm; the cult organisation at Mylasa named after the Makedonian deity Darron was discussed above, and is one of a number of fragments of evidence that suggest the presence of foreigners in the region. The cult of a 'Kretan-born Zeus', which is attested in Karia during the Hellenistic period, will be discussed below, but there is another association, τῶν Δικτυνναιστῶν, epigraphically attested at Mylasa that also reveals Kretan influence.[775] It is evidently named after the minor Kretan deity Diktynna. The inscription is fragmentary, and it is not known what form of organisation this was; it has long been noted that the names of private associations, often in the form of *koina*, frequently ended in -ασταί or -ισταί[776], and one option is that we are dealing with a religious association dedicated to Diktynna.[777] However, its religious character cannot be assured, as other private associations in the ancient world were named after deities without necessarily being of religious character.[778] While it is difficult to form any definitive conclusions about the origins and character of the Δικτυνναισταί at Mylasa, the decision to name the association after a characteristically Kretan deity indicates Kretan influence. It is probable that this was motivated by interaction between Mylasa and the communities of Krete, or even the possible settlement of Kretans in the vicinity.

[771] Wörrle (1977) 63; cf. Edgar (1931) 16. See also Clarysse (1980) 105-106.
[772] *P.Col.Zen.* 1. 11(= Bagnall & Derow no.89).
[773] See n. 658.
[774] Hornblower (1982) 134; Robert (1963) 516, n.1.
[775] *I. Mylasa* 179.
[776] Robert (1967) 12; Carbon (2005) 1. Cf. Gabrielsen (2007). See also Parker (1996) 334-336 on the private religious associations of Athens.
[777] The date of the text is not known, although the inscription on the same stone of Tib. Tullus might suggest an Imperial date (*I. Mylasa* 418). Cf. Carbon (2005) 3, n.16.
[778] Gabrielsen (2007) 187.

Carbon suggested that the *phratry* named after Darron was related to the influx of Makedonians in the region in the fourth century BC[779]; the association dedicated to Diktynna at Mylasa could likewise reflect the presence of Kretans in the city.

'Native' Identities in a Foreign Land

The potential for cult transfer would particularly be expected in group settlements; cults and rituals were an intrinsic part of a communal identity, and would be central in retaining a conception of this identity away from home. When the citizens of Myus were forced to vacate their city due to the silting of the Maeander sometime around the first century AD, Pausanias wrote that they went to Miletos, 'carrying with them everything movable and the statues of the gods.' Myus was subsequently integrated into the territory of Miletos, yet it seems that their civic cults were transported with them as part of the process of preserving their distinct civic identity.[780]

The Karian cult of Zeus Labraundos also became entwined with the notion of a regional identity, and the significance of the cult extended beyond the communities of Labraunda and Mylasa.[781] A series of dedications to Zeus Labraundos found at Miletos, dated to the late Hellenistic and Roman period, are best attributed to the presence of 'Karians' in the city.[782] The mobility of Zeus Labraundos extended beyond the confines of south western Anatolia; an inscription from Athens, dated to 298/7 BC, attests to the presence of a cult of this Zeus in the city.[783] The only known practitioner of the cult was Menis son of Mnesitheos from Herakleia, and our knowledge of its existence is limited to this one inscription. The cult seems to be the

[779] See n. 750.
[780] Paus. 7. 2. 11. See now Strab. 14. 1. 10: Myus 'has now become one political community with the Milesians through shortage of men.' Cf. Mackil (2004) 497. Myus was a member of the Ionian *koinon* and thus retained its vote after its incorporation into Miletos. The foundation of the Phokaian colony of Massalia also involved the transfer of deities from the Anatolian homeland; thus temples were built to Artemis Ephesia and Apollo Delphinios (Strab. 4. 1. 4.). This form of the cult of Artemis subsequently travelled to the colonies of Massalia, including Rhodion and Emporion (Strab. 3. 4. 8.). See Malkin (2011) 197-204.
[781] Dedications to Zeus Labraundos have been found at Halikarnassos (*GIBM* 904), Herakleia on the Latmos (*CIG* 2896), Stratonikeia (*I. Stratonikeia* 813; 1109) and Aphrodisias (*CIG* 2750). This could perhaps be the legacy of Hekatomnid patronage at Labraunda, and their employment of an image of the deity on their coinage.
[782] *Milet* 1. 7, 275; 276, 277.
[783] *IG* 2^2 1271.

private initiative of an individual. A cult of Zeus Labraundos is also attested in Egypt during the Hellenistic period in a letter in the Zenon archive. It records that 120 *arourai* had been allotted to Zeus Labraundaios (Διὶ Λαβραυνδαίωι). The possession of land in the name of the deity suggests the existence of an altar or a sanctuary to the deity.[784]

Settlers away from their homeland would retain something of their group identity, and the cult of Zeus Labraundaios may be the mark of Karians resident in the area.[785] A Karian presence in Egypt was established during the archaic period; inscriptions in the Karian language attest to the presence of Karians, most probably mercenaries, while Herodotos recorded the settlement of Karians at Memphis.[786] The available evidence suggests that the Egyptian cult of Zeus Labraundaios was probably a consequence of the renewed Karian presence in Egypt during the Hellenistic period, rather than a continuation from the Archaic period. Zenon was only one of many Karians that had migrated to Egypt and found employment in the Ptolemaic court.[787] The cult is likely a demonstration of native, or civic, allegiance; though it is possible that a group of people remained in Egypt who retained some awareness of the earlier Karian connections with Egypt, and traced their history to Karia.[788]

The introduction of the cult of the Thracian deity Bendis in Athens was connected with the presence of Thracians, and their participation in the religious life of the city.[789] The evidence for this cult derives from the fifth to the second centuries BC, and indicates that the Thracian population remained distinct within Athens throughout this period. In the second half of the fifth century BC, an inscription records a decree awarding the Thracians the right to own land in Athens, and thus participate in *polis* life, albeit not as citizens.[790] In a similar vein, an inscription dated to 333/332 BC decreed that a group of merchants from Kition in Cyprus (τοῖς

[784] *P. Mich. Zen*. 35, 6 (=Edgar (1931) no.31).
[785] The establishment of the Hellenion at Naukratis reflects such an attempt by the Greeks in the archaic period; Hdt. 2. 178.
[786] See n. 27.
[787] Clarysse (1980) 105-106; see p. 150.
[788] See the section of the population at Memphis called *Karomemphitai*; p.57.
[789] Simms (1988); Parker (1996) 170-175; 337-338. The earliest reference to Bendis dates to 429/8 BC, when Bendis appears in the accounts of the Treasurers of the Other Gods (*IG* 1^3 383, l.208).
[790] *IG* 2^2 1283.

ἐμπόροις τῶν Κιτιέων ἔνκτησι[ν]) were permitted the right to own land, and cites a similar grant previously made to a group of Egyptians.[791] In both cases it can be speculated that the people involved were resident in Athens before the privilege was granted, and had organised themselves into associations. Their settlement had wider religious repercussions[792]: the Kitians were purchasing land to establish a sanctuary (τὸ ἱερὸν) to their Aphrodite, 'as the Egyptians established a sanctuary for Isis,'[793] while the festival associated with the Thracian cult of Bendis, the *Bendideia*, was also incorporated into the Athenian religious calendar and celebrated by Thracians and Athenians alike.[794]

The existence of 'foreign' cults within a *polis* was primarily indicative of a foreign presence in the community, and the principal adherents of such cults seem to have been those for whom the cult was 'native.' Thus in the case of Zeus Labraundos at Athens, the only known adherent was a Karian.[795] In this context, Herodotos' comment on the family of Isagoras in Athens is of interest: he was 'a man of notable house but his lineage I cannot say'; he qualified this with the curious statement that 'his kinsfolk, at any rate, sacrifice to Zeus Karios' (Διὶ Καρίῳ).[796] Unfortunately the character and rituals of this cult, and in particular what made it distinctively 'Karian', are not known. It is also not clear what Herodotos intended to infer about Isagoras' origins, but the implication is that his ancestors had at some point come into contact with the Karian cult, whether they themselves originated from Karia, had established relations with communities there, or come into contact with Karians travelling abroad. In many cases such cults appear to have had a limited duration, and were not broadly incorporated into civic institutions; however, that does not mean that they had no impact on the citizen population. In the cult of Bendis at Athens, the practitioners included citizen members, even though they seem to have constituted a separate group.[797]

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[791] *IG* 2^2 337, ll. 39-40.
[792] Cf. Gabrielsen (2007) esp. 192, for comments on non-public associations.
[793] *IG* 2^2 337, ll. 38-45.
[794] *IG* 1^3 136. Cf. Parker (1996) 335.
[795] See n. 783.
[796] Hdt. 5. 66.
[797] *IG* 1^3 136; Plato, *Rep.* 327A: 'The procession of the natives appeared fine to me, but not less distinguished appeared that which the Thracians sent.'

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During the Hellenistic period, individuals from Krete came into contact with certain communities in the region of Karia: Mylasa, Euromos, Miletos, and Myus. Interaction took place within, although was not limited to, the diplomatic, military and commercial realms. In the study of cultural interaction it is the role of human agency and the individual that should be emphasised; it was how itinerant individuals communicated with and responded to a foreign environment, or how a 'native' population received foreigners, that dictated cultural transfer and interchange. The mechanisms of cultural and religious interaction in antiquity were intertwined with the wider mechanisms of movement in the Mediterranean, and the potential diversity of religious life within the *polis* was vast as a consequence of mobility. I will now consider the question of religious interchange as a by-product of interaction in the case of the cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus, which is attested in Karia during the Hellenistic period.

A 'Kretan-born' Zeus in Karia

A cult of Zeus Kretagenes/Kretagenetas is attested in three cities in Karia in the third and second centuries BC: at Mylasa, Amyzon, and Euromos (see Map 2).[798] While the 'Kretan' character of the deity is patent, the exact nature of the cult is hard to establish: the associated priesthoods are only known from the epigraphic record, and there are no indications as to how the cult was celebrated or the iconography associated with it. However, while our evidence is scant, it is possible to say more about the cult than the fact of its existence. Principally we know that we are dealing with two variants of the cult: at Amyzon we find a cult to Zeus Kretagenetas and Diktynna, while at Mylasa the cult is to Zeus Kretagenes and the Kouretes; the full title of the cult at Euromos is not known.[799] It is not the intention to award these two relatively minor cults a disproportionate significance amid the complex religious

[798] *I. Mylasa* 102, 107, 806; *Amyzon* nos. 14 & 15 (=Ma (2000) nos. 9 & 10); Errington (1993) no. 5 (= Ma (2000) no. 30).
[799] See p.158; Appendix 3.

landscape of Karia, but the unusual character of the cults should not be overlooked. No exact parallel for either cult is found on Krete (or elsewhere) which suggests that they were not direct imports from the island.[800] Yet, it is the notion that they *were* Kretan that is central: their supposedly non-Karian origins are stressed. While the tradition affiliating the Karians with Krete predated the Hellenistic period, I will explore why a cult of Zeus Kretagenes/Kretagenetas was practised within this historical context, and whether it was related to the presence of Kretans in the communities concerned.

The Evidence

At the end of the third century BC, the holder of the priesthood of Zeus Kretagenetas and Diktynna was included in the Seleukid dating formula used in the civic decrees of the city of Amyzon (Map 2). A decree dated to October-November 202 BC, in honour of Chionis the governor of Alinda, began:

> βασιλευόντων Ἀντιόχου Μεγάλου καὶ Ἀντιόχ[ου τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἔτους]
> ἑν[δ]εκάτου καὶ ἑκατο[σ]τοῦ, μηνὸς Δίου, ἐπὶ ἀρχιε[ρέως Νικάνορος, τοῦ]
> δὲ Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγενέτα καὶ Δικτύννης Τιμαί[ου], ὡς [δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἄ]-
> γει ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος, μηνὸς [Θεσ]μοφοριῶνος·
>
> *When Antiochos the great and Antiochos [the son] were kings, in the hundred and eleventh year in the month of Dios, in the high priesthood [of Nikanor] and under the tenure of Timaios as priest of Zeus Kretagenetas and Diktynna, and within the city in the tenure of Apollo as stephanophoros, in the month of Thesmophorion.*[801]

The second extant decree, dated to November-December 201 BC, employed a similar formula; Antiochos III and his son being kings, Nikanor as high priest, and an unknown individual as priest of Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγενέτα καὶ Δικτύννης.[802]

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[800] The earliest attestation on Krete is from Lisos, where a reference is made to τὸν Δία τὸν Κρηταγενῆ (*IC* 2. 17. 1) as part of an oath. It is dated to the first half of the third century BC by a reference to an alliance with Magas of Kyrene (c. 276-250 BC). References to Zeus Kretagenes on Krete were frequent in oaths (*SEG* 26. 1049, l. 82; *IC* 1. 16. 5, l. 177), but that does not necessarily imply a specific cult.

[801] Robert & Robert *Amyzon* no. 14 (= Ma (2000) no. 9, plus translation).

[802] Robert & Robert *Amyzon* no. 15 (= Ma (2000) no. 10, plus translation): [βασιλε]υόντων Ἀντιόχου Μεγάλου κ[αὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἔτους] | [δω]δεκάτου καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ, μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίο[υ· ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως —] | [..]ορος, τοῦ δὲ Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγενέτα καὶ Δικτύννης [. . . . . , ὡς δὲ] | [ὁ δ]ῆμος ἄγει ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου θεοῦ δευτέρου καὶ ἱερέως τ[ῶν βασι]|[λ]έων Ἰάσονος τοῦ Βαλά<γ>ρου.

The employment of the official royal dating formula indicates that the city was under Seleukid control at that time. Another inscription, thought to be of a similar date, attests to the stationing of troops in the city; honours were voted to a group of soldiers and their officer, and the troops were commended for their discipline and goodwill.[803]

Antiochos III was attempting to reconquer Karia in the latter part of the third century BC, and his campaign involved the occupation of cities in the region. His influence can also be detected at Euromos, which is another of the cities in which the cult is attested. The fragmentary reference to the priest of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus formed part of a decree describing the election process of civic officials in Euromos (Appendix 3): three elected *kosmoi* were entrusted with 'all matters related to the agreement pertaining to the alliance contracted through Zeuxis with the Great King Antiochos.'[804] The alliance referred to in the text is preserved in another inscription, dated 'in the hundred and fifteenth year, in the month of Gorpiaios' (August/September 197 BC), recording an agreement between Zeuxis and the envoys of the Philippeis.[805] It is known that Philip V garrisoned Euromos during his campaign of 201 BC, and the mention of the Philippeis indicates that he also changed the name of the city. After Philip's defeat at Kynoskephalai in 197 BC, Antiochos III forged an alliance with Euromos, perhaps in an attempt to secure Seleukid influence.[806]

The 'Kretan' character of these processes at Euromos is significant, extending beyond the cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus to the office of the *kosmos*; the *kosmoi* were distinctively Kretan, and served as the primary civic magistrate on the island from an early date.[807] The exact procedure by which the *kosmoi* were elected on Krete is not known, and thus it is not possible to gauge whether the process of election as prescribed at Euromos (to elect the *kosmoi* from each tribe in turn)

[803] Robert & Robert *Amyzon* no. 19 (= Ma (2000) no. 13); the text also makes reference to the besieging of the city, and the soldiers bringing this to an end 'in defense of the affairs of the king.'
[804] Errington (1993) no. 5 (= Ma (2000) no. 30), ll. 7-8.
[805] Errington (1986) (= Ma (2000) no. 29).
[806] Cf. Plb. 18. 47; Liv. 33. 34. 3.
[807] Meiggs & Lewis 2: Inscription from Dreros on Krete, dating to the seventh century BC, recorded the regulation of the office of *kosmos*.

imitated the Kretan office in form as well as in name.[808] The responsibilities of the *kosmoi* were stipulated in the inscription, and Ph. Gauthier has noted that they mirrored those of the *strategoi* in other communities in western Anatolia[809]:

> '*to entrust to the kosmoi all matters concerning the security of the city and the territory, and to hand over the keys to them, and to entrust to them the case of the forts and the business concerning military expeditions*.'[810]

It is clear that the magistracy of the *kosmos* was to be pre-eminent at Euromos, subordinate to no other official body except the boule. In this regard, the high status of the office at Euromos mirrored that on Krete; even if the precise responsibilities were not exactly the same, Euromos was consciously evoking the civic body of Kretan communities.

The full title of the priesthood of the 'Kretan-born' Zeus at Euromos remains unknown; only [ἱερέ]α τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγενε[is preserved.[811] The reference to the 'alliance contracted through Zeuxis' with Antiochos III led R. M. Errington to draw a parallel with the cult at Amyzon, and restore the title as Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγενέτα καὶ Δικτύννης.[812] This is one plausible reconstruction; however, as noted above, another priesthood of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus is attested at the city of Mylasa, and in three inscriptions we find reference to ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κρηταγενοῦς καὶ Κουρήτων.[813] The exact date of the Mylasan inscriptions is not known; based on letter forms we can roughly assign a date in the first half of the second century BC[814], although this does not cast light on the origins of the cult. The inscription at Euromos may therefore equally be restored as [ἱερέ]α τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ

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[808] Aristotle (*Pol.* 1272a, 33-34) wrote that the *kosmoi* were not elected from all the citizens, but from certain clans (ἐκ τινῶν γενῶν); however this is not supported by the epigraphic evidence. Cf. Spyridakis (1992) 149-51.
[809] Gauthier *BE* (1995) no. 525. Cf. Fabiani (2010) 474-5.
[810] Errington (1993) no. 5 (=Ma (2000) no. 30), ll. 3-6. See Appendix 3. Cf. *I. Iasos* 4, ll. 68-70: γέγονεν καὶ φύλαξ αγη[— οἱ στρατηγοὶ]|οἱ ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς [παραδιδότωσαν καθ' ἕκασ]|τον ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς κλεῖδας η[–.
[811] Errington (1993) no.5. ll. 18-19.
[812] Errington (1993) no. 5.
[813] *I. Mylasa* 102, l.9; 107, l.1; 806, l.8.
[814] Blümel (*I. Mylasa* 102, p.26; 107, p. 31) favours a slightly later date, in the second half of the second century/early first century BC. However, the occurrence of straight bar alphas suggests an earlier date. See the discussion on dating by letter forms in inscriptions from Mylasa, p.111ff.

Κρηταγε[νοῦς καὶ Κουρήτων] in accordance with the Mylasan, rather than the Amyzonian cult.

The epigraphic attestations for the cult of Zeus Kretagenes and the Kouretes do not link it with a specific community in the vicinity of Mylasa. One instance is a decree of the Mylasan tribe, the Otorkondeis, where a holder of the priesthood is *stephanophoros* and is named in the introductory dating formula.[815] Another instance is a document detailing the sale of Olymian land, where a certain Hermias is listed as priest Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγενοῦς καὶ Κουρήτων.[816] Olymos was another community in the region that underwent *sympoliteia* with Mylasa at some point in the second century BC.[817] Interestingly, the third testimony for the cult of Zeus Kretagenes and the Kouretes is in an honorific decree for a certain Moschion, holder of the priesthood, for his assistance in a dispute between Euromos and Herakleia-by-Latmos.[818] In this text, the Euromeis are also described as συμπολιτευομένων ('fellow-citizens') of the Mylasans, indicating that the two communities had entered into a *sympoliteia* by this time. The proximity of Euromos to Mylasa (Euromos is located c. 12km to the north west of Mylasa over easy terrain) and the joining of their civic bodies at some point in the second century BC, may also have resulted in common cults[819]; thus the cult at Euromos can plausibly be reconstructed as that of Zeus Kretagenes and the Kouretes.

Dynastic Influence vs. Local Dynamics

At present this is the sum of our evidence for the cult of Zeus Kretagenes/Kretagenetas in Karia. The arguments in favour of associating the cult at Euromos with that at Amyzon are largely dependent on the interpretation of the cult as a Seleukid initiative; as the influence of Antiochos III is attested at both Amyzon and Euromos, the cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus must also be the same. Scholarly interpretations of the cult to date have consequently emphasised the role of Antiochos III in its introduction. While Louis and Jeanne Robert regarded the cult as

[815] *I. Mylasa* 107, l. 1.
[816] *I. Mylasa* 806, l. 8.
[817] See p.132f.
[818] *I. Mylasa* 102.
[819] See Map 3.

local, they focused on the question of why Antiochos III would have chosen an ostensibly Kretan deity as the official cult of Amyzon.[820] J. Ma too interprets the Amyzonian cult as Seleukid, and as an example of 'the imposition of various forms of Seleukid state power' after conquest.'[821] He posits that the attestations of a Kretan-born Zeus from Euromos and Mylasa are 'evidence for the effect royal power, or simply the proximity of royal institutions, could have within a formally 'free' city.'[822]

The cult has received more thorough attention over the last decade in two articles; the first by A. Mastrocinque (2002), the second by I. Savalli-Lestrade (2010). Mastrocinque's interpretation is based on the notion that the cult was a Seleukid introduction at Amyzon, with its subsequent spread in Karia a declaration of loyalty to Antiochos III by the communities concerned.[823] He proceeded to explore why the Seleukid dynasts would have moulded a Zeus in a 'Kretan' form.[824] In particular, he drew attention to a tradition associating the region of Bottiaia in Makedonia with the island of Krete, which can be dated at least to the fourth century BC and to the work of Aristotle.[825] The basic tenets of the tradition claimed that settlers from Krete had formed communities in south Italy, before migrating to the area later to be identified as Makedonia. A perceived affiliation between the Seleukids and the Kretans could therefore have been fostered through the foundation mythology of Bottiaia. In support of this, Mastrocinque cited the cult of Zeus

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[820] Robert & Robert (1983) 166:'*Mais il reste à savoir pourquoi Antiochos III, dans sa conquête de la Carie occidentale, a choisi de prendre ces divinités pour leur donner un grand-prêtre particulier, transformant un culte local en un culte official royale, les divinités venant après le culte du roi lui-même.'*

[821] Ma (2000) 67.

[822] *Ibid.* 164.

[823] Mastrocinque (2002) 356-358.

[824] *Ibid.* 358-362.

[825] *Ibid.* 358ff. Plut. *Thes.* 16. 1, after Aristotle's 'Constitution of the Bottiaia'; he associates their origins with the tale of the Athenian youths imprisoned by Minos in the labyrinth: *'And he says that the Kretans once, in fulfilment of an ancient vow, sent an offering of their first-born to Delphi, and that some descendants of those Athenians were among the victims, and went forth with them… they first crossed over into Italy and dwelt in that country round about Iapygia, and from there journeyed again into Thrace and were called Bottiaians.'* Translation B. Perrin (Loeb). Cf. Strab. 6. 3. 2; the Kretans 'who sailed with Minos to Sicily' were driven off course on their return journey to Krete, and settled at Taras, 'although later some of them went afoot round the Adrias as far as Makedonia and were called Bottiaians'; Konon *FGrH* 26 F1 25.

Bottiaios, which was said to have been founded at Antioch by the Seleukids as evidence for the perceived affiliation between the Seleukids and the Bottiaians.[826]

But the relationship of the Makedonians, and specifically the Seleukids, to the Bottiaians is not secure. While the land around Pella was once occupied by the Bottiaians[827], according to Thucydides they were expelled by the Makedonians under Alexander I to the Chalkidike.[828] It cannot be presumed that the Seleukids regarded themselves as affiliated with the previous inhabitants of Makedonia. Furthermore, the evidence for the cult of Zeus Bottiaios derives from much later sources; Libanius writing in the fourth century AD, and John Malalas writing in the sixth century AD. A later tradition alluding to the Bottiaian origins of the Seleukids cannot be transposed back without query, and crucially there is no evidence from Makedonia that a cult of Zeus Bottiaios existed there. The equation between Zeus Bottiaios and a 'Kretan' Zeus is far from secure, primarily substantiated on the involvement of Kretans in the settlement of Antioch. It is also founded on the notion of a 'Kretan Zeus' as a primordial deity, youthful in character, and distinct from other cults of Zeus in antiquity.[829]

In the first instance, Kretans were not the only population group involved in the settlement of Antioch, but were settled with Argives and the 'descendants of Herakles[830]; when Antiochos III later expanded the city, the settlers again included Kretans alongside Euboians and Aitolians.[831] The inclusion of individuals from Krete among these settlers is best explained by the mobility of Kretans during the Hellenistic period, which, as discussed above, was encouraged by the social

[826] Lib. *Or.* 11. 88 (fourth century AD); Seleukos I chose the site for the city of Antioch after following the eagle of Zeus to the site: '*The eagle, descending there, placed the offerings on the shrine of Zeus Bottiaios, which had been founded by Alexander.'* Translation G. Downey. John Malalas 8. 13 (sixth century AD): Seleukos I founded Antioch on the site of a village called Bottia, and 'immediately built a temple which he called that of Zeus Bottios.'

[827] Strab. 7. 11-12. The Makedonian capital Pella belonged to 'Lower Makedonia, which the Bottiaians used to occupy.'

[828] Thuc. 2. 99.

[829] See Alonge (2008) 232-3 for main arguments.

[830] Lib. *Or.* 11. 91. Libanius writes of the settlers that they 'related to Seleukos through Temenos of old'; Mastrocinque (2002) 358f. uses this to assert a claim of kinship between the Seleukids and the Kretans. However, Libanius seems to be referring to 'the descendants of Herakles' rather than the Kretans; Temenos being the great-great grandson of Herakles, and father of Karanos, the founder of the Makedonian dynasty.

[831] Lib. *Or.* 11. 119.

pressures on Krete during this period and the frequent employment of Kretans as mercenaries. In the second instance, there is no evidence to suggest that the cults of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus found in Karia and Krete were conceptualised as youthful deities; nor indeed that any local cults of Zeus on Krete were so realised.[832] The evidence for Zeus Kretagenes on Krete all derives from the Hellenistic period, and the earliest attestation dates to the first half of the third century BC.[833] It is not possible to postulate a pre-history to this deity before this time.

If the cult of Zeus Kretagenes/Kretagenetas was a 'Seleukid' Zeus, as suggested by Mastrocinque, we would expect it to be more widespread; but the only evidence we possess derives from Karia and within a narrow time frame. This may be an accident of preservation, although we do have another decree from Xanthos, dated to 196 BC, in which a comparable royal dating formula is employed:

> βασιλευόντων Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀντιό[χου]
> τοῦ υἱοῦ, ϛιϙ′, μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου·
> ἐπ′ ἀρχιερέως Νικάνορος, ἐν δὲ Ξάνθ[ωι]
> ἐφ′ ἱερέως τῶν μὲν βασιλέων <Π>ρασί-
> [δ]ου τοῦ Νικοστράτου, πρὸ πόλεως δὲ
> Τληπολέμου τοῦ Ἀρ[ταπ]άτου·
>
> *When Antiochos and Antiochos the son were [kings], in the one hundred and sixteenth (year] in the month of Hyperberetaios, in the high priesthood of Nikanor, and in Xanthos, in the tenure of Prasidas, son of Nikostratos, as priest of the kings, and of Tlepolemos, son of Artapates, as priest before the city.*[834]

As at Amyzon, the inclusion of the Seleukid high priest Nikanor in the dating formula of civic decrees suggests royal influence in the communities concerned. Nikanor had been appointed as ἀρχιερεύς in all lands beyond the Taurus by Antiochos III in 210/9 BC.[835] However, while the decrees from Amyzon and

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[832] Alonge (2008), *passim.* Alonge argues against the notion that the reference to Zeus as *kouros* in the Palaikastro Hymn suggests the deity worshipped there was youthful in character; rather, he suggests that κοῦρε should be read with Κρόνειος, to refer to Zeus as the 'son of Kronos' (235); he also argues that identifying Zeus as a *kouros* would refer to his infancy, rather than his birth (236-9).
[833] See n. 800.
[834] Ma (2000) no. 23, ll. 1-5 with translation; Robert & Robert *Amyzon* no. 15 B, 154-163.
[835] Ma (2000) no. 4, ll. 44-50; ed. pr. Malay (1987) 7-17. Antiochos is found writing to Zeuxis that his subordinates should collaborate with Nikanor, and 'mention him in the contracts for which it is usual, and to write up the copy of the letter on stone stelai and expose them in the most conspicuous

Xanthos both followed the same outline, there is no mention of the priesthood of Zeus Kretagenetas and Diktynna in the decree from Xanthos. Rather than serving as a 'Seleukid' cult, it appears that the cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus was geographically limited to the region around Amyzon. If the Seleukids did play a role in its development, it was only on a very local level.

The Karian cult can be interpreted differently. As a 'foreign' deity, it finds parallels in other imported cults, for instance Bendis at Athens, or Zeus Labraundios in Egypt[836]; in those instances, I suggested that their introduction could be attributed to a foreign presence in the community. The previous chapter explored the evidence for interaction between the communities of Karia and Krete during the Hellenistic period, and the possible settlement of individuals from Krete within the region. Our understanding of the cult should focus on these local dynamics, with the presence of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus in three communities in Karia best comprehended as a result of Karian-Kretan contact. I. Savalli-Lestrade (2010) sought to explore this background of contact more fully; she contextualised the evidence for the cult in light of the settlement of Kretan mercenaries near Myus, and the broader attestations of interstate diplomacy between the *poleis* of south western Anatolia and Krete. [837] I think this approach should be pursued further, and the re-dating of the Mylasan dossier to the late third/early second century BC provides another body of evidence for Kretan interaction with Karia from the same historical context as the cult of a Zeus Kretagenes/Kretagenetas.

I diverge from Savalli-Lestrade in her conclusion that the introduction of the cult was a Seleukid initiative, introduced by Antiochos III in an attempt to re-appropriate Karia within a Seleukid image; her argument to explain the interest of Antiochos III in a Kretan cult is based on Mastrocinque's conjecture that a 'Seleukid Zeus' was realised as a 'Kretan Zeus,' which I do not consider sound.[838] That is not to say that the cult is nothing to do with Seleukid influence: the cult of Zeus Kretagenes and Diktynna is not attested at Amyzon before or after the reign of

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sanctuaries.' For a discussion of the historical significance of Nikanor's appointment, see Ma (2000) 26-33.

[836] See pp. 153-154.

[837] Savalli-Lestrade (2010), esp. 140ff.

[838] *Ibid.* 146-147; followed by Wörrle (2011) 390, n. 61.

Antiochos III, and it can be concluded that the priesthood was of some significance to have appeared in the official royal dating formula. Indeed, it appears to be a conscious attempt to prioritise a cult with a distinctly 'Kretan' character over the primary deities of the city, Artemis and Apollo.

Whether the Seleukid rulers were instrumental in the organisation of the cult is another question. The evidence for the involvement of the Hellenistic kings in the religious fabric of their territories is not extensive. The clearest indicator of royal involvement is the ruler cult; however, the original institution of such cults does not appear to have been at the directive of the royals themselves, but rather at the initiative of the community.[839] The involvement of the Seleukids in the introduction of a local, 'Kretan' cult of Zeus would attest to an exceptional level of royal interference in the religious life of their subject communities that is otherwise unattested outside of the ruler cult; and even then, local initiative played a large role in how such cults were received.

The paucity of evidence for the existence of the cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus, let alone the circumstances of its introduction, means that discussion is often couched in general terms. But rather than assigning an active role to the Seleukid authorities under Antiochos III, their apparent endorsement should be envisaged as a response to other factors influencing the region during this period. To categorise the cult in Mylasa as 'a simple picture of centrally defined practice imitated locally' is further unwarranted with the available evidence.[840] As stressed in the previous section, individual mobility and faith were central to the process of cult transfer; the emphasis of any interpretation should lie with the agency of the Kretans in the region and their interaction with the communities of Karia. It is the presence of individual Kretans within Karia that can best explain the appearance of a cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus in the region.

[839] Ma (2000) 219: 'civic ruler cult is a local phenomenon, to be interpreted from the point of view of the local community.' It is instructive that the official cult of Laodike, instituted by Antiochos III in 193 BC (Ma (2000) no. 37) post-dated the decision of certain communities to honour her with civic cults: at Sardeis in 213 BC, at Teos in c. 203 BC and at Iasos in 196 BC (Ma (2000) 234).
[840] Ma (2000) 234.

The Constitutional Reforms at Euromos

Kretan influence is traced most clearly at Euromos, where the presence of a cult to a 'Kretan-born' Zeus was accompanied by constitutional changes of a distinctly Kretan character. As discussed, the decree from Euromos was passed in the aftermath of the alliance between Euromos and Antiochos III, itself dated to August/September 197 BC. The status of Euromos during this period cannot be assured. It is known that Philip V installed a garrison there during his campaign of 201 BC, and changed the city's name: in the alliance inscription with Antiochos III the citizens are referred to as the Philippeis.[841] However, after Philip's defeat at Kynoskephalai in 197 BC, the status of Euromos becomes ambiguous. Polybios recorded a Roman envoy to Antiochos III in the aftermath of Rome's victory, calling on him to evacuate those places previously subject to Philip, 'for it was a ridiculous thing that Antiochos should come in when all was over and take the prizes they had gained in their war with Philip.'[842] This may imply that Antiochos occupied Euromos; but the inscription recording an agreement between Zeuxis and the envoys of the Philippeis, dated August/September 197 BC, includes a clause by which they will be 'φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι Ἀντιόχου τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων.'[843] Euromos had sent envoys to seek an alliance with Antiochos III,[844] perhaps pre-empting a more offensive Seleukid move. The available evidence suggests that the Seleukids did not occupy Euromos, but established a relationship as 'friends and allies.'[845]

The constitutional reforms, introducing the office of *kosmos* to Euromos, were passed soon after the alliance with the Seleukid king; the *kosmoi* are entrusted with 'all matters relating to the agreement pertaining to the alliance' (περὶ τῆς

[841] Errington (1986) (= Ma (2000) no. 29), l. 5.
[842] Plb. 18. 50. 5-6.
[843] Errington (1986) (= Ma (2000) no. 29), ll. 8-9.
[844] Ma (2000) 161.
[845] *Ibid.* 161. Cf. Dmitriev (2005) 294, n. 22, who argues that the absence of any mention of 'φίλια' in the *kosmoi* inscription means that the status of Euromos changed quickly under Antiochos from that of ally to subject community. Thus he sees the military alliance and the introduction of two new civic officials as being linked: 'Any evidence we have for administrative changes introduced directly by Hellenistic rulers or for their interference in civic administration concerns only subject communities', of which Euromos is an example. However, he seems to be forcing a clear distinction between 'subject' and 'autonomous' that the evidence does not permit, especially with regard to Euromos.

συμμαχίας).[846] However, it does not follow that the Seleukid authorities dictated the Kretan character of the reforms. A possible parallel for the adoption of a foreign law code can be sought in the attempted synoikism of Teos and Lebedos by Antigonos Monophthalmos at the end of the fourth century BC, when the law code of Kos was adopted until a new code of laws had been drawn up.[847] While this is a clear case of the interference of a king in the civic structure of local communities, it is instructive that the decision to adopt the Koan law code as an interim measure was made jointly by the Teians and Lebedians, and nothing to do with royal directive.

At Euromos we have to ask two questions: why a new constitution was required, and why a Kretan-inspired model was adopted. The case of Teos and Lebedos provides information about the potential stimulus for the adoption of constitutional changes in a city: at the point of *synoikism* between different communities, and the foundation of a new state. At Euromos, this may have been occasioned by the re-foundation of the city after the defeat of Philip; as already seen, Philip had renamed the city after himself, and thus an occasion for the constitutional changes could have been its re-foundation as Euromos. A Seleukid role within this is not assured. Chronologically, the alliance with Antiochos III and the adoption of constitutional changes are close, but they were both stimulated by the defeat of Philip.

Out of the communities that attest to the presence of a cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus, Amyzon is the only *polis* that was definitely garrisoned by Antiochos III. Mylasa retained its 'independence', and pursued its own policy of expansion within the region.[848] Indeed, the close association of Euromos with Mylasa could have been another impetus for the Kretan reforms. *I. Mylasa* 102 indicates that Euromos fell into Mylasa's realm at some point, with the Euromeis described as 'fellow-citizens' of the Mylasans.[849] The interaction between Mylasa and Krete at the end of the third century BC is well-established, and involved the presence of Kretans in the

[846] Errington (1993) no. 5 (= Ma (2000) no. 30), ll. 7-8.
[847] Welles (1934) no. 3. ll. 55-61; Ager *Interstate Arbitration* no. 13, 61-9.
[848] See p.132f.
[849] *I. Mylasa* 102, ll. 14-15.

vicinity.[850] The Kretan character of the reforms at Euromos should be linked with these wider dynamics in the region.

