

THE INVENTION OF GREEK ETHNOGRAPHY

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the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by

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THE INVENTION OF GREEK ETHNOGRAPHY

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the origins and development of ethnographic thought, Greek identity and Great Historiography. An introductory chapter (I) outlines the problems, namely that current thinking on the way in which Greek ethnography and identity came into being has yet to take full account of recent advances in ethnographic and cultural studies, many of which have significant ramifications for our understanding of the social and intellectual milieu from which Great Historiography would eventually emerge. Chapter II conducts a broad census of the ethnographic *imaginaire* prior to the Persian Wars in order to challenge the prevailing orthodoxy that ethnographic interests were hazy and insubstantial prior to Xerxes' invasion of Greece – invariably conceived as an unprecedented clash of civilisations and cultures. Chapter III builds on this argument, exploring the varied ways through which ethnographic interests became manifest and the manner in which knowledge and ideas relating to foreign lands and peoples were variously disseminated. Chapter IV shifts in focus to examine how discourses of identity and difference might have played out in a series of case studies: Olbia and its environs, the southernmost tip of the Italian peninsular (S. Calabria) and the imagined centres of Delphi and Olympia. A concluding chapter (V) takes us forward in time to suggest ways in which modern preconceptions and concerns have structured the manner in which Greek ethnography and identity are framed and conceptualised. Particular emphasis will be placed on the attitudes and opinions that underpinned Felix Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der Griechische Historiker*: a monumental work that played a key role in defining ethnography as genre. The implications thus posed for current understanding of the nature and origins of Great Historiography will then be explored, leading to a number of tentative conclusions regarding the manner in which ethnography, identity and the writing of history constitute overlapping and mutually implicated processes.

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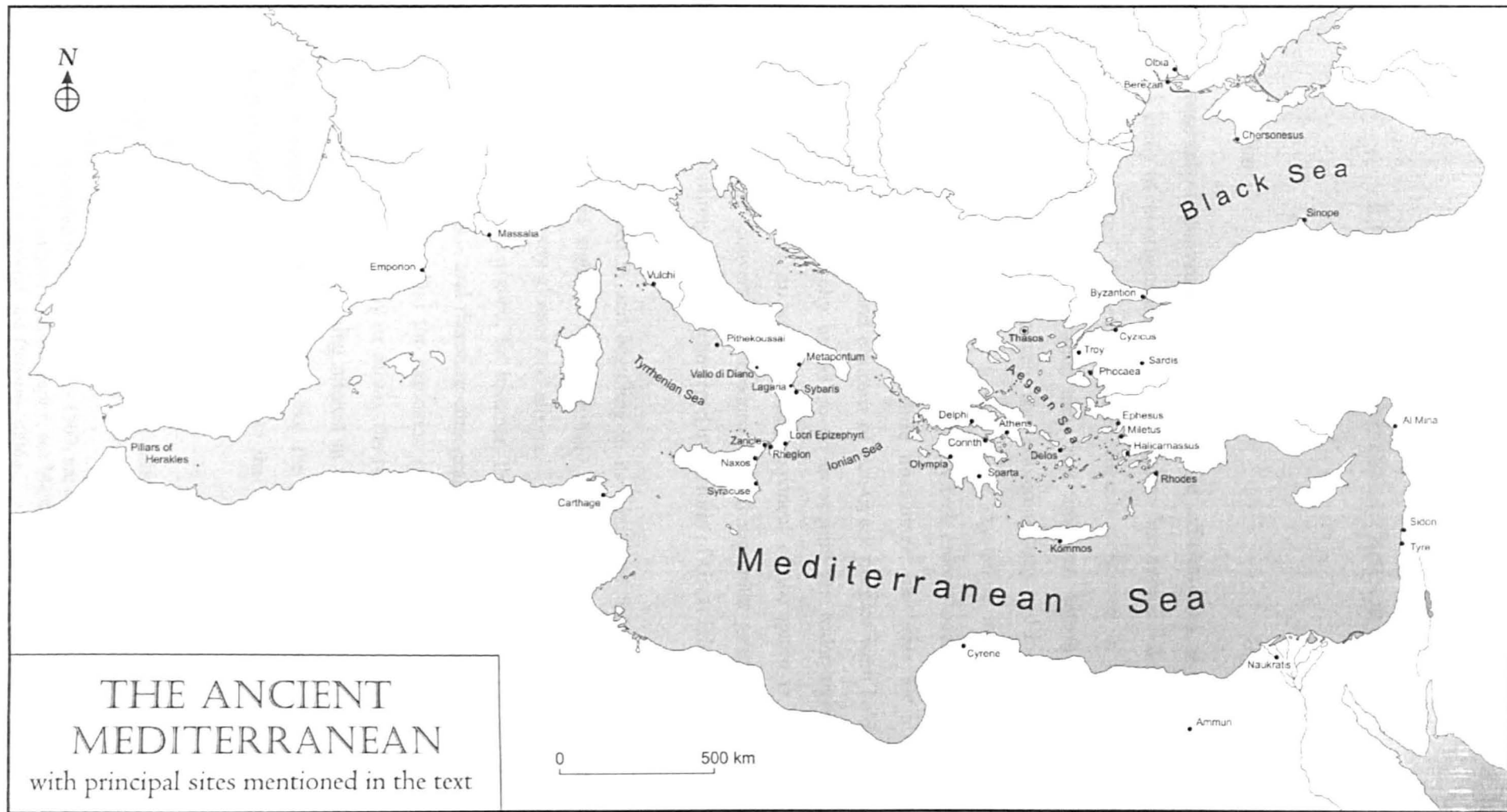
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PART I

ETHNOGRAPHY BEFORE ETHNOGRAPHY

1. Introduction

Greek ethnography is conventionally defined as the self-conscious prose study of non-Greek peoples. A study of its origins and function might at first appear relatively straightforward – it being widely assumed that ethnographic interests developed in tandem with the wider sense of (Greek) identity from which they took their cue. Greek identity is traditionally thought to have emerged comparatively late, remaining hazy and loosely organized until the 5th century war with Persia. Once it did finally crystallize into a diametric opposition between ‘Hellene’ and ‘barbarian’ the sense of Greek cultural identity that this engendered lent clarity and focus to previously diffuse imaginings, the basis for a series of prose accounts in which the habits and customs of non-Greek peoples were held up to scrutiny.¹ The ‘invention’ of ethnography would go on to acquire far wider significance, however; inspired by recent events, an accomplished exponent of the genre is purported to have undergone a dramatic conversion. Herodotus the ethnographer gave way to Herodotus the historian, and an entirely new genre emerged in the form of Great Historiography.²

Whilst widely subscribed to and beguiling in its simplicity this thesis is open to critique. What appears at first sight to be an entirely convincing narrative, turns out, on closer inspection, to contain many glosses and elisions – some comparatively minor and subtle, but others less so. It might be argued, for instance, that the neat periodization that sees ‘archaic’ and ‘classical’ identities – and therefore ethnographies – as separate and distinct, is entirely dubious in its perspicuity. Did the explosion of ethnography that occurred during the 5th century BC really arise virtually *ex nihilo*, the result of a specific historical event, or was it rather the product of a long-running interest in the foreign or alien, the signs of which had long been evident? Was ethnography, like the barbarian, ‘invented’ in response to the unprecedented levels of inter-cultural contact that accompanied the Persian Wars and what

¹ For this model (discussed further below): Hall E. 1989 (on ethnography in particular) and Hall J. 1997; 2002. For earlier approaches to ancient ethnography, see Trüdinger 1918; Norden 1920; Müller K.E. 1972; Thomas 1982.

² A theory first expounded by Felix Jacoby in 1909, see chapter five. For overview and discussion of the nature and origins of ancient historiography, see Marincola 1997, 1-3; 2001, 1-3. For revolutions/inventions in general, see Osborne 2006a.

role did it play overall in the emergence of any common sense of ‘Greek’ identity?³ How can it best be analysed and are the models and paradigms by which we seek to do so equal to the task? How can we best address such issues whilst remaining sensitive to the manner in which modern concerns and preconceptions have structured our debates?⁴ As questions multiply, the study of Greek ethnography appears far less simple and straightforward. What is arguably required, if such questions are to be answered, is a thorough re-examination of what both being ‘Greek’ and practicing ‘ethnography’ entail.

1.1 Framing the problem: defining ethnography

Before we proceed further we should consider some of the factors that have shaped the way in which ethnography is conceived as both discipline and practice.⁵ The gap separating modern and ancient ethnographies should not be underestimated, there being no (ancient) term to denote the latter per se. Herodotus himself styled his work enquiries (*historiē*), a term that encompassed a wide variety of fields of which ethnography – if defined simply in the modern sense of writing about foreign peoples – formed only a component part, with other authors elsewhere being referred to simply as *logopoiōi* (‘writers of *logoi*’).⁶ In contrast, the historic link with imperialism means that modern conceptions of ethnography remain by and large associated with the study of ‘primitive’ peoples and colonial subjects, a ready breeding ground of neo-colonialist and Orientalist attitudes. Ethnography is ‘imagined’ as a science in which the habits and customs of remote and exotic peoples are conscientiously documented by intrepid Europeans.⁷

Ethnographic studies have undergone something of a revolution in recent years, however, following a profound shift in attitudes that marked the gradual stagnation and ultimate disintegration of ‘old world’ colonial empires.⁸ In fact, traditional definitions of ethnography now do little justice to a field of enquiry, whose theories and methodologies now find application in disciplines ranging from history and human geography to sociology and

³ See Bentley 1993 for a historical account of the processes of intercultural contact and exchange but not without Hall S. 1990; Bhabha 1994; Sewell 1999; Antonaccio 2003 on culture theory.

⁴ See Sourvinou-Inwood 1991 on preconceptions/‘perceptual filters’. For ‘structuring’, see Humphreys 1978; 2004. Cf. Siapkas 2003 on ethnicity in particular.

⁵ Cf. Hammersley & Atkinson 1983; Clifford & Marcus 1986.

⁶ Cf. Hdt. V 36.6. See Fowler 1996; Schepens 1997; Clarke 1999 for discussion.

⁷ Asad 1973; Comaroff & Comaroff 1992; Lidchi 1997; Penny 2002. On Orientalism: Said 1978; 1993 with notable responses from Clifford 1988 and Bhabha 1994 (‘The other question’). Cf. Marcus 2001.

⁸ See Asad 1973. For effects: Clifford 1988.

cultural studies.⁹ Modern ethnography is now defined by its practitioners in far broader terms as approaches to lived culture: “the disciplined and deliberate witness-cum-recording of human events”,¹⁰ whose ultimate goal is nothing less than a reflexive understanding of contemporary society. When viewed in its broadest sense, ethnography, to quote James Clifford, is simply a collection of “...diverse ways of thinking about culture from an outsider’s perspective...” (Clifford 1989, 9).

Largely immune – or rather oblivious – to such paradigm shifts, classicists and historians remain firmly wedded to the idea of ethnography as a specifically ‘Greek’ invention, one of many revolutions in thought and practice that provided the foundation for ‘Western civilisation’.¹¹ The contrast could not be greater with the more reflexive and theoretically refined post-colonial, post-modern conception of ethnography as *practice*.¹² Were we to apply the latter to the study of ancient ethnography as a whole, questions would immediately arise concerning the way in which early ethnographies are variously identified and defined. The topic is certainly ripe for reappraisal since although Herodotean ‘reflexivity’ has received much attention of late, encouraging the suspicion that both he and perhaps ancient ethnography as a whole are perhaps a little more ‘modern’ than we thought, the nature and origins of ethnographic enquiry have yet to be explored in any detail.

Herodotus is certainly very much in vogue at present. The veritable avalanche of monographs and conference proceedings devoted to the painstaking (and occasionally somewhat laboured) analysis of his output and ideas must rank amongst one of the most impressive literary comebacks of the late-twentieth/early twenty-first centuries – at least where Classics is concerned.¹³ This aside, the study of Greek ethnography has remained comparatively static in recent years, as whilst modern anthropologists now concern themselves with recounting ethnographies of television, popular literature, and inner-city youth culture, Greek ethnographers are still restricted – by and large – to studying the ancient equivalents of the Ik, San or Yanamamo in what amounts to a relatively

⁹ Angrosino 2007 discusses ethnography’s response to this ‘changing research context’: technology, globalization, trans-national communities and virtual worlds (see ch. 9 and *passim*). Cf. Atkinson et al. 2001; Coffey 1999 and more traditional field manuals: e.g. Agar 1980; Ellen 1984. For a similar shift in relation to geography: McDowell 1997. Cf. Driver 2001; Mansvelt 2005.

¹⁰ Willis 2000, 1. For a bibliographic survey/overview of currents in cultural fieldwork, see Faubion 2001. For current approaches, see Angrosino 2007.

¹¹ Cf. Osborne 2006a, 1: “[T]hat ancient Greeks developed fundamentally different ways of thought and action – new political forms, new literary genres, new modes of visual representation, new types of logical analysis – has been the foundational claim of Western humanism.”

¹² For notions of practice, see Bourdieu 1977; 1990.

¹³ A selection includes: Hartog 1988 [1980]; one Hardt *Entretien* (1990); Harrison 2000; Thomas 2000; Bichler 2001; Munson 2001; Luraghi 2001; Derow & Parker 2003; Karageorghis & Taifacos 2004; Irwin & Greenwood 2007 and *Companions* by both Bakker et al (2002) and Dewald & Marincola (2006).

unimaginative exercise in self-definition. Ethnographic asides on Athens, Spartan kingship and – perhaps most famously – the Aetolian Eurytians (ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι) (Thuc. III 94) receive little more than cursory attention as a result.¹⁴

Classicists are, in other words, inherently selective when it comes to defining ancient ethnographies, whilst the criteria upon which such definitions are based are rarely – if ever – discussed.¹⁵ There remains a very clear tension, therefore, between James Clifford's broader definition of ethnography and the sort we instinctively set out to find in antiquity. 'Thinking about culture' in a reflexive fashion does not obviously equate to simple bi-polar oppositions between 'Greek' and 'barbarian', or, for that matter, a genre rigidly constrained to the study of the same.¹⁶ It follows that in order to study ancient *historiē* for evidence of an interest in the manners and customs of peoples, foreign or otherwise, we need first to divest ourselves of a great deal of conceptual baggage as to what ethnography 'proper' entails. Once any distorting influences or preconceptions have been stripped away we will be better placed to comprehend the manner in which questions of identity were discursively explored both prior to the emergence of a prose genre and outwith its (somewhat limited) boundaries. Signs of an 'ethnographic interest' are arguably far more widespread than is conventionally allowed – although this is not, in itself, surprising given the overall severity of the criteria employed in its definition.

¹⁴ Hdt. V 78; VI 56-60 cf. I 65-8. Cf. Turnbull 1972 (Ik); Thomas 1969; Lee 1979 (San); Chagnon 1997 (Yanamamo) and current issues of *Ethnography*.

¹⁵ E.g. G.E.R. Lloyd 2002, 17 citing Aristotle's *Poetics*: "It was, to be sure, perfectly possible...to distinguish historiography from other forms of *historia*, zoology, psychology, geography or whatever, viz. by their subject matter."

¹⁶ Cf. Thomas 1982 where this rigidity of style and subject matter is seen as characteristic of the genre as a whole.

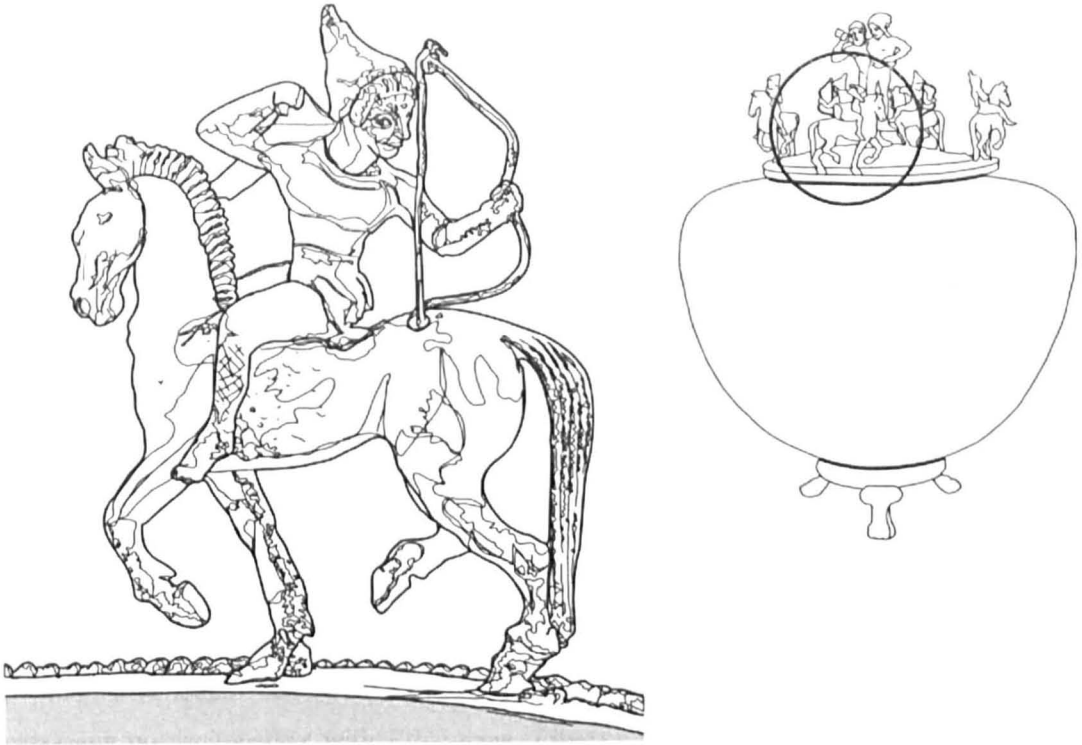


Figure 2. Statuette of mounted Amazon from the rim of a cinerary urn (inset), height ca. 11cm. Late 6th century BC, Campanian Bronze, British Museum 560, from S. Maria di Capua Vetere.

Although material expressions of an interest in foreign peoples are comparatively widespread they have been largely neglected as a body of evidence relating to ethnographic thought.¹⁷ Such interests were by no means restricted to ‘Greeks’ alone, however. At a time when increasing emphasis is being placed on the permeability of cultural boundaries separating ‘Greek’ and ‘Etruscan’, how should we interpret the statuettes of four prancing horses, ridden by archers, which adorn the rim of a cinerary urn of supposedly Etrusco-Campanian design?¹⁸ (fig. 2) The figures in question wear pointed caps and are, in a number of cases, depicted delivering what would later be referred to as a ‘Parthian shot’ – turning in the saddle to loose an arrow whilst still at the gallop. Surely such attention to detail means such artefacts should also be considered ethnographic: what are the grounds for distinguishing between these, say, and a fragment of Pindar, an image painted on a vase or Herodotus’ excursus on Scythia? The recovery of such artefacts in a south Italian context

¹⁷ When acknowledged it is primarily as an ancillary to the textual evidence and/or issues pertaining to one group in particular: e.g. Scythian archers (see below) or attitudes towards skin colour (Snowden 1970; 1991; Isaac 2004).

¹⁸ Cf. a similar group from adorning an Etrusco-Campanian urn from Capua, c.510-490 BC, GR1856. 12-26, 796 and 800; GR1964 12-21.1; GR1973.3-1.1. See Lubchansky 2005, 95-99, figs. 18-24. On Etruscan identity, see Spivey 2007, 232 cf. Torelli 1996. For a terracotta antefix from Capua’s Fondo Patturelli sanctuary depicting an Amazon/Scythian facing outwards, wearing a pointed cap, see Lubchansky 2005, 108 fig. 34 (with references) and Koch 1912, pl.X.1. Cf. Megaw & Megaw 1990 for Etruscan goods in a Scythian context.

suggests that far from being the sole preserve of ‘Greeks’, an interest in the habits and customs of steppe nomads – be they Scythians or, as interpreted in this case, Amazons – was in fact widespread. (It being no longer acceptable to dismiss the Etruscans as wealthy yet tasteless magpies: avid consumers of Greek pottery but fundamentally lacking in knowledge or refinement)¹⁹ The processes underpinning the production, trade and subsequent use and reception of such objects and imagery are of great importance in themselves and will be explored at greater length below in contexts ranging from monumental sculpture to devices stamped upon coins.

A lively and wide-ranging interest in foreign lands and peoples is apparent not only in the material representations and iconographic evidence but also a varied corpus of literary and sub-literary allusions and fragments to which the label ‘ethnography’ is rarely, if ever, applied.²⁰ These range from cases in which the nomadic Scythians are held up as a paradigmatic ‘other’ such as the poetry of Anacreon (Fr. 356b), to their incorporation into catalogue poetry together with Ethiopians, Libyans and Pygmies (Hes. Fr. 150, 17-19). A trawl through the Fragmentary Greek Historians also reveals evidence that ‘ethnographic concerns’ were all but ubiquitous. Examples of an interest in questions of identity and difference include Xanthus the Lydian’s assertion that it was King Adramytes of Lydia who initiated the practice of sterilizing women and employing them in the place of male eunuchs, or the (equally colourful) allegation that the Magi routinely indulge in incestuous practices with their mothers and daughters (*FGrH* 765 F19, 28). Similarly the writings of Hellanicus of Lesbos incorporate topics as diverse as an etymology for the Chaldaeans, the Amazonian custom of cutting off one breast and the foundation myth of Thebes (*FGrH* 4 F59, 16, 1). Perhaps one of the most celebrated (and intriguing) ‘snapshots’ indicative of both wider interests in identity and difference and the systems of knowledge and understanding through which they found expression can be found in a fragmentary paean attributed to Pindar:

Α Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς
 θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
 ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον
 ὑπερτάτῃ χειρὶ.

Law, the king of all,
 of mortals and immortals,
 guides them as it justifies utmost violence
 with a sovereign hand... (Fr. 169a 1-4 cf. Hdt. III 38. 4)²¹

¹⁹ Cf. Boardman 1999, 199-200. For Etruscan art, see Spivey 1997.

²⁰ Although see Norden 1920, 13: “[D]ie Keime der darunter begriffenen Wissenschaft beschreibender Länder- und Völkerkunde liegen eingebettet in ältestem hellenischen Erdreiche.”

²¹ Exactly how Νόμος ὁ πάντων Βασιλεύς should be interpreted remains the subject of debate. It is unclear whether Herodotus’ citation referred to this paean in particular or another espousing similar

The latter occurs in the context of Herodotus' celebrated anecdote concerning an experiment allegedly undertaken by Darius to discover whether he could persuade two peoples from the furthest extremes of his empire to swap ancestral customs. However, the king's enquiry as to how much money it would take before they were willing to either eat or cremate the corpses of their fathers was in each case met with outright refusal, thereby demonstrating that Cambyses was completely mad (ἐμάνη μεγάλως) when he set about abusing Egyptian religion and tradition. Discussion of the fragment and the associated anecdote has focussed predominantly on the extent to which it reflects a relativistic view of νόμος as espoused by the 5th century sophists – whether on the part of Pindar or Herodotus.²² However, it is equally if not more important from the point of view of the present study that Pindar uttered such sentiments at all and that Herodotus felt moved to cite him as an authority. Does this make Pindar too, an ethnographer of sorts, or at least someone whose knowledge of cultural difference was sufficient to make them sensitive to such issues?²³ How did Pindar obtain what knowledge he had about foreign peoples and customs, and might the statement implicitly extend to encompass 'foreign' Greeks, with epinicia suddenly transformed into a potential mine of information relating to νόμοι of all kinds? Just as a recent comparison of Thucydides and Pindar has successfully demonstrated that the poet and the historian drew on similar material, is it likewise possible that both Herodotus and Pindar shared common interests and source materials?²⁴ Whilst in no way remarkable on one level, the latter has far-reaching implications when it comes to gauging the pervasiveness of ethnographic themes and interests.

sentiments: “ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοισιν νόμιμα, σφετέρων δ' αἰνεῖ δίκαν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος” (...Customs vary among men, and each man praises his own way...) (Fr. 215a) on which see: Rutherford 2001, 387-9; Ferrari 1992; Heinmann 1945. It is cited in Scholia to *Il.* II. 400; Erbse 1969-83, i. 270 also AG iii. 154; Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, 4. 2, p.243 The fact that fr. 169a – as preserved in Plato's *Gorgias* 484b – forms the basis for the argument that 'might is right', a prelude to the cataloguing of Herakles' labours (...τεκμαίρομαι ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος... Pindar Fr. 169a 4-5) suggests that this may indeed be the case. Ferrari 1992, 77 adopts the view that Herodotus was mistaken in citing Pindar's fr. 169a for a relativistic view of νόμος and meant to cite fr. 125a instead. Regardless of whether Herodotus was mistaken or not, the fragment appears to have attained the status of a proverb.

²² On Pindar: Rutherford 2001, 388 explicitly disagrees with Heinmann (Heinmann 1945, 71ff.) that such statements should not be seen in the context of a doctrine of relativity: “Prima facie, this is a statement of a relativistic theory of νόμος of the sort that one would associate with the sophists”. Cf. Thomas 2000 124-9 for a similar argument for Herodotus whilst Romm 1998, 98-9 discusses some of the problems associated with divining Herodotus' views.

²³ The text as it stands makes no further allusion to νόμος, but is understood as an opening statement in some way related to the eulogy that followed. Little more can be achieved by way of reconstruction beyond that already achieved by Rutherford and others.

²⁴ Hornblower 2004, 56-8 and *passim*. For knowledge of Pindar amongst 5th century authors, see Irigoin 1952, 11-20.

This study adopts an altogether different approach to identifying ancient ethnography from the scholarly mainstream. ‘Thinking about culture from the point of view of an outsider’ can see representations of peoples, customs, products and places as all being in some way ‘ethnographic’ – no matter whom they relate to and regardless of whether they figure in myth-poetry, iconography or prose. Conventional *historiē*/enquiries are ranked alongside material, sub-literary and iconographic evidence, attesting to the wealth of ideas and information in circulation at any one time throughout the emerging cultural *koiné* we now call ‘Greek’.²⁵ Whilst the use of comparatively broad-based criteria to define ‘ethnography’ might appear unorthodox, extending the term beyond all reasonable bounds, it captures something of the ‘thought world’ from which early prose accounts emerged. When viewed holistically, the fragmentary collection of stray references, proverbs and visual allusions collated in the following chapters indicate that knowledge relating to a variety of foreign peoples was far more widespread than has been suggested, for instance, by Edith Hall.²⁶ ‘Enquiries’ of this sort are not simply indicative of the musings of some erudite theoretician or wordsmith, whose creative output would have been entirely inaccessible to contemporaries, or the obscure tinkering of an artisan divorced from his intellectual and cultural milieu. We are not simply dealing, therefore, with ethnography as ‘text’. Instead, ethnographies would primarily have been encountered either aurally or visually, during public spectacles, or as some passing quip in the agora or symposium. The status of such knowledge might at times lend itself to elite discourses and the processes of self fashioning (a point to which we shall return below), but this remains a far cry from the idea of an elevated, rational or scientific discourse (nascent or otherwise) of the kind attributed to the Ionian logographers in general, and individuals like Hecataeus and Herodotus in particular – largely divorced from both their immediate (literary) contemporaries and wider social context.²⁷

We shall return to the problem of context in due course but what were the wider effects of this supposed ferment of ethnographic interests and activity? Acts of empirical representation are never ‘value free’ – a fact now widely acknowledged in ethnographic studies – but discursive practises through which identities may actively be constructed.²⁸ Far from being mere epiphenomena, discourses of identity and difference are in fact *constitutive*

²⁵ As opposed to the more restricted, logocentric, definition in which prose accounts are held to be pre-eminent. Cf. Hall, E. 1989; Thomas 2000; Hall, J. 1997; 2002. For similarly broad-based discussion relating to geography and exploration see: McDowell 1997; Driver 2001.

²⁶ For recent discussion of ‘thought worlds’/‘lived experience’: Malkin 1998; Vlassopoulos 2007, 236.

²⁷ This is, somewhat paradoxically, one of the drawbacks of Rosalind Thomas’ treatment of Herodotean discourse stressing links with philosophical and medical writers, argument and the language of proof (Thomas 2000). See Fowler 1996 on Herodotus.

²⁸ Clifford & Marcus 1986.

of identity.²⁹ This is not simply a matter of 'writing culture', however, as we shall see. When divorced from the material evidence, questions of practice and the politics of knowledge, literary-led approaches can only provide us with an at best partial appreciation of the manner in which identities were constructed. Instead, we need to adopt a more synthetic approach, extending our discussion to encompass diverse media and genres, stressing their interconnectedness and daring to *imagine* scenarios in which such material and ideas would have been alternately experienced and actively employed.³⁰

When writing what is essentially a history of ideas, we must also allow for a 'play' of meaning – both temporal and spatial – as groups and individuals as far flung as Olbia and Cyrene, Massalia and Miletus 'read' images, heard or relayed stories and experienced difference in sequences that both played out and varied over time and space. In order to write a history of ethnographic activity and thought we will need to encompass multiple readings and perspectives, framing the problem in a very different manner from standard techniques of historical reconstruction and interpretation. This is not simply a question of adopting novel methodological approaches for their own sake however. Instead, highlighting this 'play' of meaning is a vital precursor to any attempt to conceptualise – and on some levels explain – complex historical processes and the overarching narratives through which they are interpreted.³¹

The comparative ease with which Greek ethnography is defined as a genre is a direct result of the manner in which Greek identity is traditionally conceptualised as ethnography, written by Greeks.³² Who or what is *Greek*, however? When and, most importantly, why? In opening up both Greek ethnography and identity for discussion, this study will question not only the functional status of 'Greek' ethnography as *practice* but also the essential coherence of any sense of Greek identity upon which it was supposedly predicated.³³ This in turn will have far-reaching implications for the (still widely subscribed-to) theory devised and expounded by the great German philologist and historian Felix Jacoby (1876-1959), charting the origins

²⁹ Literary works exploring colonial difference have similarly been interpreted – to great effect – as a mechanism for critical self-reflection. Cf. Gikandi 1996. Cf. Hall S. 2003 [1996], 91: "[W]hile not wanting to expand the territorial claims of the discursive infinitely, how things are represented and the 'machineries' and regimes of representation in a culture do play a *constitutive*, and not merely a reflexive, after-the-event, role...in the constitution of social and political life."

³⁰ See Vlassopoulos 2007 for spirited discussion of a perceived malaise afflicting historical scholarship on the ancient world (especially 221ff. on the various solutions proposed).

³¹ For narratives (past/present) see: Walbank 1951; Humphreys 1978; Erskine 2005; Vlassopoulos 2007.

³² See Vlassopoulos 2007 for trenchant discussion. Cf. (variously) Walbank 1951; Hall J. 1997; Konstan 2001; Lomas 2004.

³³ For notions of practice see: Bourdieu 1990.

of the historical consciousness: the way in which Great Historiography came into being.³⁴ Whilst undoubtedly groundbreaking, Jacoby's thesis was arguably founded on the (tacit) assumption that Greek identity already existed as a coherent and homogenous entity. Although such assumptions were endemic at the time (a point to which we shall return in the final chapter), they appear less robust in the light of more than a generation of scholarship indicating both the inherent complexity of individual and group identities and the vast fields of difference manifest throughout the Greek world in its entirety.³⁵ It is therefore time to take a very close look at the way in which we both think and write about Greek identity. How Greek ethnography is conceptualised and defined and the manner in which it contributed to the emergence of Great Historiography are important historical questions that need to be addressed.

1.2 Approaches to (Greek) identity

The product of an intellectual climate shaped by global systems of commerce, near-instantaneous electronic communication via the World Wide Web, and an anxious multiculturalism, this study is very much 'a child of its times', with all the strengths and weaknesses that this implies. Contemporary mindsets and preoccupations both within and outside academia are reflected in the selective use of critical approaches to consumption and reception, culture theory, social networks and post-colonial studies.³⁶ Instead of adopting an Athenocentric focus or stressing the primary importance of frontiers and marginal locations in the formation of identities, this study will adopt a perspective encompassing *both* the 'old' world of central Greece *and* regions situated 'on the fringes', where Greek and non-Greek met – mindful of the fact that the disinterested ancient observer may, in many cases, have been hard pressed to tell them apart.³⁷ Socially constructed and historically contingent, polis, ethne, local and regional identities are all equally 'within the frame' – with a clear emphasis being placed on their respectively discursive natures – constantly contested and reaffirmed, as opposed to existing as essentialist categories that remained static and fixed.

The concept of identity is often articulated in a manner both vague and contradictory. Recent approaches to the subject reflect a variety of opinions and methodologies as to how such

³⁴ Jacoby 1909.

³⁵ On 'Greek difference': Brock & Hodkinson 2000; Redfield 2003; Morgan 2003.

³⁶ E.g. Glennie 1995; Foxhall 1998; 2005; Mansvelt 2005 (consumption), Graziosi 2002 (reception), Malkin 2003 (networks), Hall, S. 1990; Bhabha 1994 (culture), Butler 1990; 1997; 2004 (performatives).

³⁷ Cf. Burgers 2004.

questions should be addressed (if at all).³⁸ Attempts to identify the point at which the ethnogenesis of ‘the community of the Hellenes’ actually occurred have provoked considerable controversy, creating something of a scholarly minefield. Great stress has been placed upon the extent to which putative kinship and – to a lesser extent – territory provided the bases for conceptualising archaic Greek identity. Inter-cultural contact, whether through settlement overseas from c.8th century BC onwards or as a result of the 5th century conflict with Persia, has likewise been singled out as a factor that contributed to a developing sense of common identity in the face of ‘difference’.³⁹ Opinion is currently divided as to whether this should be seen as part of a gradual or ongoing trend, or as a comparatively abrupt realignment of concepts and values following a specific historical event: ‘the encounter with the barbarian’.⁴⁰ Such confusion is not altogether surprising, however, given the complexity of the processes involved and the very nature of the evidence (which is both fragmentary and contested). As is usually the case, the answer lies somewhere in-between as whilst the experience of the Persian wars clearly had a profound effect upon the manner in which both contemporary and subsequent generations conceived (diverse) others and themselves, evidence for an intellectual engagement with non-Greek peoples *prior* to the 5th century has been hugely underrated.

Whether contemporary scholarship is unduly preoccupied with matters of identity is a topic of some debate. Classics has shown itself to be no different from any other field of enquiry in that the interests of its practitioners often reflect the contemporary interests and concerns of a wider public.⁴¹ This is far from surprising, however, and bemoaning it unduly simply implies a fundamental lack of understanding of how ‘history’ is constructed and so develops over time. The intrusion of *zeitgeist* can in fact be an entirely positive phenomenon where it prompts new questions and approaches – provided it is self-aware.⁴² It might instead be argued that whilst undeniably the focus of a great deal of attention in recent years – a reaction to contemporary preoccupations with the politics of gender, ethnicity, or the status of minority groups within a multi-cultural society – a concern for identity has long been a salient feature of Classical scholarship. Whilst it may be true to say, therefore, that the recent

³⁸ See Siapkak 2003 for a good overview/critique plus various responses to Jonathan Hall’s *Hellenicity* esp. Mitchell 2005. On approaches: Hall, J. 1997; 2002; Siapkak 2003 (ethnicity); Foxhall & Salmon 1998; Brulé 2003 (gender); Vlassopoulos 2007 (subaltern voices).

³⁹ Malkin 2003; Mitchell 2005.

⁴⁰ For contrasting approaches, see E. Hall 1989; Mitchell 2007 (discussed below).

⁴¹ See the (somewhat laboured) introductory chapters of Hall J. 1997; 2002 but also Dougherty & Kurke 2003 – especially Joshua Ober’s postscript which relates the preceding discussion of a variety of societal/sub societal cultures in terms of “Sewellian thin coherence analysis”, concluding: “the more squarely we face up to that multicultural Greek reality, the more clearly we can see why ‘the political’ could never be forgotten by the ancient Greeks” (Ober 2003, 243 cf. Sewell 1999). Culture and politics are thus mutually implicated. See also Walbank 1951.

⁴² Malkin 2008.

upsurge in scholarship documenting both the variety of identities by which an individual might choose to define him or herself, and the means by which they did so, is a relatively new phenomenon, it would be naïve to suggest that identities were anything less of a concern to earlier generations of scholars – far less those dwelling in antiquity.⁴³ As far as past scholarship is concerned, the existence of such categories as ‘Greek’, ‘Roman’ and ‘barbarian’ was largely taken for granted and consequently rarely questioned.⁴⁴ This does not mean, however, that they were not – in themselves – considered as hugely important. It is certainly impossible, at least as far as the modern researcher is concerned, to make any sense of political, economic and social history without some understanding of the manner in which identities were both framed and constructed.

That said, Classicists and historians have often been reluctant to engage with matters of identity. Almost twenty years on from the publication of Edith Hall’s seminal *Inventing the Barbarian* little, if anything, has changed when it comes to the manner in which Greek identity is conceptualised by the scholarly mainstream. Amidst a climate of apathy and/or indifference, most are content to follow the now established orthodoxy of a switch from an ethnic identity (loosely defined/‘aggregative’), to an oppositional one based upon cultural criteria. This ultimately results in the now familiar platitudes highlighting the importance of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in defining Greek – or more usually Athenian – identity.⁴⁵ Responses to this structuralist approach and the patter of identity-speak thus generated have ranged from tacit acceptance/compliance, to blistering critique. James Davidson’s (now somewhat notorious) *TLS* review of Hartog’s *Memories of Odysseus* is undoubtedly the most extreme example of the latter but by far the most common reaction is simply to bypass such topics altogether.⁴⁶

In the rare instances where genuinely innovative attempts have been made to apply theoretical frameworks imported from outside the discipline, these have proved remarkably illuminating, providing fresh paradigms and perspectives from which to consider old problems. Their wider impact has for the most part been marginal to date, however, when it comes to the manner in which ancient identities are studied and conceptualised throughout

⁴³ Sorabji 2006 is explicitly opposed to the idea that an interest in ‘self’ was largely absent from early Greek philosophy.

⁴⁴ Vlassopoulos 2007.

⁴⁵ The defensive tone adopted by Cohen when introducing *Not the Classical Ideal* is somewhat telling in this respect (Cohen 2000).

⁴⁶ Davidson 2002. Cf. Cohen 2000 (on iconography) and the overwhelming majority of work devoted to the study of ‘Greek colonization’ in which the ‘Greekness’ of the would-be colonist is invariably assumed.

Classics as a whole.⁴⁷ There remains, in particular, a considerable gap separating the far more heterogeneous world of Classical archaeology (arrived at via problem-based fieldwork, distribution maps, inscriptions and regional survey) and mainstream studies predicated upon abstract/essentialized concepts of ‘Greek’ culture and identity, self and other. Bridging the gap between the empirical study of the material record and the more ephemeral world of the abstract *imaginaire* is far from straightforward – not least because it requires an element of speculative reconstruction. Whilst the latter is problematic insofar as it runs directly counter to traditions of entrenched positivism endemic to Classics as a whole, it remains, nonetheless, both important and worthwhile.⁴⁸ Although undoubtedly something of a challenge, attempting to find a satisfactory means of both framing and conceptualising such problems is far preferable to struggling with frames of reference that bear little relation to the everyday complexity of the archaeological record. Analyses privileging demonstrable propositions and neatly defined categories (Greeks/native) rapidly founder when confronted with material assemblages whose heterogeneity is often their *only* defining feature. It remains true to say, however, that the manner in which we interpret such material as survives from antiquity relating to the description of peoples and polis, their distinctive attributes and customs, is still largely dependent upon an *a priori* notion of Greek identity.

Identities have become inherently complicated of late. Theoretical studies of identity from outside the discipline have become increasingly refined, shedding ever-increasing light on both the manifest complexities of social identities and the processes by which they are variously constructed and find expression.⁴⁹ Cultural theorists, historians and anthropologists have meanwhile been engaged in exploring notions of connectivity, creolization, cultural hybridity and individual agency, with recent work on culture theory providing a particularly rich vein of scholarship to which students of antiquity are increasingly turning in search of inspiration and ideas.⁵⁰ So, for example, cultural critics such as Stuart Hall have encouraged us to think of identity as a *production* as opposed to an already accomplished fact. Identity, Hall argues, is never complete: it is “...always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation...” Based upon almost a generation of work on culture, diasporic

⁴⁷ Siapkas 2003 would be a case in point (see further below). Cf. Brock & Hodkinson 2000; Dougherty & Kurke 2003.

⁴⁸ Whilst the widespread reluctance to address such issues in any detail reflects a general distrust of theoretical approaches to the historical past, endemic to Classics as a whole, the extent to which empirical approaches to the evidence are themselves predicated on their own assumptions makes them equally vulnerable to error – the more so in cases where the use of reflexive theoretical approaches is eschewed. Cf. Siapkas 2003.

⁴⁹ For examples see: Clifford & Marcus 1986; Stevenson 1989; Greenblatt 1991; Anderson 1991; Smith 1991; Young 1995, 2001 on hybridity; Gikandi 1996. For diasporas/diasporic experience, see Hall S. 1990; Gilroy 1993; Clifford 1994; Brah 1996; Gruen 2002; Kalra et al 2005.

⁵⁰ Bhabha 1994; Hall S. 1990; 1996; 1997; 1997a; 2003.

experience and hybridity, this view problematises "...the very authority and authenticity to which the term, 'cultural identity', lays claim" (Hall, S. 1990, 232). Such arguments are highly significant for the way in which we study ancient identities, shifting the emphasis from preconceived notions of unitary cultures to identity as a 'work in progress' – always changing in focus and subject to an ongoing play of culture, power and knowledge.⁵¹

The manner in which we conceptualise questions of ethnicity has likewise been challenged in recent years. Using theoretical frameworks developed by M. de Certeau and Pierre Bourdieu, Johannes Siapkias' vanguard study has convincingly argued that the drive for analytical precision when discussing matters of identity reduces ethnic identities to essentialized abstractions (exactly, in other words, what Barth's idea of ethnicity as a social construct was intended to circumvent).⁵² Another fact that is frequently overlooked is that, quite apart from the conceptual overlap that can often occur between other common (yet potentially problematic) frames of reference such as 'nation' or 'race', terms such as 'Greek' and 'Italic' meant different things at different times to different people making it difficult – perhaps even inadvisable – to align evidence drawn from periods of history that are chronologically remote without some consideration of the manner in which they relate to one another.⁵³ We are ultimately faced with something of a conundrum: how best to balance a (self-evident) need for analytical precision with terms of reference and models of understanding equally capable of highlighting the nuanced complexity lurking behind terms such as 'Hellene'.

While surveying the grand sweep of history there is a tendency to overlook the fact that 'Greekness' constituted a myriad of identities, socially constructed and historically contingent. Modern notions of 'Greekness' have – by and large – shown little care or attention for questions of context or chronology; such matters are often swept aside in the scramble to interpret the evidence (providing ample testimony to the extent to which preconceived notions of identity have become entrenched). Matters look set to change, however. Whilst it has been observed that 'identities' appear far more complicated in the western Mediterranean than in central Greece and the east, the latter is simply a reflection of an upsurge in problem-based research making it to publication, since recently published

⁵¹ Hall S. 1990, 232.

⁵² Siapkias 2003. Cf. Barth 1969; Cohen 1978; De Certeau 1988; Bourdieu 1990. For ethnic identity in general, see Phinney 2004.

⁵³ Catherine Morgan *pers. comm.* Studies of both literary and material evidence often neglect such matters entirely, marshalling evidence from periods ranging from the early archaic to the imperial in support of arguments as to how identities were constructed. Hall's use of Strabo has been singled out for particular criticism on these grounds, an example of how, quite apart from anything else, discussions of how a coherent 'Greek identity' came into being have a distinctly teleological flavour. Cf. (on J. Hall) Mitchell 2005; 2007.

material from across both eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea regions is now equally suggestive of a hitherto unlooked-for complexity.⁵⁴ The last decade has in fact seen a rash of studies emphasising the inherent complexity of ancient identities. Greek identity is now described as: "...an extremely complex and fluid construction, or rather a system of constructions, and included multivocalities and ambiguities...";⁵⁵ whilst Hellenicity/Greek ethnicity are regarded as "...multi-layered, constantly changing, and culturally constructed, concepts...".⁵⁶ We should, in other words, no longer be conceptualising identities as essentialized or bounded entities. Laying such concepts to one side makes early ethnographic activity – notions of difference and the manipulation of foreign forms, images and ideas – all the more significant in determining how identities were framed and constructed: part of an ongoing process as opposed to a *fait accompli*.

The monolithic entity of a homogenous 'Greek' identity has nonetheless shown remarkable tenacity in the face of efforts to qualify, nuance and ultimately deconstruct it: the vague and potentially misleading nature of the label 'Greek', employed in an archaic context, is matched only by its apparent usefulness in rendering coherent a broad range of traditions and practices whose differences often seem to outweigh their similarities.⁵⁷ Although, like Cavafy's barbarians, 'Greekness' often emerges as something of a solution, defining when, where and how Greek identity came into being is in fact far from straightforward. For all the innovative and insightful comment from scholars such as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, there is little sign that Classics as a discipline has responded to such concerns in any way, shape or form: buzzwords such as 'ethnicity', 'hybridity' and 'Hellenisation' come and go, but the institutional framework remains very much the same.

Whilst the subject of occasional discussion and/or critique,⁵⁸ the model recently tabled in Jonathan Hall's *Hellenicity* can now be said to represent the *communis opinio* regarding both the manner and means by which Greek identity came into being. Hall argues that Hellenic ethnic identity appeared quite late in the day (around the mid 6th century BC) in the form of

⁵⁴ E.g. Tsatskhelidze 1998; 2001. Katherine Lomas has been notably keen to highlight the fuzziness surrounding concepts of citizenship amongst the poleis of southern Italy, see Lomas 2000; 2000a; 2004. Cf. Hall J. 2004; Burgers 2004 and Blok 2005 on Athens. For Greek identity in the west, see Barron 2004; Braccisi 2004 along with studies by Dominguez and Kerschner (both 2004) on Phocaea. For Herodotus' treatment of barbarians in the west, see Nenci 1990.

⁵⁵ Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 14.

⁵⁶ Lomas 2004, 2 cf. Malkin 2001.

⁵⁷ When discussing 'Greekness' in the Early Iron Age, Catherine Morgan cites as widespread the "recognition that the construct of Greekness, which owes as much to nineteenth-century Europe as to the Greeks themselves, is an anachronism in this early period." (Morgan 2003, 3)

⁵⁸ For mixed reactions see: Siapakas 2003; Dench 2005; Mitchell 2005; 2007.

fictive claims to kinship,⁵⁹ until war with the barbarian engendered an abrupt switch from ethnic to cultural identity, defined in terms of polar oppositions.⁶⁰ The formation of a Hellenic self-consciousness has also been located somewhat further back in time in the early-Archaic period: a direct result of increased population mobility, trade, and settlement overseas. At present, the precise mechanisms by which this came about have received scarce attention beyond vague allusions to ‘definition through difference’ – with the notable exception of Irad Malkin’s recent discussion of network theory (to which we shall return shortly).

The problems which arise from this (supposedly straightforward) switch from ‘ethnicity’ to an identity defined according to cultural criteria come to light most readily in contexts such as S. Italy and Sicily where, as has already been noted above, a comparatively large quantity of problem-based research has now made it to publication. The results have been significant, casting doubt, in many cases, on the veracity of foundation myths promulgated by the cities throughout the region. Although of intrinsic historical value in themselves as ‘representations’ reflecting 5th century mindsets and preoccupations, colonial myths are often at best gross simplifications of historical processes that saw settlers of diverse origins band together to form communities in environments where their mutual similarities were highlighted against the backdrop of the comparatively alien cultures amongst which they had settled.⁶¹ Even this merits some qualification, however, as the levels of difference encountered would have varied considerably depending on the region in question. The processes associated with encountering and mediating ‘differences within the same’ must therefore have been equally significant.⁶² This is not to say that definition through difference

⁵⁹ In sum, the: “putative subscription to a myth of common descent and kinship, an association with a specific territory and a sense of shared history” (J. Hall 2002, 9). This is in contrast to both previous broad-based definitions of ethnicity and arguments that saw the initial flowering of Hellenic identity as having occurred either in opposition to the threat posed by Achaemenid Persia in the 5th century BC, or as a result of the experience of colonisation from the 8th century BC onwards. Whilst Hall’s thesis hinges upon the Hellenic genealogy, supposedly reflecting charter myths of the archaic period, he is inclined to reject factors such as physical traits, language, religion or cultural practices as largely ephemeral in comparison to a kin-based definition of ethnicity (Hall J. 2002, 12). Hall’s theory of putative kinship does not in itself rule out the possibility of oppositional ethnicities as catalogues listing the sons of Hellene cannot help but exclude those unrelated to the *stammvater*.

⁶⁰ This is essentially the same model as that postulated by Edith Hall (albeit in an argument that places far less emphasis on archaeological materials and anthropological theory) some twenty years earlier.

⁶¹ Irad Malkin argues: “overseas colonization informed and strengthened the nascent idea of Greekness primarily because of the newly perceived differences from various ‘Others’ and because of the similarities of the initial colonial experiences... What we call ‘colonization’... was a significant, formative historical power with currents running along the different lines of a Greek Wide Web, shaping archaic Greek society at large and making it more Greek into the bargain.” (Malkin 2003, 59, 72)

⁶² Malkin 2003. Hall is not alone in emphasising that there may not – in many cases – have been a great deal *separating* settler and indigene in regions such as S. Italy: Hall J. 2004; 2005 cf. Burgers 2004.

did not indeed occur, nor, for that matter, that Hall's thesis concerning theoretical elaborations of Hellenic identity occurring in the 6th century is any less important, merely that there is far more to be said on such matters and the discourses they engendered.

How do we explain the gap separating the initial intensification of contact with foreign peoples that resulted from steadily increasing levels of mobility from the 8th century onwards and what are deemed the first overt manifestations of a Hellenic identity located in the mid 6th BC: the institutionalisation of the circuit of – eventually – panhellenic festivals, the founding of the Hellenion at Naukratis and the construction of Hellenic genealogies?⁶³ The precise means by which the self-conscious assertion of Hellenic identities actually came about requires something more by way of explanation than the vague – and somewhat unsatisfactory – conclusion offered up in one recent discussion to the effect that: “the process of finding and articulating difference through the early contacts must have been slow and tentative.”⁶⁴ A recent study of Panhellenism by the same author has argued that Hellenic identity was both expressed and defined in terms of a nexus of themes, ideas and representations whose purpose it was “...to bridge and obscure the gap between the cultural and the political unities and disunities of the Greek world.”⁶⁵ Whilst Hellenic fragmentation has long been noted as problematic, frustrating any move towards greater unity of purpose, it might equally be argued that cultural and political disunities formed an intrinsic part of Hellenism and that the processes of negotiating these boundaries were themselves constitutive of identity.⁶⁶

⁶³ See Malkin 2003 for discussion. On panhellenic games see Hornblower & Morgan 2007. On the Hellenion: Hall 2002, 130. On the Hesiodic catalogue see: West 1985; Fowler 1998; Hunter 2005. Cf. Thomas 2001; Bertelli 2001.

⁶⁴ Mitchell 2005, 415. A couple of likely mechanisms that may have contributed to this process are suggested with travelling poets/rhapsodes and sanctuaries, whose standing and reputation transcended their immediate local significance, being singled out – along with the Olympics and other festivals of broader regional significance (see Mitchell 2005).

⁶⁵ Mitchell 2007, xix. Ambitious and wide ranging, Mitchell's study incorporates a variety of historic and material evidence from a period stretching from the time of Mycenaean collapse to the reign of Hadrian – with particular emphasis being placed on the 6th-5th centuries BC. As such, it is a valuable and welcome response to the current status quo even if it raises as many questions as it answers.

⁶⁶ Mitchell views contestation as a source of crisis, creating inherent problems for the integrity of the wider community of 'Hellenes': “However...the plurality of foci for Panhellenic stories and representations of identity points to some of the deepest problems for the integrity of the symbolic community. That there was no single location for the generation of identity meant that local stories proliferated. As a result, there was an entrenched competition between local stories to assert their claim to being the principal source of Hellenic identity itself. So while on the one hand plurality created richness and diversity within the collective identity, it was also the root of its crisis” (Mitchell 2007, 8).

Hellenic self-definition is generally attributed to one of two strategies: 'aggregation' on the one hand and 'definition through difference' on the other.⁶⁷ Since 'aggregation' can also serve to create 'out groups' which by definition do not belong to the same mythic stemma, setting the two strategies in opposition to one another is perhaps less useful than highlighting the manner in which they can variously be said to overlap and interplay. The problem can in fact be approached in a variety of ways. Inter-cultural contact – whether between culturally similar groups/individuals whom we would today consider 'Greek', or those of more varied beliefs and practices – would have generated information: knowledge derived from either first-hand experience or stories relating to similar encounters (whether real or imaginary). Once received it could be relayed orally or 'represented' via iconography or text, only to be received, interpreted and relayed again to ever-widening audiences. However diverse or complex, the process thus engendered would have seen a whole range of groups and individuals actively participating in ethnographic activity – whether directly or indirectly.

The overall importance of this 'thinking about culture discursively' should not be underestimated. Instead, the precise means by which this came about merits careful consideration since it arguably played an important role in deciding what it meant to be 'Greek' in the first place. Local and regional perspectives must not be overlooked nor, for that matter, the mechanisms by which they were connected. The study of ethnographies takes place against the backdrop of a world defined by mobility and exchange: an intricate web that connected (however indirectly) bustling ports of trade with isolated rural settlements located high in the Aspromonte, major metropoleis such as Corinth or Athens with Arcadia or the wilds of Scythia. It is a world of boundless complexity of which we retain only the barest fragments and whose appreciation and analysis is only ever going to be partial and/or subject to modern day assumptions and preconceptions. Trade winds carried ships laden with passengers and cargo, images and ideas, from port to port on coasting voyages, or connecting island archipelagos. The tracks and by-ways that linked farmstead and village, ethne and polis were thronged with travellers and traders, armies and theoric embassies – a flow of goods and people but also *information*.⁶⁸

Whether this flow of information can be rendered in any way quantifiable or, indeed accessible, through anything other than a wild leap of the imagination is a question of fundamental importance. Gaps and silences in the evidence are inevitable as we are largely constrained by both the material available and the manner in which it can be interpreted: the

⁶⁷ For 'aggregation': Hall J. 2002. On 'Definition through difference': Hall E. 1989; Mitchell 2005, 409ff. for discussion.

⁶⁸ *Od.* IX 125-30. On the network of ancient roads in the Peloponnese: Tausend 2006 cf. Pikoulas 1999.

discursive nature of Classics as a discipline means we invariably replicate ancient discourses/power relationships through our choice of themes and objects of study.⁶⁹ Whilst far from infallible, a synthetic approach that integrates material, iconographic and literary evidence, remaining sensitive to questions of regional or local variation, individual agency and – importantly – chronology is a viable basis for considering the manner in which Greek ethnographies and identities interrelated.

How such material should be organized conceptually is a matter of great importance. Decisions of this nature are both highly significant and complex – not least because they have a very direct bearing on the sorts of answers generated by any given study. Whilst a variety of methods and paradigms offer themselves up for consideration, the network approach stands out as a heuristic device capable of accommodating varying levels of complexity at a scale ranging from the regional or local to ‘global’ networks of trade and association.⁷⁰ The study of networks has much to offer the student of antiquity. Following in the wake of Fernand Braudel’s stately *The Mediterranean* which saw the entire region characterised as an ‘exchange’, criss-crossed by *réseaux*, scholars have increasingly sought to emphasise the high levels of ‘connectivity’ linking cities, micro-regions, rural settlements and ports of trade.⁷¹ Whilst the Mediterranean paradigm has been variously explored and qualified, analysis of its network-structure is now a field of study in its own right.⁷² The latter makes extensive use of social network theory and a variety of approaches imported from the sciences to examine the dynamic relationships between individual ‘nodes’ (variously understood as points in space, objects or individual agents) and the networks to which they were connected.

Whilst the importance of networks linking founding city and *apoikia*, panhellenic sanctuaries and far flung populations was, in many cases, either already well known or tacitly acknowledged, the manifest utility of a theoretical tool that permits researchers to model patterns of social and economic behaviour makes it an important addition to the historian’s arsenal. Tacit acknowledgement of a phenomenon is not the same as actively thinking through a factor or characteristic, shedding fresh light on old problems – or discovering entirely new ones in the process. Irad Malkin, a leading exponent of the network approach, has linked the emergence and consolidation of networks – real or imagined – to “a new kind

⁶⁹ Cf. Siapkis 2003; Humphreys 2004; Vlassopoulos 2007.

⁷⁰ See Malkin 2003; Malkin et al. 2007. For discussion of network approaches – and social network theory in particular – see: Watts & Strogatz 1998; Watts 1999; Strogatz 2001; Barabási 2002.

⁷¹ Braudel 1966; Horden & Purcell 2000; Purcell 2003; Malkin 2003; Morris 2003.

⁷² See Purcell 2003 for discussion and references. Mediterranean paradigms have become increasingly politicised in the wake of initiatives aimed at formalising Euro-Mediterranean partnerships (formerly referred to as the Barcelona Process). Cf. Xenakis & Chrysochou 2001; Adler et al. 2006.

of ‘Greek’ convergence’ throughout the Mediterranean world during the archaic period (Malkin 2003, 59). This study takes Malkin’s recent work as a start point for exploring the extent to which high levels of inter-connectivity, mobility, and exchange might have contributed not only to the transmission of knowledge and ideas but also the very processes through which identities were constructed.

1.3 Homeric epic: Models and paradigms

We shall now turn to consider a body of knowledge and ideas whose paradigmatic nature is almost universally acknowledged. In a world of inter-connectivity, mobility, and exchange these stories transcended geographical and cultural boundaries becoming something of a battleground for rival approaches to Greek identity, barbarian stereotypes and an interest in the other. Debate is traditionally restricted to a number of questions. First, at what point did a sense of common Greek identity initially arise and how was it both expressed and disseminated? Secondly, when did an interest in foreign peoples first become apparent and, thirdly, what was its bearing upon a collective sense of Greek identity?⁷³ The latter usually places great emphasis upon the presence (or absence) of stereotypes that might be interpreted as some form of barbarian archetype and any subsequent Greek-barbarian polarity. Ever sensitive to the dangers of appearing to be floundering amidst a sea of uncertainty – a variegated dataset, lacunose sources and an uncertain chronology – modern scholarship has for the most part been extremely guarded when discussing exactly how archaic Greek identity should be both conceptualised and defined. It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that the standard response to such problems is to revert to a discourse centred on the binary constructs of self and other – infinitely recyclable and conveniently rooted in the authoritative writings of assorted luminaries such as the French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (a topic to which we shall return in a later chapter). Scholars have reacted to these challenges in various ways, with recent treatments of the topic providing examples of both the pervasive influence of unitary notions of culture and identity and a number of exciting and highly innovative responses upon which the present study is variously reliant from both a theoretical and methodological point of view.

The ‘other’ view is perhaps best exemplified in Edith Hall’s brilliant – and now controversial – *Inventing the Barbarian*. Hall’s approach to Homer is rendered problematic, however, by a need to reconcile the now famous dictat to the effect that Aeschylus’ *Persians* was ‘the first

⁷³ For diverse approaches: Hall E. 1989; Hall J. 1997; 2002; Murray 1988-9; Ross 2005; Mackie 1996; Mitchell 2005; 2007.

file in the archive of Orientalism', with a desire to portray Homeric epic as being already infused with colonialist discourse. The epic poems are therefore viewed as constituting a profoundly ethnocentric discourse in which Asia was "tamed and subordinated" to the Western imagination - but only at a "non-literal level".⁷⁴ Hall's claim that epic poetry shows little interest in distinguishing between Greek and non-Greek is essentially true in many respects but this has far less to do with any concern for identity that may or may not be evident in the *Iliad* than the fact that searching for Greek/barbarian polarities in such a context is both misguided and profoundly anachronistic. It is surely unfair to expect Homer's *Iliad* to provide "a usable paradigm of the Greek/barbarian geopolitical boundary" (Hall 1989, 49). That said, Hall's thesis regarding the extent to which an interest in ethnic identity and foreign cultures were in evidence prior to the Persian Wars, remains an established orthodoxy.⁷⁵

Francois Hartog's recent discussion of Homeric themes and paradigms as vehicles for a 'poetic anthropology' provides a nuanced and almost poetic account of the way in which early Greeks set out both to explore and map out the boundaries of human experience. In Hartog's eyes, the narrative space opened up by Odysseus's thwarted attempts to return to Ithaca provides an effective medium by which the principal categories by which society was ordered might well be articulated (17). The *Odyssey* is therefore an 'anthropological text' – whether Greek or Homeric – and, as such, an adventure story whose purpose is "to see and explain the world as to explore it and represent it, 'inhabit' in and make it a world that was 'human', that is to say Greek" (Hartog 2001, 25-6). Although it is admitted, somewhat ruefully, that Odysseus is "not even particularly curious about the world", expressing only occasional interest in seeing Polyphemos and hearing the Siren's song, it is nonetheless asserted that "in Greece it all began with epic" (IX 229; XII 192; X 472; Hartog 2001, 9, 15-16).

Although rightly acclaimed for making the other 'sing',⁷⁶ there remains some doubt as to whether this broader notion of Greek identity is anything other than a reified abstraction rooted in a structuralist view of 'self' versus 'Other' – albeit less so than in previous works (cf. Hartog 1988). Hartog's poetic anthropology is arguably predicated upon a notion of identity that is both static and homogenous: Odysseus functions as a mobile marker whose travels test and in so doing delineate what it means to be Greek (4-5). The latter would be something of an oversimplification, however, as an attempt is also made to emphasise the

⁷⁴ Just how Greek epic can be profoundly ethnocentric on one level and not on another is, however, far from clear.

⁷⁵ Cf. Finley 1979; Cartledge 1993; Hall J. 1997; 2002; Miller 1997; 2005.

⁷⁶ Davidson 2002.

fluidity with which bipolar oppositions between Greek/barbarian, male/female, free/slave were constructed – even if it remains entirely questionable as to how such an elegant and sophisticated thesis might have played out in reality.⁷⁷ One has the sense, as a result, that the finesse that Hartog displays for exploring collective *imaginaires* has yet to be brought to bear upon particulars relating to everyday experience. However, as far as models and paradigms go there is no better starting point in our bid to reconstruct the way in which early ethnographic imaginings were structured and the means by which they circulated.

Instead of offering criticism for a failure to deliver on things to which he made no claim in the first place we should perhaps take Hartog at his word and consider a world in which epics circulated, where odysseys were recounted, imagined and experienced by countless individuals scattered across time and space. Hartog's thesis encourages us to think beyond the 'text' (which would, in any case, have been encountered aurally in the vast majority of cases) to the myriad of circumstances in which Homeric paradigms might have been called to mind by individuals agents and the manner in which this related to their own sense of personal or group identity. Whilst the full implications of the latter can only be the subject of speculation, we are left with a very clear sense of the richness and diversity of ideas and paradigms – explored, to some extent, in the preceding chapter in discussions relation to Cyclopes, Phoenicians and Phaeacians – upon which an individual might realistically draw when seeking to conceptualise or explain 'difference'. Scattered remnants such as the Aristothonos krater (discussed below) provide some indication of the extent to which epic models and paradigms were inextricably bound up in the cultural matrices of societies located the length and breadth of the ancient Mediterranean. But this is surely only the tip of the iceberg.

The extent to which epic paradigms played a role in early ethnographic thought has also been a matter of some concern for another author whose focus on the ethnographic imagination adopts a self-styled 'historicizing approach' (a term very much in vogue but whose definition seems to be entirely subjective cf. Malkin 1998). According to Caroline Dougherty's analysis, the *Odyssey* itself constitutes an *ethnographic text* and should be read accordingly. While Hartog's 'poetic anthropology' relates to the (Greek) human condition in general, Dougherty's is more introspective; the function of the ethnographic imagination being to:

⁷⁷ The use of such readings have rightly been criticised on the basis that they: "...run the risk of focussing on basic synchronic categories, both mythic and social, to the exclusion of the specific historical circumstances at any one time and place..." (Dougherty 2001, 7). This reflects a more general trend in which theoretical approaches to Greek identity have grown increasingly sophisticated, emphasising both the importance and complexity of a far wider range of social identities.

...interrogate[] change and innovation at home (Greece) as much as it is to address the anomalies of new worlds abroad...

...the product of a culture...that was trying to construct a reading of the worlds and peoples of its own mythic past in order to make sense of a tumultuous and volatile present...⁷⁸

It might, however, be argued that Dougherty's analysis is not too far removed from that of Hartog in that both Odysseus' journey home and ethnography as a *genre* entail a return to the – implicitly Greek – 'self' (Dougherty 2001, 10). Odysseus emerges, yet again, as the embodiment of a culture's ethnographic imagination. Both these and the arguments of Irad Malkin (discussed below) stand in marked contrast to the approach followed by Edith Hall in attempting to minimise both the impact and importance of ethnography prior to the 5th century BC. Whether they can in turn be extended in a manner that links broader notions of an ethnographic discourse with the ongoing power play through which ideas of culture, history and identity were routinely contested remains to be seen. Are Homeric paradigms therefore indicative of "a hunger for expressing a cultural system", as Dougherty has claimed,⁷⁹ and what role did they play in determining the overall coherence of this system to start with? Is it perhaps possible to extend this argument to encompass a plurality of systems and a more general awareness of difference per se? If so, the role of imagined ethnographies in this process should not be underestimated; the great utility of Homeric paradigms arguably arose from the fact that they were primarily located in 'mythic space' as opposed to any specific locale⁸⁰, familiar to some and baffling to others. The reason, then, why Homer's *Odyssey* proved so popular was that it encapsulated a world in which identities were continually being explored, negotiated and mapped out: the epics themselves function as the mobile, discursive operator to which Hartog alluded.⁸¹

Far more could be said, however. Viewed in its most basic terms the poems are systems in which a large variety of peoples are plotted and named in a manner not dissimilar to either the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* or early periegetic accounts. How should this information be

⁷⁸ Dougherty 2001, 77, 9. Dougherty's ethnographic imagination functions primarily on an abstract, quasi-theoretical level.

⁷⁹ Dougherty 2001, 10.

⁸⁰ Attempts to pin the epic narrative to various geographic locations have formed a core element of Homeric reception ever since the earliest performances: e.g. Hdt. IV 177, 183; Strab. XVII 8, 17 (lotus eaters). A huge bibliography on this but see: Knight 1995, 125-7.

⁸¹ There is of course nothing novel in the suggestion that foreign or mythical paradigms formed an important element of social discourse in antiquity. Increasing emphasis is placed on the unsettled nature of archaic society; turbulent social-economic conditions, along with the resulting disruption of systems of representation, widely thought to have provoked marked changes in social practices ranging from burials to vase painting (Morris 1998; Shanks 1999; Dougherty 2001, 5).

characterized, however? The extent to which this reflects an abstract concept of geographical space per se has been discussed elsewhere and should not detain us here.⁸² Instead, I would argue that works such as the *Iliad* are indicative of a broader interest in ethnography: questions of difference, places and people. The epic is populated with an eclectic range of tribes, peoples and races, usually led by some hero or similarly impressive 'big man'. As such, it represents a self-conscious attempt to order individuals and societies both within the epic narrative and the world at large.

Previous scholarship has focussed primarily upon the disappointingly small number of references to foreign peoples and a (similarly paltry) number of occasions on which some form of Greek/barbarian polarity might be deemed evident. Attention has invariably centred upon the adjectival use of *barbarophonous* in reference to the Carian host as indication of some nascent concept of the barbarian.⁸³ The status of archery has also been examined, in particular whether there exists any evidence of a negative stereotype relating to 'Oriental' archers. Although opinion on this subject is noticeably divided,⁸⁴ an interest in identity per se is, nonetheless, apparent throughout the epic. Far from showing signs of disinterest in questions of difference, the manner in which identities are compared and contrasted is of pivotal importance to the narrative structure of the poem. Rather than sifting through epic and lyric poetry in search of the seeds of a later ethnological science – cases in which the habits and customs of non-Greek peoples are subject to obvious scrutiny – we need to explore how individuals might have engaged with the epic, the contexts in which they did so and the results this might have had upon their own sense of identity and the way in which they viewed the world.

That Homeric heroes spoke a common language has become something of a touchstone for anyone arguing that archaic Greek identity remained loosely defined until the advent of the barbarian in the 5th century BC.⁸⁵ Homeric heroes were, by this logic, largely the same. This orthodoxy has been challenged, however, in a study that describes the *Iliad* as presenting two opposing speech-cultures, reflecting differences in preferred genre and style, civic function and linguistic orientation (Mackie 1996, 161). The language used by the Homeric Achaeans is described as public and political, showing a marked preference for aggressive blaming as opposed to the more private, poetic, introspective, and praise-orientated approach favoured

⁸² For the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, see below chapter three. See also: Jacob 1991; Romm 1992; Malkin 1998; Hartog 2001.

⁸³ *Il.* II 867 (the earliest use otherwise being Heraclitus fr. 107 on 'barbarian souls'). The bibliography on this is extensive but see Hall 1989; Mackie 1996; Ross 2005 for discussion. Cf. Vannicelli 1989; Hall 2002 on Homeric usage of 'Hellenes'.

⁸⁴ Cf. Hall 1989; Mackie 1996; Mitchell 2007.

⁸⁵ Hall 1989.

by the Trojans. These differences reflect a contrast between two opposing models of social organization or cultural systems, leading the author to claim at one point that the epic presents 'an ethnography of speech' for either side (Mackie 1996, 5). The implications of this argument have had little noticeable effect on Classical scholarship to date but this is due, in part, to the pronounced reticence of the author when it comes to interpreting the marked differentiation between the two sides.⁸⁶ Whilst it is easy to see why the author might be keen to avoid the (now) tired clichés of other scholarship, ever keen to plot yet another 'Other' against which the Greek self might be juxtaposed, the claim that linguistic and cultural difference can be represented in a manner that is value free – essentially non-political – is itself problematic. By Mackie's own reckoning both 'Homer' and, by implication, his audiences, were 'thinking about culture' in a meaningful fashion and this, in itself, is significant.

Similar arguments relating to disinterested, non-political discourses also feature in Rosalind Thomas' discussion of ethnographic material embedded within the various Hippocratic and philosophical treatises that emerged from 5th century Ionia. Both are equally problematic. An explanation as to just why this is the case will necessitate a brief but important digression to consider technical literature of a very different era: some of the earliest analyses of South Asian languages undertaken during the initial phases of British colonialism. Useful parallels to the situations discussed by Mackie and Thomas can be found in one of the earliest studies of Hindustani, a pioneering work undertaken by one John Gilchrist (Gilchrist 1796, 1826). Gilchrist's work demonstrates quite clearly that questioning whether scientific and technical literature can be said to be 'political' is largely unhelpful, it being now well established that texts operate, in the words of Simon Gikandi, as "unstable zones and contested boundaries that conjoin and divide metropolitan cultures and colonial spaces to the frontiers in which the dialectic of imperialism is played out" (Gikandi 1996, 2). This instability is important since it allows multiple readings and ideological positions to coexist within a text. So, for example, whilst Gilchrist's aim was to familiarise those unacquainted with the (largely invented) language with its grammar and structure, rendering it open to appropriation as an instrument of government, he made conscious efforts to mediate the experience of difference that often arises at times of cross-linguistic interaction in anticipation of the fears and frustrations that inevitably arise from the inability to express oneself adequately in a foreign language – in this case Hindustani (Steadman-Jones 2007, 8). Rather than resorting to negative stereotyping as a means of coping with such anxieties, Gilchrist's audience were encouraged

⁸⁶ The question as to whether one or the other is given preferential treatment is dismissed as being both misguided and anachronistic: "The ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences the poet imagines appear to be descriptive and aesthetic, not prescriptive and evaluative" (Mackie 1996, 161).

to engage with its structures (and by implication native speakers) with a measure of confidence and understanding via a text in which the author adopted the persona of a tour guide, ushering his charges through a picturesque landscape replete with grammatical wonders upon which they could gaze at their leisure.⁸⁷ Whilst such acts of purported exploration formed an effective prelude to appropriation and were thus very much framed by the needs and experiences of colonial administrators operating on behalf of the British East India Company, Gilchrist's description of Hindustani grammar is neither reductively political nor merely predicated upon reproducing (or describing for aesthetic purposes?) an experience of difference.

Another aspect in which Gilchrist's descriptions of Hindustani grammar bears some relevance to the present topic is the extent to which the works themselves constituted a form of self-fashioning: "...in them and through them Gilchrist rendered himself visible as an expert in the eyes of the colonial establishment" (Steadman-Jones 2007, 130). We are no stranger to claims to autopsy or knowledge in a Greek context, it being now well established that bodies of work such as the Hippocratic corpus can often be interpreted as rhetorical performance pieces.⁸⁸ Just what one would accrue by way of cultural capital by such displays of knowledge in a wider (Greek) context is a question that should not be overlooked. Although we shall return to such questions below when the time comes to discuss the relationship between scientific argument, ethnographic discourse, ethnocentric attitudes and/or power relations, we shall now resume our discussion at the point at which we left off: the topic of Homeric paradigms in general and the *Odyssey* in particular.

Although Homer's *Odyssey* is deemed by many to provide far more promising evidence of early ethnographic speculation than the *Iliad*, the latter is by no means universally accepted. Whilst allowing for the fact that the *Odyssey* provides a more accurate reflection of the colonial zeitgeist, Hall's verdict is that Odysseus' adventures "have little to do with ... ethnography" (Hall 1989, 49). The latter is open to debate – as we shall see. Themes of cultural contact, conflict and colonization all figure prominently within the narrative structure of the *Odyssey*. The colonial zeitgeist to which Hall alludes is readily apparent in the account of the uninhabited island, rendered inaccessible to the landlubber Cyclopes by virtue of the fact that it lies just offshore. The description dwells appreciatively upon its extensive natural resources and its resulting potential for settlement. Descriptions of people and place figure elsewhere also. Odysseus' account of Ithaca is similarly notable for the

⁸⁷ How far this amounts to a departure – in real terms – from the reassuring fixity of the stereotype is debateable: Hindustani is ultimately known or understood by either mechanism.

