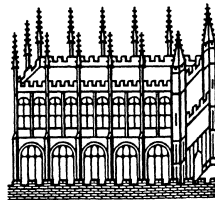


SCANNED BY

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES  
IMAGING SERVICE**

FROM THE COLLECTIONS IN

**THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD**



Centimeter



Inches

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

THE HISTORY OF SAMOS TO 439 B.C.

J. Penrose Barron, M.A.



Balliol College  
Oxford  
Hilary Term  
1961

## PREFACE

My aim in this thesis is to investigate the political, economic, and military history of Samos over a millennium, from the first arrival of colonists in the Minoan and Mykenanian Ages to the submission of Samos to imperial Athens in 439 B.C. A summary of what I hope to have established will be found in the Abstract, at the end of volume ii.

Though no full-scale history of the island has been written for many years, the extent of my debt to those who have already explored parts of the field will be apparent.

It is pleasant to be able to record more personal obligations: in Samos, to Professor Ernst Buschor for patient explanation and discussion of excavations begun before I was born, to H. B. M. Vice-Consul, Mr. D. L. Marc, for much practical assistance, and to Miss B. Philippakis, lately Epimelete of the Samian museums; in Athens, to Mme Varoucha of the Numismatic Museum, and to the Director and other officers of the British School. Nearer home, I have had the advantage of discussing individual problems with Mr. J. Boardman, the late Dr. W. L. Brown, Mr. G. L. Huxley, Dr. L. H. Jeffery (who generously showed me the proofs of her forthcoming book), Mr. G. K. Jenkins, and Dr. C. M. Kraay.

To all of these, and to the directors of those numismatic museums whose coins appear in my catalogues, I give my warm thanks.

I have drawn great benefit from repeated discussions with Mr. Russell Meiggs and Dr. E. S. G. Robinson, and above all with my supervisor Professor A. Andrewes, to all of whom I express my deepest gratitude. I hope the faults which have slipped through their net will be little ones, for which I, not they, shall be responsible.

In 1955 Tigani was renamed Pythagoreion in honour of the 2500th anniversary of the Sage's birth. That I have retained the old name of their town for archaeological convenience will not, I hope, offend its kindly inhabitants.

J.P.B.

22nd February, 1961.

## CONTENTS

Abstract		<i>at end</i>
Preface		111
I	The First Greek Settlers	1
II	The Lelantine War	76
III	The Age of the Geomoroi	130
IV	The Tyrant Dynasty	189
V	The Pride and the Fall	230
VI	The Final Stand	299
VII	Earth and Water	333
VIII	The Rise of Athens	384
IX	The Samian Revolt	416
Appendices		
A	The Son of Hyllis	470
B	The Perinthian Dedication	477
C	<u>De Aetate Pythagorae</u>	481
D	The List of Thalassocracies in Eusebios	484
E	The <u>Horoi</u>	488
F	Euagon Fr. 5?	493
Supplement:	The Silver Coinage of Samos to 365 B.C.	496
Bibliography		642
List of Plates		665
Plates		

## Chapter One

### THE FIRST GREEK SETTLERS

The original settlement of the Greeks in Samos can only be considered in the context of the Ionian Migration as a whole. Greek tradition held that the colonization of Ionia was a concerted movement by disappointed Athenian royalists, made in the closing years of the second millennium before our era. More recent writers upon the subject have been concerned to lower the date; but almost none has disputed the essential truth that the settlement of Ionian Greeks in barbarian lands across the Aegean Sea was an historic event, and that it took place later than the Trojan War. Within the general framework of the Migration, therefore, my purpose is to discover who were the ancestors of the classical Samians, and the date at which they reached their island, together - if possible - with the identity of the previous inhabitants whom they displaced. Discussion of the other cities of Ionia, and of the evidence which they provide, will only be admitted where it casts light upon the colonization of Samos itself.<sup>1</sup>

- 
1. The Migration in general has recently been fully discussed in two books upon which I shall draw extensively: F. Cassola, La Ionia nel Mondo Miceneo (Naples, 1957); M. B. Sakellariou, La Migration Grecque en Ionie (Coll. de l'Inst.fr.d'Athènes, 17: Athens, 1958).

The correct dating of the Ionian Migration is important for its own sake. But far more significant are its implications for the history of the archaic and classical periods. For, as Dr. Hanfmann wisely observes,<sup>1</sup>

If the Ionians came in the eleventh century, they came as heirs of the Mycenaeans with a cultural legacy to preserve. If they came in the tenth century, they came at the time of the lowest ebb of Greek civilization, had to start from scratch and to develop the urban civilization anew. If they came in the ninth and eighth centuries, they came at a time when the cities of the Greek mainland were on their way toward the development of the polis, when seafaring over longer distances was again coming to the fore, and when the first bold explorers from Greece were already venturing on voyages toward the Near East.

Since meagreness of excavation in Ionia has made the primarily archaeological approach to this question inconclusive, I propose instead first to examine the general possibility of preservation of such a tradition; secondly, to discover exactly what the tradition states and what are its sources; thirdly, to examine how far it is supported by non-archaeological evidence; and, only after all this, to test it against the results of excavation.

## I

The first condition for the accurate preservation of contemporary testimony is that it shall not have suffered

---

1. G. M. A. Hanfmann, 'Ionia, Leader or Follower?' Harvard Studies lxi (1953) lff: 5-6.

the vicissitudes of folk-etymology and all other difficulties inherent in a change of language.<sup>1</sup> There can now be little doubt about the essential correctness of Mr. Ventris' decipherment of the Linear B script as Greek. But we are fortunately not dependent on this for our knowledge that the Greek language was spoken in the Hellenic peninsula long before the traditional date of the migration. On linguistic grounds Professor Buck concluded that Greek was spoken here from the beginning of the Late Helladic period (c.1550 B.C.), and on the archaeological ground of cultural continuity Professor Blegen argued that the language arrived at the beginning of the Middle Helladic age (c.1900 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> This is confirmed by the observations of Dr. Albright on the Greek forms of certain Phoinikian place-names. Τύρος and Σιδών, 'which are inexplicable after the beginning of the Iron Age when the old initial sibilants had fallen together, reflect borrowings in the Bronze Age, while the two initial sades were still differentiated.'<sup>3</sup> The truth of this is illustrated by the content of the epic tradition:

- 
1. For this section on survivals in general, cf. further T. B. L. Webster, From Mycenae to Homer (London, 1958).
  2. C. D. Buck, CP xxi (1926), 26; C. W. Blegen, AJA xxxii (1928), 146ff; cf. F. Schachermeyr, 'Prähistorische Kulturen Griechenlands', RE xxii 2 (1954) coll.1489ff.
  3. W. F. Albright, AJA liv (1950), 165.

both the Iliad and the Odyssey refer frequently to Sidon, never to Tyre. Sidon was destroyed at the end of the Bronze Age; and though it was refounded, yet Phoinikian preeminence belonged to Tyre from the tenth century until its destruction in 669 - a period surely embracing the composition of the Homeric poems.<sup>1</sup> For our purpose it is immaterial whether only the name of Sidon formed part of Homer's source-material, or whether there was a real knowledge of early history at the time when the poems were composed. Either way there is proof of traditional survival. The case of Βύβλος is precisely similar. This word must have become Greek by c.1200 B.C., when Gúbla became Gubál.<sup>2</sup>

The Iliad and the Odyssey are works of imaginative literature, and the incidents which they report are not to be taken as history.<sup>3</sup> But they dealt with a real war, whose date and, more notoriously, whose material background was preserved into the historic period. The final publication of the American excavations at Hissarlik leaves no doubt that Homeric Troy was Settlement VIIa. Troy VI was

---

1. H. L. Lorimer, Homer and the Monuments (London 1950), 67, 126 n.3: Sidon destroyed either c.1194 (Land and Sea Raid, Ramses III) or c.1100 (Tiglath-Pileser I).