Unfortunately the date of *I. Mylasa* 102 is not known. Blümel placed it at the end of the second/first half of the first century BC, although an examination of the letter forms would suggest a date in the first half of the second century BC.[851] The Mylasans are described as seizing Euromos in 167 BC, which would suggest that the *sympoliteia* had ended by this point[852]; the inscription can thus likely be dated after the defeat of Philip in 197 BC and before 167 BC. The relationship between Mylasa and Euromos is indicative of the numerous local power struggles in Karia during the Hellenistic period; such dynamics could have necessitated constitutional changes, without royal impetus.[853]

There is no reason to suppose that the constitutional reforms at Euromos were the result of Seleukid interference beyond their chronological synchronicity. While Euromos may have requested the sanction of Antiochos III for the instigation of constitutional changes, that does not mean that the Seleukid authorities were active in its initiation, and there are no indications that the reforms were carried out in accordance with royal orders. In the case of Teos and Lebedos, the constitution of Kos was adopted because delegates from Kos were present to mediate in the *synoikism*; a similar scenario can be envisaged at Euromos. The award of *proxenia* to Euthybios from Krete by the Euromeis attests to contact between the city and the island, albeit on a small scale.[854] In the alliance inscription we find another clue: the name of one of the envoys of the Philippeis was Chenon. As J. Ma has noted, it was an unusual name, with the only parallels found on Krete[855]; this might suggest that he was from Krete, and had settled in the region, or that he had Kretan lineage. A scenario is again envisaged in which Kretans were travelling to and settling in the

[850] See p.129.
[851] The straight bar alpha and the closed omega are features characteristic of 'l'écriture récente'; see p. 112.
[852] Livy 45. 25. 11-13; Plb. 30. 5. 11-15.
[853] See above for discussion of the wider pattern of Mylasan growth during this period. Blümel, *I. Mylasa* p. 27, suggests that the Herakleian aggression mentioned in *I. Mylasa* 102 could be the result of the perceived threat of Mylasan expansion in the region.
[854] See n. 640.
[855] Ma (2000) 338. *IG* 12. 9. 839: a Χένων, Κρὴς Δρήριος is attested at Eretria in the second century BC; *IC* 1. 16. 31, l. 9:a Χένος is attested at Lato in the second century BC.

region. The appearance of a Kretan Zeus at Euromos, and the adoption of a Kretan constitution, should be connected to a Kretan presence in the city, and their attempts to retain something of their original identity.

Interpreting the Karian Cults

The accuracy in the dating of the documents concerning the cults of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus in Karia should not be overlooked. It offers the opportunity to contextualise the evidence against the historical background of the late third/beginning of the second century BC. The context of interaction between Karia and Krete during this period provides a more profitable framework within which to read the evidence, rather than interpreting the cult solely as a product of dynastic intervention. The fractious political context did not limit the involvement of the communities of Karia in the wider networks of the eastern Mediterranean, but actually generated opportunities for interaction.

Two of the communities in which the cult is attested were garrisoned at some point at the end of the third/beginning of the second century BC: Amyzon by the Seleukids, and Euromos by Philip V. Troops were stationed in the cities, and likely included Kretan mercenaries. Philip V's close contacts with Krete had been established by the end of the third century BC, and were in part an attempt to secure ready access to mercenaries from the island. Antiochos III is also known to have employed Kretan mercenaries in his forces.[856] The reference to a possible guest-house for mercenaries within the Kretan dossier of Mylasa further corroborates the notion that Kretan mercenaries were present in Karia.[857]

A group of Kretan soldiers stationed within a foreign community would retain their Kretan origins, and one aspect of this would be the continued practice of their native cults and rituals. A parallel can be found in the Ptolemaic garrisons located on Krete and Thera, where the soldiers set up cults to Ptolemaic deities, which in turn led to their adoption by the local population.[858] If the origins of the cults lay with the private initiative of Kretan mercenaries, rather than as an official

[856] See n. 644.
[857] See p.129.
[858] See p.145.

introduction, it would help to explain the variations in the cults between Amyzon and Mylasa.[859]

Similarly, the constitutional changes at Euromos are best explained by the settlement of Kretans in the vicinity.[860] The circumstances surrounding the settlement of Kretan mercenaries at Myus by Miletos reveal that they had established personal ties with the local population.[861] T. Boulay has suggested that the possible appearance of Kretans in Euromos was a corollary to the settlement of mercenaries at Myus; he proposes that a small body of these Kretans voluntarily decided to be a part of the refoundation of Euromos by Philip V.[862] The influence of the Antigonids in Euromos is well attested: an honorary inscription, dated to the second half of the third century BC, was voted by the Euromeis for the Makedonian Alexandros, son of Admetos, *philos* of Philip V.[863] It recorded his attempts to bring Euromos back under Antigonid control, and it may have been at this point that the city was refounded and named after Philip; this could also have involved the incorporation of a group of Kretans into the citizen body.[864]

I agree with Boulay's suggestion that it was most likely Antigonid involvement at Euromos that led to the settlement of Kretans in the city; the influence of Philip V on Krete was well established after he was appointed as *prostates* of the *koinon* in 217 BC, and his Karian campaign of 201 BC likely employed Kretan mercenaries. Rather than initiating reforms at Euromos, the Seleukids would have inherited the situation left by Philip V.[865] However, while the introduction of Kretan settlers may have been instigated by Philip V, that does not mean that the appearance of Kretan cultural forms should be attributed to Antigonid initiative. The introduction of a Kretan cult and the adoption of a Kretan inspired constitution would have been a consequence of the incorporation of the Kretan

[859] It may also account for the lack of a direct parallel for either cult on Krete itself; the notion of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus would have gained greater relevance within a foreign context as a means of defining a cohesive Kretan identity.
[860] Boulay (2007) 726-728; Savalli-Lestrade (2010) 142.
[861] Cf. Sekunda in Hitchman (2010) 59-61. See p. 146.
[862] Boulay (2007) 727.
[863] Errington (1993) no. 4.
[864] Boulay (2007) 815-816. In this context it is worth noting that Stephanos of Byzantion records that Chalketor, a city neighbouring Euromos, was a πόλις Κρήτης (s.v. Χαλκητόριον); however, it is widely thought that he was mistaken, and intended πόλις Καρίας.
[865] *Ibid.* 727.

population into the community. A similar scenario can be envisaged at Amyzon: the installation of a Seleukid garrison involved the introduction of Kretan troops in the city, which in turn led to the introduction of a cult and priesthood of Zeus Kretagenetas and Diktynna.

The paucity of our evidence means that this interpretation remains speculation. Certain problems remain, for instance the process by which the priesthood of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus rose to especial prominence within Amyzon, and came to be employed in the official royal dating formula, remains obscure. But it is important to stress that the agency for the introduction of this ostensibly Kretan cult should most likely be assigned to individuals from Krete. This does not detract from the civic significance of the cults within the *poleis* of Karia: the priesthood was accepted as a distinguished civic office in Euromos, while the holder of the priesthood was used to date the documents of both Amyzon and Mylasa.[866] A heightened awareness of local histories and mythological links was one consequence of contact, which would have in turn created an environment in which a distinctly Kretan cult came to be practised in Karia.

'Remembering' the Past/Reflecting the Present

The history of the connection between Karia and Krete predated the Hellenistic period; but within the new world order of the Hellenistic kingdoms its significance expanded, and was awarded a renewed relevance. Rather than look to a specific dynasty as an impetus for change, we should look at the impact the Hellenistic kingdoms had on the direction and nature of interaction. The continual contact between south western Anatolia and Krete provided another foundation for

[866] The law code of Krete was regarded with esteem in the ancient world, which could have been another factor behind the acceptance of Kretan civic reforms at Euromos: Herodotos (1. 65. 4) recorded that Lykurgos took the famous Spartan lawcode from Krete, and Minos is often regarded as a great lawgiver (Strab. 10. 4. 8). Plato (*Rep.* 8. 544c; *Crito* 52e), Aristotle (*Nic. Eth.* 1102a 13. 2-3) and Ephoros (*FGrH* 70 F 33; Strab. 10. 4. 8-9) also described the Kretan lawcode favourably. The relevance of such traditions within the more immediate context of the reforms can be identified in the reference to Thaletas in the Mylasan dossier (see p. 136). The traditions surrounding Thaletas/Thales record his reputation as a musician, yet also as a lawgiver; cf. Plut. *Life of Lycurgus* 4.

their bonds, based on the living memories of relations and established ties of reciprocity.

The Hellenistic period witnessed a heightened awareness of mythologies and histories; antiquarian and aetiological interests can be identified in the work of scholars such as Kallimachos[867], and in the proliferation of itinerant poets and historians.[868] These trends reflected the appetites of audiences to hear their *poleis* celebrated[869], both involving the citizens in their past, and projecting an image of the city to the outside world.[870] It is the civic significance of historical mythologies that is the focus of this section; considering how traditions could adapt, and the circumstances in which certain aspects came to be emphasised.

Inscribing History

The majority of our information for local mythologies derives from literary sources, which are separated from their social context; consequently it can be difficult to reconstruct the role that the mythologies of a city played within its civic discourse. The epigraphic record can counteract this imbalance to some degree. In particular, a category of 'historical inscriptions' became more frequent from the Hellenistic period onwards, and reveal something of civic self-perception and commemoration.

The decree from Xanthos, recording the Kytenian delegation in 206/5 BC, is one example: the Xanthians' decision to inscribe the full basis of their alleged kinship demonstrated civic engagement with local mythological narratives. A

[867] Kallimachos was keen to display the depth of his knowledge about local themes and religions, and shows a detailed awareness of the places he described. Kretan themes in particular are frequent in his work (*Hymn to Zeus, Hymn to Artemis, Aetia* I (Minos on Paros), *Aetia* II (the Kretan Theodaisia in Boeotia), perhaps indicating a contemporary knowledge of the island, whether gained through personal travel or through contact with individuals from Krete. Cf. Chaniotis (2001) 217, who draws attention to the number of Kretan subjects in Kallimachos' epigrams, suggesting the presence of Kretans in Alexandria.

[868] Local historians were employed to commemorate the past of a *polis*: celebrating its early history and the significant stages of its development, both mythological and historical. They were increasingly popular during the Hellenistic period. An interest in the local can perhaps be traced in the excerpts of the fourth century BC historian Ephoros, praised by Strabo (10. 3. 6) for having given 'the best account of the foundation of cities, of the relationship subsisting between nations, of changes of settlement, and of leaders of colonies.'

[869] Cf. Cameron (1995) 43; Chaniotis (2009) 267.

[870] Clarke (2008) 230: 'Read 'local pride' in the context of presenting a *polis* as an integral part of a wider world, rather than as an expression of inward-looking complacency.'

parallel can be found in the fourth century BC, when the Kyrenians inscribed a decree in which they awarded people from Thera the right to settle in the city. The decision had been prompted by a delegation from Thera, which claimed to possess a copy of the sworn oath from the original foundation of the city in the seventh century BC, awarding the Therans their settlement rights.[871] The version of the foundation of Kyrene as inscribed in the decree differs from the accounts transmitted in other sources[872], but the fact of its inscription reveals that it was the version that received civic endorsement in the context of the fourth century BC.

These texts form part of a wider corpus of inscribed documents that reflect engagement with the past.[873] The first century BC chronicle from the temple of Athena Lindia on Rhodes established the history of the sanctuary through an inventory of the dedications made to the goddess[874]; the earliest were made by figures of myth, including the Telchines[875], Kadmos[876] and Minos[877], and date down to offerings from Alexander, Ptolemy, Pyrrhos, Hieron and Philip V.[878] Although not limited to a particular *polis*, the Parian Marble established a chronology of universal history. It dated from the accession of King Kekrops to the Athenian throne (1581 BC), covering events including the Flood of Deukalion (1528/7 BC) and the fall of Troy (1209/8 BC), and continued down to 264/3 BC (the archonship of Diognetos in Athens).[879] It was inscribed during the Hellenistic period, although little can be established about the context of its display.

The archaeological and historical context in which a text was inscribed can affect its reading and its value as a historical source. Within Karia, the Salmakis inscription from Halikarnassos was one such historical inscription. It was written in verse, and narrated the history of the city and the various figures associated with its foundation.[880] It offers a fascinating snapshot of civic mythology as conceived by the

[871] Meiggs & Lewis 5. Cf. Osborne (2009) 8-15.
[872] Hdt. 4. 155-6.
[873] Chaniotis (1988a).
[874] *Lindos* 2. 2; Higbie (2003) 18-49. Cf. Bresson (2006).
[875] B II, ll. 9-14.
[876] B III, ll. 15-17.
[877] B IV, ll. 18-22.
[878] C XXXVIII – XLII, ll. 103-131.
[879] *FGrH* 239 A.
[880] Isager (1998).

Halikarnassians during the Hellenistic period, and since its discovery and publication it has rightly received much scholarly attention.[881] The text opens with the question to Aphrodite Schoinitis, '*what is it that brings honour to Halikarnassos?'*; *'what words does she utter when she proudly boasts?*'[882] It serves as an invitation to enumerate the various great events in Halikarnassos' past that distinguished the city and continued to bestow prestige. The *polis* itself was vaunting its achievements through recourse to its rich history. It is related that the infant Zeus Akraios[883] was sheltered from Kronos in the vicinity, and there was protected by 'an illustrious crop of earth-born men.'[884] The nymph Salmakis is also described as having bathed Hermaphroditos in her river[885], while another episode recounted how Athena led Pegasos and Bellerophontes to the site:

23 Παλλάς τε πτερόεντες ἐπηέριον δαματῆρα
Πηγάσου οἰκιστὴν ἐσθλὸν ἐπηγάγετο
25 ἔνθ' ὅτε δὴ στείψασα μετ' ἴχνεσι Βελλεροφόντεω
Πηδασίδος γαίης τέρμονας ἱδρύεται.

And Pallas brought the tamer of Pegasos, moving in the sky, to be a noble settler, after the time when she trod in the tracks of Bellerophontes and fixed the boundaries of the land of Pedasos.[886]

As discussed in Chapter 2, Bellerophontes and Pegasos were awarded a role in the history of a number of communities in both Karia and Lykia[887]; the appearance of Pegasos on the coinage of Halikarnassos from the fifth/fourth centuries BC (Fig. 5) and into the Hellenistic period confirms the role that this strand of mythology played in Halikarnassian civic self-perception.[888]

[881] Lloyd-Jones (1999); Isager & Pedersen (eds.) (2004); Gagné (2006); Bremmer (2009).
[882] Isager (1998) ll. 3-4. On the unusual epithet Skoinitis, see Bremmer (2009) 293.
[883] Akraios is an epithet that is frequent in Halikarnassos, and in Karia more broadly. Laumonier (1958) 628-635; Bremmer (2009) 294.
[884] Isager (1998) ll. 5-14. On the identity of these figures, see pp. 92-93. Traditions linking a locality with the birthplace or upbringing of different deities were widespread in the ancient world, but that does not diminish the local significance. Cf. the comment of Pausanias (4. 33. 1): 'It is a hopeless task, however zealously undertaken, to enumerate all the peoples who claim that Zeus was born and brought up among them.'
[885] Isager (1998) ll. 16-19.
[886] Translation H. Lloyd-Jones (1999) 2.
[887] See n. 258.
[888] *SNG* Copenhagen 336-337. See p.65f.

The poem continues by awarding roles in the introduction of settlers to the figures of Kranaos, the mythological early king of Athens[889], Endymion, who was said to have been buried on nearby Mt. Latmos[890], and Anthes, the Troizenian founder of Halikarnassos.[891] Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, is also mentioned; this might be an allusion to the Kretan connection, although the precise context is not clear.[892] The city's 'boasting' was not limited to the mythological past, but also incorporated the more recent cultural achievements of native Halikarnassians. The text ends by commemorating some of the more illustrious sons of the city; among them Herodotos, who is celebrated as 'the prose Homer in the realm of history' (τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὅμηρον)[893], and Panyassis, 'the glorious lord of verse' (ἐπῶν ἀπίσημον ἄνακτα).[894] A Hellenistic epigram discovered on Rhodes similarly commemorated the literary talents of Halikarnassos, including Herodotos, Andron and Panyassis, and compared them favourably to the achievements of the Assyrian empire and Babylon.[895]

In extolling the history and intellectual achievements of the *polis*, the Salmakis inscription sought to distinguish Halikarnassos within the broader

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[889] Kranaos: Isager (1998) ll. 27-28. Kranaos was also the name of one of the tribes at Kaunos; see n. 332. Coins minted bearing the legend KPAN have been discovered in Karia and on Rhodes, which might indicate the existence of a settlement named after Kranaos in the region (*SNG* Keckman 219); see now Pliny, *NH* 5. 29. 108. Cf. Walker (1978); challenged by Ashton (2006) 6.

[890] Endymion: Isager (1998) ll. 29-30; see below for discussion of the relationship of Endymion with Herakleia-under-Latmos.

[891] Anthes: Isager (1998) ll. 31-32. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἁλικαρνασσός.

[892] Isager (1998) l. 37. On the basis of the appearance of Ariadne, Isager restored line 33: [Ῥαδαμά]νθυος.

[893] Isager (1998) l. 43.

[894] Isager (1998) l. 45. Halikarnassos is further described as having 'nourished the renowned power of Andron' (Ἄνδρωνος θρέψε κλυτὴν δύναμιν) (l. 44). Other figures mentioned are 'Kyprias, the poet of the tale of Ilium,' 'Menestheus, excelling in the realm of the Muses,' 'the holy spirit of Theatetos', 'Dionysios, the poet of comedy,' 'Zenodotos, skilful in tragic verses,' 'Phanostratos, a poet delighting in the sacred garlands of the sons of Kekrops,' 'Nossos, an indicator of time in his histories,' 'Timokrates, the accomplished poet.'

[895] *IG* 12. 1. 145 (following the text of Ebert (1986) 37-43; *SEG* 36, 975): λάϊνο[ν Ἀ]σσυρίη [χῶμ]α Σεμι[ρά]μιος· | ἀλλ' Ἀνδρωνα οὐκ ἔσχε Νίνου πόλις, οὐδὲ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς | ὀιζοφυὴς Μουσέων πτόρθος ἐνετρέφετο· | [κοὐ] μὴν Ἡροδότου γλύκιον στόμα καὶ Πανύασσιν | ἡ[δυ]επῆ Βαβυλὼν ἔτρεφεν ὠγυγίη, | ἀλλ' Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ κραναὸν πέδον· ὧν διὰ μολπὰς |κλειτὸν ἐν Ἑλλήνων ἄστεσι κῦδος ἔχει ('*Assyria (has) the stone-mound of Semiramis. But the city of Ninos did not bring forth an Andron, neither did such offspring of the Muses short from the ground among the Indians. Primeval Babylon did not nourish a mouth like that of Herodotos' which is even sweeter, nor Panyassis with his sweet words, but the rugged earth of Halikarnassos did. Through their songs does she enjoy a renown among the cities of the Hellenes*'). Cf. Isager (1998) 16, who describes it as 'a eulogy of Halikarnassos as a cultural centre.'

accomplishments of the Hellenic world and confirm its status as a cultural centre. As the poem concludes, 'the reward of the righteous, that brings all honours, is hers, and by means of her noble doings she lays claim to the most glorious of garlands.'[896]

In the *editio princeps* S. Isager suggested a date in the mid to late second century BC for the inscription based on letter forms[897], while in an examination of the style, G. D'Alessio described the verse as typical of Hellenistic poetry in the late second/early first century BC.[898] In subject and structure, the text is connected to the cultural trends that were developing across the Mediterranean. The Kallimachean echoes in the opening lines of the inscription were noted by Isager in the *editio princeps*[899], and D'Alessio has subsequently elaborated on the poetic borrowings from Kallimachos and other poets in both the Salmakis poem and in the epigram discovered on Rhodes.[900] It seems likely that the *demos* of Halikarnassos commissioned both works, and the choice of elegiac verse indicates both the wide audience for such poetry, and the cultural ambitions of Halikarnassos as a centre of learning.

The text cannot be read outside its historical and archaeological context. It is not known whether the poem was composed for the purpose of inscription; its celebratory nature and composition in verse might indicate that it was initially written for performance. But what difference does the fact of its display make to our understanding of the poem? We are fortunate that its architectural setting can be securely reconstructed. The inscription was discovered *in situ* on the promontory of Kaplan Kalesi (known as Salmakis in antiquity), located to the south of the main harbour of ancient Halikarnassos. It was inscribed in two columns along the back wall of a structure that has been identified as a fountain complex. This is widely

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[896] Isager (1998) ll. 59-6. Cf. ll. 7-8 of the Rhodian epigram (n. 895): ὧν διὰ μολπὰς | κλειτὸν ἐν Ἑλλήνων ἄστεσι κῦδος.
[897] Isager (1998) 6.
[898] D'Alessio (2004), 51.
[899] Isager (1998) 9. The opening address to the god in the Salmakis inscription (ἔννεπέ μοι, Σχοινῖτι, φίλον τιθάσε[υμα μεριμνων, | Κύπρι, μυροπνεύστων ἐμπελάτειρα Πό[θων; 'Tell me, Schoinitis, dear tamer of our cares, you, Kypris, who bring close to us Desires scented with myrrh') recalls Kallimachos Epigram 5, ll. 1-2: Κόγχος ἐγώ, Ζεφυρῖτι, πάλαι τέρας· ἀλλὰ δὺ νῦν με, | Κύπρι, Σεληναίης ἄνθεμα πρῶτον ἔχεις.
[900] D'Alessio (2004) 43-57; he concluded (50-51) that they belong to the same *milieu*, perhaps even the same poet, and that both pieces were influenced by the work of Meleager. Meleager was a first century BC poet who spent his later life on nearby Kos.

thought to be related to the Salmakis fountain that is known from Strabo and Vitruvius[901], which, alongside the Maussolleion of the Hekatomnid dynast Maussollos, was one of the significant public monuments in Halikarnassos.[902]

Polis mythology is the focus of another historical inscription from Karia, discovered at Herakleia-by-Latmos.[903] The text is fragmentary, with the right hand side of the stone missing. Like the Salmakis inscription, it was written in verse, and described the celebration of a civic festival in Herakleia. References are made to honouring with libations (λοιβαῖς γεραίρει), as well as to music (παντοφώνοις δ' ὀργάνοις), and festivities (θαλίας).[904] The reference to 'the fit time for marriage' (γάμων ἀκμαι)[905] in the final line might suggest that the context was a ceremony connected with matrimony or fertility. Athena, as the primary deity at Herakleia, is mentioned under her title Tritogenes at the beginning of the text, leading L. Robert to suggest that the festival was in her honour.[906]

There are also allusions to some form of trauma at Herakleia; references to 'the hymn of our concern' (ἁμετέρας φροντίδος ὕμνο[ς]) and the 'bud of anxiety' (βλαστὸς μερίμνας) in the city,[907] as well as the soothing of grief (κοιμάτου σφετέρας ἀνιας)[908], might indicate that the city had recently suffered some misfortune. During the upheavals of the Hellenistic period, Herakleia is known to have entered into a number of conflicts with neighbouring communities, and these are likely to have had an impact on the prosperity of the city. A treaty of *isopoliteia* with Miletos reveals that the two cities had previously been in dispute[909], while a later peace treaty, thought to date to the late 180s BC, indicates that Herakleia had subsequently allied with Miletos in a war against Magnesia and

[901] Strab. 14. 2. 16; Vit. *De Arch.* 2. 8. 11-12; see p.53. Cf. Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 4. 285-388). The inscription was discovered in the so-called 'Room III' of the structure, which does at some point seem to have served as a basin, indicated by a water mark running along the wall; whether this was a feature of the original Hellenistic structure is not clear. Cf. Pedersen (2004) 19-23.
[902] Visitors who made the journey to the fountain would be rewarded with views across the bay of Halikarnassos.
[903] *Inscriptiones Grecques du Musée du Louvre* no. 60 (= Merkelbach & Stauber (1998) 01.13.01). Cf. Robert (1978) 488-489; (1990).
[904] *Ibid*. l.10; 20; 23.
[905] *Ibid.* l.33.
[906] Robert (1978) 488.
[907] *Musée du Louvre* no. 60, l.4; 5.
[908] *Ibid.* l.7.
[909] *Milet* 1. 3. no. 150.

Priene.[910] Herakleia is also known to have been in conflict with Euromos at some stage in the second century BC; the decree in honour of Moschion, priest of Zeus Kretagenes and the Kouretes, recorded that he had helped arbitrate in a dispute between Euromos and Herakleia.[911]

The myth of Endymion was central to the civic identity of Herakleia, and closely associated with Mt. Latmos; according to our literary sources, Selene lulled the youth to sleep in a cave on the mountain.[912] In the inscription, reference is made to 'his ever-resting sleep' (τὸν ἀεικοίματον ὕ[πνον])[913] and to his cave on Mt Latmos[914], and he is credited with founding the city of Herakleia (δάμος ὅν κτίσεν Ἐνδυμίων).[915] The myth of Endymion retained its relevance to the community through its incorporation into the civic landscape of Herakleia: according to Strabo, at a slight distance away from the city, 'there is to be seen the sepulchre of Endymion in a cave.'[916] The landmark of his tomb acted as a permanent reminder of this tradition within the city and it was renowned with the wider region.[917] The civic festival commemorated his myth, and it is likely that Endymion was the focus for a ritual or cult within the city.[918] The Hymn to Zeus and the *Kouretes* from Palaikastro

[910] *Milet* 1. 3. no. 148. Cf. Errington (1989); Wörrle (2004).
[911] *I. Mylasa* 102; references are made to the sacred and private buildings still being held by Herakleia (τῶν τε ἱερῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἔτ[ι] | δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἑκάστου ὑπαρχόντων κατεχομένων ἐν Ἡρακλεία[ι]) (ll. 15-16); and to bringing an end to the wrongs done to Euromos 'on behalf of those who had been aggrieved by the Herakleians' (ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπαχθέντων αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ Ἡρακλείας) (ll. 19-20). A broad date in the second half of the second/early first century BC can be suggested on the basis of letter forms (broken bar alpha, the parallel sigma, and the full size omega and omicron), but no greater precision is possible.
[912] Sappho, fr. 199; Apollonios Rhodios 4. 55ff.; Strab. 14. 1. 8; Quint. Smyrn. *Fall of Troy* 10, 127-137; Nonn. *Dionys.* 4. 192 ff; 13. 553ff. See the comments of Bremmer (2009) 306, on the possible Anatolian origins of Endymion, and the possible association of his name with other local names, including Didyma and Dindymene and Endyomis. Cf. Laumonier (1958) 548, n.3.
[913] *Musée du Louvre* no. 60, l.8.
[914] *Ibid.* l. 9.
[915] *Ibid.* l. 6.
[916] Strab. 14. 1. 8.
[917] In both the Salmakis inscription and the Magnesian 'origin myth', the myth of Endymion is entwined with the mountain.
[918] Peschlow-Bindokat (2005) 22-23, has sought to identify the tomb of Endymion with a monumental built tomb located near the agora at Herakleia-by-Latmos, which she labels a 'heroon'; she suggests a date in the fourth century BC, although O. Henry (private correspondence) dates it to the Hellenistic period. I find her identification unlikely, as Strabo speaks explicitly of his grave being located in a cave. The closest parallel for the tomb is the built tomb at Labraunda, and it seems more likely that the Herakleian tomb served as the burial for a prominent local figure. A possible contender could be Pleistarchos, who is thought to have used Herakleia as his base during his rule in the region, and named the city after himself (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πλειστάρχεια). Cf. Peschlow-Bindokat (2005) 5.

offers a parallel to the Herakleian text; it was inscribed during the Hellenistic period, although it is thought to have been composed at an earlier date.[919] It recorded the myth and ritual surrounding the cult of Zeus at Palaikastro, and it seems to be an inscribed record of a text that was originally composed for the celebration of a certain ritual at the site.[920]

Rituals were central to the construction of religious and civic identity in the ancient world, and played an active role in shaping the versions of mythology and history that were propagated; through the celebration of festivals and the participation in cults, local traditions and mythologies were reinforced and incorporated into civic discourse.[921] It is likely that such rituals had developed around the figure of Endymion at Herakleia, perhaps focused on the site of his grave.[922] Again, it is not possible to determine whether the text was composed for the purpose of its inscription; it may have originated as part of the festivities themselves. However, the process of its public inscription endowed the text with an enduring commemorative value. While the archaeological context of the text is not known, the block on which it was inscribed seems to have been architectural, and we can conclude that its exhibition was on a public building.[923]

The inscription of historical traditions functioned as another form of civic monumentalisation and provided a way for a community to engage with the past. A parallel can be sought in sculpture; the second century BC temple frieze from Lagina, which depicted various scenes, is thought to be a visual representation of local mythologies.[924] Similarly the Imperial basilica reliefs from Aphrodisias portrayed the various founding figures of the city, and reveal something about *polis* self-representation during the Imperial period.[925] A community would have invested

[919] See n. 394; Bremmer (2009) 295, suggests that it was composed during the fourth century BC.
[920] Cf. Alonge (2008).
[921] Cf. Graf (2009) 344f., regarding the ritual that developed around the myth of the birth of Apollo and Artemis at Ortygia, near Ephesos; see p. 90f.
[922] Robert (1980) 351-53; cf. Robert (1978) 477-90.
[923] Dimensions: Height: 0.56m; Width: 0.31m; Depth: 0.185m.
[924] Lagina frieze: Baumeister (2007). Cf. Lloyd-Jones (1999) 5; Isager (2004b) 12.
[925] *IAph2007* 6. 1. See now Yildirim (2004). Jones (1999) 128, suggests a fourth century AD date for the reliefs. Rouché (1981) 118, suggests that the reliefs may reflect the status of Aphrodisias as *metropolis* of the joint province of Karia and Phrygia. Yildirim (2004) 23, has more recently advocated pushing the date back to the end of the first/beginning of the second century AD; however this seems unlikely.

in such monuments in order to forge a particular civic image; it also offered a degree of permanence and official sanction to the version of events recorded. The inscriptions from both Halikarnassos and Herakleia projected the image of their civic identity that they deemed worthy, revealing how these communities understood their own mythologies and histories within a particular historical context.

While it is possible to acknowledge the potential for the adaptation of civic identity within different contexts, it is often difficult to appreciate the circumstances under which certain aspects of a city's history came to be emphasised or commemorated. However, in the case of the inscribed 'origin myth' of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, we can explore the historical context in which the Kretan version of Magnesian history was prioritised at the end of the third century BC; examining the evidence for interaction, and investigating whether it is possible to trace its repercussions in the cultural realm.[926] Magnesia was not itself a Karian foundation, although its founder Leukippos was claimed as either a Karian or Lykian in the literary sources.[927] However, the inscribed 'origin myth' belongs within the broader corpus of regional traditions that recollected a Kretan link, and offers an insight into the reception of this aspect of history during the Hellenistic period.

The Kretan 'Origin Myth' of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander

The 'origin myth' was inscribed during the late third century BC, and recounted the migration of the Magnesians from Thessaly to Krete, from where they travelled to Asia Minor under the leadership of Leukippos (Appendix 1).[928] The historical context in which the text was displayed can be reconstructed securely, as it was inscribed as part of the archive of documents recording the delegations sent out by the Magnesians to upgrade the civic Leukophryena to stephanitic status in 208 BC. The entire dossier of documents was displayed in the west *stoa* of the agora at Magnesia. The role of history within the appeal of the Magnesians was discussed above, and they are described as having recounted the 'great deeds' of the city in helping Delphi against the Gauls in 279 BC, and assisting the resolution of the

[926] *I. Magnesia* 17.
[927] See above pp. 86-87.
[928] For a full discussion of the myth as recounted in the text, see above, p.84ff.

Kretan 'civil war.'[929] The response of the Epidamnians further recorded that the Magnesian *presbeutai* had related the *euergesiai* of the city 'by reference to the oracles of the god and the poets and writers of history that have compiled the deeds of the Magnesians.'[930] The 'origin-myth' had been composed as part of this documentation, in order to substantiate the achievements of the Magnesians.

The success of the appeal to upgrade the Leukophryena was an event of great prestige for Magnesia, and the display of all the related documents served as a public monument to honour this event. The inscription of 'archives' on temple walls or other public buildings became increasingly frequent during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. They were not archives in the sense of a comprehensive account of a city's records, but rather a selection of documents related to a specific occurrence or series of correspondence.[931] They served as a visual reference point in the city; although whether they were regularly read and consulted remains unknown.[932] In the case of the archive at Magnesia, there were certainly attempts to order the display of the documents. The favourable replies of the states were inscribed along the back wall of the west *stoa*, arranged in roughly geographical groupings and in many cases distinguished by headings[933]; they were also positioned in such a way that they neither extended too far above or below eye level.[934] The monumental function of the archive is further confirmed by its location at the heart of Magnesia. Adjacent to the *stoa* in the south western corner of the agora is a structure that has been identified as the *prytaneion*, the public dining hall and focus of hospitality for foreign delegations in the city.[935] The collection of documents served as an official record, but it was also meant to attract a wide audience in commemoration of this event.

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[929] See n. 561.

[930] *I. Magnesia* 46 (= *Asylia* no. 96), ll. 13-14: διά τε τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμῶν καὶ διὰ τῶ[ν π]οιητᾶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱ[σ]|τορ[ι]αγράφων τῶν συγγεγραφότ[ων] τὰς Μαγνήτων πρ[άξ]εις.

[931] Thomas (1989) 72-73.

[932] *Ibid.* 45; 49.

[933] Rigsby *Asylia* 180.

[934] The lower courses of the wall were constructed in marble, running to a height of 2.36m, and none of the texts was inscribed above the moulding. Generally, attempts seem to have been made to divide the texts so there was one on each slab; except where the texts were especially long or short.

[935] Miller (1978) 112-115. Honours voted to the Magnesian ambassadors frequently included the right to dine in the *prytaneion*, e.g. *I. Magnesia* 35, l. 32; 37, ll. 39-40; 48, ll. 30-31; 49, l. 10; 50, ll. 66-67.

Within this scheme, the 'origin myth' was set apart and displayed on the so-called 'Pfeilerwand' that terminated the west stoa at the south end. Other significant documents were inscribed alongside it, including the favourable responses of the different Hellenistic kings.[936] Another text, *I. Magnesia* 16, recorded the initial unsuccessful attempt of the Magnesians to upgrade their civic games in 221 BC; according to the text, the Magnesians had been prompted by an epiphany of Artemis and an oracle from Delphi.[937] Also inscribed on the 'Pfeilerwand' was a document that was meant to be read in tandem with the 'origin myth', *I. Magnesia* 20. It purported to be an archaic inscription of the Kretan *koinon*, wishing the Magnesian settlers success in their migration to Asia Minor[938]:

ἐπει-
δὴ Μάγνητες οἰκεῖοί ἐντι καὶ φίλοι Κρη-
ταιέων πάντων, ἔδοξεν δέ τισιν αὐ-
τῶν ἐς τὰν Ἀσίαν ἀποικίαν στείλασθαι,
ὑπάρχειν Μάγνησιν πᾶσιν οἰκειότατα
καὶ φιλίαν ἀγήρατον καὶ ἐμ πρυτανεί-
ωι σίτησιν, καὶ εἰσάγουσιν καὶ ἐξάγουσιν ἀτέ-
λειαν εἶμεν ἀσυλεὶ καὶ ἀσπονδεὶ κατὰ πᾶ-
σαγ Κρήταγ καὶ ἔγκτησιν καὶ πολιτείαν,
δόμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποπλέουσιν ἑκάστα[μ]
πόλιν ἀργυρίω τέσσαρα τάλαντα κα[ὶ σῖ]-
τομ πεπονημένον καὶ ἱερεῖα ὅσ' ἂν θέ[λω]-
[σ]ιν̣ [α]ὐ[τ]οὶ εἰς θυσίαν, [π]ροπέμψαι [δὲ]
αὐτοὺς μέχρι εἰς τὰν Ἀσίαν ταῖς μακραῖς
ναυσὶν καὶ συμπέμψαι αὐτοῖς τοξό-
τας εἰς πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας, προ-
πέμψαι δὲ καὶ ἀσπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ
ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καθ' ά-

[936] Attalos I: *I. Magnesia* 22 (= Rigsby *Asylia* no. 68). Antiochos III: *I. Magnesia* 18 (= Rigsby *Asylia* no. 69). Ptolemy IV: *I. Magnesia* 23 (= Rigsby *Asylia* no. 71). In *I. Magnesia* 24 (= Rigsby *Asylia* no. 72) there is reference to a king: βασιλ[εὺς….]; through a process of elimination, Philip V seems likely.