⁸⁸ Lloyd A.B. 1975; Lloyd G.E.R. 1979; Lateiner 1986; Thomas 2000.

manner in which land and peoples are succinctly described with topography, flora and local temperament all being enumerated in a manner that is at least suggestive of an overarching interest in place, people and the manner in which they interrelate. Furthermore, the connection drawn between the rugged nature of the landscape and local character is very much in keeping with later ethnographic pronouncements upon such subjects in Herodotus or the Hippocratic corpus.

Elsewhere, the portrayal of other peoples is similarly indicative of ideologies linking the environment, lifestyle and identity with the (aptly named) lotus-eaters being a notable example. In their case, food is readily available and grows naturally of its own accord – a common characteristic of lands situated upon the very margins of human existence and a hallmark of golden-age primitivism (more on this below).⁸⁹ The seductive nature of this existence must have been readily apparent to those accustomed to eking out a relatively harsh existence from the proverbially vigorous climate of central and mainland Greece.⁹⁰ Odysseus' companions succumb immediately and are content to pass the rest of their days grazing on lotus flowers, forgetting their homes, their loved ones – and effectively their identities as people who do not eat lotus flowers. It is only because of the hero that this fate is averted: the men subsequently return to the ship (albeit under duress) and continue on their voyage. What, therefore, did this story mean to contemporary audiences? On one level it is clearly representative of any number of factors that might frustrate a *nostos*. If the land of the lotus eaters is representative of other lands and cultures then this episode might be seen as reflecting more widespread concerns regarding the effects of foreign travel, inter cultural contact and acculturation. It might also be suggested, however, that the sentiments underpinning this vignette also reflect an attitude of cultural propriety or conservatism, a sort of 'each to his own', evident in Herodotus and elsewhere. A concern for individual identity is arguably apparent in any case.

⁸⁹ *Od.* IX 82-104. For discussion see Steier 1927; Lamer 1927; Page 1973, 3-21; Herzhoff 1984; 1999. For attempts to localise see Hdt. IV 176 but Heubeck 1989, 17-18 –18 (overly dogmatic?) "...the λωτός plant, with its magical properties of suppressing the desire to return home, is symbolic of the insecurity of human existence poised precariously between the spheres of empirical reality and mythical unreality. It is, therefore, pointless to attempt, as so many scholars, both ancient and modern, have done, to identify either the λωτός plant itself or the country where it grows. In identifying the country as the Little Syrtis (iv 176ff.) Hdt., and scholars after him, showed no understanding of the function and nature of poetry." See Heubeck for further references, including Rosseaux, M. (1971) 'Ulysse et les mangeurs de coquelicots', *Bull. Ass. Budé*, lxxi, 333-51 (not seen).

⁹⁰ For a discussion of the link between landscape and identity see chapter one.

1.4 Ethnography and identity: Setting sail

Ethnographic interests were not confined to any one particular genre. Instead, evidence for an interest in foreign identities, manners and customs is embedded within a broad range of literary and archaeological materials. Occasions on which this fascination with all things foreign become apparent range from Pindar's observation that the nomadic Scythians despise anyone who does not possess a house borne on a wagon (Fr. 105ab) to images adorning Attic vases. Both the apparent ubiquity and sheer variety of such material indicates that knowledge relating to foreign peoples was endemic to communities scattered across the length and breadth of the Mediterranean world. Viewed collectively, it constitutes a form of discourse that may legitimately be termed *ethnographic* – even if the material in which it is embedded is not ethnography *per se*. In a respectful rejoinder to the assertion that ethnographic interests were not evident on any significant scale prior to the 5th century,⁹¹ the ensuing chapters will employ a broad-based definition of 'ethnography' to reconstruct something of the 'thought world' into which early prose accounts emerged.⁹² Although we cannot hope to recapture an objective historical reality, we can pose questions as to how individuals would have engaged with specific ideas or objects, as well as how, when and why these might have affected their sense of identity, exploring the possibilities opened up by multiplicity of constructions and receptions, as groups and individuals 'thought' selectively about culture, identity and difference.

Whilst the tendency to order fragmentary literary sources and material artefacts by genre and typology may have the advantage of being methodologically straightforward, the end result is a narrative that appears convincing purely because it conforms to our own preconceptions. The general survey of knowledge relating to a variety of foreign peoples that follows in chapter two will consequently be organised according to loosely-defined categories that span media and genre, emphasising the varied, fluid and malleable nature of ethnographic constructions permeating festival songs, stories told by the fireside, daily conversation in the agora, or images 'read' (and discussed) amidst the heady confines of the symposium. Although (inevitably) partial and incomplete due to both the vagaries of the evidence and the limits of space, this approach will highlight not only the potential range of information 'in

⁹¹ Hall E. 1989, 40-1.

⁹² It has become something of a rallying call amongst more progressive elements within classical scholarship for historical productions to be grounded in actual, lived experience (Vlassopoulos 2007, 236). The practice of placing one particular type of evidence on a pedestal has provoked controversy in the past: Cf. Hall J. 1997; 2002; Prag 2006; Muller, C. 2007, 150 n.40 inveighing against Hannestad 2006.

play' at any one time but also its manifest ubiquity. Chapter three will build on this discussion, exploring the various means by which information relating to foreign lands and peoples was organised, structured, and disseminated. Here the emphasis will be on both highlighting and exploring the various interpretative frameworks to which an individual might have recourse in antiquity: how were they employed and why? The extent to which Greek identities resided, or were rather a product *of* a dialectical interplay of representational strategies will then be analysed in chapter four via a series of case studies focussing on Greater Olbia, S. Calabria and the imagined centres of Delphi and Olympia. Once it has been demonstrated that the discursive elements of Greek ethnography were – whether singly or collectively – *constitutive* of identity, chapter five will consider the implications such arguments pose for understanding not only the intellectual and social milieu that formed the backdrop to Herodotean discourse but also the manner in which Great Historiography came into being.

2. Populating the *imaginaire*

This chapter leaps backwards and forwards through imagined space, like the mind of the archetypal well-travelled man in Homer's *Iliad*⁹³ or, perhaps more famously, the mind of Odysseus, who 'saw the cities of many men and knew their minds.'⁹⁴ Its purpose in doing so is simply to populate the ethnographic *imaginaire*, highlighting the breadth and diversity of knowledge relating to a variety of foreign peoples in the years prior to the Persian Wars. Taking Homeric imaginings as its start point (Cyclopes/Phaeacians) it swoops in from the northernmost margins of the *oikoumenē*, traversing in turn the imagined territories of the Hyperboreans, one-eyed Arimaspians, Scythians and Amazons, before encountering the many tribes of Thrace. From here we turn to western Asia Minor and the Levant (Phoenicians/Lydians) before relocating once more to the sun-scorched realm of the Ethiopians, and then Egypt, before brief excursions on past and present populations variously associated with lands less foreign: the (seemingly ubiquitous) descendants of Pelasgos and the inhabitants of Arcadia. By compiling what is effectively a gazette of some of the major categories of foreign people of whom knowledge is attested, this chapter paves the way for discussing the interlocking systems of knowledge and understanding that provided both the material and the means by which groups and individuals were able to selectively 'position' either themselves or others.⁹⁵

2.1 Phaeacians and Cyclopes

Whilst obviously paradigmatic – part of what Francois Hartog has referred to as the *Odyssey*'s 'repertoire of otherness' – Homer's Cyclopes are described in a manner that can only be called ethnographic: a reflexive account of an alternative social world, albeit a perverted one.⁹⁶ The Cyclopes neither plant nor plough. Instead, they put their trust in providence, living on such cereals and grapes as can be found growing wild. They subsist predominantly on milk and cheese: staple foodstuffs of the pastoralist and a regime alien to audiences that consciously or otherwise identified with the self-styled 'eaters of bread' (*Od.*

⁹³ "ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἀίξει νόος ἀνέρος, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ πολλὴν γαῖαν ἐληλουθῶς φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησι νοήσῃ ἔνθ' εἶην ἢ ἔνθα, μενοιγήησιν τε πολλά..." (*Il.* XV 80-82).

⁹⁴ *Od.* I. 3. Dougherty 2001, 4; Hartog 2001. See further ch. 3.

⁹⁵ In order to cast the net as far as possible (and avoid undue repetition in later chapters) certain categories of foreign people have been omitted, e.g. Persians and Libyans. For these, see below (chs. 3, 5). See also Burkert 2004 (a concise overview of contact with, and knowledge of, the Ancient Near East, including Babylon and Persia) and Marshall 2001 (on Libya/Libyans).

⁹⁶ Hartog 2001, 21-36.

IX 108, 219-49; X 101).⁹⁷ They are also described as neither having laws nor assemblies (112,106) nor the ability to build or sail in boats (125-30); taking little account of their neighbours they live an autonomous existence in isolated family groups in caves situated upon high mountaintops.⁹⁸ Small wonder, therefore, that the Cyclopean realm provides the setting for acts of transgression and violence. Polyphemus himself cares nothing for the gods, scorning even Zeus himself, protector of strangers and suppliants (IX 275-6). Accordingly, conventions of hospitality are inverted: the Cyclopes feeds on his guests instead of offering sustenance and gifts (IX 259-90) before slaking his thirst with milk – a reminder of his pastoralist existence – and finally settles down to sleep, leaving his ‘guests’ imprisoned and distraught (298-306).

The tale of Polyphemus is widely acknowledged to represent a skilful reworking or synthesis of older folktales widely told throughout the ancient world.⁹⁹ Scholarly attention, however, has focussed predominantly on identifying its various components and citing parallels, leaving it essentially unclear whether the barbaric *mores* of the Cyclopes is a narrative gloss unique to ‘Homer’ or a more widespread phenomenon. Whilst the dynamic by which primitive cultural practices and transgressive social norms are linked provides an effective rationale for Polyphemus’ behaviour, it may be something of an oversimplification to state that this opposition provides a clear archetype of the Greek/barbarian polarity.¹⁰⁰ Although the manners and customs of the Cyclopes clearly reflect the inverted criteria for a civilised society, invariably linked to the emergence of the polis and thus a quintessentially ‘Greek’ *mentalité*, such values were by no means exclusive to ‘Greeks’ during an Early Iron Age in which social and economic changes leading to increased social complexity and the development of towns represented pan-Mediterranean phenomena.¹⁰¹ Where Cyclopes are invoked, they are clearly indicative of poets, vase painters¹⁰² and, by extension their audiences, thinking about culture: the categories and norms that are considered universal and their various permutations – the extent to which the gigantic,

⁹⁷ For discussion of this “quasi-ethnographical description” of a pastoral lifestyle, see Vidal-Naquet 1996, 41ff.

⁹⁸ *Od.* IX 105-15. For discussion see Dougherty 2001, 122-42; Hartog 2001, 24-36.

⁹⁹ For discussion and references see: Heubeck 1989, 19-21 and (more generally) Hansen 1997.

¹⁰⁰ That Greek identity was defined in opposition to an inversion of itself during the archaic period is in fact widely opposed (e.g. Hall E. 1989; Hall J. 1997; 2002; Malkin 1998). For an alternate view, see Winter 1995, 257: “What is more, the pairing of Trojans and Phoenicians helps to establish the opposition of both to Odysseus and the Greeks. In this respect, it is part of a well-attested pattern in later Greek literature, with respect to not only to Phoenicians, but to Egyptians, Persians, Phrygians, and others as well: one of the ways in which ‘otherness’ is established is through distinctions of barbarian and civilized.”

¹⁰¹ For discussion of urbanization as a pan-Mediterranean phenomenon, see Osborne & Cunliffe 2005. Cf. Vlassopoulos 2007 on the hegemony of the polis-narrative in studies of the ancient world.

¹⁰² Discussed in more detail in chapter two. For a range of depictions spanning the early 7th-early 5th century on Protoattic, Black/Red-figure and Chalkidian-Etruscan vases see *LIMC* s.v. *Kyklops*.

murderous and cannibalistic Laestrygonians, who likewise led a pastoral existence, could also be likened to Odysseus and his men by virtue of their being city-dwellers who held assemblies and were ruled by a *basileus* (X 103-124).

In contrast, the Homeric Phaeacians provide a utopian vision of a society favoured by the gods that enjoys wealth and *techne* in equal measure. Dwellers in the liminal island realm of Scheria, they again serve a paradigmatic function: although prone to somewhat unconventional familial arrangements (Alcinoos is married to his sister Arete)¹⁰³ and endowed with a bounty reminiscent of an earlier, Golden Age, they live a pious, settled existence under the rule of a king, tilling the soil, excelling in crafts and travelling extensively in their swift ships – but not engaging in trade (VII 108-10, 114-32). The latter is significant insofar as it sets them at odds with the Homeric Phoenicians, proverbial traders and at times wily tricksters. Carol Dougherty has discussed this dynamic at some length, setting it in the context of a Greek Iron Age and the preoccupations of a society newly exposed to the combined stresses of long-distance trade, exploration and settlement overseas.¹⁰⁴ The Phaeacians are pivotal to this ‘mapping out’ of conflicting interests and ideologies: the mercantile entrepreneur versus the aristocratic buccaneer, who might inadvertently profit from gift exchange or the sale of plundered booty but who viewed commercial enterprise with disdain. As such, the Phaeacians provide the fulcrum for the two sets of oppositions around which the *Odyssey*’s ethnographic imaginings were structured.¹⁰⁵

Modern ‘readings’ of the Phaeacians vary widely. Some see their portrayal as unambiguously idyllic.¹⁰⁶ Charming and hospitable, their reception of Odysseus on his arrival is regarded an idealisation of the colonial encounter: a generous welcome, marriage into the local elites and subsequent acculturation. Others choose to emphasise a less rosy picture: dark undertones laced with menace, or an at best ambivalent portrayal that sees Alcinoos and his people as unambiguously ‘other’.¹⁰⁷ Such ambivalence is hardly problematic as it would be surprising if ancient audiences were not equally varied in their readings. What is important, however, is the wider significance of this apparent problematising and questioning of social models and paradigms – which must have been repeated, or, alternately ‘imagined’, each time the poem was recited (whether entirely or in

¹⁰³ *Od.* VII 61-73 (Although the unambiguously favourable manner in which she is portrayed must surely have been sufficient to tempter any negative reaction to the above)

¹⁰⁴ Dougherty 2001, 122-142 esp. 145.

¹⁰⁵ Dougherty 2001, 103. Cf. Segal 1994, 30-3.

¹⁰⁶ Ferguson 1975, 14: “[T]he first surviving utopia in European literature.”

¹⁰⁷ Vidal-Naquet 1996, 50: “Peeping through the motif of the Phaeacians’ hospitality is the image of a Phaeacia comparable to the land of the Cyclopes.” Cf. Mitchell 2007, 51.

part).¹⁰⁸ So, for example, the simile that likens the piercing of Polyphemus' eyeball to the action of a smith, who plunges a white-hot axe head or adze into cold water “τὸ γὰρ αὐτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστὶν” (*Od.* IX 393) may well allude or alternately have been ‘read’ in the light of Hesiod’s construction of the Cyclopes as skilled metalworkers (as opposed to ignorant savages).¹⁰⁹ The Cyclopes formed part of a mythical backdrop frequently alluded to not only by poets such as Hesiod but also later enquirers such as the early logographers. The ‘Cyclopean walls’ of Mycenae featured in Pherecydes’ account of local aetiologies (*FGrH* 3 F 12), an association echoed by a fragment of Pindar that also sees Cyclopes as builders (fr. 169).¹¹⁰ As such, they suggest that for all their mythical or paradigmatic status – or perhaps because of it – Cyclopes provided an important cultural template as archetypal misanthropes, deviants and craftsmen.

2.2 Hyperboreans

Another group that purportedly dwelt on the margins, at one remove from human civilization and entirely inaccessible to ordinary mortals, were the Hyperboreans. Although iconographic evidence for them is patchy, passing references in poetry and song would seem to indicate that they were well established within the popular imagination from a comparatively early stage.¹¹¹ There they are referred to as dear to the gods living in a blessed state: a people not dissimilar to the Ethiopians with whom the immortals often seek respite.¹¹² Their association with Apollo means they often figure in poetry and song whenever the god is invoked, whether in passing or in more detail.¹¹³ They are first mentioned in a fragment of Hesiod where the latter portrays them as steppe-nomads, inhabiting a region of lush pasture adjacent

¹⁰⁸ For discussion of singing – episodic or otherwise – and its consequences see: Malkin 1998, 51-54 (in connection with *nostoi*); Shapiro 1993; Nagy 1992, 39-40.

¹⁰⁹ Hes. *Theog.* 139-46, 501-6. On the association between metalworking and the Homeric Phaeacians, see Dougherty 2001, ch. 5 and 123 no.2. For discussion of Homeric reworking of the Cyclopes, see Mondy 1983; Ahl & Roisman 1996, 115-18.

¹¹⁰ Schol. Eur. *Or.* 965. Echoes of which can perhaps be seen at *Od.* IX 185-6. See Ahl & Roisman 1996, 116-17. Cf. Bacchyl. II 67. On genealogy see: Hes. *Theog.* 139-46 and Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F88).

¹¹¹ See Bridgman 2004, 27-9 for discussion of their non-appearance in Homer. Hyperboreans figure prominently in modern debates ranging from the manner in which mythic geography was conceptualized to the relative importance that ideas of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ primitivism in ancient thought. See variously: Campbell 2006, 88-93; Romm 1992, 60-7; 1989. Cf. Ramin 1979, 55-71; Ferguson 1975, 16-22; Bolton 1962. For ancient traditions linking the Hyperboreans with the Celts, see Bridgman 2004. Lasova 1996 sets them in the context of Graeco-Thracian interaction and a Palaeo-Balkan cult tradition, a popular theme for Bulgarian scholarship for which references are supplied.

¹¹² Campbell 2006, 84; Bridgman 2004, ch. 1; Hall 1989, 149; Lovejoy & Boas 1935. Cf. Rohde 1900, 178-242 on the history of utopian imaginings in Graeco-Roman literature, from Homer to Antonius Diogenes.

¹¹³ Pind. *Ol.* 3 16, *Isthm.* 6 22-3, *Pae.* 8 63; *Hom. Hymn. Bacch* 28-9; Aesch. *Cho.* 373: “hyperborean good-fortune”. Cf. *IG* 2².1636.8.

to the deep-flowing Eridanus and referred to as 'well-horsed' (Hes. Fr. 98 20-4). Although the section referring to the Eridanus is noticeably lacunose, a reference to amber follows shortly afterwards – a product for which the river was famed in antiquity.¹¹⁴ The latter is at variance with (vaguer) descriptions offered by later poets such as Pindar emphasising luxuriant feasting, music and lives free of sickness and old age (*Pyth.* 10.29-43). As such, it suggests that poets such as Hesiod and others might have had recourse to a considerable range of ideas relating to Hyperboreans.

Although marginal by virtue of their location, the Hyperboreans played a significant role in both Delian and Delphic propaganda – a point to which we shall return in chapter 4.¹¹⁵ Whilst Pausanias reports the testimony of the semi-legendary poetess Boio attributing the earliest prophecies at Delphi to a Hyperborean named Olēn – in which the latter is credited with not only establishing the oracle itself but also the invention of hexameter poetry – he ultimately follows Herodotus in upholding the Delian claim to having Olēn as founder.¹¹⁶ What is noticeable is the extent to which both shrines were eager to capitalize upon association with pious Hyperboreans when competing for wider recognition. Herodotus himself questions their very existence on the basis that information relating to them was scant even amongst the Scythians and Issedones from whom they were supposedly not far removed (Hdt. IV 32).¹¹⁷ As well as mentioning their appearance in Hesiod he refers to both the *Epigoni* attributed to Homer and a (supposedly well known) story concerning a Hyperborean named Abaris, who circuited the world whilst carrying an arrow without pausing to eat anything (IV 36).¹¹⁸ The latter, in conjunction with stories relating to the Scythian sage Anacharsis, has provoked considerable debate, with some scholars arguing that the Greeks themselves adopted shamanistic practices as a result of contact with steppe tribes north of the Black Sea. The debate has centered around one author in particular and another category of foreign people situated on the northern margins to whom we shall now turn.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 338. Herodotus disputed its existence entirely (III 115) whilst Pherecydes identified it with the Po (*FGrH* 3 F74).

¹¹⁵ As explored by Kowalzig 2007, 118-23. Cf. Delcourt 1955; Defradas 1972 (amongst others).

¹¹⁶ Boio *ap.* Paus. 10.5.7-8. Cf. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 393-96 where Cretans from Knossos are installed as founders. However, Herodotus maintains instead that Olēn hailed from Lycia and composed "all the other traditional hymns which are sung on Delos", whilst the practice of singing praises to Opis and Arge had spread "to the rest of the Aegean islands and to Ionia" (IV 35). See Fontenrose 1978, 215-16. Cf. Kurke 2003 on the contested nature of Delphic authority.

¹¹⁷ He also extrapolated that they were matched by a people beyond the south wind: Hypertotians (Hdt. IV 36). See Campbell 2006, 89.

¹¹⁸ Mentioned by Pindar as having visited Greece in the time of Croesus (fr. 283). See Lasova 1996, 49-51; Bolton 1962, 158.

2.3 Arimaspians

The Arimaspians are another category of foreign people that were apparently 'good to think with'. Knowledge regarding this one-eyed race can be traced back to an eponymous account attributed to one Aristeas of Proconnesus – a shadowy figure about whom we have very little secure information.¹¹⁹ The *Arimaspea* itself is highly fragmentary but was purportedly a poetic account in which the author claimed to have visited the Issedones whilst in a trance-like state, acquiring in the process knowledge of the lands and peoples that lay beyond their borders as far as Ocean. The region is portrayed by Aristeas as one locked in turmoil. Everyone bar those inhabiting its farthest reaches (the Hyperboreans) is engaged in conflict with their neighbours – a species of gold-guarding griffin in the case of the Arimaspians.¹²⁰ The various (human) conflicts described are explicitly linked to the progressive westward migrations of the various nomadic populations: the Arimaspians displaced the Issedones who in turn expelled the Scythians who then impinged on the Cimmerians (IV 11-13).¹²¹ Details concerning the Arimaspians are also said by Herodotus to have come via the Scythians but are dismissed as being derivative in nature: Aristeas, acting as a mouthpiece for his Issedonian interlocutors, is the only reliable source of information.¹²²

The fragmentary state of the *Arimaspea* means that questions surrounding its likely origin/inspiration have provoked considerable debate. Imaginative reconstructions postulate various nomadic groups but it is the physical abnormality that invariably attracts the most comment/attention.¹²³ Although indicative of the perceived antiquity of the tradition, Strabo's theory that the Arimaspians provided a template for Homer's one-eyed Cyclopes seems highly implausible (I.12).¹²⁴ This is something about which we know very little, however, and more thought should perhaps be given to factors governing the way in which

¹¹⁹ Birch 1950; Bolton 1962; Burkert 1963.

¹²⁰ Schol. On *P. V.* 830 claims "Hesiod was the first to portray the monstrous griffins." See Bolton 1962, 73.

¹²¹ The Cimmerian invasion of Asia described by Herodotus which occurred as a result is thus explained: these peoples are purported to have attacked Lydia during the rule of Ardys, son of Gyges, capturing all of Sardis bar the acropolis (I. 15), settling in the area of Sinope (I. 12), with raiding parties reaching as far as Ionia (I. 6). See Dowden 1980; Braund 1999.

¹²² This assertion is challenged in a recent article by S. West who points out that Herodotus was in all likelihood imposing his own interests and ideals upon the author whose original composition may have had a more theological focus (West 2004). Aristeas' influence is variously traced in the works of Hecataeus (*FGrH* I F 193), Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F187), and Damastes (*FGrH* 5 F 1) – not to mention the more obvious case of Herodotus' testimonia (IV 14) and the ensuing description of the Issedonians (attributed by Bolton to Aristeas).

¹²³ Herodotus claimed that their name derived from the Scythian for 'one' and 'eye' (4. 27). For discussion see: Bolton 1962; Braund 1999; West 2004.

¹²⁴ The template is attested to in Hes. *Theog.* 144-5 but Hesiod also refers to the three sons of Gaia and Uranus as *Κύκλωπες* (139-46). For discussion of the relationship between the two see Heubeck 1989, 20-1.

ethnographies were variously 'received' in antiquity.¹²⁵ Prior knowledge of a whole raft of popular and literary traditions, ideas and imagery must have lent itself to any number of variant readings that we are now ill-equipped to recover.

There is little consensus as to how to categorize the fragmentary remnants of the *Arimaspea*, it being argued that the language it employs amounts to a considerable advance in stylistic terms upon conventional Homeric terminology. Described as vivid, quirky and unconventional by Bowra (Bowra 1956) it demonstrates a certain playfulness in subverting whatever lingering preconceptions an audience might have cherished regarding either the manner or appearance of the one-eyed Arimaspeans. Instead of being portrayed as brutish savages, these powerful (στιβαρώτατοι), shaggy-haired (λάσιοι), one-eyed monstrosities appear as wealthy equestrians, indistinguishable from the Greek nobility: ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται (*Il.* 9. 154; 296) and are charming (χαρίεν), moreover, in appearance (cf. *Il.* 16. 798; Bowra 1956, 9). As such, they are more reminiscent of Homer's Pylian Lords: ἀφνειοὺς ἵπποισι, πολύρρηνας, πολυβούτας (*Fr.* 5.3).

This playful inversion of the Homeric Cyclopes suggests a time of composition after – albeit not necessarily long after – the epics achieved widespread circulation; however, subsequent analysis by Ivantchik has focused on parallels with Ionian science and thus a date somewhere between the mid 6th- early 5th centuries BC.¹²⁶ This is not the time or the place to pursue these arguments since either date puts the *Arimaspea* well within our allotted timeframe. Instead, we should focus on both the manner and the means in which the Arimaspians were selectively 'imagined'. Can the *Arimaspea* shed any light upon the way in which the lands north of the Black Sea were regarded at the time of its composition, whether early on in the 7th century BC or, as Ivantchik would have it, amidst the intellectual ferment of Ionia?¹²⁷ The apparent playfulness of the poem may or may not have been apparent to contemporaries, it being equally possible that this is instead an example of foreign/alien paradigms being consciously reworked or formulated – part of a wider attempt to chart the boundaries of human existence. Modern discussion of such 'imagining' have highlighted the extent to which the latter also functions as an act of *appropriation*, provoking similar

¹²⁵ The influence that Herodotus exerted over the 4th century ethnographers following in the wake of Alexander has been noted in a classic article by Murray, whilst Greenblatt has highlighted the markedly Herodotean flavour of accounts written by Columbus describing the Americas to the Spanish court (Murray 1972; Greenblatt 1991).

¹²⁶ Opinions differ as to whether these amount to fictional creations that consciously reference Homeric Cyclopes – however obliquely – or genuine products of Central Asia folklore. Such questions are thankfully beyond the remit of the present study. But see: Alföldi 1933; Bowra 1956; Bolton 1962; Phillips 1955 – a mixture of both.

¹²⁷ Ivantchik 1993. Hennig 1935 links Herodotus' account to trade with the inhabitants of what is now modern Siberia.

questions concerning Aristeas' account; describing semi-mythical beings in far off lands was evidently a popular activity.

There are also suggestions, however, that the author of the *Arimaspea* was employing his subjects to think about culture in a very different way. In order to explore the latter further we need to turn to what is the longest extant fragment of Aristeas' work: a fragment of Longinus' *On the Sublime* (10.4) discussed by Bowra in an influential article of 1952:

θαῦμ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα φρεσὶν ἡμετέρησιν.
ἄνδρες ὕδωρ ναίουσιν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι·
δύστηνοὶ τινές εἰσιν, ἔχουσι γὰρ ἔργα πονηρά·
ὄματτ' ἐν ἄστροισι, ψυχὴν δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ ἔχουσιν.
ἢ που πολλὰ θεοῖσι φίλας ἀνά χειράς ἔχοντες
εὐχονται σπλάγχνοισι κακῶς ἀναβαλλομένοισι. (fr. 7)¹²⁸

Bowra's analysis followed the earlier suggestions of Rhys Roberts by interpreting the fragment as a poetic conceit in which a description of the – Greek – practice of seafaring and navigation was placed in the mouths of a landlocked race utterly unacquainted with the sea. Bowra developed this argument considerably to reveal the paradoxical and horrific nature of this maritime existence as perceived by these unknown agents: Aristeas' men live wretchedly in the sea with their eyes fixed upon the stars. The attitude of prayer – hands raised to the gods – is accompanied by an oblique reference to what may reasonably be interpreted as a state of incontinence with some form of sea-sickness being implied (Bowra 1956, 7-8). The manner in which this fragment may reflect upon the *Arimaspea* as a whole is of course entirely open to speculation given our manifest ignorance as to its broader content. The suggestion that it is intended to function as a corollary to the colourful tales of the Issedones concerning their neighbours is not without merit (although one has the feeling that we are clutching at straws here!). If this *is* the case then juxtaposing what are portrayed as the strange and bizarre practices of the Greeks with the exploits of those constantly battling with griffins is somewhat reminiscent of the attitudes of cultural reflexivity variously hinted at in Presocratic philosophy, Pindar and Herodotus – all of them variously thinking about culture from the point of view of an outsider.¹²⁹

Recently described as a form of “ethnological satire”, the latter has been set in the context of broader theories of social evolution – albeit with mixed results. James Romm has maintained that “...[t]he virtuous life of primitives is here contrasted with that of the so-called advanced

¹²⁸ The authorship of the passage was a matter of some uncertainty for both Longinus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; the latter associated it instead with Cadmus of Miletus in *de Thuc.* 23. Bolton is likewise overtly skeptical as to the credibility of this fragment.

¹²⁹ Bowra 1956, 8 no.1 following the suggestion of Prof. A. Andrewes.

peoples who greedily chase profit on the seas...”, linking the latter to the wider *topos* of seafaring, “...long associated in Greek literature with trade and commerce, social evolution, and consequent moral decline...” (Romm 1992, 74).¹³⁰ Quips associated with the Scythian sage Anacharsis provide a similar parallel for an (at best) ambivalent commentary on seafaring, delivered from the perspective of an outsider. Whilst such criticism is interpreted by Romm as referring to ‘Hellenic’ cultural achievements in particular,¹³¹ it is also possible to see this in terms of a more general problematising of the type lately attributed to Homeric epic (i.e. ostensibly pre-Hellenic). Given the uncertainty surrounding the date of composition it is hard to draw any firm conclusions from this, although it is worth highlighting that reflexive parodying of this kind also occurs in Herodotus.¹³² We should nevertheless exercise a degree of caution when it comes to interpreting such comments in terms of an innate cultural reflexivity characteristic of the Ionian enlightenment. The play of ideas thus revealed is exceptional only insofar as it is retrievable and is unlikely to represent anything more than the tip of the iceberg given the sheer volume of ‘ethnographies’ in circulation at any one time.

¹³⁰ Compared with *Od.* XI 121-37. For discussion of the literary and cultural view of sailing, see Dougherty 2001, ch. 3.

¹³¹ “[I]t is the pursuits that stand out as the highest achievements of Hellenic culture – seafaring, athletic contest, symposia, and the use of the marketplace as a center of trade which come under strongest attack...” (Romm 1992, 76).

¹³² Cases in which Greek customs are viewed from a Persian perspective are particularly notable in this respect: ‘lying’ in the marketplace (*Hdt.* I 153), fighting techniques (VII 9), the rule of law (VII 101-4) and athletic competition for non-pecuniary gain (VIII 26) are all singled out for comment/critique.

2.4 Scythians

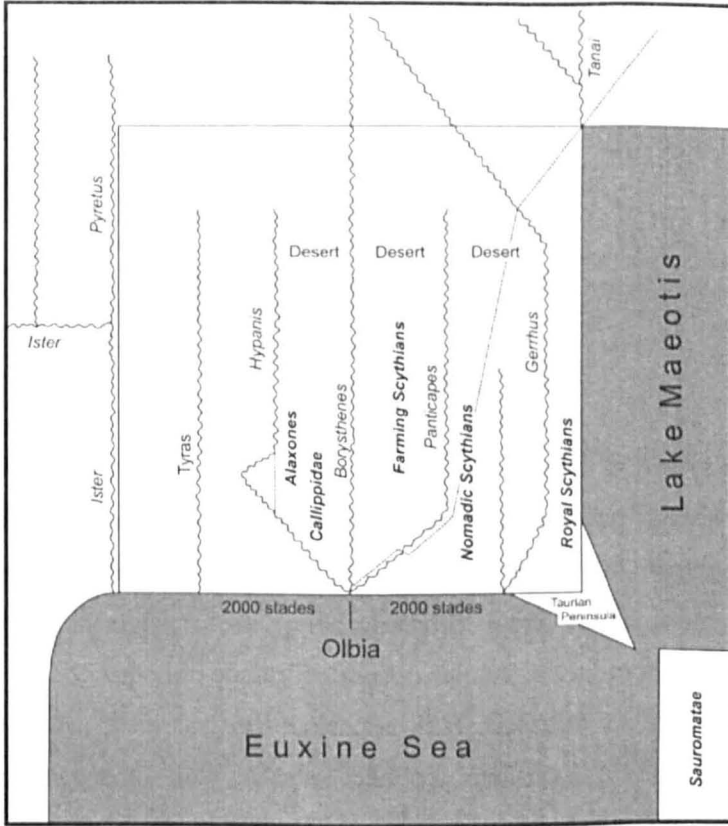


Figure 3. Scythia: A diagrammatic map based on Hdt. IV 99ff.

‘Scythians’ are yet another category of foreign people of whom a certain degree of knowledge and interest appears to have been widespread long before the Persian arrived on the scene. Reference to both lordly Mare-milking milk-drinkers (ἵππημολγῶν γλακτο - φάγων) and the Abii, ‘the most righteous of men’, in the opening lines of book thirteen of the *Iliad* are widely accepted to reflect knowledge of nomadic populations north of the Black Sea (*Il.* XIII 5-6). Knowledge of ‘Scythians’ proper becomes apparent in the Hesiodic fragments, where an eponymous Scythes is credited with devising a technique to produce bronze (Fr. 217b), whilst Phineus reportedly pursued to “the land of the Milk-Eaters who use wagons as houses” (Fr. 97), subsequently identified as ‘Scythian’ (Fr. 98). From these rather hazy beginnings (we have already heard how Hyperboreans were also cast as horse-riding), ‘Scythians’ went on to acquire the status of the archetypal steppe-nomad whose defining characteristics included horsemanship, drinking mares’ milk and houses mounted on wagons. The manner in which they were perceived in antiquity remains a matter of some debate. Attempts to link ‘mare-milking’ with pacifism and vegetarianism are hard to rationalise (cf. Romm 1992 45, no.1) as this might more plausibly be interpreted as a salient characteristic considered sufficiently bizarre to merit an epithet of sorts, an indication, in

short, that mare-milkers were the subject of 'ethnographic interest'.¹³³ Like Polyphemus, another milk-drinker not noted for his vegetarianism, the Scythians of the popular imagination were associated with the immoderate drinking of un-mixed wine, as demonstrated by the numerous references to 'drinking in Scythian fashion' that can be found in lyric poetry. So, for example, drinking 'Scythian style' was a rowdy and uncouth affair by Anacreon:

ἄγε δηῦτε μηκέτ' οὔτω
πατάγωι τε κάλαλητῶι
Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνωι
μελετώμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις.
(Anacreon 356b, West)¹³⁴

Evidence for knowledge and/or interest in Scythia being prevalent in Sparta during the 7th-6th centuries BC can perhaps be adduced from passing reference to 'a Colaxaeon horse' in Alcman's fragmentary *Partheneion* (59). Opinion is divided as to whether this should be interpreted as either an allusion to a specific breed of horse, famed for its speed and thus recognized as being of superior quality to those available either in Greece or amongst the Veneti/Lydians/Ionians,¹³⁵ or as an indication that Colaxais (a figure from Scythian mythology) was known to both Alcman and his audiences (Zaikov 2004). A shared familiarity with Scythian material does not seem improbable in the light of additional references to tribes such as the Issedones,¹³⁶ however, the suggestion recently tabled by Zaikov that we can extrapolate, on this basis alone, an association with funerary ritual and hero cult is perhaps overly optimistic.¹³⁷ However, the important point is that the reference to Colaxaeon horses must have been comprehensible, making Zaikov's assertion that the latter was "immeasurably distant" from "such storehouses of mythological lore as...the *Odes* of Pindar" puzzling in the extreme (Zaikov 2004, 81).

¹³³ Milk-drinking has dubious connotations as either a symptom of pastoral primitivism or the outright savagery exhibited by Polyphemus. Cf. Pseudo-Scymnus 825-55, Lovejoy and Boas 1935, 324. Parodied by Aristophanes (Athen. *Deipn.* 226d) – this spares them harsh wet nurses. The manifest inconsistencies surrounding sensationalist ethnographies of Scythians were criticised by Ephorus (Strabo 7.3.9.= *FGrH* Ephorus fr. 42). Equally contentious is Romm's later assertion that *Il.* XIII 5-6 sees the Abii as blessed in the eyes of the gods as a result of their being "undemanding drinkers of milk rather than sumptuous feasters" (Romm 1992, 53): these are adjectives and not causal attributes. For constructions of pastoral nomadism/the Scythian 'mirage', see Lévy 1981; Shaw 1982.

¹³⁴ Immoderate drinking is thought characteristic of both Lydians (Critias Fr. 6) and Scythians (Anacreon Fr. 356b). "What care I...for the bent-bowed Cimmerians, or the Scythians?" (Anacreon el. 3, P. Oxy. 3722 fr. 17 ii 7). Cf. Hdt. VI 84. Archaeological evidence for a flourishing wine trade with the hinterland can be found at sites such as Cetățenii din Vali in the lower Danube basin, where the switch from amphorae to wineskins was made prior to transportation inland (Taylor 1994, 400).

¹³⁵ Zaikov 2004, 77-80; Devereux 1965, 176; West 1965, 196; Puelma 1977, 29, 32; Schol. P. Oxy. 2389 fr. 6 i.

¹³⁶ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Issedones* = Alcman fr. 156.

¹³⁷ Zaikov's argument must be considered unsatisfactory on a number of counts: first, the chronological framework upon which it is predicated is firmly rooted in the culture-history approach, secondly, much of the evidence is circumstantial/based upon comparative material.

Whilst a great deal of attention has been paid to the social function and ideological status of ideas and imagery relating to Scythians in contexts ranging from the iconography of the symposium to the writings of Herodotus and Hippocrates, numerous questions remain regarding the precise means by which constructions of ‘Scythianness’ came into being. How did those living in antiquity know what they thought they knew about Scythians and Scythian attire – and why was it important? How were such details transmitted and what did they signify? We are now well accustomed to analyses in which Scythians are discussed in terms of what they can tell us about ethnocentric attitudes in antiquity (cf. Romm 1992 46ff.) but the full implications of Scythians being ‘out and about’ – not merely the butt of jokes in the plays of Aristophanes, or paradigms of alterity in the context of the symposium but a mobile, fluid agglomeration of ideas and imagery that formed part of the everyday – have yet to be explored in any depth.¹³⁸ Pindar, certainly, expected his audience to be conversant with not only the domestic arrangements of Scythian nomads but also the manner in which these governed an individual’s social status: an effective inversion of contemporary social norms.

...νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀλᾶται στρατῶν,
ὅς ἀμαξοφόρητον οἶκον οὐ πέπαται,
ἀκλεῆς <δ’> ἔβα....

...for among the nomadic Skythians the man is excluded
from the folk
who does not possess a house borne on a wagon,
and he goes without glory... (Fr. 105ab)

How should this “odd titbit” be evaluated? Bowra attributes it to the sort of travellers’ tales one might encounter at Aegina, Corinth or the Sicilian poleis – a ready source of exotica with which to fire the poetic imagination. Whilst knowledge of Hesiod might be enough to explain the reference to horses drawn on wagons, Aristeas’ *Arimaspea* has also been mooted as a possible source on Scythian customs. The latter may or may not be the case and is essentially unverifiable but Bowra’s comment that “Pindar’s lively curiosity...also works in the common world, where it finds sustenance largely in legends but also in the talk of his own society”¹³⁹ should surely give us food for thought, as it is only via fragments such as these that we gain any insight into the sheer range of subjects this ‘talk’ might have included. The level of detail on offer certainly suggests that Pindar was well informed: other authors

¹³⁸ A case in point would be passing quips such as “you will end up among the Scythians”, interpreted as a possible euphemism for being scalped. Whether this is merely a reflection of the geographical remoteness of Scythia having attained a proverbial quality or that some of the more colourful habits outlined in Herodotus book IV are sufficiently well known to be alluded to is impossible to say.

¹³⁹ Bowra 1964, 370. For an attempt to reconstruct an intellectual and social milieu common to both Pindar and Thucydides, see Hornblower 2004.

The earliest iconographic depiction of figures generally referred to as 'Scythian' occurs on the François Vase, a volute *crater* dated to c.570 BC.¹⁴⁴ Thereafter, they appear with increasing regularity in first Black and then Red-figure vase painting, provoking widespread speculation as to their ethnic identity and social status. When defined in pictorial terms, 'Scythianness' is generally understood to be signalled by one or more of the following: a distinctive pointed cap, long sleeved jerkin and trousers, a compound bow and accompanying bow case-quiver (*gorytus*), a celebrated example being a plate signed by Epiketos dating to c. century BC.¹⁴⁵ The extent to which such attributes were exclusive to ethnic Scythians or representative of a more generic nomadic lifestyle has long exercised scholars, particularly since Amazon and latterly Persian warriors are represented in all but identical guise (with the result that unpicking this nexus of images and associations is a necessarily complex task).

Although wider discussion of the extent to which art and iconography provided a vehicle for a variety of ethnographic imaginings will be reserved for chapter three, the exceptional prominence afforded to Scythians in modern discussions relating to the representation of foreigners makes it appropriate to cover such matters in some detail. Pioneering studies undertaken by Vos, Raeck and Lissarrague have provided the initial bases for discussion by cataloguing instances in which barbarians feature in Attic vase painting, rendering a large corpus of (otherwise widely dispersed) material accessible in the process. Vos interpreted Scythian archers as historical evidence for contact between Greeks and non-Greeks; the images in question were not only thought to represent 'genuine' barbarians but were also linked to a corps of archers purported to have been stationed in Athens during the 6th century BC. Linked to a more general flowering of ethnographic interest, later reflected in the work of Herodotus, their detailed rendering of equipment, costume and physiognomy could therefore be used to reconstruct the customs and armaments of populations native to Scythia.¹⁴⁶ Such ideas have not gone unchallenged, however. Whilst Welwei and later authors argued that they alluded instead to the mythical followers of Achilles and were therefore merely symbolic in nature (Welwei 1974, 9-32; Pinney 1983; 1984), Lissarrague's *L'autre guerrier* focussed on the manner in which archers, peltasts and cavalymen were variously depicted as an element of Athenian self-fashioning.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209, *ABV* 76.1.

¹⁴⁵ London, BM E135, Vulci, *ARV* 78.93.

¹⁴⁶ Vos 1963, no. 7 6-39. The argument was subsequently taken up by Raeck as part of a wider initiative to document iconographic representations of barbarians during the 6th-5th centuries BC, encompassing Thracians, Scythians and Persians (Raeck 1981). See also Frolov 1998; Ivanchik 2005.

¹⁴⁷ Lissarrague 1990a cf. *ibid* 2002.

mention the wagons of the Scyths but Pindar is the only one to mention the social exclusion of anyone *not* possessing a wagon.¹⁴⁰ West's conclusion that "For Pindar's Sicilian audience the essentials of the steppe lifestyle were evidently a commonplace" begs the immediate question of at what point and precisely how this came about?¹⁴¹ Did such individuals rely primarily upon a combination of idle tittle-tattle and the poets for their information, or were they also avid consumers of works variously labelled as *Scythica* with which a number of fragmentary Greek authors are accredited?

Considerable attention has also been paid to the more general role that Scythians played in the Greek cosmos. The latter is important inasmuch as it lends weight to the argument that imagined Scythians were a feature of what might loosely be termed the popular imaginaire. However, studies of this kind often project an overly static or essentialized notion of 'Scythianness', largely at odds with the way in which such ideas were utilized and/or received.¹⁴² To be sure Scythians might at times evoke ideas of primitivism and outright savagery, justice and naïve simplicity, but the tendency to focus solely upon ancient utopianism without addressing questions of broader social context is potentially misleading. From our point of view it is not enough merely to describe how an ethnocentric view of the cosmos placed nomad Scythians on the outer fringes of a series of concentric circles of historical and social evolution that had the Mediterranean world as its centre. Instead, one must also attempt to reconstruct how such concepts were actively used/exploited on a day-to-day basis. Recent work by Lissarrague on the Greek symposium, along with points emphasised by Margaret Miller and Ivanchik,¹⁴³ would all seem to indicate that ethnographies of Scythia – here interpreted as any reference to the nexus of ideas and imagery connected with 'Scythians' – were an important conceptual tool, long before the invention of the 5th century barbarian.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 709-10; Hippoc. *Aer.* 18. Even more intriguing is the somewhat macabre passage quoted by Zenobios as the basis for a proverb. The use of *skolios*-crooked is surely value-laden: "...In truth, some men pretend in their speech to hate the dead horse lying in the open, but secretly with crooked jaws strip the skin from hooves and head..." (Fr. 203) (cf. Ogden 1997). Knowledge of the actual behaviour of the Scythians is an essential precursor to understanding this reference, namely "...the high regard in which the Scythians held horses..." and their declared aversion towards their meat (Bowra 1964, 371). We have to rely on the ancient authors for the fact that this anecdote relates to Scythians at all as they are not mentioned specifically in the surviving fragment.

¹⁴¹ West 2002, 446.

¹⁴² E.g. Campbell 2006, 93-105. Efforts on behalf of later individuals such as Ephorus to both rationalise and revise the wide variety of traditions regarding of Scythian barbarity surely demonstrates just how flexible or varied such constructions might be.

¹⁴³ None of whom, it should be stressed, would necessarily agree with this conclusion.

Like many of those working under the auspices of the Centre Louis Gernet, Lissarrague's approach is grounded in the contextual analysis of ancient Greek culture and society, following in a tradition initiated in 1960s by scholars such as Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal Naquet. As such it borrows heavily from anthropology in stressing polar relationships by which the marginal and liminal status of the Scythian archer was variously defined – often appearing in an ancillary role or as passive spectator in departure or extispicy scenes.¹⁴⁸ The overall prominence of 'Scythians' or Scythianized figures within the iconographic record was thought to reflect both their wider popularity and symbolic importance within the citizen imaginaire making them ideal subjects for semiotic analysis. When viewed in opposition to the paradigmatic representation of civic identity and the Greek city-state that was the hoplite hero, the alterity of the Scythian archer was deemed entirely self-evident with the result that alternative 'readings'/attributes were effectively excluded. This view has only recently been challenged, encouraging us to look beyond the (somewhat atypical) confines of Athenian democratic society and consider afresh how such discourses functioned in such far-flung locations as Sicily, Cyrene, Olbia and Emporias.¹⁴⁹

The bases for many of these positivistic identifications relating to Scythians – in whatever guise – have since been questioned (Ivanchik 2005; Miller 1991; 1997). Alternative readings have stressed either that archer accoutrements served merely to denote status when heroic figures were depicted alongside members of their entourage, reflecting a complete disinterest in ethnography/realism (Ivanchik 2005, 121), or that they reflect an element of elite self-fashioning, emulating the perceived wealth and opulence of an Oriental court (Miller 1997; 1991).¹⁵⁰ Both views require further discussion and/or qualification. In the case of Miller's analysis, the tendency to subsume various categories of foreigner into the catch-all 'Oriental' is both potentially unhelpful and notable for the extent to which it assumes a uniformly 'occidental' outlook on behalf of its audience.¹⁵¹ Whilst challenges to the blanket assumption that 'Scythian' attire should necessarily equate to Scythian ethnicity are not

¹⁴⁸ E.g. (in an ancillary role) on a belly amphora (Type A) by the Dikaios Painter: Hoplite flanked by archer, dog and old man (London, British Museum E.255, from Vulchi, *ARV* 31.2) or of a departure scene with extispicy on belly amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 507, from Vulchi, *ARV* 181.1).

¹⁴⁹ Vlassopoulos 2007.

¹⁵⁰ "In view of the evidence that some Athenians affected luxurious Oriental tereotrics in their symposia, we should reconsider the *kidaris*-wearing symposiasts" (Miller 1991, 70-1). A particularly enigmatic example of the latter can be found on a cup by the Pithos Painter – a highly abstract depiction of a youth at a symposium, c.500 BC (Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 13386, Camirus, *ARV* 3.139.23). See Lissarrague 2002, 112 fig. 6.

¹⁵¹ Miller's (somewhat reductive) analysis of the iconography of sympotic wares makes the leap from *kidaris* to Achaemenid court explicit from the outset with potentially Scythian and Achaemenid attributes being effectively subsumed under the wider umbrella of 'Oriental': *Kidaris* is "...adopted here because to the modern reader it connotes 'Oriental hat' without any further geographic or ethnic restriction" that the more commonly employed 'Scythian cap' might imply (Miller 1991, no. 2, 72).

unwelcome, doing so via recourse to the monolithic construct of the ‘Oriental’ merely raises further problems of interpretation.

There is in fact little difference between Miller’s reading of the iconographic evidence and the ‘other’ scholarship that she sets out to critique. Emulation of the sort postulated by Miller may equally be interpreted as an act of appropriation – thus allowing for a more pejorative undertone to the frivolous tastes of Athenian dandies.¹⁵² The decision to focus solely upon depictions of Scythian attire in a sympotic context is similarly problematic. The same can also be said of Ivanchik’s study devoted to archer imagery alone: skewing the analysis in favour of associating archer-status with subsidiary roles of only secondary importance in comparison to heroic hoplite figures. Ivanchik’s study takes an uncompromising look at the question of Scythian ethnicity – namely whether the latter can be inferred from the imagery employed by those producing Attic vases. The argument that archer attributes are indicative of archer status and nothing more fails notably to address the question of how such an archetype came to be established in the first place. The distinctive details of dress and equipment must have originated from somewhere and whilst it is perfectly reasonable to assert that ‘these are not ethnic Scythians’, their identity on the vases themselves is to some extent a secondary consideration – at least from the point of view of the present study. In discussing the manner in which Scythian costume and archer status appear to correlate, Ivanchik comments:

This fact alone raises doubts regarding the suggestion that costume of a ‘Scythian’ type indicates the ethnic origin of a figure: otherwise, we should have to assume that Attic painters were literally obsessed by Scythian themes and ready to depict Scythians in any scene in which archers were deemed to have been participating.¹⁵³

The extent to which Attic vase painters were ‘obsessed’ by Scythian themes can certainly be overstated and we should undoubtedly be wary of our ability both to assemble and analyse materials that were previously widely dispersed in terms of both geographical prominence and chronology. They are, nonetheless, a recurrent feature in a variety of designs and images in what Ivanchik himself acknowledges to be “an imaginative pastiche of motifs” that shows little regard for reality (*ibid*).

Considered in their broadest context, images of archers or those in Scythian attire clearly function on any number of levels – some of which at least relate to ethnic stereotypes linked

¹⁵² For a case in point: the Scythianised youths depicted in a deer hunt on a cup by the Bonn Painter (Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 438, Vulci, *ARV* 351.8).

¹⁵³ Ivanchik 2005, 101, 113.

with Scythians (real or imagined). Although having the benefit of offering an effective rebuff to (seemingly interminable) discussions as to whether archers represented on Attic vases are to be considered of Scythian, Persian or Amazon ethnicity, the reductionary theses pedalled by Miller and Ivanchik are also inherently detrimental in that they seek variously to elide the attributes and associations which enabled sculptors and vase painters to depict, for example, an Amazonomachy as an effective substitute for Greeks battling Persians.¹⁵⁴ Since the fact that Persian, Amazon and Scythian could on one level be synonymous can be demonstrated beyond all reasonable doubt, imposing one particular schema upon such imagery would seem both ill-advised and unhelpful. Such analyses invariably fail to account for the knowledge concerning the actual origin of the Scythian costume – whether employed as a symbol for insobriety and intoxication, military *lachesse* or marginal status. Questions of wider socio-historical context are ultimately crucial for determining how individual images were read and interpreted.

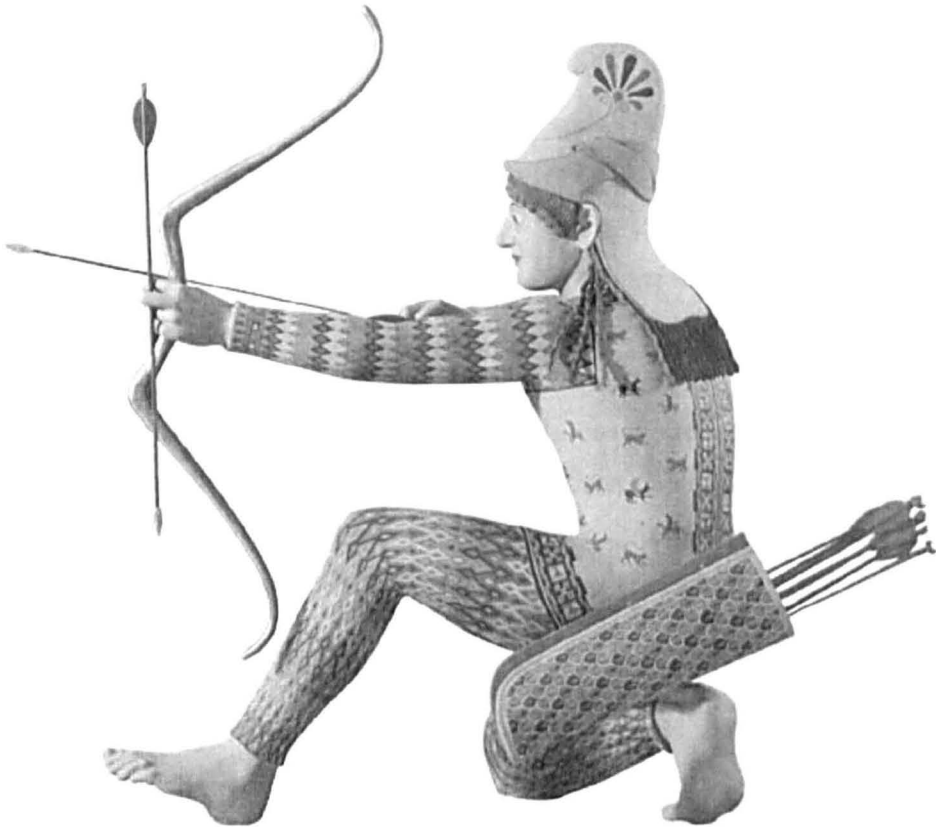


Figure 4. Sculpture of a kneeling archer, thought to represent Paris, Temple of Aphaia, west pediment, c.490-480 BC.

¹⁵⁴ Examples include the scene adorning a cup by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy (Vulci, *ARV* 417.4), the celebrated cup by the Triptolemos Painter (Edinburgh Royal Scottish Museum 1887.213, Italy, *ARV* 364.46) or the Nolan Amphora by the Oinokles Painter, (Berlin, Staatliche Museum 2331, *ARV* 646.7).

From Scythians viewed and critiqued in the (private) context of the symposium, we now move to the public and monumental: ethnography, one might say, in the round. A figure of a kneeling archer, thought to depict Paris, recently formed part of an exhibition of painted sculpture following the Munich's Stiflung Archäologie und der Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek's decision to subject a portion of their collection to ultraviolet analysis (fig. 4).¹⁵⁵ Although horrifying to anyone habituated to viewing Classical sculpture as white, polished marble, it offers compelling evidence that ethnographic interest relating to Scythian-archer types extended far beyond the minutiae of detail adorning sympotic wares. The fact that it originated in Aegina is also notable. The sculpture forms part of a group adorning the west pediment of the temple in which Aeginetan heroes linked with the second Trojan War were celebrated (the east pediment commemorates the first Trojan war and depicts a similarly posed Herakles in archer guise – although the armour etc are resoundingly 'Greek'). The various ideological implications of a 'Scythianised' Paris have been discussed elsewhere,¹⁵⁶ but the attention to ethnographic detail (real or imagined) has not hitherto been commented upon at any length as the detailed patterning of the trousers and tunic remained undetected. How did those visiting the sanctuary receive such images, however? To what extent were they equipped to decode such imagery and where did they obtain such information? Was the design alien and/or unfamiliar or was it merely a commonplace and entirely to be expected? How would it have chimed with images depicted on imported Attic pottery, or were such details gleaned instead from some merchant or trader? We have few answers, only questions, but the questions themselves open up new ways of thinking about the way in which images and ideas were read and interpreted. While their knowledge of foreign peoples might have been scanty at best, hazy or incorrect, it might equally be argued that at least someone must have been able to view a "floppy Oriental hat" and decode the various ethnic/geographic associations with which it was imbued. Otherwise, why else would such motifs have been employed with such consistency?

2.5 Amazons

Another category of foreign people often (but by no means exclusively) depicted as archers were the Amazons. As a paradigmatic inversion of social norms, a society in which women lived independently scorning the company of men, their origins are hazy at best but they appear to have been a feature of the popular imagination by c.700 BC onwards. Doughty allies of the Trojans (*Jl.* III 189-90, VI 186), they also feature in legendary combats with

¹⁵⁵ Brinkmann et al. 2007.

¹⁵⁶ Hall 1989; Burnett 2005, 35.

Bellerophon, Herakles and Theseus, whilst Achilles' love for the Amazon queen Penthesileia was apparently well known.¹⁵⁷ References to them in Homer are therefore coupled with numerous iconographic depictions – most notably in vase painting – along with fragments of lyric poetry, early drama and prose authors such as Pherekydes and, latterly, Herodotus.¹⁵⁸

Their purported location may originally have been Thrace as indicated by what is perhaps the earliest depiction of a duel between Achilles and the Amazon queen on an inscribed terracotta relief (now on display in New York).¹⁵⁹ Rather than being named Penthesileia, the vanquished female warrior to the left of Achilles is identified as 'Ainia', the town in Thrace from which Penthesileia originated. The manner in which the Amazon homeland appears to shift progressively eastwards is widely seen as an indication of the Greeks' expanding horizons.¹⁶⁰ The source of their original inspiration is a topic that has received much discussion.

The role these doughty warriors played vis-à-vis mainstream society as a basis for self-fashioning has received considerable attention to date.¹⁶¹ They are referred to in verse and song by such stock epithets as 'fearless in fight' or 'the equal of men' (Αμαζόνας ἀντιανείρας) – the latter being arguably their overarching and most transgressive quality.¹⁶² Whether the Amazon template is in some way a reflection of the ways and customs of a tribe of steppe nomads in which women fought alongside men that subsequently formed the basis for an entirely mythical society from which men were excluded altogether is open to question.¹⁶³ Analysis of some of the iconographic evidence has suggested receptions of a different kind, however, as it has long been noted that some of the earliest depictions of Amazons include details reminiscent of Assyrian dress. A case in point would be a series of shield bands from Olympia that depict combats between armed warriors, one of whom was subsequently labelled ...NTHESILA, dated to c.575-50 BC.

¹⁵⁷ The latter makes an appearance appearing in both a scholion to *Iliad* XXIV 804 (Hesiodos, Loeb ed. 509) and Proklos, Chrest. Hesiodos, Loeb ed. 507. Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 69; Hardwick 1990.

¹⁵⁸ *Il.* III 188-9, VI 186; Pherekydes *FGrH* 1 64; Pindar *Ol.* 8. 46-7; *Nem.* 3. 38; Aesch. *Supp.* 287-9; Hdt. IX 27.

¹⁵⁹ *Met.* Mus. 42.11.33. Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 69.

¹⁶⁰ Such tales evidently survived down to Pindar's time even though the 'official' Amazon homeland had by then shifted to lands adjoining the Ister (*Ol.* 8. 46-7). Cf. Bellerophon's exploits against the Amazons and Solymoi in Lycia (*Ol.* 13. 89-90; Hdt. I. 173. 2) Hellas and the nearby lands were themselves populated by an intricate patchwork of myths and legends including what are arguably archaic remnants, indicative of their former status as *terra incognita*.

¹⁶¹ On ancient perspectives on the Amazons: Blok 1995; Henderson 1994; Hardwick 1990; Shapiro 1983. On their role as an element of propaganda/self-fashioning: Castriota 2005; Andres 2001; Cohen 2000; Stewart, 1995; Hall 1989; Tyrell 1984; 1980; du Bois 1979; Pembroke 1967.

¹⁶² E.g. *Il.* III 171ff.

¹⁶³ Archaeological and literary evidence combined would certainly appear to suggest some tribal cultures did allocate women a fighting role. Cf. Hdt. IV 110-17 on the Sauromatae.

Although there is little room for dogmatism in such matters, these would appear to form part of a more general trend in which non-Greeks and female monsters were depicted wearing half-length slit chitons similar to those portrayed in Assyrian glyptic art.¹⁶⁴

Opinion is therefore divided as to how some of the earlier depictions should be interpreted. The absence of some of the most familiar encounters between heroes and Amazons from the epic traditions has led some to argue that rather than being linked to any one hero in particular, the mythical Amazons existed as a more general category of foreign-warrior-hero against which any hero might be expected to test his mettle. Discussion has focussed on a votive shield recovered from a *bothros* in the sanctuary of Hera at Tiryns. Susan Langdon's recent study exploring the social function of Geometric figural style has taken the unusual step of extending discussion to incorporate the image adorning the shield's exterior – a centaur, three does, one nursing a fawn, and a young stag – interpreting the whole as an allusion to rituals that marked a youth's coming of age (Langdon 2008, 66-70, 76). That an Amazonomachy should appear in a ritual context is linked in this case to their sexual ambiguity as opposed to any specific knowledge of their customs or society – entirely absent, as Langdon points out, from the Homeric epic.¹⁶⁵

It is important to note that it is only towards the end of the 6th century that Amazons begin to acquire elements of 'Scythian' or rider accoutrements – the trappings of the horse nomad when depicted in iconography, equipped with bow, quiver and the long sleeves/trousers that protect a rider's extremities from the elements. The same is true of the literary references in which references to horses and archery are only apparent in the 5th century material. Prior to this their presence is nonetheless relatively easy to detect as they are invariably depicted clothed, often in patterned tunics, as opposed to heroically nude,¹⁶⁶ whilst any area of exposed flesh is often marked out with a white slip – the conventional manner of signalling femininity in a number of regional styles (of which Attic is the most notable).¹⁶⁷ Aside from this, however, they remain largely identical with their male opponents when it comes to arms and armour – there being little by way of deviation from the standard hoplite panoply.

¹⁶⁴ Olympia Mus. B237 (band XXIVw). Kunze 1950, 149, 212, p. 50. See: Langdon 2008, 68; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 69; Lorimer 1947, 134-5.

¹⁶⁵ "Their ambiguity, which combines male and female natures to create a third, anomalous category, a woman as powerful and active as a man also renders them sacred 'active figures' of mediation..." (Langdon 2008, 76). For the discussion of the ages of Priam/Bellerophon see: Blok 1995, 146-7, 303-9; Goldberg 1998, 92-3.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. An inscribed Corinthian alabastron, c. end of 7th century BC, Samothrace, formerly at Imbros and a Laconian kylix, Rome, Coll. Stefani, by the Arcesilas painter, c.565-60 BC, tondo depicts a naked Herakles confronting holding a sword in with arm extended holding the waist of one of two helmeted figures, both clothed and whose bodies are turned r. as if in flight.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Chalcidian Hydria from Orvieto, Mus. Civ. 192. c. 530 BC.

From around the mid 6th century onwards however, there is a marked change as aspects of (what has variously been interpreted as) Orientalia or Scythian attire are gradually imported with the result that individual warriors will variously sport a kidaris or compound bow/gorytus or, eventually, the full jerkin and trouser-suit characteristic of the Scythian archer.¹⁶⁸ Although such items were often liberally combined with elements of the hoplite panoply, chiton or peplos, the closing decades of the 6th century onwards saw archer attire become the predominant mode of representation – in vase painting at least.¹⁶⁹ The latter can clearly be seen in a 5th century example from the University of Liverpool's Garstang Museum of Archaeology: part of a red-figure cup on which a seated Amazon is visible (see fig. 5).

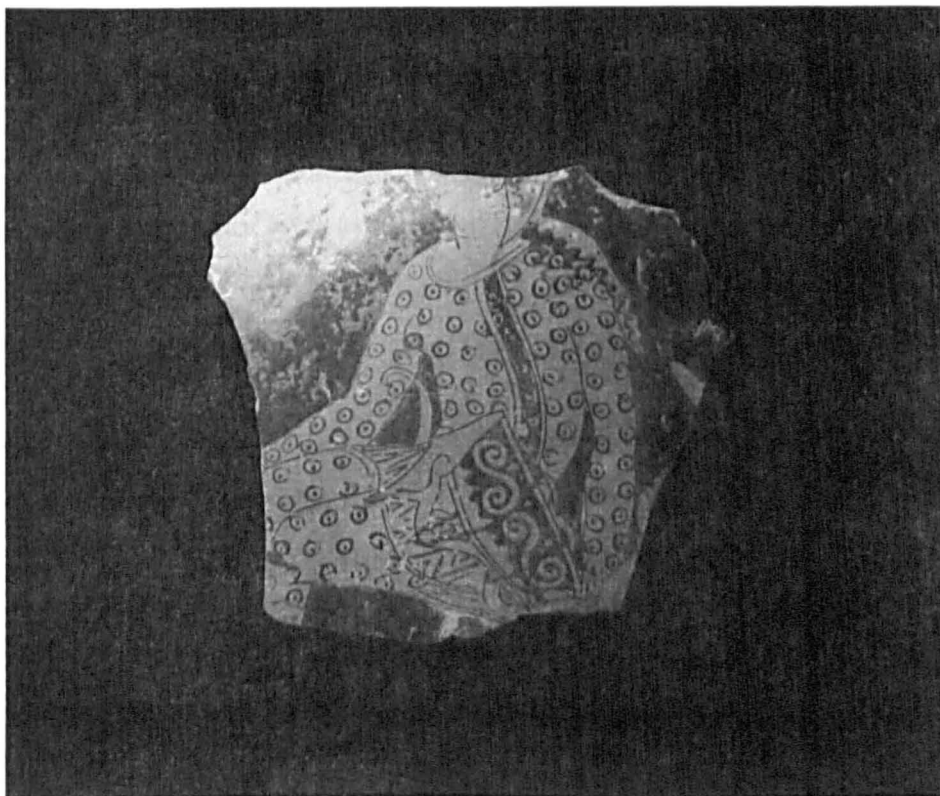


Figure 5. Photo: Seated Amazon. Fragment of an Attic red-figure cup, height 5.75cm, 5th century BC. Liverpool, Garstang Museum C671.

¹⁶⁸ E.g. Attic Red-figure kylix, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 2263, attributed to Olto, *ARV*² 62, 85, c.530 BC. Alternately, a plate by Paseas depicting a mounted archer facing left, bow in left hand, gorytus slung across left hip (Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 310, from Chiusi, *ARV* 163.8.

¹⁶⁹ Exceptions abound, however. Cf. a volute krater by Euphronius depicting Herakles and Amazons in which the latter appear in the guise of both archer and hoplite (Arezzo, Museo Civico 1465, *ARV* 15.6). For Amazons depicted exclusively as hoplites see a spouted cup by the Nikosthenes Painter. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 2324, from Vulchi, *ARV* 126.26.

Whether or not one accepts the argument that these mythical viragos represent folk tales/memories of tribes such as the Sauromatae – reported by Herodotus to allow their wives to fight in battle – this did not find any obvious reflection in the manner in which they were depicted in iconography until the mid/late 6th century BC. The latter would seem to suggest that whatever their origin, imagined Amazons were conflated with what were in all likelihood ethnographic material/observations arising from contacts with populations situated north of the Euxine after an initial dalliance with Near Eastern forms and motifs. Alongside Hyperboreans, Scythians and Arimaspians they were an aspect of the everyday and a means of problematising – in this case – notions of male sovereignty and due propriety. That they were not ‘real’ – insofar as one was unlikely to encounter one in real life – would have been in many senses immaterial. Their overall prominence in contexts ranging from praise poetry, popular myth and the iconography of the symposium is indicative of deep-rooted social concerns – effectively externalised to either the distant mythical past or a territory lurking somewhere that was forever close to or beyond the boundaries of human knowledge. Whatever their origins or inspiration, they indicate that, from an early stage, a wide variety of groups and individuals were telling stories and alternately depicting or ‘reading’ images of Ἀμαζόνας ἀντιανείρας: thinking through various problems and concerns via the medium of culture.

2.6 Thracians

Allusions to Thrace as a land of ‘top-knotted’ horsemen, famed for its metalworking, suggest a lively interest in Thrace and Thracians from at least the time of Homer.¹⁷⁰ Whilst the geographical location of Thrace meant it was initially perceived as a somewhat liminal realm, home to the north wind,¹⁷¹ it gradually acquired a reputation as a land rich in timber, grain, metals fine horses (Hipponax fr. 72) and slaves (Hdt. V 23, VII 122; Thuc. 4. 108), through which the Hebrus river ran (Alcaeus Fr. 45).¹⁷² Aside from their ‘top-knottedness’, an attribute they shared with the Trojans (cf. Hipponax fr. 115), its inhabitants were variously conceived as brutal, warlike and/or illiterate savages who were nonetheless capable of great feats of artistic expression, producing legendary musicians such as Orpheus, Musaeus and Thamyras.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ *Il.* XIII 4, 576; XXIII 808 cf. Hipponax fr. 39. Hall 1989, 41 plays down their significance.

¹⁷¹ Thracian Boreas: *Il.* IX 5, 23. 230; Tyrtaeus Fr. 12.3-6

¹⁷² Cf. “...land of plentiful vines and bountiful fruits” (Pindar, *Paean* 2. Fr. 52b).

¹⁷³ Referred to as *machairophoroi* by Thuc. 2. 96. 2. Thamyras: *Il.* II 594-600 see Tsiafakis 2000, 377 no. 54 for later references. When depicted in Attic vase painting Thracian musicians are occasionally shown playing a musical instrument referred to – amongst other things – as the ‘Thracian cithara’.

Opinions vary, however, both as to how early signs of ethnographic interest in Thrace should be interpreted and the circumstances under which such information was initially obtained. Athenian activity in the region from the mid 6th century onwards is regularly cited as a potential source of knowledge relating to the land its peoples: Miltiades' colonisation of Chersonesus c.540 BC is an obvious case in point, along with Pisistratus' reported involvement in silver mining in/around Pangaeum.¹⁷⁴ The latter is also said to have employed Thracian mercenaries to bolster his power base on returning to Athens, ensuring, in doing so, that large numbers of Athenians enjoyed first-hand encounters with 'Thrace'. Developments such as these have been widely linked to the subsequent epiphany of 'Thracians' in Attic vase painting – often in the context of battle scenes.¹⁷⁵ We do however possess evidence for an active engagement with Thrace at a much earlier date: the result of (ongoing) investigations into circumstances surrounding the foundation of Thasos and the activities of Greek settlers on the adjacent mainland during the early archaic period.

Whereas in the past literary-led approaches to the study of Graeco-Thracian relations have provided the sole basis for conceptualising interactions between tribes local to the region and settlers from islands such as Paros, archaeological studies of Iron Age Thrace have painted a very different picture of a relationship in which trade in prestige items had long had an equal (if not more important) role to play. Instead of a monolithic opposition between Greek and barbarian that was overwhelmingly antagonistic in nature, based largely on the poetry of Archilochus, all the evidence would appear to suggest not only that Thracian elites were already active participants in a pan-Mediterranean *koine* prior to Parian settlement in the mid-seventh century BC but that when Greek-speaking settlers did arrive, they joined pre-existing (native) communities adopting some of the ritual sites, customs and perhaps practices of those they encountered.¹⁷⁶ There is certainly evidence for intensive interaction between Greek-speaking and Thracian communities of a not-always-violent nature and that Parian symposiasts were, in general, comparatively well informed when it came to the manners and customs of the various tribes of Thrace.¹⁷⁷ So, for example, Archilochus mentions a particular tribe – the Saiani – as the likely recipients of his recently abandoned shield, whilst an iambic fragment by the same author (Fr. 42) likens the practice of fellatio to

Such associations make it unsurprising that Thrace was referred to as the home of music by Strabo's day (Strab. I 3. 17).

¹⁷⁴ For references and comment see: Shapiro 1983, 2000; Isaac 1986; Asheri 1990.

¹⁷⁵ Best 1969, 5-16; Raeck 1981, 67; Lissarrague 1990.

¹⁷⁶ So, for example, stratified deposits from the pre-Greek settlement phases of the Artemision and Herakleion show evidence of ritual activity and structural features. For references and discussion, see Owen 2003, 12 nos. 54-5.

¹⁷⁷ Owen 2003, 11.

the use of drinking straws by ‘beer-sucking Thracians’ (and Phrygians).¹⁷⁸ Scattered references to the, at times, violent confrontations between Thracian tribes and colonists from Thasos in Archilochus¹⁷⁹ must be considered alongside the (fleeting) mention of what appears to be some form of embassy, marked by a gift of some kind. The allusion to diplomatic activity between Greek-speaking colonists and Thracians is rarely afforded as much attention, however, as a purported reference to ‘Thracian dogs’, routinely cited as evidence of derogatory attitudes and pejorative stereotyping (Archilochus Fr. 93a, b).¹⁸⁰

The physical characteristics of Thracians were an established trope by the 6th century BC. Xenophanes refers in passing to blue eyes and red hair as being stereotypical attributes when discussing whether the physiognomic traits of both Ethiopians and Thracians would apply to their gods (Fr. A15, 16). An early example of the use of a red slip to denote foreignness in vase-painting can be found in a Chalcidian amphora roughly contemporary with Xenophanes’ fragment (c.550-40 BC), in which the Thracian king Rhesus is depicted with red hair and beard.¹⁸¹ Although primarily associated with Thracians, red hair does, however, appear to have functioned as a generic signal of foreign identity.¹⁸² Other observed characteristics include the presence of tattoos on women – a custom that may have some bearing upon the fact that tattoos were also seen as indicative of servile status – and a number of ‘ethnic’ accoutrements: the distinctive crescent-shaped *pelte*; javelins and daggers; fawn-skin boots with tops turned down (*embades*); a thick woollen mantle (*zeira*) and animal-skin cap with tail hanging down behind (*alopekis*).¹⁸³

Many of these attributes figure prominently in Attic vase painting and are subject to the same caveats as Scythian attire. Regardless of whether or not they are being appropriated to form the basis for a semiotic dialogue through which hoplite/citizen identities were defined, they

¹⁷⁸ See also Anacreon’s ‘Lesbian love’ (Fr. 13, cf. West 358) discussed by Gentili 1988, 95-6, no. 111. For the practise being a Lesbian invention: Theopomp. Com. Fr. 35 Knock. Cf. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 920; Pherecrat. Fr. 149 Knock. Hutchinson draws no such conclusions when discussing the same passage (Hutchinson 2001, 274-8). Other double entendres include the ‘Sindian fissure’ (Hipponax Fr. 2a) – a reference to the Scythian Sindi? Cf. reference to ‘Thracian fillies’ as a euphemism (Anacreon Fr. 417 – West).