2. Albright, loc.cit.

3. For a recent discussion, see D. L. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad (Berkeley, 1959).

destroyed by an earthquake. 'The ruins were found to show no traces of fire, no signs of the handiwork of man. The layer comprising the remains of Troy VIIa, on the other hand, was everywhere marked by the ravages of fire.' Human bones were found in several places abandoned without burial. 'These scattered fragments of human bones discovered in the fire-scarred ruins of Settlement VIIa surely indicate that its destruction was accompanied by violence.' And there was evidence of siege - 'the crowding together of a greatly increased population', who had prudently installed large pithoi in almost every house. The date which the excavators propose for the destruction of Troy VIIa is c.1240, within a decade or two.<sup>1</sup> Eratosthenes set the date at 1183, and this was widely accepted.<sup>2</sup> But in general the pre-Alexandrian tradition gave an earlier, more accurate, date. The Parian Marble makes the siege of Troy last from 1218 to 1209, close to Dikaiarchos' date for the fall, 1212.<sup>3</sup> The Herodotean Life of Homer found the date 1268 in one of

- 
1. C. W. Blegen and others, Troy iv (Princeton, 1958), 11-13. (The certainty of their conclusions has been doubted: cf. E. T. Vermeule, AJA lxiii (1959) 204.)
  2. Clement of Alexandria, Strom.I 138.1 (402 P).
  3. Marmor Parium, FGrHist 239 A 24; Dikaiarchos ap. Schol. Ap.Rhod.Arg. iv 276. The earliest date proposed by the pre-Alexandrians was that of Douris, 1334; but this was confessedly arbitrary, Cl.Alex.Str.I 139 ὡς δὲ Δούρις, ἐπὶ Τροίᾳς ἐλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς Ἀσίαν διώβειν ἔτη χίλια.

its sources,<sup>1</sup> while Herodotos himself appears to give a closely similar date, when he places the birth of Pan to Penelope 'about eight hundred years ἔκ ἐπέ .<sup>2</sup> Until recently Eratosthenes' date still stood, and it was customary to conjecture away Herodotos' 'high dating' of the war as a calculation with forty years to a generation from the eighteen generations of the Spartan kings in descent from the Herakleidai, whose return took place two generations after the war, in the time of Orestes' son Tisamenos.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 38 (T. W. Allen, O. C. T. Homer, v 217).
  2. ii 145. Ed. Meyer (Forschungen i 156f) took ἔκ ἐπέ to be c.430, basing his judgment on ii 13.1 ὅτε ... ἤκουον, and the lapse of time between Hdt.'s visit to Egypt c.440 and his writing c.430. How and Wells take Hdt. to Egypt c.450.
  3. This is really only plausible if Hdt. inherited the Spartan kings, together with the forty-year generation system which was invented to give them a respectable antiquity, from Hekataios. The legend was propagated by Ed. Meyer on no very good evidence (Forsch. i 169ff). Dr. Jacoby is rightly sceptical (Atthis 306 n.25); and W. den Boer (Laconian Studies (Amsterdam, 1954), 13) plausibly suggests the same Spartan source as made Lykourgos guardian of Leobotes. We shall not suppose that Hdt. lacked an Ionian authority for the date of the Trojan War, above all else; and there is no evidence that it would have used a forty-year generation. The fictitious names (Eunomos etc.) in the Spartan king-list will be the fruit of an attempt to match this list with the Ionian date for the Trojan War. For similarly dated deliberate forgery of Spartan history, cf. the 'Achaian policy' of the sixth century.

But only three paragraphs previously Herodotos tells us that he reckons three generations to a century, and Herakleitos confirms that this was the Ionian practice.<sup>1</sup> It is surely more reasonable to suppose that if the calculation is genealogical and correct, it is from a genealogy of the right length. The circumstances of Herodotos' own early life might point to an Ionian genealogy, such as that of the Neleids at Miletos. Thus both the general consent and the detailed discrepancy of the pre-Alexandrian writers would be explained: variation of up to half a century would readily be produced, either by the use of different genealogies, or by calculation of thirty years to a generation instead of three generations to a century.

The pre-Alexandrian Mykenaian chronology and the

- 
1. Hdt.ii 142.2 γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτερά ἐστι. Herakleitos, Plut.Mor.415E ἔτη τριάκοντα ποιούσι τὴν γενεάν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ γεννῶντα παρέχει τὸν ἕξ αἰτῶν γεγεννημένον ὁ γενήσας. Cf. Censorinus xvii 2<sup>6</sup> (both passages in H. Diels & W. Kranz, Frag.der Vorsokr. (1951), 22 Herakleitos A 19). Cf. also Schol.Iliad 1 250ff, on Nestor's age. Hdt. apparently makes a generation of 24½ years for the Herakleid kings of Lydia, 22 kings from father to son for 505 years, i 7.4: such unbroken descent looks suspicious, and continuity in the family is the most that we might accept. The Mermnad dynasty, on the other hand, gives a generation of rather more than forty years: but their problem is too involved to discuss here.

tradition of events are both supported by Hittite texts. The relevance of these, of course, depends upon the identity of the King of Ahhiyawa. His importance and influence in the thirteenth century are guaranteed by the treaty between the Emperor Tudhaliyas IV (c.1250-1220) and a king of Amurru, which mentions 'the kings who are of equal rank to me, the King of Egypt, the King of Babylon, the King of Assyria, and the King of Ahhiyawa' - though the latter king has later been erased from the list.<sup>1</sup> Like the Lukka Lands, the Seha River Land, the Land of Zippasla, and Millawanda, it is clear that Ahhiyawa lay to the West of the Empire. But the more progress is made in Anatolian studies, the clearer does it become that there is no room in western Asia Minor for such a kingdom, certainly not for an Achaian kingdom. And it becomes increasingly probable that the King of Ahhiyawa is the overlord of all Achaian Greece: hence his hapless attempt to make his writ run in Millawanda.<sup>2</sup> We recall the position which Agamemnon held at Troy, overlord

---

1. O. R. Gurney, The Hittites<sup>2</sup> (1954), 50; Keilschrift, aus Boghazk8i xxiii 1, col. iv 1-3; F. Sommer, Die Ahhiyawa-Urkunden, Abhand. Bayer. Ak. Wiss., phil.-hist. Abt., NF vi (1932) 320-27; G. L. Huxley, Achaean and Hittites (Oxford, 1960) 8, 15f.)

2. This is at last accepted: see J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, The Geography of the Hittite Empire (London, 1959) 81, who place the seat of the King of Ahhiyawa at Mykenai. Cf. Huxley, op.cit. 23-48. For Milla-wanda, v.inf., pp. 38 ff.

of all the forces, yet powerless to compel obedience from the disaffected. In the light of this, we cannot resist the comparison between Strabo's account of Agamemnon's abortive invasion of and retreat from Mysia and another text from the reign of the same Tudhaliyas IV - embracing the period of the siege of Troy - in which the King of Abhiyawa is present in the Land of the Seha River; but he withdrew.<sup>1</sup>

However, we can do better than this. After the war was over, Kalchas, Leonteus, Polypoites, and their followers, marched to Kolophon, which had until recently been Karian, but was now a colony of Kretans, joined by the survivors of the fall of Thebes. Arrived there they buried Teiresias, who had died at Kolophon, or else on the way thither. Teiresias' daughter Manto married Rhakios, the Kretan oikistes, and to this union was born Mopsos.<sup>2</sup> After Kalchas' death Mopsos and his men marched across the Tauros to settle

- 
1. Keilschr. aus Bogh. xxiii 13; Sommer, op.cit. 314-319; Huxley, op.cit. 7f, 32; Kypria, OCT Homer v 104, cf. Strabo 10: cf. Huxley, BICS iii (1956) 25; D. L. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad 28f. Garstang and Gurney, op.cit. 96f, now identify the Seha River with the Kaikos (Bakir Cay) in Mysia, on other grounds as well as this.
  2. There is appropriate archaeological support: the tholos tomb mentioned in AJA xxvii (1923) 67f was LH III B or C (H. Goldman, ap. G. L. Huxley, Ach. and Hitt. 39.