[937] *I. Magnesia* 16. It is unusual for a community to record a failed petition, but the decision of the Magnesians can perhaps be explained as an attempt to establish the antiquity of the divine endorsement for their appeal. Thonemann (2007) has noted that the neighbouring city of Miletos had also sought to raise their festival and games in honour of Apollo Didymeus at the end of the third century BC. The date of the Milesian attempt is not clear, although Thonemann suggests that it was upgraded between 221 and 208 BC; thus the Magnesians included the reference to their first failed attempt in order to prove that they were the 'first of those dwelling in Asia' to receive oracular sanction (159-60). There was undoubtedly a competitive element to the Magnesians' attempt to raise the standing of their local festival to Panhellenic status: hosting such an event, and gaining recognition of its *stephanitic* status, involved a great deal of prestige for the communities concerned. The close chronology of their upgrade attempts, and the proximity of the two cities, could hint at such a rivalry between Miletos and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander; see discussion below of the conflicts between the two cities.

[938] This is one of the few references to the Kretan league as a *koinon*; see n. 525.

λικίαν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας·
25 τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τόδε εἰστάλαν λιθίναν
ἀναγράψαντας ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ
Ἀ[πέλ]λ̣ωνος τῶ Βιλκωνίω, δόμεν δὲ καὶ Λευ-
[κίππωι τ]ῶ̣ι Λυκίωι τῶι καθαγεμόνι γενομένωι εἰς τὰν Ἀσί-
[αν Κρήτα]ς πάσας πόλεις ἀργυρίω τάλαντον·

Since the Magnesians are relations and friends of all Kretans, it seemed good to some of them that a colonial expedition should leave for Asia, to begin closest familiarity and undying friendship with all Magnesians and public maintenance in the prytaneion, and (the Magnesians are) to be exempt from burdens importing and exporting, enjoying immunity from seizure and neutrality through all Krete, and the right to own land and possess citizenship, to give to each of those sailing away four talents and processed grain, the city having endured hardship, and as many victims for (their) sacrifices as they desire, to accompany them as far as Asia with long ships and to send with them archers up to five hundred, to accompany and take leave of them, men, women and children according to age, and the priests and priestesses. Write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the temple of Apollo Bilkonios, (it also seemed good) that all Kretan cities should give a talent of silver to Leukippos the Lykian, who had become the leader (of the colonists) to Asia.

The falsified character of this text is confirmed through its adherence to the form of diplomatic transactions during the Hellenistic period.[939] It was meant to verify the narrative preserved in the 'origin myth'[940]; however, the fact that it was a forgery does not mean it was considered less valid by the Magnesians. In the text, the ancestral affiliation between the Magnesians and 'all the Kretans' was claimed, with the Kretan *koinon* described as offering material aid to the Magnesians, as well as an escort on their voyage. A number of standard honours were also bestowed on the Magnesians by the Kretans, including inviolability and exemption from taxes, and the right to own land. A further text, *I. Magnesia* 21, listed the names of a number of Kretan cities, likely of those states that were members of the *koinon* who supported the endeavour of the Magnesians.[941] While the decree is obviously forged, the privileges extended to the Magnesians, and the endorsement of the undersigned Kretan cities, should not be dismissed as fabrication. The prominence awarded to Krete in the foundation tale of Magnesia might reflect something of the

[939] Chaniotis (1999d).
[940] Cf. Thomas (1989) 92-93.
[941] *I. Magnesia* 21.

contemporary state of diplomatic relations between Magnesia and the *poleis* of Krete at the end of the third century BC.

Shaping the Past of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander

The decision to inscribe the 'origin myth' lent this version official sanction and a degree of permanence. It may have been composed to serve a particular function within Magnesian diplomacy, but it also reveals the active role the Magnesians played in shaping a particular version of their history and propagating it to the wider world. As seen, the collective and continual process of 'remembering' or 'recollecting' the past was an essential means for a city to establish its historical identity.[942] The Magnesians were recollecting their history as it had been transmitted over time, but also as it was realised within a specific historical context.

The inscribed 'origin-myth' emphasised the links of the city with Krete; however, as noted in Chapter 2, variations of this account are known from the literary sources[943] which awarded a prominent role to Delphi.[944] The Delphian account of the history of Magnesia persisted alongside the Kretan version in the literary sources; but in the inscribed text, this aspect seems to have been elided.[945] F. Prinz considered the tale of the temporary settlement of the Magnesians on Krete as a Hellenistic insertion into the 'original' foundation myth, which eventually replaced the earlier myth that awarded a leading role to Delphi.[946] While I agree that the prominence of the Kretan element warrants further attention, I am wary of any attempt to reconstruct an 'original' version of a foundation tale, or indeed speak of it as a tangible thing.

The Hellenistic origin of the Kretan tradition is far from assured; the tale of Leukippos as recounted by Parthenios was derived from the *Leontium* of

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[942] Schepens (2001) 14, suggests that the growing trend for local histories during the Hellenistic and Roman periods may have been connected with the incorporation of the various city-states into wider empires.

[943] See above p.84ff. for a full discussion of the myths surrounding Magnesia-on-the-Maeander.

[944] See above p.84. The good deeds of the Magnesians to the Delphians were cited by the *theoroi* in the delegations; it is recounted that they helped to defend Delphi against the Gauls in 279 BC.

[945] Although the 'origin myth' itself is incomplete, it is clear that the Kretan narrative played a primary role, reinforced by the inscription of *I. Magnesia* 20 & 21 alongside it.

[946] Prinz (1979) 111ff. In the response of Delphi (Rigsby *Asylia* no. 79), the nature of their relationship is framed in terms of the Magnesians as οἰκεῖοι (l.4).

Hermesianax of Kolophon, an author thought to have been active in the early third century BC, and it can be presumed that the tradition dated earlier. The notion of a *polis* called Magnesia on Krete can also be traced to Plato's *Laws.*[947] The claim of a 'Kretan link' also had the advantage of fitting into the broader theme of a Kretan connection that is found in a number of civic mythologies in Karia, and should be considered as part of this pattern.[948]

We are only ever afforded a partial view of civic mythologies which does not permit us to label certain aspects as 'genuine' and others as 'corruptions.'[949] Attempting to do so is to misunderstand the social significance of traditions within civic discourse. Local mythologies were not static, but were open to variations in accordance with societal trends. The Magnesians clearly perceived a greater relevance to the Kretan episode in their history at this point in the third century BC; they played a role, whether deliberate or subconscious, in shaping the version of their history that was transmitted. It is more profitable to ask what the Kretan aspect of their history meant to the Magnesians at the end of the third century BC, and why this account was promoted.

In 208 BC the political context in south western Anatolia and on Krete was far from secure.[950] Philip V's appointment as *prostates* of the Kretan *koinon* in 217 BC, and the rise of his influence in the Aegean, had an impact on the involvement of Krete in the regional networks.[951] S. Dušanič has argued that it was Philip V's influence on Krete that was instrumental in the Magnesian efforts to establish the antiquity of their relationship with the island, in what he terms 'a diplomatically self-serving collaboration' between Magnesia and the pro-Makedonian Kretans.[952] It is an interesting argument, which quite rightly tries to interpret the 'origin myth' within its historical context. However, while Philip's influence on Krete had been established by the time of the Magnesian delegations, the unity of the island was not

[947] Plat. *Laws* 860e; 946b; 969a.
[948] Cf. Chapter 2.
[949] Cf. the comments of Thomas (2011) 89, regarding genealogies: 'If one speaks of distortion or change in a genealogy, one is in a sense speaking from a modern literate standpoint, assuming that there is an 'original text', as it were, from which there are deviations.'
[950] Above p.109ff.
[951] See p.122 for his role in the First Kretan War.
[952] Dušanič (1983) 20.

assured.[953] The political allegiance of Magnesia in 208 BC was also far from certain. Philip V campaigned in south western Anatolia in 201 BC, and seems to have looked favourably on Magnesia, awarding it the city of Myus. But this agreement was said to have been in return for supplies[954], and there is no evidence that Magnesia was necessarily pro-Makedonian in 208 BC.[955] While Philip V did support the Magnesian delegation in Chalkis[956], the endorsement of all the dynasties was sought, and received, by the Magnesians in the upgrade of the Leukophryena.[957]

Rather than prioritising the influence of a particular dynasty, or seeking an overtly political agenda behind the Magnesian 'origin myth', I wonder whether the text can be better read within a context of interaction between Magnesia-on-the-Maeander and Krete. As discussed above, the Magnesian *theoroi* cited the assistance they had offered the Kretans in resolving their 'civil war', identified with the Lyttian War of 221-219 BC, as part of the argument used to garner support.[958] It can be supposed that Magnesian assistance came in the form of arbitration, a role they are known to have taken again on Krete in the second century BC; first in a dispute between Gortyn and Knossos[959], and later between Itanos and Hierapytna.[960] The initial attempt of the Magnesians to gain stephanitic status for their civic games also occurred in 221 BC, within a similar historical context to the Lyttian War. It is not known whether the 'origin myth' was composed at the time of the original attempt in 221 BC, or in order to bolster their argumentation in 208 BC, and so the exact date of its composition cannot be established.[961] But in either case, it is possible to

[953] The Kretan *koinon* seems to have broken down by the 205 BC, and the First Kretan War; see p.110.
[954] Plb. 16. 24. 9: Philip, 'being in want of food for his soldiers, obtained figs from the Magnesians as they had no corn, and on taking Myus presented it to the Magnesians in return for the figs.'
[955] Rigsby *Asylia* 195, has suggested that Magnesia was under Attalid influence at the time, citing the tribe named after Attalos (*I. Magnesia* 89, ll. 6-7: φυλῆς προεδρευ[ού]|[σ]ης Ἀτταλίδος*; I. Magnesia* 98, l.3).
[956] *I.Magnesia* 47 (= Rigsby *Asylia* no. 97), ll. 1-3: [ἐπειδὴ ὁ β]ασιλεὺς Φίλι[π]πος | ἔγρα[ψε]ν τῆι βουλῆι κ[αὶ τῶι] δήμ[ωι] περὶ [Μ]αγνή-|των τῶν ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρωι.
[957] See n. 936.
[958] See n. 561.
[959] *I. Magnesia* 65a & b (*Interstate Arbitrations* no. 127). It is further instructive that these decrees associated with Magnesian arbitration on Krete were published as part of the archive wall, along with the honorific decree voted by the Knossians for two Magnesian citizens (*I. Magnesia* 67).
[960] *I. Magnesia* 105 (*Interstate Arbitrations* no. 158).
[961] Cf. Chaniotis (1988a) 34-9.

envisage the 'Kretan' version of their history gaining prominence in light of Magnesian-Kretan interaction and Magnesian intercession on Krete.

The establishment of links between communities created the opportunity for certain aspects of civic mythologies to be privileged over others. That does not necessarily mean that the tale relating the settlement of the Magnesians on Krete was a later innovation, but rather that it came to acquire a new significance, and perhaps embellishment, within this historical context. Kretan connections with the region had already been established by the time Magnesia acted to resolve the Kretan civil war through the settlement of Kretan mercenaries in the region in 234/3 BC.[962] They were settled at Hybandis, near Myus, a territory located between Magnesia and Miletos, and which had long been disputed between the two cities (see Map 4). At the time the territory belonged to Miletos, although, as noted above, in 201 BC Myus and its Kretan inhabitants were awarded to Magnesia by Philip V.[963] This did not settle the affair, and the two cities are found in conflict again regarding the same tract of land in the 180s BC. This engagement is attested through the peace treaty finalised between Miletos and Magnesia, and their respective allies Herakleia and Priene, to end the affair.[964]

Traditionally the conflict has been dated to 196 BC; however, following the proposal of R.M. Errington for a later date, it is now commonly placed in the late 180s BC.[965] It certainly seems to be dated after the *isopoliteia* treaty between Herakleia and Miletos[966], itself dated to the mid 180s BC, which seems to have paved the way for their alliance against Magnesia.[967] The disputed territory was again in the region around Myus, and the Miletos-Magnesia peace treaty established the frontier as the Hybandis river; unfortunately, the exact location of this river is no

[962] See n. 661.
[963] The Kretan residents at Myus were apparently then incorporated into the Magnesian citizen body; in the later arbitration of Magnesia between Knossos and Gortyn (see n.959), the Magnesians attempt to arrange the return of these Kretans to their native cities, although the proposal is rejected; see n. 970.
[964] *Milet* 1. 3. 148.
[965] Errington (1989); cf. the reservations of Wörrle (2004).
[966] See n. 909.
[967] Errington (1989) 282.

longer easy to establish, but it is clear that it was somewhere on the north side of the Latmos lake, in the vicinity of Hybandis (see Map 4).[968]

The terms of the *isopoliteia* treaty between Miletos and Herakleia reveal that the region around Myus had been returned to Milesian territory by this time; the clause whereby the Milesians were given the right to drive their cattle free of duty through Herakleian territory was only useful when Herakleian land lay between Milesian districts.[969] The point at which this occurred is not known, although it possibly took place in the aftermath of the defeat of Antiochos III and the peace of Apameia in 188 BC, whereby, according to Polybios, the ἱερὰ χώρα was returned to Miletos.[970] Despite the lack of a secure chronology, it seems that the land around Hybandis remained a contentious issue between Magnesia and Miletos into the second century BC.

The ramifications of their conflict went beyond territorial boundaries, and also involved the significant population of Kretans settled in the region. Philip V's grant of Myus to Magnesia in 201 BC resulted in the incorporation of these Kretans into the citizen body of Magnesia. While there are indications that their integration with the local population was not complete, as suggested by the Milesian restrictions on the civic offices they could hold and Magnesian attempts to repatriate them, it can be presumed that social and cultural interaction with the native population did take place. R. Hitchman's survey of the settlers' names revealed evidence for intermarriage with the local population[971], while the existence of a toponym Κρητιναῖον in the region around Magnesia may indicate the appearance of a characteristically 'Kretan' structure, whether social or religious, in the local landscape.[972]

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[968] *Milet* 1. 3. 148, l. 28ff. Wörrle (2004) 47.
[969] Wörrle (2004) 50ff.
[970] Plb. 21. 46. 5. Cf. Wörrle (2004) 49f. This would further have implications for the date of the Magnesian arbitration between Knossos and Gortyn, in which the Magnesians are seen attempting to arrange the return of the Kretans settled near Myus to their native cities (*I. Magnesia* 65 a & b = *IC* 1. 8. 9; *IC* 4. 176), although their proposal was rejected. At the time of the arbitration, Myus must have been part of Magnesian territory. The decree mentioned the role of a βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος, but it is not clear which Ptolemy is meant; cf. Wörrle (2004) 56, n. 68.
[971] See p.146, n. 742.
[972] See p.86f.

The interaction of these Kretan settlers at Hybandis with the local population could have led to an increased awareness of mythological and historical traditions connecting Krete with the communities of the region. In the case of Miletos, a number of traditions existed in antiquity to link the early history of the city with Krete. These were not regarded as of remote significance to the communities concerned, but played an important role in the mediation of relations. One of the decrees passed by the Milesians concerning the settlement of the mercenaries, and dating to after the second round of grants of citizenship in 229/228 BC, made explicit reference to their historical kinship as a means of validation:

> ἐπειδὴ
> πρὸς Κρῆτας ὑπαρχούσης οἰκειότητος καὶ συγγενε[ίας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ]
> συγκειμένης δὲ καὶ συμμαχίας, ἣν διὰ πατέρων ὁ δῆμο[ς κατὰ τὰ]
> διὰ τῶν ψηφισθέντων ὡρισμένα τετήρηκεν, ὡς προσ[ῆκον ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ]
> θεοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς συγ<γ>ενείας εἰλήφοσιν…[973]
>
> Since there are links of familiarity and kinship to the Kretans [through the god (Apollo)], an alliance was agreed, which the *demos* have maintained from our ancestors' time, according to what had been determined by vote, as was fitting (to people) that acquired the origin of their kinship from the god…[974]

The appeal to kinship was a means of promoting the success of the new settlement[975]; but it was equally through Milesian interaction with the Kretans in the region that this heightened awareness of their common history was generated.[976] The inclusion of Kretans in the Milesian polity, and their likely intermarriage with local women[977], would have encouraged the proliferation of traditions surrounding their

[973] *Milet* 1. 3. 37a, 2-5 (= Curty no. 56).
[974] The kinship was said to derive from the god Apollo, and it is therefore likely that the Milesians were alluding to the version of the myth in which Miletos was said to be the son of Apollo. Nikander of Kolophon (Ant. Lib. 30) recorded that Miletos was the son of Apollo and Akakellis, the daughter of Minos, while Apollodoros (3. 1. 2) wrote that Miletos was the son of Apollo by Aria, daughter of Kleochus. Cf. Jones (1999) 55.
[975] Jones (1999) 55: 'as ancestor of both parties the god was both a promoter and a guarantor of its success.'
[976] Earlier in the third century BC, Miletos is attested making treaties with Knossos and a number of Kretan cities, forbidding the enslavement of citizens; see n. 588. The reference to an alliance in *Milet* 1. 3. 37a, l. 4, may be referring to this earlier treaty.
[977] Hitchman (2010) 51.

common history, as it became relevant to both Miletos and the *poleis* of Krete to remember their historical kinship.

In the case of Magnesia, the presence of Kretans in the region could also have affected their recollection of their past as a means of strengthening ties with the island, and ensuring their endurance. The continued interaction between Magnesia and Krete into the second century BC witnessed the perpetuation of their claimed affiliation. An inscription from Hierapytna on Krete, dated to the early second century, honoured two ambassadors from Magnesia, and renewed their 'ancestral familiarity and friendship' (ἀ|νανεωμένων τὰν πατρίαν οἰκειότατα καὶ φιλίαν).[978] It is within this context that the 'origin myth' of Magnesia was composed and inscribed; it was then perpetuated through continued interaction between Magnesia and the communities of Krete, and came to be an accepted part of the historical narrative of Magnesia. While it is not possible to deduce whether the role of Krete in the 'origin myth' was elaborating a pre-existing tradition, the inscription itself offers an invaluable insight into the civic self-perception of Magnesia and how it was moulded in response to the social and political dynamics of the Hellenistic period. The inscribed 'origin myth' serves as a testament to the active role that a city itself could play in shaping and propagating its past.

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The shifting political dynamics between the dynasties of the Hellenistic period ushered in an era of increased interaction between *poleis* across the Mediterranean. The mobility of individuals and the relationships they established with foreign communities were crucial to the diffusion and maintenance of a shared intellectual and cultural milieu.[979] Within this context, communities in Karia and Krete were in contact with one another; Mylasa, Euromos, Miletos and Magnesia all established relationships with the island and its inhabitants, whether prompted by diplomacy, commerce, or warfare among other mechanisms. Interaction with Krete generated cultural and religious interchange on an immediate level, and I have

[978] *IC* 3. 3. 3. C.1, ll. 3-4.
[979] Cf. Ma (2003) 13-14; Gehrke (2011) 48.

suggested that it was the presence of Kretans in the cities of Mylasa, Euromos and Amyzon that instigated the appearance of 'Kretan' cults in Karia.

This chapter has also explored how the historical and mythological ties that existed between the two regions were affected within this context, and gained a renewed pertinence in light of current associations. At Miletos and Magnesia, the settlement of Kretans in the vicinity, and the territorial dispute between the two cities over the rights to the land on which they were settled, had an immediate impact on how they framed their relationship to the island. As individuals and communities sought to establish relationships with one another, they made recourse to their common past; for both Miletos and Magnesia, the history of an affiliation with Krete became more relevant as they negotiated the incorporation of Kretans into their communities.

The traditional affiliation between Karia and Krete continued to be transmitted and 'recollected' in antiquity because of its enduring relevance to the communities of Karia. But this is only one way to approach the significance of the ancient mythological traditions, and it does not consider their origins. In the case of Karia and Krete, the renewed interest in the archaeology of Bronze Age south western Anatolia over the last few decades has made it possible to approach afresh the question of whether the transmitted versions of history could preserve an awareness of early interaction; I will focus on this issue in Chapter 5, examining the roots of the Karian-Kretan link.

Chapter 5:
Early Interaction between Karia and Krete

Early Interaction between Karia and Krete

The notion of interaction between Krete and Karia held an allure for archaeologists working both on the island and at sites in western Anatolia during the twentieth century. As discussed in the Introduction, A. J. Evans placed an emphasis on the idea of an early cultural affinity between the two regions, and similarly, the excavations at Labraunda in Karia were initiated in order to explore a possible link between Bronze Age Anatolia and Krete.[980] At Iasos, exploration began under the directorship of D. Levi in 1960, and continued into the 1970s under C. Laviosa, with the explicit intention of looking for evidence of contact between the Karian city and the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures. Rather than necessarily postulating a cultural affinity between the two regions, Laviosa and Levi were seeking evidence for Minoan and Mycenaean *emporia* or colonies along the coast of Anatolia, and looked to the cultural forces of the Aegean for the introduction of urbanisation to this region of Asia Minor.[981]

The Karian-Kretan connection of myth played a significant role in the direction of these enquiries, as did the equally familiar tradition of the thalassocracy of Minos. Such a positivist approach is rightly no longer in favour among archaeologists and historians, but the questions regarding the relationship between the archaeological record and the traditions that are preserved in later sources remain relevant. Accepting as a premise that not all such later traditions can automatically be considered as invention does not mean advocating the existence of a historical king Minos who ruled the seas. Rather, it is questioning whether, and how, the material culture that apparently dominated Krete and the Aegean during the Bronze Age, and that we conveniently label Minoan, is reflected in the later body of traditions surrounding the mythical king and his realm.

Central to this topic is the issue of how societies 'remember' their past: how historical traditions were transmitted, particularly in pre-literate societies, and the factors affecting how they were preserved. Judging the historical accuracy of later recorded versions of the past should not be the only measure by which we should

[980] See above p.26ff.
[981] Laviosa (1973) 182-183. Cf. the comments of Momigliano (2005) 217-219; (2009) 121.

judge their value to the historian. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, in her study *Dionysos, Hylas, the Nymphs and Others,* spearheaded a new approach to the integration of archaeology and later historical traditions in relation to the city of Miletos, and this case will be examined below.[982] Central to her work was the notion that awareness of regional history, and of different historical phases, could be transmitted in antiquity. Events in the distant past of a community could be recalled centuries after, albeit not remembered accurately: they were reflected, or 'refracted', in the civic histories and mythologies that have been transmitted to us. The previous chapters have explored the various ways in which some form of connection with Krete was claimed in south western Anatolia both on a civic and a regional level, and why this remained 'good to think with' in Karia during the Hellenistic period. A large number of such traditions were associated with the mythical past of Minos and the figures related to him; this chapter focuses on whether, and to what extent, they refract early interaction with Krete during the Bronze Age.

Analysis of such a process is far from straightforward; our knowledge of the cultures of Bronze Age Karia is derived almost entirely from the archaeological record, which in itself is far from complete.[983] In attempting to gauge the relationship of the material record to the later historical traditions it is important to tread a fine line between accepting that certain mythological traditions could preserve a 'residuum' of historical events, and looking for this historical core in all such traditions. The civic mythologies and histories transmitted were by no means coherent, and could be numerous and contradictory; as seen in Chapter 4, the modern historian has to confront the issue of elaboration, or the re-working of historical narratives, and their potential for renegotiation in light of social and political circumstances. The integration of the archaeological data with the literary sources is also not straightforward, and can result in distortion. When considering whether we can establish a connection between such traditions and the Bronze Age history of south western Anatolia, we need to be cautious in defining our aims: it is possible to postulate a link without validating every version or detail of a tradition.

[982] Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 268-309. See also Herda (2009).
[983] See below p.219f. for discussion of Karkisa/Karkiya.

With this in mind, this chapter will be separated into two sections. The first will examine the current state of research into the Bronze Age landscape of south western Anatolia, trying to determine the cultural orientation of the region during this period from the archaeological evidence. The focus will be on the involvement of the communities of south west Anatolia in the networks of the Aegean, in particular the Minoan and Mycenaean realms, assessing the impact such contact had on the region, and whether it involved the settlement of 'Minoans' and/or 'Mycenaeans.' The second section will then draw on these conclusions to return to the question of how such contact could relate to later traditions; examining in greater detail the processes involved in transmitting the past, and the factors influencing how communities recalled their history.

Minoan and Mycenaean Contacts with South Western Anatolia

The term 'Minoan' is used to refer to the material culture and inhabitants of Krete during the Bronze Age. A.J. Evans' research on the island, and his attempts to draw links between his discoveries and the traditions about the mythical king Minos, led to the broad employment of the term 'Minoan' to describe the civilisation of Krete during this period. Similarly, 'Mycenaean' is commonly used in reference to the culture centred on central and southern Greece that came to dominate the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age. Such labels are scholarly constructs used to define archaeologically attested cultures, and their continued employment is not without controversy; it is worth emphasising that 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean' do not correspond to any named ancient ethnic entity.[984] When talking of 'Minoans' or 'Mycenaeans', caution needs to be exercised in defining these labels: in an immediate sense they refer to individuals from Krete or mainland Greece, yet what of individuals from within these realms? Is it possible to distinguish in the archaeological record between a 'Minoan' from Krete and a 'Minoan' from a

[984] Niemeier (2009) 12: 'we are in no position to know whether Bronze age 'Cretans' used a generic expression to describe themselves.'

'Minoanised' community such as Miletos?[985] Such issues need to be considered in any analysis of the cultural forces at play in the Bronze Age Aegean. However, despite their inherent shortcomings, and without an alternative terminology, the categories of 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean' remain convenient within modern discussions of the issues and will be employed here.[986]

Assessing the level of interaction between south western Anatolia and the Minoan and Mycenaean realms during the Bronze Age inevitably incorporates broader questions about 'Minoanization' and the history of the tradition of the thalassocracy of Minos. Generally speaking the Minoan culture is defined as that which arose on the island of Krete during the first half of the third millennium BC, and flourished within the wider Aegean until the mid-second millennium BC. From the late fifteenth century BC, the Minoan cultural dominance receded as the Mycenaean realm gradually extended across the Aegean to include the island of Krete and the coastal areas of Anatolia.[987] There is debate about the nature of Mycenaean involvement with western Asia Minor, and their relation to the *Ahhiyawa* people who are attested in Hittite sources during the Late Bronze Age; this will be discussed below.[988] Before turning to an analysis of the archaeological evidence, I will briefly examine the issues involved in characterising both the Minoan and Mycenaean spheres, as they inform how we will approach and contextualise the evidence.

According to the definition offered by C. Broodbank, 'Minoanization' is 'a modern term of sometimes deceptive convenience for a heterogeneous range of ancient material cultural traits and practices' that indicate the adoption of cultural forms in places beyond Krete 'of ways of doing things that originated directly or indirectly within the island.'[989] The processes that the term encompasses are wide-ranging, and so while its employment is convenient, the possible implications of the term 'Minoanization' require analysis. The occurrence of Minoan cultural artefacts in locations other than Krete does not necessarily imply the presence of individuals

[985] Momigliano (2009) 122.
[986] Broodbank (2004) 50-4.
[987] See Figure 13 for an approximate chronology of the Bronze Age.
[988] The literature on this issue is extensive: see Niemeier (1998) 19-25 for a summary.
[989] Broodbank (2004) 46.

from Krete, or 'Minoans', at these sites. But what can we deduce from the appearance of classically Minoan shapes or forms outside Krete, made from local fabrics? The possibility of Minoan settlement abroad is one alternative: the prevalence of the traditions surrounding Minos' control over the sea in antiquity, and the extension of his influence to the Cyclades and the western coast of Anatolia, led early archaeologists to seek evidence of Minoan colonies as part of a Minoan empire. But 'Minoanization,' or the equally pervasive processes of 'Mycenaeanization,' could also reflect processes of cultural emulation in regions outside Krete and/or mainland Greece. At the least, such evidence reveals a level of contact and familiarity with a foreign material culture; the local adoption of Minoan/Mycenaean forms and techniques could also indicate a desire on the part of the 'indigenous' population to imitate a particular culture. This in turn offers an insight into the dominant cultural forces at the time, or what Niemeier has termed a 'cultural status vocabulary.'[990]

The distribution of Minoan and Mycenaean styles, attested both through imports and local wares, spread across the Aegean during the Bronze Age, including to Kythera, Thera, Melos, Keos, Samos, and the islands of the Dodekanese; it also extended to the coast of Anatolia, as attested at Miletos, Teichiussa, Iasos, Knidos, and on the Karaburun Peninsula (see Map 5).[991] It seems probable that this cultural prevalence was in part mirrored by supremacy in the economic and political realm; first by the 'Minoans' of Krete, and then by the 'Mycenaeans' from Greece. However, there remains uncertainty over whether such archaeologically attested contact involved the settlement of Minoans or Mycenaeans, or on a more formal level, the establishment of 'colonies.'

As noted in the Introduction, the last few decades have witnessed a shift in emphasis in archaeological research, and the early stages of settlement in western Anatolia have received renewed interest. This has been accompanied by the reassessment and refinement of our understanding of the Minoan sphere of influence, leading to renewed analyses of terms such as 'Minoanization' and 'colonisation.' Certain criteria should be applied to judge the forms of interaction that were taking

[990] Niemeier (2009) 12.
[991] The evidence from Anatolia and the surrounding islands will be explored in depth below.

place: the presence of imports or 'Minoanising' wares is not enough to conclude the presence of individuals from Krete. However, evidence of Minoan/Mycenaean religious customs or cults, or of characteristic burial practices, could indicate more substantial interaction and possible settlement; the presence of Minoan/Mycenaean building techniques may also be instructive. Ceramics constitute the majority of the evidence from the Bronze Age, and the ratio of imported wares or locally produced imitations to local wares should also be considered when trying to assess the cultural makeup of a community during a certain period.[992] Momigliano has further proposed examining production techniques in greater detail, distinguishing between poorer imitations of Minoan or Mycenaean forms, and those that are of a higher quality: the implication being that wares produced faithfully to Minoan or Mycenaean templates reveal the 'motor habits' of the manufacturer, and potentially their cultural origin.[993] We need to bear such considerations in mind when analysing the archaeological evidence from south western Anatolia.

Below is a summary of the current stage of research on Minoan and Mycenaean contacts along the coast of western Anatolia and the neighbouring islands; the focus is inevitably on evidence from the sites where the Bronze Age levels of settlement have received most attention (see Map 5). The scope of the survey is by nature subjective, dealing with a specific aspect of the archaeological data from a selection of sites, and thus does not serve as a comprehensive account of the Bronze Age settlement of the region. The social and cultural outlook of Karia will be considered more broadly in the next section.

Miletos

Archaeological research began at Miletos in 1899, and over the subsequent century evidence for the Bronze Age settlement at the site was identified; exploration into the early phases of Miletos was resumed under the directorship of W.-D. Niemeier in 1994, and the Bronze Age history of Miletos is now better understood than the majority of the other sites along the coast of Asia Minor.[994] The phase

[992] Cadogan (1984); Benzi (2005) 206.
[993] Momigliano (2005) 222-223; (2009) 133.
[994] Niemeier (2005) 1-2. Cf. Niemeier (1998) 27-28.

labelled Miletos I corresponds to the Late Chalcolithic period (second half of the fourth millennium BC), while Miletos II dates to the Early Bronze Age (third millennium BC); the first evidence for Minoan contact comes in Miletos III, which corresponds to Middle Minoan IB to Middle Minoan II (nineteenth to eighteenth centuries BC).[995] Domestic ware of Minoan types, produced locally, have been discovered, including conical cups, a tripod cooking pot, a scuttle and a number of loom weights of a standard Minoan type.[996] A kiln of a 'distinctive Minoan cross-draught' type has also been found[997]; the earliest known example on Krete dates to the Middle Minoan II period, and outside Krete the only other place that this type of kiln has been discovered is on Kos.[998]

Miletos III also reveals evidence for possible Minoan administration at the site: two seals were discovered, one depicting a Kretan goat design, parallels for which on Krete date to Middle Minoan IA – IB (2100/50-1875/50); the other of greenish serpentine with a motif of two circles that belonged to the 'Mallia Workshop Complex' on Krete of Middle Minoan IB-II (1925/00-1750/00).[999] A clay sealing has also been found, which is typical of the type used in Kretan palace administration from Middle Minoan II onwards.[1000] Other finds from this context include imports of decorated Kamares pottery, mostly cups or bridge-spouted jars, dated to Middle Minoan IB and Middle Minoan II; initial petrographic analysis suggests that these Kamares wares originated in central Krete.[1001] For this level it is important to stress that while Minoan influence on local manufacturing practices can be detected, Kretan imports constitute less than 2% of the Miletos III assemblage; large quantities of local, south western Anatolian pottery were discovered in this phase, mostly characteristic red slip ware.[1002] The nature of the Minoan influence is not clear: while the presence of individuals who originated within the Minoan sphere seems likely, due to the presence of the kiln and the local imitation pottery, it is not

[995] Niemeier (2005) 2-3. See Figure 13.
[996] Raymond (2009) 152; Niemeier (2005) 6.
[997] Niemeier (2005) 3.
[998] *Ibid.* 3. Cf. Raymond (2009) 146-148, fig. 4.
[999] Niemeier (2005) 3, pl. 7 & 8; Raymond (2009) 144.
[1000] Niemeier (2005) 3, pl. 9.
[1001] Raymond (2009) 150.
[1002] *Ibid.* 149, 151; Niemeier (2005) 3.

possible to deduce at this time whether their presence constituted a formal 'settlement colony' or the informal presence of traders and merchants.

The period known as Miletos IV dates to Middle Minoan III to Late Minoan IB/II (roughly eighteenth century to the mid fifteenth century BC). During this period the settlement in the area of the temple of Athena was rebuilt; there was also a rupture in this stratum related to the destruction caused by the volcanic eruption on Thera.[1003] Again, imported decorated Minoan pottery from Middle Minoan III is represented among the finds, as well as pottery from the Cyclades and the Greek mainland.[1004] Also present are the Light-on-Dark and Dark-on-Light wares typical of the south east Aegean, and thought to have been produced on Kos. But the majority of the decorated pottery assemblage is Minoan imports.[1005]

Among the locally produced ceramics, Minoan types also dominate, constituting around 90% of the assemblage; approximately 8000 fragments of locally made conical cups have been discovered to date, in addition to 500 whole examples.[1006] Other Minoan shapes among the discoveries include tripod cooking pots, fire stands, scuttles, fire-boxes and disc-shaped loom weights of the Minoan standard type.[1007] The sheer dominance of Minoan forms among the local wares seems to indicate that individuals of Minoan origin were resident at Miletos. The presence of 'Minoans' at Miletos is further suggested by a courtyard structure that has a central mudbrick altar, which seems to have been part of a sanctuary. Niemeier regards this arrangement as a typical Minoan feature; the discovery of a circular pit with the burnt bones of goats, sheep and cattle, is also characteristic of Minoan practice.[1008]

According to the criteria laid out above, the adoption of Minoan architectural features may indicate Minoan settlement; this is reinforced through the use of a Minoan technique of wall painting in frescoes excavated in Miletos IV, including the appearance of Minoan religious iconography.[1009] Broadly speaking the architecture

[1003] Niemeier (2005) 5.
[1004] *Ibid.* 5, fig. 10; one example is a Late Helladic IIA cup, decorated with a double axe.
[1005] *Ibid.* 5.
[1006] Kaiser (2009) 163.
[1007] *Ibid.* 59-161; Niemeier (2005) 6.
[1008] Niemeier (2005) 6.
[1009] *Ibid.* 7; colour plates 14-18.

of this level is unsophisticated, although we can detect the employment of Minoan techniques: the practice of using roughly pyramidal shaped blocks in construction, so only the visible face was smooth, finds parallels across Krete during the same period.[1010] Six fragmentary Linear A inscriptions have now been discovered in Miletos IV, which again may indicate the presence of Minoans, and they are all on vessels of Late Minoan IA date: five are made of local micaceous clay, and the other fragment apparently originated in south-central Krete.[1011]

Distinguishing between Minoan influence as a result of settlement, as opposed to commercial and diplomatic contact with the Minoan realm, remains difficult; as Niemeier writes, the Minoan weight system could have been adopted outside Krete for economic expediency due to the dominance of their culture during this period; the use of Linear A for commercial purposes could be similarly explained.[1012] But the vast dominance of Minoan forms within the local pottery assemblage is more instructive, as is the adoption of Minoan building techniques and potential cultic practices: as Niemeier writes, 'the material culture of Miletos IV is almost entirely Minoan.'[1013] The presence of 'Minoan' settlers can be postulated at Miletos during this period. Niemeier goes as far as to characterise the Minoan presence as a 'settlement colony', whereby outsiders move into unsettled land or drive out the indigenous population; what this signifies with regard to the previous inhabitants at Miletos is unclear.[1014] Minoan influence at Miletos began in Miletos III, during which period there was cooperation with the local population; Miletos IV may witness new settlers, but the high level of Minoan acculturation could also be a continuation of the assimilation begun during the previous phase.