¹⁷⁹ Archilochus Fr. 92 cf. Pindar *Paeon* 2. 59-70 for campaigns against the Paeonians.

¹⁸⁰ That said, the translation of ‘Thracian dogs’ depends on what now appears to be a (highly dubious) textual reconstruction which owes more to contemporary cultural attitudes towards non-Europeans during the early 20th century than anything else. See Owen 2003, 7-10 for overview and comment. The hinge point would appear to be Hiller von Gaertringen’s publication of 1934 in which “φ(ω)σι Θρέξιιν δῶρ’ ἔχων ἀκήρατον χρυσόν” was replaced with “κυσι Θρέξιιν...” (Cf. *IG* XII (5) 445).

¹⁸¹ *Il.* X; Hipponax fr. 72. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96. AE. 1; True 1995, 415-29. It has been observed overall that representations of Thrace and Thracians peak during the 5th century BC – followed by a marked decline in 4th.

¹⁸² Tsiafakis 2000, 372 no. 38.

¹⁸³ Cf. Hdt. VII 75.

provide a clear indication that ethnographic ideas pertaining to Thrace were routinely exploited and manipulated. At times they appear to have formed a leitmotif running throughout the historical sources as when both Xanthus and Herodotus report on the manner in which the industry, and in Herodotus' case beauty, of a Thracian woman instils wonder in that archetypal observer, the Near Eastern monarch.¹⁸⁴

2.7 Phoenicians

The absence of a conventional ethnographic treatment of Phoenicia is a notable feature of early ethnography (however defined). Whilst this makes it difficult to maintain on the basis of literary evidence alone that knowledge of Phoenicians and their customs was particularly detailed or widespread, the material evidence paints a very different picture of regular and/or sustained contact between 'Greek' and Levantine populations from the Late Bronze Age onwards in locations as far flung as Thasos and Egypt, Cyprus and Sicily.¹⁸⁵ Largely associated with areas rich in mineral resources such as western Crete, Iberia and Sardinia, the Phoenician expansion created a network of coastal settlements and trading stations between which mixed cargoes of ores, luxury goods, trinkets and high value prestige items were conveyed by 'men in boats'.

Precisely when, where and how this occurred remain highly controversial. However, whilst we cannot be certain that the presence of imported ivories, bronze protomes, silver bowls, faience, perfume vessels and seals alone constitutes unambiguous proof of contact with either Phoenicians or a resident population linked (however indirectly) to the Levant, stratigraphic sequences dating back to the late-tenth/early ninth centuries from sites such as the Greek Sanctuary at Kommos in south-central Crete provide a (rather more secure) basis for arguing that both goods and people were present during the early Iron Age since they contain both an abundance of transport amphorae *and* traces of cult activity.¹⁸⁶ Mixed populations including Canaanite and Aegean elements are also attested from an early date both at Al Mina and on Cyprus and Ischia respectively, with Greek and Levantine imports occurring alongside

¹⁸⁴ Both are linked to etymological explanations: cf. *FGrH* 765 F8b, Hdt. V 12-14. In Xanthus' account it is Alyattes of Lydia who spies an immigrant woman from Mysia outside Sardis, whilst Herodotus relates the machinations of two would-be rulers of Paeonia (Pigres and Mastyes), whose attempt to attract the attention of Darius backfires so disastrously. See Harrison 2007; Pearson 1939, 128-9.

¹⁸⁵ Morris 1992, 125: "Understood as a revival, or survival, of Late Bronze Age Canaanite maritime trade, the Phoenicians do not 'appear' or 'arrive' in the West as much as they remain there." For discussion of the Phoenician trading empire, see Niemeyer 1990; 2003; Negbi 1992; Aubet 1993; Lipiński 2004; Sommer 2007.

¹⁸⁶ Shaw 2000.

inscriptions in both Greek and Aramaic.¹⁸⁷ Opinion remains divided regarding the wider cultural impact of Phoenician settlement throughout the Aegean and wider Mediterranean worlds but the characteristic opposition between ‘Greeks’ and ‘Phoenicians’, *apoikia* and *chora* versus *emporion* now looks far less stable in the face of growing evidence for the systematic exploitation of territories throughout the western Mediterranean.¹⁸⁸

This interpenetration of cultures manifested itself in various ways, including myths relating to legendary craftsmen such as the Telchines – largely associated with prominent centres of craft production including Rhodes, Cyprus and Crete¹⁸⁹ – and Daidalos, the wanderings of Cadmus, legendary founder of Boeotian Thebes, and the adoption of the alphabet: all of them variously linked to the Levant.¹⁹⁰ These traditions are interpreted as either an indication of the extent to which ethnic and cultural distinctions tended to blur in a world where mobility and exchange formed the only constants, or the efforts of Athenian mythographers bent on stigmatising those guilty of Medizing by drawing attention to the fact that they had barbarian skeletons lurking in the closet.¹⁹¹ Archaic Sicily and the island of Thasos have both been singled out as regions where contact between Greek and Phoenician colonists resulted in cultural exchanges that were particularly intense.¹⁹² Figures such as Herakles/Melqart played an important role in mediating relationships between a variety of factions and interest groups: part of a colonial ‘middle ground’ predicated – to a large degree – on knowledge of the habits and beliefs of one’s immediate neighbours (however vague or inaccurate).¹⁹³ Scepticism as to whether the Homeric Phoenicians bore any relation to historical reality now appears ill founded in the face of archaeological evidence. Although self-evidently fictionalised, both Odysseus’ ‘lying tale’ concerning his encounter with a Phoenician captain on Crete and Eumaios’ story of abduction from the island of Syria by traders whose stay lasted an entire year must have appeared entirely plausible to their audiences (*Od.* XIV 300; XV 388-484).¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁷ Morris 1992. For Phoenicians on Cyprus, see Lipiński 2004, 37-87; Karageorghis 2003; Coldstream 1969.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Sommer 2007, 98; Boardman 1999; Morris S. 1992; Coldstream 1982. On Punic exploitation of Mediterranean landscapes see, most recently: van Dommelen & Bellard 2008.

¹⁸⁹ On the origins of the Telchines, see Strab. XIV 2.7 (Rhodes), Paus. IX 19.1 (Cyprus), St. Byz. s.v. Τελχίς (Crete, Sicyon).

¹⁹⁰ For Daidalos, see Morris 1992. For the alphabet, see Hdt. V 58; *FGrH* I F20 (also citing Danaus). On the Phoenician origins of Cadmus, see Hdt. II 49, IV 147, V 57-61. For discussion, see Gomme 1913; Vermeule 1971; Edwards 1979; Tourraix & Geny 2000; Miller 2005.

¹⁹¹ E.g. *FGrH* 3 F21 cf. Pl. *Menex.* 245c-d; Isoc. 10.68; 12.80. See Morris 1992 ch. 13; Miller 2005.

¹⁹² See Malkin 2005 for the extent to which “cultic and mythic filters formed a middle ground for native populations and Greek and Phoenician colonists and functioned as charters, based on appropriated identities, for conquest and settlement.”

¹⁹³ For Phoenicians on Sicily, see Thuc. VI 2.6. For Herakles/Melqart on Thasos, see Malkin 2005; Bergquist 1973; van Berchen 1967. For the importance of mutual knowledge and (mis)understanding in constructing a colonial middle ground, see White 1991.

¹⁹⁴ Malkin 2005.

Evidence from Homeric epic relating to Phoenicians can also be interpreted in a variety of ways. Phoenicians are portrayed both as cunning tricksters, merchants and duplicitous slavers capable of acts of abduction and as lordly or noble types who, when the opportunity arises, refrain from depriving a vulnerable traveller of his booty.¹⁹⁵ Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* refer to goods for which Phoenicians are famous: wrought metalwork, dyed purple and richly embroidered robes from well-peopled Sidon – a city, we are told, that is ruled by a king (Σιδονίων βασιλεύς)(*Od.* XV 117-18).¹⁹⁶ Although the picture that emerges from the *Odyssey* appears comparatively nuanced in comparison with the stray references to Sidonian craftsmanship embedded in the *Iliad*, it seems unlikely that either provide an entirely accurate or fair reflection of the knowledge current at the time – if not ubiquitously then at least in regions where contact took place on a regular basis.¹⁹⁷

When assessed for its ethnographic accuracy, the manner in which Homeric Phoenicians are portrayed has been found sufficiently wanting as to be described as “flattened and one-dimensional” by Irene Winter, who sees in them a nexus of associations characteristic of the Asiatic barbarian.¹⁹⁸ This idea of the Phoenicians as literary trope finds echoes elsewhere (although with varying levels of emphasis being placed upon the practice of Oriental stereotyping). Given the paucity of the evidence the matter is unlikely to be resolved anytime soon, so whilst the proximity or familiarity of Phoenicians provides an (at least partial) explanation for their apparent absence from the ethnographic tradition – an argument that places them on a par with the inhabitants of Central and Southern Italy and Sicily as peoples considered not quite “other” – we can only point to a handful of cases in which references to their manners and customs made it into the sources. Referred to collectively as either *phoinikes* or *Sidones* (the two are used almost synonymously in Homer’s epics), their proverbial reputation as traders is well attested but it is only when they come into direct competition with Greeks that they enjoy any degree of prominence in the historical record.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ For the Phoenician/Phaeacian opposition, see Dougherty 2001, 102-121. Winter 1995 provides detailed discussion of Homeric Phoenicians.

¹⁹⁶ And therefore an equal of Menelaus (*Od.* IV 614-19) Cf. II Chron. 2:14 (handicrafts); Ezekiel 27:23 (exotic textiles).

¹⁹⁷ *Od.* IV 612-19, XIII 272, XV 115-19, 415-16 cf. *Il.* VI 288-92, XXIII 740-5. On Φοίνικας ἀγαυούς (*Od.* XIII 272) see Hoekstra 1989, 180: “Their activity in western Greek waters in Mycenaean times...cannot be proved or disproved, but as they only appear in the *Odyssey* and at *Il.* XXIII 744, it would not be surprising if...they are an anachronism introduced by an eighth-century Greek poet.” Cf. Albright 1950; Dunbabin 1957; Muhly 1970; Wathelet 1974. Such views have now been discredited. See Winter 1995; Sommer 2007.

¹⁹⁸ Winter 1995, 255, 257; Wathelet 1983, 242-3. For discussion of the extent to which Homeric Phoenicians match up to historical reality, see Winter 1995, 249-55. For Phoenicians in Herodotus, see Bondi 1990.

¹⁹⁹ Morris 1992 ch. 13 identifies the Persian Wars as the hinge point at which Phoenicians became unambiguously ‘other’, citing Persia’s almost total reliance on Phoenician sea power in the wars against the Greeks as the most likely cause.

2.8 Lydians

Both the knowledge and mimicry of Lydian ways and customs is explicitly referred to in a fragmentary poem attributed to Xenophanes of Colophon:

ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,
ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς,
ἦεσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες,
οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χεῖλιοι ὡς ἐπίπαν,
ἀύχαλέοι, χαίτησιν ἀγαλλομεν εὐπρεπέεσσιν,
ἀσκητοῖς ὁδμήν χρίμασι δευόμενοι.²⁰⁰

The manner in which this fragment should be interpreted has been the subject of much debate. It has been widely maintained that the willingness to indulge in the 'useless luxury of the Lydians' that Xenophanes' fellow-citizens displayed provided an effective rationale for their downfall and the eventual subjugation of the city to 'hateful tyranny' (τυραννίης ...στυγερῆς). It has also been suggested that the reference to 'useless luxury' (ἀβροσύνας...ἀνωφελέας) is indicative of an embryonic stereotype relating to effete/decadent Orientals. Notwithstanding recent attempts to argue that there is insufficient evidence for the existence of the idea that luxury (*truphē*) begat hubris prior to the Hellenistic period (Gorman & Gorman 2007), there seems little doubt that this carries moralistic undertones insofar as being haughty/boastful (ἀύχαλέος) was clearly a means of setting oneself up for a fall.²⁰¹ Lydian customs are, in any case, clearly a subject of interest and – by extension – those of the ill-fated Colophonians also.

We should perhaps exercise a degree of caution, however, when it comes to associating this image of wealth and luxury with an explicitly *Oriental* archetype. Cities such as Samos and Sybaris were likewise proverbially wealthy/luxurious²⁰² and the 'usefulness' of Lydian customs was in any case something of a moot point. References to the use of baccaris, a

²⁰⁰ On this Leshner 1992, 61-5; Schäfer 1996, 97ff.; Defradas 1962a; Bowra 1941; Fränkel 1925. A more general example of the mimicry of Lydian custom by the Greek cities is of course the adoption of coinage. Hipponax's use of μαυλιστήριον (Fr. 160) has traditionally been interpreted as referring to a type of (Lydian) coin – perhaps as pay for a prostitute?

²⁰¹ In addition to this, there appears to be some link between cultural borrowing and historical causation. The emphasis upon *truphē* alone may be overly simplistic and to some extent missing the point: the subject of cultural borrowing is of great interest to Herodotus being variously attributed to powers such as Persia and Athens with the implication that it is in some way linked to a restless imperial ambition (Harrison 2007). Knowledge of a (widespread?) interest in foreign customs and the ease with which certain practices might be adopted/appropriated seems to have provoked speculation as to whether or not this provided some deeper indication of the appetites/inclinations of a people that would find reflections in their actions and ultimately govern their fate.

²⁰² Lampsacus seems to function as a paradigm of lavish expenditure (tuna and savoury sauce every day!) in a story relating the deeds of (at least one) prodigal son (Hipponax Fr. 26).

Lydian unguent made from hazelwort can be found in Semonides (Semonides: Fr. 16), whilst a fragmentary poem by Hipponax appears to link the (unfortunately garbled) transliteration of a Lydian phrase, interpreted as a spell or incantation, with the description of an equally obscure cure for impotence (Hipponax fr. 92). Sappho was famously enthusiastic about Lydian fashions and styles (39; 98a 10-11)²⁰³ and Hipponax was wont to line his nostrils with perfume ‘as used by Croesus’ (Hipponax Fr. 104. 22). Lydian banquets reportedly inspired Terpan-dros of Lesbos to invent a musical instrument called the *barbitos*:

...which [*barbitos*] once Terpan-dros of Lesbos was first to invent, as he heard, during banquets of the Lydians, the voice-answering plucking of the high-pitched *pēktis*... (Fr. 125)²⁰⁴

We can be certain, therefore, that Lydia was familiar to many: passing allusions to foreign lands and peoples only make sense if the audience possesses a degree of background knowledge relevant to the subject. The latter is particularly true of proverbs and those relating to Lydia seem to have been fairly common: “Gyges and all his gold don’t interest me” (Archilochus fr. 19) can be likened to Sappho’s “I’d rather see her...than all the horse and arms of Lydia” (Sappho Fr. 16. 19 cf. Fr. 132: “for all of Lydia”), where wealth, power and military might all seem to be associated.

Reference to a specific mountain in Lydia is notable in that it suggests a knowledge of ‘foreign’ topography in archaic Megara (Theognis 1023-4): “I’ll never place my neck beneath the galling yoke of my enemies, not even if Tmolus is upon my head” (Οὔποτε τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἀρχένα θήσω δύσλοφον, οὐδ’εἶ μοι Τμῶ-λος ἔπεστι κάρη).²⁰⁵ Knowledge of a more detailed sort is also in evidence when the road to Smyrna from the interior is described by Hipponax:

...to Smyrna, through Lydia past the tomb of Attalus and the gravestone of Gyges and the column of [Seso]str[is]...and the memorial of Tos, sultan of Mytalis, turning your belly towards the setting sun...

(Hipponax Fr. 42).

The latter provokes the question as to how widespread this practise of providing directions within a poem actually was? What was the purpose?

²⁰³ cf. Lydian headbands splendid upon girls: Alcman Fr. 1. 67-8; Pindar’s reference to a Lydian fillet at *Nem.* 8. 15.

²⁰⁴ Cf. similar references to Lydian pipes (*Ol.* 5. 19) and a Lydian mode (*Ol.* 14.17; *Nem.* 4. 45).

²⁰⁵ Theognis 1023-4. –Assuming the identification is correct. Hdt. I. 93 notes the gold dust washed down from Mt. Tmolus as one of the few *thōmata* in Lydia worth speaking of whilst the tomb of Alyattes (Croesus’ father) mentioned below is the only man-made wonder of any note.

Linguistic appropriations will be discussed at greater length in a following chapter. However, the use of loan words such as the Lydian term for ‘priest’ (Hipponax Fr. 4) and for ‘king’ must suggest a degree of familiarity. In the case of the latter this occurs in the context of what is evidently some form of lampoon referring to the ‘sultan of Cyllene’ (Κυλλήνης πάλμυν) (Hipponax Fr. 3 also Fr. 38, 42, 72) whilst elsewhere we have a (similarly irreverent) reference to a historical figure when it is alleged that κυνάγχα (‘dog-throttler’), a stock epithet of Hermes as ‘ἄρχος φηλητέων’, translates as ‘Candaules’ in Lydian.²⁰⁶ The presence of servile stereotypes can perhaps also be inferred in prayers uttered to Malis (a Lydian goddess identified with Athena) by a slave praying master won’t beat him (Hipponax Fr. 40). This association between Lydians and slaves is supported by evidence from Athens attesting to a female woolworker, a potter and a noted painter from the mid-late sixth-century BC – both of whom signed themselves as ‘Lydos’.²⁰⁷ Names such as these may not offer conclusive proof as to the identities of their owners but they do demonstrate that ideas about ‘Lydians’ were in play at the time (even if, like East Greek and Lydian fine wares, it is sometimes difficult to tell individual ‘Lydians’ and ‘Greeks’ apart).²⁰⁸ The status of Lydia is somewhat problematic as a result. References also encompass proverbial or heroic figures such as Croesus (*Pyth.* 1. 94) and Pelops (*Ol.* 9. 9).²⁰⁹ It follows therefore that whilst stereotypes and pejorative attitudes can undoubtedly be detected we should perhaps be wary of assuming that prejudice against ‘the decadent Asiatic’ can be equated with a discourse of ‘Orientalism’ of the sort identified by Edward Said.²¹⁰ Whilst both Said’s Orientalism and the ‘Occidental’ viewpoint it implies are often attributed an almost timeless quality, they are in fact the product of a particular set of structures and institutions and thus historically situated phenomena, with an at best limited bearing on archaic and early classical Greece.

In vase painting meanwhile, the appearance of reclining symposiasts and turbaned komasts on painted wares from Chios and Miletus has recently been highlighted as evidence of

²⁰⁶ Hipponax Fr. 3a. Cf. *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 292.

²⁰⁷ For discussion of ‘Lydos’, see Caniani & Neumann 1978. Epigraphic and literary evidence offer conflicting indications regarding the Lydian presence in Athens: whilst only 5 funerary stelae commemorating Lydians were catalogued by Bäßler, Xenophon’s *Poroi* has them marked out as typical of Athens’ community of metics (2.3) (de Vries 2000, 356-358; Bäßler 1998, 87-91, 223-26).

²⁰⁸ De Vries 2000, 356.

²⁰⁹ When depicted in Athenian vase painting Croesus is invariably depicted as ‘Greek’ up to and until the Achaemenid template was brought to bear upon any figure who might be considered remotely barbarian.

²¹⁰ Said 1978. Cf. Spawforth 2001; Winter 1995; Hall 1989.

cultural interchange between Lydia and the East Greeks (Lemos 2000).²¹¹ How these were, in turn, received when traded further afield is a question requiring careful consideration. The latter needs to be borne in mind when we consider a late 6th century oinochoe, signed by Xenokles the potter and Kleisophos, which purportedly depicts a Lydian symposium – a rather crude affair in which overweight drunkards cavort, collapse and – in one case – defecate openly, in a graphic demonstration of the effects of excessive drinking.²¹² Analysis of this scene by de Vries led to the conclusion that the use of various ethnic indicators signalling ‘Lydianess’ makes it likely that it is Lydians who are being depicted. Attention focuses upon the wearing of turbans and boots (*kothornoi*), the use of both a dipping ladle to serve wine and a *phiale* as a drinking vessel (all deemed ‘Anatolian’ in origin but ambiguous in interpretation since they were variously adopted “among Greeks”: early lyric poetry is rife with references to the use of ladles to serve wine) but ultimately it is the fact that the *oinochoos* is depicted wearing a loincloth that is deemed “[s]trikingly non-Greek” (de Vries 2000, 362).²¹³ Whether or not this is the case, a desire to depict East Greeks/Lydianess is arguably apparent.²¹⁴ It might also be argued that the fact that many of these practices/items of apparel were adopted by ‘Greeks’ merely underlines the extent to which ethnographic observations could provide a basis for subsequent borrowing/self-fashioning. Even if we are not entirely clear who is being depicted, it is evidently the intention of the artist to evoke a particular socio-cultural milieu using a varied palette of symbols/motifs with which the viewing audience was conversant.

Lydian customs evidently posed something of a conundrum for Herodotus. Whilst admitting that apart from the practice of prostituting their female children, Lydian *nomoi* differed little from those of the Greeks (I. 94), the Halicarnassian felt it necessary to rationalise the means by which a kingdom that for a time exercised power over the Greek cities of Asia Minor should in his day possess a reputation for cowardliness and effeminacy.²¹⁵ The plausibility of his anecdote concerning Croesus’ plea to Cyrus following an aborted uprising against their Persian conquerors is immediately suspect. In order to forestall the brutal punitive measures

²¹¹ For examples see: Lemos 2000, 389 no. 87; Walter-Karydi 1973, 6 pl. 13, 109. On the practice of reclining at symposia see Boardman 1999, 122-31.

²¹² Attic black-figure oinochoe signed by Kleisophos the painter and Xenokles as potter, ca. 520 BC, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1045; Pfuhl 1923, fig. 254; de Vries 2000, fig. 13.10 (drawing of Pfuhl fig. 254).

²¹³ The latter hinges entirely upon the assumption that depictions of clothed wine waiters that were almost universal until the middle decades of the 6th century should have ceased so abruptly by c.530-20 BC that they would have been considered unambiguously alien/‘other’. Based as it is upon an isolated example and given the rapidity with which such changes came into place some caution is evidently required in this matter!

²¹⁴ In support of the latter it is (rightly) pointed out that the turban (*mitra*) was unambiguously associated with the peoples of Lydia in Achaemenid iconography (de Vries 2000, 359-60)

²¹⁵ Lombardo 1990.

with which rebellious subjects were habitually punished Croesus suggests that Cyrus adopt an alternative strategy, ensuring the long term subservience of the population by depriving Lydian men of the right to bear arms whilst at the same time compelling them to wear soft shoes and chitons under their himatia. Such measures were accompanied by a new system of education in which boys were schooled in music, dance and commerce – occupations that would leave them utterly effeminated and incapable of insurrection (I 155-6).

Whilst the fragment of Xenophanes already referred to makes it likely that Lydians possessed a reputation for luxury and softness prior to their conquest ca. 540s BC,²¹⁶ Lydia seems to have featured significantly within the imagination of individuals ranging from Sappho and Alcman down until Pindar, signalling wealth and sophistication to which many of her neighbours could only aspire. Elsewhere, a moralising streak is perhaps apparent in a tale in which the ill-fated glutton King Cambles killed and ate his own wife, waking the next morning to find her hand protruding from his mouth (*FGrH* 765 F12). However, if the manner in which Lydia and its affairs were portrayed seems at times contradictory, this reflects nothing more (or less) than the wide variety of traditions in circulation at any one time following successive changes in historical circumstance. Lydians were certainly useful analogues for commentators ‘thinking about culture’: Xanthus’ audiences were certainly made aware of the fact that just as Dorians and Ionians joshed over common terms and usages, so too do the Lydians and the Torrebeans (*FGrH* 765 F1, 13-16).

2.9 Ethiopians

Early appearances in Homer and Hesiod would seem to indicate that Ethiopians were already well established within the popular imagination by the time the poems came into being. Part of a wider ethnographic discourse that transcended media and genre they appear to have enjoyed a quasi-mythical status with considerable speculation regarding their precise location.²¹⁷ Homer’s Ethiopians were geographically remote, with separate populations assigned to both eastern and western reaches of the world (although far greater emphasis appears to be placed on those residing in the east than their shadowy western counterparts). The itinerary attributed to Menelaus in the *Odyssey* is notably vague, representing something of a geographical hotchpotch (unless one is willing to allow for the fact that Σιδονίους is a generic reference to the Phoenician settlements in North Africa):

²¹⁶ In any case, a similar rationale seems to be at work in the minds of both authors?

²¹⁷ For discussion see: Campbell 2006; Romm 1992; Snowden 1997; 1970; Schwabl 1962; Lesky 1959; Hadas 1935.

Over Phoenician Cyprus and Cyrene I wandered, and Egypt, and I came to the Ethiopians, the Sidonians, and the Erembi, and Libya, where lambs are horned from birth.

(*Od.* IV 84)²¹⁸

Although some debate surrounds the issue as to whether Homeric Ethiopians were considered specifically African and/or black-skinned, the etymology of *Aithiopes* (“Dark” or “Burnt-faces”) would appear to imply negritude and that physiognomic observations were a salient feature of ‘Ethiopianess’ from the very outset (contra Morris 1997).²¹⁹ So, for example, Odysseus’ companion Eurybates is described as black-skinned and woolly haired (*Od.* IXX 246-7) whilst Xenophanes invokes Ethiopian characteristics when outlining his relativist stance on anthropomorphic conceptions of the divine (Fr. 16). Examples such as these amount to some of the earliest evidence for an interest in a distinctively ‘African’ physiognomy (dark skin and woolly or curly hair were invariably attributed to the increased proximity to the sun – hence the association with both east and south),²²⁰ making it not unreasonable (where no evidence exists to the contrary) to conflate iconographic representations of black Africans with literary traditions regarding Ethiopians.²²¹

This vague conflation of generic negritude and a specific geographical population inhabiting territories lying to the south of Egypt must to some degree reflect both the activities of traders operating out of Naucratis and the involvement of mercenaries from the cities of Asia Minor – Colophon amongst others – in campaigns undertaken by Psammetichus II against the Ethiopians and the Meroitic kingdom of Kush (c.594-88 BC).²²² However, whilst the traveller’s tales that such expeditions must have generated can in all likelihood be linked – at least indirectly – to an apparent vogue for depicting

²¹⁸ “Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς, Αἰθιοπᾶς θ’ ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβοῦς καὶ Λιβύην, ἵνα τ’ ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι” The latter is a peculiar detail upon which both Herodotus and Aristotle saw fit to comment (*Hdt.* IV 29; *Arist. H.A.* viii 28); its significance with regards to any wider ‘ethnographic turn’ will be developed further below. Whilst von Soden argued that this amounts to a claim that Menelaus circumnavigated Africa, recent commentators are more sceptical (cf. von Soden 1959; West, S. 1988, 198). Strabo discusses Homeric geography at some length, including the manner in which ‘Sidonians’ should be interpreted (*Strab.* I 2. 31).

²¹⁹ The precise meaning of Aeschylus’ μελανθῆς ἠλιόκτυπον has been the source of controversy (*Aesch. Suppl.* 154-5). Whatever one believes regarding ancient attitudes towards colour prejudice, it remains plausible to argue that negritude and Ethiopianess go together.

²²⁰ See: Schäfer 1996, 151ff.; Leshner 1992, 90-3.

²²¹ The Hesiodic *Catalogue* also links Ethiopians to Africa as progenitor of the Libyans, Pygmies and ‘Melanes’ – again suggestive of negritude (Fr. 150, 17-19). Cf. *Hes. Theogn.* 984-5 and *Mimnermus’* fr. 12 – which places them in the east.

²²² The historical nature of these encounters is attested by both the material record and literary evidence ranging from the accounts of Herodotus to graffiti inscribed upon the colossus at Abu Simbel. See: Snowden 1983; Desanges 1982; Sauneron & Yoyotte 1952. For Pabis of Colophon and other ‘artists’ who made their mark at Abu Simbel see Tod 1964, no. 4, 6-7; Bernard & Masson 1957.

Ethiopians in vase painting of the 6th century.²²³ Black-skinned individuals are relatively common in art dating from the Bronze Age and references to Aithiops may even be detectable in Mycenaean Greek.²²⁴ Like the Hyperboreans, Ethiopians enjoy a reputation for piety but are associated in this case with Poseidon (*Od.* I 22-6), whilst pseudo-Hesiod groups them with Libyans and Scythians as men ‘whose mind is superior to their tongue’, alongside ‘black-skinned men’, ‘subterranean men’ and ‘the strengthless pygmies’ (Fr. 97 14-15).²²⁵

Whatever their origins or inspiration, ideas and imagery relating to ‘Ethiopia’ achieved widespread circulation. Archaeological assemblages from sites as far-flung as Sicily, Athens and Byzantium have yielded objects that depict ‘Ethiopians’ – or figures displaying an African physiognomy. Whether we are in any way equipped to decode such representations is a moot point.²²⁶ However, whilst their interpretation must in many cases remain open to speculation they should clearly be conceived as objects of consumption: perfume flasks shaped in the form of a human head in which elements of a stereotypically African physiognomy are picked out in meticulous detail.²²⁷ Objects such as these appear in the material record from c. 6th century onwards and were widely traded. Whilst we can only speculate when it comes to any possible association between these and god-like Ethiopians – “the most beautiful of men”,²²⁸ the same cannot be said of a series of Attic black figure vases thought to depict the Homeric hero Memnon.²²⁹ The fact that Memnon is invariably depicted as Caucasian whilst his retinue/attendants are black-skinned in appearance has provoked lively discussion as to whether hero status was in fact compatible with negritude in the first place.²³⁰ Memnon appears as the leader of the Ethiopian contingent in the *Iliad*. As son of Eos, he is both explicitly tied to the east and the subject of a lost epic called the *Aithiopsis*, a sequel to the *Iliad* in which Achilles avenges the former’s killing of Antilochus, son of Nestor (*Od.* IV 187-8).

²²³ Linking such depictions directly to the Ethiopians’ military repute may, however, be excessive (Snowden 1991, 27) – other factors were arguably in play.

²²⁴ Morris, S. 1997, 615.

²²⁵ On pygmies see: Harari 2004; Lissarrague 2000.

²²⁶ On racism in antiquity see: Isaac 2006; 2004; Lissarrague 2002; Vasunia 2001; Berad 2000; Miller, 2000; Tuplin 1999; Snowden 1997; 1991; 1970; Vercoutter et al 1991; Bernal 1987; Said 1978. For earlier approaches, see Beardsley 1929.

²²⁷ E.g. an aryballos in the shape of an African head, Attic, early 5th century, from the Lucifero necropolis: Lattanzi 2003, 36. Cf. Teracotta oinochoe in the shape of an African head, Attic, c. 480 BC, Metropolitan Museum of Art 00.11.1 and an Athenian Red-figure Pelike by the Argos painter depicting an African youth and a camel now in St Petersburg. Hermitage Museum 614, *ARV* 288, 11.

²²⁸ Scylax, *Periplus* 112.

²²⁹ For references to Memnon and ‘spear bearing’ Ethiopians in Pindar see: *Pyth.* 6. 31; *Nem.* 3. 61-3; 6. 49; *Isthm.* 5. 40-1; 8. 54. For the Ethiopian panoply, see Fraser 1935.

²³⁰ Berad 2000; Miller 2000. The presence of Ethiopians in the Trojan host possessed great resonance in the light of the events of the 5th century. Cf. Kahil 1972, 282. See below for discussion of the implications of one of the attendants being labelled ‘Amasis’.

A reputation for divine favour and piety has also been linked to the appearance of Negro heads both upon a large number of coins minted both at Athens and Delphi during both the 6th and (predominantly) 5th centuries BC²³¹ and as a decorative motif on phialai.²³² Alternative explanations for these appearances include their representing contingents in the Persian army, silenoi, followers of Aphrodite or, alternately, an allusion to the fact that the name of Delphos' mother could be rendered as 'black woman'.²³³ Representations such as the African face that features on one side of an Attic Red-figure head-kantharos²³⁴ (the reverse of which depicts the face of a Caucasian woman) are frequently cited as evidence of a derogatory juxtaposition of idealised Greek and ugly barbarian. Signs of a rigid Greek-barbarian polarity are also perceived in the case of groups such as the Negro alabastra – widely thought to reflect an upsurge in ethnographic interest in the wake of the Persian Wars.²³⁵ Material/iconographic evidence of this kind does, however, predate the 5th century, as we have seen: we do therefore have reasonable evidence for a nexus of ideas in which Homeric Ethiopians and black Africans were variously conflated. Unlike the gods in Homer there is no veil separating individuals in antiquity from the trade in goods and images alluding to Ethiopian identities, manners and customs: anyone who knew their Homer would look upon such objects and, where appropriate, read them accordingly.²³⁶ Rather than being the preserve of poets or Ionian thinkers, such items and images were part of the everyday figuring in stories and myths and lively images adorning plates, pots and coins.

²³¹ Triobol Athens, AR, c.510-500 BC, Obv. Head of Athena; Rev. head of a Negro. East Berlin, Münzkabinett, Prokesch-Osten Coll. (acquired 1875); Seltman (1924) 97, 200 pl.xxii; Simon 1970, 15-18. Cf. trihemionobol, Delphi AR, early 5th century, Odv. Negro head; Rev. Head of a goat. Brett 1955, 132 nos. 974-5 pl. 52 and similarly with ram's head reverse Head *HN*² 340-1.

²³² Phiale, AE, Plovdiv, National Archaeological Museum 3204. The exterior decoration includes a row of acorns and three concentric rows of Negro heads facing outwards, which increase progressively in size. Cf. Terracotta *phiale*. Locri Epizephyri, Muzio Archeologico Nazionale 6416, date uncertain. The interior is decorated with rows of palmettes, acorns and Negro heads.

²³³ Snowden 1970, 151.

²³⁴ Attic Red-figure head-kantharos, c. 470 BC Taken from Berad 2000, 410, fig. 15.14.

²³⁵ Cf. Alabastron, white ground, early 5th century BC depicting a Negro in dotted tunic and trousers, holding a quiver in l. hand (reverse side depicts an armed Amazon). West Berlin, 3382. ARV² 269. *LIMC* s.v. 'Aithiopes' 7. Elements of costume have undoubtedly been fused here.

²³⁶ For the secluded nature of the Ethiopian realm – refuge for the gods: *Il.* I 423-4; XXIII 192-211; *Od.* I 22-3.

2.10 Egyptians

The vast power and wealth of Egypt rendered it a land of superlatives and an object of intense fascination.²³⁷ Far from existing in isolation however, the prose accounts penned by authors such as Hecataeus and Herodotus reflect a long back history of engagement with the land and the people of Egypt. From around the 8th century BC onwards Egyptian trinkets were traded the length and breadth of the Mediterranean via Cyprus and Phoenicia in the Near East. Small, portable objects such as the bronze jug from Lefkandi in Euboea – perhaps dating to the 9th century – scarabs, beads, amulets, faience seals, ivories, vases and figurines were all circulating widely by the mid-seventh century.²³⁸ Meanwhile, from the early-seventh century onwards, workshops on Rhodes began producing objects in faience and the islands of Samos and Crete became notable repositories of ‘Egyptianizing’ artefacts.²³⁹

Although the circulation of such objects and imagery is rarely deemed to indicate anything more than a vague awareness of Egypt itself, due to its being relayed via intermediaries, figurines depicting ibis birds or the gods Bes and Horus must have been read/interpreted somehow, whether as exotica or through assimilation, whilst the subsequent reproduction and/or imitation of Egyptian forms denotes a certain level of interest on behalf of both artisan and audience.²⁴⁰ In discussing the significance of Egyptian amulets recovered from the Greek sanctuary at Kommos, Shaw comments that whilst it may have been the exotic nature of such talismans that made them preferable to products manufactured locally, “[i]t must also be said...that the choice of Egyptian deities reflects a degree of knowledge about the meanings they held for the Egyptians themselves.”²⁴¹ Although Shaw is keen to emphasise the fact that the knowledge derived from the enthusiastic “sales pitch” of traders was in all likelihood vague and lacking in any depth, widespread ignorance and vague imaginings are every bit as significant as detailed insights – and no less political, insofar as the imagining and appropriation of foreign ideas and imagery possesses a significance that extends far beyond simple “borrowing”.²⁴²

²³⁷ For discussion of Greek conceptualisations of Egypt, see Froidefond 1971; Lloyd A.B. 1975; 1990; Smelik & Hemelrijk 1984, 1869-76; Morris 1997; Vasunia 2001; Hartog 2002; Harrison 2003.

²³⁸ Boardman 1999, 113-14 fig. 131; Austin 1970; *CAH* 3².1. ch.13; 3².2, ch. 35, 36a Braun. For traders operating between Samos and Egypt cf. Hdt. IV 152.

²³⁹ E.g. the bronze mirrors recovered from the Idaean Cave, Knossos and Amnisos but also Lefkandi and Perachora: Burkert 1992; Boardman 1999, 113 fig. 129. See also the distinctive Bes figurines *LIMC* s.v. ‘Bes’ 27b-g, 30; Boardman 1999, 147.

²⁴⁰ See Boardman 1999, 112-14. Cf. *LIMC* s.v. ‘Sphinx’ for the enthusiastic adoption of a motif.

²⁴¹ Shaw 2000, 170.

²⁴² Cf. Appadurai 1986; Miller 1997 on Athenian ‘receptivity’ to foreign forms and images.

The splendour of Egyptian Thebes was evidently known to Homer as a place where men's houses possessed the greatest store of wealth ("ὄθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται"), a city with a hundred gates from which two hundred warriors with horses and chariots could sally forth.²⁴³ Whilst the emphasis on wealth may in part well reflect the activities of Greek marauders of the type alluded to in Odysseus' lying tales (*Od.* XIV 246-58), it seems unlikely that textual parallels between Egyptian accounts of action to stem incursions by raiders at the end of the Bronze Age are anything other than circumstantial. We might reasonably follow Sarah Morris both in her suggestion that the δόμοι in question refer to the mortuary temples and palace treasuries and her caution when it comes to gauging when such observations were made (as this is certainly not a secure basis for down-dating the *Iliad*).²⁴⁴ What is more significant, however, is that such information is embedded in the epic at all, along with another reference celebrating Egypt's fame as a country steeped in medical knowledge:

Such cunning drugs had the daughter of Zeus, drugs of healing (φάρμακα μητιόεντα), which the Egyptian Polydamna, wife of Thon, had given her, for there the earth, the giver of grain, bears greatest store of drugs (ζείδωρος ἄρουρα φάρμακα), many that are healing when mixed, and many that are harmful; there every man is a physician (ἰητρὸς), wise above humankind; for they are of Paeëon's race.

(*Od.* IV 227-232)

Whilst there is some debate as to whether the river referred to as the waters of Aegyptus (*Od.* IV 581) is indeed the Nile – first referred to by name in Hesiod's *Theogony* as offspring of Tethys and Ocean (*Theog.* 338), Homeric audiences evidently had some idea of a country in which river and landscape were somehow conflated. It is hard to gauge how this poetic 'imagining' should be interpreted; the Nile was certainly a topic of abiding fascination for observers habituated to eking out a comparably precarious existence according to a capricious Mediterranean climate. We should perhaps be wary therefore of dismissing both this and subsequent speculation by authors such as Thales or Anaxagoras regarding such natural phenomena as nothing more than speculation of a quasi-geographical/scientific nature.²⁴⁵ The act of imagining, assessing, and quantifying Egypt was not, during any period, a value-free exercise.

²⁴³ *Il.* IX 379-86 cf. *Od.* IV 125-32.

²⁴⁴ Morris S. 1997, 614-15. Cf. Lloyd A.B. 1975, 121; Burkert 1976.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Shrimpton 1997, 175: "There is no reason to believe that his [Anaxagoras'] interest in Egypt went beyond accounting for certain of its physical characteristics" with post-colonial studies of geography and exploration emphasising the politics of such enterprises (e.g. Driver 2001). Cf. Harrison 2007.

However hazy its origins, knowledge of Egypt undoubtedly spiralled from the reign of Psammetichus I (664-610 BC) following the latter's decision to enlisting the help of foreign mercenaries in a bid assert his authority as ruler of Lower Egypt and throw off the Assyrian yoke. Those who served the Egyptian king were rewarded with grants of land close to the sea, on the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, with Carians settled on one bank and Ionians on the other.²⁴⁶ Trade with Greece was also actively encouraged. Greeks and Carians continued to serve under Necho (610-595), who dedicated the armour he wore whilst fighting in Syria in the sanctuary to Apollo at Branchidae, and successive pharaohs down to Amasis (570-26) who formalised the status of Naucratis, a trading settlement on the east bank of the Canopic branch of the Nile with a monopoly on all trade with the wider Mediterranean world.²⁴⁷ During this time we have evidence for a great number of Greek-speaking soldiers and traders variously 'making their mark' in Egypt – often quite literally as in the case of the irreverent scrawlings on the colossus at Abu Simbel, dating to the time of Psammetichus II's Nubian expedition.²⁴⁸ A rather deeper engagement is apparent in the case of a votive inscription to Ammon as 'Zeus of Thebes', dating to the mid sixth century (*SEG XXVII 1106*), and a bronze apis inscribed with PANEPI dedicated by Socydes (*SEG XXVII 1116*). Equally suggestive is a tomb relief from Siwa commemorating the last resting place of Si-Amun (Man of Amun), in which a seated male is both depicted as bearded and accompanied by a youth dressed in a chlamys.²⁴⁹ The extent to which the latter are indicative of a specific knowledge or interest in Egyptian habits and customs is of course uncertain: we must allow for a wide variety of attitudes and experiences and, by extension, the possibility that some of this knowledge would have been carried back along the sea lanes as merchants, travellers and war-weary veterans variously returned from Egypt or sought opportunities elsewhere.

Receptions of Egypt can, to varying degrees, also be perceived in various areas of artistic endeavour along with patterns of thought and belief relating to the divine. Since there is neither the time nor the space to pursue such topics individually and at length we shall resort instead to a brisk summary before moving on to address other categories of foreign people: the far-flung descendants of Pelasgos and a wild and woolly Arcadia. A great deal of attention has already been paid to the extent to which temple architecture and statuary followed Egyptian precedents during its early stages.²⁵⁰ Meanwhile, scholars such as Walter Burkert have argued that Egyptian influence can be discerned in the manner in which a

²⁴⁶ Hdt. II 152-4. See Austin 1970, 14-15; Boardman 1999, 111-53.

²⁴⁷ See Hdt. II 159 (Necho's dedication); 178 (Naucratis). There exists a huge bibliography on the latter but see Boardman 1999; Möller 2000; Malkin 2003b.

²⁴⁸ See Boardman 1999, 115-17, figs. 134-5. Cf. Hdt. II 161.

²⁴⁹ Boardman 1999, 159 fig. 200.

²⁵⁰ Boardman 1999; Kyrieleis 1996; Bietak 2001; Burkert 2004, 13-14, 72.

number of (supposedly Greek) gods were conceived. Perhaps the most prominent of the latter are Dionysius and Orphism in general – linked to Osiris and the promise of a blissful afterlife.²⁵¹ This is not altogether out of kilter with the image of Egypt cultivated by Herodotus as a country of great antiquity and wisdom that taught the Greeks the names of the gods (although with a number of subtle caveats and qualifications).²⁵² The dedication of a vase at Karnak depicting the Sacred ship of Dionysius being borne aloft by devotees has long been cited as indicating knowledge of practices common at Karnak/Luxor and Siwa, whereby gods travelled in boats on days of festival – a practice that appears to have been translated to Athens, amongst other places.²⁵³

Further iconographic evidence for ‘receptions of difference’ can be found in the style and subject matter adopted by vase painters from around the mid-seventh century onwards. Whilst John Boardman is adamant that “[t]hese isolated...scenes of course reflect no deeper awareness or influence of Egyptian practices or beliefs”, the act of creating them must have entailed significant level of contact and/or interaction as he also maintains that such parallels could not, in many cases, occur without the artists in question actually travelling to Egypt and viewing non-portable artworks (notably painted frescoes) in context (Boardman 1999, 151, 153). So, for instance, depictions of Herakles using a sling to bring down the Stymphalian birds on a Black-figure vase from Vulchi are a reworking of traditional hunting scenes that formed a set piece in Egyptian art whilst images on the Vienna hydria from c. 510 BC offer a clear parody of Pharaonic iconography.²⁵⁴ The choice of theme is, in the case of the latter, a pertinent one: the myth of Bousiris, a mythical Egyptian king and eponym of a town in the Delta region. The image in question depicts a larger than life Herakles that is clearly modelled upon the ‘smiting Pharaoh’ motif. Surrounded by Egyptians he is shown in the act of trampling his enemies underfoot; holding one priest by the ankle and dangling another by the throat, he bears down implacably on the altar on which the terrified Bousiris is shown crouched with arms outstretched in a gesture of supplication. The slaying of Bousiris was a popular theme whose earliest literary rendering comes in the form of fragmentary poems by Panyassis, subsequently refuted by Herodotus (Pan. Fr. 26. k; Hdt. II 45) and Pherekydes (*FGrH* 3 F17) (fig. 6). The manner in which it is represented is

²⁵¹ Burkert 2004, 72ff.

²⁵² See Harrison 2000; 2003 for discussion.

²⁵³ Ionian amphora, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1924.264. Burkert 2004, 73; Boardman 1999, 137.

²⁵⁴ Caeretan Black-figure hydria, c.510 BC, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum AS IV 3576. Miller 2000, 418-19 discusses the likelihood that Egyptianizing Phoenician art provided the template: “The significance of this parody lies in the presumption of knowledge about and interest in Egyptian imperial iconographic traditions...on the part of the Greek viewer” (419). For Phoenician bowls depicting smiting Pharaohs, see Markoe 1985, 45-7. Cf. a relief of Seti I (1318-1301 BC) from Karnak on the northern exterior of the great hall (*Epigraphic Survey*, 1986, pl. 27, 29; Miller 2000, 418 no. 20).

significant for two reasons: not only are the king's retinue often depicted as Black Africans with, in one later and somewhat notorious example, tunics hitched up to reveal circumcised genitalia, but Bousiris himself is also on occasion depicted as black-skinned.²⁵⁵ It has been suggested that Bousiris' differentiation reflects the fact that his transgressive act of sacrificing any foreigner who made landfall in Egypt placed him beyond 'aristocratic 'internationalism'; this represents a somewhat uncomfortable anomaly, however, for those wishing to keep the barbarian 'other' waiting in the wings (Miller 2000, 420; Hall 1989).



Figure 6. Head of Bousiris. Attic Black-figure sherd, Siana cup, ca.565 BC, attributed to the Heidelberg Painter. The earliest known depiction of the Bousiris as pharaoh (identifiable by the *uraeus*).²⁵⁶

Whilst opinions vary regarding the ethnic origin of the painter who signed himself as 'Amasis', there is evidence to suggest that ideas about Egypt were nonetheless being bandied about relatively freely amongst his contemporaries in the Athenian Potter's Quarter.²⁵⁷ Thought to have been working by the mid 6th century, 'Amasis' may or may not have been Egyptian in origin – or a slave (such questions are unlikely to be resolved). What is arguably more important is the fact that the Egyptian associations that his name conjured up are reflected in turn in the general badinage aimed in his direction. John Boardman is surely right in maintaining that two depictions of black Africans attending the Ethiopian king Memnon by his contemporary and rival Exekias (variously labelled Amasis and Amasos) are

²⁵⁵ E.g. the Vienna hydria (see above). For depiction of circumcised priests see an Attic Red-figure pelike, attributed to the Pan Painter, c.470 BC, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 9683, *ARV²* 554, 82. Responses vary from charges of overt racism to the suggestion that it is a strictly cultural opposition that is being constructed (cf. Bérard 2000, 393-4; Miller 2000, 429-30 fig. 16.7). For discussion of the tradition in antiquity, see Vasunia 2001, 185-93.

²⁵⁶ See Miller 2000, 421-2 and no. 31 for references. Cf. a Milesian neck-amphora, mid-sixth century, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G121.5

²⁵⁷ The potential foreignness of Greek potters and painters has long exercised scholars and art historians from the 19th century onwards. Whilst many have been willing to infer an Egyptian identity or time spent in either Ionia or Naucratis, the idea has been resisted by those unable or unwilling to allow for foreign ideas or influences upon Attic vase painting – a quintessentially Greek art form.

an attempt to poke fun at his contemporary (Boardman 1987, 148-9). Whether or not Amasis was dark-skinned in appearance is, from the point of view of this study, largely immaterial. In contrast, the suggestion that one depiction of Amasis as Ethiopian or Egyptian included a phonetic rendering of a barbarised *epoisen* inscription (*aoiesn*), incorporating an Ionic eta (unusual in Athens at this date) is of considerable significance since it demonstrates an active concern for representing ‘difference’ – in this case an outlandish accent (Boardman 1987, 149, fig. 8b). Whether based in fact or fiction, the latter would seem to indicate that ideas, and even parodies, of Egyptians were common currency at the time.²⁵⁸

Representations of Egypt – or at least of a deity with whom Egypt was closely associated – can also be found on coins minted by the polis of Cyrene. Given the considerable distance separating the polis from Ammon’s oracle at Siwah, it is perhaps somewhat surprising that the figure of Zeus Ammon, horned and enclosed within a circular incuse, should figure so prominently on coins minted by the polis. The extent to which Libya and Egypt could be conflated can be seen, however, in references to “the fertile domain of Kronos’ son on the Nile” (Νείλοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα) in Pindar’s *Pythian* 4 (*Pyth.* 4 55-7).²⁵⁹ Product of a union between the nymph Cyrene and Apollo, Zeus Ammon was hardly a local deity and it is hard to interpret his appearance as anything other than the opportunistic appropriation of a (somewhat exotic) cult figure for the purposes of self-aggrandizement. Moving on from Cyrene we have a variety of fragments all variously attesting to knowledge or interest in Egypt. These range from the relatively mundane in the case of Bacchylides’ allusion to corn imports, with which his audiences were presumably familiar (Fr. 20B 14-16), to Pindar’s fanciful reference to:

“...Egyptian Mendes, by the bank of the sea,
the end of the Nile’s branch, where goat-mounting
he-goats mate with women...” (Fr. 201)

²⁵⁸ Outwith Athens we have fragments of a vase of East Greek type carrying a cartouche from Egypt and a painted wooden plaque recovered from the tomb of Hetepka, Sakkara as additional evidence of Egyptian influences/cross currents. Vase: Boardman 1987, 147, figs. 4a, b; *idem* 1999, 114, 139, fig. 164. Some understanding of Egyptian ritual is inferred from a vase depicting a Dionysiac procession dedicated at Karnak 137-8, figs 162-3.

²⁵⁹ Commentators are keen to defend Pindar of ignorance or uncertainty on this count, citing the Scholia’s somewhat revealing suggestion that he may have been under the impression that the whole of Libya was consecrated to the god (Farnell 1961, 151). On charter myths, see Malkin 1987; 1994; 1998, 20-1; 2005 (on Sicily in particular). See also Hall J. 1997; 2002; Kowalzig 2007, 33. The figure is sometimes identified as Apollo Delphinios (Irad Malkin *pers. comm.*). See Marshall 2004, 134, 136 (with further references) for the suggestion that Ammon’s presence reflects the influence of Libyan cultural traditions brought about by intermarriage with local populations. For discussion of cultural difference at Cyrene, see Mitchell B. 2000.

Herodotus mentions a similar tale whilst recounting the reason why goats were not sacrificed in Egypt – albeit as a one-off occurrence.²⁶⁰

2.11 Pelasgians

The Pelasgians enjoyed a rather ambiguous status as both Greeks of the heroic age and a prehistoric non-Greek population that subsequently adopted Hellenic *nomoi*.²⁶¹ Their appearance in Homer (notably epithets) provided the bases for a wide variety of stories and associations that showed little regard for consistency or genre – arguably just another case whereby material preserved within the Homeric corpus provided any number of templates which could be adapted to suit the requirements of the day.²⁶² Mythic or poetic traditions could constantly be invoked or cited, feeding back into discussions concerning various peoples (foreign or otherwise) in order to explain points of similarity or difference. Pelasgians feature prominently in early prose accounts, appearing in any number of contexts: in Greece prior to their expulsion in Hellanicus, Hecataeus and Hieronymus of Cardia²⁶³ and in Ionia – again in Hellanicus.²⁶⁴ Hecataeus reports that Thessaly was named after a king Pelasgos.²⁶⁵ Hellanicus, meanwhile, places Pelasgians in Tyrrhenia – thus linking them with Etruscans and other Italic peoples – and Cyzicus.²⁶⁶ The latter lead to great confusion – even in antiquity (Herodotus famously tried – and failed – to make sense of it all).

The ‘problem’ of the Pelasgians is arguably misconceived however as, seen from the perspective of those propagating such myths, the Pelasgians were arguably a solution to any number of historical lacunae which required explanation. As a construct that illustrates the complexity of discourse relating to identity the Pelasgians are, unsurprisingly, extremely difficult to pin down. Problems only arise, however, if one expects the traditions surrounding

²⁶⁰ It is reported not only that Egyptians refer to both he-goats and the god Pan by the same name (Μένδης) but that one he-goat in particular is singled out for veneration – creating considerable potential for confusion (Hdt. II 46). The Egypt of Herodotus’ day was seemingly thronged with ‘tourists’, creating any number of opportunities for information (accurate or otherwise) to be relayed further afield. See Assmann 2005 for the implications of this prolonged exposure to ‘enlightened’ and inquisitive Greeks in what is portrayed as an asymmetrical relationship. On the attitudes of tourists see Redfield 1985.

²⁶¹ Cf. Hdt. I 57; II 51. For Greek constructions of prehistory, see Finkelberg 2005.

²⁶² Pelasgian Argos II. II 681; Dodonean Zeus as ‘Pelasgian’ II. XVI 233; in Crete *Od.* IXX 175-7. On Homeric Pelasgians see: Loptson 1981 and, more generally, Myres 1907; Lochner-Hüttenbach 1960; Briquel 1984.

²⁶³ Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F4; Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F119; Hieronymus of Cardia *FGrH* 154 F17 Cf. Acusilaus (*FGrH* 2 F25a).

²⁶⁴ Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F92.

²⁶⁵ Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F14. See also Deiochus of Prokonnesos (*FGrH* 471 F7a, 8a).

²⁶⁶ Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F4.

them to be in any way consistent. Rather than thinking of Pelasgians as a historical population or idea that can be plotted and located, it might perhaps be more revealing to view them as an enigmatic construct that was variously appropriated and manipulated over time – solving some questions but raising others, contested in meaning but accumulating associations as they were successively incorporated into discourses of identity. It is also worth noting, as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood pointed out, that Pelasgians are often associated, both by virtue of (vague) chronology and geographical location, with early uses of the term ‘Hellas’.²⁶⁷ The latter may provide some clues as to the function and status of the construct as an ‘other’ against which self-proclaimed ‘Hellenes’ might contrast themselves.²⁶⁸

2.12 Arcadia

From the Pelasgians we shall now move to consider another group who traced their ancestry back to the eponymous Pelasgos.²⁶⁹ Arcadia was regarded as a somewhat liminal realm, marked out by its wild and mountainous terrain, and was routinely afforded the same treatment as supposedly ‘barbarian’ peoples as a result (i.e. one that was “ethnographic” in nature).²⁷⁰ The latter is invariably put down to prevailing stereotypes arising from entrenched notions of environmental determinism and a tendency to view a pastoral existence as ‘primitive’. Is it merely the case, however, that the deterministic relationship between landscape/topography and sacred/liminal status meant that such associations were to some extent automatic? Ascribing such views to ‘Greco-Roman society’ in general and leaving it at that might be seen as a somewhat simplistic approach: the manipulation of imaginary cultural boundaries was an ongoing process that served explicitly political ends, as Catherine Morgan has highlighted.²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 120-1 no.88. For Pelasgos son of Niobe/Zeus in Argos, see Acusilaus (*FGrH* 2 F25a); son of Argive Phoroneus (Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F36). For links to Thessaly (*FGrH* 4 F91). Cf. on culture heroes/Deucalion (Deiochus *FGrH* 471 F7a, 8a).

²⁶⁸ The incorporation of foreign and Homeric Pelasgians into genealogical poetry might equally be construed as an act of appropriation on behalf of those constructing genealogies.

²⁶⁹ For Arcadian Pelasgians, see Hdt. I 146.

²⁷⁰ For early interest in Arcadia, see *FGrH* 1 F 6, 9, 29a-b; *FGrH* 3 F85, 86-7, 116-17; *FGrH* 4 F 37, 162. See Ferguson 1975, 18-19, 21 (on Polyb. IV 20-1); Nielsen 1996; 1999; 2000; Campbell 2006, 78-84.

²⁷¹ Morgan 1999. The relationship between landscapes and identities has received considerable attention in recent years (for a variety of scholarly perspectives see: McInerney 1999; Foxhall 2003; Osborne 2007a). In discussing whether we can identify landscapes in which social and economic practices are linked with the cultural identities of specific groups, Lin Foxhall has for instance argued that the evidence for land division in early Greece – typically characterized by small units of land that can be ploughed in a day – reflects specifically ‘agrarian’ perspectives and ideologies that stand out from later modes of land use. It follows that ideals of private property/land use in all likelihood

Why would these traditions have been circulating in the first place other than the fact that they formed an important part of the way in which identities were mapped out or constructed? We have little by way of evidence for the way in which Arcadia and its inhabitants were both represented and perceived (aside, of course, from Homer) until the flurry of ethnographic treatments c.5th century BC. Questions remain as to how the literary material should be interpreted: as a bookish or antiquarian interest on behalf upon observers based in Athens/Ionia or signs that such questions were very much current topic of interest, playing a vital role in an emerging sense of Arcadianess? Excluded from the 'Hellenic club' and famously referred to as 'eaters of acorns' (βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες) in an oracle reported by Herodotus (Hdt. I 66), there is a very clear sense of Arcadian 'difference'.²⁷²

Having surveyed the full range of ideas relating a variety of foreign or mythical peoples, transcending media and genre, the next chapter examines the systems of knowledge and understanding that governed the way in which ideas relating to foreign peoples and places achieved widespread dissemination throughout the cultural *koiné* we now call 'Greek'. Far from being mere epiphenomena, 'structures' such as these provided the mechanisms by which individual and community identities might selectively be defined, playing an active role in deciding what it meant to be Greek in the first place.

predated the monumentalization of urban centers as a manifestation of collective ethos/values (Foxhall 2003). It is from this – rather more embedded – perspective that we should arguably be considering ideas of primitive/egalitarian, golden age societies that do not engage in cultivation etc. Rather than referring to 'the Greek ethnographic view' as though it were some reified abstraction, we should pay more attention to reconstructing the socio-cultural milieu in which such traditions might variously have circulated, the better to understand their wider function and purpose.

²⁷² Georges 1994, 164 points out that the techniques required to render acorns edible are actually quite sophisticated.

3. Mapping ethnography

We shall now turn our attention to the structures through which ideas relating a variety of foreign or mythical peoples found order and expression. Mapping out this ‘ethnography before ethnography’ will shed further light on the manner and/or means by which such materials were selectively deployed prior to the supposed upsurge in ethnographic activity arising from war with Persia. The latter will provide a more concrete framework for chapter two’s assortment of ethnographic ‘imaginings’, whose primary aim was to demonstrate the relatively high levels of interest and engagement with non-Greek cultures manifest across the board. The shift in focus to consider ethnographic discourse in terms of interlocking systems of knowledge and understanding will inevitably require the consideration of individual categories such as epic poetry and list songs, epithets and stereotyping.²⁷³ However, this chapter will also stress their essential connectivity within an overarching *imaginaire*, unhampered by epistemic distinctions that privilege rational and objective prose – ‘fact’ over fiction.

3.1 Naming and describing

The history of humanity’s engagement with questions of social and cultural difference is as old as society itself. There is neither time nor space to explore the nature or origins of cognitive skills intrinsically bound up in evolutionary processes that accompanied the emergence of early human societies – what Evolutionary Anthropologists refer to as the Social brain.²⁷⁴ It should also be emphasised, moreover, that knowledge of foreign peoples – or indeed anything/one considered strange or different – does not have to be particularly detailed or, indeed, accurate, for it to be important. It can ultimately be pared down to two inherently basic and interrelated questions, namely: who or what lies beyond one’s immediate community, the imaginative boundaries of which are subjectively defined, and by what criteria can they/it be effectively ordered and/or classified? The latter forms the essential basis for any intellectual engagement with ‘difference’ however perceived, whether ‘vague’ – as is often argued in the case of ideas relating to foreign peoples during the archaic

²⁷³ Cf. Robert 1980.

²⁷⁴ The start-point for this study is contingent upon the survival of sources and materials relating to ancient Greece. Such myopic Hellenocentricity can perhaps be offset by recent/ongoing research into the perception of foreigners in ancient Egypt (Kamal, forthcoming), China (Weigui 2001) and the Ancient Near East (Pu 2005). Cf. Gruen 2005 for Jewish perceptions of Persia. For perceptions of Greeks, see Sancisi-Weerdenberg 2001. For classificatory schemas in general, see Lloyd 1966; 2002; Goody 1977.

period – or forensic in detail.²⁷⁵ The processes of describing and classifying must always begin somewhere, however, and that somewhere is generally a name.²⁷⁶

3.1.2 Epithets

Names represent an intrinsic component of any wider ethnographic interest in that they identify the subject. They rarely exist in isolation, however. Instead, collective names are usually supplemented by additional information upon which identification can be ‘pegged’. Such elements or attributes ascribed to an individual or group might refer to abstract qualities/geographical location, but may equally refer to patterns of behaviour or common characteristics which then become cognate with the name itself, often taking the form of an epithet. Epithets, it will be argued, are significant both for the wider body of practice of which they are representative (the naming and describing of foreign peoples) and for the manner in which they function, once coined, as descriptive labels which may be incorporated into oral discourse or narrative – whether hexameters or, indeed, prose.²⁷⁷ Although transmitted to us as text via the medium of epic poetry, they would originally have functioned as building blocks/units of an (almost exclusively) oral discourse. This is important since the orality of early ethnography was an important factor in determining the ease with which knowledge relating to foreign peoples and places was exchanged and disseminated.

Discussion of the role and significance of epithets as a means of representing people/place has largely centred upon the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*.²⁷⁸ The wider significance of

²⁷⁵ “[N]aming and recognition are necessarily interrelated in their parallel structures of delineation and authority. For like recognition, naming also involves an act of classification... One never names, one classes.” (Goldhill 1991, 26-7, see 24-34 for discussion)

²⁷⁶ The power of names and naming would have been deemed largely self evident in antiquity. The ability to identify a specific group or individual brought with it certain powers associated with the ability to name a subject – witness Odysseus’ reluctance to reveal his name to Polyphemus/the ensuing curse (*Od.* IX 528-35) or the concern expressed in curse tablets to offset the schemes of ‘unnamed’ ill wishers. For general discussion of the (perceived) risks of being named, see Eidinow 2007. For the power that comes with knowledge of the geographically distant, see Helms 1988. See Goldhill 1991, 27 no. 50 for further references on cultural taboos relating to naming and its significance in Attic drama, oratory and invective.

²⁷⁷ Epithets of one sort or another are recognized as being typical of most narrative styles – up to and including prose. On the combination of personal/collective name and epithet/adjectival phrase, see Hainsworth 1968.

²⁷⁸ A significant milestone in the study of oral hexameter style, Page’s study of Homeric epithets highlighted the sheer range of name/noun-epithet formulas that were available to the poet as an aid to composition. The ensuing disagreement as to the specific role allotted to Homeric formulae in oral composition saw a clash of opinion between those who viewed the process as being essentially functional/mechanistic – in which the poet is merely abiding by the established rules of oral poetry –

catalogue poetry in mapping people and place will be discussed below, for now it is the function of the epithets themselves which needs to be addressed – in short, whether they can be thought of as being in any way ‘ethnographic’. Around 180 places are named in the catalogue, divided between the 29 contingents that made up the Achaean host. Of these around 62 possess descriptive epithets – around 70 if looser geographical phrases are included – some of which are occasionally employed for more than one place. Scholarship has for some time been divided over how the catalogue should be interpreted. One view, championed notably by Page but widely subscribed to both before and since the publication of *History and the Homeric Iliad*, was that it was based upon a detailed source dating from/not long after the historical expedition against Troy (i.e. circa mid-late 13th century BC) and therefore amounted to a historical description of Mycenaean Greece. Those opposing such arguments pointed out (in some cases quite rightly) that the ‘special knowledge’ that Page and others had argued for – supposedly the reflection of an earlier source that was explicitly concerned with the accurate description of places and their inhabitants – was in fact nothing of the sort, reflecting instead the formulaic use of stock phrases that owed more to metrical considerations than any historical reality.

The position adopted by Kirk is largely representative of the more sceptical or conservative stance that many scholars have adopted. Having classified and tabulated the epithets in question, Kirk concludes that they are in no way divergent from the Homeric formula style and, furthermore, that:

...the truth is that all the epithets (and other descriptive phrases) save about eight can be divided into one or other of four general categories of meaning. That a town is ‘well-built’ or ‘walled’, or ‘rocky’ or ‘steep’ in some sense, or ‘fertile’ or ‘grassy’ or ‘with many flocks’ on the other hand, does not presuppose any meticulous classification of particular places, since most ancient towns in ancient Greece fitted easily under one or more of these headings. (Kirk 1985, 175)

An effective riposte to the claims forwarded by Page, this assessment militates against our attaching any explicitly *ethnographic* reading to such material. It is now widely agreed that the catalogue encompasses material which ranges from what could even be a period prior to the historical expedition against Troy down until the later stages of composition, with

and those who, whilst acknowledging the importance of metrical considerations, stressed the richness and diversity of Homeric style. Cf. Page 1959, 222 (on oral epic) “its units are *formulas*, phrases ready-made, extending in length from a word or two to several complete lines, already adapted to the metre, and either already adapted or instantly adaptable to the limited range of ideas which the subject-matter of the Greek epic may require him to express” and Austin 1975, 6: “Homer’s style is paratactic...[but] his combination and repetition of formulas goes beyond parataxis to create for us a world rich in resonance and diversity.” Cf. Allen 1910; 1912; Allison 1968; Clark 2004.

occasional archaisms and the format of the list itself being the only indicators of earlier influence from any supposed Mycenaean catalogue tradition. Both the overall format and layout are held to be overwhelmingly consistent with the established rules of Homeric formula style. Although it is widely accepted that the description of the Boeotian contingent contains an unusual level of detail and is in many ways an exception to the general rule, the manner in which epithets are deployed is largely determined by “the limited and conventionalised structure of the many verses whose primary purpose is to contain place-names” (Kirk 1985, 176-7).²⁷⁹ The more general use of epithets has been interpreted in a variety of ways, with Parry insisting that they provide nothing but a heroic gloss to the narrative and others such as Austin and Vivante maintaining that a sense of meaning was retained throughout (Parry 1971; Austin 1975; Vivante 1982). It should be noted, however, that both positions focus predominantly upon the epic verse as *text* – something that can be analysed and dissected. Matters become more complicated, however, when we turn to the (far more nebulous) realm of the *imaginaire*: what happens, in short, once texts are heard, received and understood.

The rigorous analysis of the various place names and epithets, tabulated/seriated in rows, is perhaps ill-suited to gauging the extent to which these formed part of wider discourses of identity and difference. Regardless of their accuracy or metrical value, the very authority of their source effectively guarantees that locations described as having ‘fine dance halls’ or ‘swift horses’ will henceforth be conceived and/or remembered as such. As a result, they are suggestive of a wider process in which identities were selectively imagined/constructed using Homeric materials.²⁸⁰ Whilst an appreciation of the rules governing the use of specific formulae is important if we are to understand the manner in which epic poetry was both composed and recited, it does little to illuminate matters of reception – in particular, the way in which poetic material might subsequently be re-worked and re-imagined in everyday contexts. What does it mean if bent-bowed Paeonians (Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξους) are elsewhere described as ‘spear-bearing’ (ἄνδρας ἄγων δολιχεγχείας) (*Il.* 2. 848; 21.155)? Are such inconsistencies within a text important, or are we instead overly accustomed to dealing with narrative prose that can be read and rechecked by the lone individual in which extensive cross-referencing is effectively the norm. Is it safe to assume this (altogether more sophisticated) level of engagement with epic prior to the emergence of a prose tradition?

²⁷⁹ Analysis of the Boeotian catalogue has highlighted how the use of epithets is driven by both functional imperatives and the need to enliven its recital with a dramatic climax to each verse – with occasional exceptions where a change of emphasis is required. As a result, the use of epithets in the catalogue overall is perceived as being both general in meaning and to a large extent arbitrary: mere ‘metrical fillers’ which betray little interest in people/place (Kirk 1985, esp. 177-8).

²⁸⁰ Ridgway 1996; Malkin 1998; Graziosi 2002; Hall 2005. For Pelasgians, see chapter two.

Instead of seeing epithets as ethnographic fragments that must necessarily coalesce into a portrait that is both coherent and accurate, should we not see them as ‘mobile, discursive operators’ that can be continually reworked/fashioned as an element of discourse: snatches of ideas as opposed to lengthy excursuses (but no less important for all that).

3.1.2 Stereotyping

An epithet reflecting a belief relating to a group of people to which another group or individual subscribes can also be understood as a stereotype. To refer to Thracians as top-knotted (Θρήϊκες ἀκρόκομοι *Il.* IV 533) is to imply that most – if not all – Thracians are top-knotted and that top-knottedness is thus a characteristic by which all Thracians are recognizable. If, as has been argued, such practices are already endemic to Homeric epic, how should they be interpreted? Are they indeed indicative of knowledge of, or an interest in, foreign peoples and customs? Should they necessarily be the subject of censure, however implicit, as is perhaps implied by Edith Hall: the seeds of a process that would eventually produce ‘the Barbarian’, negative stereotype par excellence?²⁸¹ From a social psychological perspective stereotypes and stereotyping are an important means of making sense of the world and therefore possess a certain moral ambivalence.²⁸² Whilst charges of Orientalism may not be entirely misdirected or out of place, far more attention needs to be paid to questions of social and historical context. Rather than simply focussing upon the extent to which they form the basis for erroneous or pejorative beliefs concerning particular groups, with the implied moral censure that comes with it, we must also make some attempt to normalize stereotypes, placing them in their wider context as a cognitive function designed to help individuals deal effectively with social complexity on a day to day basis.

Some of the most insightful work on stereotyping has arisen in the context of post-colonial studies. Although some care is required in applying such theories to ancient societies, it provides a useful starting point for discussion of the manner in which knowledge relating to a variety of foreign peoples was both deployed and manipulated by active subjects.²⁸³ Stereotypes are viewed as the “major discursive strategy” of colonial discourse:

²⁸¹ “In a small number of epithets attached to certain ethnic groups, then, it looks as though the seed of later systematic ethnological science was germinating...” (Hall 1989, 41) This ‘minimalist’ interpretation is neither entirely convincing nor satisfactory, however. See further, chapter five.

²⁸² Whilst the practice of stereotyping has received considerable attention over the years, recent discussions have been at pains to emphasize their role as “a dynamic psychological process embedded in inter-group relations” (McGarty et al. 2002, 186).

²⁸³ Whilst long subject to question, the historicity of the Greek colonial paradigm has been disputed with much ferocity in recent years. Cf. Bérard 1960; de Angelis 1998; Osborne 1998; Hurst & Owen

...a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated... for it is the force of ambivalence that gives the colonial stereotype its currency.²⁸⁴

Whilst the use of stereotypes is thus firmly situated in the "discursive and political practices of racial and cultural hierarchization" (Bhabha 1994, 67), the extent to which such pronouncements are themselves historically situated should make us doubly cautious when it comes to inferring (modern) concepts of race and cultural hierarchization in an ancient context.²⁸⁵ Although hierarchies of one sort or another undoubtedly existed these rarely consisted (solely) of a unitary notion of Greek culture versus 'the rest'.²⁸⁶ The structures and power relationships underpinning the analyses of post-colonial theorists such as Homi K. Bhabha are profoundly different from those which held sway in antiquity. More recent studies can provide us with useful comparanda and alternative routes of inquiry. It has been noted, for instance, that dependence amounts to a major cause of stereotyping when it comes to inter-group relations (Corneille & Yzerbyt 2002). Observations of this nature add another dimension to the (decidedly ambivalent) manner in which Phoenicians are represented in Homeric epic:

Thither came Phoenicians, men famed for their ships,
greedy knaves, bringing countless trinkets in their black ship.

ἔνθα δὲ Φοίνικες ναυσικλυτοὶ ἤλυθον ἄνδρες,
τρώκται, μῦρ' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηϊ μελαίνῃ.

(~~Od. XIV 16~~)²⁸⁷

The suggestion that Homeric epic might in some way reflect the day to day realities of contemporary society is of course not unprecedented. There is clearly a lot to be gained, however, by focussing on the link between social relationships and the practice of stereotyping (one of the major building blocks of ethnographic discourse) allowing a far clearer sense of the circumstances under which such traditions came into being.

2005; Malkin 2008. It would equally be too simplistic to interpret the evidence purely in terms of mutual antagonism between Orient and Occident (Cf. Hall 1989; Miller 1997; Thomas 2000; Harrison 2002). For discussion of 'conceptualisation', see Smelik & Hemelrijk 1984, 1856-8.

²⁸⁴ Bhabha 1994, 66.

²⁸⁵ For recent discussion of the extent to which racist attitudes were prevalent in antiquity see: Isaac 2004, 2006; Tuplin 1999.

²⁸⁶ Sumptuary laws attributed to Zaleucus of Locri Epizephyrii cite the citizens of Smyrna as the epitome of wanton luxury. See: Arist. *Pol.* 1274a; Diod. Sic. 12. 19-21; Dem. 24. 139-40; Polyb. 12. 16

²⁸⁷ Cf. *Od.* XIV 287-9ff. Somewhat qualified by reference elsewhere to the Φοίνικας ἀγαυοὺς (*Od.* XIII 272). See, in particular, Winter 1995 and chapter two for further discussion.