in Pamphylia, Kilikia, and even Phoinikia. This story is derived from the Nostoi of Agios of Trozen, and from Kallinos of Ephesos.<sup>1</sup> An alternative form of Mopsos' name is given by Nikolaos of Damaskos as Moxos - though Nikolaos calls him a Lydian - the variant spelling due to a prehistoric labio-velar.<sup>2</sup> The date of Mopsos' reign in Kilikia is given by Eusebios as two or four years before the fall of Troy in 1183. Yet, as we have seen, the tradition places Mopsos' birth later, though not much later, than this event. It has been suggested that Eusebios derived the correct date for Mopsos through Berossos from Assyrian records, and then irrationally superimposed the Eratosthenic date for the fall of Troy.<sup>3</sup> That is to say, at least by c.1190 Mopsos was in fact reigning in Kilikia, at which date he would be between forty and fifty years old. Oriental documents provide striking confirmation of this story. The bilingual inscriptions of Karatepe in Kilikia, in both Phoinikian and hieroglyphic Hittite of the

- 
1. Agios, OCT Homer v 108; Kallinos, Strabo 668; cf. Id. 642 (Hesiod), 675f (Sophokles).
  2. Nikolaos Dam., FGrHist. 90 F 16; cf. Mopsouhestia Strabo 676, Mopsoukrene CIL vi 5076, Moxoupolis BCH xv (1891) 556; Linear B tablet from Knossos KN X 1497 mo-qa-so.
  3. Huxley, BICS 111 20 and nn. 22-3.

of the eighth century B.C., relate to 'ZTWD, king of DNNJM, a descendant of MPS. Vocalization restores Azitawad, Danunim, Mopsos - though the Hittite version has Adana and Mukšaš. The name of the ruler is philologically the same as ΕΖΤΦΕΔΙΙΥΖ, the legend read on the coins of Aspendos, which city was a foundation of Mopsos himself. Professor Bossert's discoveries at Karatepe, then, afford oriental support for the Greek story of Mopsos.<sup>1</sup> Even the Greek date agrees with the Hittite evidence: Mukšuš is mentioned in a fragment about relations between Madduwattas and the 'man of Ahhiyawa' Attarissiyas, and therefore belonging to the reign of Tudhaliyas IV or of his successor Arnuwandas III (c.1250-1220 or 1220-1190).<sup>2</sup>

I have dwelt at some length upon these two examples of the preservation of accurate tradition as to both fact

- 
1. Bibliography in Sakellariou, op.cit. 167 n.2; cf. R. D. Barnett, 'Mopsos', JHS lxxiii (1953) 140ff. A place named in the Phoinikian version as BT MPS is to be vocalized as Beit Mopsu, the Phoinikian translation of Mopsouhestia. The Danunim are certainly the same as the 'People of Adana' in the Hittite version: this has given difficulty; but they may still have been one-time Danaoi, and have given their name to the place, not taken their name from it. This is not a serious argument against their Kolophonian origin. See also T. J. Dunbabin, The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours (London, 1957) 32f.
  2. A. Götze, 'Hethitische Texte III, Madduwattas', Mitt.der Vorderas.-Aegypt.Gesellschaft xxxii (1927) 36, 40; H. Th.Bossert, Oriens ii (1949) 119.

and date in the case of the wanderings of Mopsos and in that of the Trojan War, because we shall have need of both series of events as a basis for the reconstruction of Samian pre-history. But popular memory was not confined to historical events. Fables were remembered, as has recently been demonstrated by the discovery of an unique sealstone unmistakably representing the Minotaur, in a Late Minoan III A2 or III B tomb at Sellópoulo near Knossos. It is the only preclassical Minotaur - but conclusively sited, to show that at least one familiar classical fable was already current in prehistoric Krete.<sup>1</sup>

Interest in the heroic past was such that relics of it were preserved not only in poetry but physically. In Delos were found a number of carved ivories, to be dated on grounds of style to the late fourteenth or early thirteenth century, which appear to have formed the decorations of a throne.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. Tomb I: JHS lxxviii (1958), Arch. Reports 1957, 24, Pl. I 1. I leave out of account eight blue glass plaques from a single mould, found at Dendra, representing a woman riding on a bull, tentatively identified as Europa; and a similar plaque and fragments of two others apparently with Bellerophon and the Chimaira: A. W. Persson, Kungagraven i Dendra (Stockholm, 1928) 123, 125. For Bellerophon, cf. M. P. Nilsson, The Mycenaean Origins of Greek Mythology (Cambridge, 1932) 51ff.
  2. Delos Museum, B7069-7112: H. Gallet de Santerre and J. Treheux, BCH lxxi-lxxii (1946-7) 148f.

We see, among other motifs, a warrior with boars' tusk helmet, single spear, and hour-glass shield. The ivories were buried in the foundation of the new shrine of Artemis when it was rebuilt in the eighth century; so that it seems that the throne survived and was still on view until shortly before the rebuilding. Nor is this instance of survival unique: the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta disclosed no fewer than ten Mykenanian gems which still remained in the early archaic period.<sup>1</sup> The Homeric poems are full of references to κειμήλια, heirlooms, and the emphasis laid upon them argues that such objects were highly regarded by the audience who listened to their descriptions.

Exactly parallel is the consuming interest of the Eastern Greeks in their own descent from the great men of the Mykenanian past. For as long as they could remember they had been exiles from the scene of their glory, keeping a precarious grip on the coastlands of mainly hostile barbarian kingdoms. 'By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept' - but, unlike the Jews, the Greeks were not slow to sing the 'songs of Zion'. They called their kings

---

1. Artemis Orthia, JHS suppl.v (1929) 378f.

Hektor or Agamemnon, and treasured their memories. It is certain that traditions of the Mykenaian past were accurately preserved across the centuries of illiteracy down to the time of Homer and Kallinos. Thenceforth the spread of the rediscovered craft of writing ensured their further survival.

## II

The Ionians of archaic and classical Greece were anxious to preserve memories of their Mykenaian past - real or imagined, we have to decide. Such anxiety could lead to fiction, and in many cases doubtless did so. But there is no initial presumption of falsity; for the tradition can be traced to authors earlier than Hellanikos. There is little evidence of Alexandrian contamination, and such pruning as we shall undertake will be directed more against illiterate folk romance than against the very literate activities of Alexandria.

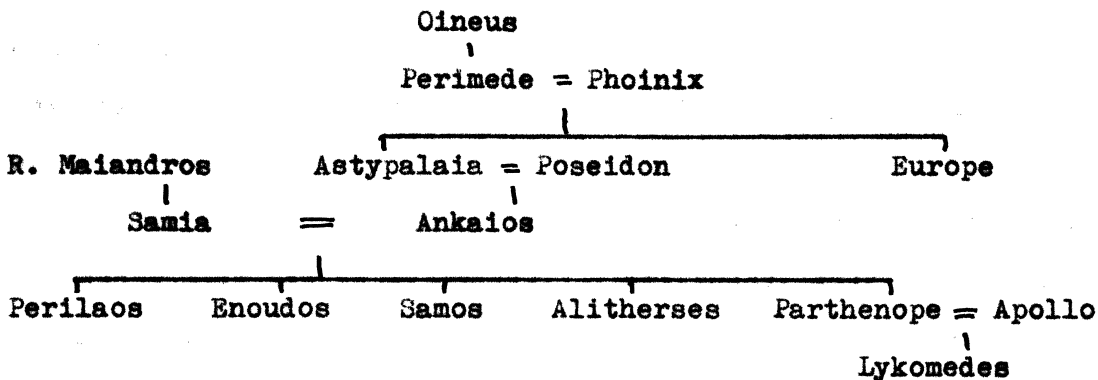
I begin by relating the traditions of prehistoric Samos.<sup>1</sup>

The Samian epic poet Asios gave the genealogy of King Ankaios, who ruled over a population of Lelegians in the