The Mycenaean presence at the site started in Miletos V during the Late Helladic III A1 period (roughly 1420/10-1390/70), although most of the Mycenaean pottery comes from the destruction layer of Miletos VI, dating from Late Helladic III A2 and into III C (1390/70-1200/1190).[1015] During this period Miletos seems to have

[1010] Niemeier (2005) 8.
[1011] *Ibid.* 7.
[1012] *Ibid.* 8.
[1013] *Ibid.* 9.
[1014] *Ibid.* 9, following Branigan's models of the three main types of Minoan presence abroad. Cf. Branigan (1981).
[1015] Niemeier (2005) 10-16. Cf. Niemeier (1998) 30-40.

served as a centre for pottery production.[1016] The majority of the locally produced pottery from this phase was of Mycenaean character, with only a few vessels of western Anatolian type.[1017] However, certain Minoan traditions still survived, as indicated by the presence of Minoan style kilns in Miletos V and in Miletos VI. From Miletos VI there are also two fragments of pottery that may have been inscribed with Linear B signs.[1018] Turning to the question of whether the evidence is indicative of Mycenaean settlers at Miletos, the presence of terracotta figurines of females and animals may serve as evidence for Mycenaean ritual. More persuasive evidence is offered by the discovery of eleven chamber tombs of Mycenaean type, dated to Miletos VI, and located at Değirmen Tepe, 1.5km south-west of the settlement in the area of the Temple of Athena; most of the grave goods were also of Mycenaean character, including pottery of Late Helladic IIIB-C (1330/15-1075/50), jewellery, gold rosettes, and bronze weaponry.[1019] During Miletos V and into Miletos VI we thus witness a shift in influence away from the Minoans and towards the Mycenaeans; as with the 'Minoan' settlement before, this change seemed to involve the settlement of individuals from within the 'Mycenaean' realm.

During the Bronze Age Miletos served as a regional centre, and was a focal point of commerce and trade. Its coastal location at the mouth of the Maeander meant that it was well situated for interaction with central Anatolia, and the likely equation of Miletos with the Millawanda attested in the Hittite sources seems to confirm contact in this direction.[1020] The strategic value of Miletos within the networks of the ancient world is confirmed by the archaeological evidence, which reveals the incorporation of the site into the successive spheres of the Minoans and the Mycenaeans.

[1016] Niemeier (2005) 12.
[1017] *Ibid.* 10-11.
[1018] *Ibid.* 12; although he also notes that if this is the case, such a usage would be unusual to this region.
[1019] *Ibid.* 13.
[1020] See below p.222.

Iasos

Iasos is located in the Gulf of Mendylia, on a small promontory that was originally an island. After initial archaeological surveying conducted at the site during the nineteenth century, archaeological exploration at Iasos began in 1960 under Italian directorship with the explicit intention of researching the Bronze Age settlement.[1021] A renewed interest in this period has been led in recent years by N. Momigliano, who has sought to re-examine and re-evaluate the evidence as part of the Bronze Age Carian Iasos project.[1022] The earliest evidence for contact between Iasos and the Minoan sphere dates to the Protopalatial period, and is represented by three vessels: two are fragmentary Minoan drinking cups, while a third vessel consists of fragments of some form of jar. They were discovered in levels contemporary with Middle Minoan IIIB and Late Minoan IA periods (roughly 1750/00-1625/00); however, Momigliano has postulated that their date can be pushed back to a Middle Minoan IIB-IIIB (1875/50-1700/1675) context through comparisons with similar material found on Krete.[1023]

The evidence for interaction between Iasos and the Minoan sphere increases during the period corresponding to Middle Minoan IIIB to Late Minoan IA. Pottery is the most abundant evidence: approximately fifty sherds originate from Kretan imports, ranging from drinking cups to jars or jugs and pithoi. In addition, a number of vessels attest to the local production of Minoan-type pottery, including domestic pottery and fine wares, and imitations of both a poorer and a higher quality. The objects that fall into this category include hundreds of conical cups, loom weights, cooking pots, scuttles, and spit-rests: the majority of the conical cups are imitations of a higher quality, leading Momigliano to suggest that they were made 'following proper 'Minoan' templates, techniques, and motor habits.'[1024] Overall, Minoan imports and locally produced Minoanising pottery account for 5% of the total ceramic assemblage at Iasos. Local Anatolian wares constitute the largest group, while south east Aegean Light-on-Dark and Dark-on Light types, produced largely

[1021] See n. 981.
[1022] Momigliano (2005) 217.
[1023] Momigliano (2005); (2009); Benzi (2005).
[1024] Momigliano (2009) 133.

on Kos, are also well represented among the assemblage[1025]: out of all the imported wares so far found at Iasos, the SE Aegean Light-on-Dark are among the most frequent.[1026] Around a dozen possible imports from the Cyclades have so far been identified[1027], while three vessels may have their origin on Rhodes[1028]; there are also several imports from Miletos.[1029]

Potters' marks in Linear A are attested on three or four pottery fragments from Iasos, including one from a vessel that was made in a local fabric.[1030] Certain architectural features at Iasos may also reveal a debt to Minoan culture: the construction of so-called Building F used large wedge shaped stones in a technique similar to that attested in Miletos, and which originated on Minoan Krete. As at Miletos, it may indicate the presence of a mason from within the Minoan realm at Iasos.[1031] A small number of stone objects discovered at Iasos may also reveal a skill base that finds its origin in Minoan techniques, including an imported fragmentary mace head or hammer, and two stone vases that were made in the local red marble.[1032] The excavations at Iasos thus provide various forms of evidence for contacts between this region of Asia Minor and Minoan Krete, and other regions of the Aegean that fell within the Minoan sphere. The employment of Minoan techniques in local fabrics indicates a familiarity with the culture and technologies of the Minoan realm that is probably a result of direct contact. The high quality of certain of these Minoanised features, for example in the pottery assemblage, the Linear A potters' marks, and the building techniques employed in Building H, may further suggest the presence of individuals of Minoan origin or from within the Minoan realm.[1033]

[1025] This had been classified by Levi and Laviosa as 'Kamares' pottery, imported from the Minoan realm or produced locally in imitation.
[1026] Momigliano (2005) 221.
[1027] *Ibid.* 220.
[1028] *Ibid.* 222.
[1029] *Ibid.* 222.
[1030] Momigliano (2009) 127: the fragment was incised before firing.
[1031] *Ibid.* 126-127.
[1032] *Ibid.* 128-129. The similarity between this local red marble and *rosso antico* from Lakonia has further led Momigliano to suggest that Minoan stone vases from Krete and Minoanised areas, such as Kos, should be re-evaluated with the possibility that they may provide another link between south western Anatolia and Minoan Krete.
[1033] Momigliano (2009) 127.

During the period corresponding to Late Minoan IB/Late Helladic IIA (roughly 1625/00-1470/60), Iasos seems to have been covered in volcanic ash from the eruption on Thera, and no pottery has been discovered from this context.[1034] There is no evidence from the site until the Late Helladic IIIA period, although it is unclear whether this indicates a rupture in settlement at the site.[1035] Mycenaean evidence is found at Iasos from Late Helladic IIIA:1; the majority of this is pottery, although a small number of terracotta figurines of Mycenaean character, made in local clay, have been discovered.[1036] 'Canonical' Mycenaean forms constitute only 1.5% of the total ceramics, and plain and monochrome Mycenaean types another 8.5%; however Mycenaean shapes and motifs are numerous among the pottery of local fabrics (the remaining 90% of the assemblage). Unlike in earlier periods, the pottery of Anatolian type represents only a small fraction of local wares at Iasos during Late Bronze Age III, although characteristic south east Aegean types are present.

The Bronze Age evidence from Iasos chronicles the involvement of the city in the relatively small-scale regional networks that incorporated western Anatolia, the Dodekanese, the Cyclades, and Krete: evidence for the direct involvement of Iasos in the longer-distance trade networks of the eastern Mediterranean is currently lacking, although it may be that such interaction was directed through the larger regional *emporia*, including Miletos and Trianda on Rhodes.[1037] Interaction between Iasos and the major Bronze Age powers of Minoan Krete and Mycenaean Greece is attested in the material record, but the implications of such evidence are not straightforward. Imports from the Minoan and Mycenaean sphere indicate contact with Iasos, although this may not have been direct but rather conducted through regional centres. The successive dominance of the Aegean by the cultures of Minoan Krete and Mycenaean Greece, and local assimilation of their material cultures, may be the result of their cultural pre-eminence during this period. Stronger indications of direct contact between Iasos and individuals from within the Minoan and Mycenaean

[1034] Benzi (2005) 205. See below for comments on the impact of the Theran eruption.
[1035] *Ibid.* 205 & 206 for both sides of the argument.
[1036] Benzi (1999).
[1037] Momigliano (2005) 224.

realms are offered by the 'high quality' imitations that were produced locally at Iasos: they reveal a close acquaintance with 'Minoan' or 'Mycenaean' production techniques and technologies, what Momigliano refers to as specific 'motor habits' that are more likely to reveal the original affiliation of the craftsman.[1038] Returning to our original criteria of indicators for the presence of a foreign population group, the employment of Minoan building techniques reinforces the impression that craftsmen from within the Minoan realm were working and/or resident at Iasos, although they apparently did not dominate, and lived alongside the 'indigenous' population.

Teichiussa

The city of Teichiussa is mentioned by Thucydides as being in the vicinity of Miletos, and later Stephanos described the city as πόλις Μιλησίας.[1039] Excavations on the southern shore of the Milesian peninsula, north of the Gulf of Mandalya, have revealed an area of settlement that is now identified with Teichiussa.[1040] Three different stages of habitation have been discovered: 'Neu-Teichiussa', founded in the late Classical or early Hellenistic period; Teichiussa, inhabited during the archaic period down to c. 500 BC; and 'Alt-Teichiussa', situated between both of them, where settlement began during the later Chalcolithic period.[1041] During a phase contemporary with Late Minoan IA (roughly 1700/1675-1625/00), a number of objects were discovered that indicate influence from the south Aegean: loom weights with grooves along the upper part were typical of the Minoan sphere, as were the conical cups excavated at the site. Other finds included spindle whorls, a possible incense burner, and a number of vessels, both open and closed.[1042] W. Voigtländer concludes that such objects were imports acquired through trade, as opposed to an indicator of the adoption of south Aegean 'Minoan' styles locally, as the excavations did not reveal any evidence of a production centre in the vicinity of the site.[1043] Alt-Teichiussa was a single phase settlement, and it is thought that habitation ended

[1038] Momigliano (2009) 132-133.
[1039] Thuc. 8. 26; Steph. Byz. s.v.Τειχίοεσσα.
[1040] Voigtländer (2009).
[1041] *Ibid.* 111.
[1042] *Ibid.* 115.
[1043] *Ibid.*

abruptly at some point during the Late Bronze Age IA, after which the site remained uninhabited for the remainder of the second millennium BC: it has been suggested that there is a correlation between the end of Alt-Teichiussa and the eruption of Akrotira on Thera.[1044]

Karaburun Peninsula

In antiquity the Karaburun Peninsula, projecting west of Smyrna (modern İzmir), was the location of a number of cities, including Erythrai (located at the modern village of Ildırı), Klazomenai (modern Kilizman near Urla), and Teos (Map 5). They were all members of the Ionian Dodekapolis, as listed by Herodotos.[1045] Habitation on the peninsula dates back to the Bronze Age, and in recent years, excavations undertaken by the İzmir Region Excavations and Research Project have turned their attention to the early stages of occupation in the region. One such site is Çeşme-Bağlararasi, located near to the modern town Çeşme, where excavations began in 2002.[1046] The research carried out to date reveals occupation from a time contemporary with the Middle Minoan III period (roughly 1750/00-1700/1675), when the settlement was organised with streets between housing structures. The pottery from this phase is largely local; a number of semi-globular cups and trefoil jugs were discovered in the so-called 'Wine House' and they are thought to have been associated with wine production.[1047]

In the Late Minoan IA period, or Level 1 at Çeşme-Bağlararasi (roughly 1700/1675-1625/00), the site's involvement in the Aegean trading networks increased. Local pottery types remain in the majority, with buff slipped wares and Anatolian Grey Wares both found at the site; however, imported pottery is also well represented, and from a variety of origins. Cycladic wares form the largest group among the imports, and consist of both Cycladic painted and Cycladic Minoanising ceramics.[1048] The Minoanising wares are mainly Dark-on-Light examples, employing decorative spirals, or floral motifs. The Minoan imports are small in

[1044] Voigtländer (2009) 116.
[1045] Hdt. 1. 142.
[1046] Erkanal & Keskin (2009).
[1047] *Ibid.* 100.
[1048] *Ibid.* 103.

number, and all of high quality: they include polychrome and 'ripple wares', and spiral and band decorations.[1049] A small number of artefacts originated from mainland Greece. The number of ceramics from Minoan Krete is few, and their restriction to high quality wares may indicate the prevalence of the island within the luxury market during this period. The more numerous Minoanising wares indicate the wider influence of Minoan culture within the Aegean, as pottery types and decorations that originated on the island came to be adopted in other locations. The discovery of locally produced loom weights in a Minoan style at Çeşme-Bağlararasi, identified by the groove on the upper edge, further indicates the transfer of Minoan forms to this coastal settlement.

Another site on the Karaburun peninsula, Liman Tepe, has been investigated in recent years, and reveals contacts with Minoan Krete from an early period. The settlement was occupied from the Early Bronze Age, and a few recent finds indicate contact with the Minoan sphere at this time: a fragment of an open bowl discovered in a phase contemporary with the Early Minoan IIB (roughly 2450/00-2200) has been identified by the excavators as a possible Minoan import, while another deep, spouted bowl is of a type that is familiar from Early Minoan II to Middle Minoan I periods on Krete.[1050] While the evidence discovered to date is not extensive, at both Çeşme-Bağlararasi and Liman Tepe the material record indicates interaction with Minoan Krete, and more broadly with other islands that fell within the Minoan sphere during the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Such pottery does not dominate the evidence from these sites, but it does indicate some level of trade between western Anatolia and the wider Aegean, which at this time appears to have fallen into the sphere of influence of Krete.

Müsgebi

The Müsgebi necropolis is located on the Halikarnassos peninsula, and in total consists of forty-eight subterranean chamber tombs, with burials dated from

[1049] Erkanal & Keskin (2009) 103.
[1050] *Ibid.* 105.

Late Helladic IIIA1 to Late Helladic IIIC (1420/10-1075/50).[1051] The period of greatest use is Late Helladic IIIA2 and Late Helladic IIIB; only one piece of pottery dates to Late Helladic IIIA1, and six pieces to Late Helladic IIIC, out of a total of 179.[1052] The chambers vary in plan from circular to rectangular[1053], and generally consist of a dromos and a burial chamber; such a type is well known from Mycenaean culture, and the necropolis has been interpreted as evidence for a Mycenaean presence on the Halikarnassos peninsula.[1054] About half of the pottery assemblage from Müsgebi was locally made, with a predominance of cups, jugs and pyxides[1055]; C. Mee has drawn a parallel between the style of the trefoil lipped jugs with those made on Kos, and looks for a possible origin in the Anatolian beak-spouted jugs.[1056] The majority of the imported pottery is from the Dodekanese, especially Rhodes, including stirrup jars, braziers, flasks, a jug, and kylikes.[1057] The initial excavation reports described the use of cremation in three of the graves, and this was interpreted by the early excavators as evidence for influence from central Anatolia on Mycenaean burial practices.[1058] However, Carstens has recently re-evaluated the material, and found that the evidence for cremation is not conclusive.[1059]

The necropolis displays the greatest cultural affinity with the Mycenaean realm, and particularly the areas of the eastern Aegean and the Dodekanese. The closest parallel can be found in the Mycenaean cemeteries on Rhodes.[1060] Burial practices are considered to be a strong indicator of the cultural origins of a population, and thus the presence of 'Mycenaean' style tombs on the Halikarnassos peninsula might reveal the settlement of 'Mycenaeans.'

[1051] Boysal (1967) 31-39; Mee (1978) 137-142; Carstens (2001); Carstens (2008). See comments below on the date of the necropolis at Trianda on Rhodes.
[1052] Carstens (2001) 95.
[1053] *Ibid.* 89.
[1054] Boysal (1967) 34.
[1055] Carstens (2001) 95.
[1056] Mee (1978) 139.
[1057] Carstens (2001) 95.
[1058] Boysal (1967) reports black discolouration on the bones, as well as carbonisation in Tomb 15 (37), and a burnt skeleton in Tomb 39. In tomb 3 ashes were also placed in a ceramic container (Carstens (2001) 90). Cf. Mee (1978) 137.
[1059] Carstens (2001) 90-91.
[1060] See below.

The Dodekanese

Rhodes:

Occupation of some sort began at Trianda (Ialysos) on Rhodes during the Middle Bronze Age period; Middle Minoan I-II (roughly 2100/50-1750/00) archaeological material from the north eastern side of Mt. Phileremos (where the later acropolis of Trianda was located) suggests the beginnings of settlement or cult activity at this time.[1061] Four Middle Minoan stone vases have been discovered in the vicinity of the later acropolis and temple of Athena, indicating some contact with Krete during this period. Also among the assemblage were a number of carinated cups and jars, which M. Benzi considered to be characteristic of Krete during the same period. However, T. Marketou has looked for parallels for the carinated cups and the bridge-spouted jars in Anatolia; he has also compared certain building techniques at Trianda during this period to those employed in western Anatolia.[1062] Production during this period appears to have been largely local, albeit employing shapes and forms that indicate contact with other regions.

The earliest phase of the Late Bronze Age settlement at Trianda corresponds to Middle Minoan IIIB to Late Minoan IA (roughly 1750/00-1625/00) and was built above the foundations of the Middle Bronze Age phase. A number of polythyra, a distinctly 'Minoan' building type often thought to have been related to cult activity, were excavated at this level.[1063] 'Horns of consecration' were discovered in a well in the corner of one such building, which might indicate a further religious association with Krete, while a fresco fragment from the same polythyron depicting a double axe with a sacral knot reinforces such an impression.[1064] Fragments of frescoes were found in almost every house at Trianda, and they display similar designs to those of Thera and other Aegean islands; red plastered floors, however, are thought to be a Kretan trait.[1065]

During this period Trianda adopted many Kretan characteristics, including architectural types and ceramics. A large number of Minoan conical cups were

[1061] Marketou (1988) 28; Marketou (2009) 73-74; Benzi (1984).
[1062] Marketou (2009) 74; 80.
[1063] Marinatos & Hägg (1986).
[1064] Marketou (2009) 88-89.
[1065] *Ibid.* 89.

discovered among the assemblage, as well as local imitations of Kretan forms. The discovery of three bronze Minoan statuettes further reinforces the impression of Kretan influence, and the possibility of a Minoan presence.[1066] It is likely that Rhodes was incorporated into the Minoan sphere, and adopted many cultural forms that originated on Krete; however, it also seems to have been open to influences from elsewhere in the eastern Aegean, as suggested by the close similarities between Triandan and Theran frescoes. Trianda was also active in the local networks of the Dodekanese and western Anatolia. A large amount of pottery from the site is of the Koan Light-on-Dark or Dark-on-Light style, while it seems that Iasos served as a market for local Triandan pottery.[1067]

There was a rupture in settlement at Trianda, again likely related to a fall of tephra from the volcanic eruption on Thera. It was only partially reconstructed in Late Minoan IB (1625/00-1470/60), and the new town was smaller and located further north. Conical cups are again well-represented during this phase, as are Marine Style pottery, both imported and locally imitated; interconnections with Cyprus are also documented by White Slip I ware.[1068] During Late Minoan IIIA (1420/10-1530/15) the pottery of Trianda became more Mycenaean in style.[1069] A Mycenaean cemetery of chamber tombs was located on the neighbouring hills of Makra and Moschou Vounara, and indicates a similar pattern of Mycenaeanization as at Trianda: 24% of the datable tombs were from Late Helladic IIB – IIIA.[1070] A number of these tombs contained bronze swords, or spearheads, as grave goods, leading Benzi to suggest that they marked the arrival and conquest of a group of Mycenaean settlers from the Argolid.[1071] Late Helladic IIIA2 marks a period of prosperity at Trianda, and the majority of the fine pottery had been imported from

[1066] Marketou (1988) 31.
[1067] Marketou (2009) 89.
[1068] Marketou (1988) 31.
[1069] *Ibid.* 31. Cf. Benzi (1988b) 59 for the arrival of the Mycenaeans on Rhodes.
[1070] Benzi (1988b) 59.
[1071] *Ibid.* 62; the Argolid origin of the pottery imports from this period further reinforces this impression.

the Argolid.[1072] This pattern is mirrored across Rhodes, and the number of inhabited sites rises to twenty four, as opposed to nine during the previous period.[1073]

The later phases of settlement remain little understood due to erosion at the site; a decline in imports can be detected in Late Helladic IIIB, and especially Late Helladic IIIB2, which accords with a broader pattern across the eastern Aegean (although it is less pronounced in southern Rhodes).[1074] Only 13 of the 79 datable tombs at Trianda were in use in Late Helladic IIIB. However, settlement at Trianda did continue, and fragments dating to Late Helladic IIIB and maybe as late as Late Helladic IIIC have been identified.[1075] The resurgence in the use of the chamber tomb cemetery at Trianda in Late Helladic IIIC may suggest a revival in activity at the site, or the influx of new settlers during this period.[1076] Pottery from this period seems largely indebted to the traditional Late Helladic IIIB motifs, and is submerged in the style of what Benzi calls the 'Aegean Koine.'[1077]

Kalymnos:

The Vathy Cave is situated on the east coast of Kalymnos, in a small bay at the mouth of the Rina valley. During excavations by Italian archaeologists in 1922 a good deal of Late Bronze Age pottery was discovered, which was published in more detail by M. Benzi in 1993.[1078] From the Late Minoan IA to IB period (roughly 1700/1675-1470/60) there are a handful of sherds that attest to Minoan imports: two conical rhyta, an ostrich-shaped rhyton, a cup, and a few other vessels. The motifs, including interlocking spirals with ivy leaves, and leaf-shaped tendrils, are characteristically Minoan, the latter being particularly common to eastern Krete.[1079] A Minoan stone vase, made from a black soft stone in the shape of a shallow ladle, was also discovered.[1080] In the Middle Bronze Age there is limited evidence for

[1072] Mee (1988) 56. At the cemetery of Trianda, 52% of the datable tombs were in use during LH IIIA2, and the majority of these were also built during this period (Benzi (1988b) 63).
[1073] Benzi (1988b) 62.
[1074] Mee (1988) 56; Benzi (1988b) 65.
[1075] Benzi (1988a) 53.
[1076] Mee (1988) 57, comments that the reuse of a chamber tomb is the act of displaced individuals. Cf. Benzi (1988b) 67-68.
[1077] Benzi (1988b) 69-70.
[1078] Benzi (1993).
[1079] *Ibid.* 277.
[1080] *Ibid.* 279.

continued occupation: two local imitations of Minoan shapes (a carinated cup and a clay lamp) and one import (a fragment of a Cycladic White vessel).[1081] South east Aegean Light-on-Dark and Dark-on-Light vessels are also attested at the site, as are various local wares.[1082]

There is a gap in the extant material after Late Minoan IB until Late Helladic IIIA2, at which point Mycenaean pottery imports appear at the Vathy Cave; these include cups, kylikes and a bowl, and again the decorative motifs find parallels from within the Mycenaean sphere.[1083] A number of local wares from this phase were discovered, and the forms find parallels elsewhere in the Aegean; a rare variant of a conical cup has also been found at Trianda and Iasos.[1084] Activity in the cave continued into Late Helladic IIIC (1200/1190-1075/50), although the material from this period appears to be local.[1085]

Karpathos:

According to Diodoros, the island of Karpathos 'was first settled by the Minoans who were on an expedition under Minos during his thalassocracy.'[1086] The archaeological record reveals evidence for interaction with the Minoan and Mycenaean spheres; contact began during Middle Minoan I-II,[1087] and increased from Middle Minoan III. There is an especial concentration towards the south of the island during the early period, before 'Minoan' influence penetrated inland and northwards.[1088] There was a rupture during Late Minoan I, when many of the 'Minoan' settlements were abandoned, again perhaps in connection with the volcanic eruption on Thera c. 1600 BC.[1089] Recovery begins in Late Minoan II (1470/60-1420/10), and for the period Late Minoan II to IIIA2 approximately 85% of the pottery assemblage from Karpathos, and the two closely connected islands of Kasos

[1081] Benzi (1993) 279.
[1082] *Ibid.* 277f.
[1083] *Ibid.* 281.
[1084] *Ibid.* 282.
[1085] *Ibid.* 286.
[1086] Diod. Sic. 5.54.4.
[1087] Melas (1985) 173; this trend was perhaps associated with the increased travels of Minoans to Cyprus in search of copper.
[1088] Melas (1985) 174.
[1089] *Ibid.* 175.

and Saros, is either Minoan imports, mostly from the Palaikastro region, or locally made imitations.[1090] Architectural forms remained local, on the whole.[1091] Mycenaean imports also begin during this period, yet they remain the minority; the presence of Rhodio-Mycenaean vessels may suggest that contact with the Argolid during this period was indirect, conducted via Rhodes.[1092]

In Late Minoan III (roughly 1420/10-1075/50) Karpathos still displays close affinities with the Minoan realms, and a high degree of assimilation of Minoan cultural forms; a large amount of locally produced pottery was of pure Minoan character. Certain local fine wares also indicate influence from Rhodes and the Argolid.[1093] A couple of larnax burials from southern Karpathos might also indicate Kretan influence: the practice of burial within a clay larnax originated on Krete, and spread around the Aegean in the Late Minoan III period.[1094] The evidence from Karpathos suggests the presence of 'Minoans' from the eastern part of Krete, and their settlement and integration with the local population.

The continuance of close relations with Krete during Late Minoan III, and the relative lack of direct contact with, or influence from, the Mycenaean realm, is noteworthy on Karpathos, in contrast with the Bronze Age levels at Miletos and Iasos. This is most likely explained by the proximity of the island to Krete; we witness the closest affinities between Karpathos and the regions of eastern Krete. Mycenaean material, both imported and produced locally, forms a greater part of the assemblage from the transitional period between Late Minoan IIIA2 and Late Minoan IIIB1. A Mycenaean cemetery of chamber cut tombs has been discovered near Avlona in northern Karpathos, and a number of drinking and pouring vessels, displaying both Mycenaean and Minoan forms, have been found in the vicinity.[1095] Minoan forms still constitute the majority (although the number of imports from Krete seems to reduce), and the material culture of Karpathos still remains

[1090] Melas (1985) 176.
[1091] Melas (2009) 71.
[1092] Melas (1985) 178.
[1093] *Ibid.* 177-178.
[1094] *Ibid.* 168-169.
[1095] Platon & Karantzali (2003). The association of the vessels with the tombs may be suggested by their character; a predominance of drinking and pouring vessels is also witnessed in Mycenaean tomb groups on Rhodes. Cf. comments of Carstens (2001).

essentially Minoan. A similar pattern is witnessed on Saros and Kasos.[1096] Gradually, the 'Mycenaean' evidence encroached on the islands, and the islands were incorporated into the Mycenaean trading networks.

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The summaries above are not exhaustive, offering only a brief introduction to the material record of a few select sites where the Bronze Age levels are best understood. The image that emerges is one of significant contact between south western Anatolia and the Dodekanese, and the interaction of both regions with the Minoan and Mycenaean realms. The total list of sites with evidence for some level of contact with the Minoan and Mycenaean cultural domains, whether direct or indirect, is longer: at Knidos Minoan pottery, dating to Middle Minoan I to Late Minoan I, has been excavated, ranging from fine painted wares to coarse cooking vessels.[1097] At Kolophon a Mycenaean tholos tomb has also been discovered[1098], while a Mycenaean chamber tomb was found at Pilavtepe near Milas.[1099] In the region of the Marsyas, a tributary of the Maeander, evidence for contact with the Mycenaeans has recently been discovered at Çine-Tepecik', and will hopefully be understood more fully with further research.[1100] Minoan domestic pottery has also been discovered on Telos, in the Heraion on Samos and at Seraglio on Kos[1101], while further north in western Anatolia, Mycenaean pottery has been discovered at Panaztepe, located at Menemen north of Izmir, and at Troy.[1102]

Generally Minoan influence faded with the advance of Mycenaean power, and at Miletos, Iasos and Trianda it is possible to identify distinct phases. The transition is less pronounced on the islands closest to Krete, where the Minoan character of the settlements persisted through the Late Bronze Age period, after the beginning of a Mycenaean presence. A level of decline or destruction is also attested

[1096] Melas (1985) 178.
[1097] Mellink (1978) 321.
[1098] Bridges (1974) 264-266.
[1099] Benter (2009). Cf. Niemeier (2005) 13, n. 324.
[1100] Günel (2010).
[1101] Morricone (1972-73); Niemeier (1998) 29.
[1102] Niemeier (1998) 26. Panaztepe: Ersoy (1988).

at a number of sites during Late Minoan IB-II, approximately contemporary with the eruption on Thera, although probably not a direct result of it. W.-D. Niemeier postulated that the Minoan decline was caused by internal conflicts, in part due to the economic dislocation caused by the eruption.[1103] It was following this disruption on Krete that Mycenaean influence expanded into the Aegean.

The presence of Minoan or Mycenaean imports attests to the existence of trading networks between coastal Anatolia and the Aegean, and we can trace the assimilation of dominant Minoan/Mycenaean cultural forms in south western Anatolia. This does not necessarily mean that all communities came into direct contact with 'Minoan' or 'Mycenaean' individuals, as the presence of Minoan or Mycenaean pottery could indicate indirect contact through one of the regional centres, such as Miletos or Trianda. But there are other indicators that Minoan/Mycenaean contact in the region was more substantial: the adoption of certain characteristic burial practices or architectural forms likely reveals the presence of Minoan or Mycenaean settlers, as does the evidence for the practice of Minoan or Mycenaean cult practices. Such forms of contact were most prominent at the coastal sites that served as commercial centres, or *emporia*, during the Bronze Age.[1104] The evidence suggests the settlement of individuals from the Minoan and Mycenaean spheres in certain places, notably at Miletos and Iasos, which were both important regional centres in the trade itineraries of the Aegean.

The strength of the regional networks in the south east Aegean also emerges from the archaeological material. Numerous small-scale regional ties linked the islands of the Dodekanese with the cities of south western Anatolia, and resulted in the development of a regional cultural *koine*.[1105] The similarities in the material assemblage of the cemeteries of Müsgebi and Trianda reveal close contact and cultural affinities, and could indicate that Mycenaean contact with this region of Anatolia was conducted via Rhodes. The cohesion of Karia as a region during this

[1103] Niemeier (2005) 10.
[1104] It can be presumed that the necropolis at Müsgebi was attached to a site, although so far it has not been discovered.
[1105] Such regional types can also be detected in the Early Bronze Age: red monochrome pottery was used along the coast of western Anatolia and in neighbouring islands, including Samos and Kos. Cf. Voigtlander (2009) 114, for the discovery of such wares at Alt-Teichiussa.

period is less clear: did such shared cultural traits extend into the Karian interior? The discovery of Mycenaean burial practices in the region of Milas would imply the presence of 'Mycenaeans' further inland, although research in this region remains at an early stage. Attention will now turn to examining the history of Karia during the Bronze Age; considering how its geographical location shaped it cultural identity, and thinking further about the possible division between the coastal and inland regions.

Karia on the Interface

The history of Karia during the second millennium BC remains little understood: as noted in the Introduction, the region that is later identified as Karia could equate to the region Karkisa/Karkiya mentioned in Hittite sources.[1106] It is an attractive proposal, and is potentially strengthened by the fact that the Achaemenids referred to the area as Karkā, while in Phoenician, Karia was known as KRK.[1107] In the second millennium BC, central Anatolia was dominated by the Hittite kingdom, with its capital at Hattuša, though their official domain did not extend to the Aegean seaboard. The Hittite sources refer to a land of Arzawa, which was located between the Hittite kingdom proper and the coast, and encompassed a number of different regions and separate kingdoms; but it does not seem that Karkisa was one of them.[1108]

There are also difficulties in identifying the Luwians in this picture. Bryce has suggested that references to the lands of Luwiya in the Hittite sources indicate a territory to the south and west of the Hittite kingdom, from where they gradually expanded their influence in an arc to encompass land from north western Anatolia round to the south east.[1109] Yakubovich has recently challenged this idea, instead

[1106] Melchert (2003b) 7; Bryce (2003) 33. Hittite references: *KUB* 23. 11 & 12, l.16; *CTH* 76, l.14; *AM* 68-71, 26; *Kadesh Inscription* P40-53.
[1107] DNa l. 30; XPh 28. Cf. Rutherford (2006) 137.
[1108] Bryce (2003) 35; see 33 for comments on Karkisa. The kingdom of Tarhuntassa is now thought to have been situated in southern Anatolia, covering much of what was later known as Pamphylia, while the Lukka lands are thought to have been located further west, in the region roughly corresponding to Lykia; see Bryce (2003) 40-44 and Map 2, p. 37.
[1109] *Ibid.* 27; 31; for the expansion into south eastern Anatolia, 88ff.

advocating a central Anatolian homeland for the Luwians, although its relationship to the Hittite kingdom remains unresolved.[1110] Luwiya seems to have existed in distinction to the Hatti lands, and early Hittite laws designated Luwiya as one of the three main divisions of the Hittite state.[1111] Within the archives of the Hittite capital of Hattuša there are a number of texts in a language designated as *luwili*, the language of Luwiya, while a number of inscriptions written in Anatolian hieroglyphs have also been identified as Luwian.[1112] Both the Karian and the Lykian languages are now known to descend from the so-called 'Luwic' sub-group within the Anatolian family, developing out of a proto-Anatolian language along different lines from Hittite, Palaic and Lydian.[1113]

How Luwiya was related to the other known regions of western Anatolia, including Arzawa, remains unclear. Generally Luwiya as a regional term disappeared at the time we first find references to Arzawa under the reign of Hattusili I (c. 1650-1620 BC).[1114] It does not seem to have constituted a unified political or administrative entity, and instead Bryce has characterised Luwiya as a broad ethno-geographical label, indicating a region 'inhabited by peoples speaking a shared Indo-European language, but without precise territorial limits.'[1115] The Arzawa lands of western Anatolia constituted a portion of the same territories as Luwiya, and the switch in geographical labels might indicate a shift in the political landscape; although the language and the culture of Luwiya continued even if its function as a regional label declined.[1116] Arzawan territory generally incorporated five individual kingdoms: 'Arzawa Minor', Mira, the Seha River Land, Wilusa and Hapalla (see Map 6).[1117] They seem to have enjoyed a high level of autonomy from the Hittite

[1110] Yakubovich (2008) 130.
[1111] *CTH* 291, 292 (KBo 6.2 i, 6 3 i). Cf. Bryce (2003) 28-29.
[1112] Eight languages are attested in the Hittite cuneiform archives, of which three are Indo-European: *nešili, našili,* or *nišili, palaumnili* and *luwili*; Bryce (2003) 27. The self-designation of the Hittite language is *našili* or *nišili,* 'Nesite', which is derived from the toponym Nesa, thought to be identified with the site of Kültepe in central Anatolia; Yakubovitch (2008) 123.
[1113] Melchert (2004b) 591.
[1114] Bryce (2003) 32; although *luwili* continued to be used as a linguistic term: *KBo* 10. 1 & *KBo* 10. 2 (*CTH* 4).
[1115] *Ibid.* 31; he draws a parallel with the term *Hurri*, used in Hittite texts to refer to the regions of northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria.
[1116] Cf. Yakubovich (2008) 129-30, who expresses scepticism about the equation of Luwiya with Arzawa.
[1117] Bryce (2003) 35-36.

kingdom to the east, and for much of the Old Kingdom (roughly 1600-1500 BC) Hittite involvement in western Anatolia appears to have been minimal.