Opinion as to the significance of stereotyping as practice is divided as we have already seen. Edith Hall has played down the use of epithets, arguing that they reflect only a vague or patchy interest in, or knowledge of, foreign peoples, lacking the coherence and vigour of ethnological science (Hall 1989, 41). However, this implies that the distinction between ethnological science and the use of epithets and stereotyping is entirely clear and straightforward – when in fact the reverse appears to be the case. It is in fact hard to think any body of ethnographic material from antiquity that is *not* predicated upon stereotypes and whether or not their application needs to be in any way systematic for it to be indicative of ethnographic interest is very much debateable. No simple conclusion is possible but it is certainly somewhat anachronistic to expect anything resembling ethnological science to be manifest at this time – a point to which we shall return in chapter five when discussing the manner in which ethnographic enquiry has been variously conceived and constructed by Classical scholarship.

The extent to which ethnographic tropes become effectively static and/or systematized is likewise open to question. Whilst a number of stereotypes might exist regarding a particular group or polity, which one is used and when will (in all likelihood) vary according to the context. Their formation should ultimately be conceived as occurring on an ad hoc basis (Spears 2002, 127): a process in which groups or individuals selectively affirm, deny or gloss over a variety of known qualities and stock attributes associated with a specific category of foreigner. Certain elements did achieve a degree of fixity in the case of written prose but it should nevertheless be remembered that prose accounts form only one component of wider discourses of identity and difference. Stereotypes existed as a pool of knowledge into which one could dip as and when required. Just as a recent study of the Greek polis has posed the question as to how prejudices and stereotypes played out in multi-ethnic communities such as that at Piraeus, where archaeological and epigraphic evidence attest to individuals of different outlook and culture living side by side,²⁸⁸ we need to factor stereotypes into our model of the overarching discourses of identity and difference that played out on quayside and harbour wall, dimly lit warehouses and sun-drenched streets, choked with traffic and filth.

Evidence for pejorative stereotypes regarding stupid or boring neighbours or rivals can be found in bountiful supply far beyond the confines of epic. They are, moreover, virtually

²⁸⁸ Vlassopoulos 2007a.

indistinguishable from those relating to generic barbarians.²⁸⁹ Epithets referring to generic characteristics of a particular place/people are evoked: “Sheep-rearing Asia”²⁹⁰ or, in an echo, one assumes, of Homer, reference to “top-knotted Thracians” at Salmydessus.²⁹¹ Elsewhere, the habitual use of Phrygian names when referring to pipers/slaves is interpreted as suggesting a well-established ethnic stereotype (e.g. Hipponax Fr. 118e). Generic references to Phrygian ‘foreigners’ that occur in conjunction with remarks concerning slaves have, in at least one instance, been translated using the denigratory term ‘Wogs’.²⁹² Reference to those of ‘Solecian speech’ is equally linked to the use of the term ‘barbarian’.²⁹³ Such inferences are not altogether unproblematic however as we also see instances where supposed barbarians are represented as the pinnacle of refinement and taste; Alcman (Fr. 16) draws on popular conceptions contrasting a laughable country bumpkin (from Thessaly) with an urban sophisticate from Sardis:

He was no yokel,
 No fool even among experts;
 Not of Thessalian stock,
 No shepherd from Nether Wallop
 But from the centre of Sardis.

οὐκ ἦς ἀνήρ ἀγρεῖος οὐ-
 δὲ σκαιὸς οὐδὲ παρὰ σοφοῖ-
 σιν οὐδὲ Θεσσαλὸς γένος,
 Ἐρυσιχαῖος οὐδὲ ποιμήν,
 ἀλλὰ Σαρδίων ἀπ' ἀκρῶν²⁹⁴

Evidence for decidedly ethnocentric attitudes towards foreign customs/cultures can at times be found; Phocylides declares “...a small orderly city on a height is superior to foolish Nineveh” (Fr. 8 West), whilst *Isthmian* 6 states: “...there is no city so alien or of such

²⁸⁹ Demodocus Fr. 2: “The Chians are base, not just one and another not, but all except Procles—and Procles is a Chian” (Χῖοι κακοί, οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὃς δ' οὐ, πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέους· καὶ Προκλῆς δὲ Χίος). Cf. *ibid* Fr. 1 on Milesians. A joke may perhaps be construed in referring to Heracleia as being in the land of the Cylicranians (Hermippus Fr. 4).

²⁹⁰ Archilochus Fr. 227.

²⁹¹ Hipponax Fr. 115 (cursing an errant friend). The peculiarity of Thracian haircuts has been cited as a possible cause for comments made by Anacreon regarding the Thracian boy Smerdies (Anac. Fr. 347). Hutchinson 2001, 264-5. Cf. Theocritus 14.46; *Il.* IV 533. Allusions to a woman in Anacreon Fr. 347 are thought to refer to the personification of Thrace itself! (Hutchinson 2001, 270 Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 181).

²⁹² Hipponax Fr. 27 (trans. West).

²⁹³ For Soloeci see: Hipponax Fr. 27 cf. Anacreon Fr. 423+S 313. Cf. Strab. XIV 2.28 on origins and Herodotus' use of (σολοικίζειν) (IV 117) to describe the manner in which the Sauromatae garble their Scythian. For other servile stereotypes: prayers to Malis (Lydian goddess id. with Athena) uttered by a slave praying his master won't beat him (Hipponax Fr. 40).

²⁹⁴ Alcman Fr. 16 (trans. West).

backward speech...” (οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτω βάρβαρος οὔτε παλίγγλωστος πόλις *I.* 6. 24).²⁹⁵ There is some ambiguity, however, as to whether such passages should automatically be understood to reflect a clear distinction between Greeks and non-Greeks. Nineveh was proverbially big – taking even the hardest Old Testament prophets three days to cross (presumably fairly robust characters) – so it may be overly simplistic to cite such sentiments as being indicative of an all-encompassing contempt for “Asian cultures”.²⁹⁶ Granted, it is unlikely that βάρβαρος would be applied to a Greek community without carrying overwhelmingly negative connotations but on the other hand, numerous supposedly ‘Greek’ populations were notorious for their uncouth dialect: Epirotes, Aetolians and Macedonians.²⁹⁷ That Pindar can hark back to a time when Boeotians were referred to as pigs is similarly indicative of the extent to which lyric poetry is effectively riddled with material testifying to a clear perception of ‘difference’ *within* the bounds of Hellas (Frag. 83).

One matter that might usefully be clarified is whether stereotypes should ever be considered as ‘just’ literary *topoi*. The latter was raised by Bohak in a rare (and recent) study of ancient stereotyping. Bohak’s emphasis upon stereotypes as historically situated social facts, affecting the relationships between different social groups, is both useful and incisive.²⁹⁸ It is doubtful, however, whether such arguments can be made to stand without acknowledging the politics underlying such representations. Whilst it is of course entirely correct that some stereotypes became staple fare for ancient writers and audiences, this does not necessarily imply that they were in any way defused ideologically.²⁹⁹ The ubiquity of epithets and stereotypes in the ancient sources points to both underlying knowledge regarding the habits and customs of ‘foreign’ peoples – variously defined depending on the context – and the use of such knowledge as a means of constructing group identities. Being part of a group meant constructing an identity based upon knowledge of ‘others’: an Athenian citizen would know that if you drank like a Scythian you would regret it the following morning,³⁰⁰ that Laconian girls show their thighs (Ibycus Fr. 339 cf. Anacreon Fr. 399), that ‘Carian’ and ‘mercenary’ were virtually synonymous,³⁰¹ that Arcadians ate acorns, that Libyans rode camels, that

²⁹⁵ The allusion to a linguistic community, in this case, is striking, there being a clear distinction made between the known/familiar and that which is other.

²⁹⁶ See recently: Mitchell 2007, 20-1. The emphasis on ‘smallness’ and orderly layout has inevitably attracted comment from those working on the history of the early polis/Hippodamian planning. See: Shipley 2005.

²⁹⁷ Malkin 2001; Hall 2001; Sourvinou-Inwood 2002.

²⁹⁸ Bohak 2005, 209 cf. Dench 1995.

²⁹⁹ Said 1978; 1993.

³⁰⁰ See chapter two.

³⁰¹ Carian auxiliaries (Archil. Fr. 216) “...and what’s more I shall be called an auxiliary like a Carian” (καὶ δὴ 'πικουρος ὥστε Κάρ κεκλήσομαι) - not a good thing presumably. Cf. Carian-made shield grip (Anac. Fr. 401). Other cases of mercenary service: Alc. Fr. 48; Babylon & Ascalon; Fr. 350 to brother returning from Babylon “the world’s end.”

Amazons bore bows, ate raw flesh and deferred to no man.³⁰² Passing references to such 'facts' demonstrates that they were something understood. In cases where there were a number of stereotypes concerning one particular group the resulting montage might be termed an ethnic portrait (Bohak 2005). It is open to question, however, as to whether there is any real difference between the latter and the systematic science that Edith Hall associates with the 5th century BC.³⁰³

Emma Dench has adopted a different line of argument altogether, casting doubt on whether ethnographical discourse can be explained solely in terms of 'internal' factors:

While, at times, under certain conditions, Greek and Roman images of Italian peoples tend towards non-specific generalizations, on the whole this discourse is characterised by considerable attention to detail. Certainly, detail is selected out and framed according to persisting patterns of 'ways of seeing', but these images by and large do not give the impression of being purely the products of Greek and Roman imaginations.

(Dench 1995, 22).

Emphasising the inherent complexities associated with the processes of stereotyping, Dench advocates studying the material record in order to illuminate what Greeks and Romans failed to see and by doing so the processes of perception that governed or dictated what they in turn wanted to 'see' (*ibid* 23).

The use of epithets and stereotyping was ultimately constitutive of identities. A form of social knowledge, they are best conceived as mobile, discursive systems of understanding that people carried in their heads. Stereotypes could find voice in a variety of contexts: the agora, theatre or symposium. That they affected individual perception and were an important factor in defining both individual and group identities is important – that we might find their ubiquity unsettling or distasteful is not.

3.2 Listing and imagining

One of the most obvious ways in which this plethora of information might be both organised and communicated is via the construction (and recital) of lists.³⁰⁴ List songs and catalogues

³⁰² Aesch. *Supp.* 287-9; Hdt. I 66.

³⁰³ Hall 1989, 40-1.

³⁰⁴ Goody 1977 discusses the impact of a shift "from utterance to text" (75) on systems of thought and classificatory schemas, disputing the argument that lists are ever 'natural' (108ff.) (contra Minchin 1996 et al on oral societies). On the practical benefits of listing, Goody states that it "...increases the

formed an important part of early hexameter poetry – a predominantly oral tradition whose survival has in many cases been dependent upon its being incorporated into epic verse.³⁰⁵ Those found in Homeric epic characteristically enumerate aspects of regional geography – usually in the form of epithets, demographic groupings as well as the genealogies of local heroes – systematically arranged according to geographical location, albeit often as an aid to memory.³⁰⁶ It would be all too easy to underestimate the importance of this genre in the history of early ethnographic thought: surviving only in fragments, amended in places and at times the victim of modern conceptions of lists as ‘boring’ and/or unimaginative. In contrast, when performed before an assembled audience they played a significant role in wider discourses of identity and difference, not least because they brought pleasure to their listeners, inspiring wonder and delight, objects, in other words, of consumption.³⁰⁷ Lists also function as important mechanisms of signification – representations – whose ability to segment, order, condense and transform places, events, groups or individuals carries a potency far beyond that of simple utterance.³⁰⁸

Works such as the *Catalogue of Ships* in book two of the *Iliad* achieve a new dimension when recited aloud from memory.³⁰⁹ (It might even be argued that they were didactic in nature.) The audience would be an active participant in this process, following the poet in their mind’s eye as he recited the list of warriors and war bands. For some these would be words learned by heart with the result that any major slip up or omission on behalf of the bard would immediately be noted. For others it would be new or at least unfamiliar: a catalogue of far off or familiar places – collected together as an ordered whole. The fact that individual contingents could presumably have been included or omitted (either intentionally or due to a slip of memory) would have created the potential for alternative or competing

visibility and definition of classes, makes it easier for the individual to engage in chunking, and more particularly in the hierarchical ordering of information which is critical to recall” (111).

³⁰⁵ The *Iliad* contains a variety of material that might plausibly represent pre-existing catalogue poetry – sometimes referred to as the Little Catalogues of the *Iliad*. These include the list of the Greek army in the battle with Hector (*Il.* XIII 685ff.), the seven towns offered by Agamemnon to Achilles (*Il.* IX 150ff, 292ff.) as well as a number of tales to which hints are made which might have included catalogues: the Seven against Thebes (*Il.* IV 376ff.), those who assembled to hunt the Calydonian Boar (*Il.* IX 527ff. esp. 544-5) and *Iliad* III. 161ff. concerning Helen’s suitors. Cf. Cingano 2005 on Hes. fr. 196-204.

³⁰⁶ For discussion see: Minchin 1996, 11-13.

³⁰⁷ For the pleasure of listening: *Il.* VII 127-8 cf. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2. 762-72.

³⁰⁸ Goody 1977, 110 and *passim*. I do not, however, agree with the overarching thesis that writing, and with it literacy alone, would have prompted speculation of a sort that made it almost inevitable that classificatory systems would grow ever more complex. The latter is too closely linked with attempts to rationalise the emergence of early philosophical enquiry: G.E.R. Lloyd’s *Polarity and Analogy* (1966) is cited by Goody at 102.

³⁰⁹ For the catalogue in general, see Mommsen 1850; Allen 1910; 1912; Austin 1965; Giovannini 1969; Hope Simpson & Lazenby 1970; Nachtergaeel 1975; Visser 1997. For discussion of historical traditions relating to the Heroic Age and early Archaic Greece, see Finkelberg 2005.

versions whose veracity might be disputed or gainsaid in a manner similar to that found in Presocratic debate.³¹⁰ To what extent, however, was the very *act* of describing the various participants according to their points of origin actually constitutive of a shared sense of group identity, a form of ‘performance ethnography’?³¹¹

Listing or citing far-flung places could serve any number of purposes. Charting the geographic boundaries of the known world by reciting a list of places conceived as being ‘at the furthest reaches’ can serve to emphasise the fame or the individual concerned.³¹² Such boundaries are conceived to be coterminous with the limits of human achievement:

...truly has Theron now reached the furthest point
with his achievements and
from his home grasps the pillars
of Herakles. What lies beyond neither wise men
nor fools can tread...

(*Ol.* 3. 43-5)³¹³

As well as the functional attributes of such “geographic metaphors”: glorifying the achievements of – in this case – Theron of Akragas, these operate as a structuring device, framing the mythic narrative (Kurke 1991, 53). Through such poems we gain a clear picture of a world consisting of three continents: Europe, “broad Asia” and Africa, surrounded by Oceanus (*Ol.* 7. 18; *Pyth.* 9. 6-9). The lands adjoining these boundaries are populated by a mixture of mythic and semi-mythical beings, providing the setting for tales such as Taygeta’s pursuit (*Ol.* 3. 25-32). These communities range from – at the farthest extremes - the utopian communities of Hyperboreans, sacred to Apollo, and semi-divine Ethiopians, also associated with the Homeric Memnon, to the paradigmatic inversion of Greek norms and values that was the Amazon polity.³¹⁴ Such regions are predominantly visited by gods and heroes – Apollo and Herakles being just two examples (*Ol.* 8. 46-8; 3. 14ff.) – with mythic and ‘real’ tangible,

³¹⁰ Graziosi 2002. Catherine Osborne (1987; 2006) has challenged the notion that Presocratic philosophers were engaged in a model philosophical dialogue of argument/counter-argument of the sort championed by Parmenides, arguing instead that philosophical inquiry could take a variety of forms: “To suggest that our favourite philosophers offer revisionary systems, not counter argument, is not, after all, to say that they merely talk past each other in a wilderness where no one listens and no one hears. It is to say that they listen and they respond; but... in a style that recent analytic philosophers have found it hard to hear or understand.” (Osborne C. 2006, 245) For the role of nineteenth- and early twentieth century conceptions of scientific enquiry, see chapter five.

³¹¹ Cf. other instances of catalogue poetry: *The Hunters of the Boar* (Stes. Fr. 222)

³¹² Direct reference to more far-flung locations seem also on occasion to resemble proverbs: with reference to Karthaia on Keos “...I will (not) trade it for Babylon of plains...” (*Pae.* 4. Fr. 52d) How much knowledge this implies concerning Babylon or even Karthaia (notably devoid of plains) is uncertain.

³¹³ Cf. *Pyth.* 10. 27-30; *Nem.* 4. 69; *Isthm.* 4. 14; 41-2; 6. 23 and *Isthm.* 2. 41-2 on bounds of generosity.

³¹⁴ Memnon: *Pyth.* 6. 31; *Nem.* 3. 61-3; 6. 49; *Isthm.* 5. 40-1; 8. 54. For Amazons, see: *Ol.* 8. 47; 13. 87; *Nem.* 3.38; *Frag.* 172.

geographies being in many cases conflated.³¹⁵ The limits of the known world are effectively delineated in an ode honouring Aristokleidas of Aigina recounting the epic journey of the Argonauts across the Inhospitable Sea (*Nem.* 4. 203) to “the dark-faced Kolchians” at the mouth of the Phasis (*Nem.* 4. 13), traversing Oceanus and the Red Sea, overland to Libya, the Mediterranean shore and then home to Iolkos (*Nem.* 4. cf. Fr. 172).

The mapping and cataloguing of foreign places and peoples by means of recited lists has much in common therefore with the so-called periegetic accounts that formed some of the earliest prose writing. The listing of itineraries had an obvious practical function but the politics and poetics of such exercises need also to be born in mind. The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* appears to be arranged in order to chart the places where the god received cult, in much the same way as odes composed by authors such as Pindar on the Aikidai.³¹⁶ The wider implications of such poetic ‘voyages’ remains open to question; should they be interpreted as over-arching charter myths or claims to cultural pre-eminence?³¹⁷ Some would, no doubt, have possessed a particular resonance in the immediate aftermath of the Persian Wars in commemorating the heroes who fought at Troy. It follows therefore that whilst it may be difficult to gauge the full import of the allusions made, we can be more than certain that, in Kurke’s words: “...the poet’s imagery was culturally grounded and meaningful to his audience...systematically deployed in service of the poetic program...” (Kurke 1991, 11). Lists functioned as systems of understanding and whilst they might bear little resemblance to later prose traditions, from a functional point of view there is very little to choose between them; although on occasions restrained, Herodotus’ unabashed appetite for listing and itineraries is abundantly clear.

The practice of reciting list songs and catalogues is closely linked to the construction of genealogies, with the latter often providing the basis for some of the earliest catalogue poetry, replete with epithets – again an effective means of organising notions of people and place. There is considerable evidence that genealogy functioned as an important heuristic tool for conceptualising identities throughout the ancient Mediterranean (and beyond).³¹⁸ Hellenic genealogy – including the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* – has recently been singled out as the basis for defining Greek ethnicity with fictive kinship taking preference

³¹⁵ The upper Danube region or Istrian land, referred to elsewhere as the “shady springs of Ister”, is also the land of the Hyperboreans (*Ol.* 3. 14; 26; *Pyth.* 10. 30-4).

³¹⁶ Cf. *Nem.* 10. 4-18 on Argive heroes with the six strophes that make up the core of the *Nemean 4* amounting to a catalogue of the Aikidai and the lands in which they receive hero’s honours (Kurke 1991, 51; Willcock 1995). Other catalogues focus notably the Aikidai: *Ol.* 8, *Pyth.* 8, *Nem.* 3-8, *Isthm.* 5, 6, 8. For the relationship between catalogue poetry and epinicia, see d’Alessio 2005.

³¹⁷ For ‘inventions’ cf. *Ol.* 13. 17-23; 65: dithyramb and bridle/bit.

³¹⁸ The role played by genealogy in the Old Testament is particularly notable. See: Gen. 5; 9.18; 10 (The Table of Nations).

over physical traits, religion, language or cultural orientation.³¹⁹ To what extent is this view valid, however, and can anything further be said regarding the role of genealogy in the ancient Mediterranean? Whilst the various problems arising from Hall's – perhaps overly schematic – treatment of archaic Greek identity have already been recounted, it might also be suggested (contra Hall) that genealogies were equally effective as a means of conceptualising *difference*³²⁰ and could just as easily be invoked when relating conflict between 'kin'.³²¹

It is not merely Hellenic genealogy alone that has attracted scholarly attention in recent years however. The manifest utility of genealogy as a means of defining identities made it an obvious choice, it is argued, when describing indigenous populations. Following a line of argument first laid down by Elias Bickerman in a classic article of 1952, Irad Malkin has demonstrated that mythic figures such as Odysseus and other 'returning heroes' (*Nostoi*) were employed to mediate encounters with non-Greek others and conceptualise identity/ethnicity in the Archaic/Classical period (Malkin 1998). A notable characteristic of "Nostos genealogical ethnography" as identified by Malkin is that it was normally applied to peoples living at one remove from those with whom Greek traders and colonists habitually came into contact. Odysseus figures prominently in such narratives as the archetypal 'returning hero', particularly linked with the wild and unknown and therefore typical of the "Greek ethnographic model for regarding and defining Others: heroic genealogy...", linked in this case to the Euboian colonies of Pithekoussai and Kyme (*Theogony* 1011-18; Malkin 1998, 160).³²² These mythic articulations functioned as a means of collective representation, adopted in some cases by the native populations themselves. However, the *Nostoi* – and by extension the writings tracing them – were not merely cultural representations but representations with a tangible impact upon Greek/non-Greek relations: the myths played an "active role "...in filtering, shaping an mediating cultural and ethnic encounters..." (Malkin 1998, 5).

³¹⁹ Hall J. 1997; 2002. For the social/political dynamics of the catalogue, see Irwin 2005.

³²⁰ The oppositional nature of these practices becomes clear when one examines the contexts in which genealogies are recited in Homeric epic – often when two heroes meet, they exchange greetings and recite their lineage to their opponent as either a prelude to conflict or reconciliation.

³²¹ Cf. Aeolian Smyrna (Mimnermus Fr. 9). Although to some extent obvious, the latter reflects an uncomfortable truth for anyone attempting to narrate the means by which a coherent sense of Greek identity emerged: kinship and genealogies are not necessarily a force for unity and are just as capable of acting as a means of defining difference.

³²² Odysseus is identified as progenitor of those ruling the Tyrsenoi (Etruscans) siring two sons: Latinos and Agrios, an association further supported by the fact that the Etruscan Utuse is in fact a transliteration from Euboian dialect. Such eponyms are supposedly characteristic "of a maritime perspective (sea to shore)" (Malkin 1998, 178). The *Nostoi* were also suitable for explaining migrations – unlike what is termed migration ethnography and distinct from "...other kinds of Grecocentric ethnographies..." that either sought to retrospectively assimilate foreigners to migratory Arcadians or the like, or the practice entertained by later Greek cities of creating their own *nostos* associations (Malkin 1998, 179).

It is here that Bickerman and Malkin differ hugely as, aside from pushing the adoption of Greek myths of origin far back into the archaic period and replacing 'scientific authority',³²³ with 'Homeric epic and its heroes',³²⁴ the latter's brand of 'New Historicism' opens up avenues of enquiry entirely alien to Bickerman's generation. Questions of agency remain all the same as the scenario is still one in which somewhat dull and unimaginative natives are progressively seduced by the glamour of a (Greek) heroic past. Should we envisage this as a form of 'cultural seepage' of the sort associated with Etruria (170): a one-way process in which Greeks remained impervious to the cultural influence of others?

Two factors should encourage us to be cautious about making such assumptions – however compelling the evidence may (at first) appear. First, the accumulating mass of scholarship demonstrating the degree of receptivity towards Near Eastern ideas and motifs in early epic during the early-archaic period: how 'Greek' were they in actual fact at this point in time? Whilst the diffuse collection of poems and list songs relating the deeds of gods and heroes must surely have had an equally important role in mediating difference between Greeks, can we indeed separate the two processes in anything like a meaningful fashion or should we instead view the Iron Age populations of regions such as Sicily and S. Italy as subscribing to the same values and sharing common interests with their Greek contemporaries, playing a, to some degree, active role in the promulgation of stories relating to the *nostoi*? The mounting evidence for active engagement by Italic peoples in networks of trade, association etc during the same period should serve to underline the fact that these were not parochial tribesmen but communities who were in many cases at a similar level of social and political development as contemporary 'Greeks' and whose elites appear to have been equally at home at great, so-called Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia (see further below).³²⁵ The pan-Mediterranean *koiné* of myths and heroes that emerged may, in the case of Homer, have been 'Greek' in origin but to view it as cultural property of Greeks alone is something else entirely.

Other, perhaps less subtle, approaches to colonial genealogies see them as nothing more or less than mythical projections legitimating overseas expansion: acts of representation and appropriation that merely render Asia/the Other 'known' to the Greeks.³²⁶ The relationship

³²³ "Under the double impact of Greek power and Greek science, the barbarians, mostly ignorant of their own primitive history, as soon as they had become a bit hellenized, accepted the Greek schema of *archaaiologia*" (Bickerman 1952, 73).

³²⁴ Malkin 1998. Noted explicitly at 176 cf. 29, 170.

³²⁵ See below, Chapter 4. On syncretism more generally: Malkin 2005 highlights the mediatory role played by Herakles/Melqart on Sicily.

³²⁶ 'Known' in the Saidian sense of the word and therefore legitimating "...the actions of colonisers and express[ing] the spirit of the age..." (Hall 1989, 48 cf. Dougherty 1993).

between myth and colonisation is arguably rather more complex, however – quite apart from the potential problems arising from what is effectively a retrojection of fifth-century perspectives, trawling the sources for ‘the supernatural agent of disorder...’ (Hall 1989, 50). Whatever our concerns regarding the wider currency of the *Nostoi*, their overall importance as ‘mobile discursive operators’ should not be underestimated.

3.3 Enquiring

Nostos identifications have much in common with the so-called “analytical” identifications of Hecataeus of Miletus and other mythographers active from the 6th century. In fact, it might reasonably be argued that the interests and enquiries of these individuals formed part of a wider continuum of thought linking Homeric genealogies, the *Nostoi*, and the prose study of the genealogical and mythological traditions endemic to Archaic-early Classical Greece. What, however, do we mean by “myth” and what exactly does “mythography” entail? If we set aside wider questions regarding the usefulness (or, indeed, advisability) of sub-dividing broad-based historiographical enquiries by genre, we are left with huge problems regarding how to define ancient conceptions of myth.³²⁷ This uncertainty, in turn, makes it difficult to point to a genre and/or mode of enquiry that was concerned exclusively with ‘myth’, as opposed to more wide-ranging concerns that were variously (but by no means exclusively) ethnographic, geographical or historical in nature.

Modern definitions of myth as “a story in which some of the characters are gods”,³²⁸ or simply a “traditional tale” that carries relevance in the present³²⁹ often seem rather inadequate, or even banal, when confronted with a diverse (and often inherently contradictory) range of opinions both as to what constituted *mythos* and what the term itself implied.³³⁰ Whilst we should perhaps resign ourselves to the lack of a secure and/or universally applicable definition of myth, an interest in aetiology, etymology and ‘origins’ in general is readily apparent throughout the sources. An interest in establishing the origins

³²⁷ For discussion, see Kirk 1970 chapter one; 1973; 1974, 13-29; Buxton 1994; Harrison 2000, 196-8, 206-7; Csapo 2005, 1-9.

³²⁸ Northrop Frye cited by Kirk 1970, 10; Harrison 2000, 197 no. 58. See also Kirk 1974, 27.

³²⁹ See: Bremmer 1987, 1; Burkert 1979a, 23; 1979b, 1-34. Kowalzig 2007 follows Burkert’s conception of myth where aetiologies are concerned: “Aetiology creates a religious world that is tied to visible localities and lived local customs. It is always engrained in the physical world, linked with the tangible reality of cults ad rituals, shrines and objects of cult...[It]...has a share in everyday religious practice; and it creates social explanations of items in use by a community of myth-tellers.” (25) For the more traditional view of aetiology as a form of primitive scientific explanation, see: and works cited at Kowalzig 2007, 25 no. 44.

³³⁰ See Harrison 2000 for discussion.

and/or 'First Finder' (πρῶτος εὐρετής) of various cults and institutions can be seen in Hecataeus' work and elsewhere, raising inevitable questions as to what, if anything, such interests imply? What does it mean, say, for Democles to pronounce on the Phoenician origins of a specific musical instrument/dirge (*FGrH* ii p.20 cf. Xanthos on Torrhebus and Torrhebian melodies: *FGrH* 765 F1)? Similarly Charon of Lampsacus' note that Phobus was the first to throw himself into the sea from the Leucadian Rocks (*FGrH* 262 F7a) or Acusilaus' assertion that rites in Samothrace were initiated in honour of the Cabeiri (*FGrH* 2 F20).³³¹ More general points such as the origins of various mythological races are also discussed, for example Giants (*FGrH* 2 F35) and Phaeacians (*FGrH* 2 F4) in Acusilaus. Who wants to know these things and why? The answer must surely go beyond some bookish interest in local history for its own sake.

Pearson's (brief) summation of Charon's work contains a number of comments and assumptions that provide much food for thought in this respect. The comments are, in part, a reaction to Müller's suggestion that Charon – like Hellanicus – wrote a *Ktiseis* dealing with the founding of cities. Well aware of the problems of attributing fragments to a particular work, Pearson declares the matter to be open ended, adding:

The interest of these legends is that they are of a particular romantic variety that appealed to Alexandrian taste, not in the Homeric nor precisely in the Hesiodic tradition. The occurrence of both of them in the work of Charon is also interesting as suggesting that he liked to present parallel legends and for that reason might be classed as an elementary student of folk-lore.³³²

The observation that such authors appear to draw upon traditions that are in many ways a departure from both Homeric and Hesiodic traditions is significant: a plethora of myths and aetiologies that were explicitly local in origin. Their 'romantic nature' finds obvious parallels, moreover, in the charter myths of cities such as Cyrene and the poleis of Magna Graecia. It has already been mentioned that stories concerning the seduction or rape of hapless nymphs are widely interpreted as presenting a mythical analogue for power relationships between indigenous populations and Greek colonists (see above). Colonial or charter myths have been variously interpreted as forms of early ethnography, evoking a sense of place and people (Dougherty 1993; Malkin 1998).³³³ The study of these myths

³³¹ For discussion of 'firsts' in Herodotus, see Harrison 2000 chapter seven.

³³² Pearson 1939, 150.

³³³ Cf. on colonial myth: Pherekydes of Athens on population of Ionia prior to Ionian colonization under Androclus, founder of Ephesus (*FGrH* 3 F155). On Cyzicus: the expulsion of the Pelasgian Doliones (*FGrH* 471 F8a). On Lampsacus/Lampsace Charon (*FGrH* 262 F7a, b) and on its prior inhabitants the Bebryces (*FGrH* 262 F8). Foundation myths that invoke elements of topography and landscape: nymphs, river gods etc feature prominently in areas such as S. Italy and Sicily. Documenting these was common practice amongst praise poets seeking to eulogise a victor's home

arguably demonstrates an interest in foundations, identity and origins – but the two are rarely considered side by side. Instead, many have followed the traditional approach of viewing Charon and his contemporaries very much in terms of a developmental framework:

His fragments, such as they are, suggest that his method resembled that of Herodotus...; they exhibit...a love of digression..., a taste for the curious tale and aetiology, combined with a desire to write serious history.

(Pearson 1939, 150)³³⁴

Leaving both Herodotus and ‘serious history’ aside, the love of curious tales and aetiologies – and particularly ‘digressions’ – are surely reminiscent of ‘ethnography’ as conventionally defined – it’s just, as it were, that the subject matter’s all wrong.

If one were looking for an author whose work reflected ethnographic concerns, Charon of Lampsacus would certainly be a good starting point. The traits that would (under other circumstances) have earned him the title of ‘mythographer’, including parallel tales etc, suggests that Charon was indeed aware of variant traditions. The tale concerning Arcas and the hamadryad nymph provides an aetiological myth for the Arcadians (with the requisite oak trees in attendance) and could easily be read as an account explaining the origins of Arcadia and Arcadians rather than a piece of romantic whimsy that served no other purpose than to delight both its audience and subsequent generations of Alexandrian scholars (*FGrH* 262 F12b). The role of such ‘invented traditions’ in both providing a focus for and, simultaneously, constructing identities was perhaps sufficiently evident to merit the researches of individuals such as Charon and Hellanicus.

An interest in origins per se may suggest that such tales figured prominently in everyday discourse and that they were reported for a reason. Explaining the link between people and place was obviously important. This might not constitute ‘ethnography’ as we understand it but if it served a similar function to contemporaries then this is surely what mattered. Even if some of the material we possess is pure speculation on behalf of the authors as opposed to genuine local traditions, they are nonetheless the product of the same intellectual milieu, the same desire to investigate and explain difference. Nor are these purely abstract constructs. Such claims would have either arisen from or be supported by cults, statues etc upon which

town. How different are they from traditional explanations of origins – e.g. the Spartoi and Thebes? (see above, chapter two) There was clearly a widespread desire to describe and unify disparate place in accounts of heroes wanderings – within the realms of the imagination (Herakles, Jason) c.f. Deiochus *FGrH* 471 F2,4 on the Argonauts.

³³⁴ The origins of these views will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five.

such tales could be pinned.³³⁵ How do these stories relate to identities, however? Where do they come from and in what contexts were they rehearsed? Given the fact that distinguishing between mythic and historical pasts was little more than a rhetorical strategy for early writers (who seem equally unclear as to how myth should be defined), attempting to separate rational or ‘scientific’ ethnography from genres such as ‘mythography’ is unlikely to produce anything other than a false dichotomy. Stuart Hall’s description of identities as “the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past.” (S. Hall 1990, 232) might encourage the suggestion that an interest in aetiologies, myths and fables of the sort that Hecataeus and Pherekydes are studying would have acted as a mechanism for understanding both local identities – and could in other words be considered as signs of an ethnographic interest – and the past.³³⁶

3.4 Celebrating place and people

3.4.1 *Epinikia*

Widely received and commissioned at great expense, epinician poetry was a genre whose chief purpose was to celebrate ‘place’ and people: the *laudandus*, his *oikos* and the polity from which they originated. Whilst the composition of epinicia can be traced back as far as Ibycus of Rhegion in the 6th century BC, the surviving remnants of this most ephemeral of art forms are likely to represent only very the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the number of epinicia in circulation at any one time – even in the case of celebrated individuals such as Pindar (Hornblower & Morgan 2007, 1).³³⁷ Whilst it would be far too simplistic to describe these as ethnography per se, there were occasions, for example, on which Pindar described Theban festivals and cult for the benefit of foreign patrons and audiences. Such instances

³³⁵ The manner in which tales told about the past – invented traditions – could form the basis of a shared sense of identity is now widely acknowledged. See: Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Gehkre 2001 and Flower 2002 (Sparta).

³³⁶ Barbara Kowalzig has argued that enquiries into matters such as the origins of cults and rituals arguably played an important role in explaining difference: “Aetiology is the narrated form of diversity in Greek religion. In accounting for diversity, giving an identity to a place and a community of myth-tellers, lies aetiology’s greatest potential for acting as a tale of social relevance...” (Graziosi 2007, 25) As such, it could arguably be viewed as reflecting ethnographic interests: a mechanism for understanding people, place and any associated peculiarities or customs that either might possess. Cf. Hecataeus on ‘Mycenae’ and ‘Oineus’ (*FGrH* 1 F22, 15); Pherekydes on ‘Teos’ (*FGrH* 3 F102); Ion of Chios on ‘Chios’ (*FGrH* 392 F1). See Fowler 1996; Woodbury 1980; Risch 1947. (Can one reasonably distinguish between etymology as a scientific method and popular etymology: Fowler 1996, 72 no. 77; Immerwahr 1966?) Kowalzig (2007, 26) take an alternative approach in arguing that aetiology abolishes history by denying change through time.

³³⁷ For the circumstances surrounding performance/re-performance of Pindaric odes, see Currie 2004; 2005, 16-18; Carey 2007.

include drawing comparisons between cult practices at Thebes, Argos, Sparta and Aegina for an Aeginetan audience:

ἐν μὲν Αἰτωλῶν θυσίαισι φαενναῖς
Οἰνεῖδαι κρατεροί,
ἐν δὲ Θήβαις ἵπποσόας Ἴόλαος
γέρας ἔχει, Περσεὺς δ' ἐν Ἄργει, Κάστορος δ' αἰχ-
μὰ Πολυδεύκεός τ' ἐπ' Εὐρώτα ῥεέθροις.
ἄλλ' ἐν Οἰνῶνα μεγαλήτορες ὄργαι
Αἰακοῦ παίδων τε...

(*Isthm.* 5, 30-5)

Elsewhere, Theban cult (*Ol.* 7, 13), myths of origin (*Σπάρτοι*, *Pyth.* 9. 82; *Isthm.* 1. 30, 7. 10; fr. 29) and cult buildings (*Nem.* 4) are all variously alluded to, although the poet appears to refrain from direct comment on forms of government or constitution (Hornblower & Morgan 2007, 5, 39). Stray references and allusions scattered throughout the rest of the corpus indicate that a wider knowledge of Amazons, the Euxine and Ethiopians was in many cases assumed (see chapter two for discussion).

Moreover, it has recently been noted that the “...implied opposition between *oikeion* and *allotrion*, what is one’s own as opposed to what is foreign, [is] frequent and important in Pindar generally...” (Hornblower 2004, 117).³³⁸ This is important if we recall the fragmentary paean cited at the beginning of the thesis: Pindar’s apparently relativist stance that implies knowledge of the variability of human custom. In sum, there appears to be very little separating ethnographer and poet; that Herodotus should draw upon an epinician authority suggests that the boundaries separating logographer and composer of praise poetry were entirely permeable and that the processes of mutual scrutiny and comparison were in fact endemic. Epinicia provided a vehicle for such comparisons, at times placing little known local deities centre stage such as Theia of many names, Mother of the Sun (*Isthm.* 5, 1), at others evoking local landscapes and imagery – a theme to which we shall return below in our discussion of coinage.

³³⁸ Some care is indeed required with regards to the notion of shared cultural values if one reflects upon the conceptual permutations of the term *ξένος*, used throughout the odes to denote ‘foreigners’. The ubiquity of the latter raises questions as to the role of the implied opposition between *oikeion* and *allotrion*. See: *Ol.* 8. 29; 9. 67; *Isth.* 6. 70 *passim*. cf. Zeus Xenios: *Ol.* 8. 21; *Nem.* 11. 8 cf. *Ol.* 10. 14 for strictness at Locri. The spatial characteristics of epinician poetry and the manner in which it’s structured around the *oikos* and an attendant theme of homecoming have been greatly elucidated by those such as Kurke (1991).

Although it is easy in hindsight to adopt a totalising perspective that views Greek culture as a homogenous entity, reflecting identity constructs that are essentially bi-polar in nature,³³⁹ it is worth considering whether poems such as Pindar's could not also function in more general terms as a means of storing and organizing information regarding the *nomoi* of different categories of others, some foreign – but many less so, encompassing communities both far removed and close at hand; their cults, myths of origin and topographical setting – historically grounded and spatially located within a wider *oikoumenē*. The shifting frames of reference and heightened sensitivity to questions of identity and difference make epinicia a highly appropriate medium for self-conscious reflection: a mechanism for thinking about people and place. Whilst the sense of a cacophony of competing voices is to some extent lost, both the esteem in which such works were held and the enthusiasm with which they were consumed remain readily apparent.

3.4.2 Greek coinage and its reception



Figure 7. Syracusean Tetradrachm AR, c.485-78 BC.

³³⁹ References to the curve-bowed Medes (Persia), Carthaginians, and Etruscans are fairly transparent allusions to contemporary politics: *Pyth.* 1. 72; 75-9; *Nem.* 9. 28; I.5. 49 cf. *Paeon* 2. 59-70 for campaigns against the Paionians in Thrace.

If ethnographic discourse is to be understood as an exchange of ideas and information about people and place then the use of coinage as a means of expressing cultural difference demands our attention. Although the narrative potential of an image stamped upon a small disk of precious metal may at times seem paltry or insubstantial when compared to that of sculpture or vase painting, let alone texts – they were nonetheless commissioned and executed by agents with a specific purpose in mind: to ‘speak’ to the user and tell stories.³⁴⁰ The latter ranged from the depiction of elements of a foundation myth or ‘historical’ event, to more general categories invoking elements of local topography, flora or fauna, an eclecticism of subject matter matched only by early Greek prose-writing – from which history proper sprang (fig. 7).³⁴¹ When viewed in the broadest terms, coins and the images they portray provide a material index of the varying bases of Greek identity. Exploring the manner in which they were read, ‘received’ and understood will therefore deepen our understanding of an important – yet frequently overlooked – mechanism for transmitting knowledge and ideas describing place and people.

Any attempt to link the production and use of coinage to wider discourses of identity and difference must begin with the caveat that, of the 1035 poleis catalogued by Hansen et al., only 444 are currently known to have possessed mints – of which only a hundred or so are known to have been in operation by 480 BC.³⁴² The majority relate to the minting of silver coin, a practice rarely dated to before 550 BC but which proliferated rapidly thereafter to encompass locations as far flung as Cyrene, Massalia and Cyzicus. The result is a comparatively vast body of material in which the identities of individual states and communities find individual expression – relatively unhampered by the Athenocentric biases characteristic of literary productions or vase painting. The results of this proliferation were dramatic; the rapid proliferation of coinage generated a veritable barrage of visual and discursive identities (albeit one largely unattested in the written sources) and whilst the copying or duplication of imagery did on occasion occur (to be distinguished from outright forgery, such practices were exceptions to (an otherwise general) rule.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ For a survey of approaches to narrative in Greek art, see Stansbury O’Donnell 1999: “Structurally and mechanically it is possible for the visual arts to present stories. Understanding how an ancient viewer might have participated and understood a pictorial narrative, however, is a difficult task” (9).

³⁴¹ Cf. Murray 2000, 330.

³⁴² Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 148; Kim 2001, 10–11. There existed in addition a number of supra-polis groups or bodies that also exercised their ability to mint coin (e.g. the Boeotian Federation and Delphic Amphiktyony).

³⁴³ For divergent views on the identity of the goddess depicted on coins minted at Corinth cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994; Ritter 2001.

3.4.3 Coining Identities

Notions of identity and representation are inextricably bound up with both the production and use of coinage. Identifying the mint or issuing authority from which a coin originated was an essential precursor to judging its intrinsic worth.³⁴⁴ This was achieved via a combination of symbolic imagery and inscriptions of a type easily recognisable and, one assumes, intelligible to those handling such coins in everyday transactions. As an effective guarantee of the coin's weight/bullion value, it is the $\sigma\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha$ that enables coinage to operate as a recognised medium of exchange.³⁴⁵

It can be stated quite emphatically therefore that the desire to link coinage to questions of identity is not indicative of some anachronistic preoccupation with modern notions of the nation-state.³⁴⁶ It has nonetheless been questioned whether such a link existed in antiquity – in particular whether coins “regularly functioned as abstract assertions of identity”.³⁴⁷ The latter is partly due to the purported reticence of cities such as Cyzicus and Phocaea in minting coins bereft of any identifying mark. However, whilst it is certainly true that the early electrum coinages of Ionia display a bewildering diversity of types, a fact which often renders it exceptionally difficult to ascertain their point of origin,³⁴⁸ coins from the two cities are extraordinarily consistent in depicting one (or more) seals, in the case of Phocaea (a *type parlant* or ‘canting type’), and a tunny fish respectively.³⁴⁹ These devices seem to function as a form of civic ‘badge’, appearing even on fractional issues.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁴ Arist. *Pol.* 1. 1257a. For the link between ‘place’/locality and coinage: ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα (Hdt. III 56. 4-7).

³⁴⁵ There is widespread evidence from antiquity to support this assertion: the scrutiny of individual coins in order to reveal their identity was explicitly linked to concepts of value and worth. When discussing the ethnicity of Aeschylus’ suppliants, Pelasgos employs terminology commonly associated with the minting of coin – whether in this case the women in question are of Argive race (Aesch. *Suppl.* 279-83; Kurke 1999, 320). Χαρακτήρ also plays a key role in the tale relayed by Herodotus concerning the recognition of Cyrus by Astyages: an indication of both identity and intrinsic worth (Hdt. I 116. 2-3 cf. Kurke 1999, 323-4).

³⁴⁶ A topic explored by Benedict Anderson in a study tracing the origins of nationalism to the late 18th century (Anderson 1991). Cf. in the UK, the vexed question of Britain’s adoption of the single European currency.

³⁴⁷ Martin 1995, 278.

³⁴⁸ A subject of long running concern for numismatists: Babelon 1897; Gardner 1907/8, 111; Head 1911; Jenkins 1990, 17.

³⁴⁹ Cf. Cyzicus AR Hemiobol. 0.41g. Obv: forepart of a crested boar, behind tunny. Rev. K reversed. Garstang Museum of Archaeology 106. SNG Cop. 52. In the case of Cyzicus, fractions of the electrum stater depict the distinctive tail of the tunny fish or, alternately, one or more fish heads (the head of a seal was used in a similar fashion on the coins of Phocaea).

³⁵⁰ The notion that coinage and identity were closely associated in antiquity has similarly been challenged in the light of a similar ‘reticence’ amongst: “... the powerful and proud fifth-century tyrants of Sicily [who did] nothing to proclaim their identities as rulers on the coins of their *poleis*...” (Martin 1995, 278 Cf. Finley 1979, 56; Kraay 1976, 205). Whether this is correct is surely a moot point. Our knowledge of the day-to-day workings of archaic tyrannies is limited, there being many



Figure 8. Cyzicene stater El., 5th century B.C.

Once established, such images became primarily self-referential in nature³⁵¹ with the result that the (often vexed) question as to exactly whose identity was originally represented is reduced to one of secondary importance. Whilst validation of a coin depends primarily upon its matching those already in circulation (i.e. possessing a particular legend or motif), the imagery itself often alluded to common elements of experience that might serve as a basis for some wider form of ‘collective identity’: the annual migration of tuna shoals from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean in the case of Cyzicus (fig. 8). It is not, therefore, merely a question of identifying *with* a particular image or type but rather assessing the very experience of using that coinage on a day-to-day basis – engaging with these symbolic projections, ‘reading’ their imagery and extracting meaning. What were the effects of this process when played out over time, what role did time itself play and how was it employed?

aspects of personal rule that appear to have been left intentionally vague. The extent to which tyrants associated themselves with civic cult is particularly unclear and we should not allow later exponents to unduly shape our expectations. For tyranny in Sicily see Luraghi 1994 where participation in Pan-Hellenic games is seen as part of a policy of representation and self-legitimation. Cf. Currie 2005; Hornblower 2004. For tyranny in general, see: Lewis 2006; 2000; Morgan 2003 (largely athenocentric); de Libero 1996 (omitting Sicily/Magna Graecia); McGlew 1993. For athletics and aristocracy see Nicholson 2005. Aristotle (*Arist. Pol.* 5.1314a-b) outlines the means by which a tyrannos could seek to preserve his power. Chief amongst these was to cultivate a reputation for virtue and to exercise prudence and restraint in their handling of state finances.

³⁵¹ Although mindful of authoritative pronouncements by the likes of Kraay to the effect that “The static nature of Greek coin-types can be exaggerated” (Kraay 1976, 4).

3.4.4 Greek coinage: picturing place

Did the manner in which these coined identities met and intermingled affect the way in which the communities in question saw themselves in relation to one another? The question is particularly pertinent during the Archaic period when Hellenic/'Greek' identity is widely thought to have been largely "aggregative" in nature: a loose construction of ethnicities derived from a wide range of factors including mythic genealogies, a common language and ethnic name, social structures and cult.³⁵² Was coinage therefore a means by which early societies sought to engage with the wider world, a platform for displaying aspects of a community's identity? As is so often the case, we have far more by way of questions than answers.

Discussion of the ideological scope of 'Greek coins' has rarely extended beyond the boundaries of the citizen communities for whom they were struck³⁵³ with the result that their reception outwith the confines of the issuing polis remains open to question. An attempt to assign coins an active role in disseminating 'Greek' ethnographies relies upon two separate lines of argument: first, that coins functioned unambiguously as symbols of identity and, secondly, that they circulated freely, albeit according to regional patterns of trade and association.³⁵⁴ There are a number of instances in which coins and the imagery they portray can be linked, quite unambiguously, to collective/political identities.³⁵⁵ The most straightforward are the coins of towns subordinate to regional powers such as Croton and Sybaris, two of Magna Graecia's leading poleis during the early-mid archaic period of whom we shall hear more below. These invariably depict the Crotonate tripod – or Sybarite bull – on the obverse of the coins, with the 'civic badge' of the minting community effectively relegated to the reverse.³⁵⁶ Such practice is highly unusual, arguably reflecting a state of affairs whereby the inhabitants of the respective poleis were forced to acknowledge the political and economic pre-eminence of a polity other than their own. Power-relationships

³⁵² Hall 2002.

³⁵³ Discussion surrounding the Athenian Standards Decree (*IG* i³ 1453) is largely tangential and rarely concerned with iconography. Persian sigloi are a notable (non-Greek) example: Carradice 1987; Carradice & Price 1988; Root 1989; 1991.

³⁵⁴ For full discussion, see Skinner forthcoming 2009. See Howgego et al. 2005 for recent work on coinage and identity in the Roman provinces.

³⁵⁵ The extent to which this was recognized in antiquity can also be inferred from studying the various symbols adorning both the head and/or margins of honorific decrees set up to record privileges granted to non-citizens. Those engaged in their production appear to have employed certain motifs and devices as quasi-logos that frequently draw on coin types for inspiration in order to signal the recipient's 'foreignness' (cf. Ritti 1969).

³⁵⁶ E.g. that of Temesa (a Corinthian helmet). Sybaris itself minted a triobol with a reverse type depicting a Crotonate tripod –presumably at/around the time of her subjection in 510 B.C. It is clearly not enough, in such cases to merely state that "...[a]s products originating in the *nomos* of the *polis*, coins naturally carried signs of their origin." (Martin 1995, 267).

between individual poleis are likewise reflected in the coinage of Sicily.³⁵⁷ The sudden changes in imagery makes it extremely difficult to interpret this as anything other than an ideological projection; the role that coin types played in transforming social relations merits serious consideration as a result.³⁵⁸

It is important to emphasise that these images did not operate in isolation. The fact that many (although by no means all) issues of silver coin emerged with, or rapidly acquired, a genitive ethnic presumably indicates that the intended audience was not restricted merely to 'insiders'.³⁵⁹ What would be the point of labelling coin in circumstances where currency remained strictly within the bounds of the issuing authority? The provision of ethnics should therefore be viewed as a 'facilitator': another means of validation ruling out any ambiguity as to how the accompanying imagery should be interpreted.³⁶⁰ The use of common scripts (albeit with regional variations with regards to individual letter forms) suggests that language may also have come to play a significant role as an expression of a collective identity although its use on the initial electrum issues of Ionia seems to have been (at best) limited.³⁶¹

The bases for these coined 'identities' vary widely. The 'currency' of ideas and imagery encompasses a number of overlapping themes: myth-history-geography, many, if not all, associated with cults celebrating founders and deities, eponymous or otherwise. Attempting

³⁵⁷ A particularly notable instance of this phenomenon is the polis of Himera which, following its capture by the tyrant of Acragas, immediately switched from minting reverse types depicting a cock to featuring the crab of Acragas. Himera simultaneously adopted to the Attic standard, also employed by Acragas (Kraay 1976). Other communities who likewise fell under the Acragantine control demonstrate a similar pattern of behaviour.

³⁵⁸ This is true, moreover, not only in the context of interaction between poleis but also with regards to dealings between 'Greek' and indigenous populations (Papadopoulos 2002; Thomas 1999). Cf. also coins struck during the early 5th century at Cumae – described as "a particularly puzzling group" by Kraay (1976, 178) and Rutter 1979, 12, 92; 1997; 2001, 66.

³⁵⁹ The possessive element of the genitive ethnic ('of the [...] people/polis') must at least anticipate the possibility that people who needed some reminder of this fact might also view the coin. Martin 1995, 266 for rare instances of the nominative substantive: the anomalous *paima* of Gortyna etc. Butcher draws attention to the use of genitive ethnics as a means of marking out different communities as well as more technical differences such as the size and shape of flan, generating "a feeling of distinction among the users" (Butcher 2005, 145).

³⁶⁰ The use of an ethnic suggests that traders, moneyers, etc. might well be confronted with coins not struck by their polis and that the provision of the label was in some ways necessary to avoid confusion with other 'foreign' issues of a similar type: bulls from Sybaris versus a calf from Rhegion etc (Seaford 2004). The presence of ethnics upon the initial coinages of Magna Graecia has also been seen in some quarters as a direct reflection of the "largely non-Hellenic environment" in which they circulated: "affirm[ing] or...project[ing] the 'Greekness' of the issuing city" (Volk 2001, 33).

³⁶¹ Cf. Woolf 1994 and bar $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ of Phanes' etc. For regional variations/local dialect see the koppa of both Corinthian pegasids and the coins of Croton. Likewise the San that took the place of sigma on Achaean issues in Southern Italy (Jefferey 1961). Canting types make little sense if the audience is incapable of making the link between Rhodos/the image of a rose, Selinous/the selinon etc. Whilst directly equating written language and ethnic/cultural identity is admittedly problematic (Papadopoulos 2002; Hall 1997; Jones 1997), the assumption that both internal and external audiences would nevertheless be culturally conversant is surely of some significance.

to categorise such material as either solely 'local' in meaning or origin or 'Pan-Hellenic' in scope seems both inadvisable and unnecessary. Visual allusions to the sea (dolphins, hippocamps, tunny, ships, shells, Poseidon) or viticulture (vine leaves, grapes, Dionysius, satyrs, cantharoi) – all common aspects of experience for those living alongside, or in close proximity to, the Mediterranean shore can hardly be said to fall exclusively into either one or the other category. Instead, their significance within both local and 'Pan-Hellenic' settings coexisted simultaneously – it being impossible to disentangle one from the other with any degree of certainty.³⁶²

3.4.5 Trading Identities, studying difference

Whilst the extent to which coinage came to be embedded in social relations within the polis has received considerable attention,³⁶³ consideration of its impact outwith this remit has been largely hampered by uncertainties regarding wider patterns of monetary circulation.³⁶⁴ The extent to which coinage circulated freely remains the cause of much scholarly disagreement however; it being argued that one of the characteristic features of Greek coinage in general was, in fact, its relative immobility.³⁶⁵ According to this view it is the widespread acceptability of a single coinage that should be regarded as exceptional.³⁶⁶ However, hoard evidence alone offers de facto proof that coinage both travelled and 'mixed', whether as bullion waiting to be converted or for use as currency elsewhere. Regional patterns of

³⁶² The same applies to representations of common cults along with other cultural practices and beliefs considered both quintessentially 'Greek' and 'local'. In the case of southern Italy, for example, representations of Pan-Hellenic deities have usually been identified as occurring only where they possessed a specific, local significance with the result that such imagery is deemed something of a rarity (Rutter 2001, 6). 'Local' representations of livestock, barley, tripods and Corinthian helmets are unlikely, however, to have been 'foreign'/incomprehensible when viewed by citizens of neighbouring poleis, and by those further afield.

³⁶³ Kurke 1999; von Reden 1995.

³⁶⁴ Whilst raising the possibility of an external audience when discussing the likely sources of inspiration for epinician odes, Rutter's analysis of Sicilian coin types stops short of considering the wider implications of the (potentially) widespread circulation of such symbols and imagery, encouraging the view that they enjoyed only "discreet patterns of circulation" and were therefore primarily "self-referential" in nature (Butcher 2005, 145, 147). Internal or outward-projecting discourses are viewed as mutually exclusive categories: Butcher 2005, 151, 154. Cf. Dougherty 1993; Malkin 1998.

³⁶⁵ Kraay 1964, 85. Burnett and others have argued emphatically against the inter-changeability of foreign issues with local coin within the polis. The range and potential audience of a given coin type has thus been significantly downplayed – most notably in the case of Roman provincial coinage but also by numismatists studying the archaic and early Classical periods. Cf. Butcher 2005, 147; Kraay 1964 being a seminal article although in defiance of Arist. *Pol.* 1257a 180.

³⁶⁶ Also the Amphictyonic decree establishing the weight of the Attic tetradrachm from the 2nd century BC (SEG III 729). Burnett 2005, 175 arguing from Xeno. *Poroi* 3.2; Plato, *Laws* 5. 742. Likewise Martin 1995, 271: "most Greek coins did not circulate very far from their originating mint". It is unlikely that fractional silver and bronze issues strayed beyond the territory of their issuing authority. Cf. Rutter 2000 for regional circulation throughout poleis of Sicily.

circulation can of course be observed (that exhibited by the Achaean cities in southern Italy being a notable example).³⁶⁷

Also notable is the Asyut hoard from Egypt (c.475 BC); a rare instance in which coins from Italy and Sicily have been recovered outwith their normal region of circulation. Numbering more than 681 coins, the Asyut hoard (*IGCH* 1644) encompasses most of the Greek world, from the Black Sea to Cyrene and Cyprus to Sicily. The reaction of many scholars, when confronted by major concentrations of coin, in hoards like those from Taranto and Asyut, is to write them off as unrepresentative anomalies. Such arguments, however, have a decidedly hollow ring to them. Whilst such concentrations may themselves be rare, the idea that marked bullion should travel along the trade routes as far afield as Egypt should certainly be no surprise.³⁶⁸ At the risk of constructing arguments from silence it could be argued that "...the apparent failure of some coins to travel widely does not *prove* that they were not used for trade..." (my emphasis).³⁶⁹ Far from being an anomaly then, the Asyut hoard could instead be a broadly representative sample of the number and variety of coinages in circulation.³⁷⁰ Elsewhere, overstrikes provide at least some evidence of the movement of 'foreign' coin, although of a somewhat ambivalent nature: the comparative scarcity of such practice would instead seem to indicate that most foreign coin was systematically melted down to be re-struck as fresh issues.³⁷¹

3.4.6 Exchanging Ideas

³⁶⁷ Of the hoards originating in southern Italy the only foreign coins recorded are those of Sicily, Athens and Corinth with the notable exception of the Taranto hoard (*IGCH* 1874), dated to c.490-80 and including 100 coins from mainland Greece and the islands and 13 from Sicily (out of a total of c.600 silver coins from about 28-30 different mints).

³⁶⁸ Price & Waggoner 1975, 28. It is perhaps helpful that coin hoards do survive in countries such as Egypt where there was no coin minted: foreign issues of any kind were thus retained. The diminished role of the $\sigma\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha$ is demonstrated by numerous notches and punch marks: scrutiny of a different kind, designed to verify bullion value – also practised in the Greek world but to a considerably lesser extent.

³⁶⁹ Howgego 1990, 3.

³⁷⁰ In contrast the Sambiase hoard, the earliest coin hoard in Italy at c.520 BC (*IGCH* 1872) contained only two Pegasi, the rest being coins of Sybaris. Coin hoards in Magna Graecia/Sicily show a heavy preference for local coin (*IGCH* 1876) or those of the same standard (*IGCH* 1873) (Thompson et al. 1973). Even this evidence is suspect however as many of the early finds of coin hoards were poorly documented and can be traced often to only a region or locality.

³⁷¹ Rutter 2001, 5; Garraffo 1984. It is generally only those types of a weight standard roughly equivalent to that of the minting polis that are modified in this way (or those that could be trimmed with comparatively little effort).

The widespread circulation of coined identities during the archaic/early Classical periods must have resulted in a complex exchange of knowledge and ideas: histories, stories, peoples and places all variously juxtaposed on a Braudelian scale. Questions of reception inevitably arise. Knowledge of certain non-Greek populations, their customs and peculiarities, seems to have been fairly common currency throughout the Greek world. In contrast, both the levels of mutual knowledge connecting early poleis and, most importantly, the various means by which it was transmitted, remain remarkably ill defined. The diffusion of coinage itself may arguably have contributed to this process.³⁷² This approach could arguably be extended to encompass the various theatres and scenarios in which coins would have been selected, scrutinised and argued over, prior to being either accepted as valid tender or rejected as 'different'.³⁷³

The 'static image' on a coin can rarely, if ever, be entirely divorced from popular or narrative traditions, whether providing some sort of aetiological explanation or a more prosaic reference to cult figures or their assorted attributes. As such, they provide an effective basis not only for shaping a collective perception of the (civic) self, but also the manner in which the latter might be read or understood by *others*.³⁷⁴ That these narratives have tended to focus upon a generic sense of place has long been noted. Representations of river gods and nymphs refer to elements of topography (particularly throughout Sicily/Southern Italy) alongside devices evoking agricultural produce or mineral wealth.³⁷⁵ Whilst not by any means the whole story, a discourse of identity, constructed with reference to the local or natural environment can clearly be identified. The process has been characterised as a form of colonial discourse; ideological projections possessing an active force in ongoing cultural negotiations, in which landscape and indigenous populations are framed within a series of cultural metaphors involving violence, marriage and cultivation.³⁷⁶

³⁷² Highlighting the link between coin types issued by the poleis of Sicily, most notably that of Acragas, and issues of self-representation and identity, Rutter has suggested that Pindar's *Pyth.* 6. 6 and 12. 2-3 are unlikely to be based upon autopsy, as they in all likelihood precede the poet's visit to the city (c.476) (Rutter 2000, 75-6; Carey 1981, 104; cf. *Ol.* 2. 9). Far from being mere artistic hyperbole this represents an attempt to characterise the city in terms of its landscape setting, reflecting forms of thought and analysis present in contemporary ethnographic discourse.

³⁷³ Cf. Kurke 1999.

³⁷⁴ That these narratives have tended to focus upon a generic sense of place has long been noted. Representations of river gods and nymphs refer to elements of topography (particularly throughout Sicily/Southern Italy) alongside devices evoking agricultural produce or mineral wealth. For the relationship between aetiological myth, ritual, and the creation of imagined pasts and identities see Kowalzig 2000; 2007.

³⁷⁵ Papadopoulos 2002. See also Hurter 2004; Rutter 2001; 2000; 1979; Lacroix 1965.

³⁷⁶ Dougherty 1993, 7-9. Both the role attributed to cultural poetics and arguments for coins functioning as a means of constructing relations of social dominance rely heavily on a model of colonial foundation/settlement that has in many cases been abandoned as untenable.

Coin types were therefore an ideal medium for the selective invention of past histories and identities.

Depicting or describing aspects of the local environment, flora or fauna can often send out decidedly mixed messages, indicating a more complicated sense of identity. The coins issued by Cyrene are a case in point. From the very outset (c.570 BC), Cyrene minted coin depicting the silphium plant or its attributes.³⁷⁷ A 'salient feature' of the polis' identity, coins struck in Cyrene invariably depict either the ρίζα (root/stem) of the silphium plant, with more detailed representations also including the root itself, or the heart-shaped fruit that it bore. The popular association between Battos' proverbial wealth and the silphium was no doubt strengthened by the fact that coin minted in Cyrene invariably carried this emblem and that the trade in silphium was itself incredibly lucrative.³⁷⁸

The consumption and use of silphium can be readily compared with that of frankincense, in that it was conceived as a luxury commodity whose consumption/use was taken for granted by those who could afford it.³⁷⁹ Whilst discussing the fauna of Libya it is merely noted that a particular species of weasel lives in the silphium (Hdt. IV 192). As a wild 'cash crop', silphium fuses aspects of natural landscape and environment with that of trade and merchandise. Its representation both on coins and, potentially, in song, amounts to both the effective 'commodification' of a polis and the creation of a logo/brand?³⁸⁰

Viewed in isolation such material might be treated as a numismatic curiosity reflecting the quirky nature of Cyrenaican coinage. The use of such images and motifs assumes a far wider significance, however, if we follow Rutter's example in scrutinising *epinikia* for signs of

³⁷⁷ *Ferula tingitana* cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.1.7. Cf. Solon Fr. 39; Hdt. IV 169; Hermippus Fr. 63; Plin. *HN* 19 38-46 (Liddle & Scott s.v. σίλφιον). See Micheli et al. 2000 chapter one for discussion. For the close relationship between Cyrene and local indigenous populations, who played a crucial role in the harvesting of silphium, see Laronde 1990; Marshall 2001; 2004. For contact with the wider Greek world, see Gill 2004.

³⁷⁸ When employed metaphorically, 'Battos' wealth' was thus widely understood as a reference to any rare or precious object.

³⁷⁹ This is borne out in the manner in which the plant is portrayed in Herodotus where it is assumed that any details concerning its properties, mode of production and means of supply would have been regarded as superfluous (Hdt. IV 169).

³⁸⁰ These visual metaphors are extended to encompass Cyrene's metropolis Thera. Line 17 of *Pythian* 4 states that "In place of short-finned dolphins they will take swift horses". The former are widely represented on civic issues throughout antiquity including those of Thera, referred to in earlier lines by name as well as obliquely as "the holy island" and "this sun-beaten land" (7, 10, 14). The reference to swift horses, already referred to in line 2 seems not inappropriate in an ode celebrating a chariot victory and hailing from a country long experienced in their use (Hdt. IV 189). Lines 52 and 57 of the same likewise refer to a ruler of "the plains with dark clouds...", themselves associated with Zeus the thunderer, and "...the fertile domain of Kronos' son on the Nile..." (*Pyth.* 4 52, 57) reflecting aspects of the local climate to which the region owed its wealth: cult, crops and charter myth are thus neatly intertwined. See Klein 2000 and Anderson 1991 respectively for the significance of logos in consumer society and national discourse.

inter-textual references linking the two media. Pindar's use of topographic data is singled out in odes eulogising victors hailing from Acragas, thus emphasising the potential usefulness of iconography/numismatics – and by extension that of the poems themselves – in disseminating ideas and information. A similar relationship can arguably be posited in the case of coins issued by Cyrene inasmuch as a preponderance of vegetal imagery in *Pythians* 4, 5 and 9 raises similar questions regarding the extent to which literary representations referenced iconographic materials.

That floral and vegetal imagery play a significant role in praise poetry, often in conjunction with evocations of landscape/environment, has long been acknowledged. Aside from a marked emphasis upon agricultural wealth, widely interpreted as allusions to the abundance of produce for which Cyrene was famed,³⁸¹ considerable attention has also been paid to the manner in which vegetal/floral imagery was routinely employed both as a metaphor for the (transient) fame and fortune with which an athletes' labours come into fruition and an eroticising element through which the 'ripeness' and youthful fecundity of the eponymous nymph were emphasized.³⁸² Whilst one must bear in mind that *Pythian* 4 is by far the longest ode in the collection – a fact that might skew the evidence in its favour – and the (undoubted) popularity of floral imagery as a means of illustrating aristocratic *arête*, the question remains as to whether the use of words with explicitly 'vegetal' connotations in poems dedicated to Cyrene reflects anything more than a reference to its proverbial fertility and/or the trysts of an amorous Olympian.

³⁸¹ In this case, the uncultivated wilds of Cyrene's territory are held to be analogous with both populations native to the region and the eponymous nymph, whose capture/seduction and subsequent 'taming' forms a necessary precursor to a prosperous and flourishing landscape (Castillo 1996, 166-7). Although it is generally accepted that such themes figured prominently in the iconographic programmes deployed by so-called colonial foundations, little attention has been paid to whether the longstanding preference for silphium-related imagery in the polis' coinage found echoes elsewhere.

³⁸² Epithets such as wheat or fruit-bearing Libya are commonplace (*Isth.* 4. 53b; *Pyth.* 4. 7). The many references to healing in *Pythian* 4 have been attributed to both the medicinal qualities of silphium (by no means its only use for which it was employed) and the esteem in which Cyrene's doctors were held (Race 1997, 258). For further discussion see Castillo 1996, 165-9; Salvatore 1996. Analysis of the frequency with which the figurative use of plant imagery occurs within Pindar's poetry reveals a marked concentration in poems eulogising victors from Cyrene when compared to the rest of the corpus (contra McCracken 1934, 343). Of the 105 examples catalogued by McCracken in poems and fragments the use of $\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha$ (2/4): *Pyth.* 4 15; 9 8 and $\phi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ (5/11): *Pyth.* 4 15, 69, 144, 256 are particularly notable (McCracken 1934).



Figure 9. Αστέων ρίζαν; Cyrene AR Tetradrachm.

With this in mind, the interpretation of a number of otherwise seemingly obscure references within *Pythian* 4, 5 and 9 may be subtly nuanced in order to reflect allusions to this most celebrated of products. The result, if taken alongside more generic references to cult, environment and topography, is an unexpectedly detailed portrait of the polis/territory in question and an indication of the extent to which media as diverse as coinage and praise poetry might have contributed to a wider ethnographic discourse. Whilst there is little grounds for dogmatism in such matters it is suggested on this basis that even if Pindar's choice of imagery is *not* to be understood as a conscious allusion to the silphium crop, those amongst his audience who heard such references may well have had cause to draw upon familiar themes or motifs with which to illustrate their imaginings – namely coins and the images they bore (fig. 9). Alternately, inspiration for the poetic imagery found in *Pythian* 4 and other odes relating to Cyrene was either directly inspired by or made conscious allusions to the iconographic programmes deployed to 'represent' the polis to a wider audience. A case in point would be the eulogy offered to "...the sweet garden of Aphrodite ..." on the plain of Libya (*Pyth.* 5. 24; 52):

ὁ Βάττου δ' ἔπεται παλαι-
ὸς ὄλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων,
πύργος ἀστεος ὄμμα τε φαειννότατον
ξένοισι.

...But the ancient prosperity of Battos continues,
nevertheless, as it bestows now this, now that,
bastion for the city and most splendid light for foreigners
(*Pyth.* 5. 55-7).³⁸³

³⁸³ The plant was notoriously difficult to cultivate but flourished wild of its own accord – perhaps offering some explanation for τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων (56). Farnell's reading of "in equal proportions awarding

There is, perhaps unsurprisingly, considerable room for ambiguity; that the foundation prophesy (*Pyth.* 4 9-16) includes, when taken with the verb φυτεύω, what may or may not be understood as a punning reference to ἀστέων ρίζαν³⁸⁴, means that references to plants/stems and planting could all plausibly be associated with the silphium crop (although 'planting a colony' is in itself a widely used phrase).³⁸⁵ As if to counter any seeming ambiguity with regards to the latter there is an accompanying reference to the oracle of Zeus Ammon (*Pyth.* 4 16, 57 cf. *Hymns* Fr. 36). Any discrepancy arising from the fact that oracle and polis are geographically remote from one another within "spacious Libya" (42) is thus neatly elided: as two sides to the same coin they represent a conceptual whole.

this and that = good and bad fortune" seems unnecessary (Farnell 1961, 176). The reference to ὄμμα is in this case ambiguous, carrying the sense of "anything dear or precious" (Liddle & Scott s.v. ὄμμα), whilst Πύργος ἀστεος may itself refer to the stem of the plant as depicted on the coins with Πύργος taking the meaning of 'tower'. Φαεννός may likewise be metaphorical allusion to either the splendour of the silphium or a reference to the fact that the plant's stem bears a passing resemblance to an ancient lighthouse?

³⁸⁴ ...Ἐπάφοιο κόραν ἀστέων ρίζαν φυτεύσεσθαι μελησιμβρότων Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθλοις" (*Pyth.* 4 14-16). On this see Braswell who disagrees with Farnell's identification of the ἀστέων ρίζαν as Cyrene as opposed to Thera, arguing that φυτεύσεσθαι carries a passive sense (Braswell 1988, 83; Farnell 1961, 151). Cf. *Pythian* 9 in honour of Telesikrates of Cyrene, winner in the hoplites' dromos of 474 BC, likewise opens with the tale of Apollo's granting "the virgin huntress" Cyrene her eponymous territory:

...τόθι νιν πολυμήλου
καὶ πολυκαρποτάτας θῆκε δέσποιναν χθονός
ρίζαν ἀπείρου τρίταν εὐ-
ήρατον θάλλοισαν οἰκεῖν.

...he made her mistress
of a land rich in flocks and abounding in fruit,
to inhabit the lovely and flourishing
root of the third continent... (*Pyth.* 9. 6-8 trans. Race)

Most translators are content to note only that the third continent is, in fact, Africa/Libya. Carey noted that this is derived from ἀπειρος (Carey 1981, 68). It is now commonly argued *pace* the scholia that θάλλοισαν should be understood to agree with δέσποιναν χθονός and not ρίζαν (Carey 1981, 68; Farnell 1961, 202; Bowra 1964; Gildersleeve 1890; schol. II). Castillo agrees but highlights: "...la ambigua sintaxis de θάλλοισαν que puede tanto referirse a δέσποιναν como a ρίζαν, produce el efecto de que este tercera raíz de la tierra, el continente de Libia, es especialmente apta para el desarrollo vegetal" (Castillo 1996, 124). Οικέω can also imply to manage, govern or direct as well as to inhabit and there is indeed some indication that the Battidai in fact exercised a monopoly over the production and export of the silphium plant. It is questionable whether "the ugly tautology" of θάλλοισαν ρίζαν (Carey 1981, 68) would be in any way mitigated by an allusion to the notion of the silphium as something to be managed. Carey's amendment to Cyrene being 'established on the root of the third continent' not only endorses its claim to Libya but does so in a fashion that sees the 'third root'/Africa/Cyrene – and potentially the silphium – all seemingly conflated (Carey 1981, 68. Cf. Gildersleeve; Castillo 1996, 123: "...aun cuando el uso metafórico de ρίζα en este pasaje descansa en la concepción de los tres continentes como distintas raíces de una misma planta, y en modo alguno se formula que le origen de la fertilidad de Cirene sea debido a la 'raíz Libia'...")

³⁸⁵ ...Ἐπάφοιο κόραν ἀστέων ρίζαν φυτεύσεσθαι μελησιμβρότων Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθλοις" (*Pyth.* 4 14-16).

Taken overall, these are rare and tantalizing glimpses of the ways in which coinage could potentially be exploited as a vehicle for constructing personal or group identities. Coinage did not just operate in isolation "...as a boundary phenomenon, articulating the border between the citizen community and its others".³⁸⁶ Instead, the widespread circulation of these symbols, stories and traditions contributed to a widening sense of connectedness and common identity, arrived at through *confronting* difference through a variety of media.³⁸⁷ That this occurred according to regional patterns of trade and association does not detract from the point overall: the exchange of knowledge, images and ideas generated fresh bases for collective self-perception and definition. Visualizing Greek *difference* played an important role in deciding what it meant to be 'Greek' in the first place.