---

1. Cf. Sakellariou, op.cit. 93-106, 270-273.

island. Pausanias preserves it:<sup>1</sup>



The appearance of the eponymous local hero Samos in this pedigree argues that in the tradition known to Asios Ankaios and his Lelegians were the original inhabitants. The date at which Asios wrote is uncertain: he is usually placed in the sixth century;<sup>2</sup> but a recent study by Sir Maurice Bowra sets him in the latter half of the fifth.<sup>3</sup> If the

- 
1. Paus.VII iv 1 (Asios Fr.7K). Aristotle (Fr.571 Rose, 1886) preserved a story of Ankaios, how he planted a vineyard but was killed by a wild boar before he could enjoy the vintage, proving the wisdom of his gardener who had warned him that *πολλὸν μετὰ τὸ πέλει κέλικος καὶ χεῖλος ἄκρου*. This may be from Asios, who wrote in hexameters about Samos according to Athen.525f. Or it may (at last) be a genuine fable of Aesop, written for the restraining edification of the tyrant who embarked on the great programme of public works c.570-550 (*infra*, pp. 234ff ).
  2. Cf. Jacoby, *FGrHist* III B *Komm.* 455f.
  3. C. M. Bowra, *Hermes* lxxxv (1957) 391-401.

latter date were correct, Asios might come under suspicion of contamination from the imaginings of Hellanikos and his contemporaries. But the question need not arise, for Ankaios is a king of Lelegians already in Pherekydes, who wrote c.500 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Later writers have more to say about Ankaios. Apollonios of Rhodes made him an Argonaut.<sup>2</sup> Iamblichos, source unknown, brought him from Kephallenian Same in response to an oracle:

Ἄγκαι' εἰσαλίαν νῆσον Σάμον ἀντὶ Σάμης κε  
ἀκίχθαι κέλομαι· φύλλοι δ' ὀνομάζονται αὐτῆ.

So he went, with a colony of Kephallenians, Arkadians, and Thessalians, picking up settlers from Athens, Epidauros and Chalkis on the way.<sup>3</sup> We may at any rate say that the source of this was not Asios, for Strabo expressly distinguishes the two traditions.<sup>4</sup> Iamblichos' tale is a splendid omnibus, invented to account for the island's name and the

---

1. FGrHist 3 F 155 (Strabo 632); cf. Simonides of Keos, Fr.2. Pherekydes' date, cf. F. Jacoby, Mnemosyne Ser.III, xiii (1947) 33; infra, p. 28.

2. Argon. 1 185ff, and Schol. Cf. Schol.ii 866, giving source as Simonides ὁ γενεάλογος (cf. n. 1 above; FGrHist 8 F 2).

3. Iambl., de Vita Pyth. 11 3-4.

4. Strabo 637, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τινος ἐπιχωρίου ἤρωος εἴτ' ἐξ Ἰθάκης καὶ Κεφαλληνίας ἀποικισθέντος.

diverse reputed origin of its inhabitants. And to crown it all, Ankaios was an ancestor of Pythagoras.<sup>1</sup>

It is appropriate to notice here the variant traditions of the foundation of the Heraion. According to Menodotos it was the work of Lelegians and 'nymphs'.<sup>2</sup> But Pausanias, while saying that the Samians themselves reckon Hera a native goddess, born under a Lygos bush by the River Imbrasos, repeats a foreign account to the effect that the temple was first built by the Argonauts.<sup>3</sup> There has been conflation. Samian tradition in its original form will have ascribed the Heraion to the Lelegian Ankaios. But Ankaios joined the Argo and took his temple with him, when he became identified with a hero of his name belonging to Arkadia or Aitolia. The names contained in his genealogical table come from one or both of those areas, and the conflation was probably first made by Asios himself.<sup>4</sup>

We need only remember the earliest tradition: Ankaios was king of the pre-Greek inhabitants of Samos, who were

- 
1. Iambl., op.cit.ii 6.
  2. FGrHist 541 F 1 (Athen.672b). 'Nymphs' has been variously emended: cf. Sakellariou, op.cit.98 and n.5.
  3. Paus.VII iv 4.
  4. Sakellariou believes Ankaios to be Greek, and takes the names in his pedigree as evidence of Arkadian or Aitolian colonists: op.cit. 101ff.

known as Lelegians.

Aristokritos and Herodoros told how Milatos the Kretan ἄνδρωθέντα καὶ φθονούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνωος ἀναχωρεῖται εἰς τὴν Σάμον, ἅφ' οὗ καὶ τόπος ἔστι Μίλητος. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Σάμου μεταβάς εἰς τὴν Κρήναι ἔκτισε πόλιν, Μίλητον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καλέσας.<sup>1</sup> It is presumably a different version of the same story which Ephoros relates: that Sarpedon from Milatos in Krete made the first foundation of Miletos, ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης τετειχισμένον, οὗου νῦν ἡ πόλις Μίλητός ἐστι.<sup>2</sup> A Kretan settlement of similar date was said to have been made at Erythrai - by another eponymous oikistes, Erythros, the son of Rhadamanthys.<sup>3</sup> The eponyms will perhaps appear fictitious. But we shall for the moment reserve judgment on the tradition in general.

Diodoros tells us that Makareus, whom Hesiod called the son of Krinakos and grandson of Zeus, came from Olenos in Achaia to found an Ionian settlement on Lesbos. Later, as part of an expansive colonial policy, he sent his son to

- 
1. Schol.Ap.Rhod.Argon.1 185: FGrHist 493 F 3, 31 F 45.
  2. Ap. Strabo 634. For discussion of the philological identity of Miletos and Milatos, see references cited by Sakellariou op.cit. 376 n.7.
  3. Paus.VII iii 7. There were traditions of Kretan settlement at Kolophon (ibid.1) and Magnesia (Strabo 636, cf. 647, the River Lethaios). The name of Priene is Kretan, Priana from Priansos (Sakellariou, op.cit. 380f and n.7).

rule Chios and also Samos, which he did, τὴν νῆσον  
κατακληρονομήσας.<sup>1</sup> The supposed date of this cannot be  
recovered. But 'some considerable time after the settle-  
ment at Lesbos' Tenedos was founded by its eponymous hero  
Tennes, who was afterwards slain by Achilles.<sup>2</sup> We must  
remember that this is all a Lesbian foundation tradition,  
and is therefore less authoritative when it relates to  
Samos.

Later still, one Tembrion may have led a colony to  
Samos. Both the date and the uncertainty as to the fact  
have the same basis. For an alternative tradition makes  
him merely the companion of Prokles, who, we shall see,  
arrived c.1120. But the separatist version has the greater  
authority, Strabo against the Etymologicon.<sup>3</sup>

We should expect the organizer of the final Ionian  
foundation to claim descent from Ion, son of Xouthos. And  
we are not disappointed. Ion was the ancestor of Pityreus,  
whose son Prokles brought to Samos a colony of Epidaurians

- 
1. Diod.v 81. 4-7. 'Makar' was already known to the  
author of Hymn.Hom. iii 37. Sakellariou, op.cit. 96,  
implausibly connects Makareus with the Samian colony  
in Upper Egypt, Μακάρων νῆσοι (Hdt.iii 26).
  2. Ibid. 83.1, 5.
  3. Strabo 633 cf. 457; Etym. Magnum s.v. Ἀκτυπέλαια:  
source unknown. Cf. also infra, pp.58ff.

who had been driven from their city by Deiphontes and the Argives. He died, and was succeeded by his son Leogoros.<sup>1</sup>

Androklos' seizure of Ephesos seems to have been the first stage of the Kodrid occupation of Ionia. Subsequently he took Samos from Leogoros. For Leogoros had made the mistake of allying himself with the Karians against the Kodrids: no doubt he feared a Kodrid resettlement of his own island. His fears were justified. Androklos attacked and captured Samos, expelling the inhabitants. Some of them went to Samothrake, while others, with Leogoros, settled at Anaia on the mainland nearby, where they lived by piracy until, ten years later, they crossed and recaptured Samos.<sup>2</sup> Androklos then went to the aid of Priene against the Karians, and died in the hour of victory.<sup>3</sup>

For us, the chief importance of Androklos' efforts is chronological, in that they relate Prokles and Leogoros to the Kodrid migration, to which tradition gives an exact date. The authenticity of this must therefore be considered,

---

1. Paus.VII iv 2. We are also told (Id. II xvii 1) that it was Pityreus who left Epidaurus to Deiphontes, and that he took his people to Athens. Sakellariou (op.cit. 93f) supposes that the two passages of Pausanias are contradictory. They are not. But whether they both belong to the same tradition is another question.