The only clear case of interference occurs in Hattusili I's Annals for his third year, where we find a reference to a raid on Arzawan territory.[1118] The small, comparatively independent kingdoms of western Anatolia were in contact with the Hittite kingdom to the east, providing important metal supplies and creating opportunities for trade with the Aegean[1119], but they were not annexed by the Hittites, and did not officially fall into their realm.[1120] Hittite activity in Arzawa increased during the New Kingdom under the reign of Tudhaliya I/II (late fifteenth/early fourteenth century BC), and in his Annals we find two references to military campaigns; one conducted against several of the Arzawa lands, and another against a confederacy of states referred to as the Assuwan Confederacy.[1121] Subsequently under the reign of Mursili II, in the second half of the fourteenth century BC, a number of treaties were concluded with the various Arzawa lands, including Mira, the Seha River land, Hapala, and later Wilusa, which effectively seem to have made them vassal states of the Hittite Empire.[1122]

The relative locations of the Arzawa lands are broadly accepted (see Map 6). Wilusa is thought to have occupied the north west region of Anatolia, bordering the Seha River Land to the south.[1123] The Seha River Land is now believed to have been centred on either the Kaikos or the Hermos River, rather than the Maeander, and to have bordered Hapala to the east; Arzawa Minor was located south of the Seha River Land, and both seem to have shared borders with Mira.[1124] The capital of Arzawa Minor, Apasa, is now fairly securely identified with the site of Ephesos.[1125] The limits of Mira can be more fully understood following the decipherment of the inscription on the Karabel rock reliefs by J.D. Hawkins, which records the name of

[1118] *Annals* I, 22-23: 'In the following years I marched against Arzawa and took cattle and sheep.' Cf. Bryce (2005) 74.
[1119] Yakar (1976) 120-123.
[1120] Bryce (1986) 3.
[1121] *KUB* 23 11&12 (*CTH* 142.2); reference to the destruction of the Land of Assuwa. Cf. Bryce (2005) 125.
[1122] *CTH* 76; Beckman (1996) 82-88.
[1123] See Melchert (2003a) Map 2, p. 37.
[1124] Bryce (2003) 38-39.
[1125] Hawkins (1998) 1; Bryce (2003) 39.

Tarkasnawa, King of Mira, who is also known from seals at Boğazköy[1126]; the relief was located on a pass across the Tmolos range of mountains between Ephesos and Sardis. Following the campaigns of Mursili II in western Anatolia, the territory of Arzawa Minor seems to have been incorporated into the kingdom of Mira, and consequently Mira's western limits extended to the Aegean coast.[1127] Mira thus seems to have covered the region to the north of Karia; the discovery of rock inscriptions in the Latmos mountains mentioning the names of princes of the land of Mira further suggest that its territory spread across the Maeander valley.[1128]

It is not known conclusively what the region that later constituted Karia was called during this period, although its equation with Karkisa/Karkiya is most likely. The references to this land in the Hittite texts suggest a location in the vicinity of south western Anatolia, and Karkisa/Karkiya seems to have been closely related with both Arzawan territory and the Lukka lands (equated with Classical Lykia).[1129] It was apparently situated close to the Seha River Lands, as in one text the king of that land, Manapa-Tarhunta, fled his country after a dispute with his brothers and sought refuge in Karkisa; the Hittite king Mursili then intervened on his behalf to ensure that the people of Karkisa kept him safe.[1130] The so-called Alaksandu treaty between Mursili II and the king of Wilusa in the thirteenth century BC, also referred to Karkisa as a possible point from which a Hittite campaign could be launched, alongside cities of Lukka, Masa and Warsiyalla.[1131] However, that need not necessarily indicate a territory to the south of the Arzawa lands. In another text the land of Karkisa is found siding with the Assuwan confederacy against the Hittites.[1132] The location of Assuwa remains controversial; Starke suggested an association with Classical Assos, which could place Karkisa in north western Anatolia.[1133] This is by no means secure, and Melchert has suggested that Assuwa could equally be related to the name Asia, and refer to a location in west central Asia

[1126] Hawkins (1998).
[1127] Bryce (2003) 39-40. Bryce (1986) postulates that the Maeander valley likely served as the back-bone of the kingdom Mira-Arzawa.
[1128] Peschlow-Bindokat (2002); Hutter (2003) 213.
[1129] See Map 6.
[1130] *Comprehensive Annals, AM* 68-71.
[1131] *CTH* 76, l. 14.
[1132] *KUB* 23, 11 &12 (*CTH* 142).
[1133] Cf. Starke (2002) 304.

Minor.[1134] The Assuwan confederacy in any case included a number of states otherwise known to be included in western Anatolia, including the earliest known reference to the Lukka Lands.[1135]

The area that came to be known as Karia was located between the dominant Aegean powers of the Minoans and the Mycenaeans, and the kingdom of the Hittites to the east. Regardless of nomenclature, this region was in close contact with, and shared many cultural traits with, the Lukka lands and the Arzawan lands to the north. The evidence for contacts between the region of south western Anatolia and the Aegean was examined earlier in this chapter; I now want to consider in greater detail the cultural orientation of south western Anatolia during the Bronze Age.

The most extensive evidence for Minoan and/or Mycenaean interaction is along the coast of south western Asia Minor. For the areas inland, research into the Bronze Age phases of settlement is very limited; the little evidence we do have suggests contact with the Aegean, but there are few indications that this was more than trade. When speaking of the Minoanization or Mycenaeanization of parts of Karia it should thus be emphasised that we are speaking about a limited portion of the region. Even amongst these coastal sites, local Anatolian forms and styles remain well-represented in the material evidence (perhaps with the exception of Miletos IV and V).

South western Anatolia functioned as a boundary zone between the great powers of the age, and formed an interface between the cultures of the Aegean and Anatolia.[1136] There are indications in the Hittite sources that this cultural confrontation translated into political conflict. The more active interest of Mursili II in western Anatolia, demonstrated through the conclusion of treaties with the various kingdoms, may have been prompted by the threat posed to Hittite interests by the rise of the influence of the kingdom of Ahhiyawa in the region.[1137] The kingdom of Ahhiyawa is mentioned in a number of Hittite texts, the earliest of which is the Madduwatta Text, written during the reign of Arnuwanda I (first half of the 14th

[1134] Melchert (2003b) 7.
[1135] Bryce (2003) 74.
[1136] Mountjoy (1998).
[1137] Bryce (1986) 4.

century BC). In the text, Arnuwanda writes to Madduwatta, apparently a local ruler in south western Anatolia, who had been chased from his land by 'the man from Ahhiya.'[1138] The Ahhiyawans were encroaching on the interests of the Hittite realm, and the Hittites responded by becoming more assertive in securing their domain.

It is unclear where the kingdom of Ahhiya, or Ahhiyawa, was geographically based. Many locations have been proposed for the heartland of Ahhiyawa, including north west Anatolia, south west Anatolia, Kilikia, Krete and Cyprus, but the equation of Ahhiyawa with the Mycenaean sphere is the theory that is currently most widely approved. In the Hittite texts, Ahhiyawa is always mentioned in close connection to the sea and in relation to the affairs of the vassal states in western Anatolia; if it did refer to the Mycenaean kingdom, such an impression would be compatible with their heartland in mainland Greece, from where they would have come into contact with the Hittites through the coastal regions of western Anatolia.[1139] This is further supported by the 'Tawagalawa Letter', in which the Hittite defector Piyamaradu escaped to Ahhiyawa by ship.[1140] The issue will no doubt remain contentious, but it is worth noting that in the same letter the king of Ahhiyawa is referred to as 'my brother, the Great King', which seems to indicate that we are not dealing with one of the smaller kingdoms of western Anatolia.[1141] As E.H. Cline writes, if we do not equate Ahhiyawa with the homeland of the Ahhiyawans, we have both an important archaeologically attested Late Bronze Age culture that is not mentioned in Hittite texts, and an important Late Bronze Age state that is known from our textual sources, but that left no archaeological remains.[1142]

What of the relation of Ahhiyawa with the region later identified as Karia? The mention of Karkiya in relation to Ahhiyawan interests in western Anatolia may further support its connection with Karia[1143]; but as noted, our sources regarding

[1138] *KUB* 14 1 & *KBo* 19. 38 (*CTH* 147).Bryce (2005) 129-130, suggests that this was an individual from Ahhiyawa who had established a base in western Anatolia rather than an officially recognised king.
[1139] Niemeier (1998) 23. Mountjoy (1998) 50-1, suggests that Ahhiyawa could refer to the Mycenaeans on Rhodes, which they used as a base from which to expand into western Asia Minor.
[1140] *KUB* 14.3. i 61 (*CTH* 181); cf. Niemeier (1998) 25; Güterbock (1983) 137.
[1141] *KUB* 14.3 (*CTH* 181). Cf. Mountjoy (1998) 51.
[1142] Cline (1994) 69.
[1143] *KUB* 14.3. iii. 53 (*CTH* 181). Cf. the reference to the Land of Karkisa in *KUB* 23. 11&12, which is also within the context of the war against the king of Ahhiyawa (*KUB* 23, 13).

Karkisa/Karkiya are few, and the implications of Ahhiyawan contact with the kingdom cannot be pushed too far. Of more interest is another site mentioned in the Hittite sources, Millawanda, widely thought to equate with Miletos. In the Annals of Mursilis II, there is a fragmentary account of Uhhazitis, the king of Arzawa, taking sides with Ahhiyawa against Hatti, and inciting Millawanda to do the same; in response Mursilis sent out the generals Gullas and Malazitis, who sacked Millawanda.[1144] Returning again to the 'Tawagalawa Letter', the implication is that Millawanda at that time fell under the authority of Ahhiyawa; the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa, Tawagalawas, seems to have used Millawanda as the base for his operations.[1145] The Mycenaean presence at Miletos and other sites along the coast therefore does broadly accord with what is known about the interests of Ahhiyawa on the coast of western Anatolia from the second half of the 15th century BC[1146]; Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean interests, whilst not based in Anatolia, were well represented along the coast.

The evidence for interaction between the Hittite and the Minoan, and in particular the Mycenaean realm is not substantial, although it does exist.[1147] A certain number of 'luxury' or 'prestige' goods have been discovered, indicating that there was some level of contact. At Mallia on Krete a sceptre head in the form of a leopard, thought to be of Anatolian origin, has been discovered, while at Mycenae a silver cup in the form of a stag further suggests contact.[1148] In the opposite direction, an Old Hittite relief from Hüseyindede, east of Ankara, depicts bull leaping, which is a characteristic Minoan ritual, and might indicate interaction.[1149] Communication and the reciprocal awareness between the Hittites of central Anatolia and the

[1144] *Comprehensive Annals, AM* 36-37; Güterbock (1983) 135.
[1145] Güterbock (1983) 135-137. The king to whom the Tawagalawa Letter should be attributed is not clear; scholars have attributed it to Mursilis II, Muwatallis and Hattusilis III. Güterbock thinks that Hattusilis is the more likely (135).
[1146] Mellink (1983) draws a link between the destruction level of LH IIA2 at Miletos and the sacking of the city by Mursilis II's generals, after its revolt against Hatti. See Niemeier (1998) 38, for comments on the chronology.
[1147] Cline (1991) went as far as to postulate a Hittite embargo against the Mycenaeans, due to the lack of Mycenaean goods in central Anatolia, and vice versa. While there seems to have been conflict between the Hittites and the lands of Ahhiyawa, which could have affected commercial ties, the notion of a definite 'embargo' should be cautioned against.
[1148] Akurgal (1962) 40; other drinking vessels in the Anatolian shape of an upturned shoe have also been found in Mycenae.
[1149] Niemeier (2005) 10.

civilisations of the Aegean are further attested during a crisis of Mursilis II, when he lost the power of speech: the advice of his priests was to fetch 'the gods of Lazpa [Lesbos] and Ahhiyawa.'[1150] The Hittites were aware of the cultures of the Aegean and acquainted with their deities. Another text refers to the removal of individuals from Lazpa, who were taken 'over the sea', which suggests that the island was integrated into the Hittite sphere.[1151] Contact between Anatolia and the Aegean in the Bronze Age seems to have been diplomatic as well as commercial. Moving further west in Anatolia, another letter from the king of Ahhiyawa to a Hittite king records the good relations of Ahhiyawa with the king of Assuwa, and an earlier diplomatic marriage between an Assuwan princess and the great-grandfather of the Ahhiyawan king.[1152]

South western Anatolia was characterised by its regional diversity[1153], and the geographical location of Karia encouraged interaction with both the Aegean and the central Anatolian cultures. The absorption of influences from both directions informed the cultural character of the south western Anatolia. Rather than thinking of the region solely in terms of the greater and better attested cultures to the east and the west, the character of Bronze Age Karia is better envisaged as a construct in its own right; adapting and assimilating influences in the fluctuating political environment, but still maintaining a distinct identity. But can we speak of a cohesive region during this period? While the connection between Karia and Karkisa may be attractive, it does not follow that the region known from the Hittite sources occupied the same geographical area as that of Karia defined in the Classical sources. When considering the situation in the Bronze Age, it is important to distinguish between the coastal regions and the interior of Karia. The survey of Bronze Age Minoan and Mycenaean contacts with Anatolia revealed that the greatest impact of interaction was experienced in the coastal cities. On a more immediate level, the local networks between the islands of the Dodekanese and the communities of coastal Anatolia

[1150] *KUB* 5.6. ll. 57-64. Cf. Morris (2001) 428; Mason (2008).
[1151] *KUB* 19.5 + *KBo* 19.79. Mason (2008) 57.
[1152] *KUB* 26.91 ll. 7-8.
[1153] Mountjoy (1998); Mac Sweeney (2010) with regard to Beycesultan.

produced characteristically south east Aegean cultural forms that created a distinct *koine* in their own right.[1154]

Archaeological evidence confirms the view that the dominant cultures of the Bronze Age Aegean, which we label 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean', extended their influence across the Cyclades to incorporate the islands of the Dodekanese and the coast of Anatolia. This was not necessarily accompanied by political jurisdiction in these regions, and the Hittite sources create an image dominated by a number of smaller kingdoms; but culturally, the influence of the Minoans and Mycenaeans extended to the region of Karia. The resulting mobility of individuals would have had wide reaching social, cultural and religious ramifications, and not only travelling from the dominant culture to the outlying regions of their realms.[1155] In this thesis I have focused on the ways in which the cultural outlook of Karia was shaped by its location on the interface between the cultures of the Aegean and those of Anatolia; the Bronze Age archaeological evidence confirms this. I now want to return again to the evidence offered by the mythological traditions, and question whether they can be read in conjunction with the material evidence for interaction.

Reading Mythological Traditions

It has long been speculated that the numerous traditions transmitted in antiquity about the Minoan thalassocracy could be connected with the archaeologically attested Minoan culture. Diodoros recorded that Minos settled 'no small part of the coast of Asia'[1156], and it was widely held that the Karians came under the jurisdiction of Minos at the time they inhabited the islands; as outlined in

[1154] See discussion above of the Dark-on-Light/Light-on-Dark ceramics of the south east Aegean/south west Anatolia.

[1155] Morris (2001) 425-428, following an initial observation by Watkins (1998) 203, has suggested that the cult of 'Potnia Aswiya' (the so-called 'Mistress of Asia') mentioned in the Mycenaean tablets from Pylos in the Peloponnese (Fr 1206) is connected with the presence of women from Anatolia; Morris relates the name of this deity to the *Aššuwa* known from the Hittite texts, used to refer to the western region of Anatolia. The tablets record a list of the female personnel at the site, and they include individuals from Miletos (*mi-ra-ti-ja*), Knidos (*ki-ni-di-ja*), possibly Halikarnassos (*ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$*), as well as Lemnos (*ra-mi-ni-ja*), Kythera (*ku-ter-ra$_3$*), and possibly Chios (*ki-si-wi-ja*); there was also a more general term for women designated as 'Asian' (*A-swi-ja*).

[1156] Diod. Sic. 5. 84. 1. See p. 80ff.

Chapter 2, this connection was mirrored on a *polis* level among the communities of south western Anatolia, especially those located in areas oriented towards the coast.

However, the viability of claiming a relationship between archaeology and myth is not without controversy. Mythological traditions cannot be treated as historical sources; they are reflections of the aspects of history that were deemed of relevance across generations. They are far from accurate accounts of historical events, but combined generations of lore with later accretions, and frequently awarded central roles to deities and figures of myth. But equally, in order to postulate their connection with events of the past, it is not necessary to accept every detail of their narratives, or establish direct links with the archaeological evidence. That does not mean that caution should not be exercised when examining mythological traditions from a historical perspective. J. Fentress and C. Wickham rightly warn against the perils of approaching historical mythologies with the intention of revealing a 'residuum' of historical information; even if we can identify a kernel that may reflect historical events, it does not necessarily follow that the subsequent reconstruction is correct.[1157]

However, if we are clear in our remit, and do not presume that all mythologies can be approached in the same way, the process of studying ancient traditions in conjunction with archaeological data need not in itself be flawed. Within the mythologies and/or histories of the ancient world a general internal chronology was established, and this was widely acknowledged and adopted. Commentators and historians in antiquity had a conception of different degrees of remoteness: the age of Minos was in the distant, mythological past, while the heroic age of the Trojan War was later, but predated the Ionian and Dorian migrations.[1158] This chronology agrees in outline with phases that can be identified archaeologically: the Kretan culture that we label 'Minoan' predated the period of Greek settlement along the coast of Anatolia. While the schematised version may offer a neat synopsis of events in the past, the endurance of certain recurrent themes appears to be a refraction of historical circumstances.

[1157] Fentress & Wickham (1992) 81.
[1158] Parian Marble *FGrH* 239 A. Cf. Hdt. 7. 171.

The remainder of this chapter will explore how, and to what extent, the broader themes or patterns that emerge in such historical narratives can be used alongside the archaeological material to reconstruct earlier patterns of interaction and connectivity in the case of Karia and Krete. I suggest that the traditions of south western Anatolia that claimed a 'Kretan link' can be read in conjunction with the material evidence; both offering an insight into the networks of the eastern Aegean during the Bronze Age, and revealing how this early interaction had a lasting impact on the communities of the region in how they remembered their past. Before focusing on Anatolia, I will consider the wider role of Kretan mobility in myth and history, and its potential relationship with the archaeological material.

'The Kretan does not know the sea'

The proverb 'the Kretan does not know the sea' was used in antiquity to describe someone who pretends not to know what he does.[1159] It was part of a wider scheme of tales that featured the Kretans in relation to their involvement in maritime activities. The most prominent legend centred on the supposed thalassocracy of Minos, and, as we have seen, such traditions correspond in part to the cultural sphere of Minoan Krete during the Middle Bronze Age. But the naval involvement of the Kretans extended beyond the narratives associated with the rule of Minos: the settlers at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander travelled to Anatolia from Thessaly via an interlude on Krete, while at Klaros, the settlers arrived under the leadership of the Kretan Rhakios.[1160] Further afield, the settlement of Kyrene during the seventh century BC also maintained a 'Kretan connection.' In the so-called 'Kyrenian version' related by Herodotos, the founding figure Battos was from Thera but had a Kretan mother, the princess Phromina from Oaxos.[1161]

Perhaps more relevant is the role of Krete within the 'Theran version' of Kyrene's foundation as outlined by Herodotos: the Therans sent a delegation to

[1159] Strab. 10. 4. 17. See p.39.
[1160] See p. 82; 84ff.
[1161] Hdt. 4. 154. See now Osborne (2009) 8-15. The motif of the Kretan mother brings to mind Artemisia, the leader of the Karian contingent in the Persian Wars, whose mother is also described by Herodotos as Kretan (7.99). See p.42. More generally on the role of women in foundation mythologies, see the comments on 'Karian wives' in Greek civic histories, pp. 54-55.

Delphi about a different matter, and were told by the oracle to found a colony in Libya under the leadership of Battos. The Therans ignored this advice, and as a result suffered a seven year drought; at the end of this period they again consulted the oracle, and again were instructed to found a settlement in Libya.[1162] At this point they turned to a Kretan purple-fisher from Itanos by the name of Korobios, and sought his advice about sea-faring around Libya. Korobios was then employed to lead an advance party that settled on the island of Platea, just off the coast of Libya. The Therans left him on the island while they returned to Thera to raise more settlers, and he was only saved from starvation by the chance visit from a Samian, who was on a journey to Egypt along the north coast of Africa.[1163] The historicity of the details of this tale are not the only way in which to approach this legend: the underlying assumption is that the Kretans were renowned for their naval expertise in trade and long distance travel.

The participation of Kretan sailors was also recorded in the foundation legend of Delphi, as retold in the *Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo*. The deity, disguised as a dolphin, intercepted the journey of Kretan sailors from Knossos upon 'the wine-like sea'[1164]; they were enlisted as Apollo's ministers in sacrifice, wherein they were to pray to him as Apollo Delphinios.[1165] They travelled to Mt. Parnassos, where they served as guards for his temple and received 'the tribes of men that gather to this place.'[1166] It is again the participation of the Kretans in the sailing itineraries of the Aegean that played an important role in their journey to Delphi; before becoming the attendants of Apollo, they had been 'sailing in their black ship for traffic and for profit to sandy Pylos.'[1167] How should such a tradition be interpreted? One possibility is to look to the role of Kretan sailors as a standard trope, playing upon the reputation of their maritime acumen that could date back to the Minoan thalassocracy; although even in this scenario, their involvement could trace back to the historical prominence of Krete in the networks of the Aegean and

[1162] Hdt. 4. 150-151.
[1163] Hdt. 4. 151-152.
[1164] *Hom. Hymn* 3. 391-92.
[1165] *Ibid*. 480-96.
[1166] *Ibid.* 538-39.
[1167] *Ibid.* 396-99.

further afield. Another alternative is to consider whether there could be a historical core to the later tale, whereby the early attendants at Delphi were traditionally of Kretan origin, or Kretans were in some way involved in its early history.

It is worth reflecting further on the nature of the cult at Delphi to Apollo Delphinios: in the Homeric Hymn, Apollo tells the Kretans to sacrifice to him as Apollo Delphinios, 'as he sprang upon the swift ship in the form of a dolphin.'[1168] In a later fragment of Kallimachos, the derivation is due to Apollo's journey from Delos to Oikous on the back of a dolphin, rather than his transmutation.[1169] The original meaning of the epithet remains obscure; A. Herda has suggested that it derives from a pre-Hellenic language, but its obvious connection with the Greek word δελφίς, 'dolphin', could also explain its root.[1170] F. Graf has proposed that the cult could reflect the conflation of a Minoan/Mycenaean god with a later Hellenic, or specifically Dorian, deity.[1171] The role of Kretan sailors in the *Homeric Hymn* may reflect something about the origin of the cult on the island[1172]; a temple to Apollo Delphinios is known from Dreros in eastern Krete at the end of the eighth century BC[1173], while a cult of Apollo Delphidios is epigraphically attested at Knossos from the third century BC.[1174]

The cult of Apollo Delphinios was also pre-eminent at Miletos, where it served as the primary civic cult. It has been argued that the arrival of the deity there could reflect early mobility during the Bronze Age between the Aegean and coastal Asia Minor; T. Wiegend proposed a direct route from Late Bronze Krete to Miletos, while F. Graf suggested that the cult could have been transported with the first wave of Ionian settlement in the late Mycenaean/early geometric period.[1175] There is no way to verify either suggestion, with the subsequent spread of the cult around the

[1168] *Ibid.* 495.
[1169] Callimachus (Pfeiffer) Fr. 229. Cf. Herda (2006a) 274f.
[1170] Herda (2006a) 275.
[1171] Graf (1979) 20.
[1172] Herda (2006a) 276.
[1173] *Ibid.* 276, n. 1953, the Delphinion at Dreros is dated to the late geometric/early archaic period (c. 700 BC). Another Delphinion is attested during the Hellenistic period at Hyrtakina (*IC* 2. 15. 2, l. 18).Cf. Graf (1979) 5f.; (2008) 88-9, 92-4.
[1174] End third century BC: *IC* 1. 8. 8*, ll. 11-12; *IC* 1. 8. 10* = *I. Magnesia* 67, l. 8. See also: *ID* 1512 = *IC* 1. 8. 12*, ll. 45-46; *ID* 1513 = *IC* 1. 16. 4*, ll. 12-13; *ID*1514 = *IC* 1. 16. 3*, l. 17; *IC* 1. 16. 5, l. 49; *IC* 4. 18. l. 19; *REA* 44 (1942) 34.
[1175] Wiegend *Milet* I 3 407; Graf (1979) 19ff.; see also Laumonier (1958) 554. Cf. Herda (2006a) 275-276.

Aegean making it difficult to speak of its origins.[1176] The Kretans' involvement in the foundation of Delphi as part of the *Homeric Hymn* could equally have arisen later as a result of the similarity of the cult epithets, rather than the cause of it. However, the notion that the early appearance of the cult on Krete could be linked to its presence in Miletos should not be rejected.

An interesting counterpoint to the corpus of traditions concerning Kretan contacts with western Anatolia, and their relationship with the archaeological evidence, is the mythological involvement of Krete in the Greek settlements on the island of Sicily. According to Herodotos, Minos travelled to Sikania, as it was then called, in search of Daidalos, and there 'met a violent death.'[1177] Encouraged by the god, 'all the Kretans' (with the exception of the people of Polichna and Praisos) are said to have travelled to Sicily to avenge his death, besieging the town of Kamikos. Their expedition failed, and in the course of their voyage home, they were driven ashore by a storm; here they settled and 'built for themselves the town of Hyria', becoming the Iapygians of Messapia.[1178] Herodotos recorded this narrative in the context of the appeal made by the Greek forces to the Kretans to join their defence against the Persians: the Kretans sent a query to the Delphic oracle, and were advised not to help the Hellenes, who had previously refused assistance to the Kretans when they were trying to avenge the death of Minos. It is an interesting example of how the mythological past could influence, or be used to justify, contemporary politics. The Minos connection remained important to a number of the communities of Sicily and southern Italy, and the traditions extended further; Selinus founded a colony called Minoa on the south coast of Sicily c. 555 BC, which sought its origins with the Kretan king. According to Diodoros, during his expedition to Sicily, Minos had landed at a location which was later settled and named Minoa after his death; his tomb was also supposed to be located on the island.[1179]

The role of Minos on Sicily does not correspond precisely with the wider myths of the Minoan thalassocracy. The 'Kretan connection' in the civic histories of

[1176] Cf. Strab. 4. 1 .4.
[1177] Hdt. 7. 170. 1.
[1178] Hdt. 7. 170. 1-2.
[1179] Diod. Sic. 4.79.3.

Sicily and southern Italy related primarily to the foundation of the Greek settlements in the Archaic period, and the involvement of Kretan settlers. According to Thucydides, the foundation of Gela in c.688 BC was led by Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos of Krete[1180]; although in Herodotos' account, Entimos' involvement is not recorded.[1181]

The Rhodian origins of the site are substantiated in the material record, through the presence of Rhodian ceramics and the close resemblance between the epichoric alphabets of Gela and Akragas and those of Rhodes.[1182] In contrast, P. Perlman has noted that substantive traces of a Kretan contribution in the foundation of Gela are 'somewhat more elusive.'[1183] However, the lack of a significant Kretan contribution to the remaining material record does not mean that the foundation mythology of Gela should be dismissed. Perlman reassessed the question of the historicity of the inclusion of Kretans in the Greek settlements of Sicily, and has drawn attention to the unusual burial practice at Butera, near Gela, during the second half of the seventh century, where the head was removed from the body before the cremation; it is a custom which finds parallels at Prinias on Krete from the eighth to sixth centuries BC.[1184] An examination of the onomastic evidence further reveals a number of distinctively Kretan names among a list of the citizens of Kamarina, a city located thirty kilometres southeast of Gela. The implication is that individuals of Kretan origin were among the settlers from Gela who travelled to Kamarina in the mid-fifth century BC. The case of Gela suggests that material evidence alone should not be used as the standard by which to judge the historicity of foundation legends, and there may have been a historical basis to the foundation traditions.

A role was awarded to Minos within these dialogues: in the Lindian Chronicle, an entry records the dedication of a bronze *krater* by Phalaris, tyrant of Akragas soon after its foundation c. 570 BC. It was inscribed with the dedication

[1180] Thuc. 6. 4. 3.
[1181] Hdt, 7. 153-154. In the version recorded by Artemon of Pergamon (*FGrHist* 569F1) during the Hellenistic period, the settlers included Rhodians, Kretans and Peloponnesians, and were led by Antiphemos and Entimos.
[1182] Perlman (2000) 182-184.
[1183] *Ibid.* 183.
[1184] *Ibid.* 184: A number of locally produced vessels and figurines also reflect Kretan or 'Rhodio-Kretan' influence (183).

Δαίδαλος ἔδωκε ξείνιον με Κωκάλωι[1185]; while this entry could have been a later fabrication, it might suggest that the story of Minos chasing Daidalos to Sicily was current by the early sixth century BC.[1186] What is less clear is how to explain the origins of the Minos myth in the western Mediterranean. It has been suggested that the tradition of the Minoan thalassocracy in the Aegean is connected with the dominance of 'Minoan' culture during the Middle Bronze Age. But in southern Italy and Sicily, the Minoan evidence discovered to date is slight. Another alternative is to seek the source of these traditions in the context of late seventh/early sixth century BC Sicily. The inclusion of Kretan settlers in the foundation of Gela could have led to the development of what Perlman terms a 'precedent of presence,' 'both paving the way for the colonial effort and providing justification for it.'[1187] In attempting to establish a greater history to a Kretan presence in the western Mediterranean, the myths of Minos were incorporated into civic historical narratives.

As established in Chapter 4, appeals to historical bonds of connectivity or kinship to substantiate ties of the present were a frequent feature of interstate interaction in antiquity.[1188] It is interesting that in all of the cases explored above, the cities in question (with the exception of Delphi) are located on the 'periphery' of the Greek world. Did the ancient history of Krete serve as a secure means of grounding a community in Greek mythology? Certainly, the era of Minos, predating the Trojan Wars, provided a link to an age at the root of Greek mythological narratives; but the question of whether he was considered quintessentially 'Greek' is not straightforward.[1189] Such an interpretation remains Hellenocentric in its outlook, and operates on the notion of 'Greek' vs. 'Other'. It also simplifies the function of the past in the articulation of civic identity; while it was important for a community to trace its history as far back as possible, it did not allow free reign for fabrication.

The appeals to the mythological past of Minos in western Anatolia and in southern Italy have been interpreted within different frameworks by modern scholars: while the Minoan thalassocracy in the Aegean has been related to the

[1185] *FGrH* 532, XXVII C1, ll. 25-6.
[1186] Perlman (2000) 192.
[1187] *Ibid.* 193.
[1188] Above, esp. p.137ff.
[1189] See pp. 44-45.

Bronze Age archaeological material, in the western Mediterranean the role of Minos has been regarded as an attempt to link the new Greek foundations to the mythological past, and thereby root them within their new landscape. But a uniform approach cannot be applied when addressing the significance of mythological histories. To acknowledge the function that the Minoan connection served in the foundation traditions of the archaic Greek settlements of Sicily, as a means of consolidation, is not necessarily incompatible with the notion that in Karia it could reflect earlier Bronze Age mobility.

Local histories and mythologies constructed a complicated and contradictory web in antiquity, the permutations of which are too numerous to chart fully; but such complexities were mirrored in the overlying trade and diplomatic networks that criss-crossed the Mediterranean. That is not to say that all mythologies were based on historical circumstances, but rather to recognise that in certain instances they could be connected to earlier stages of settlement or patterns of interaction.

The existence in antiquity of a number of foundation traditions involving Krete seems to signal the role that the island played in the wider networks of the Aegean and the Mediterranean: while they were not all associated with Minos, they do focus on the maritime activities of the Kretans. The cultural prominence of Krete during the Bronze Age is well attested archaeologically, even if the implications are not fully understood, and it is increasingly likely that this was somehow refracted in the later mythologies surrounding the Minoan thalassocracy. Could the role of Kretans in the later foundations of Delphi, Kyrene and the colonies on Sicily similarly reveal something about the importance of the island in the networks of the Archaic period? In this instance it is not possible to distinguish between the origins of a tradition, and later elaboration. The traditional affiliation between Karia and Krete, on the other hand, can be more seriously considered in relation to the Bronze Age archaeological material that attests to interaction with the Minoan realm, most notably at Miletos.

The Case of Miletos

The excavations at Miletos have provided extensive evidence about the early stages of occupation at the site, and offer the most secure substantiation for the settlement of individuals from within the Minoan sphere on the mainland. Within the local mythologies of Miletos, we have also seen that Krete played an important role; the figure of the youthful Miletos was variously imagined as being forced to escape from Krete in order to avoid the lustful attention of Minos, or to evade his envy, before travelling to Anatolia and founding the eponymous city on the coast.[1190] Another version recorded that Sarpedon had founded the city, and named it after the Kretan *polis* of Miletos.[1191] As both the mythological traditions and the archaeology of Miletos are comparatively well known, it offers a good opportunity to explore the difficulties in attempting to identify whether aspects of later mythological traditions were at their core based on historical reality, and to test whether we can speak about historical 'memory' or 'refractions' in more specific terms.

The Kretan involvement in the settlement of Miletos was only one aspect of their history, and in antiquity a number of other traditions existed, tracing back to the Karian period of habitation at the site. According to Pausanias, in its earliest history the city had been called Anaktoria, ruled by the indigenous king Anax and his son Asterios.[1192] An awareness of this phase of their history apparently remained current in Miletos, marked by the small island opposite the city that continued to bear the name Asterios, and which tradition held was where the king was supposed to have been buried.[1193]

Another important element of Milesian history focused on the later arrival of the Ionians along the coast of Anatolia. It was noted in Chapter 1 that in the accounts of the Kretan settlement, they were consistently described as living in peaceful coexistence with the local population[1194]; in contrast, the legends surrounding the Ionian settlement witness the expulsion of the native population[1195], or the murder of

[1190] See p. 76ff.
[1191] See n. 309.
[1192] See p. 77.
[1193] Paus. 7. 2. 5. This figure of the indigenous king may further be related to the temple of Anax known from near Magnesia; see n. 418.
[1194] Eg. Paus. 7. 2. 5: 'the Karians, the former inhabitants of the land, united with the Kretans.'
[1195] Pherekydes, *FGrH* 3 F 155; Mimnermos of Kolophon, *Nanno* fr. 9; Aelian *VH* 8.5.

the local males and the marriage of the Karian women to the Ionian settlers.[1196] The Ionian settlers were led by Neileus[1197], the son of Kodros of Athens[1198], and the narrative strands associated with him were incorporated into the construction of Miletos' Ionian identity. According to Pausanias, the grave of Neileus was located just outside the city, on the road to Didyma.[1199] Within the chronology of Miletos, the Ionian settlers are envisaged as having arrived in Asia Minor four generations after the fall of Troy, and two after the return of the Herakleidai. According to the Parian Marble, an inscribed chronological record of the third century BC, Neileus' foundation of Miletos occurred at a date equivalent to 1086/5 or 1076/5 BC.[1200]

The Milesians' conception of their history recognised separate phases of settlement: the Karians inhabited the region first, before the arrival of the Kretans under Miletos; after the Trojan Wars the Ionians arrived, and expelled the Karians. They are not entirely compatible, and one has to wonder what happened between the arrival of the Kretans and the arrival of the Ionians. But such foundation mythologies often deal with moments of disjuncture, and broadly speaking there was a certain coherence to the chronology established for Miletos.[1201]

Over the last decade the case of Miletos has received attention from a number of scholars seeking to readdress the later historical traditions in light of our increased knowledge about the early stages of settlement at the site; notably from C. Sourvinou-Inwood, and more recently from A. Herda.[1202] In her book, *Hylas, the Nymphs, Dionysos and Others*, Sourvinou-Inwood established links between the Minoan contacts along the coast of Anatolia, and the mytheme centred on Miletos travelling from Krete and settling at Miletos with a group of Kretans. Sourvinou-

[1196] Hdt. 1. 146-147; Paus. 7. 2. 5-6. See p. 54f.
[1197] A variant spelling is Neileos: Ael. *VH* 8. 5.
[1198] Hdt. 9.97; Ael. *VH* 8.5. The relationship of this Neileos to the Neleus of Pylos known from Homer as the father of Nestor (*Il.* 11. 685-670) is sometimes alluded to through tracing his heritage to Pylos: Pausanias (7.2.1-4) described Neileus and his brother Medon as sons of Kodros, and leaders of the Ionians, 'although they were not related to them, but were, through Kodros and Melanthus, Messenians of Pylos, and, on their mother's side, Athenians.' Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 155 (= Strab. 14.1.3) claimed that Androklos, the legitimate son of Kodros, was the leader of the Ionian expedition, and founded Ephesos.
[1199] Paus. 7. 2. 6; cf. Herda (1998) 3-22.
[1200] Herda (2009) 28. Parian Marble *FGrH* 239 A 27; the marble dates the establishment of the Twelve Ionian cities to the same year.
[1201] Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 275.
[1202] *Ibid.* 268-309; Herda (2009).