3.5 Visualizing

Ethnographic discourse had an important iconographic dimension with visual cues to foreign identities being all but ubiquitous in some cases. They can be found adorning pots traded in agoras and potters' quarters up and down the Mediterranean, on coins, wrought metalwork and sculpture – points of intersection where 'readings' are selectively construed according to a complex nexus of ideas and values, half truths and imaginings.³⁸⁸ The apparent ease with which images or motifs could migrate from gems to coins and vases suggests that the visual fields with which individuals sought to conceptualise and problematise questions of identity were not ordered by rigid typology. Whilst questions of reception must remain very much open-ended, they cannot be ignored altogether as we extend our analysis beyond the (comparatively well demarcated) confines of the Attic-citizen-*imaginaire*, to encompass a wider world of wild imaginings, hazy half-truths, curiosity and ignorance.³⁸⁹ Rather than viewing the latter as merely foreshadowing what was later to come: an enlightened, rational, discourse conforming (albeit in the loosest terms) to modern standards of intellectual enquiry,³⁹⁰ we should instead focus on questions of function and context – namely, in cases where it is possible to discern such things, how these ideas were employed, how they were

³⁸⁶ Kurke 1999, 316.

³⁸⁷ Cf. Howgego: "We may at least ponder whether the coins themselves, as a mass-produced and circulating medium, handled by everyone, may have had an active role in spreading and fixing notions of identity" (Howgego 2005, 17).

³⁸⁸ For parallel discussion of the politics underpinning modern 'imaginings'/visual representation, see Said 1978; Hall S. 1997; Lidchi 1997; Penny 2002. For an overview of how Greeks represented others, see Sparkes 1997.

³⁸⁹ See Greenblatt 1991; Romm 1989; 1992; Campbell 2006 for discussion hazy/imagined knowledge of life on the margins. For receptions (variously interpreted) See, Hall 1989; Miller 1997; Harrison 2002; Antonaccio 2003, 70 on Athens/Persia.

³⁹⁰ Cf. Hall 1989; Thomas 2000 and Skinner 2002.

received and what this tells us about wider levels of knowledge, interest and/or understanding in foreign cultures, identity and difference.

Discussions tracing the history and evolution of ethnographic thought have traditionally paid little – if any – attention to the material/iconographic evidence. Where vase painting and sculptural representations are discussed it is generally in contexts specific to a particular social group/setting (Athenian symposiasts)³⁹¹, or an effort to gauge the levels of knowledge/overall accuracy with which a barbarian ‘type’ was represented (Thracians or ‘Scythian’ archers – of which we shall hear more below). It is worth noting, however, that although our ability to relate visual representations of the foreign to literary traditions concerning the same is of considerable importance, it is far from paramount as this study is more concerned with the play of ideas rather than factual content and/or accuracy *per se*. From this point of view, the information contained in textual sources is only important insofar as it forms the basis for *our* interpretation of the images concerned. If we can detect instances in which there appears to be a conscious interplay between textual traditions and iconography then this is obviously worthy of note and ideas written down are self-evidently important in their own right, however, it would be dangerous to assume that the images we encounter on vases and elsewhere should necessarily correspond to literary traditions with which we are familiar.³⁹²

Although theoretical discussion of the underlying problems associated with ‘reading’ Greek images/vases has largely centred on the mythological, the characteristic blurring of categories and concepts relating to early representations of inter-cultural contact makes this a highly appropriate start-point since we cannot always be certain if foreign peoples are being depicted in the first place. The essential plurality of Greek myth coupled with the discursive role that images played in its formulation and dissemination³⁹³ created an expressive world in which ‘foreignness’ could be expressed in a wide variety of ways. The fact that visual cues alluding to a particular ethnic group – real or imagined – could convey vastly differing associations, ideas, and messages depending on the audience or context meant that ideas relating to ‘the foreign’ were being continually rehearsed. Although there is much uncertainty surrounding the manner in which collective identities emerged during in the

³⁹¹ See further below but also Cohen 2000; Lissarrague 1990; 2002; Miller 1991.

³⁹² On our ability to ‘read’ Greek vases, see Goldhill & Osborne 1994; Carpenter 1991. Isaac (2004) argues that images allow us to step outside the (textual) sources and their various agendas to examine more general *mentalités* – a point open to debate. The decision to privilege one type of evidence to the exclusion of another is invariably problematic; questions of social context are arguably vital if we are to bypass modern interpretative schemas (Sourvinou-Inwood 1991).

³⁹³ Goldhill & Osborne 1994, 5. It is clear that ‘representations of foreign peoples’ cannot be considered without recourse to the more general theme of monsters/monstrous serving as a metaphor for particular ethnic groups (Dougherty 2003).

early-Archaic period, establishing a consensus as to what was or wasn't 'familiar' must have played an important role in which knowledge of the foreign or exotic was necessarily implicated.

Although confronted by a (seemingly) vast body of evidence, it is worth reminding ourselves both that the latter merely represents the fragmentary remnants of that which must have existed in antiquity and that any discussion of the manner in which foreign peoples were represented in visual media is inevitably constrained by our ability to 'read' and/or interpret the figurative styles employed by individual artists. Although it is sometimes possible to read foreign imagery into designs and motifs that would remain otherwise enigmatic (e.g. differences in armour schematically represented), this requires a level of detail beyond that of the (to our eyes) generic man, woman or a warrior types characteristic of Geometric pottery. The result of this initial ambiguity as to whom or what is being represented is that ethnographic interest and imaginings appear seemingly out of the blue once recognizably Scythian, Thracian or Ethiopian types are discernable. We should be extremely cautious, however, in making such assumptions: absent (or inscrutable) evidence does not necessarily equate to evidence of absence when it comes to gauging the relative levels of engagement with questions of identity and difference.

One phenomenon that has been both widely observed and commented upon is the manner in which ideas of the foreign appear to have been inextricably bound up in discourses of power and sovereignty. The latter forms the central focus of Michael Shanks' discussion of the production of proto-Corinthian *aryballoi* as a technology of power. Self-consciously deployed by an embattled social elite seeking to bolster its authority within the emergent city-state, this new visual field was entirely the result of the great social-political upheaval generated by an ongoing shift in power structures.³⁹⁴ This gave rise to stories relating the experiences of travel and, by extension, a concern for alterity, expressed in terms of the feminine, animal, vegetable or ultimately death and the divine – a potent means of defining the relationship between underclass and overlord. Discussion of "Art, design and the constitutive imagination in the early city state" (Shanks 1999, 210) therefore reinterprets the Orientalizing style as an interest in the "aesthetics of sovereignty and power" (*ibid* 213), as opposed to addressing how this knowledge was obtained and how it related to the wider world in general. Can we extend this view to encompass the myriad of contexts from which Corinthian wares have been recovered as a result of long-distance trade, placing such usages of 'Oriental' imagery on a par, say, with the various representations and/or receptions of

³⁹⁴ Shanks 1999, 212. On early Corinth in general see: Salmon 1984; Morgan 1988; 1998; 2001.

'difference' embedded in Homeric epic – as perceived by Hartog and Dougherty, Mackie or Ross?³⁹⁵ Does a taste for such oriental imagery necessarily equate to clear knowledge of the lands and artistic styles upon which they drew for inspiration? Did they carry connotations of Egypt, Assyria or Phoenicia, or were they merely deemed aesthetically pleasing – with no further thought being given to their selective 'referencing' of decorative styles, ideas or values, already in circulation?³⁹⁶

The extent to which ideas associated with Homeric Cyclopes provided a heuristic tool for conceptualising foreign peoples in general and the potential dangers arising from intercultural contact and interaction in particular has already been highlighted in an earlier chapter. This would appear to be linked to the apparent vogue for depicting the blinding of Polyphemus in vase painting, from around the early 7th century BC – a period in which contact and interaction between Greek-speaking populations and their neighbours was widespread and sustained.³⁹⁷ Events in *Odyssey* book IX are variously depicted on a proto-Attic amphora and vases from Argos (675-50 BC)³⁹⁸ and Eleusis.³⁹⁹ As well as demonstrating that the folk tale relating to Odysseus' encounter with the Cyclopes was already popular in this period, images such as these have been linked in many quarters – by dint of their widespread association with the Greek colonial experience – to early ethnographic thought.

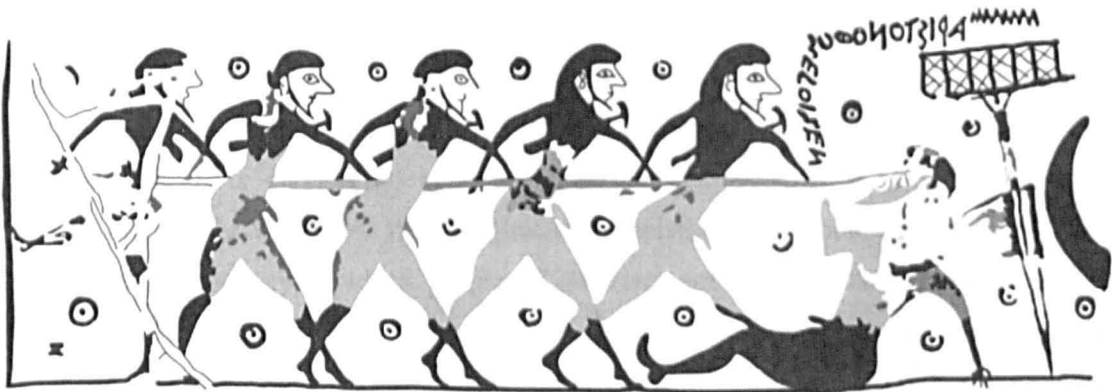


Figure 10. Aristonothos Krater (side B), ca. 650 BC).

³⁹⁵ See above: Introduction cf. Hartog 2005; Mackie 1996; Ross 2005.

³⁹⁶ For ideas and motifs in circulation see: Burkert 1992; West 1997.

³⁹⁷ Dougherty 2003, 40; Snodgrass 1998.

³⁹⁸ Argive crater fr. Argos C149; H. 24.5.

³⁹⁹ Attic MPA Eleusis amphora from Eleusis H. 1.42m c.670 BC. Coupled with gorgons pursuing Perseus – their decapitated sister behind them. For alternative interpretations see Langdon 2001. Cf. Laconian cup by the Rider Painter, Paris, Cals. Med. 190. W. 21.4; (484) Pseudo Chalcidian neck amphora from Vulchi. Polyphemus group, London B154, H. 30. For further depictions spanning the 6th- early 5th century BC see: *LIMC* s.v. *Kyklops*.

Manufactured from local clays and of a 'hybrid' type – equally reminiscent of Italo-Geometric traditions – one krater in particular has become a notable *cause célèbre* (fig. 10). Inscribed with the name of its maker, in all likelihood a Euboean name Aristonothos, the krater in question was discovered at Caere's Cerveteri cemetery and dates from c.700-650 BC. The exterior depicts two images juxtaposed: the blinding of Polyphemos by Odysseus and his companions and a naval engagement between two ships (See fig. 10).⁴⁰⁰ This is widely interpreted as a naval battle reflecting the at times fierce rivalry that existed between Etruscans and newcomers to the region (based largely on the fact that the two opposing vessels differ visibly in design).⁴⁰¹ On this occasion, the argument for an 'ethnographic reading' derives largely from its association with *Odyssey* book IX and the accompanying Phaeacian/Cyclopes dynamic described by Kurke. This leads to the argument that the two images should likewise be read in conjunction with one another, with each scene reflecting different ways of thinking about the colonial encounter – one mythological, the other veristic.

Such arguments are far from straightforward, however. In fact, there is some degree of uncertainty as to whether an exclusively Hellenocentric reading of the imagery is entirely appropriate given the bi-cultural circumstances surrounding its manufacture and subsequent deposition.⁴⁰² The images could equally represent an Etruscan reading of the *Odyssey* whilst Polyphemos' cannibalism might also be interpreted in more ways than one; as well as acting as a cipher for distant or alien peoples it could also be representative of those closer at hand: relationships between communities that we now think of as 'Greek' were frequently marred by acts of transgressive violence and the inversion of social norms. Under such circumstances, it is perhaps advisable to emphasise the potential for a multiplicity of readings, the better to ponder the thoughts or associations that such a piece might have engendered in a society in which people of different outlook and culture lived 'cheek by jowl'. Whatever the particulars surrounding the Aristonothos krater, both its maker and its wider user-audience appear to be making ready use of hybrid forms, observed difference and

⁴⁰⁰ Dougherty 2003, 47. See also: Spivey 2007, 248-50, Izzet 2004; Snodgrass 1998; Malkin 1998 166-7; Schweitzer 1955.

⁴⁰¹ One might note, in support of this, various traditions relating to Tyrrhenian 'pirates' a label whose subjectivity is self-evident (e.g. *Hymn Hom. Bacch.* 6-8ff.). Cf. the English usage of 'privateers' in a later, Elizabethan, age (Rodger 2004).

⁴⁰² Implicit in such arguments is the assumption that interpreting the vase in such a fashion would have been the sole preserve of a Greek. This is by no means the case as the Etruscan fascination with Utuse/Odysseus is well documented (see Malkin 1998, 156-77). See above and Hemelrijk 1984, 81-3. On Etruscans/Greek myth more generally see Spivey 2007; Izzet 2005. For Euboean/Etruscan interaction, see Ridgway 1990; 1996; 2000; 2004.

mythical paradigms to think about identities: what happens when they meet and why?⁴⁰³ Although the latter might not conform to a stark Greek/barbarian polarity, a self-conscious awareness of cultural difference is readily apparent.

3.6 Consuming

Another means by which we can usefully frame and explore questions of identity is via the idea of consumption. Whilst the period c.750-500 BC is widely perceived as one of great social, political and economic upheaval – symptoms, in part, of wider trends towards increasing urbanization and the emergence of the polis societies,⁴⁰⁴ material and poetic culture provided two distinct (yet inherently complementary) means by which archaic Greeks could render their world intelligible.⁴⁰⁵ The same period saw a marked increase in a desire for things, especially foreign things; a desire contingent upon a diffusion of knowledge relating to specific commodities employed as a basis for self-fashioning (Foxhall 1998, 298; 2005). This ‘consumer culture’ emerged at a time when both people and commodities were increasingly mobile. The diffusion of, and desire for, knowledge is arguably reflected in poems such as the *Odyssey* (I 330-2) and elsewhere. Stories and songs were themselves widely regarded as luxurious and highly desirable commodities, compared, on occasion, to Phoenician cargoes, synonymous with luxury goods.⁴⁰⁶

Just as processes of trade and interaction can be mapped with ever increasing clarity – throwing the Finleyan model of a primitive economy into increasing disarray in the process – so our picture of the economies of knowledge has become increasingly sophisticated. Trade in material goods – both luxury items and so-called staples such as wine and oil – is a topic of ongoing research in which empirical evidence for the movement of goods is not hard to come by. The excavated remains of a series of shipwrecks discovered in the western Mediterranean have made a notable contribution to our understanding of trade throughout

⁴⁰³ See Dougherty 2003 for full discussion. Depictions of Odysseus confronting the Sirens found upon a Corinthian *aryballos* may similarly be representative of the often ambivalent relationship between seafarer and landsman: (LC) Boston, MFA 1901.8100. H. 10.2. From Boeotia. Localisation of the Siren myth to the S. Italian shoreline (Strab. I. 22, 23; V 247; VI 258) may either be indicative of interaction with local tribes during the early trade for metals or the nature of the coastline itself from a mariner’s perspective: lined with cliffs and treacherous in places (Cf. Malkin’s ‘ship-to-shore-perspective’ – of which we shall hear more below – and Snodgrass 2000 on ‘A view from the sea’. See Malkin 1998, 189 for the various locations and associated traditions. For the early prominence of Sirens on worked metal objects see: Muscarella 1962.

⁴⁰⁴ Malkin 1998, 9; Osborne & Cunliffe 2005; Shipley 2005.

⁴⁰⁵ Morris 1997, 539.

⁴⁰⁶ *Pyth.* 2. 67-8; *Nem.* 8. 21; Foxhall 1998, 303. See above for the inherent desirability of myths and Malkin 1998, 6.

the region (at least with regards to the non-perishable commodities that variously made up their cargo).⁴⁰⁷ There remains plenty of debate, however, surrounding the precise volume of goods that travelled, their relative value or importance and just how their use should be interpreted once they reach their final destination.⁴⁰⁸ It is also far from clear how much this movement of goods indicates a similar mobility when it comes to people. Who crewed these vessels and in what numbers?⁴⁰⁹ Such questions may or may not find answers but they are unlikely to detract from our wider picture of a world defined by widespread mobility and exchange.⁴¹⁰ As such they provide a convenient start point for tracing signs of ethnographic interest prior to the supposed invention of the genre in the 5th century BC.⁴¹¹

It would clearly be difficult to argue that the widespread mobility of goods and people was not matched by an equally widespread pooling of knowledge and ideas. Indeed, an interest in knowledge and ideas was in all likelihood intimately bound up with the desire to consume, or appropriate foreign and/or luxury items in the first place. As such, knowledge was itself an object of consumption. Rather than being universally accessible one might envisage that access to products and knowledge from far off places would at times convey a degree of status upon the individual agent (the extent to which this was the case would of course vary depending upon the context).⁴¹² Access to information and luxury goods went hand in hand. Both *Odyssey* IX 196-215 and Hesiod's *Catalogue* (fr. 238) have been widely interpreted as reflecting the popularity of Thracian wines. Odysseus' tale referring to the protection of Maron is understood as an allusion to the town of Maroneia on the south coast of Thrace.⁴¹³ The gift of wine with which the hero was subsequently rewarded (amongst other things) is eulogised at some length, making the association all the more explicit (οἶνον... ἤδ' ὄν ἀκηράσιον, θεῖον ποτόν). Although a priest of Apollo in the *Odyssey*, Hesiod's Maron can boast Dionysius as his great-grandfather – further reinforcing the

⁴⁰⁷ Antonaccio 2001, 135.

⁴⁰⁸ On the value of painted pottery: Gill 1991; 1994.

⁴⁰⁹ Opinion is in many cases divided as to whether such vessels should be identified (in this case) as being of either Greek or Etruscan origin. For diverse views Gori et al. 2006.

⁴¹⁰ The mobility of groups and individuals is well attested: *Od.* I 182-4; IX 125-30 (οἶά τε πολλὰ... θάλασσαν) etc.

⁴¹¹ Although see G.E.R. Lloyd: "Trading relations do not necessarily imply a deep mutual understanding between, or even much mutual curiosity concerning, the societies in question..." (G.E.R. Lloyd 1979, 237).

⁴¹² On ideas of 'craft and 'distance' associated with luxury commodities such as sandalwood, frankincense, and ebony, and wider analysis of the relationship between power, knowledge and geographical distance, see Helms 1988 111ff. For more general studies on consumption, see Glennie 1995; Mansvelt 2005. Davidson 1997 explores such themes using Athens as a case study. Duplouy's study of elite culture from the 10th-5th centuries BC focuses on *modes de reconnaissance sociale* as crucial mechanisms through which elite status was contested and defined (Duplouy 2006).

⁴¹³ See Isaac 1986; Graham 1978; 2001; Owen 2000; 2003 for interaction and settlement in Thrace. See also above, chapter two.

associations with viticulture.⁴¹⁴ In each case, the assembled audience was presumably assumed to be fully capable of interpreting such allusions, revelling in a sense of shared knowledge and connoisseurship.

It is similarly hard to interpret material such as Pindar's Fragment 106, recounting the provenance of good things, as anything other than a very clear indication that these were ideas with which his assembled audience was assumed to be conversant: 'knowing', for instance, that the best hunting dogs came from Laconia, that goats which milked well came from Skyros and that both Argive arms and Theban chariots were without peer.⁴¹⁵ Whilst it is at times hard to gauge how specific objects or images might have been perceived, evidence from authors such as Herodotus suggests that the ability to link items of material culture with identities: Athenian pottery (banned from the sacred precincts of Aegina and Argos), the 'Dorian' peplos and 'Ionian' chiton, and the golden cicadas and linen undergarments that signalled an affinity with Ionia (Thuc. I. 6).⁴¹⁶ 'Foreign' products might in other cases be so endemic as to become an indispensable element of cultural identities. The use of frankincense both in the symposium and ritual being a notable case in point: according to Xenophanes of Colophon, the burning of incense was an important element of any good dinner party along with good wine and conversation, whilst virtuous souls can look forward to 'shady frankincense trees (λιβάνων σκιαρᾶν) in Pindar's Hades.⁴¹⁷ Just as the use of drinking services or hoplite weaponry in Proto-historic Italy should be interpreted as active strategies for self-definition as opposed to evidence of creeping Hellenisation, the use of orientalisising or Achaemenid designs and imagery in proto-Corinthian and Attic vases suggests something more than a mere fascination for *Orientalia*/'Perserie'.⁴¹⁸

Whilst we can be confident that the archaeologically attestable processes of consumption and trade generated knowledge and information of a broadly 'ethnographic' nature, questions remain as to how these transactions were perceived both in antiquity and the present day.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁴ Heubeck 1989, 25. It is worth noting in addition that early coinage from Thrace makes ready use of themes associated with viticulture: grapes, garlands and Dionysius. See Kraay 1976; Carradice 1995. Cf. a Chian didrachm, AR, 7.2, SNG Vol. III 2858: early coins from Chios commonly depict grapes, amphorae and a sphinx.

⁴¹⁵ cf. Pindar 107ab; the excellence of Naxian whetstones: *Isth.* 6. 74 later endorsed by Pliny *NH* 36.54, 164; 37.109.

⁴¹⁶ Hdt. V 58. See: Antonaccio 2003, 62-5; Cohen 2001 (on items of dress).

⁴¹⁷ Xenophanes Fr. 2; Pindar Fr. 129. Whilst the latter may be invoked to indicate the 'otherness' of death it is entirely possible that the use of *libanos* and other such loan words relating to 'oriental imports' had been totally assimilated (contra. Burkert 1992, 20, 36).

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Dench 1995; Miller 1997; Mitchell 2007.

⁴¹⁹ Herodotus' tale of the mute transactions undertaken by Carthaginian and Libyan merchants (IV 194) demonstrates an implicit awareness of the potential dangers arising from contact and/or interaction – notably the serial abductions of women that form the narrative start point for the *Histories* as a whole. In what is self-evidently a paradigmatic account, Herodotus describes how,

Lesky's assertion that it was innate inquisitiveness of *Greek* traders – men “with their eyes open”, whose interests strayed beyond the merely practical, falls rather wide of the mark as both a (rather simplistic) explanation for the perceived evolution from periegetic account to discussions of foreign manners and customs, and as a somewhat questionable assumption that such individuals were so securely entrenched in their identities as ‘enlightened Greeks’ as to be entirely immune to external influence and thus in a position merely to *observe* (Lesky 1966, 219). Trade, inter-cultural contact and consumption were factors endemic to the Mediterranean world. Material artefacts and ideas – whether stories told of far-off lands, mythical fabulae or obscure etymologies – were continually being employed discursively to construct identities (of whatever kind).

Having made some attempt to map out this ‘ethnography before ethnography’; the structures through which ideas relating a variety of foreign or mythical peoples were variously ordered and found expression, the next chapter strikes out beyond the well-travelled and much discussed worlds of those most reified of subjects, the civic imaginaire of democratic Athens and Ionian Scientific enquiry to take a closer look at the way in which ethnographic discourse might have played out in practice ‘on the ground’. To do so is important since the study of early Ionic prose has – until relatively recently – been largely devoid of attempts to relate the (apparently) bookish interests and pursuits of its authors to the ‘lived experience’ and social worlds of their contemporaries as revealed by the material record. Instead of treating these as two separate discourses running in parallel, a series of case studies will be employed to demonstrate that the interests and concerns of authors such as Herodotus and Hecataeus were firmly embedded in a socio-intellectual milieu in which discourses of identity and difference were forever being constructed and/or received in an ongoing play of culture, power and knowledge.⁴²⁰

when such meetings occur, goods are left on the shore so that no one has to communicate directly. The other party can then inspect the merchandise before engaging in a form of mute bargaining. Although direct contact (with its attendant knowledge-transfer – and any subsequent repercussions) is thus seemingly averted, there is a sense that even exceptional and elaborate precautions such as these are unlikely to prove effective in the long run (Harrison 2007).

⁴²⁰ See Hall, S. 1990.

PART II

THE ECONOMIES OF KNOWLEDGE

4. Mapping Identities

Having identified some of the major building blocks upon which 'ethnographic discourse' might be founded – knowledge relating to a variety of foreign peoples, both Greek and non-Greek, and the mechanisms by it was deployed – it is now time to extend our analysis to encompass unfamiliar settings and far-flung locations: the wilds of Scythia, Magna Graecia and, at the 'imagined centre', the great panhellenic sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia. This broad canvas is necessary in order to demonstrate that discourses of identity indicative of a self-conscious engagement with questions of cultural difference were not only widespread well before their supposed epiphany during the 5th century BC – the point at which Greek identity is purported to have switched from 'ethnic' to cultural criteria⁴²¹ – but also intrinsic to the processes by which identities (of any kind) were constructed. If 'ethnographic discourse' was indeed manifest in a variety of contexts outwith traditional genre writing – and therefore just as important in contexts in which we have little or no literary evidence for an interest in the manners and customs of one's neighbours or those further afield – then it should be possible to map its various features and contours, in a manner sensitive to local nuances and complexities: the networks of trade and association that connected settler and indigene, thriving metropolis and remote farming community. Time, space and the availability of evidence mean that this will remain a partial (and somewhat uneven) treatment of the period in question; our survey will alternately zoom in and out, focussing upon particular questions or locales in some detail whilst merely alluding to others in passing. Although the result may be a somewhat bumpy and uneven ride around the Greek world, this is wholly to be expected when tracing the history of ideas in a world defined by mobility and exchange.

Before we proceed any further, however, it is worth pausing to re-iterate one very important point. Whilst the discourses of identity and difference encountered below provided both the material and the *means* by which group and/or individual identities might be selectively constructed,⁴²² they need not (and should not) be interpreted in terms of a homogenous group

⁴²¹ Hall E. 1989 but especially Hall, J. 1997; 2002.

⁴²² Although somewhat inexact and prone to misuse and generalization, the term 'social knowledge' reflects the extent to which the information and ideas that circulated in antiquity were selectively deployed by individual agents in order to both situate and define themselves as variously belonging to

identity – whether ‘Greek’, ‘native’ or barbarian. Instead, the emphasis upon an essential plurality of identities as socially constructed and historically contingent reflects a conviction that these were essentially *ongoing* processes that were never static or fixed, and in which the stark delineation of conceptually bounded ethnic groups has little – if any – role to play. Scholars are now remarkably cautious when discussing the extent to which those involved in the earliest phases of Greek settlement would have been conscious of any shared sense of Hellenic identity, defined in opposition to the ‘barbarian’ peoples they encountered. The traditional criteria upon which such judgements would be based have variously been qualified in recent years: the idea of a common language – supposedly implicit in the term ‘barbarian’ – is a gross oversimplification of a situation that saw a multitude of regional dialects sit side by side with, in some cases widespread bilingualism, or at least the (apparently widespread) ability to negotiate language barriers in circumstances where contact took place on a regular basis.⁴²³ Allusions to shared descent from a common Hellenic stock are offset by the fact that intermarriage between groups of different outlook and culture was entirely commonplace whilst the overall fluidity of the Olympian pantheon allowed for a generous measure of syncretism between local and imported deities.⁴²⁴ This is *not* to say that the populations in question did not encounter cultural difference, rather that it is unlikely to have equated to a neat Greek-barbarian polarity.

one of any number of identity groups (male/female, settler/indigene, farmer/nomad, up-lander/ townsman etc).

⁴²³ Morpurgo Davies 2002, 168: “‘Greek’ was and remained an abstract concept which subsumed all different varieties, much as a federal government subsumes the component states...”

⁴²⁴ On language: Hall, J. 1995; 1997; 2002; Arena 1996; Munson 2005 but see Harrison 1998. For intermarriage/bilingualism, see Hall, J. 2005, 280; 2002, 100-2, 113-17; Coldstream 1993; Hodos 1999; Marshall 2004. For bilingualism throughout antiquity in general, see Adams et al 2002. For gods/syncreticism, see Dothan 2003; Greaves 2004; Malkin 2005; Kleibrink 2006.

4.1 Between boundless steppe and a welcoming sea: Olbia and its environs during the archaic-early Classical periods

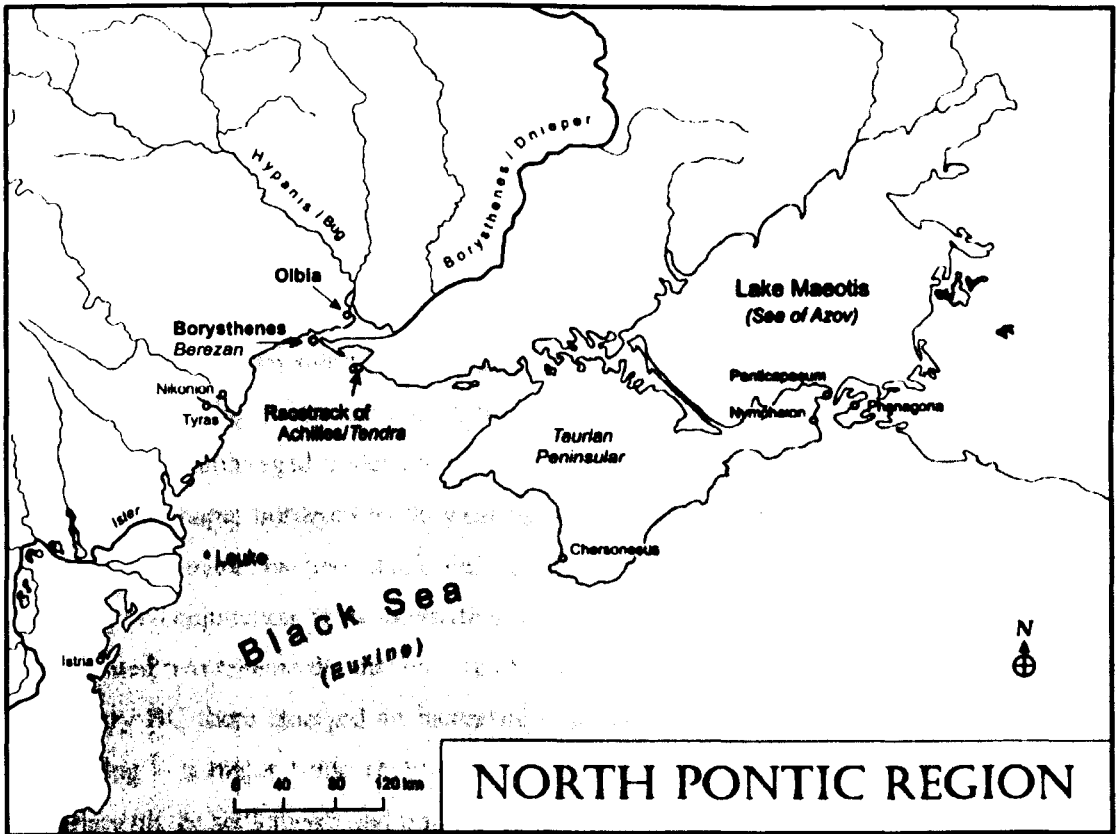


Figure. 11. Map showing Berezan and Olbia within the North Pontic Region

Our first port of call on this voyage of exploration is the northern Pontic region and the city of Olbia and its localities in particular; extending our discussion of ideas relating to Scythia and ‘Scythians’ to encompass their supposed place of origin (fig. 11).⁴²⁵ It should be made clear from the outset that the archaeology and history of the region are bedevilled by controversy. Not only have a number of (hugely impassioned) debates regarding the manner in which material and literary evidences should be interpreted yet to run their course but the fundamental differences in attitude and approach from which they (in part) arise have proved every bit as divisive as the political barriers that arose in the aftermath of the Second World

⁴²⁵ This study is greatly indebted to a recent upsurge in publication on the history/archaeology of the North Pontic region in languages other than Russian and Ukrainian, allowing far wider access to materials and evidence previously inaccessible to anyone for whom Russian-language scholarship remains something of a closed book. Rather than providing an accurate reflection of work previously undertaken by successive generations of scholars, the references which follow provide merely a start point for those wishing to pursue such matters further with the titles of certain key texts reproduced in English for ease of referral. For a history of Russian scholarship of the 18th-19th centuries, see Tunkina 2003.

War.⁴²⁶ With such caveats in mind, it will nonetheless be useful to sketch a rough framework of events for the period in question, before proceeding to more detailed discussion of instances in which a self-conscious engagement with 'foreign' identities, manners and customs can reasonably be inferred.

4.1.1. Negotiated heterogeneity: Economic, social and political interactions in Greater Olbia from earliest contacts to the 5th century BC

Located on the western shore of the Bug liman, the city of Olbia occupied a slightly elevated position overlooking a low stretch of shoreline upon which ships might easily be beached. Now partially submerged under the waters of the Bug (Hypanis), the site is approximately triangular in shape; bordered to its west by a formidable ravine, whilst to the north-west a series of man-made barriers mark the successive ebb and flow of human habitation that occurred in conjunction with alternating levels of prosperity (see fig. 12). The acropolis incorporated two *temene* divided by a road running north-south and an agora, whilst from the 5th century BC there emerged an increasingly urbanised 'lower town'/harbour area adjacent to the Bug – a major trade route and one of the principal waterways linking the coastal emporia with the settlements and trading stations of the interior.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ The apparent ease with which individuals such as E.H Minns positioned themselves between academic traditions, west and east, still stands out as being exceptional (Minns 1913).

⁴²⁷ Vinogradov & Kryžicky 1995; Rusjaeva 2003.

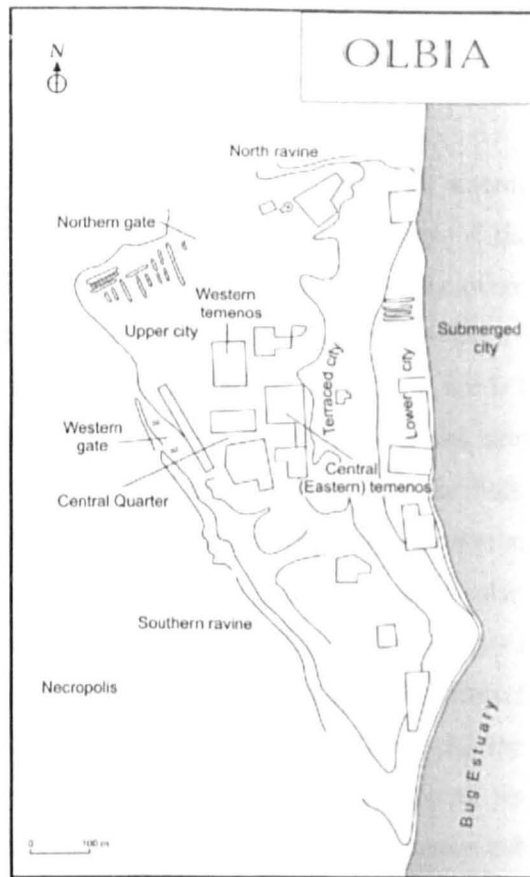


Figure 12. Olbia

The settlement at Olbia was preceded by an earlier site at Berezan on a former peninsula some 40km to the southwest (now reduced to an island due to rising sea levels).⁴²⁸ Although traditionally attributed a leading role in settling the region, it seems highly unlikely that Miletus was the only city from which the newcomers came. Whilst a Milesian contingent may have been prominent, we must therefore envisage one or more communities defined primarily in terms of their heterogeneity.⁴²⁹ It has now become commonplace to point out that the overwhelming majority of early settlers are likely to have consisted of adult males in boats. This fact alone would have rendered intermarriage with the local population an obvious desideratum if the settlement were to have any long-term viability, leading to a

⁴²⁸ Tsetskhadze et al 1999; Solovyov 1999; 2001.

⁴²⁹ Whilst widely subscribed to, the idea that Miletus played a leading role in opening up the Euxine may in part represent a historical mirage: a combination of later sources – Pliny's famous statement that the city founded 90 colonies (*N.H.* 5.122) – and a tendency for settlements subsequently to emphasise their Milesian pedigree (cf. Strab. XIV 1.6). See Avram et al. (2004, 924) for discussion of historiographical tradition. Even the 'Milesianess' of Miletus at the time can itself be overstated: recent scholarship has been at pains to point out that (quite apart from the need to allow for the involvement of other groups/individuals from across Ionia) archaic Miletus was itself a highly cosmopolitan city whose inhabitants proved highly adaptable when confronted with interests and customs not their own (Greaves 2002; 2004).

degree of bilingualism, creolization and cultural hybridity characteristic of colonial societies.⁴³⁰

Trade would also have created extensive opportunities for intercultural contact even if we remain essentially unclear as to its precise nature. Many of the commodities circulating during this (or indeed any other) period leave little by way of archaeological signature. In some cases this has led scholars to be extremely cautious when it comes to assessing the nature and overall intensity of trading activity across the north Pontic region and beyond (e.g. Greaves 2007). Whilst other (less reticent) commentators have confidently asserted that first grain and then the slave trade⁴³¹ provided the basis for both local wealth and that of steppe Scythia as a whole, it cannot be denied that both Bezeran and Olbia were also ideally placed not only to take advantage of local resources – in particular the rich fish stocks of the river estuary that would later be eulogised by Herodotus (IV 53) – but also to act as a central hub for processing and stockpiling of objects and materials from further afield.⁴³² Whatever the relative importance of the various commodities involved, the movement of goods and people (whether slaves or free) is likely to have contributed yet further to a community defined more by its heterogeneity than any single or homogenous cultural identity.

The material record is certainly suggestive of an influx of goods of diverse origins. In the case of Berezan, trade links with Egypt may be inferred – however indirectly – from a faience vessel in the form of a fish dating to the late 6th century and a late archaic paste pendant of Horus.⁴³³ The recovery of pottery from Samos, Chios, Ephesus and possibly Smyrna dating to the 7th century BC suggests participation in wider networks of trade and exchange incorporating the cities of Ionia (Tsetschladze 1998). Whilst the practice of cabotage, coasting voyages by ships loaded with mixed cargoes sailing from port to port, makes it unnecessary to infer direct contact with the various centres mentioned, connections of this kind provided at least one mechanism by which knowledge and ideas might be

⁴³⁰ Braund 2007, 40-1. These may well be reflected in (confused) references to Greeks who variously 'went native' and other 'half-Hellenes' mentioned in Herodotus and elsewhere (a topic to which we shall return below. See: Hdt. IV 17, 108; Rusyayeva 2007, 101-2). Cf. Marshall 2004 citing onomastic evidence from Cyrene. The latter is discussed by Mason 1976, 377-87. Further references can be found at Marshall 2004, 128 no. 2.

⁴³¹ Most recently the latter has been favourably compared with the trade in cereals as being a far more lucrative source of revenue (Gavriljuk 2003).

⁴³² For the wider importance of the salting and preservation of fish – including sturgeon and tunny – as part of the local/regional economy, see Bekker-Nielsen 2005; Demir 2007. For trade in metals, see Domanskij & Marčenko 2003, 35.

⁴³³ Faience vessel: B.82.315 (Solovyov 1999, 87 fig. 77); Horus pendant: B.87.313 (*ibid.* 57 fig. 41).

transmitted between nodes.⁴³⁴ Trade in precious metals is suggested by the mention of 'Lydian plate' in a letter inscribed on lead tablets dating from the late 6th century, discovered in Olbia's agora (*SEG XLVIII 1011*). Copper splashes, ingots and the remains of ovens were also recovered amongst the remains of two buildings in the Osnovnoj area on Berezan island providing evidence for craft production and the possible importing of copper ore.⁴³⁵ In short, we have every reason to believe that both settlements enjoyed regular and sustained contact both with the Northern Pontic region and the wider (Mediterranean) world.

Opinions vary hugely as to the initial (and subsequent) status of the settlement at Berezan, not to mention the ethno-cultural make-up of its inhabitants. It is generally agreed, however, that the transfer of at least a proportion of the settlers to the mainland site of Olbia overlooking the estuary circa 600 BC would have opened up the surrounding landscape for agricultural exploitation (rendering contact with local populations all the more likely). The topic is highly controversial, however. Opinion is divided as to whether the absence of evidence of settled populations should be interpreted as evidence of absence or merely a reflection of the methodologies, paradigms and sampling strategies currently employed.⁴³⁶ Attempts to downplay the level of interaction between settlers and local populations – by denying that the latter ever existed – remain highly questionable.⁴³⁷ Such comments are a symptom of the ongoing and bitter dispute between those that interpret the early settlement data in terms of a predominantly non-Greek community, home to a scattering of Ionians prior to a subsequent influx of colonists and those who see the community as 'Greek' from

⁴³⁴ Similar conclusions can be drawn from Klazomenian amphoras recovered from Olbia, dated to c. 530-500 BC, that are marked with dipinti identified as the letter B from the Corinthian/Megarian alphabet (*SEG L 703*).

⁴³⁵ Dated to the end of the 7th/first half of the 6th century BC these structures are interpreted as workshops whose combined output is thought to have far exceeded the needs of the local population, leading to speculation that objects manufactured on site would have been traded back to the mother city – trade with the interior being seemingly discounted. Metallurgical analysis of the copper ore suggests a point of origin somewhere in the Carpathian-Danube basin (Domanskij & Marčenko 2003, 30-5).

⁴³⁶ These might, in many areas, profitably be expanded to encompass the analysis of faunal assemblages, human remains, paleobotanical evidence, geology and geomorphology. The latter is best exemplified in the *chora* of Metapontion (with astounding results) but has yet to be implemented on any significant scale elsewhere. In the case of Metapontion, analysis of the skeletal remains of some 700 individuals recovered from the Pantanello necropolis and the urban necropolis at Crucina (300 apiece), together with the pre-Greek Iron Age necropolis has revealed that those dwelling in the Metapontine *chora* were genetically closer, when it came to certain shared characteristics, to the nearby Italic populations than those dwelling in the city (Carter 1998; 2004; 2006). Cf. Rusyayeva 1999 *passim*; 2007, 101.

⁴³⁷ Cf. Kryžickij 2006, 107: "We may now state two important points, which leave no room for doubt. First, there was no settled barbarian population in the Lower-Bug region by the time of the Greek colonisation... Nor do we have any grounds for supposing that there were nomadic barbarians in this area either..." Carter is more circumspect, pointing out that there remains a great deal of data which has yet to be explored in any detail: "In general... field archaeologists working in the Black Sea, as well as the Mediterranean, could be more sensitive to the importance of evidence that habitually ends up in the back dirt" (Carter 2006, 199).

the start. Evidence cited in support of the argument for a lack of contact between Scythians and Greeks prior to the former's migration from the northern Caucasian Steppe includes the lack of destruction layers from sites throughout the northern Pontic Region, the fact that none of the major settlements were, by and large, enclosed by walls until the 5th century BC and the fact that only a comparatively low number of graves judged 'ethnically Scythian' have been recorded for the archaic period throughout the region as a whole.⁴³⁸ Such arguments are at best tenuous, as we shall see. The sheer impracticality of walling a settlement during its early stages, when manpower and materials were both lacking, is hard to overlook, whilst changes in the manner in which local populations buried their elites cannot be discounted: we should be wary of the assumption that burial practices were both uniform throughout the region and equally traceable archaeologically. The apparent absence of destruction layers from excavated sites during the period in question is certainly an interesting phenomenon but insufficient grounds on which to argue that conflict of any kind was entirely absent until the late 6th/early 5th century – the archaeology of violence being notoriously ephemeral. There is, in short, no reason to suspect anything other than a relatively high level of contact between early settlers and traders and local populations from the very outset as evidenced by the extensive pottery finds at sites located deep within Scythian territory.⁴³⁹

The agricultural exploitation of an expanding *chora* must have created countless opportunities for contact between local populations (peaceful or otherwise), further contributing to the diffusion of knowledge and ideas relating to Scythia and Scythians. Whilst the relative importance of the long-distance grain trade between the North Pontic region and the cities of the Aegean during these early stages has to some extent been downplayed, trade of some sort was apparently underway by at least the mid-sixth century BC with cargoes of wine and oil making the return journey.⁴⁴⁰ Agricultural production does appear to have flourished from comparatively early on, however, and whilst we cannot expect a fully-fledged grain trade to have sprung into existence almost as soon as settlers transferred to the mainland site at Olbia, the potential for raising crops must have been

⁴³⁸ Some 39 in total: Tsetskhladze 2002, 83.

⁴³⁹ Some of the earliest deposits include a fragment of a Wild Goat oinochoe from Trachtemirov city-site, dated to circa 630-600 BC, depicting the head of a griffin – a notable occurrence in a land in which tales of Arimaspians and gold-guarding griffins are supposed to have circulated (Hdt. IV 27). For discussion Vachtina 2003 who argues for intensive contact and interaction, characterizing the region as "one vast contact zone" (Vachtina 2003, 23).

⁴⁴⁰ It is entirely possible, moreover, that sections of the local population were in at least some cases already engaged in growing cereal crops if the variegated practices reported by Herodotus – not to mention shadowy archaeology – are anything to go by (Bresson 2007, 56). For an alternative view, see Noonan 1973; Tsetskhladze 1998a, 54-63. On the grain trade in general, see *ibid* and De Angelis 2002 on Megara Hyblaea. For an early start to trade in luxury foodstuffs, see Foxhall 1998.

obvious to individuals far more attuned to agrarian production than we are today, making it all the more likely that measures would have been put in place to exploit this potential with alacrity. Such links are important: once established, they would have provided a conduit for ideas and information regarding Scythia to be transmitted to centres such Miletus and Athens, with the latter's Potters' Quarter relaying them in turn the length and breadth of the Mediterranean via the medium of figured pottery.

Notwithstanding attempts to claim that Greek-speaking colonists arrived in 'virgin' territory in which neither nomadic nor sedentary populations had yet to gain any substantial foothold, there exist reasonable grounds for supposing a high degree of cross-cultural interaction. The nature of the relationship between settlers and local indigenous groups is equally the subject of controversy however. Attempts to explain the ever-increasing amounts of precious metals recovered from the tumuli of local elites purely in terms of protection money should perhaps be resisted: we are ultimately ill equipped to gauge the complexities of dealings between settled and nomadic/semi-nomadic communities.⁴⁴¹ The tendency to interpret the accumulated wealth of the Scythian elites as money extorted from Greek settlers is not unrelated, however, to the (now largely discredited) theory of a 'Scythian Protectorate' under which Olbia was supposedly allowed to flourish following the southerly migration of the nomadic tribes to territories adjoining those of *poicis* such as Olbia and Panticapaeum.⁴⁴² Given the positioning of the settlement of Berezan, and latterly Olbia itself, either astride or closely adjacent to the main artery of communication with the interior, it is highly likely that contact of some sort did occur – whether as a result of trade in hides, furs, slaves, or honey, or the fact that settled or nomadic populations (whose movements are notoriously difficult to detect archaeologically) either occupied the area on a permanent basis or periodically moved through the region in search for pasture. The decision to settle on the Berezan peninsula at some time c. 625-600 BC may itself be indicative of an explicit awareness of local populations characteristic of early settlement and colonization in general: Irad Malkin's 'ship to shore' perspective (Malkin 2001, 188; 2005, 239). The ever-wary settlers may, in other words, have chosen a defensible location where contact could easily be regulated, thereby offering a degree of security should relations with the local population turn sour.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴¹ E.g. Tsatskheladze 2002, 84; 1998, 63-7. It follows that whilst protection money may on occasions have been paid in an attempt to guarantee the safety of settlers or those travelling inland to trade, such wealth could also be derived from tolls levied upon the movement of goods (and people?), revenues arising from the trade in slaves, pelts and (which was doubtless extensive for all the fact that it is hard to trace archaeologically) and/or the leasing of lands/territories for agricultural exploitation.

⁴⁴² The idea of a so-called Scythian Protectorate arises from Herodotus IV 78-80 (Kryzhitskiy 2005). Some scholars have even seen this as a sign of Achaemenid influence from the late-sixth century onwards (*SEG* XLVII 1164; Fedoseev 1997).

⁴⁴³ For trade between Olbia and the Scythian hinterland, see Leypunskaya 2007.

Debate surrounding the extent to which the populations of 'emporion', emerging urban centre and *chora* included a 'barbarian' component is equally misguided. Although the likelihood that early settlers intermarried with local women in both the initial and successive generations is readily acknowledged along with the presence of slaves and other dependents, the complexities arising from this cross-cultural mix are rarely explored in any detail.⁴⁴⁴ Instead, debate revolves around the twin polarities of 'Greek' and 'barbarian': terms of reference that under the circumstances appear both conceptually loaded and clumsy. The principal criteria singled out as being indicative of Scythian ethnicity include dwelling type (dugout or semi-dugout); the presence of handmade pottery conforming to forms judged to be ethnically 'Scythian'; mortuary practices (crouched burials; grave goods including 'Scythian' weaponry, mirrors, stone dishes and jewellery) and personal names.⁴⁴⁵ The assumption that these practices can be seen as indicative of ethnic identity per se is, however, somewhat out of step with received notions regarding how material practices relate to notions of identity.⁴⁴⁶ A number of factors need also to be taken into account such as the location of production centres, the availability of materials, and the extent to which trading relationships between settled and nomadic groups might have contributed to their prevalence in specific contexts and locales.

In the case of Olbia, the appearance of mirrors decorated in what is commonly referred to as the 'Scythian animal style' (Graves 87, 136, 170, 174, 245, 258), alongside those deemed more obviously 'Greek' (e.g. Herakles stealing the tripod, Grave 62), is attributed to the presence of one or more workshops in Olbia itself. The apparent diversity of decorative styles is interpreted as evidence of a stylistic repertoire that could be tailored to meet a variety of tastes (Petersen 2004). The presence of either one or the other in a funerary context is unlikely to bear any direct relation to any sense of ethnic identity to which the interred may (or may not) have subscribed.⁴⁴⁷ Questions of consumption and taste need to be explored further if we are to appreciate the significance of the finds deposited as grave goods

⁴⁴⁴ Gavriljuk 2003 makes the (somewhat dubious) assertion that 6th-5th century Olbians would have had little need for slaves, arguing instead that they were a major export to Chios with cargoes of wine making the return journey.

⁴⁴⁵ Tsetskhladze 1998; 2001; 2004; Vanchugov 2001; Solovyov 2001.

⁴⁴⁶ Jones 1997; Stark 1998; Hannestad 2007. Similarly tendentious are the assertions that the presence of stone dishes can be linked to the presence of 'barbarian' women from the wooded steppe, thought to be responsible for introducing such practices and that the recovery of handmade pottery from domestic contexts is indicative of either interaction with or the presence of indigenes. Cf. Rusyayeva 2007, 101-1.

⁴⁴⁷ Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the use of metalwork as an indicium of ethnic identity has been questioned as brooches previously considered unambiguously 'Greek' are now recognized to reflect the influence of populations inhabiting south/central Italy (see also below).

at Olbia. They reflect patterns of consumption, the result of active choices that we are in most cases ill equipped to decipher.⁴⁴⁸

Where dugouts and pit dwellings are concerned, there are immediate problems regarding terms of analysis and basic methodology. Just what exactly constitutes a dug out appears to vary hugely according to the excavator or site in question. Features interpreted as such are usually described in at best cursory detail and published as a planned view accompanied by a photo (depicting what is essentially a hole in the ground).⁴⁴⁹ Stratigraphical relationships are rarely documented to such a degree as to allow the reader to assess the data independently.⁴⁵⁰ As far as settlement data in general is concerned, the problem can be approached in a number of ways. Whilst dugouts might well have been characteristic of local populations, they are also a feature of early Milesian settlement throughout the Black Sea and Ionia (Tsetshkladze 2004; Kryžickij 2007). 'Pit-dwellings' appear to have been prevalent in Anatolia, Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia, at sites such as Göltepe, Karataş and Gordion, over a period extending from the Bronze to Iron Ages (Tsetshkladze 2004, 267-8). This merely encourages the suspicion that, rather than being indicative of the presence or influence of local peoples upon 'Greek' colonists, the use of construction techniques of this type by settlers in the Northern Pontic Region could equally be a reflection of intercultural contact between settlements such as archaic Miletus and neighbouring populations.⁴⁵¹ If we cast our eyes further afield, no sign of dugouts has been discovered at the fortified settlement at Porthion, an archaic site north-east of the modern city of Kerch perched high on a plateau overlooking the straits which link the Kuban region with the Crimea (Vachtina 2003). Instead, archaeologists have uncovered evidence of a small building (c.6.9 x 2.2m) constructed of mud brick on a stone foundation, dated by some proto-Thasian amphorae that were recovered in situ to the second half of the 6th- first third of the 5th century BC.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁸ Whilst pioneering studies such as that undertaken by Rostovtzeff have gone to great lengths to highlight the importance of Iranian influences in shaping the forms used in Scythian metalwork, the reception of such trends and the manner in which they related to identities – whether ethnic, religious or social – remains essentially moot (Rostovtzeff 1922). Documenting such material (in often lavish style) and attempting to link particular assemblies to named individuals remains the primary objective for many of those working in the field, e.g. Alekseyev 2005; Rolle 1989; Jacobson 1995 but see also Koltukhov & Vdovichenko 2001 for the cultural biography of a single artefact.

⁴⁴⁹ A case in point would be Solovyov 1999, 32-3, figs. 10-13.

⁴⁵⁰ Kryžickij 2003 discusses the problems surrounding the reconstruction of Greek architecture in the Northern Black Sea region. My thanks to Zosia Archibald for timely advice on matters pertaining to Black Sea archaeology.

⁴⁵¹ Some care also needs to be exercised in distinguishing between the various uses to which dug-outs were put (which included storage spaces and workshop areas as well as domestic space suited for groups or individuals). It should be noted that domestic architecture recorded in settlements in the region surrounding Olbia display a diversity that cannot be narrowed down to one technique in particular. See Tsetshkladze 2004, 247-8 for summary and further references.

⁴⁵² Equally anomalous with regards to the late Archaic rural settlements of Olbia is a small rural temple situated some 13.5 km north of the city, on a cliff overlooking the Bug liman (Golovacheva &

Similar caution is necessary when it comes to employing projectiles and other forms of weaponry recovered during excavations as evidence: arrowheads of a type matching ‘Scythian’ designs were widely used in both hunting and warfare – a point to which we shall return below when discussing the iconographic evidence for the representation of ‘Scythians’ in and around Olbia.⁴⁵³

Whilst there is considerable archaeological and epigraphic evidence for discourses of identity and difference in and around the city of Olbia, the city appears to have enjoyed a somewhat obscure reputation vis-à-vis the rest of the Greek-speaking world – as demonstrated by the oblique treatment it received from Herodotus (West 2004). The latter refers to a town as Borysthenes (IV 78.5) in a variety of contexts as both a trading centre (IV 24.1, 17.1) and as a city on the Hypanis whose inhabitants refer to themselves as *Olbiapolites*. The term Borysthenites is reserved for Scythian agriculturalists living adjacent to the Dnieper (Borysthenes) to the west (IV 18, 53). As far as the epigraphic record is concerned, two city ethnics are employed: Borysthenes (*SEG XXXVI* 693), dated to circa 550-25 BC),⁴⁵⁴ and Olbia itself – thus bearing out Herodotus’ account. The apparent tendency of outside observers to conflate the Bug (Hypanis) with the larger, and surely far better known Dnieper is suggestive of both a vague appreciation of local geography (not unsurprising in itself, given the sheer size of the estuary that the two rivers shared), and an apparent insouciance when it came to eliding local differences – that were no doubt keenly felt – in favour of a catch-all term. Convenience, it seems, took precedence over any concern for geographical accuracy. In this we get some inkling of the gap separating local

Rogov 2001). The structure (commonly referred to as Kozyrka II) is some 12x8m in area, constructed according to a megaron-type plan: two adjacent rooms on a west-east alignment, whose unfired mud brick walls are faced with limestone slabs (*ibid.* figs. 1.3; 2.1; 3). Whilst the presence of an altar points to the structure being a cult building, no votives – or any other material connected with cult activities – has been found, aside from the bones of a child’s hand found deposited in a pit south of the altar. Although recorded examples of above-ground stone buildings remain very much the exception to the rule throughout the period in question, the structure at Kozyrka demonstrates that blanket distinctions between different construction techniques are an unsuitable basis for tackling questions of identity and difference.

⁴⁵³ Although the processes surrounding it are unclear, the adoption of technologies from local populations would appear to be proven beyond all reasonable doubt. Of the items of weaponry found in the large number of graves at Olbia, bronze arrowheads are by far the most common – generally associated with a variety of other artefacts including tools and ceramics – occurring in numbers ranging from isolated finds to fifty or more (Petersen 2004). Swords, daggers and knives also occur. Other distinctive features include the fact that the interred is on rare occasions positioned upright along with the use of seaweed as a means of lining the graves, the presence of red ochre and faunal remains.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. *SEG XLVIII* 1024.1 (c.530-10 BC). See Braund 2007; 1997.

perspectives and the reports offered by external commentators whose descriptions of local Greek-speaking populations were at times highly ambivalent.⁴⁵⁵

Whether Herodotus actually journeyed to Olbia at all remains a matter of some debate.⁴⁵⁶ The absence of any reference to clothing and dress in his account of the region could be interpreted in a variety of ways: it is equally possible that by the 5th century BC, or even earlier, knowledge of Scythian costume was so widely disseminated as to be commonplace. If this is indeed the case then West's argument that Scythia was so far beyond the ken of the Halicarnassian/Greeks in general as to preclude the exercise in self-definition brilliantly elucidated by François Hartog may itself need to be qualified. It seems unlikely, in any case, that the widespread ignorance of Scythia postulated by West would have proved an insurmountable barrier to ideas of Scythia and Scythians being employed as foils for the various polarities that Hartog saw to be in play (Hartog 1988; West 2002, 448). Steppe culture was undoubtedly alien to those residing in Athens or Sicily but we have to question its "incommensurability" in the light of the wealth of evidence to the contrary already encountered in chapter one. Although levels of knowledge and interest must have varied hugely, variability alone was no bar to its forming the basis for abstract speculation – however vague or ill-informed.⁴⁵⁷

West's suspicions that Herodotus has something to hide stands in stark contrast to the arguments tabled by David Braund stressing the essential accuracy of the Halicarnassian's account of Olbia and its environs (Braund 2005). Questions of sources and veracity have a long history in Herodotean scholarship, however, and it should be pointed out that whatever the outcome of such discussions, a significant level of interest and engagement with the region is assumed by both parties. Early knowledge of the region prior to Herodotus is extremely difficult to gauge. Whilst Hecataeus appears to have included the names of native settlements in his description of the region the manner in which this relates to the

⁴⁵⁵ Herodotus writes of 'the Greeks of the Black Sea and the Hellespont' or simply 'the Greeks of the Black Sea/Euxine' but just what this meant to contemporaries is unclear. We cannot be certain whether the phrase would have conveyed a sense of regional or cultural difference, marking out those concerned as in some ways different from Miletus or Athens (Braund 2005, 4).

⁴⁵⁶ Notable sceptics have included Armayor 1978.

⁴⁵⁷ Further (trenchant) critique of Hartog's thesis can be found in Dewald's review of 1990. Rather more convincing is West's argument that reference to the Cauldron of Ariantes – commonly understood as a claim to autopsy – may instead be rendered as "they indicated this much to me by way of illustration" (IV 81). The latter is more commonly translated as 'they showed' or 'offered to show' me (West 2002, 442).

Herodotean account is largely open to question although the latter is keen to correct the identification of the Melanchlaeni as ‘Scythian’ (*FGrH* 1 F185; Hdt. IV 20.2).⁴⁵⁸

The extent to which Herodotean problematising of Scythian ethnicity relates to preceding traditions regarding the region and its peoples remains, therefore, to be determined. The suspicions, voiced by West amongst others, that we have lost the vast proportion of literary works relating to the region seem not unjustified when one considers the number of Ionian logographers whose works indicate an interest in Scythia.⁴⁵⁹ Whatever we choose to make of these works and their relationship to wider questions surrounding the fragmentary Greek authors, the overall impression gained is one of significant interest and engagement with the lands and peoples north of the Black Sea.⁴⁶⁰ Although reports of Hellenic-Scyths, the Callipidae (IV 17.1), muddy the waters considerably, it remains questionable whether these local/regional perspectives regarding cultural difference were in the main transmitted back to centres such as Miletus or Athens, or equally how established cultural traditions relating to mare-milking milk drinkers, derived from Homer or Hesiod, might have mediated contacts between settlers and the populations they encountered. It is to these questions that we will now turn below.

4.1.2 Points of contact and receptions of difference

We shall now turn to examine certain aspects of inter-cultural contact and interaction in more detail. In doing so we will bolster the over-arching thesis that the intellectual engagement with questions of identity and difference ascribed to 5th century logographers was in fact an entirely ubiquitous phenomenon throughout the period in question. We shall begin with the cult of Achilles Pontarches from which some degree of cultural interchange can reasonably be inferred.⁴⁶¹ We have literary and epigraphic evidence to the effect that the cult of Achilles was both present and highly popular on the north shores of the Black Sea, raising interesting questions as to the functions attributed to the hero’s cult throughout the region as a whole. The figure of Achilles would appear to have played a key role in an emerging regional identity. The unusual nature of his worship encourages speculation that this (somewhat out of the ordinary) practice reflects factors specific to the locale, perhaps the

⁴⁵⁸ That Hecataeus might have described the Euxine as being shaped ‘like a Scythian bow’ – a point picked up by later authors – seems at least plausible if the comments of Ammianus are anything to go by (*R. G.* XXII 8.10). See Hind 2001.

⁴⁵⁹ West 2002; 2004.

⁴⁶⁰ Authors following in the wake of the Halicarnassian are notably less inclined to distinguish between the respective groups, raising further questions of reception.

⁴⁶¹ See, most recently Bujskikh 2007; Hupe 2007.

violent nature of interactions with local non-Greek speaking populations, which in turn reflect aspects of the latter's culture and society.

Evidence for the cult is not confined to the settlement and its emporion. Graffiti inscribed on clay disks has provided a valuable source of information in recent years.⁴⁶² The disks begin to appear from around the second half of the sixth century BC onwards ranging from c.3-6cm in diameter. As well as carrying an abbreviation of Achilles' name (A, AXI, AXIΛΛ, AXIΛΛE, AXIΛΛEI) many of them also sport simple drawings that include daggers, swords, human figures and snakes.⁴⁶³ Additional evidence for the importance of the cult of Achilles can be found some kilometres to the south-east of Olbia at a site referred to in antiquity as the Racetrack of Achilles (modern Tendra).⁴⁶⁴

The link connecting Achilles with Scythia has already received considerable attention. Pinney has used both literary and iconographic evidence to postulate a link between Achilles and Scythia dating back to the epic tradition. The latter would see Achilles as the leader of the Scythians during the Trojan War, a tradition ignored by Homer but which supposedly made its way into the *Aithiopsis*. Although in many ways attractive, this is inferred from one fragment of Alcaeus and the blithe assumption that this fact could have subsequently escaped the notice of artists and commentators. The result is essentially unconvincing but another (rather more convincing) approach has subsequently been adopted by one of Pinney's students, Guy Hedreen.⁴⁶⁵ Hedreen's study of the cult of Achilles concluded instead that the key to understanding the relationship between Achilles and Scythia lay in the *Aithiopsis* itself. According to Hedreen, the Milesian colonists, familiar with traditions such as those preserved in the *Aithiopsis* that mentioned the 'White island's' proximity to Scythia, founded the cult in response. The argument is predicated upon the Milesians' familiarity with early Ionic prose, the works of Hecataeus and earlier traditions now lost, as well as epic. According to such traditions, the Nile and Ister represented two extremes. Scythia, with the Ister, represented the ends of the earth: an antipode to Ethiopia. The latter was also the last

⁴⁶² *IOSPE* I 53; 130-144; IV 17/18, also I 145/6, 149, 155/6, 158, 685.

⁴⁶³ A significant proportion of the disks (39) come from the settlement of Beikush, some forty kilometres to the west of Olbia at the junction of the Berzeran and Beikush inlets, the majority being recovered from domestic contexts as opposed to shrines etc (Hedreen 1991; Rusyaeva 2007). Their interpretation remains somewhat uncertain but the association of Achilles with board games means they may very well have functioned as gaming pieces. Where Achilles' name appears in the dative they would appear to have been votives (Hedreen 1991).

⁴⁶⁴ Tunkina 2007. Another altar has been discovered at the mouth of the Borysthene river and yet another on the island of Leuke, allegedly the place to which the hero's corpse was brought by his mother following his death (*Aithiopsis*; cf. Proclus *Chrest.* 2). We have 5th century graffiti (*SEG* XXX 869-872) as well as inscribed dedications from the 5th-4th century BC. See: *SEG* XL 610 for Thetis and Achilles worshipped alongside one another.

⁴⁶⁵ Hedreen 1991.

resting place of a fallen hero: in this case Memnon who was brought there by his mother Eos (also mentioned in the *Aithiopsis*). Unable to abide each other's company as immortals, Memnon and Achilles would have needed to be kept apart (a similar logic underpins Herodotus' tale relating to the expulsion of Adrastus from Sicyon).⁴⁶⁶ Achilles and the 'White' island are therefore arrayed in opposition to Memnon and Ethiopia in a manner characteristic of early Ionian science. Adopted as a charter myth by Milesian colonists, the cult also benefited from the high regard in which sailors habitually held Achilles.

Whilst such explanations are perfectly plausible there may be other factors at play. If we compare some of the qualities for which Achilles was famed, it is tempting to speculate that the tendency to link the hero to this particular part of the world reflects an awareness of the, at times, savage and warlike nature of its peoples, their essential 'otherworldliness' in comparison to contemporary norms. Aside from reflecting the extent to which relations between settler and indigenous populations were marked by violence, knowledge of Scythian habits and customs (however vague) might equally have given rise to associations with Achilles, the wild warrior whose behaviour was at once splendid and transgressive.⁴⁶⁷ It is not only Achilles, however, who provided a conceptual bridge between groups of different outlook and culture; in a region where archery figured so prominently the same might be said of Apollo as archer god par excellence. Although no doubt a reflection in part of the regard in which Apollo was held in what was purportedly the purported metropolis, it might reasonably be wondered whether it is merely happy coincidence that sees an archer god playing a prominent role in the religious life of a city whose non-Greek neighbours were famously skilled in archery? Whether this aspect of Apollo's persona was emphasised to any greater degree at Olbia in comparison to elsewhere, there is an obvious potential for a figure of this nature acting as a common point of reference in a community of diverse origins – including local elements arrived at through intermarriage with local elites.⁴⁶⁸ Scholars have argued that the relationship between the two principle manifestations of Apollo – or rather their followers – was one of mutual antagonism, with Apollo Delphinios being supposedly imported from the Ionian homeland by refugees fleeing Persian encroachment (e.g. Rusjaeva 2003). The latter remained largely marginalized in a society where the original colonists formed the backbone of the landowning elite; the fact that Apollo Ietros was eventually supplanted by Delphinios is seen as an indication that these Milesian émigrés had finally

⁴⁶⁶ Hdt. V 67.

⁴⁶⁷ See Bujskikh 2007 for discussion and references.

⁴⁶⁸ Rusyayeva 2007, 101.

become established and thus gained the upper hand.⁴⁶⁹ A less antagonistic relationship can perhaps be perceived in a graffito adorning a Red-figure kylix dating from the early 5th century BC, ‘shared (cup) of Delphinios and Healer’, recovered from a tumulus far inland at Zhurovka (Rusyayeva 2007, 99 fig. 12).

The fact that an early form of coinage at Olbia took the form of bronze dolphins has led some scholars to interpret these in the light of the cult of Apollo Delphinios – a deity with whom dolphins were closely associated (Nocita 2000, 217-30; Martinelli 2000, 231-47). As such they are juxtaposed with what is commonly referred to as arrowhead money. As the first coined money to achieve widespread circulation throughout the region these were routinely dedicated to Apollo Ietros as votives in both Olbia and elsewhere.⁴⁷⁰ Whether the appearance of arrowhead money should be considered merely as just another example of the extensive variation in material practice characteristic of the wider Greek-speaking world or an explicit reflection of interactions between local indigenous populations is open to question. As well as demonstrating the importance of trade as a driving factor in relationships between settlers and nomad groups, this might be interpreted as evidence that incoming settlers devised a system of monetary exchange that reflected the interests and tastes of the local population, implying not only prior interest and understanding but also a desire to create a basis for some sort of ‘meaningful exchange’.⁴⁷¹

Evidence of intercultural contact – or rather the problems of communication that inevitably arise when two language groups meet – can perhaps be found in a series of bone plaques inscribed with Orphic ‘texts’.⁴⁷² Rather than interpreting these in terms of the celebrated gold leaves inscribed with directions intended to guide the soul on its journey through the underworld, recovered from funerary contexts in locations as far flung as Magna Graecia, Thessaly and Crete, it is the Pythagorean tables of opposites and a concern for duality underlying much of Presocratic philosophy that are cited as a likely source of inspiration.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁹ The potential circularity of such arguments should perhaps provide grounds for caution, it should, for instance, be recalled that we have evidence for Apollo Delphinios being present in the city from as early as the 6th century BC.

⁴⁷⁰ For discussion, see Rusyayeva 2007, 98-9.

⁴⁷¹ See *ibid* for the argument setting this in the context of a wider initiative to promote the cult of Apollo amongst the local population.

⁴⁷² For recent discussion, see Osborne 2006b. References to Dionysius: Dubois 94a, b, c. Apollo: Dubois 93 (from Bezeran). Particularly notable is a dedication to Apollo Didymaios from Bezeran c.550-25 BC. The dedication is followed by a sequence of numbers (7-70-700-7000) and images (wolf, lion, bowman, dolphin) and a concluding promise of peace and blessing (*SEG* XXXVI 694). Cf. Penkova 2003, 605-17 for the highly tendentious argument that the text is linked to oral (religious) traditions of Thracian origin as defined by Al. Fol.

⁴⁷³ Olbia, 5th century BC: *SEG* XXVIII 569-661; XXXII 796; XXXV 1822. Alternative interpretations include their use in cult ritual as the basis of a sermon with the wider enthusiasm for an Orphic-Dionysius being linked to aristocratic support for a tyranny.

These bone plaques, along with onomastic evidence derived from an inscribed bronze mirror of c. 500 BC,⁴⁷⁴ have been convincingly linked to a desire to communicate religious beliefs and identities in circumstances where communication may have been less than straightforward:

The cultural consequences of cultural encounter come precisely in material form. The knowledge of difference leads to its more explicit articulation, ideas under pressure get themselves down in writing. (Osborne 2006b)

According to Osborne, it is the manner in which (Greek) cult practices are articulated in material form that marks Olbia out. If this is the case, it provides compelling evidence for intercultural exchange and the transmission of ideas and values in a community in which ideas and objects relating to distinctive peoples and customs were apparently commonplace.⁴⁷⁵

The free exchange of ideas cannot be taken for granted, however, if Herodotus' tale of the series of unfortunate events that befell individuals such as Scyles and Anacharsis is in any way indicative of religious interaction between Greeks and Scythians. Dabbling in foreign cults and importing new modes of worship are portrayed as perilous tasks in a land noted for its cultural conservatism and a particular aversion to Greek habits and customs (IV 76). Take, for example, Scyles' secret initiation into the rites of Bacchus which so scandalized his subjects that he was allegedly put to death as soon as he returned to them from the city of Olbia (IV 78-80) or the hostile response to Anacharsis' enthusiasm for Cybele that caused him to slip into the woods at Hylaea to perform rites in her honour: summary execution by means of bow and arrow shot by King Saulius himself (IV 76).⁴⁷⁶ The extent to which these stories reflect historical attitudes has been commented upon at some length with opinions differing as to how much weight should be attributed to what appear to be – to all intents and purposes – cautionary tales. It is notable, however, that in each case the narrative structure

⁴⁷⁴ Relating to the name Lenaios. Cf. Heraclitus DK12 B14a. See Osborne 2006b for discussion of later examples. Presocratic philosophy and cult practice emerge as being far more closely related to one another than is widely thought – a point rendered all the more interesting if we remember that some of the earliest references noting 'ethnic' traits and characteristics can likewise be found in Heraclitus.

⁴⁷⁵ Moving from the mystical to the mundane: a graffito on a chalice from Bezeran c.500 BC has been interpreted as alluding to a Macedonian cap of a similarly conical shape: [...] ΟΚΟΛΗΚΑΥΣΙΑΙΚΑ ΥΣΙ [...] *SEG XLIII* 496; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993, 141-2.

⁴⁷⁶ Scholarly excitement surrounding the discovery of an engraved ring as well as coins minted by Histria (amongst other places) marked ΣΚ, ΣΚΥ, ΣΚΥΛ. It is assumed, largely on this basis, that the Scythians controlled the coast between the Bug and the Dneister (see Sekerskaya 2001). The so-called 'Priest's letter' also mentions damage to an altar to 'the Mother of the gods' at Hylaea: see Braund 2007, 49-50; Rusyayeva 2007, 94-102.

presupposes knowledge of foreign lands and customs – ecstatic rites being one aspect of Greek culture of which the Scythians disapprove (IV 79):

Although a degree of caution is required, other types of ‘meaningful exchange’ can perhaps be inferred. Tales relayed by Herodotus, which purportedly represent variations upon a Scythian genealogical myth, provide a more obvious reflection of empirical knowledge of both the local topography and ethnic groups native to the region (Hdt. IV 5; 8-10). Three versions are recounted.⁴⁷⁷ The first (attributed to the Scythians) describes how Targitaos, the first man, was the product of a union between Zeus and the daughter of the river Borysthenes. The second relates to Herakles and is attributed to ‘the Greeks living beside the Euxine’. Having driven Geryon’s cattle as far as the (then uninhabited) land of Scythia, Herakles lay down to rest, only to discover on awakening that his horses had been stolen. After much searching he discovers the culprit, a woman who dwelt in a cave at a place called Hylaea, described as half-woman and half-serpent.⁴⁷⁸ In response to Herakles’ demand that she return his property she replied that she would only consent to do so if the hero had sex with her. The fruit of this union were the eponymous offspring destined to act as progenitors for the tribes which would in the future inhabit the region: Agathyrsus, Gelonus and Scythes. The latter was the only one of the three to fulfil the tasks stipulated by Herakles in order to determine who would stay and rule the land on reaching adulthood.⁴⁷⁹ The third version explains the westward migration of the Scythians as a result of pressure from the Massagetae, a move which displaced the original inhabitants (the Cimmerians) and precipitated the invasion of Asia Minor.