2. Paus.VII iv 2-3; Antiphon ap. Suidas, s.v. Σαμοθράκη; Diod. v 47; Plutarch, Q.Gr. 55 (Mor. 303D).

3. Paus.VII ii 9.

and to the Kodrids we now turn.<sup>1</sup>

Nestor's father Neleus was the first of his family to settle in Pylos, having quarrelled with his brother Pelias, and having been forced to leave his native Minyan Iolkos.<sup>2</sup> Upon his death his youngest son Nestor, the 'Gerenian horseman', succeeded to the throne, and was reigning over the third generation of his subjects by the time of Telemachos' visit, some ten years after the fall of Troy - or, more prosaically, c.1230.<sup>3</sup>

Some time later Melanthos, the great-great-grandson of Nestor's elder brother Periklymenos, was expelled from Messenia.<sup>4</sup> He went to Athens, where he replaced the Erechtheid dynasty on the Athenian throne. His son Kodros died repelling the second Dorian invasion from Attika, the first having been beaten off a century previously. Medon and Neleus, the two eldest of Kodros' many sons, disputed the succession to their father's throne; and when the

- 
1. There remains the tradition of a colony led by Hippasos of Phleious: infra. p. 67 n. 1.
  2. Odyss.xi 254ff; Paus.IV ii 5.
  3. Od.iii 245.
  4. Paus.II xviii 8-9.

former gained it, Neleus and his younger brothers sailed abroad to settle on the coast of Karia, taking a mixed company of Pylians, Athenians, Ionians, Thebans, Minyans, and many others.<sup>1</sup> The Parian Marble lists the foundations of Neleus: Miletos, Ephesos, Erythrai, Klazomenai, Priene, Teos, Kolophon, Myous, Phokaia, Samos, Chios, and Panionion itself.<sup>2</sup> This list, we shall see, goes somewhat beyond the original version.

The fullest accounts of the colonization are to be found in Strabo and, with slight variations, in Pausanias.<sup>3</sup> It will be convenient to divide the cities into the groups in which Herodotos places them according to their local dialects.<sup>4</sup> Of the first group, Miletos was founded by Neleus and Priene by his son Aipyros, while Myous was founded by a bastard son of Kodros, Kydrellos. Of the second group, Ephesos was settled by Neleus' brother

---

1. Id.VII 11 1, 3-4.

2. FGrHist 239 A 27.

3. Strabo 632ff; Paus.VII 11ff. See Sakellariou: op.cit. 21-243.

4. Hdt. 1 142, 3-4.

Androklos,<sup>1</sup> and Teos by another bastard son of Kodros, Nauklos. Klazomenai and Phokaia had no Kodrid founder, Kolophon and Lebedos none mentioned by Strabo, though Pausanias gives the former Damasichthon and Promethos, and the latter Andraimon. Mimnermos called Andraimon 'Pyliaian' merely, and made him the founder of Kolophon, not of Lebedos.<sup>2</sup> Of the third group, Chios had no Kodrid founder, Erythrai another *υἱὸς* of Kodros, Knopos or Kleopos by name. Samos, the fourth of Herodotos' linguistic divisions, was settled by Androklos from Ephesos; but he withdrew after a decade's occupation.

There is no tidy uniformity of origin among the populations already in possession - a ring of authenticity here. Neleus had to destroy the previous inhabitants to enter Miletos, as Androklos had to expel Karians or Lydians from Ephesos. But in Teos Nauklos joined a settlement of Minyans brought by one Athamas and now living at peace with Karians. In Kolophon the Ionians joined both Thebans and Kretans, while from Samos they even expelled other Ionians.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. It is interesting to learn that Androklos was a genuine early Messenian name: it was borne by the Olympic victor of 768 B.C.
  2. Strabo 633.
  3. Miletos, Paus.VII ii 6; Ephesos, *ibid.* 8 (Leleges and Lydians), Strabo 640 (Leleges and Karians); Teos, Paus.VII iii 6; Kolophon, *ibid.* 3; Samos, *ibid.* iv 2.

This is the central narrative for all Ionia. It emphasizes that this was a large-scale enterprise of Ionians and others, led by the Pylian Kodrids, starting from Athens, and bound together in their new home by common devotion to the worship of Poseidon Helikonios at Panionion, and by celebration of the Festival of Apatouria, which, whatever the derivation of its name, traditionally recalled Melanthos' tricky defeat of the Boiotian Xanthios in single combat.<sup>1</sup>

But apart from the few pieces of information gleaned from Herodotos, we have had to rely on Strabo and Pausanias. Now we must go behind them to consider the authority of their sources. It is common ground that the Athenian, Kodrid, tradition was contained in the writings of Hellanikos.<sup>2</sup> That is to say, by the last third of the fifth century the tradition was in writing. But this was not long after the years in which Athens first asserted her leadership of Aegean - Ionian - Greece; and the claim to be its metropolitan was one which she had found convenient on more than one occasion.<sup>3</sup> We must therefore ask whether

---

1. Hellanikos, FGrHist 4 F 125 (Schol. Plat. Symp. 208D).

2. Cf. Ff. 48, 125; Jacoby's comm. on 323a Hellanikos F 11.

3. When was the claim first made or recognized? Solon fr. 4 D calls Athens ἡγεμονία ... ἡγεμονία; but this might only reflect Athens' membership of the Delian amphiktyony, cf. Hymn. Hom. Apoll. 30ff, 146ff; Thuk. iii 104. See Sakellariou, op. cit. 24f and n. 2 on p. 25.

the insistence on the Kodrid character of the migration is a purely Athenian feature; and whether, for instance, to the Milesians themselves, their Neleid ancestors were Kodrid or merely Pylia.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Jacoby argues that the Kodrid tradition - with the simultaneity it implies - was an invention of Hellanikos.<sup>2</sup> Pherekydes had previously written of Androklos' colony at Ephesos, and said that that led (or began) the whole movement. This Hellanikos forebore to expand, and instead made a fictional inference from two statements by his more recent predecessor Herodotos: (1) that all Ionia (not just the Dodekapolis) was settled from Athens;<sup>3</sup> (2) that Neleus founded Miletos;<sup>4</sup> together with (3) the fact that there was a cult of Neleus at Athens.<sup>5</sup> All this is to say that Hellanikos was desperate for want of a tradition to adopt:

- 
1. Minnermos fr.12 D makes no mention of Athens, but states that the settlers of Kolophon came from Pylos. But his account may be an abbreviation - his subject was Smyrna - and in any case, Kolophon is not a Kodrid foundation in Strabo's account, while (like Ephesos, oddly) the city did not celebrate the Athenian Apatouria. Sakellariou minimizes the significance of this, op.cit.252.
  2. FGrHist III b 1 (1954), comm. on 323a Hellanikos F 11.
  3. Hdt.i 146,2, 147.2.
  4. Id.ix 97.
  5. IG<sup>2</sup> 1 94 (418/7 B.C.), line 3 ερχαι το ιιερον το Κοδρι και το Νελεος και τες βασιλες.

and so he may have been. But if he was to have recourse to such shreds and patches as these, why should he have lighted on a fiction to give such preeminence to Miletos, a city of little account in his day? We should prefer an account in this tone to have been composed during the Indian summer of Miletos at the beginning of the century, when the unity of origin of the Ionians was a matter for the propaganda of the Revolt, and when the Athenian connection, rightly stressed, might bring ships - as it did.<sup>1</sup> Nor would fiction much help: the Athenians were not looking for an excuse to make war upon Persia. This is the natural context of the composition, and we have to try to find its author.<sup>2</sup>

I have already mentioned Pherekydes. The traces of his account are to be found in Strabo. Dr. Jacoby ascribes to him only a small part of the account, and I reproduce it here:<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. Aristagoras used this argument at Athens: Hdt.v 97.2.
  2. In any case, the story is earlier than Hellanikos, if we may accept as genuine the Ionika of Herodotos' uncle Panyasis who (according to Suidas, s.v.) wrote of Kodros, Neleus, and the Ionian Migration.
  3. Strabo 632; Pherekydes, FGrHist 3 F 155: lines 4-5 *Κίον και Σέμνον* cj. Kramer.