Inwood argued that at its core the tradition was a memory of past events.[1203] Similarly, Herda has sought to explore the complex correspondence between the archaeological evidence at Miletos and the main foundation periods identified in our literary sources.[1204] He focuses on the traditions surrounding the 'so-called' Ionian migration, and points to the evidence from the Mycenaean period as offering a parallel to the literary traditions of a population influx.[1205]

Attempts to identify discrete levels of occupation undermine the continuities in the region; the archaeological material indicates substantial Minoan and Mycenaean contact during the Bronze Age, but that did not necessarily affect the local 'Karian' nature of the site. While it seems that this period also witnessed the arrival of settlers from within the Aegean, they seem to have been incorporated into the existing population; although archaeologically, it remains difficult to identify a distinct 'Karian' population.[1206] After the 'destruction' at the end of Miletos VII, we can imagine that it was the same mixture of people that continued to inhabit the region.[1207]

It is important to appreciate the function of many of the transmitted myths in the construction of a specific narrative. The traditions surrounding the 'Ionian migration', and the expulsion or murder of the local 'Karian' population, are primarily a comment on the non-Greek character of the land that the 'Ionians' were settling, and reflect the desire to emphasise the 'civilising' impact of the Greek arrival.[1208] Both the unity of the migrating peoples and the conflict with the native population were overplayed as part of a process of 'ethnogenesis' by the Ionians; creating a coherent and common identity out of a heterogeneous group of settlers.[1209]

The correlation between the pattern of Minoan connectivity and the later web of traditions surrounding both the rule of Minos and the mobility of Kretans remains

[1203] Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 279ff.
[1204] Herda (2009).
[1205] *Ibid.* (2009) 74; Herda discusses evidence from the Protogeometric period (first half of the 10th century BC), when Attic or Euboian-Thessalian styles can be identified in local pottery production; a small number of Attic imports have also been discovered.
[1206] Herda (2009) 72.
[1207] *Ibid.* 70-2; (*forthcoming*).
[1208] Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 306: 'the ideological manipulation is shaped by the privileging of the choice to stress the civilising role of the arrival of the Ionians, through the underplaying of the Greekness and the civilised nature of their predecessors.'
[1209] Herda (2009) 31-3.

significant. The connection is particularly well attested at Miletos, and the notion that the later histories and mythologies refracted a recollection of Minoan involvement in the region is credible.[1210] This does not mean that the Milesian civic histories are historically accurate accounts of the city's early history, nor does it negate the continued potential for elaboration; rather, I propose that the central theme of interaction with Krete could reveal a refraction of the region's past that had been transmitted over time.

Should we read more into the existence of a Miletos on Krete as further support for a potential Kretan influx? According to Ephoros, Sarpedon founded the settlement in Anatolia, and named it after the city on Krete; there was also said to have been a Miletos on Samos linked in with this body of myth.[1211] Shared toponyms were a common feature in the ancient world, although in most cases it is not possible to establish anything but insubstantial links. Herda has suggested that Mt. Mykale in Karia could reflect the Boiotian origins of settlers in the region, echoed in the city of Mykalessos in Boiotia[1212]; the Karian Naxia might also be related to the tradition of Karian settlers arriving on the island Naxos.[1213] In the case of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, the city traced its history to Magnesia in Thessaly, but does this reflect the origin of the early settlers, or did the notion of an affiliation arise from the fact that they had the same name?

It is again difficult to distinguish between later claimed associations and a community's origins; shared names could be used in antiquity to forge relationships between cities, or to link together separate strands of mythology. The region of the Troad, for instance, was thought to share connections with Arkadia, and according to Pausanias, the Bithynians were Arkadians from Mantineia by descent.[1214] Philetairos, the founder of the Attalid dynasty, was originally from Tieion in Bithynia[1215], and links with Arkadia were promoted within Attalid ideology through

[1210] Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 298.
[1211] See n. 311.
[1212] Herda (2006b); (2009) 61-2. Cf. Wilamowitz (1906) 74.
[1213] See p. 23.
[1214] Paus. 8. 9. 7. Antinous, the favourite of the Emperor Hadrian, was originally from Bithynia, and according to Pausanias, he was worshipped at Mantineia on account of its shared kinship with the Bithynians.
[1215] Strab. 12. 3. 8.

the myth of Telephos and his role as founder.[1216] According to tradition, Telephos was born of Herakles and Auge, the daughter of Aloeus, the king of Arkadia. On discovery of her pregnancy, Auge was cast out from her native land, and received refuge in Mysia within the court of King Teuthras. In certain versions, Auge gave birth to Telephos in Tegea in the sanctuary of Athena, and exposed the baby on Mt. Parthenion where he was suckled by a deer; in his subsequent wanderings he arrived in Mysia and was adopted by Teuthras.[1217] A variant of this myth recorded that Auge made the journey to Anatolia while still pregnant, and that Telephos had been born in Mysia, where he was raised by Teuthras.[1218] The existence of a cape named Parthenion near Chersonesos on the Bosphoros[1219], and of the river Parthenios in the same region[1220], may have encouraged the acceptance of this account, particularly within the Attalid dynasty, which claimed Telephos as its founding figure; but could they also shed light on the origins of the tradition?[1221]

A number of regional toponyms in north western Anatolia suggested an affiliation with Arkadia; the river linking the coastal city of Tieion with Bithynia was named Ladon in accordance with the main river in Arkadia,[1222] while another location in Paphlagonia was called Mantinium.[1223] It is not known at what stage such names appeared in the landscape of north western Anatolia; the Arkadian links certainly proved useful within Attalid ideology, [1224] but the notion of an earlier affiliation should not be dismissed. S. Mitchell has noted that the reference to the river Ladon in Hesiod occurs within a section that recounted other rivers in north western Anatolia; it seems logical that the Ladon in Bithynia, rather than the river in

[1216] Cf. Kutnerr (2005), esp. 144ff.
[1217] Apollod. *Bib.* 2. 7. 4; 3. 9. 1. Diod. Sic. 4. 33. 5; after the birth of Telephos, Auge was given as a gift to some Karians who were setting out for Asia, who gave her to Teuthras. Paus. 8. 48. 7.
[1218] Hekataios of Miletos *FGrH* 1 F 29a (= Paus. 8. 4. 9). Cf. Strab. 12. 8. 2: Teuthrania was where Telephos was reared.
[1219] According to Strabo (7. 4. 2) at Chersonesos there was also a temple to Parthenos; cf. 11. 2. 6. See now Kuttner (2005) 141.
[1220] Hes. *Theogeny.* 344; Strab. 12. 3. 8.
[1221] The myth most notably featured prominently on the reliefs of the Great Altar at Pergamon. Cf. Kuttner (2005).
[1222] Imperial coin types from Tieion depict a river god, with the inscription ΛΑΔΩΝ; see Robert (1980) 182, fig. 16. Cf. Mitchell (2010) 104.
[1223] The source is Byzantine: Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History.* 2. 38. See now Mitchell (1993) 207-208; (2010) 105. Cf. Kuttner (2005) 145.
[1224] Kuttner (2005) 141.

Arkadia, was referred to in this context.[1225] While it is not possible to establish whether this was an original part of the poem at the time of its composition, or a later insertion, it seems that the links between Arkadia and north-western Anatolia were maintained through their shared mythology, and also through common toponyms; but could they in turn reflect early interaction between Arkadia and this area of Anatolia?

The processes we are dealing with are largely opaque, and in such cases it is not possible to establish direct connections, or distinguish shared origins from later extrapolation. However, the possibility that shared toponyms may conceal early mobility within the networks of the Mediterranean is valid, and need not always have involved organised colonisation. It has long been speculated that the *–ss–* stem present in a number of Hellenic place names, including Parnassos[1226] and Knossos, could find its origin in Anatolia; similarly with regard to a possible equivalence between the *–nd–* stem that is frequent in Anatolian place names and the *–nth–* stem that is common in the Hellenic sphere.[1227] Such deductions may seem dated, or rather reflective of a period of scholarship in which the 'eastern' influences on early Greek civilisation were being categorised in unilinear terms, but I think the underlying notion of cultural interaction between Anatolia and Greece continues to be relevant.[1228]

The historical traditions relating Kretan mobility in the age of Minos was reflected in the Minoan culture attested in the archaeological record; similarly, the traditions of the 'Ionian migration' broadly accord with a process of Greek settlement along the coast of Anatolia in the Dark Ages. Communities in the ancient world had some conception of the chronology of their shared history, and built up foundation mythologies within this broader framework; thus at Miletos traditions arose around the founding figures of Miletos and Neileus, and those surrounding Miletos were regarded as more remote. To suggest that the myth of the settlement of the site by the Kretan Miletos could be a refraction of distant events does not

[1225] Mitchell (2010) 105.
[1226] There was another Parnassos in Kappadokia (Plb. 24.8).
[1227] Adiego (2007) 13.
[1228] In particular, the question of linguistic connectivity between the languages of Anatolia and early Greek remains pertinent in contemporary scholarship as an indicator of interaction; see p.33f.

necessitate a process of organised colonisation from Krete; rather, it is proposing that this legend could have initially arisen from a period of significant contact with Krete that involved individuals from the island arriving in western Anatolia. This was then transmitted and adapted over time into the form we now possess. While caution remains advisable, the underlying hypothesis that traditions could refract periods of contact is significant and valid; while the evidence from Miletos is unusual in its detail, it is instructive as a model, and allows us to readdress the problem of the 'invention' of tradition versus how societies 'remembered' their past in antiquity.

The Transmission of Mythology and History in the Ancient World

The functional nature of much of the process of 'remembering,' and the resulting adaptability of historical mythologies, did not affect their credibility within an ancient context. However, it has influenced the direction of recent scholarship on the topic, and the study of ancient mythological and historical traditions tends to stress their 'social function.' Undoubtedly how a society 'recalled' its past was important to its self-perception[1229], but it is not in itself incompatible with the possibility that a society was able to retain an awareness of events from its past, transmitted through oral tradition and folklore.[1230]

In this chapter I have sought to demonstrate that while the relation of mythologies to historical reality is complex, ancient traditions should not solely be disregarded as fiction. The means by which the ancients 'remembered' their past was filtered across the centuries and preserved in historical traditions and mythologies. The natural tendency in 'collective memory' is to simplify and conventionalise; suppressing what is not meaningful, and interpolating or substituting new aspects that are more compatible with a certain view of the world.[1231] Thus, while mythological traditions could preserve certain 'memories' of distant events or

[1229] Fentress & Wickham (1992) 24; Connerton (1989) 21.
[1230] A more recent parallel can be sought in the historical traditions of the Lemba people in southern Africa; they had long maintained that they had Jewish ancestry, and certain of their rituals, including circumcision and the avoidance of pork, were ostensibly related to Jewish customs. Genetic research on the Lemba then revealed that a high proportion of the male population had chromosomes of Semitic origin, suggesting that their traditions may have had some basis in truth.
[1231] Fentress & Wickham (1992) 58-59.

episodes, this was schematised over time[1232]: the sequence of history established and accepted by the ancients bore some resemblance to the phases that scholars have established archaeologically, but it was by no means comprehensive.

In the case of Miletos, I have suggested that the material evidence for Minoan contact in the Middle Bronze Age was reflected in the later tradition of a Kretan founder. However, the implications of this model with relation to other communities along the Anatolia coast that also explicitly claimed a 'Kretan link', remain complex. Erythrai and Kolophon, for instance, both awarded a role to Kretans in their foundations, but archaeological exploration into Bronze Age settlement at these sites remains at an early stage. The evidence to date suggests contact with the Minoan realm, though not necessarily settlement; should we use the later mythologies to hypothesise that more evidence will materialise with greater exploration? In these cases we are not in a position to argue from silence.

It is further noteworthy that the Mycenaean past, which is so prominent in the archaeological material and in the Hittite literary sources, does not seem to have been preserved in the historical traditions of western Anatolia.[1233] It has been suggested that the narratives concerning both the Ionian and Dorian migrations could reflect a period of mobility from mainland Greece that began with the Mycenaean presence in Anatolia; the Mycenaean aspect of the past was elided within the historical mythologies, or perhaps subsumed within the broader migratory narratives.[1234] But in the same way that certain aspects of the past could be 'remembered' and transmitted over time, others could be 'forgotten,' and it is difficult to trace the specifics of such processes. The limitations of the available evidence make it impossible to approach all historical traditions in the same way, and we should not look to identify the 'kernel of truth' in all later narratives.

In this way, the opportunity to consider the mythological affiliations between Karia and Krete alongside the archaeological evidence for contact during the Bronze Age is unusual. In the first instance, the correlation between the extensive archaeological evidence for a dominant Bronze Age culture focused on Krete, and

[1232] *Ibid.* 32.
[1233] There also seems to be a lack of traditions stemming from 'memories' of the Hittite empire.
[1234] Lemos (2007) 724-5; Bresson (2001) 152.

the later mythologies of the thalassocracy of Minos, is too great to be dismissed as coincidence; the later traditions seem to have conserved an awareness of the early (cultural) dominance of Krete. More specifically, the recollection in myth of an affiliation between Karia and Krete reflects the patterns of Bronze Age mobility and interaction between south western Anatolia and the Minoan realm. While the regional and civic narratives recording a Karian-Kretan link evolved during the process of transmission, at their core they preserved a residual ‘memory’ of the early networks of communication.

Conclusion

Karia was located on the boundary of the Greek world, but it was not disconnected from the communities and cultures of the Aegean: historical traditions emphasised the early maritime mobility of the Karians and their interaction with Greeks, especially Kretans. This was related to, and affected by, real contact in the ancient world. While we are primarily dealing with a 'non-Greek' population, the structure and development of the mythological traditions linking Karia and Krete were based on their geographical association and participation in shared networks.

Defining 'Karia' in itself is far from straightforward, and I have returned over the course of this thesis to the complexities involved; where to draw the limits of Karia geographically and culturally, and the differences between the coastal and inland areas. The development of what 'being Karian' meant was a continual process, undergoing periods of crystallisation and diffusion. During the Hellenistic period, the decline of the Karian language, and other indicators of Karian culture, including names, can be traced; however, I have argued that the continued significance attached to traditions and mythologies involving Karians, or figures with strong Karian connections (including Chrysaor and Pegasos), meant that a 'Karian' aspect of regional history remained significant to the construction of local identities; both among those communities conventionally located within Karia (e.g. Mylasa), and those 'Greek' cities along the coast that were peripherally 'Karian' (e.g. Halikarnassos, Miletos).

I have focused on understanding what the Karian-Kretan affiliation meant within a regional context; considering the 'social function' that these myths played in the construction of local identities. The reception of the tradition was not constant: in the fifth century BC, Herodotos wrote that the Karians themselves denied the link, claiming to have been indigenous 'from the first.' Yet during the Hellenistic period, it is possible to identify a cluster of traditions that develop the notion of a 'Kretan connection.' In Chapters 3 and 4 I concentrated on contextualising the surviving traditions within their socio-political background, and considering why a historical link with Krete was deemed relevant at this time. The increased 'Hellenization' of Karia, and the incorporation of the Karian communities into the wider Greek *koine,* was a part of this. In a civic culture that placed an emphasis on the past, participation was based on shared history and the establishment of historical affiliations; within

this context, the Karian-Kretan link became more prevalent, and came to be considered a valuable element in the formulation of the local histories of Karia. At Mylasa, for instance, we do not know of a specific mythological link between the city and Krete; and yet the wider regional narratives seem to have been adapted on a local level in order to substantiate the claims of kinship made in their diplomatic relations with the island.

The reception of the mythological affiliation with Krete was not uniform across Karia. The notion of a 'Kretan connection' emerges most prominently in the areas that were located on or near the coast, or in communities that were active in the wider networks of the Aegean (such as Mylasa). The Kaunians, for instance, were said to have derived from Krete, while other myths related the migration of the Kouretes to the Karian Chersonesos: their proximity to the sea was central to the myth. Kretan traditions were also important among the 'Greek' cities located on the border of Karia, notably Miletos and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. They were again based on the notion of early contact between coastal Anatolia and Krete; however, they reflect the appropriation of what was at core a 'Karian' narrative. At Miletos, the Kretan tradition reflected a period of settlement before the arrival of the 'Ionians', when the area was inhabited by the Karians. The Kretan 'origin myth' of Magnesia is more unusual, and does not involve figures associated with Minos; but I have argued that this strand of their history was developed and propagated in response to the wider regional pattern of myths associated with the island.

The corpus of mythological traditions linking Karia and Krete, both regional and local, was diverse and inconsistent; however, the underlying theme of interaction with Krete recurs. I proposed in Chapter 5 that the foundation of the traditions reflects Bronze Age mobility between the island and south western Anatolia. During the second millennium BC, the cultures of the Minoan and Mycenaean realms came into contact with those of coastal Anatolia. The character of Bronze Age 'Karia' was shaped by this interaction, and cultural interchange was one consequence. Given the adaptable nature of myth, attempts to reconcile the different strands, or to construct a neat correspondence between later mythologies and the evidence for real contact, are misplaced. But the central theme of the later traditions is the notion of significant contact between the realm of Minos and the Karians; in this regard, the correspondence with the archaeological evidence is striking, and the mythological

and historical traditions can be argued to transmit refracted versions of this early contact.

The endurance of the 'Kretan link' indicates that it continued to reflect something about the history of Karia and its identity. This was ultimately determined by continuing interaction. The sense of a Karian-Kretan affiliation was formulated and shaped in response to contact and confrontation with other people(s), whether diplomatic, economic, cultural or military; this generated the opportunity for further cultural interchange, and it is in this environment that a cult of a 'Kretan-born' Zeus was introduced to the region. The communities of Karia and Krete shared overlapping networks of interaction throughout antiquity; it was continual acquaintance between individuals from both regions that both engendered the mythological links and ensured that they remained 'good to think with' in Karia.

Appendix 1: *I. Magnesia* 17

Ed. pr. O. Kern (1894). Kern *I. Magnesia* 17; Merkelbach & Stauber (1998), 02/01/01 (followed below, unless otherwise indicated).

Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1895); Dušanič (1983); Ebert (1985).

Marble block. Height: 0. 915m. Width: 0.68-69m. Letter Height: 0.7-0.9cm.
Stone & squeeze: Berlin. Photo: Kern (1894); *I. Magnesia* 17, Tafel IV (Fig. 7).

Found in the south west corner of the agora; it was inscribed on the so-called 'Pfeilerwand' that terminated the *stoa* at the southern end. The sections quoting the oracle were aligned to a different margin from the rest of the text, which was indented slightly.

Date: 208/7 BC.

[. . . . . c.15 . . . . .] χεῖρας [ἐ]ξήγαγο[ν . . . . . c.14 . . . . .]
[. . . c.11 . . . . ση]μεῖον τῆς γενομένη[ς . . . . . c.14 . . . . .]
[. . . c.11 . . . . πα]ρὰ πάντων κατὰ κοινὸ[ν . . . . c.13 . . . . .]
[. . . c.10 . . . ψ]ηφισμάτων· μέχρι μὲν [οὖν χρόνου τινὸς]
σ̣υν[τ]ελεσθ[έ]ντων ταχέως ὧν ἕνεκεν ἦλ[θον, περιέμενον]
τ̣ὸ ῥ̣ηθὲν ὑπ<ὸ> τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖον πρὸς τὴν ἀ[ποχώρησιν· ἐπεὶ]
δὲ ἐλάμβανε χρόνον, πόλιν ἀνὰ μέσον π[εδίων τῶν Γόρτυ]-
νος καὶ Φαιστοῦ κ̣α̣τ̣ώικ<ι>σαν εὐδαίμον[α ἐν Κρήτηι· κτησά-]-
μενοι τέκν̣α καὶ γυναῖκα[ς, ἐ]νεφυσίωσάν τε κα[ὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομέ]-
νοις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τὴμ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν κατὰ [τὴν ἀποχώρησιν·]
ὡς δὲ περὶ ὀγδοιήκονθ' ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐφάν̣[ησαν οἱ λευκοὶ]
κόρακες, *vacat* εὐθέως ἅμα θυσίαις χαριστηρίοις *vacat* πέμ[ποντ̣αι εἰς Δελ]-
φοὺς ἐρωτήσοντες περὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἰδί̣[αν] ἐπανόδο[υ, ἱερωμένης
ἐν Ἄργει *vacat* Θεμιστοῦς, *vacat* προάρχοντας ἐν [Δελ]φοῖς τὴν ἐν[ναετηρίδα]
Ξενύλλου. πάλιν δὲ παρὰ τὴμ βούλησιν αὐτῶν χρ̣ηστηριάζε[ται·]
ἦλθετε Μάγνητες Κρήτης ἀ̣πόνοσφι τραπέν̣[τες]
οἰωνὸμ πτερύγεσσι σὺν ἀργεννῆ̣σιν ἰδόντες
[ἐ]γ μέλανος, καὶ θαῦμα καταθνητοῖσιν ἐφάνθη,
[κ]αὶ δίζησθε, πάτρην εἰ λ̣ώϊόν ἐστιν ἱκέσθαι.
ἀλλὰ χρεὼγ γαίης ἀπ[ὸ π]ατρίδος ἄλλοθι νε̣ῖσθα[ι·]
πατρὶ δ' ἐμῶι καὶ ἐμοὶ [καὶ] συγγόνωι ὧδε μ[ελ]ήσει
μή τι χερειοτέραμ βῶ̣λ[ο]μ Μ[ά]γνητα δάσασθαι
χώρας ἧς Πηνειὸς ἔχει κα[ὶ] Πήλιον αἰ̣πύ.
ἀπογνόντες οὖν διὰ τὸγ χρησμὸν [τ]ὴν εἰς οἶκον ἐπάνοδον καὶ
σπεύδο<ν>τες ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ
θεοῦ πάλιν ἐπηρ̣ώτ<η>σαμ πέμψαντες ὅπ[ο]υ στέλλοιεν
καὶ πῶς· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔχρησεν·
εἵρεσθ' ὦ Μάγνητες ἀμύμονες, ἔνθα νέησθε·
ὔμμι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἕστηκε πάρος νηοῖο θυράων,
[ὃ]ς γ' ὑμῖν ἄρξαιτο καὶ ἡγήσαιτο κελεύθου
Π̣αμφ̣ύλων ἐπ' ἄρουραν ὑπὲρ Μυκάλης ὄρος αἰπύ·
ἔνθα δὲ Μανδρολύτου δόμος ὄλβιος ἐμ περιωπῆ[ι]
πολλοῖσιν κτεάνοισι πολυστρεφέος ποταμοῖο·

ἔνθα δὲ ἀμυνομένοισι καὶ οὐκ ἄρχουσι δόλοιο
νίκηγ καὶ μέγα κῦδος Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξει.
ἐπερωτησάντων δὲ τίς ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καθηγησό-
μενος ἡμῖν καὶ πόθεν, ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν·
ἔστι τις ἐν τεμένει Γλαύκου γένος ἄ<λ>κιμος ἀνήρ,
ὅς γ' ὑμῖν πρώτιστ'<α> ἐπιέξεται ἀντιβολήσας
νηὸν ἐμὸμ προλιποῦσι· τὸ γὰ[ρ] πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.
οὗτος καὶ δείξει χέρσου πολύπυρον ἄρουραν.
συναντησάντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ ῥηθὲν καὶ τὴν συγγένεια[ν]
πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιππον ἀνανεωσαμένων, ἐπιδειξάντων τ[ε]
τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀσμένως ὑπήκουσεν ὁ <Λ>εύκιππος, ὅμως μα[ν-]
τεῖον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπ[η]ρ[ώτ]η[σ]ε κατ' ἰδίαν τὸν θεόν, τῶι δ' ἔχρησεν·
στέλλ' ἐπὶ Παμφύ[λ]ωγ κό[λ]πον, Λεύκιππε, φέροπλον
λαὸν ἄγωμ Μάγνητα ὁμοσύγγονον, ὡς ἂν ἵκειαι
Θ[ώρη]κος σκόπελον κ[α]τὰ Μανθίου αἰπὺ ῥέεθρον
καὶ [Μ]υκάλης ὄρος αἰπὺ ἀπεναντίον Ἐνδυμίων[ος.]
ἔνθα δὲ Μ[α]νδρολύτου δόμον ὄλβιοι οἰκήσο[υσιν]
[Μ]άγνητες πολίε[σσι] περικτιόνεσσιν ἀγητ[οί.]

L. 4: Kern (1894). *I. Magnesia* 17, Merkelbach & Stauber: μέχρι μὲν [τούτων κατὰ νοῦν] || L. 6: From the stone: ΥΠΥ (Ebert). Kern (1894): ὑπ[ό]; *I. Magnesia* 17: ὑπό || Ll. 7-8: Restoration of Ebert (1985). Kern (1894): μέσον π[ολίσαντες Γόρτυ]|νος καὶ Φαιστοῦ; *I. Magnesia* 17: μέσον π[όλεων Γόρτυ]|νος καὶ Φαιστοῦ || L. 8: From the stone: ΚΑΤΩΙΚΟΥΣΑΝ (Ebert). Kern (1894), *I. Magnesia* 17: κατώικουσαν || Ll. 8-9: Ebert. Kern (1894): εὐδαιμόν[ως ἔζων κτησά]|μενοι; *I. Magnesia* 17: εὐδαιμόν[ως μεταπεμψά]|μενοι || L. 9: Ebert: γυναῖκα[ς], ἐνεφυσίωσάν || Ll. 9-10: Ebert. Kern (1894): κα[ὶ τοῖς γενομέ]|νοις; *I. Magnesia* 17: κα[ὶ τοῖς γινομέ]|νοις. || L.10: Kern (1894), *I. Magnesia* 17: [τὸν χρησμόν·] || L. 11: Kern (1894), *I. Magnesia* 17: ἐφά[νησαν || L. 12: Kern (1894): [ἐ]πέμ[φθησαν]; Ebert: πέμπ[ουσιν] || L. 26: From the stone: ΕΠΗΡΩΤΩΣΑΜ (Ebert). || L. 39: From the stone: ΠΡΩΤΙΣΤΕ || L.43: τ[ε]: reading of Ebert || L. 44: From the stone: ΟΔΕΥΚΙΠΠΟΣ (Ebert). Kern (1894), *I. Magnesia* 17: ἄσμενος ὑπήκουσεν ὁ <Λ>εύκιππος. Ebert: ὁ δὲ <Λε>ύκιππος || Ll. 44-5: Kern (1894): μ[έν]|τοι [γ]ε; *I. Magnesia* 17: μ[έν]|τοινε; Ebert: μα[ν]|<τεῖον> || L. 45: Ebert: ἐπηρώτησε || L. 48: Ebert: κατὰ Μανθίου. Kern (1894): κ[αὶ] Ἀμανθίου; *I. Magnesia* 17: κ[α]ὶ Ἀμανθίου. Cf. *IG* 14.933, l.7: Μανθίωι. || L. 51: Ebert. Kern (1894): [Μ]άγνητ[ε]ς; *I. Magnesia* 17: [Μ]άγνητ<ε>ς.

Translation:

> *'...when, after some time, they had rapidly completed the things because of which they had come, they awaited the omen of the god to return. When he (the god) took his time, they founded a prosperous city on Krete, in the middle of the plain of Gortyn and Phaistos. They settled their children and wives and handed down to their descendants the instructions of the god about their migration. Around eighty years after their arrival, white crows appeared, and immediately, with sacrifices of thanks to the god, they sent a delegation to Delphi to ask about whether they could return to th*eir own land. *This happened when Themisto was priestess in Argos, while Xenyllos was proarchon in Delphi in the ninth year. But the god gave them an oracle against their wishes:*

'You Magnesians have come here, turned away from distant Krete, having seen a bird with white wings in place of black. It appeared to you mortals as a portent, and you desire to know whether it is advantageous for you to return to your fatherland. But you must go to a

land away from your fatherland. My father and myself and my sister will take care that the Magnesians will not have poorer soil to divide among themselves than the land which Peneios and high Pelion hold.'

Having received the advice of the oracle about their return home, they hastened to accomplish the message of the god, and they sent back to ask where they should be dispatched and in what way. The god replied:

'Noble Magnesians, you have asked where you should go. The man who stands before the doors of the temple will lead you and show you the way to the land of Pamphylia, beyond high Mount Mykale. There you will find the wealthy house of Mandrolytos with his many possessions on the banks of the much winding river. There the Olympian will bestow victory and great glory upon those who defend themselves and do not rule by trickery.'

Then they inquired who this man was who would lead them away, and from where he came, the god replied:

'There is in the sanctuary a brave man, descended from the line of Glaukos, who will be the first to meet you when you leave my temple; for it has been ordained. He will show you land rich in corn on the mainland.'

Having met Leukippos, as prophesied, and having renewed their kinship with him, and having shown him the oracles, he gladly heeded it; nevertheless, he asked a question of the god himself, and the oracle proclaimed:

'Set off to the Pamphylian gulf, Leukippos, and lead the arms-bearing people of Magnesia, your kinsmen, to Mount Thorax by the precipitous Amanthios River and high Mount Mykale, opposite Endymion. There the Magnesians will inhabit the house of Mandrolytos and be prosperous and admired by the neighbouring cities.'

Appendix 2: the 'Kretan Dossier' of Mylasa

All restorations after W. Blümel, unless otherwise indicated.

I. Mylasa 641

Ed. pr. Le Bas-Waddington no. 380. Blass *SGDI* no. 5157; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 187.
No measurement details.

1] ἀλλήλ[οις
]ΘΕΝ παρὰ [
τοῖς κόσμ]οις καὶ τᾶ[ι π]ό[λει] ἐπειδὴ Μυλασεῖ[ς
]ΣΙ ὑπάρχοντες ΦΡΟΝΩΝ ἁμίων τε [
5]ΟΝ Κρηταιέων συνγενεῖς ἀπό τε [

L. 3: Blass: κόσμ]οις || L.3: Blass. Waddington: τὰ [λ]όιπά] || L. 4: ΦΡΟΝΩΝ (copy of Le Bas); Waddington: φρον[ί]ων[τι]; Blass: 'steckt διὰ προγόνων darin?'

I. Mylasa 642

Ed. pr. Le Bas-Waddington no. 381. Baunack, *Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen* (1886) 7/8, no. I, 11/12; Blass *SGDI* no. 5158; Guarducci *IC* 4. 177; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 188.
Found in a private house.

Letter Height: 2cm.

1]ΣΕ[ ]ΤΟΥ ΕΝ[ ]Α[
]ΑΝ οἷοι ἐς Κρήταν [ ]Δ[
?πρότερο]ν καὶ νῦν φίλοι ΚΕΙ[
Κρηταιέ]ας ἅπαντας ἔπεμ[ψαν
5 Γορτ]υνίος καὶ [Κν]οσίος [
τῶ]ν ἐλη[λ]υ[θ]ότων [
Γο]ρτυνίων καὶ ΠΟΡΤΑ[
]Σ καὶ πορτὶ τὰς ἄλ[λας
μετὰ πάν]σας σπουδᾶς κ[αὶ φιλοτιμίας
10]ΕΝΟΙ παρεκάλιον ΛΑ[
]ΕΣ το πολέμο ΔΥΣ[
]Σ ἀγαθὰ [ ]ΤΟ[ ]Τ[
]ΩΣ[ ]ΟΛΙ[ ]Ἐ
]ΛΓΛ[ ]ΣΤΑ[ ]ΕΙΑ[
15]μεθα Μυλασε[
] ἀποστολαὶ [
]ΝΟ[ ]ΙΟ[ ]Λ[

L. 4-5: Waddington: [πορτὶ Κρηταιέ]ας ἅπαντας ἔπεμ[ψαν πρειγευτάς καὶ μάλιστα ˡ πορτὶ || L. 5: [Κν]οσίος spelled with 'ο' rather than 'ω' || L. 7: ΠΟΡΤΑ (copy of Le Bas); Waddington: πορτ′ α[ύτὸς; Baunack: πορτ′ ἀ[μέ ? || L. 9: Le Bas: ΕΑΣ || L. 11: Baunack:] ἐς το πολέμο || L. 15: Waddington: μεθ′ ἁ Μυλασε[ῦσιν.

I. Mylasa 643

Ed. pr. Le Bas-Waddington no. 382. Baunack 8/9, no. II; Blass *SGDI* no. 5159; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 189; Wilhelm, *Griechische Inschriften rechtlichen Inhalts* 85-86.
Cf. *SEG* 13. 489; *BE* (1953) 186.
Found in a private house. Script: 'belles lettres avec de très-petits apices' (Le Bas).

Letter Height: 1.2cm. The right side of the stone is preserved.

[βοαθῆν Μυλασεῦσι παντ]ὶ σθέναι καὶ τὸς ἐν
[τᾶι νάσωι Κρηταιέας] καὶ τὸς ἔξω τᾶς νά-
[σω οἰκίοντας ὡς αὐτᾶς] τᾶς Κρήτας πολεμω-
[μένας?] ἀδικίωντι Μυλασέας
[ ] τούτοις μὴ ἦμεν ἐπι-
[ ] τὰ μέγιστα ἀσεβή-
[ματα?]AI δαμοσίως καὶ αὐτῶν
[πρε]ιγεύεν δὲ καὶ ποτὶ τὸς
[ ]σσων καὶ τὸς δυνάστας
[τὰς] πόλιας, ὅπως ἐν εἰ-
[ρήναι ἀφορ]ολόγητοι ἔωντι τάν
[τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν] αὐτῶν ἰαρὰν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς
[καὶ ἦμεν π]ρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέταν
[τᾶς πόλιος]N πάντων ἁμῶν μετε-
[ἀνθρ]ωπίνων ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα
[καὶ εὐνοίας ποτί τὰν πόλι]ν τ[ε καὶ πο]τὶ τὸ Κρη-
[ταιέων]Γ[ ]

L. 3: Waddington: οἰκίοντας; Blass: πάντας Κρήτας || Ll. 3-4: Wilhelm: [σω Κρῆτας ἅπαντας ὡς αὐτας] τᾶς Κρήτας πολεμω|[μένας] || Ll. 4-5: Wilhelm: [αἳ δὲ κά τινες τῶν ἔξω] ἀδικίωντι Μυλασέας |[ἢ τὰν πόλιν ἢ τὰν χώραν αὐτων,] τούτοις || L. 7: Baunack: ἰδίᾳ κ]αὶ δαμοσίως || L. 8: ITEYEN (Le Bas); Baunack: πολ]ιτεύεν ? || Ll. 5-8: Wilhelm: τούτοις μὴ ἦμεν ἐπι|[στροφὰν ἐν τὰν νᾶσον ὡς] τὰ μέγιστα ἀσεβή|[σασιν, κατάρας τε γίνεσθ]αι δαμοσίως καὶ αὐτῶν |[καὶ τᾶς γενεᾶς αὐτῶν] || L. 9: Waddington: πρά]σσων || L. 11: Waddington, Blass: [ρήναι διαμένωντι καὶ ἀφορ]ολόγητοι || L. 13: Waddington: beginning [ὑπάπχουσαν] || Ll. 8-13: Wilhelm: πρε]ιγεύεν δὲ καὶ ποτὶ τὸς | [συνέδρος τῶ κοινῶ τῶν νά]σσων καὶ τὸς δυνάστας | [καὶ τὸς βασιλέας καὶ τὰς] πόλιας, ὅπως ἐν εἰ|[ρήναι συντηρίωντι καὶ ἀφορ]ολόγητο<ν> ἔωντι τάν | [τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν] αὐτῶν ἰαρὰν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς |[ὑπάρχουσαν· ἦμεν δὲ καὶ] πρόξενον || Ll. 14-15: Blümel: either μετέ[χεν] or μετέ[χοντα] || Ll. 13-17: Wilhelm: εὐεργέταν | [τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Μυλασέω]ν πάντων ἁμῶν μετέ|[χοντα θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρ]ωπίνων ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα | [καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς ποτί τὰν νᾶσο]ν τ[ε καὶ πο]τὶ τὸ Κρη|[ταιέων κοινόν]. Cf. Robert & Robert, *BE* (1953), who reject Wilhelm's restorations.