⁴⁷⁷ The degree of confusion that surrounds the origins of the Scythians for whom three separate myths are cited, without any indication of preference on behalf of the author, is seen to be indicative of a lack of first hand knowledge on the subject (West 2002). The latter seems excessively severe, however.

⁴⁷⁸ Snake-limbed maidens enjoy some prominence in the iconographic record; in her study of the way in which human, vegetal and serpentine elements are variously combined in divine imagery, Ustinova has traced the prevalence of at times androgynous tendril-limbed creatures throughout the Ancient Near East as well as the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean, arguing as a result that Argimpasa-Aphrodite and the anguipede nymph should logically be conflated. Ustinova’s arguments are largely predicated upon iconographic evidence, mostly dated to the 4th century BC – at least where Scythia is concerned – upon which basis it is argued that Scythia played a vital role in the diffusion of anguipedes throughout Mediterranean and beyond: [Which] “may well have started from Scythia and the Northern Balkans” (Ustinova 2005, 76). This seems unlikely, as whilst its presence in Scythian mythology must presumably be acknowledged (it should be noted that the snake-like being is only mentioned explicitly in the version attributed to ‘the Greeks living beside the Euxine’), it might just as easily have originated in myths told by the colonists.

⁴⁷⁹ See Rusyayeva 2007, 95-6 who sees this as symptomatic of the Greek-barbarian opposition interpreted as both an archetype for mixed marriages between Greek and Scythian and a template for closer interaction between their respective deities.

Given the extent to which anguipedes feature in myths concerning early populations throughout mainland Greece not to mention the veritable flood of images and ideas emanating from the Ancient Near East, it would perhaps be overly optimistic to claim that Scythia acted as an important conduit for such ideas – particularly if the soundest evidence we have for such arguments is the creative output of workshops reflecting a form of Graeco-Scythian hybridity that makes it largely impossible to determine their sources of inspiration.⁴⁸⁰ Herakles' tryst with the snake limbed maiden is sufficiently reminiscent of other colonial myths in which amorous Olympians or heroes consort with nymphs etc to make us suspect that this says as much about those who relayed the tale to Herodotus, their interests and agendas, than those it purported to represent. This does not mean that an exchange in images and ideas did not occur, merely that it may have been a two-way process as nomads and settlers attempted to establish some form of 'middle ground'.⁴⁸¹ The recent discovery of a fragment of Fikellura pottery inscribed with a graffito does however refer to an altar to Herakles at Hylaea, thereby suggesting that elements of this myth may actually have been commemorated through cult activity – a means of both naturalising Scythia and Scythians, incorporating them into wider models of understanding by which the origins of different tribes and peoples might variously be explained.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸⁰ In contrast, the so-called 'Scythian animal style' certainly appears to be a distinctive attribute of Scythian art but figurative elements are far harder to pin down.

⁴⁸¹ See above no. Cf. Rusyayeva 2007, 95-6 where this is seen as a very one-sided process.

⁴⁸² Cf. Hesiod, fr. 150 (see above p.). Whilst the sherd itself is dated to c.550-30 BC, the dating of the letter remains controversial. See Braund 2007, 46 no. 31 for discussion and references.

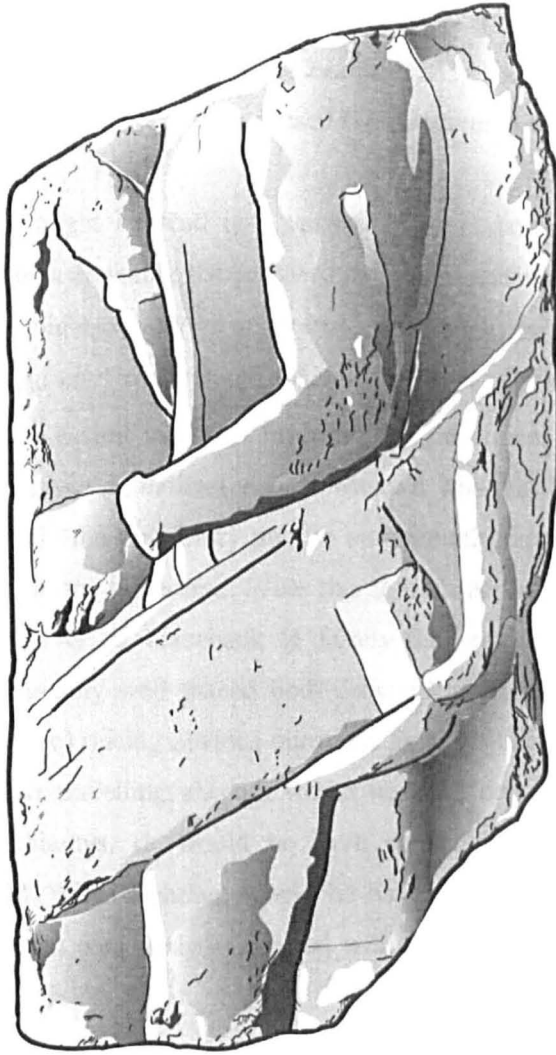


Figure 13. Stele of Leoxus.

Discourses of identity also played out in relief sculpture and iconography. One of the most famous 5th century representations of a ‘Scythian’ from outside Athens, an inscribed stele dedicated to Leoxus, son of Molpagros, was recovered from the necropolis at Olbia in 1895 (see figs. 12, 13). Although only partially preserved, each side of the stele depicts the torso and upper thigh of a figure, one a young nude – presumably the deceased – adopting the standard a pose of a youth with arm outstretched, leaning on a spear, the other resting casually on his hip. The opposing side features a figure in rider costume (i.e. trousers and long sleeves), facing left. The individual in question carries a bow/gorytus slung at his hip in the usual fashion and is holding an arrow point down, as if examining it for flaws (the angle is quite acute, a result, one assumes, of restrictions on space). An accompanying epigram relates that Leoxus died far from home, presumably whilst on campaign (it being invariably assumed that the latter was against the Scythians). The stele has been variously interpreted but scholarly opinion has tended to see the young nude as Leoxus and the figure in rider

costume as either a Scythian or Amazon warrior (arguments for the latter hinge on the fact that the figure in question is depicted wearing bracelets)⁴⁸³ it being assumed that this is a paradigmatic rendering of polar opposites: idealised Greek versus barbarian.

The images in question might be read in a variety of ways however. Whilst some have chosen to depict the stele as depicting the deceased and his attendant or squire (Himmelmann 1956),⁴⁸⁴ another theory might equally be suggested as although the epigram informs us that Leoxus 'died far from the city' (ὅτι τῆλε πόλει[ως πρὸ]) it offers no clues as to how he arrived there. Granted, the easiest means of travelling long distances along the coast was by sea but seeing as we are given no indication as to where it was that Leoxus died, we must at least be willing to entertain the possibility that he may equally have travelled overland and died fighting somewhere in the hinterland. Were this indeed the case, it seems likely that he would have chosen to travel on horseback (a family that could afford to commission a funerary stele was presumably well placed both economically and geographically to avail itself of mounts, harness etc) raising obvious questions as to his choice of attire. What would Leoxus have worn whilst travelling abroad: would he have dressed as any proper Greek should, in tunic and chlamys, or would he have donned clothing more suited to the environment and terrain? When fighting, would he have retained the lance /javelin of the *hippeis* or the weapon most commonly associated with the region's native inhabitants – the bow and quiver?

Whilst to some extent banal, such questions are important if we are to determine how individuals/agents might have chosen to portray themselves provoking very real concerns as to whether we are in any way justified in 'reading' such images in terms of an unambiguous depiction of a Greek/barbarian polarity. If Leoxus died sometime in the early 5th century BC as is commonly suggested then there is every chance that his family may have lived in the region for several generations, perhaps intermarrying with local populations on more than

⁴⁸³ See Jajlenko (*SEG* LI 976) for the argument that it is a man that is being depicted. The so-called 'bracelets' could easily be interpreted as an attempt to depict the cuffs of a long sleeved 'jump-suit' characteristic of stylised renderings of rider costume.

⁴⁸⁴ Those objecting to this have highlighted the fact that the two figures are of equal size, a point with which Pinney concurs (Hiller, *Grabreliefs* 44, n. 119, 36-40, 151-2, pl. 4; Pinney 1983, 139-40 and no. 103). Pinney went one or two steps further, however, in not only interpreting it as a pairing of hero and archer reminiscent of Attic vase painting (whilst acknowledging that this is the only known case of such a pairing from outside Attica) but also insisting that the youthful nude is in fact Achilles and that his 'Scythian' counterpart should instead be seen as Apollo in the semblance of Paris (Pinney 1983, 139-40). Although the latter ties in with her broader thesis concerning the hero's death and the manner in which he came to be associated with Scythia, supported by a barrage of iconographic material in which Achilles, Apollo and Paris are variously depicted, the overall complexity of this model makes it difficult to accept that it is in fact correct. Pinney's conclusion that: "As Achilles confronts the god, about to die but still untouched, he is shown briefly as *daimoni isos*" (Pinney 1983, 141) is thus needlessly elaborate and essentially unconvincing.

one occasion. In fact, the manner in which the two figures are depicted makes it difficult to rule out the possibility that both in fact represent Leoxus, one in the guise of the young nude and the other as warrior.⁴⁸⁵ There may therefore be little need to see this as the juxtaposition of a doomed hero and vengeful deity, brandishing the dart that will eventually bring about the death of Achilles.⁴⁸⁶

The possibility that Leoxus might at times have donned Scythian attire ties back into debate surrounding the interpretation of ‘Scythians’ depicted on Attic vases. The argument that these represented Athenians ‘dressed up’ might be thought to appear somewhat more credible when viewed in the light of such material (Miller 1991; 1997). It is questionable, however, whether this is necessarily the case: just because such practices may have been common on the Black Sea littoral, there is no need for them to have extended as far as Athens – a more complex range of associations are likely to have been in play. Although far later than the period in question, echoes of Leoxus’ behaviour can perhaps be found in Dio Chrysostom’s (somewhat fanciful) pen portrait of Olbia, epitomised in a handsome young lad called Callistratus, whom he encounters on horseback, dressed in Scythian garb:

“Suspended from his girdle he had a great cavalry sabre, and he was wearing trousers and all the rest of the Scythian costume, and from his shoulders there hung a small black cape of thin material, as is usual with the people of Borysthenes.” (*Or.* 36.7).

Dio’s Olbians speak a debased Greek, grow shaggy beards ‘like the ancient Greeks described by Homer’ and are so fond of the *Iliad* that they know it by heart (9).⁴⁸⁷ A literary construction drawing upon centuries of ethnographic tradition, Dio’s Olbia encourages us to

⁴⁸⁵ Pia Guldager Bilde has observed that the stele may very well reflect the cultural complexity of the region as opposed to a polarity of opposites and that idealized concepts of warrior and citizen identities had simply been adapted to suit the mode of warfare most suited to that environment (Petersen 2004 citing Bilde 2003, 130). Cf. Vinogradov 1997, 230-41.

⁴⁸⁶ It should also be noted that the act of examining an arrow for flaws has many Near Eastern precedents and would later (?) find expression in imagery depicting various divine or heroic archers. The examples cited by Pinney of Apollo brandishing an arrow pointing in the direction of his enemy, including the red-figure hydria by the Eucharides Painter, are at least one remove from cases in which the gesture is depicted. The precise origins of the motif itself are impossible to pinpoint with any degree of certainty; it can be found in vase painting and gems in the Greek world archaic and Classical periods as well as liberally dispersed throughout the iconographic programmes deployed by various Near Eastern monarchies.

⁴⁸⁷ For discussion and further references see Bähler 2007. The popularity of Homeric themes can, in later times, be inferred from the ‘scenes from the life of Achilles’ that adorn 4 identical gorytus covers dating from the 4th century BC. Rendered in beaten gold, the covers include scenes of the young Achilles being taught archery. Apparently mass-produced, they were recovered from tombs in Chertomlyk, Dnepropetrovsk district as well as Melitopol, Ilinty and Kostov-on-Don (Heinen 2001, 10-15, fig. 6-7). Based on the latter, David Braund has argued that: “[T]he Scythian taste for Achilles, particularly in the military paraphernalia of its elite, ... suggests that Achilles could offer a constructive point of contact between Greek and Scythian culture” (Braund 2007, 52). See, however, Rusyayeva 2007, 97-8 who sees this as an exclusively elite phenomenon associated with the Bosphorus.

ponder the manner in which earlier generations of Olbians would have appeared to contemporaries from outside the region.

It seems reasonable to conclude, based upon the evidence outlined above that discourses of identity played out in a variety of ways during the period in question. Whilst it is commonly argued that ethnographic interests and concerns did not come to the fore until after the clash with Persia, the history and archaeology of Greek settlement in the North Pontic region tells a markedly different story of an active engagement with foreign manners and customs.

4.2. Reconstructing Identities in S. Calabria: An archaeology of discourse ⁴⁸⁸

From windswept Olbia and the wilds of Scythia we shall now proceed to the southernmost tip of the Italian peninsula – what was referred to variously in antiquity as Oenotria, Italia and Brettia (the land of the Bruttii).⁴⁸⁹ Whilst the distances involved are considerable, this is all but identical to the imaginative leap that Herodotus performs when casting around for geographic parallels that might elucidate his description of the Taurian peninsula, citing first Attica/Cape Sunium before settling on the territory of the Iapygians on the ‘heel’ of Italy (IV 99. 13-15).⁴⁹⁰ Broadly equivalent with the administrative boundaries of the modern *regione* of Reggio Calabria, the area in question is not the territory of the Iapygians (located further to the north) but that which extends south of the isthmus created by the Gulfs of S. Eufemia and Squillace – ancient Napetinos and Skylletikos – to the Straits of Messina. Comparatively under studied (at least in comparison to other parts of the Mediterranean) and for a long time poorly understood, S. Calabria might be regarded as a challenging environment in which to posit discourses of any kind – let alone those that might be reasonably be termed ‘ethnographic’. This case study will demonstrate, however, that discourses of identity and difference were just as prevalent here as on the fringes of the Asian steppe. Before we discuss the way in which ideas relating to ‘foreign’ lands and peoples circulated throughout this (ostensibly obscure) backwater of the western Mediterranean, we will begin – after some caveats – with a brief excursus highlighting the wider importance of local and regional networks of trade and association followed by a few cursory observations regarding landscape-context and general topography.

⁴⁸⁸ ‘Archaeologies of discourse’ have been much in vogue amongst scholars studying the humanities following their popularisation by Michael Foucault (Howarth 2002; Foucault 1972). Some qualification is required, however, as whilst Foucault’s objective was a ‘pure description of discursive events’ (Foucault, 1972, 27), it must be acknowledged that description can never be ‘pure’ and that the process of identifying statements that make up a historically specific discourse is itself inherently subjective. As far as this chapter and the thesis as a whole are concerned, ‘archaeologies of discourse’ take on a more literal meaning: something akin to the use of trial trenching on an archaeological site in order to trace the plan of underlying structures. Rather than extrapolating connecting walls and other features, this study is engaged in the search for ideas. It is therefore an act of reconstruction and by definition speculative.

⁴⁸⁹ ‘Brettia’ is commonly understood to extend from Lucania (Laus/Crathis Rivers), south to the Straits of Messina, incorporating the Leucopetra peninsula. Brettia: Polyb. IX 7. 10; Strab. VI 1.5. *n Brettiane Chora* is found also in Polyb. I 56. 3. Although often used, ‘Bruttium’ is a modern appellation with no ancient authority as both the name of the people and that of the region were cognate: in *Bruttiis*, *Bruttii provincia*, etc. For Italia, see Antiochus of Syracuse (*FGrH* 555 F3; Arist. *Pol.* 1274a 24; 1329b 7, 11) (see further below) and *n Rhegion Cherronesos*: Plut. *Crass.* 10. 7.

⁴⁹⁰ Whilst perhaps attributable to the author’s purported links to S. Italy, this is a far cry from the status of modern Calabria, a neglected backwater now languishing in relative obscurity.

4.2.1 Framing the argument: contact, interaction and systems of exchange

First, the caveats. Much of what follows will focus primarily on the material record since we have little by way of historic or ethnographic material relating to Calabria for the period in question. In order to make this study ‘work’ effectively it will also be necessary to draw upon material recovered both from the more northerly regions of Campania, Puglia and Basilicata and the island of Sicily across the Straits. Digressions of this nature are hardly inappropriate, however, in the light of archaeological evidence for trade in ores and worked metal (jewellery, weaponry etc) encompassing Sicily, south/central Italy and Sardinia, and a string of ports extending all the way to the Levant.⁴⁹¹ Whilst demonstrating Calabria’s historic role within both the ‘pan-Italian exchange system’ – elements of which can be traced back to at least the late Bronze Age⁴⁹² – and long-distance trade, the latter also provides some indication as to the likely interests and aspirations that prompted Greek-speaking settlers from Euboea (and elsewhere) to begin venturing westwards from the eighth-century BC onwards.⁴⁹³

Trade was not the only factor connecting S. Calabria to the wider world during the period on question, however. Instead, a complex patchwork of shifting political allegiances and

⁴⁹¹ See Hall, J. 2005; Burgers 2004 for discussion of contacts linking Illyria, Crete and Puglia. For exchange networks connecting Calabria with centres to the north: a series of iron swords dated to the early eighth century BC: Albanese Procelli 1995, 42; Ridgway 1995, 84-5. On exchange networks encompassing Sicily: bronze spears/axes dating to early eighth century from Tre Canali, Giarratana, San Cataldo and Mendolito (Procelli 1993, 233); pendants from Modica and Segesta (de la Genière 1968, 62 no.90, Kilian 1970 pl.277, no.5.7); figurines from Tre Canali, Taormina and Centuripe (la Rosa 1968, 75, 125) – interpreted by Hodos (1999, 72) as evidence for a metalworking *koiné*.

⁴⁹² Hodos 1999. The decision to draw upon data from outside the study area reflects the assumption that practices of a similar nature are likely to have encompassed Calabria itself. Where such inferences are made they must remain sensitive to the constraints imposed by local patterns of trade and association and a varied/rugged topography – there being some risk that this might otherwise constitute an overly generalised and/or essentially self-validating approach. For the wider importance of Calabria’s role in connecting Sicily and central Italy, leading to extensive levels of contact and the emergence of a distinct cultural zone encompassing the southern reaches of the Tyrrhenian Sea, see Sestieri 1980-1; Procelli 1996. So, for example, Iron Age populations on both sides of the Straits are traditionally referred to as Sicels in the light of literary evidence recounting the migratory activities of various prehistoric populations (e.g. *FGrH* 555 F1) and perceived similarities in material culture. For discussion of Sikel identity, see Cordano 2002; Antonaccio 2004. For discussion of approaches to the literary and material evidence in Italian prehistory, see Loney 2002.

⁴⁹³ Evidence for the latter can be found in mortuary evidence from Sala Consilina in the Vallo di Diano (Campania) which can be compared with material from Calabria and western Lucania – primarily fibulae and ceramics – whilst the analysis of imported fine-wares found at Rhegion and neighbouring Zancle provide ample testimony to the importance of long-distance trade (Vallet 1958; de la Genière 1968; Mercuri 2004). The field is largely dominated by Francophone scholarship including the landmark studies of J. de la Genière on Greek/native interaction during the South Italian Iron Age (de la Genière 1968) and Georges Vallet’s bid to situate the poleis overlooking the Straits of Messina in their wider context of pan-Mediterranean networks of maritime trade and exchange (Vallet 1958). Practical matters pertaining to seafaring are discussed in Snodgrass 2000. For recent discussion of cultural identity and interaction in a Sicilian context see Willi 2008.

competing spheres of influence created an at times volatile admixture resulting in acts of territorial aggrandisement, piracy and open warfare. Whilst we will return to such matters in due course it can reasonably be argued that we have more than enough evidence to assume levels of contact and interaction conducive to the transmission of knowledge and ideas – however patchy or uneven.⁴⁹⁴ Since physical geography, ecology, modes of subsistence and networks of communication all play an important role in dictating the manner in which goods and ideas circulate we shall now make a brief digression to describe some of the more important characteristics by which S. Calabria and its various micro-regions were variously defined.

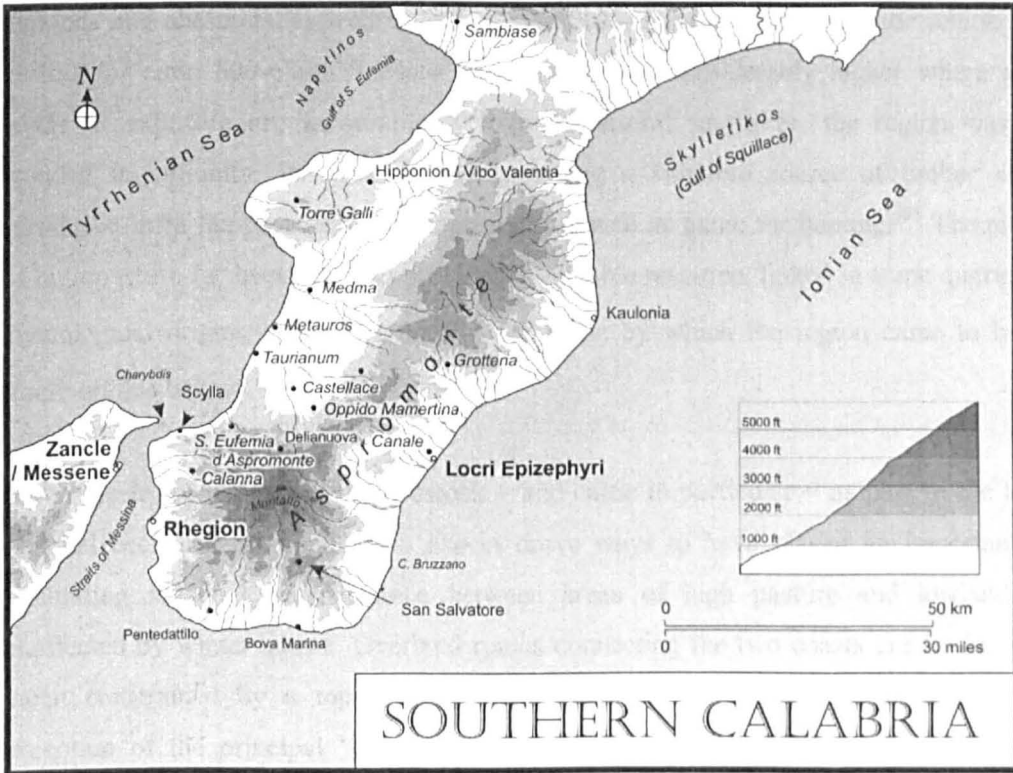


Figure 14. S. Calabria. Landscape and topography.

4.2.2 Landscape and identity in Southern Calabria

The topography of Southern Calabria has undoubtedly played a vital role in shaping the history of the region. The mountainous hinterland of the Aspromonte forms a jagged backbone that runs the length of the peninsula before terminating abruptly at the Straits of Messina (reputedly the lair of Scylla in Homer's *Odyssey* and the scene of much seismic

⁴⁹⁴ Herodotean tales of a coastal reconnaissance undertaken by Persian spies are too closely associated with the – no doubt apocryphal – account of Darius' motivation for invading Europe to be taken seriously (III 135-8).

activity) (see fig. 15).⁴⁹⁵ Both the climate and hydrology of the region make it an attractive region for settlement. Lofty mountain peaks (some well in excess of 1000m) ensure consistently high levels of precipitation in autumn and winter months, with snow cover extending into late spring. These combine to feed numerous streams and rivers, whose descent to the coast has, over millennia, contributed to alluvial plains ripe for cultivation. These plains are for the most part narrow, disappearing almost completely in places, with the result that the adjoining waters of the Tyrrhenian and Ionian Seas would have provided both the most straightforward mode of communication between coastal settlements as well as a ready source of sustenance. Conditions are, however, ideal for sustaining fruit trees, figs, almonds and chestnuts, as well as arable crops; olives thrive throughout the region up to an altitude of circa 600-650m⁴⁹⁶ whilst vines are found considerably higher where soils and levels of exposure are favourable.⁴⁹⁷ Rich in natural resources, the region was heavily wooded in antiquity, its thick forests providing a valuable source of timber and pitch (produced from the processing of pine resin), as well as game for hunting.⁴⁹⁸ The prevalence of high pasture for livestock also provided a valuable resource, linked in some quarters to the etymological origins of *Ἰταλία* itself – the name by which the region came to be known (more on this below).

Given the likely importance of livestock – and cattle in particular – as part of the local and regional economy, we might also expect drove ways to have played an important role in facilitating seasonal transhumance between areas of high pasture and lowland regions unaffected by winter snows. Overland routes connecting the two coasts are to this day very much constrained by a topography of winding river valleys and high passes with the exception of the principal ‘lands bridges’ through which trade/movement appear to have been channelled. These played an important role in connecting settlements on either side of

⁴⁹⁵ See Strabo for the perils faced by ancient mariners (VI), portrayed more as a botherance by Dunbabin (Dunbabin 1948, 195-6) and, for more recent discussion Snodgrass 2000.

⁴⁹⁶ Foxhall 2007a, 112.

⁴⁹⁷ The extent to which this mountainous hinterland remained untamed and/or exploited remains very much a moot point. We should certainly be wary of assuming a direct correlation between sudden breaks in elevation/topography and socio-cultural boundaries (Purcell 2003; Osborne 2007a). Such points will be dealt with at greater length below when we focus in on one hilltop site in particular that although located deep in the interior was very much connected with wider networks of practice, belief, trade and exchange.

⁴⁹⁸ Strab. VI 1.9. Later taxed by Rome but no doubt exploited, to at least some degree, during the period in question. On the exploitation of Calabrian pine (*Pinus nigra* Arn. ssp. *laricio* Poiret var. *Calabrica* Delamare) see: Dionys. xx. Fr. Mai, 5, 6. The lower slopes of the Aspromonte carry larch, beech, oak and chestnut trees – the region as a whole being one of the major sources of timber in modern Italy. Finds of a variety of arrowheads at Locri along with *arule* depicting deer have both been interpreted as testifying to the popularity of hunting in the hinterland (Lattanzi 1989, 17 no. 68, tav. IV, 1 (see further below). On topography/communications in general see: Dunbabin 1948, 200-10.

the isthmus, negating the need for lengthy (and potentially risky) coastal voyages.⁴⁹⁹ The overall impression is one of dynamic interaction within a landscape whose exploitation would have provided the primary source of subsistence and/or wealth⁵⁰⁰ whilst trade, craft production and other ‘economic’ activities would also have contributed to the movement of goods and people between centres of population, whether by land or sea.

Factors such as these must all be borne in mind when considering the manner in which people, materials and ideas might have circulated throughout the region. Again, there is a marked contrast with the chora of Olbia or the open landscapes of Scythia, where major waterways provide ready access to the interior. In the case of S. Calabria, whilst the bustling sea-lanes would have contributed to thriving ports where knowledge and ideas might be freely exchanged, the pattern of rural life – seasonal transhumance in search of mountain pasture,⁵⁰¹ the sowing and reaping of crops and the exploitation of ‘wild’ landscapes for seasonal foods, game and fuel – would have been equally important in dictating the circumstances under which individuals would have been able to tap into knowledge of places and people beyond their immediate environs. Occasions on which this might have been possible may have included visits to local sanctuaries timed to coincide with a particular agricultural festival, the occasional trip to the nearest urban centre to sell produce or buy what could not be supplied locally, or a gathering of friends during which tales might be swapped regarding the various images depicted on imported figured pottery.

4.2.3 Materials in circulation, ideas in play

Having highlighted some of the ways in which physical geography and socio-economic ties might have contributed to the ebb and flow of knowledge and ideas throughout the region, we can now tackle the historic and archaeological materials in more detail. From an archaeological point of view, attention has traditionally focussed upon the poleis sites of Rhegion and Locri Epizephyri, their various sub-colonies and dependencies (see figure 15). Whilst Rhegion’s sole reported foundation was Pyxous during the 5th century (Diod. 11.59.4), Locri’s rapid expansion during the 7th century led to the founding of settlements at

⁴⁹⁹ The overall significance of trans-isthmian trade/communications has been emphasised by Vallet 1958; Will 1973; Guzzo 1981. A combination of naval power and the fortification of Scyllaeum by Anaxilas may have afforded some degree of control over shipping passing the Straits (Strab. VI 1.5). Cf. Vallet 1958. See also the *Homeric Hymn* for the dangers posed by Tyrrhenian ‘pirates’ (cf. ch. 3 on Aristothonos krater).

⁵⁰⁰ Foxhall 2003.

⁵⁰¹ Foxhall 2006a, 273. See Braun 2004 for knowledge circulating throughout the western Mediterranean and beyond.

Medma⁵⁰², Metauros⁵⁰³ and Hipponion⁵⁰⁴ – all of which have been located and/or investigated to some extent.⁵⁰⁵ Archaeological exploration of the intervening territories has been comparatively limited in all but recent years: a reflection, arguably, of both the widespread shortage of financial resources capable of sustaining anything other than developer-led interventions and the (still) widely held assumption that there was little, if any, settlement activity beyond the coastal littoral during the archaic-classical periods.⁵⁰⁶ Such views are increasingly being challenged, however, in the light of ongoing investigation of the rural landscapes of the interior (of which we shall hear more below).⁵⁰⁷ With a few notable exceptions, little evidence has been found – and thus little attention paid overall – to the indigenous/prehistoric populations themselves, the study of which has traditionally suffered from a far more widespread interest in the civilisations of Greece and Rome.⁵⁰⁸ Aside from the (predominantly 4th century) hilltop site of Oppido Mamertina,⁵⁰⁹ settlement data is for the most part either sparse or poorly published. Surface scatters of sherds and other materials provide indications of activity at locations such as Palmi,⁵¹⁰ Sant’Eufemia D’Aspromonte,⁵¹¹ and Pentedattilo (see figure 15).⁵¹²

Mortuary evidence is relatively abundant in comparison – in particular the necropoleis at Canale-Janchina, Castellace,⁵¹³ Calanna⁵¹⁴ and Gioia Tauro⁵¹⁵ (ancient Metauros) – but has

⁵⁰² Thuc. V.5.3; Ps. Skymnos 308; Strab. VI.1.5.

⁵⁰³ Steph. Byz. 437.3. Originally founded as a Chalkidian settlement by Zancle? (Solin. 2.11).

⁵⁰⁴ See (variously): De Franciscis 1960; Settis 1965, 116-17; Musti 1976, 88-9. For general discussion of Locrian expansion see Dunbabin 1948, 163-70.

⁵⁰⁵ Both Rhegion and Locri were the subject of pioneering excavations by the redoubtable Paolo Orsi during the 19th-early 20th centuries, with periodic investigations of a more limited nature taking place in later years, constrained, in the case of Rhegion, by the fact that the ancient city lies directly beneath modern Reggio. See Mercuri 2004 for discussion and references.

⁵⁰⁶ E.g. Morris 2007, 388; Hall 2007, 117. A notable exception can be found in the excavations at S. Eufemia in Aspromonte – of which we shall hear more below. See also the remains of a mid 6th century sanctuary identified by an archaic-period inscription discovered out of context. Strabo VI 1.2 does in fact make the claim that: “...[οἱ] (τοὺς Ἕλληνας) πρότερον μὲν γε καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας πολλὴν ἀφήρηντο, ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων ἀρξάμενοι...”

⁵⁰⁷ Recent work relating primarily (but not exclusively) to the chora of Rhegion has provided an invaluable window upon the wealth of material contained within the archives of the regional Sopp. – much of which has received only summary publication. See: Givigliano 1978; Costabile 1980; Sabbione 1981; Costamagna 1986; 1990; 1997; Cordiano 1988; 1995; 2000. Cf. Osanna 1992 for an overview of the chorai situated along the Ionian coast (Locri-Taranto). More generally, the journal *Kokalos* and the Taranto proceedings provide useful digest of ongoing research – albeit in somewhat cursory detail.

⁵⁰⁸ Broad treatment of historical questions can be found in Carratelli 1976.

⁵⁰⁹ See Costamagna & Visonà 1999; Mercuri 2004, 262.

⁵¹⁰ Loc. San Leo: Pacciarelli 1989-90, 23-4.

⁵¹¹ Cordiano 1997, 1-16.

⁵¹² Mercuri 2004, 264.

⁵¹³ de la Genière 1964; Givigliano 1987; Costamagna 1990, Costamagna in Costamagna & Visonà 1999, 251-2; Pacciarelli 1999, 73-4.

⁵¹⁴ De Franciscis 1956; 1962; de la Genière 1964; 1968.

long lacked anything by way of systematic analysis. Where the latter has occurred, the results have provoked as many questions as they answer. At the necropolis at Gioia Tauro for instance, the earliest phases of burials have been interpreted as indicating a mixed population; a reflection of both the heterogeneity of some of the early assemblages of grave goods (coarse-ware vases and sub-Geometric pottery) and the fact that ‘natives’ and ‘Greeks’ were apparently buried side by side.⁵¹⁶ Although some caution is required in this respect as such judgements are invariably based upon the nature of the grave goods alone (e.g. Bi-conical urns and pitchers marking ‘native’ burials whilst Attic black-figure vases are associated with ‘Greeks’) we cannot of course rule out the possibility that they were selected for deposition precisely because they signalled some notion of identity or difference since the range of imported goods deposited in the graves is certainly impressive.⁵¹⁷ These include Corinthian fine wares (up until circa the mid 6th century),⁵¹⁸ the full range of Chalkidian wares, alongside – to a lesser degree – Ionian bucchero,⁵¹⁹ Cretan and Rhodian aryballoi, Chian and Phoenician amphorae, Samian lekythoi and the fragments of one or more Etruscan kantharoi. Whilst we should be wary of inferring ethnic affiliations on the basis of material evidence alone, the sheer diversity of imported materials deposited in the graves is indicative of comparatively high levels of inter-regional connectivity.⁵²⁰

A recent study by Laurence Mercuri addressing questions of inter-cultural contact and early settlement throughout the region during the early-archaic period has gone some way towards redressing the lack of a (systematic) treatment of mortuary evidence at a local/regional level (Mercuri 2004). The conclusions arising from Mercuri’s analysis of the grave goods from the

⁵¹⁵ De Francis 1960, 21-67; Sabbione 1977, 1981; 1986. See Mercuri 2004, 260-2 for useful summary and bibliography.

⁵¹⁶ Although yet to receive full publication, the Gioia Tauro cemeteries contain some 3500 tombs dating from the 7th-5th centuries BC, providing a valuable insight into both the consumptive practices (?) and (likely) cultural preferences associated with death and burial. Changes in funerary ritual are also readily apparent: switching progressively from inhumation burials to cremation and back to inhumation again – this time in tile-covered graves.

⁵¹⁷ The accessibility of such goods altered over time: Mercuri contrasts the range of materials recovered from the tombs at Torre Galli with the later cemetery at Canale-Janchina – the former is seen to be indicative of limited/periodic contacts with the wider Mediterranean world, with little attempt being made to imitate imported goods locally. At Canale-Janchina meanwhile, a far greater range of imported goods are present and indigenous pottery styles are seen as mimicking those of the newly arrived (Euboean) settlers (Mercuri 2004, 198-9, 201-2).

⁵¹⁸ Typical examples include two Proto-Corinthian aryballoi, nos. 34188-34189 (tomb 105) and 34190 (tomb 195), mid 7th century BC, Agostino 2005, 189, no. 40, cf. Lo Porto 1964.

⁵¹⁹ E.g. Bucchero alabastron, East Greek, no. 34213 (tomb 197), first half of 6th century BC, Agostino 2005, 188, no. 36, cf. Jacopi 1931, 47, fig. 13.

⁵²⁰ Whilst the extent to which this constituted an open conduit for ideas and information can of course be exaggerated, Pindar’s likening of songs to Phoenician cargo suggests that both poet and audience were equally aware of the manner in which long-distance trade and exchange contributed to the transmission of knowledge and ideas (*Pyth.* 2.67).

Canale-Janchina cemetery pose a significant challenge to the widely held belief that the region constituted something of a cultural backwater in which Euboean settlers had only a passing interest (Mercuri 2004). Instead, local populations appear to have been actively engaged in wider networks of trade and exchange, contributing to the wider circulation of material goods, ideas and information.⁵²¹ The selective deposition of ceramics and fibulae at the Canale-Janchina cemetery would appear to be indicative of both an interest in identities/cultural difference and the active appropriation of ‘different ways of doing things’.⁵²² Engaging in such processes appears to have formed an important part of both constructing local/regional identities and a means of defining elite status via consumption (see above).

The discourses of identity that Mercuri brings to light should not be thought of as acting solely in isolation however – the recital of epic, genealogical and lyric poetry, whether formally or in the form of stray quips and maxims, would each have contributed to the shared pool of knowledge and ideas, evoking specific notions of people/place. Although hailing from well outside study area, the incised inscription adorning ‘Nestor’s cup’ from Pithekoussai is a celebrated (and controversial) example of the manner in which epic poetry might be self-consciously cited and/or exploited in hot spots of diversity.⁵²³ Did the owner of ‘Nestor’s cup’, a migrant, perhaps, from Euboea, also possess some knowledge of Homer’s top-knotted Thracians or the Milk dinking mare-milkers – not to mention the blameless Ethiopians or Hyperboreans – and to what extent did they shape his view of the world?

Mortuary data of the sort recovered from Gioia Tauro is open to a variety of interpretations however. On this occasion, the marked shift in cultural profile that had occurred by the mid 6th century BC is traditionally seen as clear indication of the rapid acculturation of an indigenous population succumbing to the allure of Hellenic mores.⁵²⁴ Similar patterns of behaviour have been attributed to the shadowy populations that purportedly inhabited the site upon which Epizephyrian Locri was later founded,⁵²⁵ although much of the evidence for the

⁵²¹ Mercuri’s discussion of intercultural contact in the early archaic period raises a number of questions regarding whether we are right to treat the categories of Euboean/native as coherently defined and conceptually distinct entities (cf. Papadopoulos on Achaeaness) (see below).

⁵²² See Duplouy 2006.

⁵²³ Debate surrounding the various ethnicities present at Pithekoussai has been at times intense: For the debate surrounding Nestor’s cup see: Ridgway 1996; Malkin 1998. On diasporic hotspots, see Sommer 2007.

⁵²⁴ E.g. Mercuri 2004, 261: “L’élément grec pénètre cependant rapidement la culture indigène et devient prédominant, soumettant à une acculturation totale la population locale...” Cf. Greco 2003.

⁵²⁵ According to Polybius, the initial phases of settlement saw colonists co-habiting with indigenes (Polyb. 12.5.10).

latter has unfortunately been lost as a result of excavation.⁵²⁶ One might reasonably question the reliability of interpretative schemas in which Hellenization is portrayed as a logical outcome, however, at a time when Hellenic identity was far from static and/or homogenous.⁵²⁷ Instead, the perceived homogenisation of material practices must be viewed in its local and regional context: the result of processes in which all parties were actively engaged.⁵²⁸

Narratives of a very different kind must also be taken into account when considering historical attitudes regarding the land and peoples of S. Calabria: a tangled web of assumptions and biases (ancient and modern) that have been slow to dissipate. Whilst modern views of the region's geography have often been projected onto the past,⁵²⁹ However, the logic of such assumptions must necessarily be challenged as in spite of being portrayed in modern historical documents as barren and poverty stricken, S. Calabria would have appeared spectacularly rich and fertile to anyone accustomed to the rural landscapes of mainland Greece.⁵³⁰ Far from being impoverished, the agricultural wealth of the cities of Magna Graecia was in many cases so famous as to be proverbial (e.g. Sybaris, Metapontum)⁵³¹ whilst the colonialist assumptions that have at times underpinned narratives

⁵²⁶ As a result, the only concrete evidence of inter-cultural contact and/or interaction relating to this period that survives is the mortuary evidence preserved in the Canale-Janchina cemetery. For what remains see: Foti 1976, 358; Sabbione 1982, 277-98 – based, in part, upon ceramic evidence; *RE* xiii.2 1310.

⁵²⁷ In fact, whilst the tendency to interpret the archaeological record in terms of the progressive acculturation of native populations succumbing to the allures of Hellenic civilisation reflects a profoundly Hellenocentric bias, other/additional problems include erratic and infrequent publication of archaeological materials and the sheer quantity of data thrown up by development, presenting huge challenges for an already overstretched archaeological service.

⁵²⁸ Cf. recent work on the Sibaritide in N. Calabria which has instead adopted a self-styled landscape archaeological approach, widening the sphere of analysis to encompass the emergence of urban identities and the resulting contrasts that may have arisen with the rural lifeways of those inhabiting the upland Pollino massif (e.g. Attema 2003).

⁵²⁹ “The two great mountain groups of the Sila and the Aspromonte, have formed in all times wild and rugged tracts, covered in dense forests almost impenetrable to civilization... modern travellers speak with great admiration of the beauty and fertility of the coasts of Calabria. But these advantages are limited to a small portion of the country; and it is probable that even when the Greek settlements on the coast were the most flourishing, neither culture nor civilization had made much progress in the interior”, *Dictionary of Greek & Roman Geography* (1854) (ed. William Smith). Dunbabin 1948, 201 observes: “The inhabitants have from the days of the Bruttians to this a reputation for backwardness and incivility”. Cf. Gissing 1901.

⁵³⁰ Take areas such as the Southern Argolid, for example, where approximately 50% of which is deemed uncultivable, with predominantly thin soils and an annual rainfall of <40cm (*that fell below the level considered necessary to sustain arable farming in 50% of the years recorded*) (Forbes 1993, 214). Mean annual rainfall in Calabria currently ranges from 6cm at sea level to 20cm in the mountains (Le Pera & Sorriso-Valvo 2000) For ancient accounts of luxuriant flora/fauna, see Strab. VI 1.5).

⁵³¹ Wealth as opposed to decadence: see a recent challenge to the idea that Sybarite luxury provided an effective rationale for the polis' eventual downfall – the earliest recorded instance in which excessive wealth (πλοῦτος) begets (in turn) luxury (τρυφή), surfeit (κόρος), hubris and ultimate destruction (Gorman & Gorman 2007 on *Deip.* 12.520c cf. Bernhardt 2003; Ampolo 1993). The authors are

of Hellenisation have been countered by recent research stressing both the agency of local indigenous populations and the extent to which trends in urbanisation were already in evidence, long before Greek settlers became firmly established in the region.⁵³²

One of the most immediate problems facing historians of southern Calabria and, to some extent, Magna Graecia as a whole, is the relative paucity of historic/literary evidence for the period in question. Aside from some scattered references preserved in later authors such as Strabo or Dionysius of Halicarnassus and stray remarks from Herodotus and Thucydides, information regarding the way in which local identities were framed and constructed is remarkably hard to come by. What little material as survives regarding the various pre-Greek/native populations is largely restricted to narrative accounts of a sequence of prehistoric migrations to Italy from Greece and the circumstances surrounding the founding of the (various) colonies. Where material does survive, moreover, it requires careful handling as the 5th century context from which it emerged may well have influenced its overall content/scope. Proximity to Sicily and events such as the revolt of Ducetius would have left questions of ethnic origin highly politicised. The picture, insofar as one exists at all, is largely one of confusion as to how and by what criteria the various groups should be defined – there being little agreement on such matters even in antiquity.⁵³³

Some headway may, however, be achieved if we examine the reports of 5th century authors such as Dionysius of Syracuse and Pherekydes of Athens. Both felt inclined to write on the early history of the region in question, one from a more general/historical point of view and the other in his study of the diverse genealogical traditions by which people and place were variously connected. The indigenous inhabitants are referred to as Oinotrians and the region as a whole Oinotria, an appellation linked, it is thought, to early wine production and subsequent trade,⁵³⁴ or the wider importance of communal banqueting in mediating relationships between settlers and local populations. Whilst Antiochus refrains from comment concerning the ethnic origins of the Oinotrians, the eponymous Oinotros is listed by Pherekydes as one of the fifty offspring of Pelasgos and Deianeira (along with Peucetios, eponym of the Picenes) (*FGrH* 3 F156).⁵³⁵ This in all likelihood reflects the belief that both Oinotros and the people who took his name were actually migrants from Arcadia or,

perhaps unduly sceptical on this point as, whilst Athenaeus' treatment of the Hellenistic historians is undoubtedly problematic (see Pelling 2000), the transgressive nature of Sybarite luxury may well have been highlighted by those favourable to Croton (albeit by way of apologia). For Metapontum's dedication of a golden harvest at Delphi see *FGrH* 555 F13.

⁵³² Burgers 1998; 2004; Osborne & Cunliffe 2005; Attema 2003.

⁵³³ See the markedly guarded comments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dion. Hal. I.* 12-13).

⁵³⁴ A possible derivative of *oinótron* 'vine prop' (Hall, J. 2005, 270).

⁵³⁵ Cf. *Soph. Tript.* fr. 541; *Dion. Hal. I.* 12-13.

alternately, that those inhabiting the region only assumed the name once the migrant Oinotros rose to power. King Italos, another eponymous hero who later emerged as something of a culture hero, is credited by Aristotle with converting the nomadic Oinotrians to a settled, law-abiding existence of which communal dining was a component part.⁵³⁶

Hellanicus, another noted genealogist, offers an alternate etymology for Italia/Italoī. Although colourful in the extreme, the latter provides tantalizing glimpses of early contacts between Greek speaking settlers and local populations. Hellanicus' claim that the term derives from the Latin for 'calf' (*vitulus*) is supported by Timaios (*FGrH* 4 F111; *FGrH* 42 F556) but while the latter cites a plentitude of cattle by way of explanation, Hellanicus' etymology describes an episode in which one of Geryon's cattle escaped from its herd, wandering the length and breadth of the peninsula before fording the Straits and crossing to Sicily. Herakles' attempts to communicate with the local inhabitants whilst searching for the stray were repeatedly met with the word *witoulos* – the term they used for 'calf' – and as a result, the lands over which the calf had roamed were subsequently named Witoulia. Just as 'Oinotria' is suggestive of early interactions being governed by commensal dining or viticulture, an etymology focussing on intercultural contact arising from the procurement of cattle is too much of a coincidence to be ignored. What is striking, however, is the non-Greek origin of the term which, along with a supposed link to Pelasgians – a group whose origins (real or imagined) were sufficiently nebulous to confound later authors such as Herodotus – suggests active theorising on behalf of one or more parties and an attempt to integrate local populations into the wider genealogical framework (Malkin 1998; Hall 2002).

The absence of a narrative account by which historians might seek to order/tidy the past – ignoring issues and concerns aroused by the dissonances between the varied bodies of evidence can, however, have its benefits. Classical historians have, at times, been overly preoccupied with making the data 'fit' what literary evidence we possess. Where Italian prehistory is concerned, this has often taken the form of employing tribal names inherited from ancient Greek authors to denote specific cultural groups, taking it for granted all the while that the information transmitted by their various interlocutors was at all times accurate and reliable.⁵³⁷ However, some caution is required when it comes to the way in which these literary attestations of identity are integrated with broader archaeological enquiry (we have

⁵³⁶ His arrival would subsequently give rise to another shift in identity from Oinotrians to Italoī (Ath. *Pol.* 7.9.3 cf. *FGrH* 555).

⁵³⁷ Italian prehistory has for a long time remained closely wedded to theories and methodologies rooted in intellectual debates dating back to the country's unification and the pervasive influence of Croce (Loney 2002). This typically results in the mapping of tribal identities in terms of discrete, bounded entities that were somehow static and impermeable.

already had cause to consider the implications of culture-historical paradigms in our discussions of Scythia).⁵³⁸

Although foundation myths and legends do suggest some ways in which local populations were conceptualised, both their provenance and dating are in many cases uncertain as they are almost entirely reliant upon later sources. Stories surrounding the foundation of Rhegion involving a violent incident in which local populations had to be driven away by force from a site overlooking the straits provides one such example.⁵³⁹ The apparent interest with which stories surrounding the various cities were evidently regarded is arguably indicative of their overall importance as narratives that might be selectively deployed to situate groups and individuals. Viewed in this light, historicity and/or basis in fact are very much secondary considerations. We must instead take individuals such as Antiochus at their word and assume that they at least provide an accurate reflection of the sorts of stories circulating in the 5th century BC. In contrast, archaeological evidence for the external use of collective ethnics for both Rhegion and Locri from the late 6th century onwards, provides what is perhaps the soundest indicator that both communities were perceived as coherent identity groups both from within and without their communities.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁸ Italian prehistory has for a long time remained closely wedded to theories and methodologies rooted in intellectual debates dating back to the country's unification and the pervasive influence of Croce (Loney 2002). This typically results in the mapping of tribal identities in terms of discrete, bounded entities that were somehow static and impermeable. The extent to which these accounts have influenced archaeological interpretation is hard to gauge but there are strong grounds for arguing that literary-led perspectives have resulted in arguments that are essentially circular and self-validating in nature, with artefacts and assemblages being equated with specific 'cultures' or ethnic groups and vice versa. Although very much an emerging field of scholarship, the latter has seen a marked shift in focus from literary-led studies employing a culture-history approach, to problem-based scholarship stressing the dynamic and often tumultuous nature of Iron Age societies in which inter-regional trade, competition for resources, urbanization and social mobility were already prevalent to varying degrees (see further below plus Herring & Lomas 2000; Ridgway et al. 2000; Burgers 2004; Osborne & Cunliffe 2005).

⁵³⁹ According to Antiochus of Syracuse, Rhegion was a Chalcidian colony: the inhabitants of Zancle (known as Messina from c.490 onwards) sent for colonists from Chalcis and appointed one Antimnestos as *oikistes* (*FGrH* 555 F10. Other sources attesting to Chalcidian origins include Thuc. 6.44.3; Ps.-Skymnos 311-12; Diod. 14.40.1). A variant tradition preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus has Artimedes of Chalcis as founder (*Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 19.2), whilst the involvement of Peloponnesian Messenians is also attested. For discussion of an oracular response and foundation traditions concerning Rhegion, see Mani 1980; Malkin 1987, 31ff.; Loney 1990.

⁵⁴⁰ Evidence of this and a similar nature is important in demonstrating that ideas of a Locrian or Rhegian identity were not only subscribed to by 'insiders' and but also noted by outsiders in contexts ranging from their immediate locality to major Panhellenic sanctuaries. See: Rhegion: *SEG* XI 1205 (c.500 BC), *SEG* XXIV 303-5 (6-5th centuries BC), *ML* 63.12. Earlier evidence of its external individual use can be found in *SEG* XLVIII 1252 (c.550-500 BC). Locri: *SEG* XI 1211 (c.525-500 BC), *SEG* XXIV 304-5 (6-5th centuries BC). The internal use of a city ethnic occurs on coins minted by Rhegion from the late 6th century onwards (evidence from Locri being far later due to an initial reluctance to mint coin).

4.2.4 The play of identities, knowledge and difference

Having completed this (albeit partial) sketch of some of the overarching characteristics of S. Calabria – encompassing topography, communications and economic activity, along with general issues relating to archaeological and historic interpretation, we shall now embark upon more focused discussion of specific sites and assemblages in which the ‘play’ of identities can readily be perceived. We shall begin with the *Nostoi* – an intricate patchwork of tales and associations that proved so important in mediating contacts between groups of different outlook and culture. Aside from providing a ready means of conceptualising relationships between foreign peoples, the latter have also featured in discussions surrounding both the role of extra-mural cults/sanctuaries in defining territory and/or the extent to which they reflect prior contact/interaction with indigenous groups dating back (in some cases) to the Mycenaean period.⁵⁴¹

That this network of stories and myths encompassed S. Italy – and Calabria in particular is already well established.⁵⁴² One figure that stands out in particular is Philoctetes, the owner of the bow and arrows of Herakles whose festering wound so disturbed his companions that they abandoned him on Lemnos, only to return when a captured seer prophesised that Troy would remain impregnable unless they did so. Philoctetes is reported to have founded various settlements associated with local indigenous peoples – notably the Chones – adjoining/inhabiting the territory of Croton on his way back from Troy. It seems likely therefore that stories concerning the hero were common currency between early settlers and non-Greek speaking groups native to the region.⁵⁴³

Another figure associated with (again) the northern reaches of Calabria is Epeios, celebrated architect of the Trojan horse. On returning from Troy Epeios is reputed to have dedicated

⁵⁴¹ E.g. de Polignac 1995, 95.

⁵⁴² For Italy see Phillips 1953; Bérard 1957, 323-83; Malkin 1998, 1998a; Hall 2005; Kowalzig 2007, esp. 288ff. Strabo mentions a heroon dedicated to Draco near Laos (in modern Basilicata) and an associated oracle stating that “Many of Laos will one day perish about Laoian Draco” (VI 1.1). Such dire predictions are likely to reflect the damage wrought by Oscan speaking peoples during the 5th century BC. A heroon to Polites is reported near Temesa (VI 1.5)

⁵⁴³ See Malkin 1998a for discussion. For the mainstream tradition that saw the hero return to Thessaly see: *Il.* II 717; *Od.* III 190 cf. *Soph. Phil.* 1421-30. Strabo (VI 1.3) reports that Petelia, the metropolis of the Chones, was founded by Philoctetes after he left Meliboea. Crimissa, near Croton, is also mentioned in a passage citing Apollodorus’ *On Ships*. See Musti 1991; Giangiulio 1991 for discussion of the role Philoctetes played in relations between Croton and Sybaris. Links are attested with Sybaris and at Macalla near Croton Lycophron 2 (b), 919ff. cf. [Aristotle] *Mir. Ausc.* 107. After colonising the promontory the hero is reported to have moved into the interior to found Chone – an indigenous centre. (Although whether such traditions date back to the period in question is entirely moot) For Philoctetes in Sicily see Nenci 1991 and Lacroix 1965a, 5-21 for S. Italy as a whole. Other ‘Achaean’ are mentioned by Strabo VI 1, 12.

his tools at Lagaria in a sanctuary dedicated to Athena.⁵⁴⁴ Although reportedly famous throughout the region, the latter soon sank into such obscurity that by the Roman period its location was considered something of a mystery prompting widespread speculation amongst antiquarians and archaeologists. Its rediscovery centuries later on the Timpone della Motta, a low hilltop overlooking the Sibaritide some 12 km from the ancient site of Sybaris near the modern village of Francavilla Marittima, has been an important milestone in the history of the region.⁵⁴⁵

Whilst the site has been securely identified as a sanctuary dedicated to Athena, its wider interpretation has become a matter of controversy following the suggestion that the location of the Athenaion was in some way dictated by cult activities previously undertaken by non-Greek populations (Maaskant-Kleibrink 2000). Such arguments have been hotly contested – most notably by Francois de Polignac in an important study of the role of extra-urban cults in the demarcation and control of territory.⁵⁴⁶ In fact, de Polignac goes so far as to explicitly single Francavilla Marittima out, arguing: “There is no evidence for ascribing to the autochthonous peoples who visited these places any specifically religious purpose, until after the arrival of the Greeks” (de Polignac 1995, 96 no.16). The recent publication of some of the earliest phases of the site means this is no longer a tenable position, however. Building Vb, one of a number of number of timber longhouses situated on the Timpone della Motta, has been interpreted by its excavators as an apsidal structure referred to as a ‘sacred house’, in which members of the local elite were busily engaged in ritual activities from at least the 8th century BC. The latter involved ‘extraordinary weaving’ on a monumental loom equipped with badly fired but well burnished impasto weights, of considerable workmanship and over twice the size of those normally used in weaving. The discovery of an unusually high quantity of ash and animal bones also suggested the presence of a ritual hearth in which a variety of bronze jewellery was also found.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁴ Strabo VI 1.4. De La Genière 1991.

⁵⁴⁵ De La Genière 1989; Russo 1996; Kleibrink 2006.

⁵⁴⁶ Polignac’s withering critique of the notion that the Greeks of S. Italy were in any way influenced by indigenous cult practice formed part of a broader reaction against the idea that these cults were either native in origin or a reflection pre-colonial/Mycenaean contacts that were subsequently revived. Explicitly opposed to the notion that the existence of important extra-urban cults was a phenomenon unique to the colonial foundations of the western Mediterranean in which cult practices dating to the pre-Greek Iron Age were intentionally preserved in order to facilitate the control and/or assimilation of indigenous populations Polignac asserted that: “It is fair to say that not a single sanctuary has produced material proof of any continuity with a previous cult... ..these establishments left no vestiges of religious activity, which suggests that the relevant societies never attained a level of development in which religion constituted an autonomous and public domain clearly indicated by special arrangements made to accommodate it...” (Polignac 1995, 96). The contrast with the (more advanced) Greeks could not be clearer and the question of continuity was rendered essentially ‘meaningless’ as a result. Cf. Guzzo 1990.

⁵⁴⁷ Kleibrink 2006.

Although pottery evidence is suggestive of at least some level of contact with Greek-speaking traders/merchandise from the nearby settlement that would later emerge as the polis of Sybaris, the extent to which this might have acted as a conduit for information concerning local cult practice is impossible to determine. In the absence of any literary evidence it is difficult to gauge the extent to which the site was well known in antiquity or whether Greek-speaking settlers were attracted to the locality by its reputation – as well as more material or strategic considerations. There is therefore a marked difference in opinion regarding the manner in which both the site and its inhabitants are likely to have fared at the hands of Achaean settlers.⁵⁴⁸ The apparent destruction of the site might in fact be attributed to a variety of factors ranging from hostile attack and/or deliberate demolition to accidental causes. It was replaced by three temples constructed of timber and, in a subsequent building phase, mud brick with stone foundations (7th-6th century BC). More importantly, at least one of the new structures appears to have functioned as an Athenaion that remained in use until at least the 5th century.⁵⁴⁹ The decision to dedicate the sanctuary to Athena is arguably significant in the light of the goddess' widespread association with *techne* – and weaving in particular – perhaps implying a degree of continuity in cult activity.⁵⁵⁰

Let us assume, for the time being at least, that continuity of some kind or other did in fact occur (whether through cult offered to Athena or the ongoing practice of sacred weaving). It seems highly unlikely that the Achaean settlers merely hit upon the right cult through sheer serendipity; instead, it seems reasonable to argue that there must have been some appreciation of/interest in the ritual activities undertaken at the site prior to their arrival – knowledge which might reasonably be described as 'ethnographic' – and that this formed the basis for subsequent decisions as to how future generations lived and worshipped there. Some degree of syncretism would seem to be apparent on this basis but this should not be perceived as evidence for the "indigenisation" of 'Greeks' (Polignac 1995, 96); instead, archaeological sequences on the Timpone della Motta are indicative of some form of 'knowledge transfer' between the resident population and newcomers to the region, with the

⁵⁴⁸ Depending on whether one perceives interaction predominantly in terms of peaceful coexistence or mutual antagonism this may be interpreted as demolition, accidental burning or destruction by fire (Attema).

⁵⁴⁹ De La Genière 1989, 494-5.

⁵⁵⁰ The excavators have speculated that sacred weaving may have continued to take place on site, citing the activities depicted upon the Verucchio throne as possible grounds for comparison. In addition to this, the recovery of large numbers of loom weights from later contexts suggests that weaving (of whatever kind) remained an important activity at Lagaria well into the 6th century (De La Genière 1991, 64-6, figs. 7-12). The types in question are of the pyramidal type commonly associated with 'Greek' cultural practices. Whether this represents anything out of the ordinary is rather more difficult to establish given the overall importance of weaving as a day-to-day 'economic' activity. For a different view on continuity see de Polignac 1995, 96.

latter demonstrating an active engagement with ideas and values that were perhaps not dissimilar to their own. This knowledge transfer may even have taken place at one of the major Panhellenic sanctuaries, where Greek and non-Greek elites apparently rubbed shoulders on a regular basis. The gap separating Greek settler and Italic indigene was perhaps not quite as wide as de Polignac assumed.

Knowledge of tribes native to N. Calabria can in fact be demonstrated, or at least inferred, at a location far removed from Magna Graecia. Whilst no doubt familiar with Sybaris, a city with treasuries at both Olympia and Delphi reported to contain rich dedications⁵⁵¹ and by that time a byword for opulence and luxury, a sharp eyed visitor to the sanctuary at Olympia might have wondered at the likely identity of the Serdaioi. The latter are mentioned on a bronze plaque commemorating a treaty between Sybaris and her allies and the Serdaioi c.550-25 BC.⁵⁵² How would such questions have been answered and where did the information come from? Would the resident priests or officials have been able to supply the necessary information if asked and to what extent would they have found it necessary to define their subject in relation to the other neighbouring tribes, perhaps leading to a general discussion of the defining characteristics of the various Italic peoples native to the region? Such flights of fancy may at one level appear frivolous but the network of knowledge and ideas to which they refer can now only be restored by imaginative leaps of this nature. The extent to which contemporaries carried such facts and figures as might easily be recalled 'in their heads' has an important bearing upon the manner in which discourses of identity and difference played out over time and space.

4.2.5 Notions of place

Nostos ethnography and a lively interest in local cult aside, there is far more to be said concerning the 'play' of knowledge and ideas relating to foreign lands and peoples. The consumption of material objects and images was equally important in this respect and should not be overlooked.⁵⁵³ We have already seen in an earlier chapter how Etruscan metalwork from the 6th-5th centuries BC included depictions of Scythians/Amazons⁵⁵⁴ – those from Capua being notable examples. In the absence of supporting evidence we cannot necessarily

⁵⁵¹ Delphi: Strab. IX 3.8; Partida 2000, 261-3. Olympia: Paus. 6.19.9; Mertens-Horn & Viola 1990, 240-46. On dedications see: Ath. 605A-B; Papadopoulos 2002.

⁵⁵² Kunze 1961; Jeffery 1961, 456, pl. 77, no. 1b; Greco 1990.

⁵⁵³ The presence of objects of Etruscan origin both at 'Greek' sites and amongst the grave goods at the Canale-Janchina necropolis suggests trading links of some sort or another were already well established by at least the 8th century BC.

⁵⁵⁴ See no. x.

assume that objects such as these circulated *within* our study area itself but the same cannot be said of black-figure pottery carrying depictions of ‘Scythians’ which certainly did, with some of the earliest examples dating back to at least the mid/late 6th century BC.⁵⁵⁵ These, along with the prominence afforded to Scythian habits and customs in epinicia honouring victors from Syracuse suggest that ideas regarding Scythia and Scythians were already circulating freely throughout the region well before the 5th century BC.

Whilst many of the most celebrated depictions of Egyptians/Ethiopians discussed in an earlier chapter were discovered in Etruscan cemeteries located further to the north, there seems little doubt as to whether such ideas/images extended as far as S. Calabria. The latter is borne out by the Attic black glaze aryballos in the shape of an Ethiopian’s head from the Contrada Lucifero necropolis at Locri, now on display in the Museo Nazionale in Reggio-Calabria. The latter offers a detailed depiction of an Ethiopian physiognomy and was presumably intended to act as a container for some exotic product – scented and/or refined oils etc. The precise means by which it reached its final resting place after its original start point in the Athenian Potters’ quarter can only be guessed at: such items were effectively mass produced and easily transportable. It is unlikely, therefore, that the specimen from Lucifero travelled alone to locations where such images and forms were entirely unfamiliar. Were it possible to map the routes such objects took as they travelled the length and breadth of the Mediterranean world, the result would be an intricate web of pathways connecting manufacturing centres, storage depots, distribution centres (whether quayside stalls or booths lining the agora) – from which individual pieces might then depart on solo journeys in the possession of their one or more owners, before finally being lost, disposed of or deposited in funerary contexts whose distance from their initial point of manufacture might range from a few minutes walk to thousands of kilometres.⁵⁵⁶

The latter is significant insofar as just what *did* travel with Greek pots along their various networks of distribution is something of a moot point. The distribution of fine-ware pottery presupposes cultural *koine* of some sort but we cannot assume that the images with which various pots were variously adorned were universally intelligible, conveying the same information and/or ideas to all observers. Whilst we may be able to trace the circulation of pots both spatially and chronologically, the interpretation/significance of such imagery would have been dependent upon a whole host of factors no longer accessible to us, rendering questions of reception far from straightforward. In the case of the Lucifero

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. a black figure lekythos, 2nd half of 6th century BC from Croton. One Scythian is stringing a bow whilst another looks over his shoulder. Both are flanked by hoplites.

⁵⁵⁶ See Appadurai 1986; Gosden & Marshall 1999.

aryballos, the lack of accompanying inscriptions/graffiti mean the image could have been interpreted in any number of ways, calling to mind tales of Homeric Memnon, Apollo's blameless companions or the scorching effect of less moderate climes (see above, chapter two).

Where transmission of some sort has evidently occurred we can at least demonstrate that the image in questions actually matters, even if its transferral to another media is motivated by nothing more than a whimsical desire to depict 'pointy-headed people on horseback'. The manner in which such objects and imagery were both viewed and interpreted outwith an Athenian context is rarely, if ever, discussed in any detail – a peculiar oversight that holds true for both Greek and non-Greek contexts: the poleis of Locri, Rhegion or Messina or the city states of Etruria.⁵⁵⁷ Take, for example, the fragmentary depiction of a Chian komast from Rhegion dating from the 7th-6th century BC. Although described as a running satyr, the individual depicted appears to be wearing a turban, raising interesting questions as to how such imagery would have been understood: would it have been assimilated with the Scythian cap (kidaris) as Miller has maintained or is such blurring of categories more a reflection of modern ideas and agendas relating to Orientalism?⁵⁵⁸ Since East Greek ceramics are relatively common in the region's archaeology during the early-archaic period, the reception of such objects and imagery is clearly a matter of some importance.

Another – not unrelated – problem that needs to be addressed is the extent to which a taste for the foreign equated to knowledge and interest in foreign places and people. Given the fact that fine wares from Corinth form a significant proportion of the material assemblage for sites located throughout the study area⁵⁵⁹ is it therefore possible that Proto-Corinthian or Corinthian pottery carried with it a resonance of 'wealthy Corinth': a specific sense of place/origin of which the ancient consumer would have been explicitly aware? Aryballoi of similar form and design are also thought to have been produced locally during the sixth century BC, a reflection of the way in which local networks of trade and exchange were progressively adapting in response to foreign forms and ideas.⁵⁶⁰ The latter were

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. Boardman 1999 who is essentially dismissive of the ability of non-Greeks to appreciate 'Greek art' and Arafat & Morgan 1994 stressing interest and engagement.

⁵⁵⁸ See: Miller 1991; 1997. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which elements of cultural difference would have been discernable to the ancient viewer in Rhegion or Locri, firmly situated in their own socio-cultural milieu with tastes and preferences that were (potentially) far removed from our perhaps overly schematised view of the 'imagined world' of the Athenian citizen. Cf. Lemos 2000 tracing the interplay between artistic traditions emanating from Anatolia and East Greek pottery and vase painting.

⁵⁵⁹ Evidence for a taste for imported fine wares is apparent from the eighth century onwards at the Canale-Janchina necropolis.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Boardman 2004; Jones & Buxeda i Garrigós 2004 (for an archaeometric perspective).

reworked/appropriated by craftsmen local to the region whose creative engagement with cultural difference represented an active process entirely at odds with narratives of passive acculturation/Hellenization.

Objects/things are not defined solely by their materiality. We have already heard how particular products and commodities came to be synonymous and/or representative of their point of origin. Approached from this perspective, an assemblage of pottery represents a host of overlapping ideas about people and place – however ephemeral or transitory – effectively frozen in time and space: the point at which they were lost, broken or deposited in a grave. Until that final act or event removed them from circulation they retained the potential to act as vehicles for specific notions of place that were effectively encoded in their form and decorative style. Corinthian, East Greek, Etruscan, Chian, Attic, Chalkidian and, at times, Laconian imports circulated relatively freely alongside locally manufactured fine wares such as the Chalkidian-style black figure vases that were produced in Rhegion during the 6th-5th centuries BC. If such objects were at times recognized and/or (at the very least) *classified* according to their place of origin then mapping their distribution is in some ways analogous to charting the interplay of specific ideas and values associated with Ionia, the Aegean, Sparta or Etruria.

In the case of pottery, differences in form and style are not only representative of ‘different ways of doing things’ (by different people) but also evocative – to varying degrees – of a specific sense of place. Take, for example, Panathenaic amphorae: as prizes in the Panathenaic games they were distinctive in both form and design. Each amphora had the capacity to carry approximately ten gallons of oil from a grove sacred to Athena. Labelled ‘one of the prizes from Athens’, one side depicted Athena Promachos whilst the other showed the event for which the prize was awarded.⁵⁶¹ These prized commodities were already in circulation by c.530 BC – perhaps as a result of reforms instituted by the Pistratids – and, as prestige goods, appear to have been equally sought after by non-Greek elites.⁵⁶²

Coins represent another category of ‘speaking’ object that achieved widespread circulation throughout the study area during the period in question. Although Locri did not mint its own coinage until quite late, Rhegion issued drachms on the Euboic standard from c.510 BC

⁵⁶¹ An example from the British Museum is a case in point; although effectively un-provenanced, it is said to have originated in S. Italy/Sicily: Black-figured Panathenaic amphora, Euphiletos Painter, ca. 530–520 BC. GR 1836.2-24.177 (Cat. Vases B 137). See Kluiver 1995, 83 for ‘foreign interest’ in Athens and links between Tyrrhenian amphorae and the earliest Panathenaic vases.

⁵⁶² See: Hornblower & Morgan 2007, 5; Lippolis 2004, 46-50; Lo Porto 1987.

incised with a Chalkidian script.⁵⁶³ The latter were produced using the distinctive incuse technique characteristic of the cities of S. Italy, interpreted in some quarters as signalling an Achaean identity (in spite of the fact that it was periodically employed not only by Rhegion but also Tarentum – a city whose Achaean ties are less than obvious).⁵⁶⁴ In fact, whilst the incuse technique may in some contexts have become representative of a local/regional sense of Achaeaness connecting poleis such as Sybaris, Croton, Caulonia and Metapontum, it seems far more likely that its appearance was closely related to the activities of specialist die-cutters who plied their trade throughout the region as a whole.⁵⁶⁵

The earliest types minted by Rhegion convey a great deal of information to the interested observer. Those issued prior to the tyrant Anaxilas' rise to power depict a man-faced bull, widely interpreted as a riverine deity representing the Apsias, with a locust above. These were followed by a series of staters and drachms on the Euboic standard with lion mask facing on the obverse, reflecting the arrival of Samian refugees in Messina early in the 5th century.⁵⁶⁶ From c.485 BC, Rhegion's mint switched to the Attic standard, depicting thereafter the mule biga (obv.) and running hare (rev.) on both tetradrachms and fractions.⁵⁶⁷ Such images may reasonably be linked to a form of self-promotion/advertising – whether on behalf of a tyranny or the polis as a whole. Coins struck by Rhegion were by no means the only issues in circulation however. Whilst Rhegian coins boast of lush pasture (cattle), the

⁵⁶³ C. Boehringer 1984-5, 111-12; Rutter *HN*³ 2468.

⁵⁶⁴ Whilst a recent study by John K. Papadopoulos represents an important bid to bring the study of coinage into the mainstream of archaeological enquiry, making a number of important suggestions concerning the significance attributed to the minting of identities in a colonial context and the role that the southern Italian city states played in the spread of coinage, the claim that notions of 'Achaeaness' were communicated via images referencing "prehistoric notions of value" is highly questionable: "...the images and emblems chosen are taken not from the contemporary cultural landscape of the historic Akhaians, but actively recall the world of the heroic Akhaians of the Bronze Age" (Papadopoulos 2002, 123). That the imagery depicted on coins amounts to an important contribution to discourses of identity and difference is now widely accepted, however, singling out images of cattle (to take just one example) and using them to trace an unbroken continuum back to the Bronze Age Vapheio Cup A, Mycenaean frescoes from Knossos and, in other cases, Linear B, seems needlessly far fetched (e.g. Papadopoulos 2002, 29). Put simply, it seems unnecessary to historicize or mythologize the monetary value of a bull in a society in which agriculture formed the primary means of subsistence, prestige and wealth and any similarities that do occur may simply arise from the fact that depict a bull and that depictions of bulls will (necessarily) share common attributes. For recent discussion, see Kowalzig 2007 on Bacchylides' *Ode* 11 and the cult of Artemis at Metapontum, stressing the mutability of Achaean (or, indeed any other) identity in a 5th century context: "the song goes to the heart of the delicate issue of competing ethnic identities in southern Italy" (298).

⁵⁶⁵ The technique may equally owe something to the repoussé technique characteristic of indigenous metalworking traditions. Once established such practices may well have become institutionalised (for a variety of reasons) but the extent to which they communicated a sense of shared (Achaean) ethnicity remains difficult to ascertain; stamped incuses served the very practical function of demonstrating that coins had not been plated.

⁵⁶⁶ The device had been a standard feature of Samian issues since at least the late 6th century: e.g. AR drachm, Samos, OBV: winged boar. REV: lion's head facing, c.530-500 BC, SNG Vol: VII 1237. Cf. Caltabiano 1993, 17-18, 25-6; Rutter *HN*³ 2469; SNG *Cop. Italy* 1924-7.

⁵⁶⁷ Caltabiano 1993, 17-18, 53-6; Rutter *HN*³ 2472ff.; SNG *Cop. Italy* 1924-7.

presence of a tripod on Cotoniatic coins may be understood as a reference to the mines at Temesa whilst Metapontion's ear of corn alludes to the city's agrarian wealth. There remains, however, considerable ambiguity surrounding the precise quantity of coined money that was in circulation at any one time since hoard evidence from Calabria is strongly regional in flavour – with the notable exception of the Taranto hoard, which, although situated well outside Calabria itself, demonstrates the extent to which coined money could travel.⁵⁶⁸ Since such matters have already been discussed in an earlier chapter there is no need to pursue such matters further other than to emphasise the extent to which the 'play' of identities thus revealed was very much part of the everyday existence of the region's inhabitants.