τούτης δέ (sc. τῆς ἰωνικῆς παραλίας) φησι  
 Φερεκύδης Μίλητον μὲν καὶ Μυσοῦντα καὶ τὰ περὶ  
 Μυκάλην καὶ Ἔφεσον κέρως ἔχειν πρότερον, τὴν  
 δ' ἔξῃς παραλίαν μεχρὶ Φωκίας καὶ Λίου καὶ  
 5 Σάμου, ἧς Ἀγκαῖος ἦρχε, Λέλεγας· ἐκβλήθηνα  
 δ' ἄμφοτέρους ὑπὸ πῶν ἰώνων, καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ  
 μέρη τῆς κέρως ἐκπεσεῖν. ἄρξαι δέ φησιν  
 Ἀνδροκλον τῆς πῶν ἰώνων ἀποικίας, ὕστερον τῆς  
 Ἀιολικῆς, υἱὸν γνήσιον Κόδρου τοῦ Ἀθηνῶν  
 10 βασιλέως, γενέσθαι δέ τούτων Ἐφέου κτίστην.

The rest of the account, Dr. Jacoby thinks, comes from elsewhere. Superficially this seems plausible because of the contradiction between 'he says that Androklos led the Ionian migration' and the prominence given to Neleus by the rest of the tradition. This would, of course, be conclusive against the hypothesis of a fictitious account by Pherekydes. But it is no obstacle to the hypothesis of a compilation from several sources - one Ephesian, another Milesian. If Pherekydes had had the local tradition from Myous, doubtless Kydrelos would have been added to a trinity - and perhaps his legitimacy would have been restored!

We notice in the same fragment that Pherekydes did

indeed speak of other places in Ionia. Moreover, most significantly - and very properly for a genealogist - he found it necessary to specify the legitimacy of Androklos. This must mean that the illegitimate sons of Kodros already existed, as such, when he wrote. The distinction between legitimate and illegitimate sons of Kodros is one which informs the whole of Strabo's introductory synopsis, and it seems perverse not to see the same source behind it all.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to notice that the same Pherekydes occupied himself with the genealogy of Pylian Neleus.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Jacoby has argued most convincingly that Pherekydes published his work between 508/7 and 476/5, at just the date when he would have been inspired by the Ionian Revolt: we need look no further.<sup>3</sup>

I cannot suggest the identity of Pherekydes' Ephesian source: it may have been oral. But the Milesian is at hand. Dr. Jacoby's cartesian principles have recently led to the dissolution of Kadmos of Miletos;<sup>4</sup> and I fear that

- 
1. Wilamowitz was not so exclusive: Kl.Schr.I 164f.
  2. Schol.Od.xi 289 (EGrHist 3 F 33).
  3. F. Jacoby, Mnemosyne Ser.III, xlii (1947) 33.
  4. EGrHist III b (1954) i 610f, 613; ii 37 n.8 'a forgery ... the title of which ... calls to mind the mode of expression in the Parian Marble A 27.' In Atthis (1949) J. is less certain, 359 n.30; cf. RE x col.1473ff.

few will be found to undertake his reassembly. Unjustly. Ancient writers are unanimous that the earliest historian or prose-writer was Kadmos, the Milesian son of Pandion, whom they class with Hekataios and Pherekydes.<sup>1</sup> The sole apparent dissentient is Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who states that the works ascribed to Kadmos in his day were not genuine.<sup>2</sup> But that is not to say that there was no genuine Kadmos: merely that this is not he. Kadmos' work was entitled *Κτίσις Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς ἑλλης Ἰωνίδας*.<sup>3</sup> And if the title be a late fabrication<sup>4</sup> - or the work itself a late epitome - I see no serious reason to doubt at least that the original Kadmos was known to have written upon the subject, for a genuine epitomator to condense or for a forger plausibly to replace.

As to the differences between the accounts of Strabo and Pausanias, I should suppose that the former (as he said) followed Pherekydes himself, the latter Hellanikos or another.

The date of this colonization of Ionia is given by

- 
1. Cf. Strabo 18; Pliny, NH v 112, vii 205; Josephus c.Apion.1.13.
  2. de Thuc. 23.
  3. Suidas, s.v. *Κάδμος*.
  4. V.sup. p. 28, n.4.

the Parian Marble as 1077/6.<sup>1</sup> Since its date for the Trojan War is thirty years too low, the question arises whether we must raise that of the Kodrid migration by a corresponding amount. It is clear that all the chronographers calculated the interval between the Trojan War and the Ionian Migration on a genealogical basis, and that the two events were linked in all accounts. The systems of Eratosthenes and Apollodoros reckoned two (Spartan) generations of forty years each from the fall of Troy to the return of the Herakleidai, following the Atreid pedigree, and two normal generations of thirty years to the Migration, following that of the Neleids at Athens. This calculation became generally accepted. But the Parian Marble is an earlier, and so independent, compilation. It gives an interval of 133 years from the fall of Troy to the Migration, clearly four generations calculated at the Herodotean rate of three to a century. The genealogy used was probably that of the Neleids as preserved by Hellanikos, who traced six generations from the Athenian Neleus back to Nestor: τὰς γὰρ ἑξ ἡμῶν φθάνει ἀνέστησθαι γένε' ἀνδρῶν.<sup>2</sup> The pedigree is presumably as old as Pherekydes, who both wrote of the Kodrid migration

---

1. FGrHist 239 A 27.

2. FGrHist 4 F 125; Od.iii 245.

to Ionia and dealt with the genealogy of Pylian Neleus.<sup>1</sup> Accepting the accuracy of the pedigree in giving the interval as four generations, and the correctness of the Herodotean equation in terms of years, the Ionian Migration may provisionally be dated c.1110.<sup>2</sup>

Thukydides' remarks on the subject of the migration seem to argue belief in a date later than that proposed by the tradition. The population of Athens was so swollen by the entry of defeated factions from the rest of Greece, he says, that land-shortage compelled the Athenians to promote a settlement in Ionia.<sup>3</sup> This is rationalization of the tradition, perhaps justifiable. But later he says that there was a long interval between the Trojan War and the migration, to which he gives the same place in Athenian history as to the colonization of Magna Graecia in the history of the Peloponnese. This suggests that Thukydides thought the two colonial movements chronologically comparable. If he did so, he can have had no authority beyond that of his

---

1. Schol.Od.xi 289 (FGrHist 3 F 33); supra, pp. 26ff.

2. See discussion of the various chronographical traditions by Sakellariou, op.cit.307-24. Briefly, I agree with his analysis, but see reason to be less sceptical about the correctness of the pre-Alexandrian tradition.

3. Thuk.i 2.6.

own rationalist imagination for the contradiction of what was certainly the general belief of his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup>

Taking the Neleid migration tradition as a basis, one could work out a rough chronology of previous and subsequent waves of immigrants in all Ionia. But to do so is beyond the scope of this inquiry; nor would it provide parallel evidence of survival, because the archaeological evidence is not sufficient to confirm or to refute the literary account, save in the case of Miletos. Hence, apart from Samos, we shall only examine the traditions of Miletos.