I. Mylasa 644

Ed. pr. Le Bas-Waddington no. 383a. Baunack 9/10, no. IIIa, 13; Blass *SGDI* no. 5160a; Rigsby *Asylia* no.190.
Found in a private house by Le Bas; recorded again by E. Hula (Skizzenbuch I 46).

Limestone block: Height: 0.21m; Width: 0.69m; Depth: 0.30m.
Squeeze: Wien, Paris (Fig. 11). Facsimile: *I. Mylasa*, p. 243.

Inscribed in two columns; the same stone as *I. Mylasa* 645 (left column: 644; right: 645). Similar script to *I. Mylasa* 643.

1 [—]..[—]Λ[—]
[—]ΩΡΙΟ[—]ΙΟΙΣ Μυλασέων ἢ χ[ώρ]αι̣
[—]Ν βοαθῆν Μυλασεῦσι παντὶ
[σθένει καὶ τὸνς ἐ]ν τᾶι νάσωι Κρηταιέανς καὶ
5 [τὸνς ἔξω τᾶς νάσω Κρ]ή̣τανς πάντανς τὸνς ϝοικίον-
[τανς —]ΤΑΣ, ὡς αὐτᾶς τᾶς Κρήτας πο-
[λεμωμένας — πρ]εσβεύειν δὲ καὶ πορτὶ τὸνς
[—]ΤΩΝ καὶ τὸνς δυνάστανς καὶ
[τὰνς πόλιανς ὅπως εἰρήν]αν τε ἔχωντι καὶ ἀφορολό-
10 [γητοι ἔωντι τάν τε πόλι]ν καὶ τὰν χώραν [αὐ]τ[ῶν.]

L. 5: Hula: ΙΤΑΝΣ; Waddington: πολί]τανς; Blass: Κρή]τανς || L. 6: Wilhelm, *Arch. Epigr. Mitt. Österr.* 20 (1897) 85: ὡς αὐτᾶς τᾶς Κρήτας πο[λεμωμένας] || L. 7: Squeeze: ΔΕΚΑΙ.

I. Mylasa 645

Ed. pr. Le Bas-Waddington no. 383b. Blass *SGDI* no. 5160b; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 191.

Same stone as *I. Mylasa* 644 (Fig. 11). The left margin is preserved.

1 [τάν] τε πόλ[ιν ἀδι]-
κῶντι ἐξ Α[
καὶ αἰ κά τιν[ες πράσσων]-
τι πολέμια Τ[
5 Μυλασέων ἢ [χώραι
βοαθεῖν Μυλ[ασεῦσι παντὶ σθένει ὡς αὐτᾶς τᾶς]
Κρήτας πολε[μωμένας πρεσβεύειν δὲ]
καὶ πορτὶ τὸν[
καὶ ΠΡΟ[

L.4: Waddington: τ[ᾷ πόλει.

I. Mylasa 646

Ed. pr. Le Bas-Waddington no. 384a. Baunack 10, no. IVa, 13; Blass *SGDI* no. 5161; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 192.
Found in the same private house as 643 and 644/5 by Le Bas; recorded again by E. Szanto (Skizzenbuch II 9).

Letter Height: 1.4cm.
Stone Height: 0.21m; Width: 0.52m.
Inscribed in two columns; the same stone as *I. Mylasa* 647 (left column: 646; right: 647). Same script to 644/5.

1 [ ]Σ[ ]ΕΣ
[ ]Ι τε Τ[π]ορ-
[τὶ? Κρητ]αιέα[ς] τῶ̃ πο-
[λέμω?]Ν τῶι [ ] ἐπὶ τὰν

5 [ ]ΑΣΙΝΕΙ[ ]ΑΝ ποιήσαθ-
[αι Μυλασέ]ων ἰόντων συγγενίων καὶ
[φίλων]ΩΣ τάν τε πόλιν ἀσφαλίως
[κα]ὶ ἄσυλον ἴατ[τα]ν· καὶ εἴ κά τι-
[νες]

L. 3: Κρητ]αιέα[ς; restored by Baunack. || L. 5: End ΠΟΙΗΣΑΘ; Szanto. || L. 8: Baunack: ἰαρὰν κα]ὶ ἄσυλον; Blass: ἴατ[τα]ν.

I. Mylasa 647

Ed. pr. Le Bas-Waddington no. 384b. Baunack 11, no. IVb; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 193.

Same stone as *I. Mylasa* 646.

1 ΙΩ[
ΔΑ[
ΠΕΡ[
ΣΕΙ[
5 ΦΙΛΟ[
ΤΟΣ[
ΛΕΙΑ[
ΣΕΩ[

I. Mylasa 648

Ed. pr. Cousin-Diehl *BCH* 12 (1888) 8-11, no. 1. Baunack: 249, no. Va; Blass *SGDI* no. 5162a, ll. 1-4; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 194.

Inscribed in two columns on the same stone as *I. Mylasa* 649 & 650 (left column: 648 & 649; right: 650).
Squeeze: Paris (Fig.11).

1]Σ τὰ ἱερ-
ἕς τ]ε τῶ Διὸς
]ΙΣ

I. Mylasa 649

Ed. pr. Cousin-Diehl *BCH* 12 (1888) no. 1. Baunack 249, no. Vb; Blass *SGDI* no. 5162a, ll. 5-19; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 195

Same stone as *I. Mylasa* 648 & 650 (Fig. 11).

1 [ἔδοξε τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τᾶι πό]λει· ἐπειδὴ
[Μυλασέεν ὑπάρχοντες συγγενίεν καὶ φίλοι δι]ὰ προγόνων
[τᾶς ἁμᾶς πόλιος πρειγευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν μετὰ] τῶ ψαφίσ-
[ματος λ]αβόντας
5 [ ]Η καὶ τὰ
[ἀλ]λάλονς

[καὶ ἀνανεώσασθαι] τὰν ἐξ ἀρ-
[χᾶς φιλίαν] ὅπως τὸ
[ ]PION ἐν
[ ]ΩΝ καὶ
[εὔνο]ιαν τὰν
[ ]ΟΝΤΩΝ
[τῶ ἔθ]νιος
[?όμ]οίως
[ ]ΘΑΘΑΙ

L. 2: Blümel: or Μυλασίες. || L. 3: Blümel: or πρειγευτὰνς.

I. Mylasa 650

Ed. pr. Cousin-Diehl *BCH* 12 (1888) 8-11, no. 1. Baunack 250, no. Vc; Blass *SGDI* no. 5162b; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 196.
Cf. Robert, *Opera Minora* 1082; *SEG* 4. 231.

Same stone as *I. Mylasa* 648 & 649 (Fig. 11)

ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι· ἔδοξε [τοῖς κόσ]-
μοις καὶ τᾶι πόλι· ἐπε[ιδὴ Μυλασέεν ὑπάρχοντες]
συγγενίεν καὶ φίλοι δ[ιὰ προγόνων τᾶς ἁμᾶς πόλιος]
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Κρητα[ιέων]
ως μόνοι παρὰ τὸς ἄλλ[ος]
ται περὶ τᾶς κοινᾶς εἰρ[ήνας]
τῶ ἔθνιος ἐμπ̣ε̣τόντ[ος πό]-
λεμος Κρηταιέων πά[ντων]
σον κοινὰν καὶ ἴσαν ε[ὔνοιαν καὶ φιλοστοργίαν]
περὶ παντὸς τῶ κοινῶ [σύ]-
σταμα συνᾶκται Κρητ[αιε Μυλα]-
σέεν ἄξιοί ἐντι μεγαλ[διαφυλάτ]-
τεν ἐς Κρηταιέας πάν[τας τὰν ὑπάρχονσαν]
εὔνοιάν τε καὶ φιλοστ[οργίαν]
ἐπαινῆσθαι τὸμ Μυλασ[έων δᾶμον καὶ στεφα]-
νῶσθαι αὐτὸν μετ᾽ ἀνα[γορεύσιος]
καὶ εὐεργεσίαι θείων [τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πάν]-
των μέτοχον ἀρετᾶ[ς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας]
τᾶς ἐς Κρηταιέας καὶ [ ]
ον ὃ καὶ μὴ Μυλασεῦσι [ ]

L. 16: Robert: ἀνα[γορεύσιος.

I. Mylasa 651

Ed. pr. Doublet-Deschamps, *BCH* 14 (1890) 618-20, no. 17. Blass *SGDI* no. 5163a; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 197.

Marble block: Height: 0.43m; Width: 0.78m; Depth: 0.34m.
Inscribed in two columns; the same stone as *I. Mylasa* 652 (left column: 651; right: 652).

1 [ ]N δια[λ]εγέντας
[ψαφ]ίσματι καὶ ἐπιδαμή-
[σαντας]IN καὶ ἁμὲν ἁμῶν προ-
[ ] Μυλασέων καὶ τὸς
5 [αὐτ]οῖς καλοκἀγαθίας ἕνε-
[κεν ἐ]ς τὸ ξενοτρόφιον καὶ
[ἐ]κ τῶ νόμω περὶ δὲ τᾶς
[ ]ΩΝΤΙ Μυλασεῖς τὸ κοι-
[νὸν ἀποκρίνασ]θαι αὐτοῖς ἁμέ, ὅτι ΑΙ-
10 [ ]ΕΝ συμμάχων ἐπὶ τῶι
[ ]ΝΤΙ[ ]ΝΕΣ δὲ οὐχ ὑπομε-
[ ]Ε τὰν ἐθνικὰν συνθή-
[καν πόλ]εμον ἦμεν· διὸ καὶ ἁμὲν
[ ]ΙΣ διατηρῶντες τὰ πα-
15 [παρα]δεδομένα ἐπιμέλει-
[αν] συμφερόντων τᾶι νά-
[σωι πε]ρὶ τούτων σαφέως

L. 2: Blass: ἀκολούθως τῶι ψαφ]ίσματι || Ll. 6-7: ed. pr.: καλέσαι αὐτὸς ἐ]ς τὸ ξενοτρόφιον καὶ ⁞ [δόμεν αὐτοῖς ξένια ἐκ τῶ νόμω || L. 8: ed. pr.: ἀδικ]ῶντι || L. 9: ed. pr.: δίδοσ]θαι.

I. Mylasa 652

Ed. pr. Doublet-Deschamps, *BCH* 14 (1890) 618-20, no. 17. Blass *SGDI* no. 5163b; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 198.
Cf. Chaniotis *ZPE* 71 (1988), 154-56; *SEG* 38. 1071.

Same stone as *I. Mylasa* 651.

1 ἀξιολόγωμ πο[ιητ]ᾶν τε [καὶ
καὶ Θαλήτα τῶ Κρητὸς καὶ Ζ[ήνωνος
προξένος καὶ γένος αὐτῶν [
νομιζόμενα ξένια· περὶ δὲ [παρα]-
5 καλέοντι Μυλασέες, οἱ πρε[ιγευταὶ ἐμφα]-
νιξάτωσαν αὐτοῖς ἃ παρα[
γὰρ χαρίξασθαι Μυλασεῦσ[ι
ας ὑπόμναμα{μα} ὑπάρχηι ποτὶ Μ[υλασέας
τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε παρὰ μὲν ἁ[μὶν ἐς τῶι ἰαρῶι τῶ]
10 Ἀπέλλωνος Πυτίο, παρὰ δὲ [Μυλασεῦσι
αὐτῶν ἔς τε τῶ Ζανοποτε[ιδᾶνος καὶ τῶ Διὸς]
τῶ Λαβραύνδω· καὶ ἐς τὰ Ε[

L. 1: Blass: ἀξιολόγωμ πο[ιητ]ᾶν τε [καὶ συγγραφέων ? || L. 2: Chaniotis : Ζ[ήνωνος].

I. Mylasa 653

Ed. Blümel, *I. Mylasa* (1987-88). Rigsby *Asylia* no. 199.
Found in a private house by E. Hula (Skizzenbuch I 33).

Letter Height: 1.6-1.7 cm.
Limestone block: Height: 0.23m; Width: 0.41m; Depth: 0.18m.

1]ες τε κρη-
?πατρ]ίδα μετὰ
] ἐπὶ τῶι
]ΤΑΣΑΝ
5 συ]γγενει-
Κρητ]αιέας πίσ-
[τεως ἀξι]ολόγων
κ]αὶ Θαλήτα
[τῶ Κρητὸς α]ὐτὸς καὶ

L. 1: Blümel: Κρή|[ταν] ?

I. Mylasa 654

Ed. pr. Judeich *Ath. Mitt.* 15 (1890) 262-3, no. 16. Blass *SGDI* no. 5164; Guarducci *IC* 4. 178; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 200.
Found in a private house.

Letter Height: 1.5 cm. Script: 'kleine *apices*.'
Grey Marble block: Height: 0.26m; Width: 0.34m; Depth: 0.27m. Broken bottom and left.

1]ΑΙΑ κοιν[ ]ΟΕΣ[
] Εὐνομίας α[ί]λιομε[ν
]ΙΩ τὸμ πόλεμον [
].ΙΣ τῶ βωλομμέ[νω
5 κ]αὶ ἁμὲν καὶ Κνώσιοι [
συ]ντηρίοντες τὰ νομι[ζόμενα
τὰ]ν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν ποι[
]ΟΣ πάνσι Κρηταιεῦσι [
]ένων καὶ οὐχ ἑρ[
10] ταῖς κοινα[ῖς

I. Mylasa 655

Ed. pr. Hula-Szanto, *Sber. Ak. Wiss. Wien* 132 (1895) II 13, no. 4. Rigsby *Asylia* no. 201.
Found in a private house by Szanto (Skizzenbuch II 14).

Letter Height: 1.8cm.
Stone: Height: 0.41m; Width: 0.21m.

1 ΚΑΙ[ ]Τ.[
ΝΩΙ τὰν ΔΑ[
στεφάνωι [Ἰ]-
άσονος τῶ [Ἀρισ]-
5 τέαν Ἰατροκ[λεῦς
ΕΜΕΚΑΚΑΙΕ[

καὶ τὰν αὐτω[
ἀνανεώσα[σθαι τὰν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς φιλίαν
αν· ἵνα δὲ καὶ [ἐς]
τὸν ἀεὶ χρόν[ον
ψάφισμα πὰ[ρ μὲν ἁμὶν ἐς ?ἰ]-
αρῶι, πὰρ δὲ [Μυλασεῦσι
αὐτῶν ἔς τε [τῶ Ζανοποτειδᾶνος καὶ τῶ Διὸς τῶ]
[Λ]αβραένδο [
[τ]ῶν ἰόντω[ν
[—]ΑΦΑΝΙΤΤ[

Ll. 3-4: cf. *I. Mylasa* 656, 3: Ἰά]σονος τῶ Διοτ[ίμω. || L. 5: ed. pr.: ἰατροι || L. 6: ed. pr.: ἕ<ν>εκα καὶ ε[

I. Mylasa 656

Ed. pr. Blümel, *I.Mylasa* (1987-88). Rigsby *Asylia* no. 202.
Found in a private house by E. Hula (Skizzenbuch II 27).

Letter Height: 1.7 cm.
Stone Height: 0.18m; Width: 0.40m.

]..[
σ]τεφανο[—]
Ἰά]σονος τῶ Διοτ[ίμω —]
Ἰ]ατροκλείους τῶ Οὐλ[ιάδα —]
ἕν]εκεν καὶ ΣΟΤΑΤΟ[—]
].Σ τε τὰν ἁμὰ[ν —]
] πατρίδα καὶ εἰσ[—]

I. Mylasa 657

Ed. pr. Blümel *I. Mylasa* (1987-88). Blümel, *Arastirma Sonuçlari Toplantisi* 16. 1 (1998) 403/4; Rigsby *Asylia* no. 203. *SEG* 49. 1433.
Found reused in a barn; copied by E. Hula (Skizzenbuch II 28).

Letter Height: 1.1 cm.
Limestone Block: Height: 0.22m; Width: 0.35m; Depth: 0.16m.

[ ]ΙΔΙΑ[
[ ]Α Μυλασεῦ[σι
ἄριστον ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ [τὰ αὐ]-
τα φιλάνθρωπα ἃ καὶ το[ῖς ἄλλοις?
εἴθισται· ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ε[ἐς τὸν ἀ]-
εἰ χρόνον τῶν φιλανθρώ[πων
ΟΛΕΣΙΝ ὑπόμναμα ὑ[πάρχηι ποτὶ Μυλασέας τό]-
δε τὸ ψάφισμα παρὰ μὲ[ν ἁμὶν
καὶ πρότερον ἀνεγέγρ[απτο

L. 1: Blümel (1998); not in *I. Mylasa.* || L. 2: Blümel (1998). *I. Mylasa*: Μυλασεῖ[ς . || L. 7. Blümel (1998). *I. Mylasa*: ΟΛΕΣΕΙΝ.

I. Mylasa 658

Ed. pr. Blümel *I. Mylasa* (1987-88). Rigsby *Asylia* no. 204.
Found to the south east of the city; copied by E. Hula (Skizzenbuch II 36).

Letter Height: 1.4 cm.
Bluish Stone: Height: 0.21m; Width: 0.24m; Depth: 0.33m.

τ]ύχαι Μυλα[σε—]
]Ι εὐνοίαι καὶ φ[ιλοστοργίαι —]
]ΝΣ ὅτι ὅσον [—]
ἀποστ]αλέντας παρὰ [—]
] καὶ ἁ ὁμόνοια Π[—]
]. τῶ πολέμω Ι[—]
] ταύται κατ[—]

I. Mylasa 659

Ed. pr. Blümel *I. Mylasa* (1987-88). Rigsby *Asylia* no. 205.

Letter Height: 2.0 cm.
Limestone Fragment: Height: 0.21m; Width: 0.16m.

]ΔΑ[
]Σ αὐτο[
κ]αὶ τὰν πα[τρίδα
]Ν δ′ ἀναγγ[ε
δᾶμ]ος ὁ Μυλασ[έων
]ΩΝ ἀγῶσι Κ[
ἀνα]γόρευσιν Κ[
]ξιων Διο[

I. Mylasa 660

Ed. pr. Blümel *EA* 13 (1989) (right hand side of the text); *EA* 19 (1991). Rigsby *Asylia* no. 207.
Two fragments put together by Blümel; left hand fragment was found after the demolition of a house in the centre of Milas.

Letter Height: 1.4-1.5 cm.
Marble Fragment (left): Height: 0.31m; Width: 0.44m; Depth: 0.17m.
Photo: (Blümel); see Fig. 11.

Inscribed in two columns; the same block as *I. Mylasa* 663 (right column: 660; left column: 663).

[ ]ΑΝ . [ ]
ἀφ[ορολόγητοι ἔωντι τάν τε] πόλιν καὶ τὰν [χώραν]

αὐτ[ῶν ἰαρὰν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς] οικιόντων· ἐπ[αινέσται]
δὲ καὶ τ[ὸνς πρειγευτὰς] Διονύσιον καὶ Ἀ[πολ]-
λώνιον [καλοκαγαθίας ἕν]εκα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶι δια[ ]
μεν ὑπε[ἀ]ξίως Κρηταιέων καὶ τας
αὐτῶν [πατρίδος· πολλὰ δὲ κ]αὶ ἔνδοξα προφερομέ-
νων κα[τὰ τὰν διὰ προγόνων] ὑπάρχονσαν συγγέ-
νειαν [καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλία]ν πορτὶ Κρηταιέας
πάντ[ας τ]ὸνς μετὰ πάνσας ἐπι-
μελε[ίας]Σ διαλεγέντας τε Α-

I. Mylasa 661

Ed. pr. Blümel *EA* 19 (1991). Rigsby *Asylia* no. 208.
Found after the destruction of a private house in Uzunbekir Sokak.

Letter Height: 1.5-1.8 cm; omicron: 1.1-1.2 cm.
Grey Marble Block: Height: 0.42m; Width: 0.47m; Depth: 0.27m. Top and left side preserved; broken on the right and at the back.
Photo: Blümel (Figs. 9 & 11). Stone: Milas Museum.

Inscribed in two columns; the same block and script as *I. Mylasa* 662 (left column: 661; right: 662).

[ ]σειν̣ κα̣[ ]α
[ ]α ὑπαρ-
[χ- ?τέσ]σα̣ρας
[ ]η καὶ
[ἀφο]ρολόγη-
[τοι ἔωντι τάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν αὐ]τ[ῶ]ν ἰαραν
[ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἐπ]αινέσαι δὲ καὶ
[τοὺς πρειγευτὰς Διονύσιον καὶ Ἀπωλλ]ώνιον καλοκἀ-
[γαθίας ἕνεκα ?πά]ντας Κρηταιεῖς
[?συλ]λύσεων ἀξί-
[ως Κρηταιέων καὶ τᾶς αὐτῶν πα]τρίδος πολλὰ
[δὲ καὶ ἔνδοξα προφερομένων κατὰ τὰν δι]ὰ προγόνων ὑ-
[πάρχουσαν συγγένειαν καὶ εὔνοια]ν̣ καὶ φιλίαν
[πορτὶ Κρηταιεῖς πάντας ?πολλο]ὺς τρόπους
[ ]μ̣ενους
[ ]ΛΙ̣

I. Mylasa 662

Ed. pr. Blümel *EA* 19 (1991). Rigsby *Asylia* no. 209.

Letter height:1.4-1.5 cm; omicron 1.1cm.
Inscribed on the same stone as *I. Mylasa* 661 (Figs. 9 & 11).

πολε[μ]ω[μ]ε[ν]
ΑΣΗΤΑ τῷ Μ[υλασέων δάμῳ? ὡς αὐτᾶς]

τᾶς Κρήτας [πολεμωμένας]
ρα καὶ δαμο[σίως πρει]-
γευέν δὲ κα[ὶ ποτὶ τὸς]
καὶ τὸς δυν[άστος καὶ καὶ τὰς πόλιας, ὅπως]
ἐν εἰρήναι τ[ηρίωντι καὶ ἀφορολόγητοι ἔωντι τάν τε πόλιν]
καὶ τὰγ χώρα[ν αὐτῶν ἰαρὰν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς]
οἰκιόντων [τὸν]
Μυλασέων δ[ᾶμον? εὐεργεσίαι θεί]-
ωγ καὶ ἀνθρ[ωπίνων πάντων μέτοχον]
ποτὶ πᾶν τὸ [ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ]
τὸς πρειγε[υτὰς καλο]-
κἀγαθίας ἕν[εκα]
Κρηταιέ[α]ς Ι[ἐού]-
σας πίστεος [ ]-
σθαι αὐτὸς [ ]
Υ[ ]Ω[ ]

I. Mylasa 663

Ed. pr. Blümel *EA* 19 (1991); Rigsby *Asylia* no. 206.
Inscribed on the same stone as *I. Mylasa* 660 (left hand side) (Fig. 11).

[ ] . ροντος
[ ] τε καὶ τῶν
[ ]τειρουσα
[?συγγ]ενέας ἐόν-
[τας]ἐοῦσαν ἀρ-
[Λ]αππαίων καὶ
[ ]οσιν καὶ τᾶς οἰ-
[ ]ομεν διὸ καὶ ὑπε-
[ ]αν καὶ τᾶς κτη-
[ ]ασθαι τε τὸν
[ ] . ξον ὑπὸ Λα-

Appendix 3: Inscriptions of Euromos

1. Agreement between Zeuxis and the Philippeis concerning their alliance with Antiochos III, August/September 197 BC.

Ed. pr. Errington, *EA* 8 (1986) 1-7. Ma (2000) no. 29.
Cf. Gauthier *BE* 87, no. 294; *SEG* 36. 973.
Inscribed on the same stone as the decree concerning constitutional matters (below).
Stone: Milas Museum. Photo: Errington (1986) (Figs. 10 & 11).

βασιλευόντων Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀντιόχου
τοῦ υἱοῦ ει′ καὶ ρ′ Γορπιαίου· ἐπὶ τοῖσδε
συνέθεντο Ζεῦξίς τε ὁ ἀπολελειμμένος ὑ-
πὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιτάδε
τοῦ Ταύρου πραγμάτωγ καὶ Φιλιππεῖς διὰ τῶν
ἀποσταλέντωμ πρεσβευτῶμ παρὰ τῆς πόλε-
ως Ἀνδρονόμου Σωτάδου, Ἀντιόχου Χένωνος ἐ-
φ′ ὧι ἔσονται Φιλιππεῖς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι Ἀντιό-
[χ]ου τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτοῦ
[κ]αὶ συντηρήσουσιν τήν τε φιλίαγ καὶ συμμαχί-
[αν] εἰς ἅπαντα τὸγ χρόνον ἀδόλως καὶ ἀπ[ρο]φ[ασί]-
[στως —]

When Antiochos and Antiochos the son were kings, in the hundred and fifteenth year, in the month of Gorpiaios. These were the terms of the agreement struck by Zeuxis, the official left in charge of affairs on this side of the Taurus, and the Philippeis through the ambassadors sent forth by the city, Andronomos, Sotades, Antiochos, Chenon, upon which terms the Philippeis will be friends and allies of Antiochos the king and his descendants, and will observe friendship and alliance for all times without deception nor pretence…
Translation J. Ma.

2. Decree of the Euromeis on constitutional matters (after 197 BC).

Ed.pr. Errington (1993) no. 5. Ma (2000) no. 30.
Cf. Gauthier *BE* 95, no. 525; *SEG* 43. 704.
Inscribed on the same stone as the alliance inscription (above). Photo: Errington (1993) (Fig. 10).

[ ] ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις πρώτους κόσμους τρεῖς, μετὰ δὲ
[τούτους] πρ̣οστάτας τοῦ δ̣ήμ̣ου γ′, τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχείων
τούτωμ πρ̣ὸς μέρος ἀπὸ τῶμ φυ̣λῶν, ἐπιτετάχθαι δὲ τοῖς μὲγ κόσ-
μοις ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας φυλακὴν ἀνήκει καὶ
τὰς κλεῖδας παραδίδοσθαι τ̣ο̣ύ̣τοις, εἶναι δὲ πρὸς τούτους καὶ τὴν
τῶμ φρουρίων ἐπιμέλειαγ καὶ̣ τὰ κατὰ τὰς στρατείας καὶ ὅσα κατὰ
τὴν συνθήκην τὴμ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς συντεθειμένης
πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν Ἀντίοχον διὰ Ζεύξιδος, μὴ εἶναι δὲ ἄλλο ἀρχεῖ-
ον μηθὲν κυριώτερον τούτου πλήν τῆς βουλῆς μηδὲ τετάχθαι
τούτους ὑπ′ ἄλλομ μηθένα, τ̣οῖ̣ς δὲ προστάταις τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρημα-

τισμοὺς ἐπιτετάχθαι καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διατέτακται,
γράμματα δὲ ἄμ που δέηι πέμπεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἢ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου
τινός διὰ τῶν ἀρχείων τούτων, ἐξαποστελλέσθω γραφόμενα ἐ-
[πί τε] τῷγ κόσμων καὶ τῶμ προστάτωμ, μὴ ἐξουσία δὲ ἔστω μηδὲ ὁ-
15 [ποτέρωι] τῶν ἀρχείων τούτωγ καθ' ἰδίαν γράμματα πέμπειν, μὴ
[ ] τα ἀρχεῖα αἱρεῖσθαι πρὸς μέρος ἀπὸ τῶμ φυλῶν
[αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ καθ' ἕ]καστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις πρὸς μέρος
[ἀπὸ τῶμ φυλῶν τὸν στ]εφανή[φορον καὶ ἱερέ]α τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγε-
[ ] ὑπὸ [ ]ου και

Ll. 13-14: restoration of Gauthier, followed by Ma. Errington: ἐ[κ τού]τωγ κόσμων... ο ⌈ὐθενὶ πλὴν]. || Ll. 15-16: Gauthier: μὴ ⌈ [δὲ δὶς τὰ αὐ]τὰ ἀρχεῖα. || Ll. 18-19: Ma: Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγε[νέτα (?) καὶ Δικτύννης (?)].

[(it seemed good)…] to choose, in the elections for office, first three kosmoi, and after these, three prostatai tou demou, and to elect these magistrates from the tribes in turn; and to entrust to the kosmoi all matters concerning the security of the city and the territory, and to hand over the keys to them, and to entrust to them the care for the forts and the business concerning military expeditions and all matters related to the agreement pertaining to the alliance contracted through Zeuxis with the Great King Antiochos; and to allow no magistracy to have more authority than this one, except the boule, and to subordinate these magistrates to no one else; to entrust to the prostatai the matters concerning the official documents and whatever else is stipulated in the laws; and if letters must be sent by these magistrates concerning the city or any other matter, let there be sent a letter written in the presence of both the kosmoi and the prostatai, and let it not be allowed for [either] of these magistrates to send a letter on his own,… and to elect magistrates from the tribes in turn… during the year? in the elections for office, in turn [from the tribes, (to elect)] the stephanephoros and the priest of Zeus Kretage[nes? …]
Translation J. Ma.

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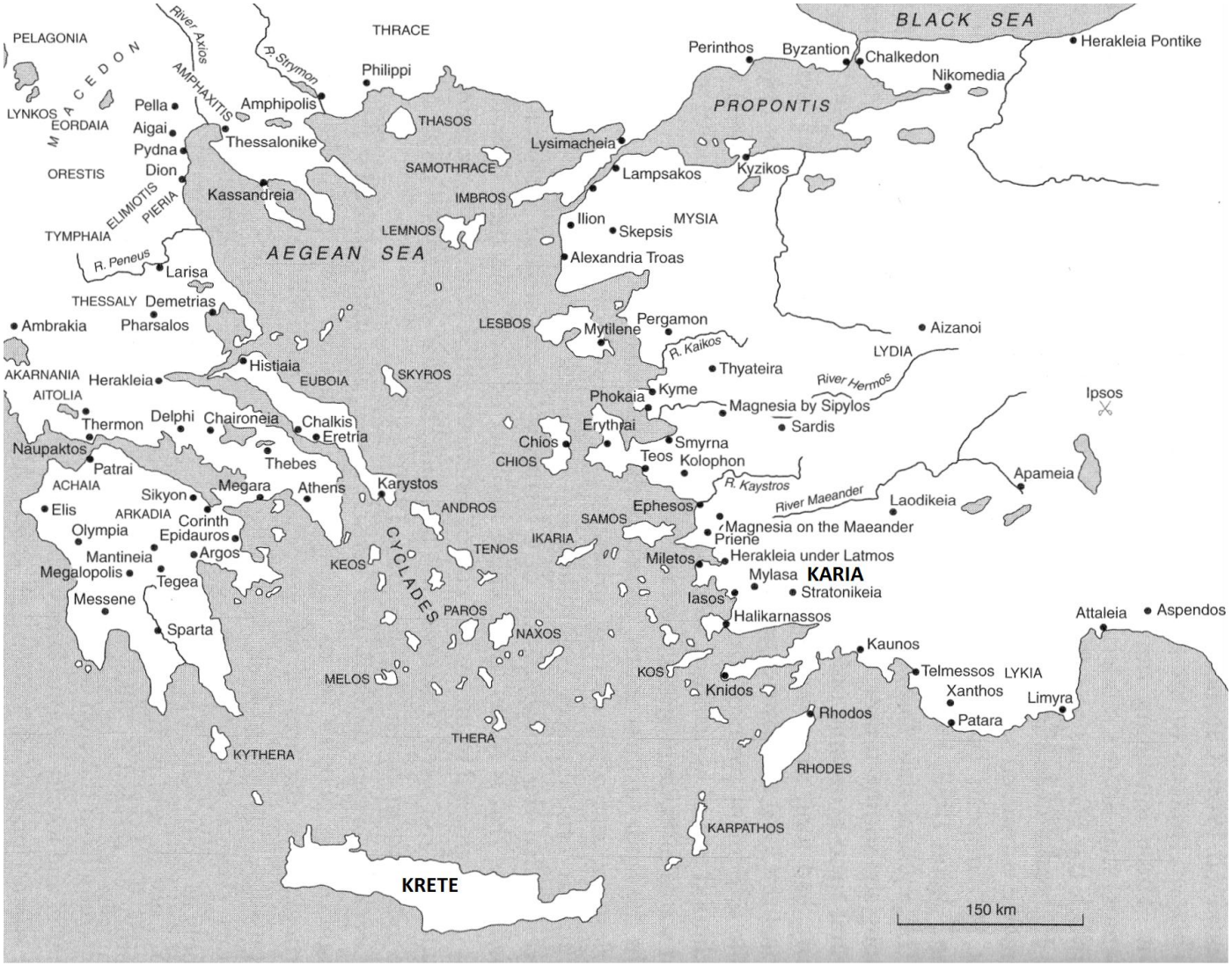
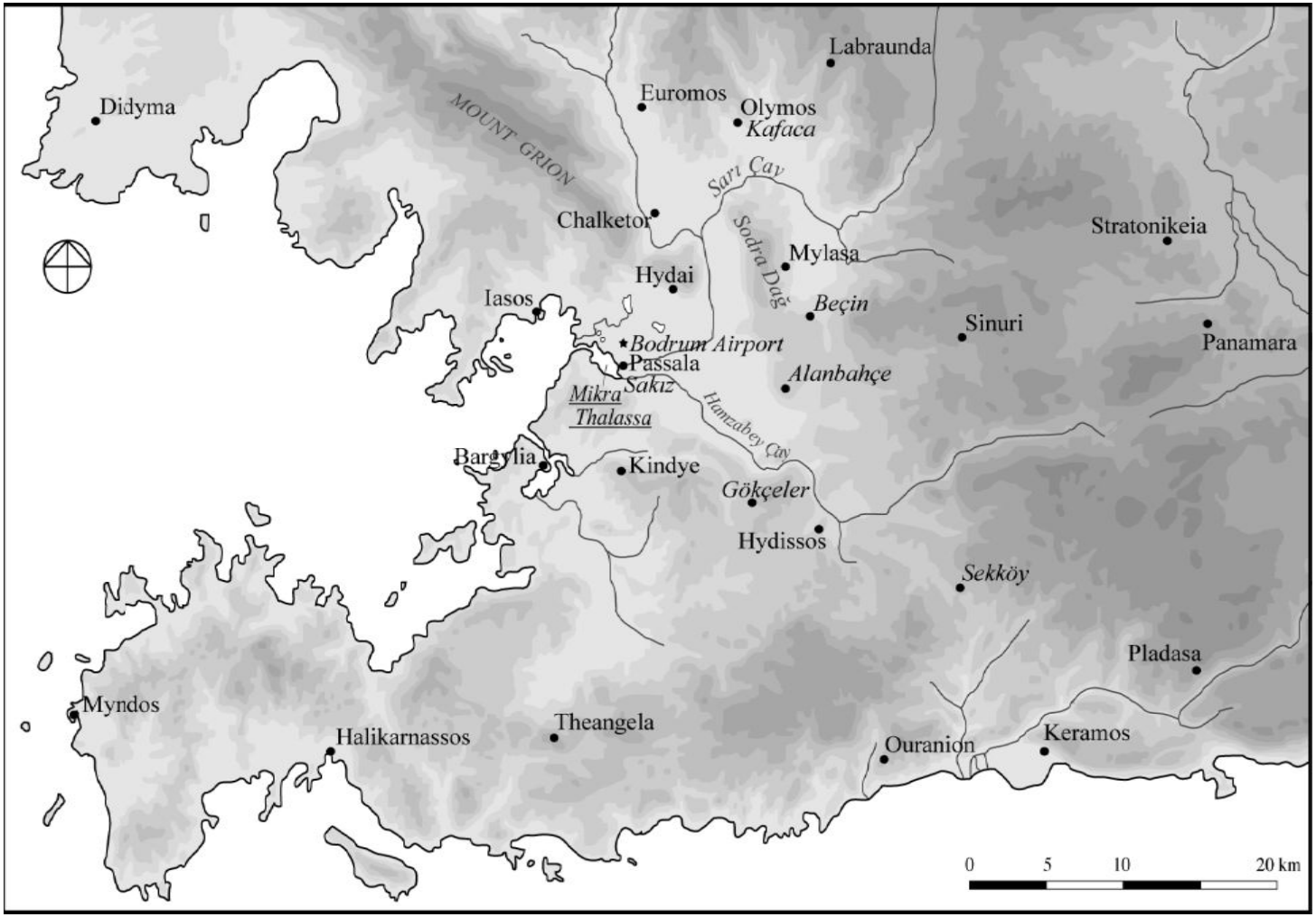


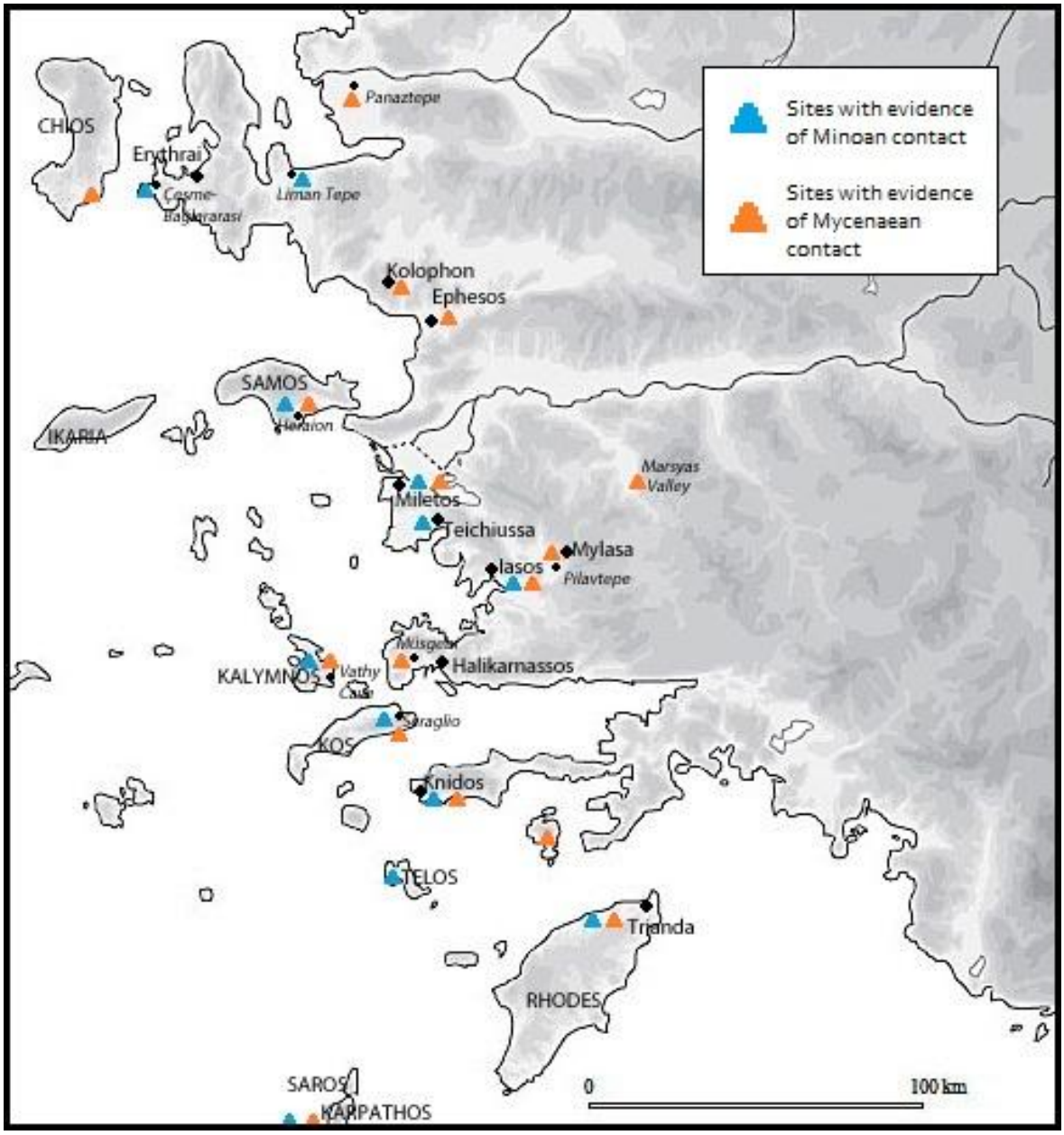
Map 1. The Aegean

Map 2. Karia in the Hellenistic period.