Notions of place also had an important role to play in the emergence of polis centres such as Rhegion and Locri. At some point during their early history the communities that came to occupy the sites of Rhegion and Locri would have found it necessary to establish a common set of *nomima*.⁵⁶⁹ This can be seen as a process of negotiating and mediating difference both within nascent citizen communities and with surrounding/outlying populations (whether 'Greek' or non-Greek).⁵⁷⁰ Precisely how this came about in the case of Rhegion and Locri is far from clear, but it was clearly a topic of some importance if the observations made by later commentators such as Thucydides are anything to go by.⁵⁷¹ Self-conscious reflection on the

⁵⁶⁸ At one extreme we have the Taranto hoard (*IGCH* 1874), around 600 silver coins deposited in a vase sometime around 510 BC. As well as coins from Sicily (Selinus, Himera, Naxos) it included issues from Calabria (Sybaris, Croton), Campania (Poseidonia), central Greece (Athens, Corinth), Cyrene, Ionia (Phocaea) and the Aegean (Chios, Mende, Thasos). Other hoards recovered from across Calabria are either less extensive and/or varied. These include the Sambiasse hoard (just east of modern Lamezia Terme) (*IGCH* 1872), consisting of 45 silver coins originating from Sybaris and Corinth (a mere two) dated to around 520 BC. A burial from Gerace near Locri dated to around 490 BC contained a silver drachma minted by Croton/Temesa (*IGCH* 1880), whilst *IGCH* 1881, a pot hoard from Curinga (some 30km SW of Catanzaro) contained some 300 incuse coins including staters from Caulonia, Metapontion and Taras. A further 600 silver coins are attested at Cittanuova, some 45km NE of Rhegion, deposited in a burial dating to around 470-60 BC. Although only a fraction of the hoard has been recorded, the latter contained coins from Laus, Poseidonia, Caulonia, Sybaris and Croton. Other hoards recorded for Calabria include *IGCH* 1873, 1882, 1883, 1885-7, 1891, spanning the period c. 510 BC down until the mid 5th century with at least another 3 attributed to 'S. Italy' (*IGCH* 1877-9).

⁵⁶⁹ The significance of the latter as a means of defining identities within the Greek world has recently been highlighted, with particular emphasis being placed upon the importance of the colonial experience in developing a sense of 'Greek' identity. It was this sense of growing *connectedness* that was arguably at the root of any wider sense of 'Greek' identity. Malkin sees *nomina* as: "reflecting or even defining the collective identity of a political community", their deployment constituting "... a very Greek experience of identity and connectedness..." (Malkin 2003, 67-9).

⁵⁷⁰ See Malkin 2003. Coinage constitutes just one element of the *nomima* of a polis, as we have seen, and although references to coinage in particular are comparatively sparse within ancient literature, there is considerable evidence that the wider topic, including other fundamentals such as religious calendar, weights and measures, was considered important by contemporaries (Thuc. VI 4. 4).

⁵⁷¹ E.g. Thuc. VI 5. 1 discussing the poleis of Sicily. Cf. the interests and concerns of early Greek logographers mentioned above. Euboic influence can be traced in elements of the Rhegian calendar

relative merits of ‘different ways of doing things’ saw individuals and communities tap into a wider pool of knowledge and ideas, participating in a wider discourse in which ‘ethnographic interest’ had an important role to play.

One (highly visible) means by which material identities might plausibly have been formulated and/or expressed is through the use of architectural orders in monumental construction. The monumentalisation of the urban centres of Rhegion and Locri, which appears to have taken place during the 6th century BC, would presumably have necessitated some degree of consensus regarding the architectural orders, units of measure and ratios to be employed. Consensus on such issues must have preceded, or at least developed in tandem with the introduction of an orthogonal plan sometime around the mid 6th century BC. In the case of Locri, this was accompanied by the structure commonly referred to as the U-shaped Stoa, the Marasà Sud/Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Marasà and the ‘Casa Marafioti’, a Doric temple with foundation trenches dating to circa 540-30 BC (Orsi 1911a, 27-1, 49-62), which were variously constructed and/or monumentalised at around this time.⁵⁷²

4.2.6 The case for difference: the Western Locrians

In an effort to explore the manner in which regional and local identities variously found expression we shall now sharpen our focus to one polis in particular: Locri Epizephyri. Founded during the opening decades of the 7th century,⁵⁷³ Locri’s early history was reportedly plagued by civil unrest prior to the appointment of Zaleucus as *nomothetes*. The move resulted in what was purportedly the oldest set of written laws in Greece; reportedly

(Trümper, *Monat.* 43-44) and local scripts (Jeffery 1961). Some caution is required in the use of such material as foundation narratives invariably reflect a variety of agendas.

⁵⁷² Barra Bagnasco 1996, Parra 1998, 314. Dieter Mertens has argued that the fusion of Doric and Ionic elements was a means of actively signalling local/regional identities in the case of the Achaean colonies (Mertens 1990), raising questions as to whether similar processes can be identified elsewhere across the region. The argument, which has much to recommend it, was subsequently taken up by Jonathon Hall (Hall 1997, 137; cf. Barletta 1990) as part of a wider initiative to highlight other forms of material culture through which identity might be signalled. Comparisons with the various mother-cities thought likely to have influenced the choices made will in all likelihood remain inconclusive, however, due to a distinct paucity of evidence from poleis such as Helike (now totally submerged) (Papadopoulos 2002, 28). Although it remains entirely plausible that the monumentalising trend exhibited by poleis such as Locri and Rhegion went hand in hand with attempts to construct a civic identity that distinguished them from their peers, whether it is indeed viable to think of Dorian and Ionian identities as representing two mutually exclusive ethnicities during the period in question is likewise something of a moot point (Hall J. 1997). Cf. Snodgrass 1986 on peer-polity interaction in Sicily. For discussion of the Achaean poleis of S. Italy, see Morgan & Hall 1996.

⁵⁷³ Archaeological survey dates the foundation to early 7th century (Sabbione 1982, 277-93) but accounts vary: Strab. VI 1.7. (after the founding of Croton in 710 and Syracuse 733); Polyb. 12.6b.9 circa the first Messenian War (c.735-717 BC); Eusebius: sometime between Olympiads 25.1 or 26.4 (679/8 or 673/2).

attributed to Athena herself after she appeared to Zaleucus in a dream.⁵⁷⁴ Locri subsequently acquired the reputation for being well ordered, a quality which remained, in many people's eyes, its defining characteristic. Vague references to this effect in authors such as Pindar suggest that the city may have been regarded as something of a cultural backwater – largely introvert and somewhat provincial in outlook.

The question as to which Locrians founded Locri was debated even in antiquity.⁵⁷⁵ A number of parties were in all likelihood involved although there is little scope for certainty in such matters. Tarentines may have participated but it is equally possible that Locri's foundation narrative was subsequently remodelled to reflect that of Taras.⁵⁷⁶ Traditions relating to the latter may well have arisen from a desire to forge an alliance with the city in the face of an overbearing Italiote League, headed by Croton, during the mid 6th century BC.⁵⁷⁷ In order to legitimate these ties both Taras and Locri would (presumably) have had to remodel their respective pasts/identities in order to accommodate the other – all the while aware of the threat posed by an 'Achaean' confederacy whose common ethnic identity had apparently become its defining ideology.⁵⁷⁸ The process of mutual scrutiny/cultural realignment that occurred as a polis without any previous Dorian affinities (Locri) entered into an accord with one whose ties to the Doric ethnos were well established must have been predicated on some degree of knowledge of the other's myths and customs in effectively 'becoming Dorian'.⁵⁷⁹ Material expressions of the city's – newfound – Dorian affinities can perhaps be seen in the pediment sculpture from the Marasà sanctuary dated to latter half of the fifth century in which Sparta's decision to send the Dioscuri to the aid of the stricken polis (which had earlier appealed for aid) was commemorated.⁵⁸⁰

Another (rather more unusual way) in which distinctive attributes of Locrian society found expression can be found in the Locrian *pinakes*. Recovered in large numbers from not only the city/its environs but also its various 'colonial' offshoots located on the Tyrrhenian

⁵⁷⁴ The sources for this are late: Arist. *Pol.* 1274^a 22 and fr. 555; Iambl. *PV* 130, 17. See Gagarin 1986, 58-9, 129-30, no. 27. Although seemingly dating from the 4th century, the Locrian Tables may preserve traces of the latter, attesting to a local calendar of 12 months with an additional intercalary month (Niuitta 1977, 266) along with various sumptuary laws.

⁵⁷⁵ Although how early this speculation began is uncertain: Ephor. Fr. 138 *apud* Strab. VI 1.7; Ps.-Skymnos 312-16. See Dunbabin 1948, 35-7.

⁵⁷⁶ Elsewhere it is maintained that Locri was both a colony of Sparta and that citizens from Locri had aided that city in the (first) Messenian War (Paus. 3.3.1).

⁵⁷⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 189. See also: Van Compernelle 1992, 762-3; Bérard 1957, 199-209; Niuitta 1977, 260-1.

⁵⁷⁸ This was a (presumably) opportunistic move as the non-Achaean Taras had initially been a part of the same league prior to seceding.

⁵⁷⁹ Paus. 3. 19. 11-13; Strab. VI 1. 10; Diod. VIII 32; Justin xx 2-3.

⁵⁸⁰ The decision ensured that Locri and her allies carried the day, winning a decisive victory at the battle of the Sagra. See: Bicknell 1966; Redfield 2003, 205; Malkin 2003, 62ff.; Currie 2005, 264.

seaboard, these clay tablets carry reliefs linked to a cult that enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the Greek world during the period in question – that of Kore/Persephone.⁵⁸¹ They are unique to Locri and, as such, provide us with an interesting case study of Greek difference. James Redfield has explored the significance of the images displayed on the pinakes in great detail, only to conclude that the social organization of Locri Epizephyrii set it apart from other leading Greek city-states during the archaic period. Redfield credits the Locrians with inventing a ‘third way’ in which community solidarity reflected/relied upon the mediation of sexual difference and the closed exchange of women of elite status through marriage (Redfield 2003). In view of the apparent singularity of this social model, the question as to whether contemporaries (whether in neighbouring poleis or further afield) were in any way sensitive to these differences acquires considerable importance.⁵⁸² Aspects of this ‘third way’ are perhaps encapsulated in the manner in which the worship of Persephone at Locri was seemingly conflated with that of Aphrodite, as demonstrated by the imagery depicted on the *pinakes*.⁵⁸³ Redfield’s innovative claim that the fusion of nuptial and funerary imagery is indicative of Orphic concepts of marriage and death (both symbolic rites of passage that would ultimately lead to a blessed state)⁵⁸⁴ merely highlights the point that we should, wherever possible, take local difference into account in the study of Greek deities rather than assuming a Panhellenic, community-oriented approach to cult (Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, 101–03). ‘Differences within the same’ were many and varied.⁵⁸⁵

This brings us to another topic over which the women of Locri have aroused a storm of controversy – namely the presence or absence of sacred prostitution within the city. Debate centres around the interpretation of one structure in particular: a central colonnaded building overlooking a rectangular space (c.55x66m), located in the area of the Centocamere and facing towards the sea. Constructed at some point during the 6th century BC, the latter was positioned adjacent to the port quarter and south of the circuit wall (which deviates abruptly from its course in order to avoid the earlier structure). Although open on the seaward side, its remaining sides were lined with porticos behind which a series of small rooms were situated – 6 on either side, to which a further 5 were added during a later phase of construction.

⁵⁸¹ According to later sources the sanctuary at Locri was renowned throughout Italy (Diod. Sic. 27.4.2; Livy, IXXX18.3).

⁵⁸² The extent to which commentators such as Herodotus appear to have had an eye for cases in which traditional social/gender norms were subverted makes it not unreasonable to expect that, if Redfield’s theories relating to the Locrian women were to be correct, evidence for their reception should be preserved in the sources. Cf. Hdt. I 181, 199; II 35, 60; IV 168, 186, 193.

⁵⁸³ The images described have been variously interpreted but are widely regarded as “wedding *ex-votos*” (MacLachlan 210), in which aspects of the two deities are amalgamated, provoking considerable controversy as to their significance and/or meaning. For discussion see Skinner 2005; Graf 2000; MacLachlan 1995, 218; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991; 1978, 109, 120.

⁵⁸⁴ Redfield 2003, 367–69, 384–85.

⁵⁸⁵ A phrase coined by Irad Malkin (Malkin 2003).

Around 371 *bothroi* were discovered in the central space containing the remains of sacred meals and votive terracottas of male figures such as Dionysius, however, the recovery of two vases carrying dedications to Aphrodite (dating to the 4th century) has encouraged speculation that the sanctuary was in fact the location for ritualised prostitution and that the small rooms that lined the porticoes were booths in which *hetairai* could carry out their sacred duties.⁵⁸⁶

Such arguments are far from straightforward, however, since the entire concept of sacred prostitution has recently been denounced as a “historiographic myth” (Pirenne-Delforge 2009).⁵⁸⁷ In the case of Locri, the literary evidence is overwhelmingly late and merits a fair degree of scepticism: Justin’s epitome of the first-century BC author Pompeius Trogus dates to 477/6 BC a vow undertaken by the citizens of Locri in which they promised to prostitute their virgin daughters at the festival of Aphrodite should they manage to overcome their assailant, Leophron, tyrant of Rhegion. The latter was, at the time, either in the process of besieging the city or threatening to do so (21.3).⁵⁸⁸ Sacred prostitution need not be the only interpretation however; Redfield’s hypothesis that the booths in question were intended as communal dining facilities at which both sexes were present seems equally – if not more – likely, finding parallels with Etruscan practices and a more general tendency to associate ideas of a blissful afterlife with banqueting and symposia.⁵⁸⁹ Tomb paintings aside, the latter found expression in forms such as the plaques and reliefs in which men and women are depicted reclining on couches.⁵⁹⁰ The need to interpret such scenes in terms of courtesan/reveller as opposed to a loving couple is, however, questioned; instead, Redfield links these to the wider emphasis on the importance of happiness/mutual fulfilment for *both* sexes, perceiving the pinakes as a celebration the duality of the wife in which sensual and matronly qualities enjoyed equal status. This is/was, insofar as we can tell, profoundly *different* from more traditional attitudes regarding the role of women in ancient society – as expounded by (predominantly) male authors.

Although just what was going on at Locri is likely to remain unclear it remains entirely possible that whatever distinguished Locri from neighbouring poleis/those further afield was in some way reflected in the pinakes and the rituals with which they were associated. The

⁵⁸⁶ Similar rooms have been interpreted as facilities for communal dining elsewhere – the thesis remains a source of biding controversy.

⁵⁸⁷ For discussion see: Pirenne-Delforge 2009, 2007, 1994; Budin 2008. Cf. Dillon 2002, 199–202.

⁵⁸⁸ Another author, Clearchus of Soli (*ap. Ath.* 12.516a) also claimed that rituals of this nature were commonplace at Locri, although Pompeius’ report may be the starting point for this statement (which is implied to be more of a one off). For discussion see Redfield 2003, 411–16; Skinner 2005.

⁵⁸⁹ Communal dining in sanctuaries is also attested at Kalapodi and Isthmia: Morgan 1994, 113; 2003, 117–18.

⁵⁹⁰ Redfield 2003, 383–4 on type 10/11 P 50.

manner in which they should be interpreted has certainly been debated at some length⁵⁹¹ but whatever the answers to such questions turn out to be, it seems not unreasonable to take the various traditions and stories relating to maidens, cult practice and prostitution as evidence of both a degree of interest (and perhaps bewilderment) as to goings on within the city. Take, for example, the outrageous behaviour attributed to Dionysius II of Syracuse sometime circa the mid fourth century BC. According to the (unswervingly hostile) sources, after being deposed in a *coup d'état* Dionysius sought sanctuary at Locri, exploiting his maternal link to the city. Clearchus (*ap. Ath.* 12.541d) and Strabo (VI.1.8) present different accounts of events that ensued thereafter: Clearchus has Dionysius ravishing young maidens of noble birth and generally acting in a deplorable fashion whilst Strabo describes a string of outrages in which the ex-tyrant not only exercises his *droit du seigneur* but also compels maidens to both dance around naked and chase doves whilst wearing oddly matched shoes.

Aside from being a hallmark of typically tyrannical behaviour the latter is arguably a reflection of the special position that girls of a marriageable age enjoyed within Locrian society. It has in fact been suggested that the bizarre antics that the hapless maidens were compelled to undertake in Strabo's account may be seen as a confused refraction of some form of initiatory rite performed in honour of Aphrodite – with whom doves were closely associated (Redfield 2003, 288–89; Skinner 2005). Whatever the truth of the matter, both tales imply a certain level of observation/interest/understanding (or otherwise) of the habits and customs attributed to Locrian maidens. Whether they are accurate or not is largely immaterial. The fact that they survive at all raises questions as to how many other stories of a similar nature were in circulation at any one time which might reveal an interest in people and place.⁵⁹²

Having ranged fairly freely across southern Calabria and some of its adjoining territories we shall now pause to consider a particular point in space and time – a sort of case study within

⁵⁹¹ Arguing at one extreme, Prückner has suggested a reading of the *pinakes* that sees them as recreating snapshots of a ritual undertaken at the festival of Aphrodite in which young girls were prostituted (Prückner 1968). This is likely to be wholly excessive (and is, in any case, impossible to substantiate) but there are certainly distinctive elements regarding the imagery portrayed (the manner in which the respective deities/animals with which they were associated are represented and the overall prominence of women in performing sacrifices etc) which may have been noticeable to outsiders. The poems of Nossis, composed during the fourth century, are undoubtedly important, containing numerous references to *hetairai* making dedications, thereby suggesting that prostitutes may have played a prominent role in cult activity, enjoying wealth and, perhaps, status not far removed from that of women/girls from other sectors of society (Skinner 2005).

⁵⁹² Another interpretation applied to stories concerning the votum is that they reflect the practice of the Opuntian Locrians in sending two maidens to Troy as an act of atonement for the outrages perpetrated by Ajax (Sourvinou-Inwood 1974; 1978; 1991). If correct, this would provide further evidence of a wider interest in (Greek) *nomoi* and of the latter being progressively received and reworked according to local interests and agendas.

a case study which focuses upon issues of identity at their most basic and fundamental. Located in what amounts to a void separating the poleis of Rhegion and Locri, literally ‘on the margins’ amidst what was quite possibly disputed territory, it is precisely the sort of place where one would expect identities/ethnicities to be at their most strident (cf. Morgan 2001, 83). What we have instead is a paradox: deafening silence – at least where the literary evidence is concerned – and an enigmatic material assemblage, the implications of which will be discussed below.

4.2.7 Conflict, connectivity and exchange: the view from the margins

At an elevation of 1260 m, some 20 kilometres inland and around 50 kilometres from the poleis of Rhegion and Locri Epizephyrii respectively, the hilltop site at San Salvatore is somewhat at odds with established views on the nature of Greek settlement in Magna Graecia.⁵⁹³ Far from hugging the coastal lowlands and fertile agricultural plains, the site demonstrates that populations that we would now consider to be culturally ‘Greek’ were busily exploiting the rich pasture and timber resources of the mountainous hinterland as early as the 6th century BC.⁵⁹⁴ Located in a strategic position overlooking access routes both to and from the rich agricultural land of a high plateau, known locally as the Campi di Bova, the site assumed its present form during the late 6th century BC. At or around this time, the summit of the hill was levelled and enclosed by a perimeter wall of approximately 34 m (N-S) by 29 m (E-W), roughly square, with what appears to be a range of buildings or series of ‘rooms’ projecting into the interior. A substantial tower some 7m² was located on its southern side, with at least one building located a little way to the south, outside the main enclosure. According to the results of a magnetometry survey conducted in 2006, a defensive earthwork of some sort may also have extended across the ridge, presumably with a view to controlling access to the site on its southern side – from which it’s most accessible.⁵⁹⁵ These concerns for security appears to have been well founded since the site’s history came to an abrupt close a century or so after it was initially constructed following an armed assault and ensuing conflagration.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹³ Foxhall 2007, 52 cf. Morris 2007, 388; Hall 2007, 117.

⁵⁹⁴ Foxhall 2006; 2007.

⁵⁹⁵ Foxhall 2007. On the wider significance of fortifications both within Calabria and throughout Greece as a whole, see Adamesteanu 1982; Snodgrass 1982; Guzzo 1982.

⁵⁹⁶ Evidence for the former can be found in the numerous sling bullets and projectile points recovered during excavations, located, in almost all cases, in a destruction layer that showed clear evidence of sustained burning. Since the identities of both attackers and attacked remains something of an enigma, questions regarding their cultural affiliations and political loyalties must necessarily be explored via the material record... (Foxhall 2007; Skinner 2007).

The comparative remoteness and apparent inaccessibility of the (modern) site is somewhat at odds with the range of materials recovered during excavations. These indicate that its inhabitants were actively engaged in wide-ranging networks of knowledge, trade and exchange. The presence of imported products: black glazed fine wares, wine and oil (products most commonly associated with the numerous fragments of transport amphorae recovered from across the site), jewellery, in the form of a faience bead, along with evidence of indigenous craft traditions, gives some indication of both the likely subsistence level and cultural predilections of its occupants. They apparently possessed not only the means to obtain such goods but also subscribed to a set of cultural values or practices that involved the consumption of luxury items such as refined oils⁵⁹⁷ and the use of drinking services. Did they also tap into knowledge and ideas relating to a variety of foreign lands and peoples?

Although the socio-political and economic significance of the site in relation to the local/surrounding area remains essentially unclear, both the hybrid nature of this assemblage and its inland location make it likely that San Salvatore formed a point of contact for peoples of different outlook and culture⁵⁹⁸ – indeed, one of the most intriguing and important aspects of the site is its potential to illuminate the precise terms on which such contact occurred. Although interest in the chora of Rhegion has flourished since the pioneering work of Vallet, Will and Guzzo, with the major emphasis being on the control of movement and resources, discussion of the history and archaeology of the region has focussed predominantly upon political geography and the at times fraught relations which existed with Locri. Much energy (and ink) has been expended upon the question of where the frontiers between the two adjoining territories could be said to lie and the relevance of fragmentary snippets of Stesichorus in determining the same (Cordiano 1995; 2006) leaving numerous questions concerning the way in which the adjoining lands were settled and/or exploited and the manner in which their inhabitants perceived themselves relative to one another largely unanswered.⁵⁹⁹

This is far from straightforward however as there is (as yet) no direct evidence to suggest that those inhabiting the settlement at San Salvatore were directly dependent upon either of its neighbouring poleis. Just as recent studies of the site of L'Amastruola in southern Puglia

⁵⁹⁷ The presence of luxury commodities can be inferred from the discovery during the 2006 field season of items such as a globular aryballos thought to date from the 5th century B.C. or earlier (Foxhall 2007). See above for the relationship that existed between consumption and self-fashioning.

⁵⁹⁸ Foxhall 2007.

⁵⁹⁹ See Berlinzani 2002 for the way in which a myth concerning the musical contest between Eunomos and Ariston was employed to frame the conflict.

have questioned whether the settlement was in any way linked to the nearby polis of Taras, it remains entirely ambiguous as to how the inhabitants of San Salvatore would have viewed themselves in relation to sites such as the coastal settlement at Mazza, isolated rural farmsteads or the evolving poleis of Rhegion and Locri – and vice versa.⁶⁰⁰ We are therefore faced with a barrage of unanswered questions as to not only how local populations, poleis and rural ‘Greek’ settlements interacted on a political and economic level but also how Greek they were in the first place.

Whilst we have both literary and epigraphic evidence attesting to conflict between the poleis of Rhegion and Locri Epizephyri during the archaic-early classical period,⁶⁰¹ whether such material forms an ideal start-point for archaeological interpretation is open to debate.⁶⁰² Cordiano’s recent discussion of territorial expansion and conflict in S. Calabria during the 6th-5th centuries BC is valuable a case in point (Cordiano 1995; 2006)⁶⁰³ as although Cordiano’s account of the role that border forts and garrisons are likely to have played in securing territory during a period of mounting tensions between the two poleis is both erudite and persuasive, it is notably reticent when it comes to the role which local/indigenous populations played in such processes. The only factors that the civic elites of Locri and Rhegion were required to take into account – according to this thesis – were the expansionist ambitions of their rivals in the neighbouring polis; there being an apparent (implicit) assumption that their respective chorai were effectively contiguous and that local populations had either been entirely subsumed/aculturated or played an essentially passive role in proceedings.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰⁰ Foxhall 2007. See Attema 2003 for discussion of similar questions arising from research in the Sibaritide.

⁶⁰¹ A number of dedications from Olympia celebrating one or more victories by Rhegion over Locri and a fragment of Stesichorus being amongst the most notable (Cordiano 1995; Berlinziani 2002).

⁶⁰² Literary-led approaches to the material record have often resulted in attempts to identify specific historical events acquiring varying levels of notoriety in the process.

⁶⁰³ From a methodological point of view, Cordiano adopts an entirely traditional approach to the problem of how best to align material, epigraphic and literary evidence. The latter provides a framework for interpreting a range of archaeological materials – by far the most notable of which is the 6th century walled site of Serro di Tavola (described as a *phourion*). Both the morphology of the latter and its location astride important routes of communication find a number of parallels at San Salvatore (Costamagna 1986, 495-502; Cordiano 2006; 1995, 83-88, 104-7). The site’s location on the northern margins of the Piani d’Aspromonte is particularly striking, inviting the conclusion that it was constructed with a view to controlling access to the fertile agricultural land of the high plateau (Cordiano 1995, 84).

⁶⁰⁴ This conclusion seems unlikely: what role (if any) did indigenous populations play in conflicts such as the joint Rhegian/Messenian victory over Locri, inscribed on bronze weaponry dedicated at Olympia (*SEG XXIV 304-5*). The problem of how to conceptualise boundaries has been discussed by Morgan: “We should “not resort to a simplistic notion of physical boundary lines, not least because individual’s mental maps of their worlds and their places within them are structured by a complex of boundaries that may be physically expressed in a variety of ways” (Morgan 2001, 83 cf. Tilley 1994; Osborne 2007a).

Applying such arguments represents something of a challenge for archaeologists and historians. We have abundant evidence that identities were expressed quite forcibly – up to and including armed conflict, but the means by which these were articulated are largely lost. Problems also surround the manner in which we conceptualise the various groups involved in that however careful one is in emphasising the generalising nature of terms such as ‘Greek’ and ‘native’, the assumption that the two categories were easily distinguished is at times difficult to demonstrate. One of the most nuanced and balanced discussions of the manner in which native identities were constructed/expressed during the period in question starts from the position that the broad distinction between the Italic and Greek (or Italiote) people of southern Italy was a significant one (Herring 2000, 45 no.2).⁶⁰⁵ An important contribution to the debate surrounding the politics of identity in southern Italy during the archaic-early classical period, the study in question sees the construction/reformulation of native identities as having occurred as a result of external influence – namely contact with *Greeks*.⁶⁰⁶ This thesis is supported by ethnographic examples of cases in which contact with Europeans encouraged exclusive ethnic identities (63-4), rightly emphasising the historical significance of modern, European expectations – reflecting well-defined notions of the nation state – in determining the strategies pursued by the colonised.⁶⁰⁷

The latter has considerable implications for any attempt to stress the exclusivity of Greek identity and the manner in which this might have affected native identities.⁶⁰⁸ Whilst drawing attention to the fact that native identities are less likely to have been exclusive (no. 41), it has been suggested that: “Increased contact with the Greek coastal cities is likely to have increased the native sense of a distinct and exclusive identity” and that the latter resulted in the material expression of native cultural identities via regional styles of Matt-painted pottery.

Problems of a similar nature are neatly encapsulated in an assemblage of weaponry recovered from the site at San Salvatore which, although modest in size, carries significant implications for understanding its eventual fate whilst at the same time providing the start

⁶⁰⁵ This position is largely predicated upon the Greek-barbarian dichotomy present in authors of the 5th century or later and is thus very much aligned with the approach to identity pioneered by Jonathon Hall in which literary evidence is held to be the pre-eminent indicium of ethnic identity.

⁶⁰⁶ Albeit whilst attempting to play down the gap separating settlers and the indigenous populations during the 8th-7th centuries B.C. and that intercultural contact might have encouraged an awareness of contrasting identities on both sides (cf. Malkin 1998).

⁶⁰⁷ The assumption that Greek identity was relatively well defined at the time and thus an effective analogue for that of modern Europeans in a colonial context is to some extent tendentious however.

⁶⁰⁸ “The Greek settlers, with their emerging concept of exclusive citizenship, which we might liken to ideas of nationality, would have been far more aware of their cultural identity than their native neighbours” (Herring 2000, 62).

point for a discussion as to the manner in which social and/or political identities were framed and constructed through the discursive use of material culture. As such, it represents a valuable opportunity to study questions of inter-cultural contact and/or conflict in a region in which our understanding of interactions between shadowy local populations and early Greek speaking settlers remains hazy at best. Far from revealing a rigid ethno-cultural boundary separating different identity groups, it suggests that relationships between early city-states and local populations, whether settler or indigene, were often far from clear-cut.

The interpretation of the assemblage in question is anything but clear-cut given that its most notable characteristic is perhaps its heterogeneity. In the case of the weaponry: 13 bronze cast, socketed arrowheads, a javelin point, spearhead and several fragments of bronze scale armour. It might similarly be characterized as heterogeneous from a culture-historical point of view also, with materiel considered both typically 'Greek' and 'native' recovered – quite literally – side by side. Although all the arrowheads recovered are of types regarded as characteristically 'Greek' – albeit with a pedigree stretching back to Scythia, they are unlikely to function as reliable indicium of ethnic identity. Any simplistic correlation between material culture and identity seems inherently unlikely given the manifest complexities of interactions between settlers, traders and indigenes throughout the region which dates back to at least the 8th century BC.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁹ See above for parallel discussion concerning the Leoxus stele: individuals born and reared in S. Calabria might justifiably be expected to make equally pragmatic decisions regarding their chosen dress/materiel.



Figure 16. Kore alabastron from San Salvatore, mid 6th century BC.

Another object recovered from one of the earliest phases of the site presents us with a range of possibilities as to its origins and interpretation. An alabastron in the shape of a kore figurine, dating the mid 6th century BC, was recovered underneath a floor of a structure located to the south west of the main enclosure (fig. 16).⁶¹⁰ Widely thought to be East Greek in origin and a reflection of Egyptian/'Oriental' influences, Kore figurines of this kind are widely associated with the cult of Persephone. Whilst examples have also been found at Rhegion and at Locrian foundations such as Metauros, the nearest cult centre is the Mannella sanctuary at Locri (cf. Costamagna & Sabbione 1990, 99, no. 112). Outside Magna Graecia, close parallels exist with the votives dedicated at the extramural sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene (White 1984). It is, however, unclear whether the maiden in question represents the work of craftsmen serving the sanctuaries at Locri and would have been

⁶¹⁰ The kore was deposited face down and the charcoal deposit with which it was associated, along with three small jugs whilst a fourth jug with a pierced base was set in the floor itself, as a means of pouring libations into the earth below (Foxhall 2007). For the cult of Demeter/Kore in the Greek countryside, see Cole 2000.

recognized as such by contemporaries or whether this is a generic model whose origins would have gone un-remarked.⁶¹¹

Although elusive and enigmatic, the site of San Salvatore encourages us to think in terms of a landscape populated by mixed groups who selectively employed different aspects of material culture in order to negotiate questions of power and identity. Instead of trying to identify elements of the site assemblage that might be considered either distinctly 'Italic' or 'Greek', one might argue that it is the essential heterogeneity of the material assemblage that in fact holds the key to how questions of identity should be framed and conceptualised.

Rather than visualizing S. Calabria as being neatly divided between the *chorai* of the local *poleis*, with any areas in which 'Greek' finds are not present being the preserve of Italic groups, we should perhaps envisage a more fluid situation in which questions of power and identity were being continually re-negotiated and mapped out anew. Far from representing a smooth and linear process that saw native cultures subsumed and acculturated by a rising tide of Hellenism, the manner in which identities were negotiated and contested formed part of an ongoing process, largely tied to the control of the economic resources capable of sustaining an elite lifestyle. 'Hellenic' or 'Italic' identities could be assumed or discarded as and when required. The rigid distinction between 'Greek' and 'native' underpinning de Polignac's interpretation of cult activity on the *Timpone della Motta* or the analysis of matt-painted pottery styles is unlikely to be helpful when it comes to conceptualising the on-going processes by which knowledge and ideas were exchanged between groups and individuals of different outlook and culture. The discursive construction of identities played out across time and space as groups and/or individuals selectively positioned themselves in relation to both the narratives of the past and other people (S. Hall 1990). Knowledge of 'others' was freely exchanged, exploited and/or manipulated on a day-to-day basis; material objects, images and 'texts' were all variously capable of evoking cultural difference – to be read and 'understood' by active agents, immersed in a sea of ethnographic imaginings gleaned from epic and lyric, everyday parlance, sculpture and vase painting.

⁶¹¹ Other material recovered from the 5th century destruction layer included a tile stamp marked with a *qoppa* – an archaic script that formed the initial letter of both Croton and Corinth – and an inscription on a locally made Ionic cup of the late 6th century BC. The graffito – presumably the name of its owner – includes the use of a 3-bar sigma, a practice associated on occasion with Rhegion but more commonly with sites further to the north such as Siris and, again, Croton (Jeffery 1961; Foxhall 2007). If we return to the idea of *nomima* being a defining element of local identity then it is essentially unclear as to how such evidence should be interpreted.

4.3 The Imagined Centre: Identity and difference at Delphi and Olympia

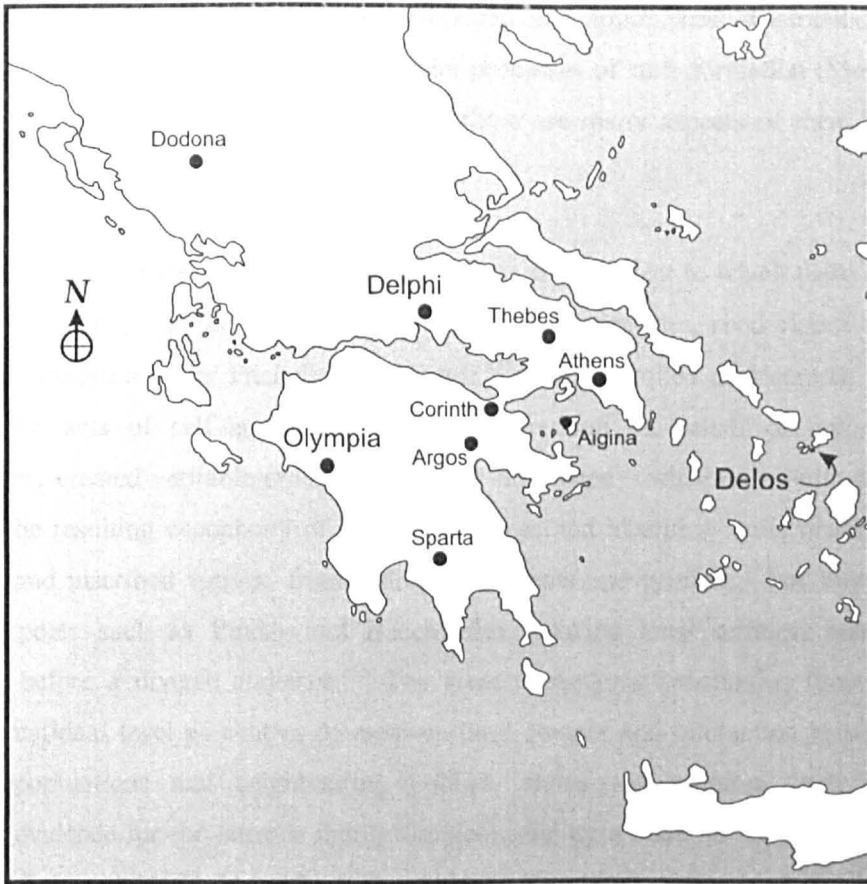


Figure 16. The imagined centre: Delphi and Olympia

From the shores of Magna Graecia we shall now return to the centre (both literally and metaphorically): the sanctuary at Delphi, location of the *omphalos* – Gaia’s navel and thus the centre of the world – and the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia (fig.16).⁶¹² As constituent parts of the ‘imagined centre’ these sanctuaries formed key points of reference for an ever-widening circle of individuals and communities from approximately the 8th century BC onwards.⁶¹³ Between them they contributed towards the spread of ideas and values constitutive of a common sense of Greek identity, whether via participation in Panhellenic games, or reference to an oracle that purportedly played a key role in guaranteeing the long-term success of a whole range of civic and communal enterprises – not least the foundation

⁶¹² Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.74; Bacchyl. 4.4; Aesch. *Eum.* 40, 166. On the significance of Delphi’s claim to mark the centre of the world see: Defradas 1954, 108-10; Gernet 1981, 323; Burkert 1983, 126-7; Cole 2004, 74ff.

⁶¹³ A huge bibliography on this but see variously: Snodgrass 1980; 2005; Malkin 1987, ch. 1; Morgan 1990, 1993; Osborne 1996, 232. For ‘imagined centres’: Malkin 2003.

of settlements overseas.⁶¹⁴ The manner in which this came about have been variously elucidated via a number of theoretical frameworks and approaches: studies in peer-polity interaction (Renfrew & Cherry 1986), the wider processes of state-formation (Morgan 1990) and network theory (Malkin 2003; 2007) but there are many aspects of their history and archaeology that remain enigmatic.

One factor that has been consistently remarked upon is the extent to which these sanctuaries provided a backdrop for the staging of regional or local identities, rival claims and (often) animosities, before a wider Panhellenic audience.⁶¹⁵ The controlled environment which they provided for acts of self-aggrandizement and expression on behalf of individuals and communities, created veritable crucibles of Greek difference – whether in outlook, origin or opinion. The resulting cacophony of competing voices and identities found material form in treasuries and inscribed votives, freestanding monuments and epinicia – not least the songs of praise poets such as Pindar and Bacchylides, evoking local settings, identities, and difference before a diverse audience.⁶¹⁶ The great panhellenic sanctuaries functioned on a quasi-international level as centres of cross-cultural contact and interaction between Greek-speaking populations and neighbouring polities, states and empires (west and east). Historical evidence for the latter is amply supplemented by a material record attesting to the diffusion of material and ideas from the Ancient Near East, the so-called ‘Orientalizing Revolution’, now widely perceived to have played such a key role in the unfolding story of ‘Greek’ culture and society (although with differing emphases, as we shall see).⁶¹⁷ What Hellenists might once have referred to as the ‘Greek miracle’ is now linked to an essential openness to the influence of ‘the high cultures of the Semitic Near East’ – an important rebuttal to earlier attempts to either downplay or marginalize the same. What was the wider significance of these shifts and changes, however, in a world in which membership of social elites was, to some extent at least, “defined and communicated by means of a symbolic currency in non-Greek objects”?⁶¹⁸

This chapter will explore the extent to which knowledge relating to the lands and peoples from which such goods originated was in fact constitutive of ‘Greekness’ itself. Rather than simply seeking to alternately explain or qualify a ‘Greek miracle’, through close analysis of

⁶¹⁴ Such views were notably opposed by Defradas (1954), who disputed the historicity of Delphi’s involvement in colonisation to be qualified variously by Amandry 1956; Parke & Wormell 1956, Forrest 1957; Malkin 1987.

⁶¹⁵ E.g. Morgan 1990.

⁶¹⁶ Some of the more recent treatments of such topics include: Hornblower & Morgan 2007; Currie 2005; Pedley 2005; Neer 2003; van Straten 2000; Alcock & Osborne 1994; Morgan 1993; 1990.

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Burkert 1992; Morris 1992; Markoe 1996; Boardman 1996; West 1997; Osborne 1998.

⁶¹⁸ Hall J. 2007, 346; Duploux 2006.

art forms and craft traditions such as figurative sculpture, it will adopt a broader perspective: the manner in which ideas relating to cultural identity and difference were variously articulated and understood. Tracing the back history of interest and engagement with questions of cultural difference through the study of artefacts, iconography and historical materials makes the now commonplace assertion that ethnographic genre emerged virtually *ex nihilo*, all on account of the Persian Wars, ring decidedly hollow.

4.3.1 (Re)constructing difference at Delphi and Olympia

It is already widely acknowledged that the great panhellenic sanctuaries played a key role in determining what it meant to be Greek in the first place. Sometime around the mid 7th century BC, Thessalian machinations associated with the seizure of Delphi resulted in the Amphiktyonic genealogy being reconfigured to accommodate the sons of a newly inserted king Hellen, the bases by which ‘Hellenes’ were subsequently be defined. The ability to claim a Hellenic pedigree, however remote, is purported to have formed the essential criteria for determining one’s eligibility to compete in the Olympic games – as Jonathon Hall has argued. This emphasis on genealogy as the pre-eminent basis for conceptualising the community of the Hellenes has been variously praised and qualified.⁶¹⁹ There are many other ways, however, in which Delphi and Olympia may have contributed to a developing sense of what it meant to be ‘Greek’ in the first place.⁶²⁰ In order to pursue these further we need to lay aside any preconceived notions of ‘Greekness’ to consider the practical implications of ever-increasing levels of contact and interaction between groups of different outlook and culture in settings marked out for that purpose.

Whilst the heterogeneous world of the Homeric heroes has been variously interpreted as providing a mechanism (or mechanisms) for negotiating questions of cultural difference, the same is only partly true of sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia. A long-term interest in gauging the historical significance of institutions such as the Pytho or the Olympic games in relation to a number of broad-based narratives – the criteria by which ‘Greek’ identities were

⁶¹⁹ See: Siapkas 2003; Dench 2005; Mitchell 2005.

⁶²⁰ There were, of course, other sanctuaries that functioned on both an inter-state and interregional level, not least those on the Isthmus at Corinth and at Nemea, Samos and Dodona. The decision to focus on Delphi and Olympia reflects both the (entirely mundane) constraints of time/space and their centrality to narratives tracing the emergence of an over-arching sense of Greek identity. Olympia, with its purported exclusivity, is traditionally contrasted with sites such as the Heraion at Samos, where non-Greek involvement is readily attested (see further below). For the early history of the panhellenic sanctuaries and further references, see Davies 2007; Pedley 2005, 119-64; de Polignac 1995 [1984]; Morgan 1994; 1993; 1990.

selectively defined or the need to obtain divine sanction for various collective enterprises including the foundation of colonies/settlement overseas – has seen a great deal of scholarly attention focussed on matters *outwith* everyday activity at the sanctuaries themselves. Aside from the basic recognition that they played an active role in disseminating ideas, values and knowledge constitutive of a wider sense of Hellenic/Greek identity, whether by providing arenas in which an international elite could meet, engage in agonistic and cult activities, or consult an oracle whose power and prestige was progressively enhanced in the process, questions regarding the manner in which cultural difference was perceived are rarely considered in any detail. Instead, there is an implicit assumption that membership of the ‘Hellenic club’ was, to all intents and purposes, unambiguously defined and that non-Greeks themselves were *de facto* excluded from such settings. Discussion of the material record appears meagre in comparison, a result, in part, of uneven levels of publication,⁶²¹ with the majority of attention focussed on establishing the precise nature/mechanics of oracular divination, the logistics associated with organizing the respective games, or the economics of dedication (whether material or ideological).

More emphasis might usefully be placed on the manner in which questions of identity and difference played out in these arenas and whether these can in turn be tied to interests and discourses rarely associated with goings on at ‘the imagined centre’. Whilst it is somewhat unusual to characterize such spaces as areas of intercultural contact *per se* given the inherent ‘Greekness’ of the setting, it will be argued that Greek difference was no more on show/being acted out than in an arena where states and individuals staked their claim to the cultural capital, kudos and ever-lasting fame arising from agonistic competition.⁶²² Whilst we have traditionally looked to the margins for occasions on which ethnic identities developed in opposition to one another, the discursive interplay of ideas and images – identified in earlier chapters – is equally in evidence at the centre of all things ‘Greek’. Differences of various kinds were openly displayed and, in turn, scrutinised by various groups and individuals: foreign objects, past events and peoples were selectively viewed, remembered or ‘imagined’ by diverse audiences who then employed them to construct their own sense of identity.

⁶²¹ Extensive in some cases and negligible in others: cf. volumes of *Olympische Forschungen*; *Fouilles de Delphes*, *Isthmia* and *Nemea* – in which architectural analysis, art, and epigraphy often take precedence over finds recording and stratigraphy. For an all-too-rare example of the systematic publication of site data, see Felsch 2007; 1996. For new approaches, see Alcock & Osborne 1994; Hägg & Marinatos 1993; Morgan 1990.

⁶²² Cf. Antonaccio 2003, 72; Sewell 1999, 56.

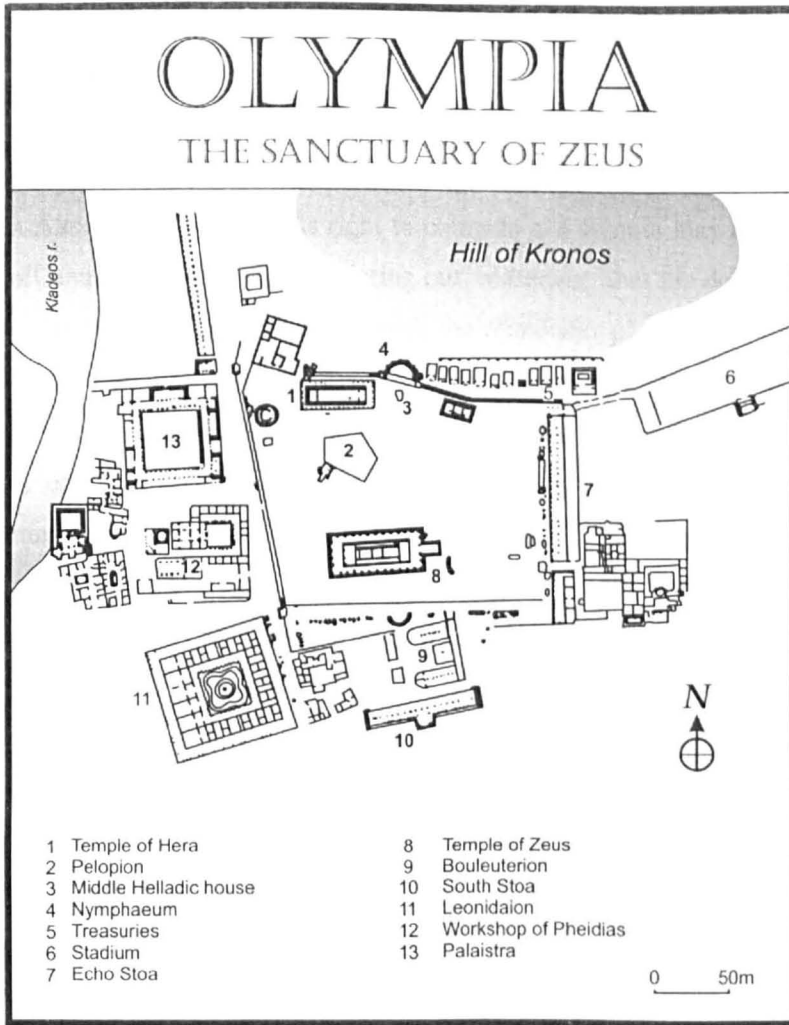


Figure 17. Olympia.

Exactly who visited these spaces can in some cases be gauged by the various rules and regulations regarding participation. In the case of Olympia, the ruling of the *Hellenodikai* evidently had an important role to play as only Hellenes were allowed to compete.⁶²⁶ However, it might reasonably be wondered how often such adjudication was required and the frequency with which individuals whose Hellenic credentials were either disputed or suspect were either ejected from proceedings or allowed to participate. Inscribed lists recounting victors' names and cities of origin are another obvious point of reference, however, they represent only those who distinguished themselves by winning in the various agones, as opposed to providing an accurate reflection of the range of individuals present at any one time.⁶²⁷ Far less certainty surrounds the state of affairs which prevailed at the other

⁶²⁶ Lynette Mitchell has recently suggested that the other three major sanctuaries may likewise have exercised the same degree of ethnic exclusivity where athletic competitions are concerned; we have insufficient evidence, however, upon which to base such conclusions (Mitchell 2005). Cf. Hdt. I 143 on Ionian exclusivity.

⁶²⁷ For discussion of the problems arising from the list of Olympic victors attributed to Hippias of Elis, see Hall 2002, 160-1, appendix B.

4.3.2 ‘Reading’ objects, viewing people: Everyday activities at the centre of all things ‘Greek’

Our knowledge of the earliest phases of activity at the sites is largely dependant upon the material record, often patchy and open to a variety of interpretations. Although the object of extensive – if uneven – study, as alluded to above, it is only comparatively recently that the earliest phases of Iron Age activity have received detailed discussion in Catherine Morgan’s study of the origins and development of cult practice at Delphi and Olympia. Placing the archaeology centre stage, the latter traces the manner in which material evidence reflects shifting patterns of activity relating to the economics of dedication, craft production and technological innovation with a view to examining the sanctuaries in terms of both their local/regional contexts and any wider role they might have played in the emergence of early state societies (Morgan 1990). We should, however, be wary of subsuming such processes into the all-encompassing narrative tracing the origins and history of the polis – as Morgan has herself pointed out.⁶²³ Other, no less important, factors were also at work as knowledge and ideas relating to people and places were variously absorbed, assimilated and subsequently relayed. It seems highly likely, for example, that in the years prior to Sparta’s invasion of Messenia, gatherings such as these were a source of key intelligence regarding the relative strengths and weaknesses of neighbouring states.⁶²⁴ Although highly tentative in nature, suggestions such as these should encourage us to pay far closer attention to the varying outlooks and agendas of those visiting major panhellenic sanctuaries: how did they regard what they found there and how was the information that they gained subsequently employed?⁶²⁵

⁶²³ For the overweening influence of the polis, see Vlassopoulos 2007; Morgan 2001.

⁶²⁴ One of the most archaeologically visible states in the years preceding its conquest, Messenia fades away abruptly thereafter (Morgan 1990, 192-3).

⁶²⁵ For wider discussion of the relationship between geographic/ethnographic knowledge and imperial mindsets, see Harrison 2007.

major competitions where such records do not exist, making it difficult if not impossible to rule out the presence of others whose status as Hellenes might also have been open to question. This would of course have included groups normally considered unambiguously 'Greek' – as Jonathon Hall has pointed out. The game of genealogical one up-manship that occurred when Alexander I asserted his right to compete at Olympia may not, in other words, have been at all unusual.⁶²⁸ It is worth pointing out, moreover, that the decision of the judges only related to the royal house of Macedon with the remainder of the population enjoying an at best ambivalent status. One might reasonably ask how this worked out in real terms as, even if we restrict ourselves solely to the retinue that accompanied Alexander I to Olympia, we must surely envisage a sizeable cohort befitting an individual of rank, speaking (at best) woolly Greek and with manners or dress peculiar to many.⁶²⁹ Mingling amongst other parties variously encamped on land adjacent to the sanctuary, would they have swapped tales regarding the foreign tribes and peoples that they had encountered, whether via firsthand experience or hearsay?

There were other reasons for visiting the emerging Panhellenic sanctuaries, however. In the case of Delphi, aside from a more general enthusiasm for *theoria* there was also the desire to consult the oracle, whose existence from the early eighth century BC would have provided an additional focus of interest and activity beyond that of agonistic competition. One day was set aside for nine months of the year for consulting the Pythia, with favoured states and polities being granted the right of *promanteia*.⁶³⁰ Prophecy by the Pythia was apparently supplemented by cleromancy – perhaps a more regular occurrence if divination took place on auspicious days.⁶³¹ The increasing prestige that resulted from involvement in initiatives such as city foundations and settlement overseas created an ever-increasing circle of devotees and admirers. Even if we have to make due allowance for the dubious historicity of some aspects of the story, Herodotus' account of the lengths to which the Lydian king Croesus went to secure favourable oracles from Delphi is significant (Hdt. I 46-55). Far from experiencing any difficulty in gaining access to the Pythia, Croesus' emissaries seem to have been more than welcome at the sanctuary. The sumptuous dedications made in order to propitiate the god and the persistent questioning may have been ill fated, but the implication is that those

⁶²⁸ Herodotus recounts the aplomb with which Alexander I of Macedon established his right to participate; the king's Argive descent was duly demonstrated and the monarch went on to a joint victory in the foot race (Hdt. V 22). See Hall 2000, 154-58 (see above for further discussion of genealogy).

⁶²⁹ For perception of Macedon, see J. Hall 2001; Sourvinou-Inwood 2002. Cf. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993.

⁶³⁰ Morgan 1990 Cf. Osborne 1996, 192ff.; Malkin 1987; Roux 1976, 75-9; Amandry 1950. For pilgrimage to Delphi, see Arnush 2005.

⁶³¹ See Malkin 1987, 29-31 for discussion of sources relating to oracular lots at Delphi, qualifying – but not dismissing – Amandry's arguments relating to the same (Amandry 1950).

representing foreign monarchs may have well have rubbed shoulders on a regular basis with the great and the good from various Greek-speaking communities.⁶³²

4.3.3 Delphi and colonisation

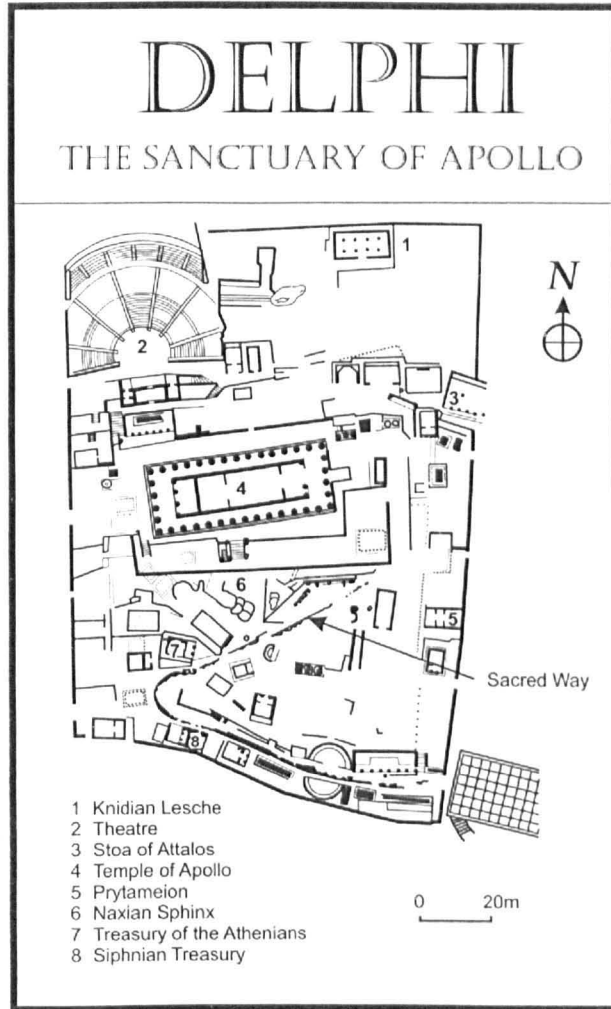


Figure 18. Delphi.

The gathering of envoys from communities seeking the oracle's sanction provided an ideal opportunity for exchanges of information and ideas. Opinion is, however, divided as to the extent to which the oracle itself would have acted as a repository of knowledge capable of independent action. The advantages arising from a level of connectedness unmatched by any other state or divinatory institution have been variously emphasised or downplayed as a result. Morgan's trenchant critique of the – widely subscribed-to notion – that Delphi acted as what was essentially “a clearing house for the dissemination of geographical and political

⁶³² The comparison with modern-day state funerals as an opportunity for informal politicking is well made (Morgan 1990, 177).

information” (Morgan 1990, 172) should make us highly cautious when it comes to assuming the significance of Delphi during the late 8th-7th centuries BC.⁶³³

Our understanding of the earliest forms of consultation is bedevilled by uncertainty regarding the basic historicity of reported oracles⁶³⁴ – whether due to distortion resulting from later colonial interaction or creative embellishment arising from their centrality to foundation traditions reflecting a variety of interests and agendas. There is clearly a distinction to be made here between the wider effect of individuals converging on Delphi – many of whom were already busily engaged in trade and exploration throughout the western Mediterranean – and the Pythia’s ability to *systematically* exploit such knowledge as it retained to its own advantage. Morgan is primarily preoccupied with questioning the notion that Delphi itself would have acquired the power and authority based on its exclusive access to information of political significance during its earliest stages. It follows, however, that one can quite readily allow for a more gradual accumulation of knowledge characteristic of diviners/oracular institutions, as documented in modern ethnographic studies,⁶³⁵ whilst simultaneously acting as an ‘information exchange’ (Morgan 1990, 176-7).⁶³⁶

Whether Delphi merely sanctioned or actively prescribed is, to some extent, immaterial from the point of view of an ongoing trend of intellectual engagement with ideas relating to foreign lands and peoples, whilst the precise number of states consulting during the earliest phases is likewise of limited relevance when it comes to the significance (or otherwise) of any wider systems of understanding current at the time; assessing Delphi’s role in terms of what it would *eventually* turn out to be does little to advance our understanding of its historical significance during earlier periods. Whilst concern regarding the true extent of the Pythia’s involvement in alternately directing or sanctioning early colonisation is entirely well founded, whether Delphi’s use of geographical knowledge could, at any time, have been

⁶³³ See also Osborne 1996, 194: “Settling abroad did indeed demand information, but that information will have come rather from the dense network of exchange which there is good reason to believe already existed in the late eighth century BC...Delphi’s role was above all a political one.” For alternative views, see Dunbabin 1948, 38-9 citing Corinthian and Chalkidian traders as informants; Snodgrass 1980, 120; 1986, 53-4. See also Malkin’s discussion of Dorieus’ enquiry to the Pythia during the early 6th century BC (Hdt. V 42.2), where the potential for pre-existing oracular literature relating to regions such as Libya is tacitly acknowledged (Malkin 1987, 78-81).

⁶³⁴ Fontenrose 1978; Londey 1990.

⁶³⁵ As acknowledged by Morgan (1990, 177) citing ethnographic parallels for examples of the practice of subsidiary questioning as a means of gauging the most appropriate response.

⁶³⁶ Mary Helms’ “ethnographic peregrination among cultural concepts relating to geographical space and distance” explores the way in which elites exploit knowledge/experience of far off lands in order to enhance their position: “...the symbolic significance accorded to geographical space and distance can acquire more dynamic dimensions as the characteristics or attributes of geographical distance are given overt expression in the affairs or activities of various political-religious practitioners” (Helms 1988, 64).

characterised as *systematic* is open to question. Thinking about foreign lands and peoples in a haphazard and/or ad hoc fashion is no less significant – a point much laboured by post-colonial critics and historians⁶³⁷ – whilst manifest ignorance was rarely (if ever!) a barrier to active theorising in the ancient world.

4.3.4 Eclectic spaces? Material identities, inter-cultural contact and receptions of ‘difference’

Herodotus’ reference to the dedications as evidence for what would emerge as a tragic case of misunderstanding, Croesus’ fateful decision to attack Persia, is itself suggestive of the extent to which sanctuaries acted as repositories of knowledge, where artefacts and ideas of another sort might be selectively archived and/or preserved.⁶³⁸ Whilst reported cases in which the origins of some of the dedications were disputed suggest that these may not have been questions upon which all parties necessarily would have seen eye to eye, tales of a nature similar to those recounted by Herodotus would in all likelihood have circulated freely (regardless of whether they were genuine or not).⁶³⁹ Those seeking to know the histories of the various objects on show would presumably have directed their enquiries to a resident priest or official – or alternately drawn their own conclusions based on prior knowledge and/or hearsay and whatever was visible by way of inscription. Although votives are invariably recovered from deposits of material buried in antiquity as part of periodic attempts to dispose of sacred objects that could neither be removed from the sanctuary nor reused for other purposes – it seems logical to assume that they would have remained on display for a considerable period of time.⁶⁴⁰

There is far more that could be said, however, regarding the manner in which major panhellenic sanctuaries acted as points of inter-cultural contact and interaction. We have already heard mention of an inscribed dedication at Olympia recording a treaty between the Serdaoi and Sybaris: another indication that as well as being acting as regional and/or

⁶³⁷ Greenblatt 1991; cf. Romm 1992.

⁶³⁸ Croesus is also credited with dedicating the property of a political rival Pantaleon whom he had previously tortured and put to death (Hdt. I 92). For interpreting oracles and assessing risk, see Bakker 2006; Eidinow 2007.

⁶³⁹ E.g. Hdt. I 51.

⁶⁴⁰ The process whereby artefacts acquired ‘histories’ regarding their origins/circumstances surrounding their deposition would undoubtedly have evolved over time. These stories relate to foreign potentates, Croesus being the most obvious example, drawing upon popular traditions that sought to both rationalize historical events (the fall of Sardis/subsequent collapse of a superpower) and situate the individual within relation to a world of ‘difference’. For general discussion of practical problems relating to dedicatory behaviour in a Classical context, including the problem of cluttering, see van Straten 2000, esp. 213-15.

‘Panhellenic’ centres, sanctuaries evidently enjoyed a reputation that transcended political and cultural boundaries. Dedications of weaponry linked to Etruscans and/or various Italic tribes have variously been interpreted as either ‘the weapons of the vanquished’, dedicated by victorious Greeks, or of active participation by non-Greeks in cult activity.⁶⁴¹ The deposition of votives originating from the western Mediterranean merits further consideration, however, in the light of ongoing discussions concerning the manner in which such materials should be interpreted.

In discussing the bone and amber fibulae recovered from Greek sanctuaries such as Olympia and Perachora, Shepherd dismisses the possibility that these could be in any way indicative of the presence of non-Greeks from the very outset.⁶⁴² Matters are far from straightforward, however, as whilst it is clearly inappropriate to simply to adduce ethnicity from the origin and/or decorative style of the artefact dedicated, the assumption that native Italians and Sicilians would not *a priori* have been present at such sanctuaries might reasonably be questioned.⁶⁴³ Whilst one should of course be cautious when it comes to interpreting such data, the bald distinction between ‘Greek’ and ‘native’ that Shepherd implies might usefully be nuanced to reflect the cultural hybridity arising from the mixed marriages which she openly acknowledges may have been the norm ‘back in the Greek colonies’.⁶⁴⁴

It remains, in contrast, entirely possible that not only objects originating from the Italian peninsula but also *people* may have experienced relatively high levels of mobility. A fragmentary inscription on a Laconian stemless cup of circa mid-late 6th century BC, recovered from the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina, provides at least some indication that this may in fact have been the case. It has the distinction of being the first Etruscan inscription identified in Greece and is interpreted as a dedication of the ‘talking inscription’ type.⁶⁴⁵ Alessandro Naso used this as a basis for questioning whether the range of Italic materials recovered across the Aegean including, by implication, sanctuaries such as that at Olympia, might usefully be re-evaluated (Naso 2000, 204).⁶⁴⁶ The latter has potentially far reaching consequences as votives originating from Italy/Sicily account for what is undoubtedly the

⁶⁴¹ Antonaccio 2007. Cf. Rausch 2004.

⁶⁴² “It is hard to see what interest of native Italians and Sicilians in Greek sanctuaries could have been in the 8th and 7th centuries so we can probably rule them out as the dedicators” (Shepherd 1999, 288). Perachora being the location of the largest concentration of fibulae of this type recovered to date. For their distribution throughout the wider Greek world see: Blinkenberg 1926, 197ff.; Blinkenberg 1931, 86, nos. 103-5; Payne 1940, 170.

⁶⁴³ Cf. Shepherd 1999, 289.

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. Antonaccio 2007, 270-1. For intermarriage, see above.

⁶⁴⁵ *mip1* [...] *xinur* See, variously Cristofani 1994; Naso 2000, 202-4.

⁶⁴⁶ Although some caution must be observed in this respect it being difficult to generalise where archaic sanctuaries are concerned – as Kilian-Dirlmeier so aptly demonstrated! Cf. Serra Ridgway 1990.

lion's share of non-Greek dedications from Olympia (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985).⁶⁴⁷ In the case of Delphi, the same author has recently suggested that the bronze fittings of a folding stool (a type widely associated with magistrates) can in fact be attributed to a workshop local to Felsina in Etruria.⁶⁴⁸

That Etruscans and various Italic peoples should have been present at sanctuaries such as Olympia is not altogether surprising in spite of the games' purported exclusivity.⁶⁴⁹ Carla Antonaccio has recently gone so far as to suggest that pre-colonial dedications by non-Greek elites at Olympia effectively prefigure the dedicatory practices of the western Greek colonies (Antonaccio 2007, 277).⁶⁵⁰ The historic evidence for treasuries belonging to Caere and Spina at Delphi is well known (Torelli 1993, 63-4) and Colonna has gone as far to argue that the structure referred to as Treasury 10 may be Etruscan in style (Colonna 2000). The inscription adorning the Cippo dei Tirreni has been variously interpreted as referring to either a dedication of the spoils of war made on behalf of the Etruscans or a reference to 'Apollo Tyrrhenos' (Colonna 1993, 61-7)⁶⁵¹, whilst we have it on Pausanias' authority that the first barbarian to make a dedication to Zeus at Olympia was an Etruscan ruler named Arimnestos (5.12.5).⁶⁵²

Whatever the historicity of this claim, material evidence from the sanctuaries themselves indicates that a range of objects would have been on display to the interested viewer. Long before Hieron dedicated a number of inscribed helmets at Olympia in commemoration of his victory over the Etruscans at the Battle of Cumae in 474 BC, Etruscan artefacts featured prominently as votives in many of the major sanctuaries.⁶⁵³ To some extent this is of course

⁶⁴⁷ Antonaccio 2007, 227; Philipp 1992; 1994. See Hall 2002, 159 and Snodgrass 2005, 432-3 for discussion of Kilian-Dirlmeier's findings – notably the problem of categorisation by geographical land mass; more than 70 artefacts are listed – approximately 9% of the total recovered during excavations.

⁶⁴⁸ Naso argues that this is in all likelihood the remains of a dedication made in the treasury of Spina in the sanctuary of Apollo by an Etruscan magistrate hailing from either Spina or Felsina (Naso 2000, 202).

⁶⁴⁹ For discussion see Hall, J. 2002, 154. Irene Winter follows Gunther Kopcke in arguing that the Phoenician imports that occur in votive deposits at sanctuaries such as Samos, Ephesus and Olympia may in part represent dedications made by sea captains seeking safe passage: Winter 1995, 253.

⁶⁵⁰ The especially close relationship between Olympia and the west is noted by Morgan (Morgan 1990, 34 no.18).

⁶⁵¹ See further Amandry 1987, 124-6. Antonaccio (2007, 278-83) discusses the interpretation of weaponry recovered from panhellenic sanctuaries. Those broadly in favour of interpreting the latter as booty include: Philipp 1992; Shepherd 1999; Hermann 1983, but this cannot be extended to encompass Late Hittite shields and Cypriot helmets as A. has highlighted (280).

⁶⁵² The latter was purported to have dedicated a bronze throne, perhaps similar to those recovered from sites such as Verucchio and Chiusi, which was reportedly still visible in Pausanias' day. See: Antonaccio 2007, 278; Colonna 1993, 53-5.

⁶⁵³ Paus. 6.19.7. On the ideological significance of these dedications as booty, see Morgan 2001, 24-7 – qualified by Antonaccio 2007, 279. For dedications in Etruscan sanctuaries, see Glinister 2003.

indicative of networks of trade and exchange linking the Etruscan and Greek-speaking inhabitants of southern Italy with communities further afield. In cases where objects are not inscribed, however, we must also allow for the fact that a certain number of these items may have been dedicated by those with far closer links to their point of origin. There are, moreover, grounds for supposing that dedications of Etruscan objects in Greece may not simply be contingent upon the colonisation of Southern Italy and the resulting interaction this engendered – whether through conflict or trade – as argued by Kunze (Kunze 1951). Although subject to disruption at some point during the 10th – 9th centuries BC, trade and interaction seem to have picked up during at some point during the 9th century BC, making it equally plausible that sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia provided a focus of activity for non-Greek elites also.⁶⁵⁴

In some circumstances it could also be argued that whether a particular item was dedicated by a Greek or not is to some extent immaterial. Objects that fell into recognizable categories due to a distinctive form or décor would possess a cultural biography all of their own, evoking notions of Etruria, say, of Sidon, regardless of who dedicated them or their reasons for doing so. Although it is hard to be certain, a large amount of material certainly appears to have been on display. Whilst items such as fibulae are prominent in numerical terms at Olympia, their overall visibility is far from clear. The same cannot be said however for the various items of weaponry, including a large number of shields dated to the 8th century BC (estimates range between 16-21), which were apparently cut and/or pierced in order to allow them to be suspended from nails – presumably as part of some sort of display.⁶⁵⁵ The same is also true of a number of fragments of greaves, including one specimen that was fastened with laces – which appear to have been treated in a similar fashion – as well as assorted basins and belts, horse bits and bridle fittings.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁴ That said, evidence from other sanctuaries such as the Heraion on Samos reflect a different order of magnitude: just over 15% of the votives recovered have been classified as ‘Greek’ with the remainder composed of major contributions from Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia, N. Syria and Phrygia – including ivories from Andalusia (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 243). At Perachora, meanwhile, the proportion of Greek to non-Greek artefacts dedicated is less than 22 to 78%.

⁶⁵⁵ Naso 2000, 198 revises Hermann’s estimate down from around 20 to 16.

⁶⁵⁶ Whilst dedications of ceramics are overall poorly represented, this is likely to be more a reflection of the predilections of collectors and excavators, whose primary concern has long remained the recovery of bronzes and statuary. Excavations at Miletus and Samos have documented dedications of bucchero pottery dating to mid-late 7th century BC (Naso 2000, 197).

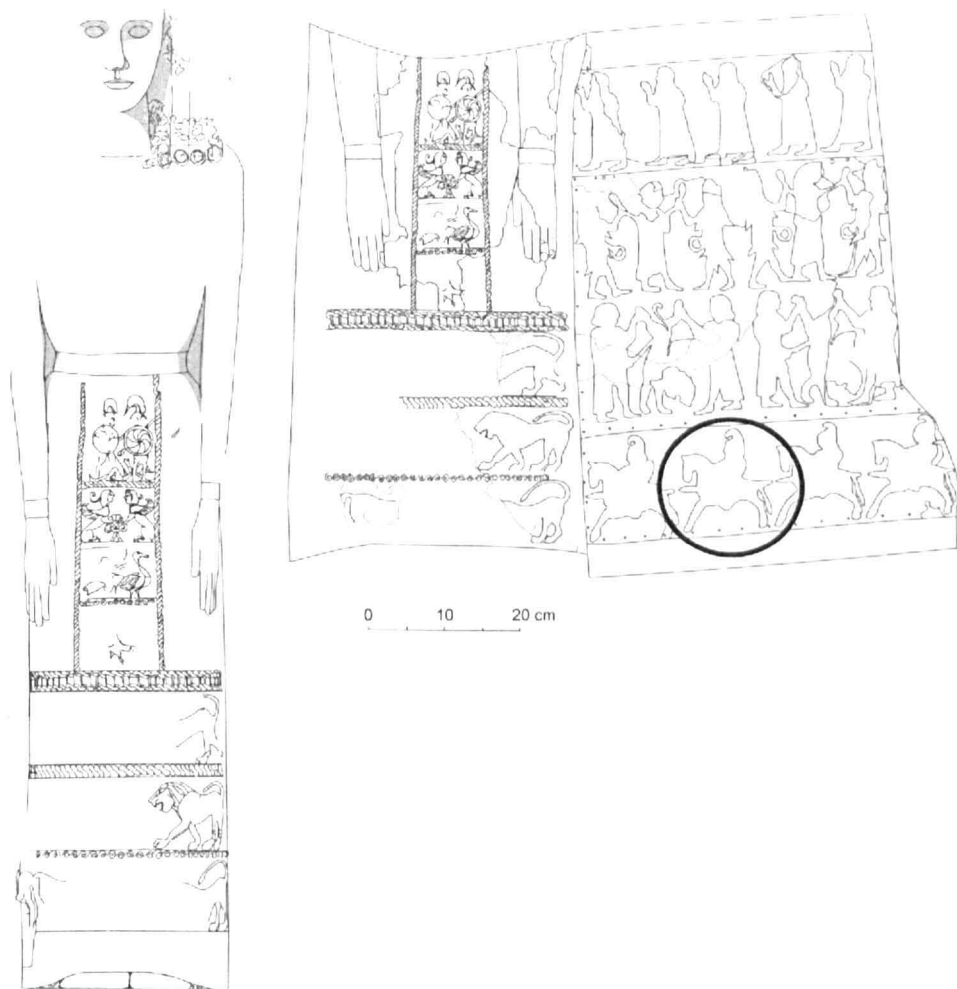


Figure 19. Bronze *sphyrelaton* from Olympia.
 Olympia Museum: Height ca. 1.2m.

Perhaps equally (if not more) prominent items include a series of bronze plaques testifying to the skill of craftsmen operating, in part, out of Sidon and elsewhere (fig. 19). Whilst precisely who dedicated them and the manner in which they did so remain something of a mystery, we are equally unclear as to how such images were subsequently ‘read’ and interpreted. Much attention has been paid to the ways in which objects and imagery might have contributed to the Orientalizing trend evident in artistic styles from circa 9th century BC onwards, there being some disagreement amongst scholars as to whether the Greeks were little more than passive receptors to these influences or whether they actively engaged with them, progressively re-working Near Eastern forms and motifs to suit a specifically ‘Greek’ idiom. Discussion of the extent to which Near Eastern epic influenced the Greek canon has therefore taken centre stage as opposed to wider issues of reception (a reflection – at least in part – of the fragmentary state of the evidence and the entirely speculative nature of any subsequent attempt at reconstruction). The bronze *sphyrelata* from Olympia provide a striking case in point. Hammered out from sheets of bronze which were then riveted

together, the sphyrelata are traditionally cited as reflecting an important stage in the evolution of Greek figurative sculpture.⁶⁵⁷ They are all less than life size and consist of depictions of women picked out in relief. Figure 17 depicts one of three recovered, probably Cretan in origin from the late 7th century or thereabouts. Scholars generally distinguish between the 'Greek' figured decoration on the front panels and those depicted on the reverse,⁶⁵⁸ thought to reflect the work of an Oriental workshop. The latter reflects the perceived differences in style, subject matter and the overall depth of relief. In the case of the subject matter depicted, one detail in particular might usefully be singled out is the troop of armed riders depicted in the lowest panel, proceeding right to left, carrying spears/lances and wearing pointed caps.⁶⁵⁹

Although cursory and to some extent schematic, this survey of objects and imagery recovered from Delphi and Olympia encourages the view both that circumstances at the sanctuaries would have been conducive to the gradual accumulation of knowledge concerning a variety of foreign places and peoples and that this in turn may have been relayed to visitors by individuals working within the temple hierarchy. The assembled wealth dedicated by present and past generations would have attested to the antiquity and prestige of the sanctuary; 'foreign' dedications from far-flung locations may, therefore, have received equal (if not more) attention as objects more familiar. Levels of interest and understanding amongst those visiting the sanctuaries would have varied hugely of course but we can safely presuppose knowledge of Homer and Hesiod and perhaps some level of familiarity with catalogue poetry. The extent to which these modes of understanding either coalesced or became progressively systematized should not be overstated. Immersed in this free-flowing current of ideas Herodotus and his contemporaries showed little inhibition, however, in drawing selectively upon disparate bodies of knowledge and materials in support of their 'enquiries'.⁶⁶⁰

Another notable feature of these imagined centres is the extent to which certain categories of foreign people rise to prominence in popular traditions by which the origins of such sites were explained. The role that Hyperboreans played in Delian propaganda has already been

⁶⁵⁷ Boardman 2006; Mattusch 1988, 42ff.