We have seen that there is no reason to suppose the Kodrid tradition to be a forgery; and the story of Prokles and Leogoros is interwoven with it. When we come to consider whether the external evidence is positive or negative, we shall look, in general, for fossils of the Kodrid migration, and in Samos for indications of an Ionian settlement from Epidaurous, which resisted the Kodrid attempt to take it over. As to date: if Androklos reached Ephesos c.1110, he probably went to Samos soon afterwards, and was

---

1. Id. 12.4, μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλάς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε καὶ Ἰωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νηριωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ὤκισαν, Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεῖστον Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἔστιν ἡ χώρα.

dead by c.1090.<sup>1</sup> This would put the arrival of Prokles c.1120. Eventually Samos became a member of the Panionic Dodekapolis, whose members all claimed to have come from Athens.<sup>2</sup> The differences of Leogoros' day must therefore have ended in reconciliation.<sup>3</sup>

### III

We have read the story. Before we test its proclaimed chronology against the archaeological evidence, we shall examine whether there are other indications of its veracity in detail. Wilamowitz considered it to be a fiction, and in his two great articles on the subject concluded on grounds of cults and myths, literature and dialect, that the name Ionia in its historical application coincides with no real cultural or ethnic unity. He dismissed the tradition of common origin, and accepted Meyer's suggestion that such unity as there was constituted a new growth in new surroundings, for which the Ionian ethnos was a convenient fiction, brought into being after the Meliac War c.700. He further

- 
1. These calculations follow the chronology of the Marmor Parium as adjusted supra, pp. 29 ff.
  2. Hdt. i 147.2, referring to all Ionians, not just those of the Dodekapolis.
  3. Cf. infra, p. 67.

supposed that it was after this war that the Meliac shrine of Poseidon Helikonios became common ground as Panionion.<sup>1</sup> This is an extreme view; though not so extreme as that of Curtius, who went so far in the other direction as to assert that Ionia was in reality the metropolis of Athens.<sup>2</sup> It is to be expected that the passage of the centuries wrought changes in Ionia, as ever more settlers arrived from abroad; and evidence of survival will carry more weight in support of the tradition than will the absence of such evidence against it.

In the first place the main body of settlers are said to have been Ionians. In view of their absence from the Homeric stories, we must ask whether the name was contemporary or anachronistically introduced. Among the peoples threatening Ras Shamra in the thirteenth century were the Jamanim, who are certainly to be identified with Javan,  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .<sup>3</sup> As Jongkees points out, the only conclusion

- 
1. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 'Panionion', SbPAW 1906 38-57 = Kl.Schr.v 1 128-51; 'Über die ionische Wanderung', ibid. 59-79 = 152-76. For similar more recent rationalization, cf. the attempt of F. Cassola (La Ionia nel mondo miceneo 86f) to see  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  as a fictitious name derived from  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  - even if ko-do-ro in tablet PY Jn 706 has to be read as  $\chi\acute{\omicron}\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  to allow this!
  2. E. Curtius, Die Ionier vor der ion. Wanderung (1855); Id., Griech.Gesch. I<sup>2</sup> 32.
  3. B. Hrozný, Archiv Orientální iv (1932), 169f; E. Cavaignac, Mél.Bidey 1 83f; J. H. Jongkees, Studia Volgraff (Amsterdam, 1948) 75; 74.

to be drawn is that in certain quarters at least some of the Mykenaians were called Ionians, and that the migration was the work of the pre-Dorian population of Greece.

This event Jongkees dates c.900 on archaeological grounds, and a similar date is proposed by the majority of recent writers. The grounds are not solely archaeological: two important pieces of genealogical evidence are offered.

The first is the pedigree of Heropythos of Chios, an inscription of the mid-fifth century, giving Heropythos' descent from one Kyprios fourteen generations previously.<sup>1</sup> The pedigree contains no discernible gods or heroes, and may be genuine. If Heropythos was born c.500, this will set the birth of Kyprios c.960. Professor Wade-Gery argues not unreasonably that Kyprios was the first of his line to reach Chios, hence the preservation of the descent from that point. If so, then Kyprios reached Chios c.930. It is hard to see what this proves, except for the history of Chios. The tradition does not assert that the island was one of the original Kodrid foundations, and there can be no ground for the presumption that Heropythos' ancestor was one of the original settlers even in Chios. His name is suspicious in

---

1. Bechtel, SGDI 5656; Jacobsthal, Nordionische Steine 12 n.1 no.7; Schwyzer, Dial.Gr.Ex. 690; Wade-Gery, The Poet of the Iliad, 8f, fig. 1.

itself: Pape only gives three occurrences of the name *Κύπριος* : a slave in Rome, a man of Antiocheia, and another slave - all late.<sup>1</sup> Eldis (or Heldis), the name of Chiote Kyprios' son, does not otherwise occur, though Eld- is, of course, as common a beginning of Hebrew names, and of eastern names generally, as it is rare in Greece. I would suggest, therefore, since one can do no more than balance probabilities, that Kyprios was in fact a Kypriote immigrant, and that his arrival gives only a terminus ante quem for the settlement of Chios.

The other genealogy is that of Hekataios, not preserved in detail. We only hear that he traced his descent from a god in the sixteenth generation.<sup>2</sup> That is to say, his first human - immigrant - ancestor lived about fourteen generations earlier than himself. Hekataios was born about the middle of the sixth century; so on the same principle which we used for Heropythos, his immigrant ancestor will have been born c.1020, giving a terminus ante quem c.1000 for the settlement of Miletos. Certainly it

- 
1. W. Pape, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen (1911) s.v.
  2. Hdt.ii 143. Hekataios floruit Ol.65 (520-516), Suidas s.v. He was therefore a man of late middle age at the time of the Ionian Revolt. I see no difficulty here.

cannot be supposed that Hekataios and Heropythos agree on the date of a single colonial movement.

The suggestive evidence of cults and place-names has been very fully treated by Sakellariou, and I shall not repeat it here.<sup>1</sup> Even after he has found alternative - but not necessarily more correct - explanations for many of them, a hard core remains of those which can only be explained as having been introduced from areas of mainland Greece whence the colonists are said to have come - names from Attika and Boiotia, and from the Minyan territories of Thessaly, Orchomenos, and the western Peloponnese. It might be argued that the place-names and cults themselves gave rise to the stories. But if the stories are false, how did the names and cults come to be attached to that part of overseas Greece in concentration unparalleled elsewhere? Nor need we be disturbed by the fact that the names chosen are largely those of famous places on the mainland: they are not all so; and if the traditional story is true, the Ionians must for long have been a people living on great memories - hence also their devotion to the tales of Troy.

---

1. Sakellariou, *op.cit.* 21-302, *passim*. For the significance of the evidence of the Samian tribe-names and calendar, *v.inf.*, pp. 67f.

The evidence of the Linear B tablets shows that some at least of the proper names of Ionian tradition were in existence in Mykenaian times. Mykala is a personal name at Knossos, as is Erythros, the name borne by the legendary Knossian founder of Erythrai.<sup>1</sup> Kodros was a Pylian, as was Neelawos.<sup>2</sup> There were at Pylos serving-women from Knidos and from Miletos.<sup>3</sup>

The Hittite records are again informative. They confirmed the tradition of Mopsos' kingdom in Kilikia. They refer also to relations between the Emperor, the King of Ahhiyawa, and Millawanda or Milawata. Identification of the latter place with Miletos was first proposed by

- 
1. Kn Pp 498; KN 72.39; cf. Eruthrios, KN x 297.
  2. PY Jn 706; PY Fn 06.
  3. PY Ab 12+, Ad 683; Aa 17+, Ad 09, Ad 689. (The Milesian women could, of course, be from Kretan Milatos.)