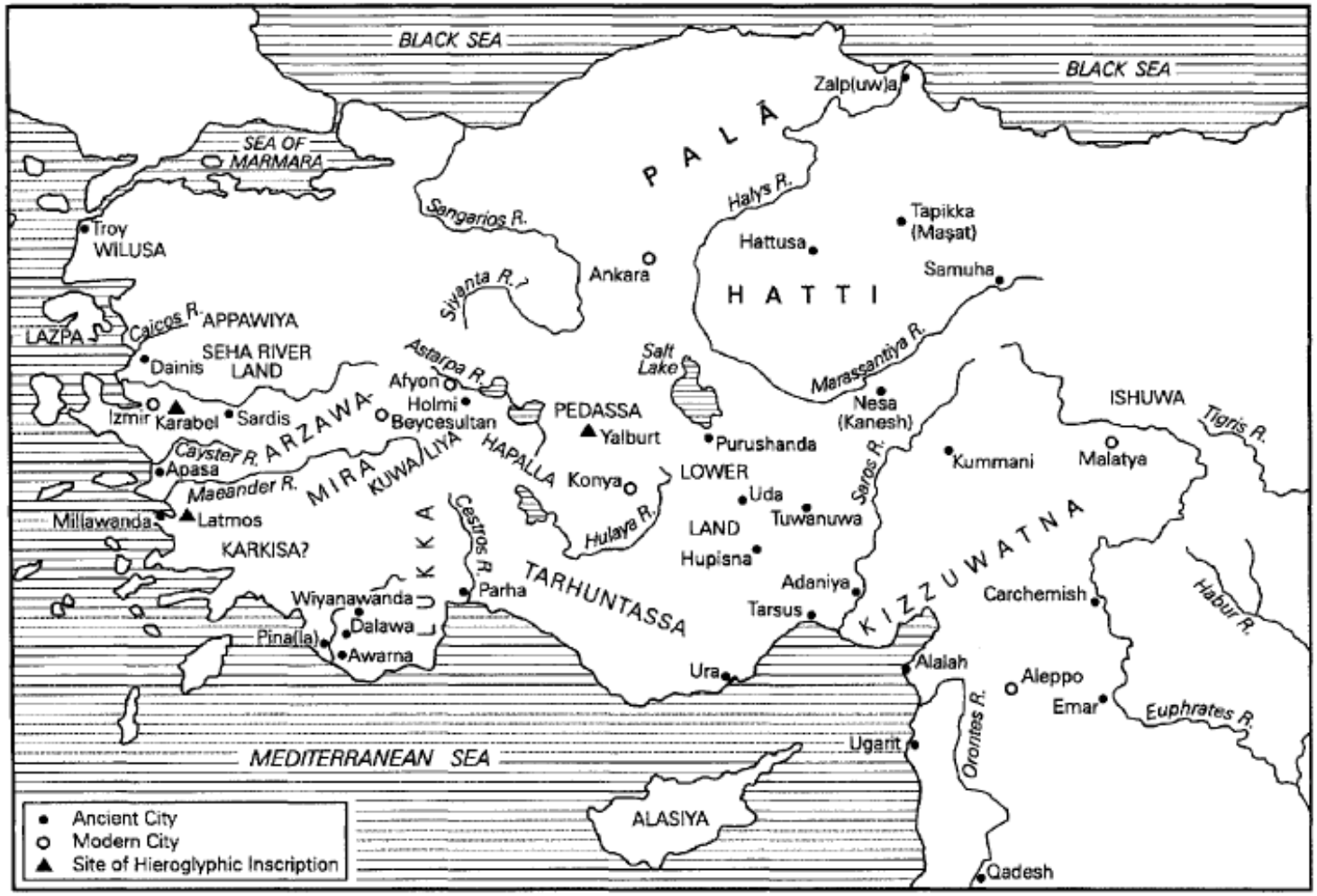


Map 3. The region around Mylasa, and the 'Little Sea.'

Map 4. Map of the region around Miletos and Magnesia.



Map 5. Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age.



Map 6. Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age

Fig. 1. Mylasan Tetradrachm, 3rd century BC.
Obverse: Zeus Labraundos standing right, holding double axe (labrys) in right hand, sceptre in left.
Reverse: Zeus Osogo standing right, holding trident in right hand, eagle in left; ΜΥΛΑΣΕΩ[Ν] to left, [ΕΙ]ΡΗΝΑΙΟΣ (magistrate) to right.

Fig. 2. Votive relief, Tegea, Athena sanctuary. Fourth century BC.
Zeus Labraundos flanked by Idrieus and Ada.
British Museum.

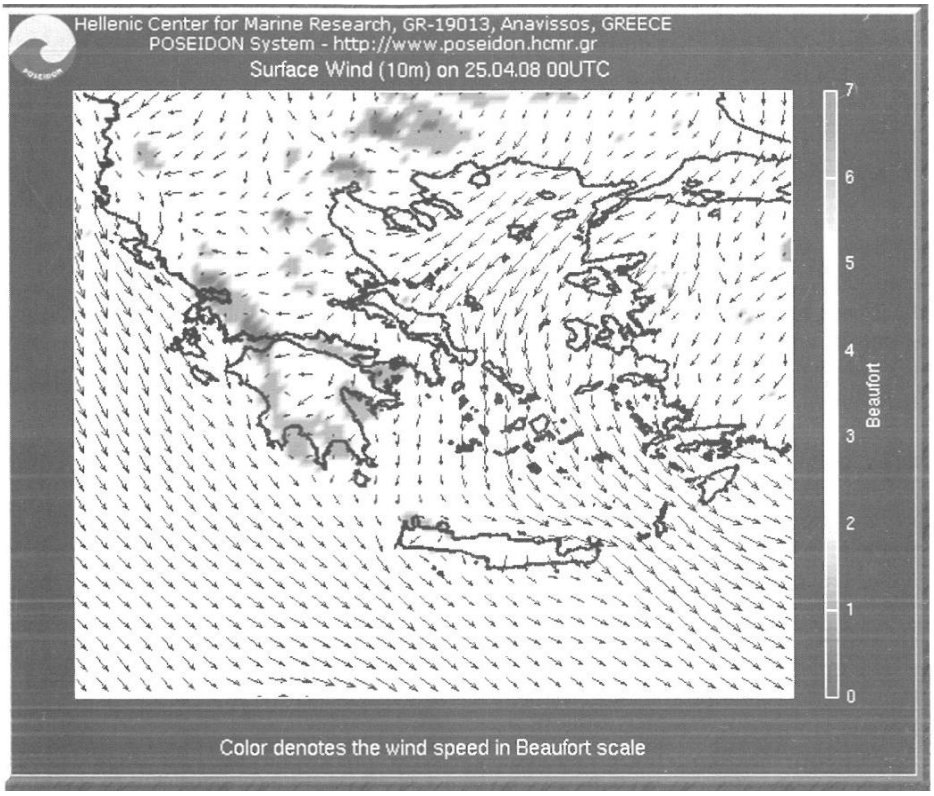


Fig. 3. 1. 28 April 2008

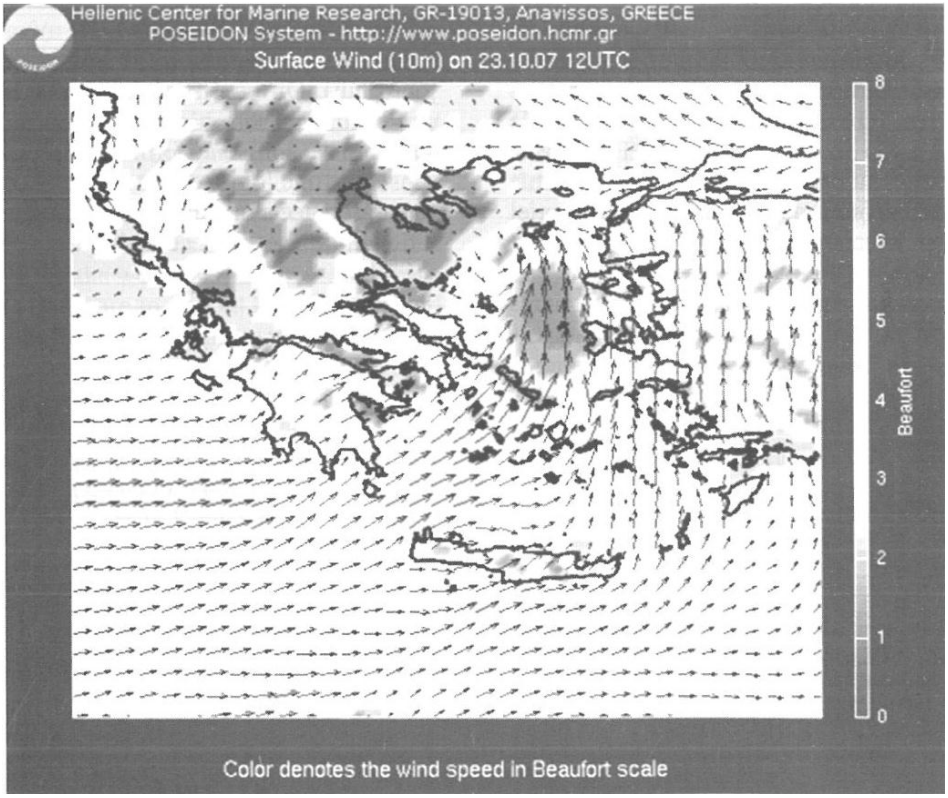


Fig. 3. 2. 23 October 2007

Fig. 3. Maps showing the direction of the winds across the Aegean during different seasons.

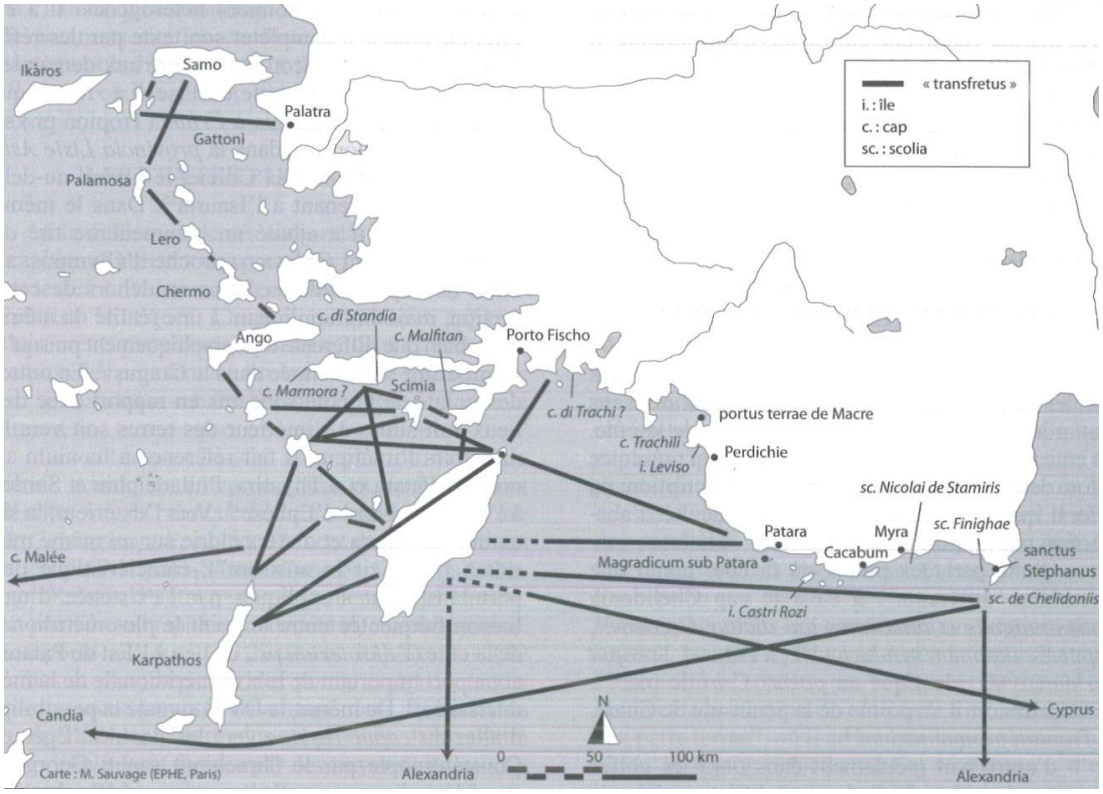


Fig. 4. Map showing Medieval naval itineraries along the coast of Karia and Lykia.

Fig. 5. Halikarnassian Obol, 5th century BC.
Obverse: Forepart of Pegasos left. Reverse: Forepart of goat left; A-[Λ-I].

Fig. 6. Kaunian Stater, late 5th/4th century BC.
Obverse: Winged Iris running left, holding caduceus in right hand, wreath in left.
Reverse: Conical baetyl (?); Karian letters right and left.

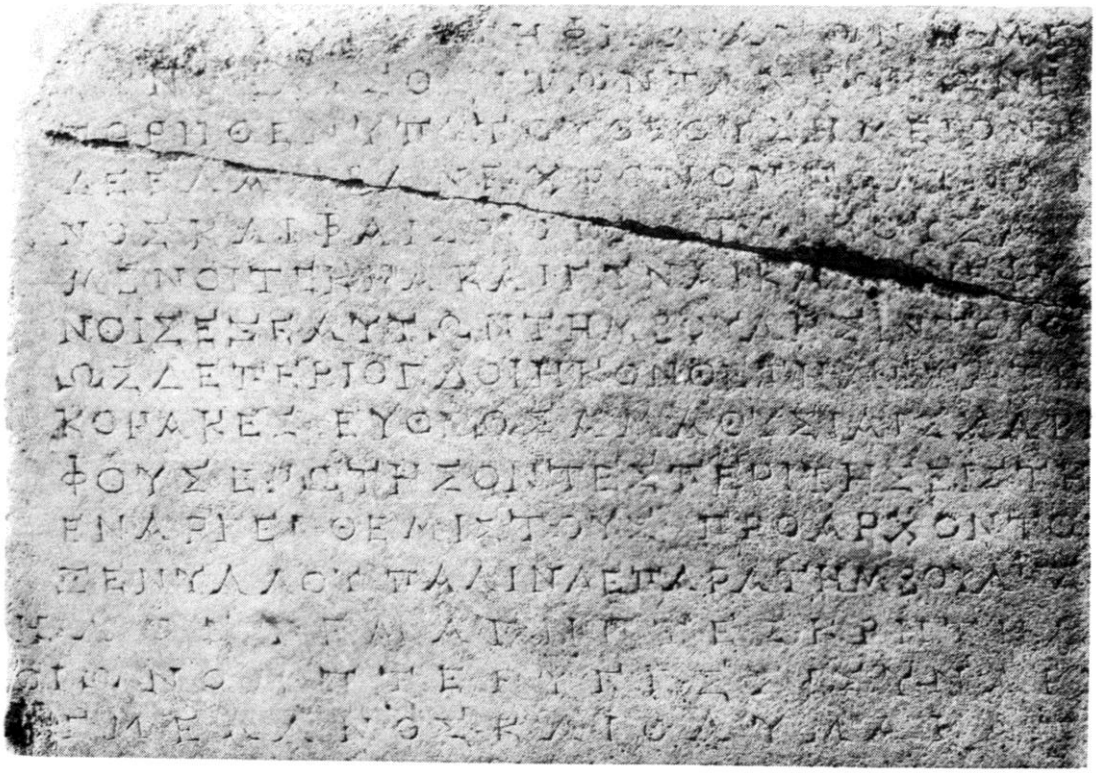


Fig. 7. I. Magnesia 17, ll. 4-18.

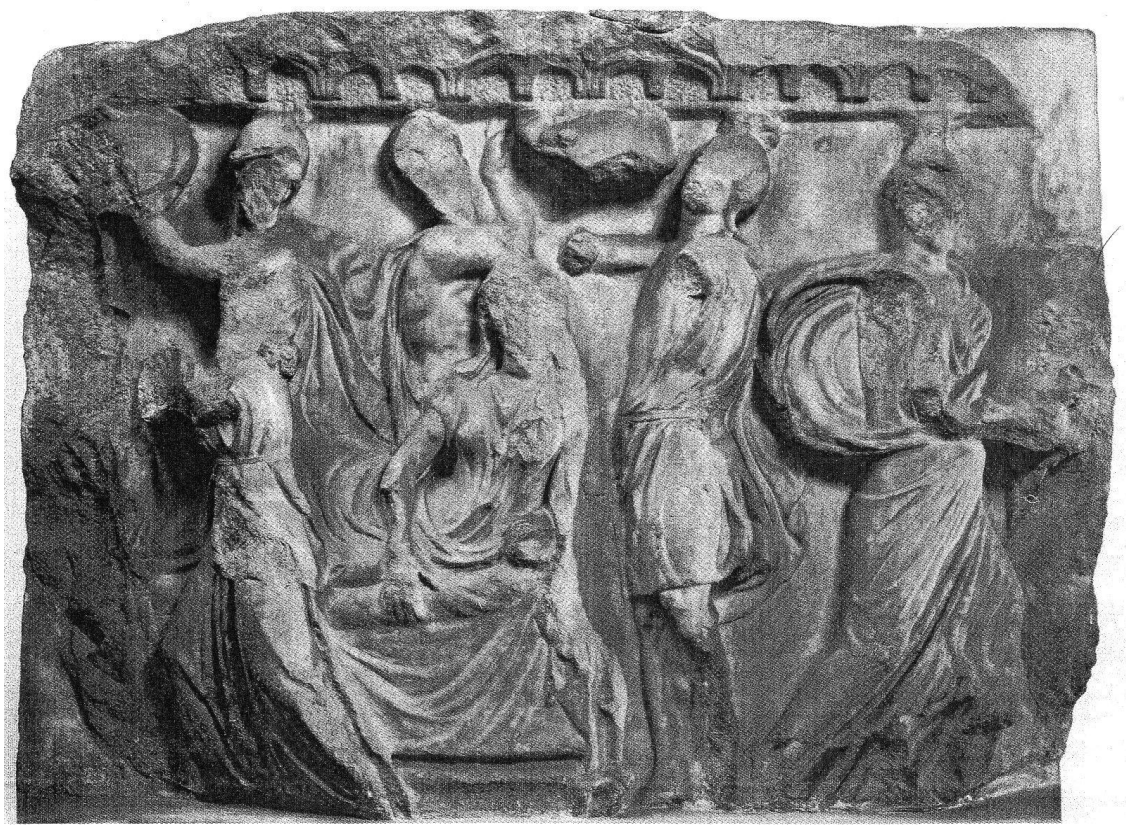


Fig. 8. East frieze from the temple of Hekate, Lagina, depicting the birth of Zeus and the three Kouretes.

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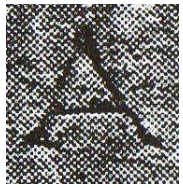
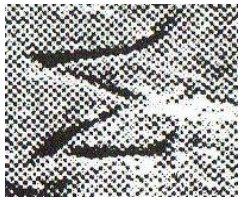
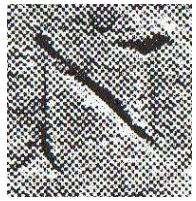
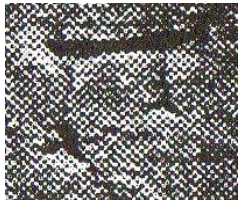
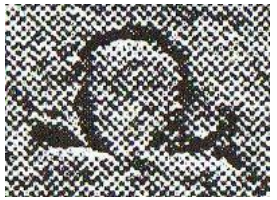
Fig. 9. Marble block inscribed with *I. Mylasa* 661 & 662. Milas Museum.

Fig. 10. Anta block from the Hellenistic temple of Zeus Lepsynos at Euromos, Milas Museum. Front face (4 rosettes): Alliance inscription with Antiochos III. Side face: Decree recording the election process of civic officials.

Fig. 11. Letter forms of the ‘Kretan dossier’ from Mylasa and the Euromos alliance inscription with Antiochos III (197 BC)				
I. Mylasa 644 & 645	*I. Mylasa* 648, 649 & 650	*I. Mylasa* 661 &662	*I. Mylasa* 660 & 663	*SEG* 36. 973
				
				
				

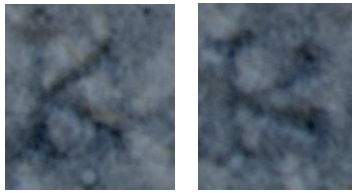
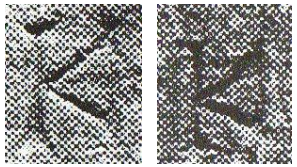
				
				

Fig. 12. Kretan states which granted *proxenia* between the fourth and first century BC, and the states of origin of the recipients.

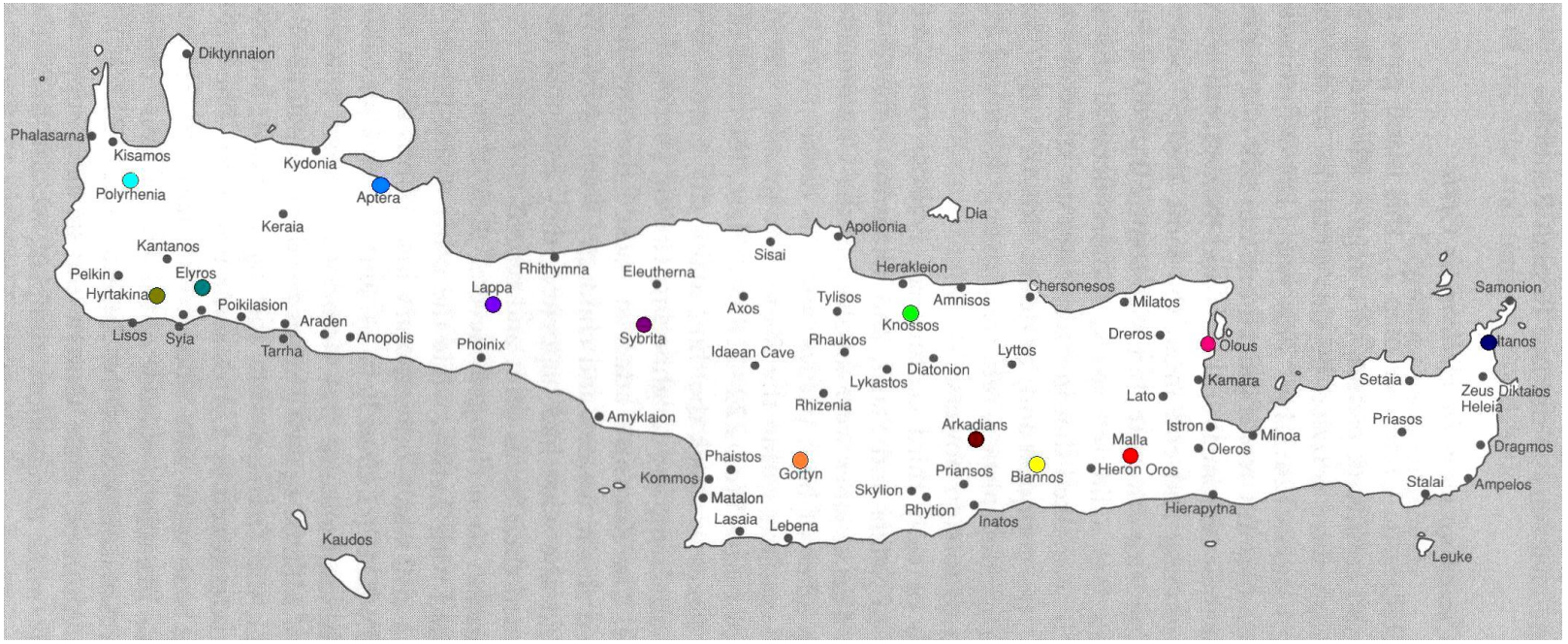


Fig. 12.1. Map of Krete showing the states which granted *proxenia.*

Colour Key for Kretan states awarding *proxenia:*

Aptera		Hyrtakina		Olous	
Arkades		Itanos		Polyrhenia	
Biannos		Knossos		Sybrita	
Elyros		Lappa		Kretan koinon (?)	
Gortyn		Malla			

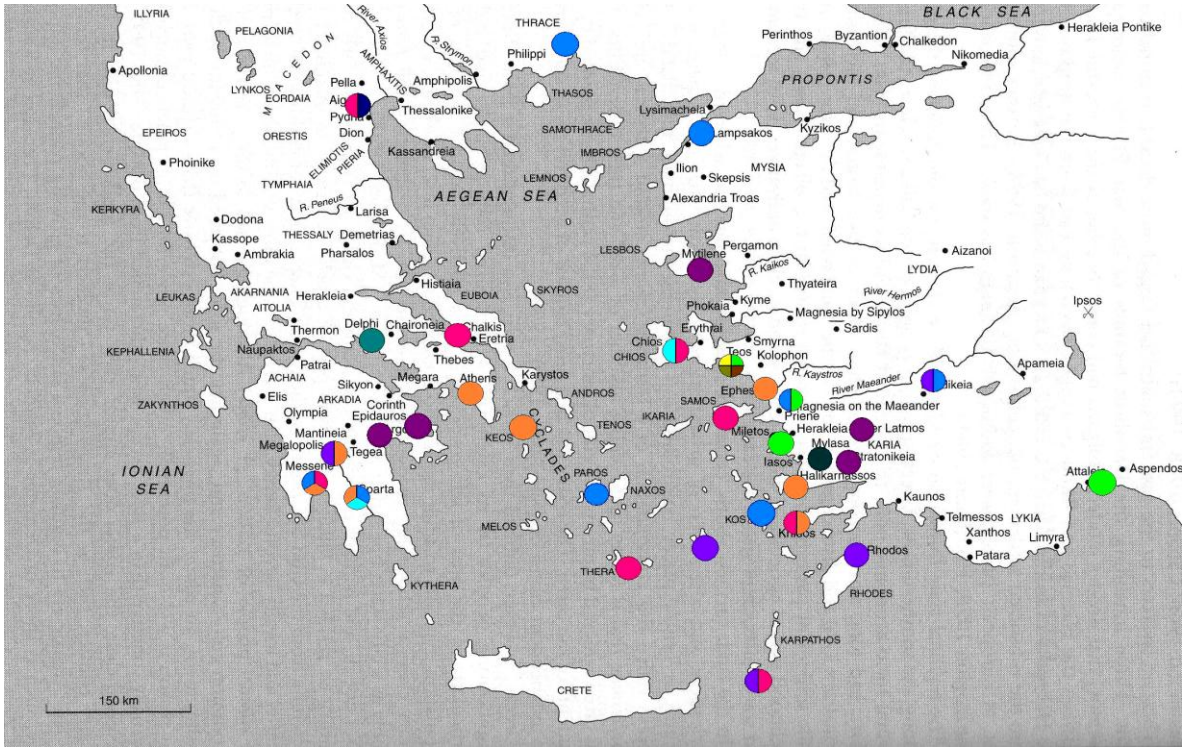


Fig. 12.2. Tracking the grants of *proxenia* by the states of Krete across the Aegean.

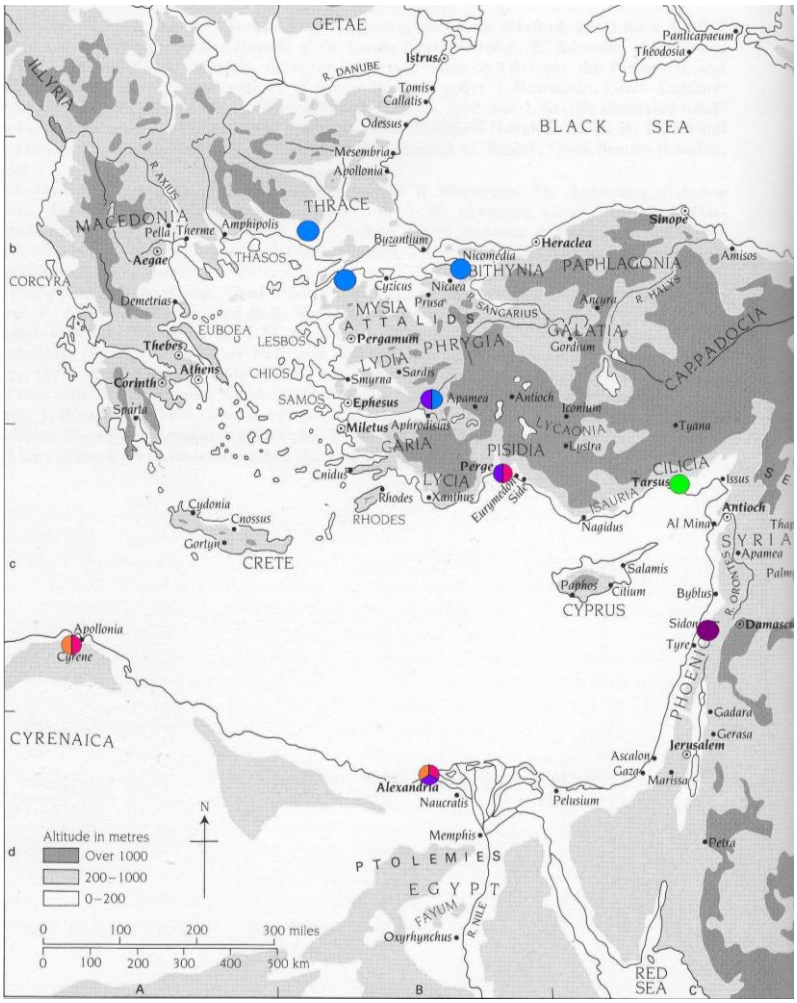


Fig. 12.3. Tracking the distribution of the grants of *proxenia* by the states of Krete in the wider Mediterranean.

Figure 13. Approximate Absolute Chronology for the Aegean Bronze Age.

Krete	**Dates BC**	**Mainland Greece**	**Dates BC**
Early Minoan I	3100-3000	**Early Helladic I**	3100-3000
(EM IB)	(2900-2650)		
EM IIA	2650-2450/00	EH II	2650-2500
EM IIB	2450/00-2200	Later EH II/Lefkandi I	2500-2200
EM III	2200-2100/2050	EH III	2250-2100/2050
Middle Minoan IA	2100/2050-1925/00	**Middle Helladic**	2100/2050-
MM IB	1925/00-1875/50		
MM II	1875/50-1750/00		
MM III (A-B)	1750/00-1700/1675		
Late Minoan IA	1700/1675-1625/00	**Late Helladic I**	1700/1675-1635/00
LM IB	1625/00-1470/60	LH IIA	1635/00-1480/70
LM II	1470/60-1420/10	LH IIB	1480/70-1420/10
LM IIIA 1	1420/10-1390/70	LH IIIA:1	1420/10-1390/70
LM IIIA 2	1390/70-1330/15	LH IIIA:2	1390/70-1330/15
LM IIIB	1330/15-1200/1190	LH IIIB	1330/15-1200/1190
LM IIIC	1200/1190-1075/50	LH IIIC	1200/1190-1075/50

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