⁶⁵⁸ E.g. Boardman 2006.

⁶⁵⁹ Equally exotic are the numerous bronze griffin head attachments from cauldrons (regularly cited as a source for inspiration for tales of Arimaspians (e.g. Olympia Mus. B 945) (Boardman 1996, fig. 34) or alternately a North Syrian bronze plaque with figured decoration depicted in relief, Olympia; 7th century BC (Olympia Mus. B 1950; H. 15.7 cm) (Boardman 1999, fig. 53).

⁶⁶⁰ Modern preoccupations with marking the point at which archaic imaginings gave way to systematic science can often fall prey to anachronism (cf. Hall 1989; Thomas 2000).

touched upon in an earlier chapter⁶⁶¹ and we have Herodotus' word to the effect that the majority of the stories about them originated from Delos (IV 33.1). Herodotus recounts how the sacred objects are now conveyed to Delos after the initial embassy undertaken by the two women, Hyperoche and Laodice, and the five Perphereis failed to return. Unwilling to risk further losses, the Hyperboreans resorted to passing the sacred objects to their neighbours, with instructions that they should in turn be passed on, journeying via Dodona and across Euboea, before arriving at Tenos. From there they were taken by sea to the sanctuary on Delos (IV 33).⁶⁶² Another tale, again attributed to the Delians, relates to an earlier visit by two maidens, Arge and Opis, to make offerings to Eileithyia in return for an easy labour at childbirth. The two maidens arrived with a divine retinue and are described as being worshipped throughout the Aegean islands and Ionia (as well as on the island of Delos itself) by women seeking their favour. It would seem, therefore, that by the time Herodotus was undertaking his enquiries, Hyperboreans were exceptionally prominent in traditions concerning Delos. The extent to which such tales can be projected back into the past is essentially unclear: are they, by and large, a fifth century phenomenon or did Hyperboreans feature in Delian propaganda from the outset?

The Hyperboreans also appear to have featured in an aetiological myth concerning the origins of the olive wreaths awarded to victors at Olympia. Evidence for the latter can be found in Pindar's third *Olympian*, composed for Theron of Acragas c. 476 BC. Pindar narrates how Herakles persuaded the Hyperboreans to allow him to take some olives to plant at Olympia, having encountered them on an earlier journey to the region in the hunt for Artemis' doe:

...and Pisa too
 bids me lift up my voice, for from there
 come divinely allotted songs to men
 whenever for one of them, in fulfillment of Herakles'
 ancient mandates, the strict Aitolian judge
 places above his brows
 about his hair
 the gray-coloured adornment of olive, which once
 Amphitryon's son brought
 from the shady springs of Ister
 to be the fairest memorial of the contests at Olympia,

⁶⁶¹ For Hyperboreans on Delos, see Kowlazig 2007, 118-23. For the interpretative problems raised by the myths as relayed by Herodotus, see Sale 1961. Cf. Delcourt 1955; Defradas 1972. A tradition reported by Pausanias relates that Olēn "was the first to give prophecy there, and the first to chant in hexameters" is widely interpreted as preserving an earlier account in which mythical foreign peoples were consciously invoked in order to bolster the fame and standing of the oracular shrine at Delphi (Paus. V 7. 8).

⁶⁶² The death of Hyperoche and Laodice is also linked to a hair-cutting ritual practiced by the girls and boys of the island, focusing upon the tomb in which they were reportedly buried (Hdt. IV 34).

after he persuaded the Hyperborean people,
Apollo's servants, with his speech...

(*Oi.* 3. 9-16, trans. Race)

The pious Hyperboreans, servants of Apollo, would appear to have been just as important in establishing the origins of games sacred to Olympian Zeus as they were in myths concerning Apollo's birthplace on Delos.⁶⁶³ In the case of Delphi, some form of apologia may be detected in a tale relayed by Bacchylides that sees Croesus 'who of all mortals had sent the most gifts to holy Pytho' and his daughters being rescued from the pyre and spirited away to live amongst the Hyperboreans.⁶⁶⁴ Piety is an attribute widely associated with the Hyperboreans, as we have seen whilst a reputation for divine favour/piety may likewise be linked to the appearance of Ethiopians on coins minted both at Athens and Delphi during both the 6th and (predominantly) 5th centuries BC.⁶⁶⁵ In the case of Delphi, these were interpreted by Babelon as depicting the legendary Delphos, founder of the sanctuary, thereby providing an aetiology for the site, or as offerings to Apollo.⁶⁶⁶

We must break with such discussions however and return to the topic in hand – leaving Delphi and Olympia awash with foreign objects and peoples, a rowdy hubbub of competing voices speaking with different dialects and inflections, where knowledge and ideas were freely exchanged. Although far more could be said regarding the manner in which discourses of identity and difference played out during the period in question, we have sufficient material here to support the conclusion that, far from representing the surviving remnants of an elevated prose genre that arose virtually *ex nihilo* all on account of the Persian Wars, evidence for elements constitutive of an 'ethnographic discourse' can be found in the most unlikely or challenging of settings – far beyond the cosy confines of Ionia or the civic imaginaire of a democratic Athens. From here we shall proceed to begin the process of drawing the various strands together, examining the ways in which 'ethnographic discourse'

⁶⁶³ Reference to the 'Ἐλλανοδίκαζ... Αἰτωλός' (12) highlights the ambivalent status of Aetolia as a whole – birthplace, on the one hand, of those empowered to dictate who was Hellene and who was not, whilst on the other a region whose inhabitants could be effectively barbarized by Thucydides in a notorious passage that describes the Eurytians as speaking nearly incomprehensible Greek, and eating their flesh raw (ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι...) (Thuc. III 4.3). Eleians claimed pre-Dorian descent See Farnell 1961, 25-6 who censures Pindar's placing of the olive in the far north.

⁶⁶⁴ The graphic description of the fall of Sardis and the unhappy fate suffered by Delphi's most generous patrons was obviously a cause of some embarrassment. Bacchylides *Oi.* 3 21-62.

⁶⁶⁵ Triobol Athens, AR, c.510-500 BC, Obv. Head of Athena; Rev. head of a Negro. East Berlin, Münzkabinett, Prokesch-Osten Coll. (acquired 1875); Seltman (1924) 97, 200 pl.xxii; Simon 1970, 15-18. Cf. trihemiobol, Delphi AR, early 5th century, Odv. Negro head; Rev. Head of a goat. Brett 1955, 132 nos. 974-5 pl. 52 and similarly with ram's head reverse Head *HN*² 340-1. The suggestion that this might also refer to the fact that the name of Delphos' mother could be rendered as 'black woman' has already been mentioned.

⁶⁶⁶ See Kowalzig 2007, 56ff.; Lacroix 1974 for discussion. Others interpret them as depicting Ethiopians in Xerxes' army (Graindor 1955, 108) or Sileni (Simon 1970).

has variously been analysed and/or interpreted. The historical engagement with questions of culture and difference traced in the preceding chapters sheds a very different light on not only the way in which Greek identity itself has been constructed and conceptualised but also the genesis of what would later be termed Great Historiography. After a wide-ranging reappraisal of the manner in which concepts of identity, ethnography and history (ancient and modern) have influenced the way in which we write about the past, the remainder of the chapter will focus – somewhat inevitably – upon the work in which Greek ethnography purportedly reached its apogee, Herodotus’ *Histories*, but with a view to contextualizing them as opposed to ‘explaining’ them as a series of teleological outcomes.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁷ For discussion of teleological approaches to the history of ideas, described as ‘the mythology of prolepsis’, see Skinner, Q. 2002, 73 and *passim*.

PART III

THE INVENTION OF GREEK ETHNOGRAPHY

5. Ethnography and identity, from Homer to Herodotus

Having explored how discourses of identity and difference might have played out in localities ranging from the wilds of Scythia to the rugged landscapes of Calabria, zooming in and out alternately before a final excursus on the imagined centres of Delphi and Olympia, it is now time to extend our analysis to encompass what is, if not the earliest, then certainly the largest piece of ethnographic prose to survive in its entirety: the *Histories* of Herodotus of Halicarnassus. In doing so we return to broader, overarching questions introduced in chapter one regarding the origins and nature of Greek ethnography, the sense of collective identity upon which it was predicated and the implications these pose for the study of Great Historiography.

First some caveats are necessary since a concluding chapter titled ‘from Homer to Herodotus’ could easily be misconstrued. Rather than signalling an analysis founded on evolutionary perspectives and profoundly unimaginative periodization, it highlights a number of very important points. Situated in an established tradition of narrative spanning East and West, Homer’s composition bears all the hallmarks of contact and interaction between people of different outlook and culture. ‘Homer’ stands for any number of rhapsodes and poets who showed an evident interest in exploring questions of identity and difference, drawing selectively upon pre-existing information and ideas regarding foreign peoples, wherever it suited their artistic programme. Reference to Homer highlights both the many nuances and complexities of the Homeric corpus and the fact that ‘Homer’ continued to be sung, read, explored and critiqued throughout the period in question.⁶⁶⁸ ‘Homer’ should not simply be understood in terms of the text that has made its way down to us via the offices of Alexandrian bibliophiles but in terms of the multiple versions, audiences and receptions of tales that structured the outlook and consciousness of the populations under discussion – providing them with paradigms with which to think *through* everyday encounters, problems and dilemmas. These poems were performed before ‘knowing audiences’ actively engaged

⁶⁶⁸ Cf. Graziosi 2002.

in the construction of meaning: thinking about culture – whether their own or that of ‘others’ – and imagining far off lands and places: Egypt and Arcadia, Scythia and Sparta.

‘Herodotus’, as it turns out, is no less complex. Although grounded rather more securely in historical events, the author of the *Histories* remains largely divorced from his intellectual context – a prose tradition of which we possess only fragments by authors of whom we know (comparatively) little. Whilst the *Histories* themselves undoubtedly represent a narrative that is all but complete, with only the odd loose end here or there, we must also take into consideration a back history of multiple versions, the drawn out process of composition and publication and the influence exerted by epic tradition, multiple audiences and receptions.⁶⁶⁹ ‘From Homer to Herodotus’ reflects the continuity of interests and concerns extending far beyond the desire to preserve *kleos*. Viewed in context they fulfill similar functions via the juxtaposition of various categories, paradigms and concepts. Both provide a medium for ‘thinking about culture’: vehicles for reflection that both actively theorise and, at the same time, constitute identities since each in their way reveals background knowledge of a variety of foreign peoples – however ‘vague’ or diffuse. There is not, on one level, a great deal separating the tales of Polyphemus or the ‘ethnographies of speech’ embedded in the *Iliad* (Mackie 1996) from Herodotean problematising of Greek and non-Greek categories that are blurred from the very outset: Pelasgians can be found lurking in (what seems like) each and every closet and idealised notions of Hellenic virtue and solidarity are repeatedly offset by acts of savage retribution and abject servility.⁶⁷⁰

An all-inclusive history of ethnographic thought could easily encompass multiple volumes and a lifetime of painstaking research.⁶⁷¹ It should come as no surprise, therefore, if a thesis-length treatment of the topic should contain glosses and ellipses relating to a wide variety of topics. A study of this nature could obviously be extended in a variety of ways to encompass additional, or alternately more in-depth case studies, detailed discussion of individual authors and a more systematic treatment of the various bodies of evidence. As it is, these are all projects for the future. Whilst the decision to focus on *imaginaires* has at times left us grasping at shadows, we have now reached a point from which we can examine how this early interest in ethnography relates to current views on Greek identity, Herodotus’ intellectual and cultural milieu and the nature of Great Historiography. Each of these, it

⁶⁶⁹ See variously: Lattimore 1958; Fornara 1971, 1971a; Dewald 1998; Boedecker 2002; Marincola 2006; Stadter 2006.

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. I 1-5, 56-8; II 50-2; III 142-3; IV 17, 136-42; IX 120. On the general muddying that occurs from the outset in book one and *passim* see: Harrison 2007, on Pelasgians see above chapter two. For the ambiguity surrounding identities in ‘Greater Olbia’ see Braund 2007 and chapter four.

⁶⁷¹ Müller 1972 is a formidable case in point.

should be emphasised, are weighty topics in their own right, meriting not one but several theses. They are, however, interconnected to such a degree as to require synthetic treatment – however partial. Whilst it may not be possible to think through the various connections in a systematic manner, we have come far enough to begin the process of drawing the various narrative threads together to form a series of preliminary conclusions. Before doing so, however, we must first return to an important theme already encountered in chapter one: the way in which historical attitudes to identity and ethnography have variously structured the manner in which our subjects – Greek ethnography and identity – are defined and conceptualised.

5.1 Structuring discourse, inventing genre: Felix Jacoby and Greek ethnography

Exactly how and why we choose to focus upon ethnography as genre merits further investigation. In chapter one, we posed the question as to whether the distinction between ethnography as a formal, literary *genre*, first perceived in the wake of the Persian Wars, and the everyday imaginings and representations that foreshadowed its eventual ‘invention’ is as obvious as we take it to be. To what extent is the idea of ethnography as a field of enquiry that exists as a separate discipline/subject area applicable in a 5th century context? Where do such ideas come from and what implications do they have for the way in which we narrate the past? Is the 5th century ethnographer an all-too convenient start-point for narratives tracing the emergence of rational, scientific enquiry and to what extent, finally, are the theoretical frameworks, models and paradigms that render the Greek/barbarian polarity so appealing to modern scholarship themselves arise from an intellectual engagement with ‘Classical’ pasts?

Whilst Edith Hall’s *Inventing the Barbarian* placed great stress on the manner in which ethnographic imaginings permeated the world of Attic drama, the shadow of the archetypal ethnographer looms darkly over proceedings: a new breed of thinker and practitioner, for whom the monumental clash with Persia was a necessary precursor. The apotheosis of the ancient ethnographer carries with it certain repercussions, however: not least, his effective isolation from the contemporary mainstream in which alternately inventing and representing culture already had an important role to play. This not only creates a questionable distinction between rational and objective prose and popular or mythic traditions but also reflects the extent to which ethnographic genre remains inextricably bound up in current thinking relating to the evolution and origins of ‘Great historiography’. The latter bears ample

testimony to the enduring legacy of a scholar whose dogged brilliance and steadfast determination produced volumes I-III of *The Fragmentary Greek Historians*⁶⁷² and who, as a result, was arguably responsible for deciding what constituted ethnographic inquiry in the first place. In order to understand how and why Jacoby might have sought to identify ethnography as a discrete body of enquiry – albeit one that was loosely defined – we must take into account an intellectual milieu in which ethnographic concerns were very much to the fore. This in turn will have important implications for the manner in which we define the relationship between history, ethnography and any overarching sense of collective ‘Greek’ identity (topics to which we shall return in due course).

It would be hard to over-emphasize the impact that Felix Jacoby’s work had on subsequent scholarship. Not only was the monumental task of organizing and classifying the fragmentary Greek authors achieved in the face of great adversity but the various categories and genres thus created – largely as a matter of convenience – also proved extraordinarily resilient thereafter. What Oswyn Murray has elsewhere described as the ‘undifferentiated sphere of early Ionic prose’ was progressively ordered and compartmentalized into discrete bodies of enquiry: the various sub-species of historiography, namely: genealogy/mythography, ethnography, chronography, horography, and contemporary history, referred to collectively as *historiê*.⁶⁷³ Whilst the essential similarities between the various genres were explicitly acknowledged,⁶⁷⁴ the speed with which they became institutionalised owed a great deal to the simple fact that they existed in separate bound copies of *Die Fragmente die griechischen Historiker*. The idea that one could legitimately classify a body of literature as being variously ‘ethnographic’, ‘chronographic’ or ‘genealogical’ was, moreover, very much in line with a contemporary drive to organise and classify a vast body of materials and knowledge according to taxonomy. The criteria upon which such judgements were based were (somewhat inevitably) subjectively defined and historically situated. A concern for classification was equally manifest amongst practitioners working within emerging subject areas such as geography and ethnography as they tackled

⁶⁷² International scholarship resolutely seeks to complete the project set in train by Jacoby: efforts are underway to produce Brill’s new edition along with textual commentaries treating individual genres, see Fowler 2000 on mythography (vol. I) and Harding’s recent treatment of the Attidographers (Harding 2008).

⁶⁷³ Summarised succinctly by Murray: “The origins of Greek history lie in the undifferentiated sphere of early Greek prose writing which was as much about myth, about the geography of the world and the customs of other peoples, as about the unfolding of events” (Murray 1996, 330).

⁶⁷⁴ The existence of parallels between genres such as history, genealogy and ethnography did not go un-remarked; Jacoby himself noted – on more than one occasion – that the relationship between them was “...not clearly distinguished in ancient terminology” (Jacoby 1949, 289 no. 110; 305 no. 22). The latter ultimately proved incapable of supplying technical vocabulary to match many of the categories identified. Discussion of the various problems arising from this approach has since gathered momentum: see (amongst others) Zambrini 2006; Clarke 1999; Bowersock 1997; Schepens 1997; Fowler 1996; Brunt 1980; Bravo 1971.

basic (yet fundamental) questions of self-definition ranging from the scope of intellectual enquiry to the categories to be employed by library collections.⁶⁷⁵

Like all those working in the late 19th - early 20th centuries, Jacoby had little cause to be preoccupied with how to define Greek identity per se.⁶⁷⁶ Whereas the Humboltian Project had formerly emphasised the essential unity of humanity, advocating the study of its component parts as a means of understanding the greater whole, it rapidly gave way to a prevailing *mentalité* which fused language, culture, society and state in a mystical and unassailable unity and conceived humanity's evolution and history in terms of developmental sequences of racially differentiated categories.⁶⁷⁷ In accordance with attitudes prevailing at the time Hellenic culture was conceived as a *national* culture: a static and/or homogenous entity whose existence was deemed largely self-evident (even in cases as ambiguous as Epirus or Macedon which could be explained away on evolutionary or empirical grounds). The result was an idea of Greek identity and history that was both separate and distinct, a convenient start point for Eurocentric narratives charting the rise of Western civilisation.⁶⁷⁸

The meaning and function of ethnography would have appeared similarly straightforward during the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries,⁶⁷⁹ making it possible to distinguish between the genres of horography and ethnography on the basis of subject matter alone: one pertained to Greeks and the other did not.⁶⁸⁰ Ethnography itself was a burgeoning field. As the Great Powers extended their dominions to encompass vast swathes of territory, much of the groundwork was undertaken by individuals whose grounding in the Classics would, in many cases, have either equalled or outstripped any knowledge they might have possessed regarding the territories and/or societies that they had set out to alternately 'discover' or 'civilise'. The ensuing need to administer these newly acquired territories effectively meant that local cultures rapidly became the objects of intense interest and scrutiny. Foreign

⁶⁷⁵ For discussion of the classificatory systems to be employed in the ordering of geographical knowledge, see Mill 1898, 145-51.

⁶⁷⁶ Cf. G.E.R. Lloyd 2002, 17. See below for the politics of defining disciplinary boundaries.

⁶⁷⁷ The widespread enthusiasm for all things Greek in 19th century Germany is well attested. Jacoby's enrolment in a state-run gymnasium was consequently a step into the educational mainstream.

⁶⁷⁸ For discussion see Vlassopoulos' provocative new study of the Greek polis (Vlassopoulos 2007).

⁶⁷⁹ On definitions see Fowler 2001, 97 no.3; Marincola 1999.

⁶⁸⁰ The extent to which Jacoby's conception of 'Greekness' played a significant role in structuring his analyses can be seen in passages discussing the origins of Athens' local history: "One of the matters relating to the domain of culture is religious faith, which shows itself in Philochoros primarily as a history of the gods in Attica... Matters are different in Ethnography and in Herodotus, who has distinct theological interests, even if they lie mostly in the direction of history: nobody can write the history of a people without describing its faith, and in the treatment of the νόμοι (which taken collectively represent the culture of the people) the τόπος περι θεῶν usually takes the first place" (Jacoby 1949, 139).

peoples became increasingly accessible and 'safe' – a point highlighted by Asad⁶⁸¹ – and the number of learned societies devoted to their study underwent a dramatic increase as a result.⁶⁸² There is, moreover, evidence to suggest that leading classicists and historians played an active role in this wider flowering of ethnographic and geographical knowledge. The earliest issues of *The Geographical Journal* are peppered with contributions by individuals such as J.L. Myres, attempting to reconstruct the maps employed by Herodotus, or alternately the formidable Colonel Holdich (R.E., C.B., C.I.E.), whose discussion of 'The origins of the Kafir of the Hindu Kush' is as much indebted to Arrian's account of the campaigns of Alexander as observations made 'in the field'.⁶⁸³

Although a nation-state of relative immaturity with comparatively minor territorial possessions, the Wilhemian Germany of Jacoby's formative years displayed a notable enthusiasm for all things foreign. This enthusiasm has lately been the focus of considerable attention amongst scholars seeking to rehabilitate German anthropology of the pre-war years: languishing in relative obscurity and tarred with infamy ever since perverted doctrines of race were subsequently taken up and exploited by National Socialism.⁶⁸⁴ In fact, German museums possessed ethnological collections that far outstripped those of Britain, whilst travelling shows or exhibitions (*Völkerschauen*) allowed paying members of the public to gaze upon the exotic garments and customs of far-off peoples, their colouring and physique. Although state-run museums and colonial adventures both had an important role to play in forging a sense of collective *national* identity, one of the most notable outcomes of such

⁶⁸¹ Asad 1973. Cf. Harris 1898 ('The Berbers of Morocco'); Read & Dalton 1898 ('Works of art from Benin city'); Godden 1898 (Nágá and other frontier tribes of North-East India').

⁶⁸² In Britain notable examples include: The Royal Geographical Society (1830), the Anthropological Society of London (1863), followed by The Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland in 1870 (formed following merger of the Ethnological and Anthropological Societies of London). The first readership in Anthropology was created in Oxford in 1884, to be converted to a chair two years later. See Burrow 1966, 75-81.

⁶⁸³ Myres 1896 (see fig. 3); Holdich 1896, 43: "In the case of the Kamdesh Kafir...the tradition of Greek or Pelasgic origin seems likely to be verified...scientific enquiry has been converging on him from several directions, and it seems possible that the ethnological riddle connected with his existence will be solved ere long." Cf. also Markham 1893 on 'Pytheas, the discoverer of Britain' (vol. I); Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederic Goldsmid's discussion of the acropolis at Susa (1893) and Munro & Anthony on the exploration of Mysia, funded in part by grants from the Hellenic Society (1897). For discussion of J.L. Myres and other 'geographical historians', see Clarke 1999, 45-65.

⁶⁸⁴ Such work has focussed on the activities of prominent ethnologists such as Adolf Bastian (director of Berlin's ethnographic museum c.1873-1905) and Rudolph Virchow. In contrast to colleagues not only in Germany but also Britain, France and the US, they subscribed to a belief in the common dignity shared by all cultures, the basis for a comparative approach whose broadly humanistic goal was the greater understanding of human nature and society and, as such, an explicit reaction against contemporary tendencies to characterise non-Europeans as 'savages' (Penny 2002; Penny & Bunzl 2003). Whilst there is some danger of a whitewash here (the presence of nationalist attitudes and social Darwinism are certainly underplayed), studies of this nature highlight (intentionally or otherwise) the extent to which having an ethnographic museum/attendant exotica became an object of competition between municipalities and the possible attitudes/assumptions that such scientific curiosity entailed – effectively the 'commodification' or consumption of ethnography.

initiatives was the popularisation of ethnographic interests and concerns. The latter were by no means the preserve of Germany alone, however; instead, discourses of wonder proliferated across Europe as a whole, as exotic cultures increasingly became objects of popular consumption.⁶⁸⁵

As Anthropology developed into a fully-fledged discipline serviced by a multitude of scholarly journals and periodicals there was an exponential increase in the number of ethnographies produced. These were not, moreover, the work of enthusiastic amateurs alone – military personnel, colonial administrators, merchants and adventurers – but also a growing number of professional academics. Claims to autopsy proliferated as ethnographic authority became increasingly contested; university-trained researchers were keen to distance themselves from their (non-professional) predecessors and/or contemporary rivals (irrespective of the levels of training received), challenging their knowledge or objectivity. According to the new discourse of professionalism, the authority to interpret human culture derived from one's ability to collate data according to pre-ordained standards, generating results that would stand up to independent, scientific scrutiny. It followed, therefore, that anyone seeking to undertake research in the field required rigorous schooling in the latest analytical techniques. At the same time, those engaged in ethnographic research were increasingly keen to distinguish their work from other forms of representation in which aspects of human culture might be invoked or described: the travelogue, guidebook or novel.

The manner in which the new discipline's remit was subsequently demarcated is itself revealing. The cultural superiority of the (supposedly) enlightened European observer went hand in hand with that of his enlightened Greek predecessor. As such it went largely unchallenged in the face of a veritable avalanche of knowledge and ideas relating to foreign peoples and so-called 'primitive' cultures. There remained, accordingly, in both Classics and anthropology, as with society as a whole, a hierarchical distinction between Graeco-Roman studies, unambiguously associated with a 'European', civilized past, and anthropological and ethnographic studies encompassing 'everyone else' – including, notably, pre-Classical Greece and Rome. This distinction is nowhere more apparent than in comments made by R. R. Marett, writing in his preface to a collection of essays titled *Anthropology and the Classics* in 1908:

The types of human culture are, in fact, reducible to two, a simpler and a more complex, or, as we are wont to say (valuing our achievements, I doubt not, rightly), a lower and a higher. By established convention Anthropology occupies itself solely with culture of the lower or

⁶⁸⁵ A vast bibliography on this but see: Greenblatt 1991; Lidchi 1997; Driver 2001.

simpler kind. The Humanities, on the other hand – those humanizing studies that, for us at all events, have their parent source in the literatures of Greece and Rome – concentrate on whatever is most constitutive and characteristic of the higher life of society.

(Marett 1908, 3)⁶⁸⁶

The enthusiasm for ethnographic material demonstrated by members of the Cambridge Ritual School was particularly notable but, like the Oxford Committee for Anthropology, committed to “inducing classical scholars to study the lower culture as it bears upon the higher”, it was predicated upon a hierarchical ranking of cultures and societies – much like Frazer’s epic, if misguided, undertaking *The Golden Bough*.⁶⁸⁷

The product of an academic tradition that was in many ways diametrically opposed to modernist-inspired groupings such as the ‘Cambridge Ritualists’, Jacoby’s treatment of Herodotus and other fragmentary Greeks must nonetheless be seen against the same prevailing mentalité. Both reflect the creeping professionalisation of classics and anthropology respectively, coupled with a more general tendency to distinguish between the aforementioned ‘uniqueness’ of the Greeks and an equally homogenous mass: the exotic, uncivilised, non-western, non-Christian ‘other’.⁶⁸⁸ The fact that the German philological tradition prevailed in what was, for a time, a struggle for hegemony within the Anglo-American academy meant that anthropological approaches to classical pasts were all but abandoned until their eventual re-emergence in the work of individuals such as Sally Humphreys and Geoffrey Lloyd (Leonard 2005, 49).⁶⁸⁹ It is, as a result, only comparatively

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. Myres 1908, 121. Such views reflect the influence of one of the founding Fathers of modern anthropology E.B. Tylor, whose work on the evolutionary comparative method inspired a number of Classicists to embark upon *parallel* careers of anthropological enquiry, in an effort to rationalise the various social institutions of Graeco-Roman antiquity – notably James Frazer and Andrew Lang (Tylor, 1891, 1; Burrow 1966, 236). For ‘Greek anthropology’, see Sikes 1914.

⁶⁸⁷ Burrow 1966. Although cf. Marett 1908, 5. Harrison J. 1912 is a notable (and much celebrated) case in point. On Frazer’s interest in the sequential relationship between magic, science and religion and the influence on Durkheim see Skorupski 1976 cf. Durkheim 1912. For the balancing act attempted by the ‘Cambridge Ritualists’, see Leonard 2005, 48; Beard 1992, 1999, 2002; Versnel 1990.

⁶⁸⁸ The relationship between anthropology and Classical studies has been anything but straightforward, characterised at different times by both close collaboration and deep (mutual) suspicion. Lang denied that it was possible to detect the ‘beastly devices of the heathen’ in Homer although archaic survivals from a more primitive age are, however, deemed to have provided ready material for less scrupulous playwrights of the 5th century, who seemingly revelled in the “distressing vestiges of savagery and barbarism” (Lang 1908, 44; repeated by Murray 1908, 66). Cf. Sally Humphreys’ authoritative and inspiring *Anthropology and the Greeks*.

⁶⁸⁹ The trail can be traced back to E.R. Dodds (1951), whose intellectual successors include G.E.R. Lloyd (1966); Geoffrey Kirk (1970, 1974) and Sally Humphreys (1978). For discussion and references, see Miriam Leonard’s groundbreaking *Athens in Paris* (2005, 48-9): “Classics’ flirtation with anthropology in the English academy at the beginning of this century was fully implicated in the wider debates of disciplinary formation in the move towards academic professionalisation. The

recently that the essential ‘foreignness’ of the Greeks, long emphasised by those working under the aegis of the *Centre de recherches compares sur les sociétés anciennes* (Centre Louis Gernet), has been widely acknowledged by non-Francophone scholarship – fitting subjects in themselves for anthropological study.⁶⁹⁰

Whilst it would be overly simplistic to suggest that the elevation of ethnography to the status of a science provides an effective rationale for the ease with which Greek ethnography came to be recognized as a discrete realm of enquiry, it undoubtedly played an important role in shaping contemporary outlooks and approaches: a salutary reminder of the consequences and (potential) pitfalls of erecting epistemological barriers that subsequently become institutionalised, and the extent to which the initial demarcation and subsequent policing of these disciplinary boundaries is both politically charged and historically situated.⁶⁹¹ Opinion as to what constitutes ‘valid’ ethnographic activity is inevitably shaped and/or constrained by the (perhaps questionable) assumption that ethnography, or indeed any other field of study, exists as some kind of static or stable entity (cf. Clifford 1988, 118). It is only when disciplinary boundaries are subverted or broken down, allowing for extensive cross-fertilization of ideas between individuals working in a variety of fields, that we are reminded that the neat categories and definitions with which we work are both historically contingent and subjectively defined. Taken overall they demonstrate the extent to which the traditional view of ethnography as a sub-section of ‘Great Historiography’ ignores the fact that both ethnography and ethnographic activity constitute open-ended processes.

It is something of a paradox that at around the very time that ethnography became established as a scientific discipline, efforts were simultaneously underway to problematise the various boundaries and categories upon which it depended for coherence. At a time when Jacoby was busily engaged in publishing parts I-II of *FGrHist*, containing the works (amongst others) of Herodotus’ predecessors and contemporaries, Paris provided a haven for a dissident *avant-garde* keen to exploit ethnographic approaches in pursuit of its radical agenda. Inspired by a suggestion by Georges Henri Rivière, Deputy Director of the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro, the short-lived journal *Documents*, edited by the surrealist Georges Bataille, went to press with ‘Doctrines’, ‘Archéologie’, ‘Beaux-Arts’ and

exclusion of ‘anthropology’ from the canon of classical disciplines was...an important episode in early twentieth-century academic politics” (48). Cf. *idem* 2000; Stray 1998.

⁶⁹⁰ Gernet 1976; Osborne 2006a, 5. Cf. Detienne 2007. For more detailed discussion of the intellectual backdrop to the ‘Paris school’, see Leonard 2005.

⁶⁹¹ Cf. Humphreys 2004, 23: “[T]his imposition of disciplinary categories on ancient texts accompanied and encouraged linear narratives of evolution and progress, linked to the modern perception of the ancients as forerunners of the Enlightenment”.

'Ethnographie' emblazoned on its cover.⁶⁹² *Documents* followed a number of set themes such as ritual, religion and the sacred, collapsing the boundaries between notions idealized in Western culture and an un-romanticised primitivism – moral and aesthetic hierarchies that the Surrealist project had set out to explode (Tythacott 2003, 219-20). This was achieved via an eclectic collage of photographic studies and essays, intended to pose questions of relative value and classification. So, for instance, pictures from the interior of the La Villette Slaughterhouse in Paris⁶⁹³ or the Capuchin mortuary chapel of Santa Maria della Concezione in Rome⁶⁹⁴ were subject to the same levels of scrutiny as masks from Cameroon⁶⁹⁵ or human sacrifice in Central America.⁶⁹⁶ This comprehensive overhaul of the objects and aims of ethnographical enquiry should alert us to the fact that not only the methods but also the ends to which cultural difference was analysed and explored in antiquity may have differed from those with which we are familiar.

Whilst the fruits of such collaboration between leading ethnologists, archaeologists, curators, writers and poets have been amply documented elsewhere,⁶⁹⁷ they provide ample proof of the fact that strategies of representation are both inherently political and historically situated.⁶⁹⁸ Just as individuals such as J.L. Myres operated in an environment in which the boundaries separating institutions remained forever permeable and shifting, the Parisian avant-garde produced a very different way of thinking about culture and identity due to the prevailing conditions of the day. Unusual for the degree of self-conscious reflexivity it displayed,⁶⁹⁹ its range and subject matter compares favourably with both Herodotean enquiry and current issues of journals such as *Ethnography* (although the latter is the more conservative of the two when it comes to layout and formatting).

⁶⁹² This engagement was far from superficial: Bataille founded the Collège de Sociologie in the late thirties, whilst *Documents* itself contained ethnographic texts by leading practitioners on subjects ranging from 'Abyssinian Totemism' (Marcel Griaule, 1929) to 'Cuban Music' (Alejo Carpentier, 1929). The Surrealist journal *Minotaure* (1936) also cited *ethnologie* in its rubric.

⁶⁹³ Photo by Eli Lotar in Bataille's 'Abattoirs', No.6 1929.

⁶⁹⁴ Bataille, No. 8 1930.

⁶⁹⁵ von Sydow No. 6 1930.

⁶⁹⁶ Hervé No.4 1930.

⁶⁹⁷ Clifford 1988; Tythacott 2003.

⁶⁹⁸ "The boundaries of art and science... are ideological and shifting, and intellectual history is itself enmeshed in these shifts. Its genres do not remain firmly anchored. Changing definitions of art or science must provoke new retrospective unities, new ideal types for historical description" (Clifford 1988, 118-19).

⁶⁹⁹ Although the term "ethnographic surrealism" has since been coined in an effort to encapsulate the aims and ideals of Bataille and his associates, its inventor was at the same time keen to emphasise the extent to which this conceptual pigeonholing was something to be resisted (Clifford 1988, 117-19): "[M]y aim is to cut across retrospectively established definitions and to recapture... a situation in which ethnography is again something unfamiliar and surrealism not yet a bounded province of modern art and literature" (Clifford 1988, 117).

Rethinking Greek ethnography has likewise entailed broadening our definition of ethnography to encompass the varied means by which groups and individuals came to 'think about identity from the point of view of an outsider'. Altering the criteria as to what constitutes ethnographic activity and why has significant implications for understanding how ethnographic genre emerged in the first place. Instead of a 5th century epiphany preceded by hazy imaginings, it becomes part of a broader continuum of thought and practice in which cultural difference was variously represented or 'imagined' as groups and individuals sought variously to situate themselves in relation to fields of difference. Under such circumstances it would clearly be problematic to posit a steady process of evolution towards rational observation of cultural difference when the very opposite would, at times, appear to be the case. Pindar the poet carried equal authority, along with Homer, to contemporary logographers – at least as far as Herodotus was concerned.⁷⁰⁰ The preceding chapters have gone to considerable lengths to emphasise the range of knowledge and ideas in circulation and the varied means by which they circulated. The picture that emerges overall is one of dynamic exchanges of information and ideas arising from varying levels of contact and interaction between groups of different outlook and culture – all of them constitutive of identity. Each of the regions encountered in chapter four display marked differences in geographic location, topography, modes of subsistence and levels of 'connectedness' – whether viewed in terms of overland or maritime trade, participation in panhellenic festivals and competitions, or links with both Greek and non Greek-speaking populations scattered throughout the ancient Mediterranean. It follows, therefore, that they produced different meanings even if the majority of the materials employed to do so were essentially the same: mythic paradigms, figured pottery, coinage and knowledge and ideas relating to a variety of foreign peoples. Greek identities were, from the outset, hybrid, relational and inventive, meaning different things at different times to different people, and ethnographic activity – the mechanisms and processes by which discourses of identity and difference were variously constructed and found expression – played an active role in deciding what it meant to be *Greek* in the first place.

The economies of knowledge – systems of knowing and understanding, images and ideas – were based on networks and pathways that extended wherever goods or people travelled: Olympia, Olbia, or the cities of Magna Graecia. Alternately overlapping or intersecting, they connected people and place, past and present. Where ruptures and discontinuities occurred,

⁷⁰⁰ Material preserved within the Homeric corpus plays an important role in structuring the *Histories* from discussion surrounding conflicting accounts of Helen's elopement (implied in the case of Hdt. I 3-5 but cf. II 112-120), to questions of geography – the existence of a River Ocean (II 23) – and climate. For discussion of III 38 see ch. 2. For discussion of IV 29. Cf. IV 32 on Hyperboreans in Homeric *Epigoni*.

they served merely to demonstrate the diverse complexity and manifest pliability of the larger whole, creating fluctuations in emphasis and multiple points of focus as opposed to bringing the flow of information and ideas to a standstill. Whilst one could attempt to regulate the levels of contact between groups and individuals in a manner similar to that attributed to Libyan and Carthaginian traders by Herodotus (IV 196), complete isolationism was all but impossible and a trait associated with either non-human or dysfunctional polities such as pre-Lycurgan Sparta (I 65).

Selectively mined by individual agents whose ability to do so varied according to a combination of historical circumstance, geographical location and wider access to knowledge and resources drawn from outside their immediate community, this flow of information and ideas created individuals who were both knowledge-rich and those who, for a variety of reasons, were comparatively restricted in either their ability or willingness to engage in such activity.⁷⁰¹ We should certainly not think of ‘ethnographic interest’ as being limited to a particular ‘class’, however, although displaying knowledge of other places and peoples may well have formed part of elite self-fashioning for individuals ranging from the warrior-captains buried outside Eretria to Herodotus and his contemporaries.⁷⁰² Inter-cultural contact and interaction could take place on a variety of levels and the majority of the concepts and media discussed above would have been accessible to some extent – however indirectly.

We are therefore obliged to speculate when it comes to the way in which everyday encounters between individuals of different outlook and culture might have played out – whether on the open steppe or amongst the jumble of workshops and storehouses at sites such as Pithekoussai or Piraeus. Traders and craftsmen would have swapped or relayed tales, negotiating language barriers, prejudices and stereotypes by various means.⁷⁰³ Vases might equally be glimpsed and ‘read’ in contexts other than the symposium and stories from epic, myth, or recent events might have been recounted over chickpeas and a cup of wine around even the meanest brazier.⁷⁰⁴ In short, there is a great deal of this overarching discourse that we cannot hope to recover: the unwritten ethnographies that people carried ‘in their heads’, as opposed to what got written down or depicted on krater or skythos. The latter has

⁷⁰¹ In this respect our sources are perhaps skewed in favour of the sorts of information accessible to elites – Pindaric odes being a notable case in point – however, we must also envisage situations in which low status individuals travelled, whether voluntarily as sailors, mercenaries or craftsmen, or as a result of slavery. On Pindaric language: Silk 2007. On mobile individuals: (and see above no.).

⁷⁰² Malkin 1998, 88ff. Fowler 1996.

⁷⁰³ For Pithekoussai, see chapter two. For Piraeus, see Vlassopoulos 2007 where such points form part of a wider discussion of the way in which historical narrative is generated.

⁷⁰⁴ Cf. Xenophanes Fr. 18.

inevitable implications for our ability to gauge both the manner in which works such as Herodotus' *Histories* were received and the extent to which they reflect broader levels of interest and inquiry into questions of identity and difference. This is, in short, a picture somewhat at odds with the – widely subscribed-to – view that ethnic and cultural difference aroused little interest in the years prior to the Persian Wars.

The modern tendency to conceptualise relationships between Greek and barbarian in terms of polarities is itself worthy of scrutiny. To this end, it is surely worth reminding ourselves that the concept of alterity was itself imported from anthropological theory. The setting was, once again, Paris – this time during the intellectual ferment of the 1960s. Although structural anthropology was as yet in its infancy, key individuals such as the noted Hellenist Louis Gernet provided a vital bridging mechanism by adopting a position at the intersection between disciplines as varied as Classical philology, history and sociology.⁷⁰⁵ Under the influence of leading thinkers such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Gernet, followed by his intellectual successor Paul Vernant, pioneered a variety of 'anthropologie historique' not hitherto seen, in which anthropological models and paradigms were applied to Greek culture and society.⁷⁰⁶ The start-point for this process was arguably Lévi-Strauss' critical engagement with the Oedipus myth: in all likelihood a reaction to Freudian psychoanalysis drawing heavily on the structural linguistics of Saussure. The result was an analysis framed in terms of a polarity of opposites soon to be a familiar feature of structural analysis. Often forgotten or overlooked entirely, this intellectual pedigree is important if we are to understand the extent to which debate surrounding the Greek-barbarian paradigm has subsequently played out.

⁷⁰⁵ Leonard 2005, 47-49, see 44-5 for the relationship between Vernant's methodological approach and Lévi-Straussian structuralism. The complexities surround Lévi-Strauss' encounter with Classics is also highlighted: "It is this paradox of both a fundamental denial of philological methodology and the simultaneous reassertion of the importance of language which is one of the most interesting aspects of Lévi-Strauss' essay... the particular attention to the linguistic in his reading of mythology has meant that his structuralist account of ancient culture has paradoxically lent itself to the analysis of the literary expressions of its ideologies" (Leonard 2005, 58).

⁷⁰⁶ In the years that followed, structural analysis was enthusiastically applied to a wide variety of textual and iconographic evidence before finally making its way into the Anglo-American academy. The impetus for this transfer derived from the publication of two books in particular: François Hartog's *Mirror of Herodotus* (originally published in 1980 and translated into English in 1988) and Edith Hall's *Inventing the Barbarian* (1989). See, for example: Gernet [1976] 1981; Vidal-Naquet [1981] 1998, [1970] 1996; Bérard [1984] 1989; Lissarrague [1987] 1990.

5.2 Herodotean ethnography

From the economies of knowledge we shall now turn to Herodotus of Halicarnassus: what implications does this significant back history of ethnographic activity pose for our understanding not only of his intellectual and social milieu but also the *Histories* as a whole? Discussion of the factors that shaped his overall outlook and approach have placed particular emphasis on first Athens and then Ionia as intellectual hothouses that played a crucial role in shaping his development. Many followed Jacoby in stressing the importance of Herodotus' encounter with Periclean Athens, but others have been equally keen to highlight the importance of Ionia – most recently as part of the concerted backlash against Edith Hall's *Inventing the Barbarian*, contrasting Ionia's uniquely cosmopolitan outlook with the starkly anti-barbarian rhetoric emanating from a less enlightened and pluralistic Athens. Matters are far from straightforward, however, as this opposition between a (somewhat idealised) point of contact between East and West – the proverbial 'cultural melting pot' – and the ethnocentric attitudes and negative stereotyping is itself open to question.⁷⁰⁷ We should, moreover, be extremely wary of the modern (and ancient) impulse to variously try to "explain" the achievement of Herodotus since the narratives thus generated are often partial in focus, and both self-validating and teleological in equal measure.

The modern preoccupation with 'explaining' Herodotus has given rise to a variety of analytical approaches. The influence of epic and story-telling traditions has received widespread attention, notably the shared concern for preserving the glory of men and the prominence of folk tales within the narrative. However, this occurs primarily in the context of discussion surrounding the extent to which Herodotus' *Histories* can be said to be rational and historical as opposed to any serious attempt to reassess the role of ethnography within the narrative. Considerable emphasis has also been placed on the enduring influence of the Ionian Enlightenment – or the work of 'the Milesians' – based on both direct references to Thales, Protagoras and Hecataeus and modes of argument reminiscent of Xenophanes – likewise a critic of Homer and noted relativist to whom comments relating to anthropomorphism and the unknowability of the gods are attributed (Hdt. II 3).⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁷ The argument has, to some extent, come full circle as in recent study stressing both a long-term engagement with 'Asia' and the extent to which the mid-sixth century invasions of Ionia may have generated barbarian stereotypes that foreshadowed what would later be the mainstay of Athenian propaganda (Cf. Mitchell 2007, 15).

⁷⁰⁸ The latter lead to the assertion that the *Histories* were best viewed as: "...part of the thought-world that had been created already in the sixth century BC by the philosophical and scientific thinkers who worked in Miletus...and in other Ionian cities" (Gould 1989, 7). On Herodotus' conception of the divine see Harrison 2000.

In a classic study stressing the overarching importance of the Presocratics/Ionian rationalism in shaping Herodotus' approach, A. B. Lloyd has sought to emphasise the extent to which Herodotus shared interests with Hecataeus of Miletus "and, doubtless, many other enquirers" of his day (A. B. Lloyd 1975, 167).⁷⁰⁹ Lloyd's Herodotus is writing within an established tradition and follows previous authors and/or contemporary trends by including lengthy excurses on Scythia and (most notably) Egypt.⁷¹⁰ Whilst Hecataeus is singled out as his immediate predecessor and the point at which the Greek lore and epic *evolved* into prose genre,⁷¹¹ reference is also made to both the early *periplus* accounts and the systematizing tendencies of authors such as Hesiod – variously preoccupied with imposing conceptual order upon human society, nature and the divine (A. B. Lloyd 1975, 125).⁷¹² Broad similarities in approach and chosen subject matter amongst early prose authors writing on Egypt can meanwhile be linked, albeit tentatively, to the pedagogic role of Homeric epic, described as a notable repository of "ethnographic lore".⁷¹³

Whilst Herodotus' debt to sophists such as Protagoras has received considerable attention,⁷¹⁴ equal – if not more – weight has been placed on the widespread use of analogy and inference linked to early medical and scientific writers (G.E.R. Lloyd 1966; 1979 and, most notably, Lateiner 1986, 1989). The latter has been developed by Rosalind Thomas in a recent study that places Herodotus squarely in the context of a late-fifth century Ionia and makes him less a product of 'the Milesians' than contemporary discourses on natural philosophy, and the ethnography of health. Whilst the emphasis on stylistic parallels with technical treatises and a wider discursive milieu in which scientific and philosophical debates were articulated using the language of persuasion, is a veritable tour de force, success here has to some extent displaced earlier attempts at a more wide-ranging appreciation of Herodotus' intellectual

⁷⁰⁹ Whilst the advent of rational prose is portrayed as both a momentous and radical break in approach, matters of 'context' and the back history of ethnographic interests and activity are also addressed (A. B. Lloyd 1975 156-70). Cf. Müller, D. 1981; Nestle 1908; Immerwahr 1966 152-3; 1956, 280.

⁷¹⁰ A choice of subject paralleled in the Hippocratic corpus' *AWP* (cf. the opening lines of chapter 13): Scythians/Egyptians being the archetypal barbarians of Europe and Asia respectively whose peculiarities had long since attained the status of *thaumata* (A. B. Lloyd 1975, 167). Cf. Immerwahr 1966, 319: a position predicated on the pre-existence of an ethnographic tradition with established *topoi*, thought to have developed in tandem with the ever-increasing expansion of eastern empires.

⁷¹¹ Hecataeus is explicitly referred to as drawing on "a rich store of ethnographic lore" (A. B. Lloyd 1975, 134).

⁷¹² However, both the ethnographers themselves and the discipline they practice (nascent or otherwise) remain unambiguously 'Greek' – there being little cause to question such matters during the mid-seventies. Material expressions of 'ethnographic interest' are omitted entirely but this is hardly surprising given the context – preface notes for a commentary on Herodotus' book two.

⁷¹³ A. B. Lloyd 1975, 123, 140

⁷¹⁴ "At least as far as the historical parts in the work are concerned, the most that can be said – bit it is decisive – is that Herodotus learned from the σοφοί how to apply reason and ἰστορίη to the study of man and society" (Shimron 1989, 117). Cf. Dewald & Marincola 1987; Dihle 1962; 1962a; Nestle 1908.

affinities and the back history of engagement in questions of identity and difference alluded to by A. Lloyd.⁷¹⁵ The tendency to view such patterns of thought and behaviour purely in evolutionary terms affects the way in which we approach early signs of ethnographic activity: ‘thinking about culture from the point of view of an outsider’. Rather than regarding them as developmental stages we should perhaps pay more attention to how these might variously have been employed by contemporaries. How significant was it, for example, that the process of imagining / mapping was already well underway in Hesiod’s day? How did this poetic ‘casting about’ in search of boundaries relate to the use of genealogy and myth as a means of progressively ordering people and place – not to mention the peregetic accounts whose circuits would eventually come to include ‘digressions’ in which a particular theme, aetiology or people might be elaborated upon. In what contexts, for example, was such knowledge displayed, and was such information to some extent required or expected by contemporary audiences?

Instead of viewing Homeric epic or Hecataeus’ discussion of local myth and geography as something to be tolerated prior to the Halicarnassian’s taking centre stage, should we not instead turn our attention to tracing the continuities between them, or alternately follow Strabo in his assertion that ‘Homer’ was the first geographer? Can the concern for geography that runs throughout the *Histories* shed any light on the manner in which earlier works might have been received by contemporaries? The recent assertion that, at the time of Hecataeus’ researches, myth constituted “the currency of cultural debate” provides much food for thought.⁷¹⁶ This debate evidently included both Greek and non-Greek myths along with material that left the author open to charges of “philo-barbarism” not dissimilar to those levelled at Herodotus.⁷¹⁷ One thing is certain: our determination to see Herodotus in context should arguably be matched by a willingness to afford the same treatment to earlier authors and contemporaries.⁷¹⁸ In doing so we change the way in which we think about the *Histories*

⁷¹⁵ In addition to this talk of Ionian context risks overlooking the fact that Herodotus left Ionia – at least as far as we know – fairly early in his career. Also referred to as Herodotus of Thurii he was clearly influenced by his travels elsewhere and regardless of whether the mass migration of Ionian intellectuals is overstated or not intellectual activity thrived outside Ionia itself.

⁷¹⁶ Fowler 2001, 97. Cf. Malkin 1998; 2005.

⁷¹⁷ Bertelli 2001, 89. Cf. F 20: Danaus and the introduction of writing; F 119: Greece previously inhabited by barbarians. For criticism of Herodotus, see Plut. *De Malign*.

⁷¹⁸ Hecataeus of Miletus is an obvious case in point. The latter’s treatment by modern scholarship is often quite revealing: on the one hand both his achievements and contribution to the field of historiography have been wildly exaggerated, based largely on the (often uncritical) acceptance of the corpus of fragments collected by Felix Jacoby. On the other there is scathing disdain for an author perceived as banal and unimaginative. Cf. Thomas’ somewhat dismissive: “Neither the Homeric epics nor Hecataeus’ dry works on geography and genealogy at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries are quite enough to ‘explain’ the achievement of the *Histories*” (Thomas 2000, 1). Such judgements tell us very little, however, as to why Hecataeus thought it necessary to write such works to begin with.

and their broader relationship to an established engagement with questions of identity and difference.

We shall now pause briefly to recap before proceeding to discuss the implications thus posed for the relationship between ethnography and history. It has been argued both that there was a significant quantity of ethnographic activity prior to the Persian Wars and that the information thus generated was actively employed in discourses of identity and difference. In addition to this, evidence for an interest in culture and identity can be either found or extrapolated in contexts outwith genre writing as part of the everyday, shifting in focus according to region or locale but constant nonetheless. This engagement was equally important in shaping the intellectual backdrop to both Homer *and* Herodotus, making it all but impossible to claim that enquiry into the manners and customs of foreign peoples only took off in earnest as a result of the Persian Wars. Once this is cast into doubt, a sudden switch to a cultural identity of the type argued for by Edith and Jonathan Hall seems equally improbable. Culture and identity had long been matters of concern and contestation. Questions also surround the evolutionary schema by which 'ethnography' morphed into 'history', forcing us to reformulate our theories concerning the emergence of Great historiography. Instead of something resembling a 'Big Bang' phenomenon, we are confronted instead with an ongoing continuum, shifting in tempo and focus, and subject to an ongoing 'play' of culture, power and knowledge (Hall 1990). With this in mind we shall now turn to re-examine the way in which we approach Greek identity overall.

Ethnographic interest did not stop at the barbarian. In fact, as we have seen, 'Greek ethnography' is a classificatory label not altogether suited to the wide-ranging eclecticism of early prose authors. Formulated in an era of entrenched Hellenism, imperial mindsets, Eurocentric and empirical attitudes, it elides the many subtleties and nuances indicative of more reflexive interests and concerns. This was not only an exercise in self-fashioning undertaken from the fastness of a colonial episteme but part of a wider interest and engagement with questions of culture, identity and difference. Herodotus' Spartans were subjected to much the same scrutiny as a variety of non-Greek peoples, whilst other prose authors such as Hellanicus wrote on topics ranging from Thessaly and Arcadia to Egypt and Scythia.⁷¹⁹

This in turn has important implications for past, present and future interpretations of Herodotus' *Histories*. Classificatory labels are hugely important insofar as they remain inextricably tied up in current thinking relating to both the emergence of Great

⁷¹⁹ E.g. *FGrH* 4 F 37, 53-4, 64-5, 201.

historiography and the anatomy of Herodotean discourse. We have already seen how Jacoby's formulation of ethnography was perhaps overly static; the knock-on effect of this is that parts of the *Histories* are routinely described as 'ethnographic' and others 'historical' – it being implied that the two are at all times separate and distinct. Jacoby maintained that they represented two different stages in Herodotus' intellectual development, subsequently grafted together to form an overarching narrative, but still showing signs of their former nature. Whilst seeking to qualify Jacoby's thesis on a number of counts, Charles Fornara's was equally convinced of the fact that the ethnographic material within works such as the *Histories* amounted to effective digressions wherein the 'rules' of conventional historiography were temporarily suspended.⁷²⁰ Such arguments have continued to resonate down to the present day with recent commentators such as Rosalind Thomas still maintaining a distinction between the ethnographic and historical sections of the *Histories*.⁷²¹ This is, of course, wholly justified – at least in part – since the two modes of discourse differ markedly from one another: the description of cultures versus sequential narrative of events in order of chronology. Cultural analysis and historical narrative are closely interrelated, however, as Lattimore so famously pointed out when discussing how best to define an Arabian *logos*.⁷²²

The extent to which ethnography and history are intertwined has long been acknowledged.⁷²³ Francois Hartog employed structural analysis to argue that Herodotus the ethnographer and Herodotus the Historian are indistinguishable and that the *Histories* needed to be read as an integrated whole.⁷²⁴ More recently, Rosaria Munson has cast the Halicarnassian as part-moralist and part-political theorist, projecting intrinsically Greek concerns onto far off lands and peoples so that ethnographic and historical *logoi* essentially mirror each other when it comes to the problematics they address.⁷²⁵ Herodotus is still conceived as operating in two

⁷²⁰ Fornara 1983, 15.

⁷²¹ "We seem in fact to find such methods and connections particularly prominent, not so much in the narrative sections about the past and the last books where the story of the Persian Wars gathers momentum, though even there frequent digressions are inserted, but in the sections treating the ethnography and geography of the known world" (Thomas 2000, 26).

⁷²² Lattimore 1958, 14: "This passage has been called the Arabian Logos; and if there is any such thing as an Arabian Logos, this must be it. But it is not an organised free-standing anthropology of Arabia or the Arabians, rather a sequence of notices which grows organically out of its place of occurrence in the Persian progress".

⁷²³ Notably by Immerwahr emphasising: "...the importance of basic ethnographic concepts for the understanding of history..." (Immerwahr 1966, 323).

⁷²⁴ Hartog 1988. See Dewald's review article of 1990 for response to the argument that the ethnography of bk. 4 concerning 'the imaginary Scythians' reflects the strategy pursued in books 7-9.

⁷²⁵ Munson 2001, 13 on the opposition drawn between the "silent Assyrians" (Hdt. I 194) and the hydraulic feats of Near Eastern kings: "By setting the pragmatics of everyday life, exotic but legitimate, side by side with the behaviour of the powerful agents of history, his ethnographies represent a crucial part of a discourse at once 'democratic' (almost in the modern sense of the word) and anti-imperialistic".

separate personas, however, as “relativistic ethnographer” and “absolutist historian”, producing a narrative in which ethnography and history run in tandem but remain separate and distinct (Munson 2001, 18).⁷²⁶

Rather than seeing ethnography and history as two distinct areas of practice, we might instead see ‘thinking about culture from the point of view of an outsider’ as intrinsically bound up in explaining past events – and by extension the present. The major cause of hostilities between Greeks and non-Greeks, Persian *nomoi* are inextricably linked to the human events that Herodotus set out to commemorate. To explain the rise of Persia it is necessary to understand Persian manners and custom – of which the overarching *nomos* of expansion from which Xerxes was ultimately unable to escape is arguably the most important (VII 8).⁷²⁷ The restlessness of Persia is borne out in an appetite for the *nomoi* of others (I 135), creating an unsettling (if unspoken) parallel with Athens.⁷²⁸ Contact with Persia also forms the ‘red thread’ by which the *Histories* are unified: as successive lands and peoples fall under (or, in some cases, resist) the imperial yoke their *nomoi* are selectively examined and critiqued.⁷²⁹

Ethnographic enquiries can be detected at every level of Herodotean analysis, not just in the earlier books charting the Persians’ rise to power, constructing an opposition between a fragmented Hellas and the wealth and might of Asia. Here Babylon provides a full third of the annual tribute necessary to sustain the Great King’s court and army (I 192), whilst his most recent acquisition, Egypt, possessed wonders and a history that dwarfed common reckoning. Ethnography and political ideology collide when it comes to ideas about how oracles should be read – not by one individual, as in the case of Croesus⁷³⁰ – whilst Ionian servility and ineffectiveness are similarly rationalized: their nature and customs being ultimately determined by climate, demonstrating repeatedly that they did not want to be free.⁷³¹

⁷²⁶ “[O]ne diachronically recounts unique events of the past and relies on chronological and causal continuity; the other synchronically describes permanent conditions and customary actions in the present in a discontinuous catalogue form” (Munson 2001, 2). Cases in which these intersect in Herodotean narrative – examples include Persian acquisitiveness (I 135), Lydian effeminacy (I 155) and constitutional reform instituted by Athens and Sparta (I 65-6, V 66) – make the latter eminently contestable.

⁷²⁷ See (variously) Immerwahr 1966, 321-2; Evans 1961.

⁷²⁸ Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 2. 7-8.

⁷²⁹ Immerwahr 1966; et al.

⁷³⁰ See Barker 2008 for recent discussion. On oracles in general: Harrison 2000.

⁷³¹ E.g. III 143 (with a somewhat resigned air): “οὐ γὰρ δὴ, ὡς οἴκασι, ἐβούλοντο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι”. Cf. IV 137-9.

This is, on one level, by no means a novel argument; it was already expounded at some length by Immerwahr.⁷³² The latter's views on Greek identity did, however, necessitate some (slightly awkward) posturing in relation to quasi-ethnographic treatment of 'Greeks':

[T]he Greek material...is throughout formally subordinated to the Eastern sequence by being attached to Eastern accounts in sections. In this respect, the Greek stories are treated in a manner resembling (in a general way) the ethnographic material.

(Immerwahr 1966, 34-5)

Whilst Immerwahr and others remained essentially uncomfortable with the idea that ethnographic techniques might also be applied to Greeks,⁷³³ a more wide-ranging ethnographic interest encompassing both Greeks and non-Greeks renders this less problematic. It follows that instead of having to make allowances for "a gradual transition from true ethnography to historical *logoi*" (Immerwahr 1966, 323), we must instead recalibrate our notion of Great historiography to allow for a pervasive interest in, and engagement with, cultural analysis and concepts of identity. Having done so, we must consider the implications thus posed for Herodotean audiences: what, if anything, changes if they are all – to a greater or lesser degree – engaged in ethnographic activity, and how should this affect our reading of the *Histories* overall? Rather than being overwhelmed by the encyclopaedic detail presented in the *Histories* would an audience well versed in the works of authors such as Hecataeus, Pindar and Homer, and adept at 'reading' Greek coins, or the images painted of Red and Black-figure vases, have taken such things entirely in their stride?

Viewed from this perspective, the *Histories* represent less a break from established tradition, the product of a Damascene moment or biographical accident than part of an ongoing engagement in questions of identity and difference: a mode of travel and a way of understanding a diverse world as encountered at panhellenic sanctuaries, the rural hinterland of Calabria and the North Pontic region.⁷³⁴ Just as Bataille and his contemporaries experimented with different ways of thinking about culture and identity, Herodotus' *Histories* cut across cultural boundaries to examine, critique and compare; whereas the Massagetae become intoxicated on the smoke of a certain plant, the Greeks imbibe wine to

⁷³²...it must be remembered that to Herodotus *historiê* means investigation, irrespective of subject matter... Man is part of the world as a whole and cannot be understood without inquiry into the world as it affects him. This (rather than biographical accident) is the real reason for the inclusion of ethnography and geography in his work" (Immerwahr 1966, 315).

⁷³³ On 'Greek ethnographies': "[S]ince the Persians and other Eastern powers attacked all nations"; among these peoples we must count the Greeks with their "ethnographic" *logoi*" (Immerwahr 1966, 318).

⁷³⁴ Clifford 1988, 10 cf. Hartog 2001.

excess (Hdt. I 202) – and so forth and so on. By this reckoning Herodotus' *Histories* are no less monumental: a study of lands and peoples linked by the red thread of Persian imperial expansion and a mapping out of what it meant to be Greek, forever aware of the fact that the wheel of history was continuing to turn. Looking back into the past in an attempt to make sense of a tangled mass of stories and traditions, the historian incorporates multiple perspectives, conscious all the while that there is no master-narrative with which everyone will be equally satisfied. It is therefore anticipated that many might disagree with the assertion that Athens' contribution to the Persian Wars was a decisive factor in ensuring that the allies prevailed, and that those who sat idly by might bristle when tarred with the same brush as those who gave material aid to Xerxes. Heterogeneous, pluralistic and open-ended, the *Histories* do not need to be parceled up awkwardly into sections that deal with foreign peoples 'ethnographically' but only afford similar attention to 'Greeks' by virtue of some over-arching narratological schema.⁷³⁵ The fact that an interest in *nomos*, reflecting the sentiment 'custom is king', appears to be entirely representative of a more general social and intellectual milieu should be no great surprise in the light of evidence, outlined in earlier chapters, for an interest in culture and difference stretching back as far as our sources will allow encompassing epic and lyric poetry, 'Orientalizing' styles and luxury commodities. 'Ethnography' was not the passive yoke-mate of history but part of a larger whole, whose richness and diversity reflected the complexities of the socio-cultural milieu from which it emerged. Ill-suited to modern paradigms and analytical frameworks, the latter saw knowledge of foreign peoples and places as inextricably bound up with understanding the course of human events, the construction of identities and the process of enshrining both within collective memory.

5.3 Inventing the Greek

The processes of naming, describing and narrating are, as Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborne have observed, "overlapping and mutually implicative processes".⁷³⁶ Native to an Ionian city under Persian suzerainty that claimed Dorian origins, with ancestral ties to both Greek and Carian communities and first-hand experience of stasis and exile, Herodotus would have been perhaps more aware than most that identities constitute "the names we give

⁷³⁵ This is precisely what Immerwahr and others have attempted: "the Greek material...is throughout formally sub-ordinated to the Eastern sequence by being attached to Eastern accounts in sections. In this respect, the Greek stories are treated in a manner resembling (in a general way) the ethnographic material" (34-5) and "...since the Persians and other Eastern powers attacked 'all nations' among these peoples we must count the Greeks with their 'ethnographic' *logoi*" (318).

⁷³⁶ Goldhill & Osborne 1994, 6.

to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past” (Hall, S. 1990, 232). It is to this process of positioning that we shall now turn.

Greek identities were a product of an ongoing process of ‘positioning’ relative to the narratives of the past and other people. This positioning gave rise to ‘enunciations’ – narratives, images and ideas – ‘cuts’ of identity that were selectively deployed in a process where meanings were continually unfolding: images were repeatedly viewed and ‘read’, proverbs heard or recited.⁷³⁷ The complexities of this cultural ‘play’ cannot be summarized in terms of the simple binaries of ‘Greek-barbarian’ since meaning is itself never fixed. Contexts change and individual interests and agendas vary, so that whilst polar categories can in one instant be arrayed in opposition to one another – take, for example, the Scythian-hoplite pairing so prominent in Athenian vase painting – they are better conceived as different points along a sliding scale: the archer can be ‘read’ in a multiplicity of ways as ‘youth’, ‘nomad horse archer’, ‘Paris’ or ‘low status auxiliary’.⁷³⁸ A degree of caution is therefore required in cases where ‘enunciations’ of identity come to the fore. Perhaps one of the most celebrated examples of the latter comes when the Athenian ambassador protests his city’s loyalty to the Greek cause. Although to an extent problematised and questioned, τὸ Ἑλληνικόν still stands, as far as modern scholarship is concerned, as a statement of Greek identity and the bases upon which (some) Greeks united against a common enemy.⁷³⁹ In addition to this we have the programmatic statement laid out in the proem (...τὰ μὲν Ἑλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις...) whilst the structuring/symmetry, whether implicit or explicit, of both geographic and ethnographic accounts are all variously held to be indicative of a work in which the boundaries between ‘Greek’ and ‘barbarian’ were essentially clear-cut.

We have only to scratch the surface, however, in the case of the *Histories*, to discover occasions on which this (apparently) neat polarity is cast into doubt. From the very outset we have the blurring of boundaries that takes place as hapless maidens are transported the length and breadth of the Mediterranean in a sequence that links Argos and Phoenicia, Troy and Colchis, providing, in the process, aetiologies for both Europe and the Medes.⁷⁴⁰ Prehistoric populations defy easy categorization, and societies are capable of evolving, adopting different forms of government, no longer carrying arms or, in some cases, ‘going native’.⁷⁴¹ Although some exchanges of *nomoi* are frowned upon, for example Scyles’ wish to carry out

⁷³⁷ Hall S. 1990, 237.

⁷³⁸ Cf. Hall E. 1989; Hall S. 1990; Hall J. 2005.

⁷³⁹ Hdt. VIII 144.2.

⁷⁴⁰ I 1-4, IV 45, VII 62.

⁷⁴¹ Cf. I 65, 155, IV 17.

the Bacchic rites, others occur without mishap.⁷⁴² Exceptions and inconsistencies abound: not all Ionians are Ionian, the status of Macedon is disputed and Spartans call everyone from outside Sparta ‘foreigner’.⁷⁴³ The Athenian claims that kinship (ὄμοιμόν), a shared language (ὄμογλωσσον) and religious practices (ἡθεῖά ὁμότροπα) formed the basis for an unbreakable solidarity between Greeks are no less problematic.⁷⁴⁴ Herodotean audiences would have been all too aware that such rhetoric was very much at odds with the internecine conflict in which they had become embroiled. Many of them would also have been aware of Athens’ move both to restrict the right of citizenship to those who could prove descent on both sides and promote myths of autochthony over kinship ties linking the city to Ionia. Such claims can either be read as darkly ironic or as an impassioned appeal to Athens, and the Hellenic community in general, to lay aside their differences and promote a common peace. They are, in short, shot through with politics as opposed to universally acknowledged truths.

Attempts to pinpoint the precise point at which the community of Hellenes first came into being are fraught with difficulty. Although great emphasis has been placed upon either the unprecedented levels of inter-cultural contact that arose as a result of the Persian Wars, or subsequent Athenian attempts to bolster a faltering alliance with rhetoric and propaganda, can the same really be said for the vast majority of the ‘Greek’ world? Whilst Athenocentric attitudes often lead us to extrapolate attitudes and ideas on the basis of a dataset that is wholly unrepresentative of Greek-speaking communities scattered the length and breadth of the ancient Mediterranean, the most effective way of tackling this problem is via a series of regional studies to examine how groups and individuals defined themselves. Where such studies have been undertaken, the results rarely appear to tally with the traditional model of a switch from “aggregative” to ‘cultural identity’ – there being at least one case where ‘polar’ ethnic identities held sway with little apparent need to reference the non-Greek barbarian.⁷⁴⁵ We can also detect cases in which ancient authors sought to equate one barbarian war with another – Pindar’s pairing of the battles of Salamis and Plataea with Cyme and Himera being a notable case in point.⁷⁴⁶ Modern historians are all too eager to follow suit in this respect, voicing their disappointment in at least one case that their particular encounter with the barbarian went unnoticed by major authors such as Herodotus. We therefore find Heinen claiming that the meeting of Greeks and Scythians in the north Pontic region was “one of the

⁷⁴² Cf. I 135, IV 76-80.

⁷⁴³ I 43-4 (Ionia); V 22 (Macedon). Cf. II 158: “βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὄμογλωσσούς.”

⁷⁴⁴ Morpurgo-Davies 2002.

⁷⁴⁵ See Farinetti 2003 on the polarity between Orchomenos and Thebes, Thessalians and Phocians.

⁷⁴⁶ *Pyth.* 1 72-80.

historical encounters of Europe and Asia” (Heinen 2001, 5), which occurred earlier and was therefore potentially more significant than the clash with Persia:

One would expect...Herodotus to have seized the opportunity of treating contacts of Greeks and Scythians in harmony with his *leitmotiv*, that is as an example of the encounter between Europe and Asia. But this is not the case. He has barely a word for the courageous Greek settlers of the northern coast of the Black Sea.

(Heinen 2001, 5)⁷⁴⁷

Emphasis on the ‘inventive’ 5th century BC as the point at which Greek identity came into being has recently been qualified by Lynette Mitchell, as we have already seen, although the latter is keen to distinguish between the “cultural community” which formed its precursor and the political community of Hellenes.⁷⁴⁸ This represents something of a challenge, as ‘culture’ is rarely apolitical, but perhaps a greater difficulty surrounds the notion that we are looking for one community in particular.

In a world where collective identity is both heterogeneous and relational, it might be better to follow Benedict Anderson in arguing that “*Imagined Communities* are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” (Anderson 1982, 15). The preceding chapters have demonstrated the broad similarities regarding the manner in which diverse groups and individuals engaged in discourses of identity and difference. Rather than tailoring our analysis according to essentialized notions of identity, reflecting modern notions of the nation state we might adopt a different perspective, one that embraces diversity and heterogeneity of the sort that we find in the material record. Stuart Hall writes that diasporic experience is defined “...not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*” (Hall S. 1990, 241). Hybrid identities were continually being re-formulated – then as now – and ethnographic activity, or ‘positioning’, formed an intrinsic part of this process. Rather than being a phenomenon restricted to the ‘colonial’ margins, where local elites would later feel it necessary to celebrate athletic victories at great expense using obscure and inaccessible prose in order to distinguish themselves from their non-Greek neighbours,⁷⁴⁹ this discourse was at the very centre of all

⁷⁴⁷ Such views are rationalised in a footnote (no.4, pages 5-6) on the basis that an overarching narrative schema makes the author more interested in Darius’ expedition from Asia to Europe, where the Scythians north of the Black Sea were to be found, than relations between Greeks and European Scythians who originated in Asia (IV.11, cf. I. 201, 215).

⁷⁴⁸ “Although the development of a cultural community created the preconditions for the politicisation of the community, the existence of the cultural community did not itself fulfil the conditions for the existence of the political community” (Mitchell 2007, 3).

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. Hornblower on: “the assertive language of hellenism” (Hornblower 2004, 372)

things 'Greek' – it framed it and gave it meaning. Relative ignorance and lack of information proved no barrier whatsoever to imagined acts of appropriation and enquiry, whether as part of a wider project casting out to the farthest reaches of the *oikoumene* or investigating contexts closer to home. Discourses of identity and difference did not suddenly appear as if out of the blue, the result of one event or individual. Instead, they were both endemic and meaningful, from antiquity up until the present day. Our ability (or willingness) to interpret them ultimately depends upon how we position ourselves in relation to both the narratives of the past and other people.

Abbreviations

(All abbreviations follow *OCD* guidelines unless found below)

<i>AFLS</i>	<i>Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Siena</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>AnnArchStorAnt</i>	<i>Annali del Seminario di studi del mondo classico: Sezione di archeologia e storia antica</i>
<i>AnnPisa</i>	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</i>
<i>Annuario</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologia di Atene</i>
<i>ARV²</i>	J.D. Beazley (1963) <i>Attic Red-figure Vase Painters</i> , 2 nd edn. Oxford.
<i>ASMG</i>	<i>Atti del Sodalizio glottologico milanese</i>
<i>AttiTaranto</i>	<i>Atti del Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>BTCGI</i>	<i>Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche</i> , Nenci, G. & G. Vallet (Pisa/Rome, 1977- present)
<i>CAH²</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History²</i> , 14 vols. (Cambridge, 1970-2000)
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>GB</i>	<i>Grazer Beiträge: Zeitschrift für die klassische Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>MJBK</i>	<i>Münchener Jahrbücher der Bildenden Kunst</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SNG Cop.</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum</i> , 8 vols., repr. Sunrise Publications, Inc. (West Milford, NJ 1982).
<i>SRPS</i>	<i>Società romana e produzione schiavistica</i>
<i>TLS</i>	<i>The Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>Trümpy, Monat.</i>	C. Trümpy, <i>Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen</i> , Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, Reihe 2, N.F., vol. 98 (Heidelberg, 1997).
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii</i>

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