Hrozny in 1929, and has been widely accepted.<sup>1</sup> The Tawagalawas letter was written to the King of Ahhiyawa by an unnamed Hittite Emperor.<sup>2</sup> It is a request to the former to extradite a rebel Hittite nobleman called Piyama-radus, who had been raiding the Hittite province of the Lukka Lands from his base at Millawanda. One Tawagalawas, a relative of the King of Ahhiyawa, is mentioned in the letter as resident in or near Millawanda. The King replied that he had ordered his agent Atpas in Millawanda to hand over Piyama-radus. So the Emperor went down to Millawanda, only to find that the rebel had taken ship and escaped. The incident shows that Millawanda was sited on or near

- 
1. B. Hrozny, Archiv Orientalný 1 (1929) 323-43; cf. O. R. Gurney, The Hittites 56. Millawanda and Milawata are linguistically identical, cf. F. Sommer, Die Ahh.-Urk. 206 n.l, 361. But Sommer objects to identification with Miletos (ibid. 361f; Indogermanische Forschungen 1v (1937) 272f) on the ground that since the change  $\alpha \gamma$  was earlier in Ionic than the contraction across  $\epsilon$ , the development  $\alpha f \alpha \gamma \gamma$  is not possible. Now that we know the word contained no digamma in Greek c.1200 (mi-ra-ti-ja, PY Aa 17+, etc.) it may be suggested that the Hittites inserted an additional suffix - cf. Ahhija = Ahhijava, Marassantija = Marassanta, etc. (F. Cassola, op.cit. 47f) - or that this particular  $\epsilon$  dropped off unusually early (Huxley, Ach. and Hitt. 12). Cf., aliter, O. Szemerényi, Myc.Sem.Minutes (London, 1960) 200. Sakellariou (op.cit. 444-9) prefers to accept the identification of Millawanda with Pamphylian Milyas, and maintains moreover (ibid. 441-56) that no Hittite texts concern Karia, Lydia, or Mysia!
  2. Keilschr.aus.Bogh. xiv 3; Sommer, Ahh.-Urk. 2-194; Huxley, op.cit. 1f, 14, 17ff.

the coast, and that it was fairly independent. The account of the Emperor's going thither assists identification with a town on the west coast, rather than, for instance, with Milyas in Pamphylia, which is not easily accessible from the Hittite capital.<sup>1</sup>

As to date, another letter to an unnamed Emperor from Manapa-Dattas mentions both Piyama-radius and Atpas, and so must be contemporary with the last.<sup>2</sup> Manapa-Dattas was governor of the Seha River Land from the fourth year of Mursilis II (1334-1306) to some time in the reign of Muwatallis (1306-1282). The loose control of the King over the Abhiyawa of Millawanda is therefore to be dated c.1300. The knowledge that there was a subordinate Achaian power here at this date must recall the story of the 'autochthonous' dynasty of Anax and Asterios.<sup>3</sup> The former's name is merely

1. The identification with Miletos is accepted by Garstang and Gurney, op.cit. 80: 'most of the places mentioned ... in connexion with Millawanda can be identified plausibly with Greek cities lying on a road from Pessinus to the west coast of Anatolia, and this road led not to Milyas but to Miletus.' They reject (80 n.3) the contention of J. Mellaert that Millawanda was inland (AJA lxii (1958) 26).
2. Keilschr.aus Bogh. xix 5; E. Forrer, Forschungen I (Berlin, 1926) i 90ff; Huxley, op.cit. 2.
3. Paus. VII ii 5, giving the source as *Μιλύσιος αἰτοί*, and the date as earlier than that of the Kretan settlement. Since the names are manifestly Greek, 'autochthony' must be abandoned, and with it the date.

the Mykenaian word for a king. At an unknown later date the Milawata letter shows that the place had become subject to the Emperor, and deals with various matters at issue between them.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Hittite evidence supports the Ionian tradition of an early Greek settlement of some consequence (it had a wanax) at Miletos, and further confirms the implication of the Catalogue of Ships, that by c.1240 Miletos was under barbarian control.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV

We come at last to the archaeological evidence. It should be emphasized at the outset that the scale of excavation so far completed in Ionia - to say nothing of the scale of publication - falls far short of what is needful for firm conclusions. Therefore if material remains support the literary tradition, well and good. But it will not be disproved by their absence so far from any site.<sup>3</sup>

We must decide what is the evidence which we seek. In the first place we hope for indications that invaders twice

---

1. Keilschr.aus Bogh. xix 55; Sommer, op.cit. 198-240; Huxley, op.cit. 2f.

2. Iliad ii 867f.

3. As a warning not to expect too much, we may remember that even Corinth, a well-explored site, has only recently produced Mykenaian remains: Sakellariou, op.cit. 329.

attacked Athens but were repelled, the second attack being that defeated by Kodros' self-sacrifice a century after the first. As support for the Kodrid migration to Ionia, we shall be satisfied by Greek remains of the very end of the twelfth century, and shall look, where possible, for rather earlier material belonging to the previous Greek occupants of certain places, notably Samos. Beyond this, we shall hope for Mykenaian remains at Miletos in the fourteenth century, and evidence of Kretan settlement at Miletos, Samos, and Erythrai at a yet earlier date.

What does this mean in terms of pottery? Furumark's chronology of Mykenaian pottery for the period relevant to the Kodrid migration and its immediate predecessors is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

1230-1200	Myk.III C 1a
1200-1125	Myk.III C 1b
1125-1075	Myk.III C 1c
1075-1025	Myk.III C 2 - 'Submykenaian'.
1025	Protogeometric begins.

This system is opposed by Kraiker, who gives to the Submykenaian cemetery at the Kerameikos a duration of forty or fifty years from c.1125, thus making the Protogeometric style, which advances and is evolved from Submykenaian,

---

1. A. Furumark, Op.Arch. 111 (1944) 262.

arise c.1080.<sup>1</sup> Kraiker's chronology is based on the date of the end of Stratum III at Tell Abu Hawam, which is itself very hypothetical, and may well be fifty years later than he proposes. Furumark's system is accepted by Mr. Desborough,<sup>2</sup> whom I follow. If it is correct, the Kodrid pots will be Myk.III C 1c and III C 2, not protogeometric; and if the former are present the latter will only provide evidence for cultural contacts and continuity. In this connection we shall be much encouraged by Professor Cook's important discoveries of Protogeometric at Old Smyrna, which are said to reach back to 1000 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Although at that date, and for many years to come, Smyrna was still Aiolian,<sup>4</sup> the two migrations - Ionian and Aiolian - were surely parallel.

The period of the Ahhiyawa at Millawanda would be represented by

1425-1400	Myk.III A 1
1400-1375	Myk.III A 2a
1375-1300	Myk.III A 2b
1300-1230	Myk.III B. <sup>5</sup>

- 
1. W. Kraiker, Kerameikos i 163.
  2. V. R. d'E. Desborough, Protogeometric Pottery (Oxford, 1952) 294.
  3. J. M. Cook, Ill. London News 28.ii.1953, 328; BSA liii-liv (1958-9) 10.
  4. Mimmeros Fr.12 Diehl<sup>3</sup>, ap. Strabo 634; Ionian by 688 B.C., Paus. VII v 1.
  5. A. Furumark, The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery (Stockholm, 1941) 110ff.

The Hittite overlordship and Karian control should be reflected in a diminishing quantity, or even absence, of

1230-1200 Myk.III C la

1200-1125 Myk.III C lb

The Kretan settlements at Miletos, Samos, and Brythrai bear no real date in the tradition. We cannot safely assign a date any more narrowly than the general period MM II to LM II, in which to look for settled dwelling.

And now, the evidence. The Athenian resistance to the Dorians appears plainly in the remains.<sup>1</sup> The Akropolis was never sacked. But at the end of the thirteenth century the inhabitants withdrew inside its fortifications to withstand a siege. It appears again to have been defended successfully in the early years of the eleventh century, after which the centre of habitation changed, the Kerameikos began to be used as a cemetery, and the Akropolis ceased to be a palace, becoming instead a religious centre. The literary tradition states that Medon, Neleus' brother, became the first archon.<sup>2</sup> The archaeological evidence suggests that the quarrel over the succession involved the question of the form of rule: that Kodros was the last palace-

---

1. O. Broneer, AJA lii (1948) lll; Antiquity 1956, 9.

2. Eusebios, ed. Schoene, i 186; Vell. Pat. i 243.

dwelling wanax, and that Medon prevailed over Neleus in evolving a new kingship without divinity.

What is the evidence of Late- and Submykenaian pottery from the Kodrid foundations? The location of the first settlement at Ephesos is unknown, and the same is true of other sites. Three Protogeometric vases from Çamlı, the site of Melia, are the earliest remains from the neighbourhood of Panionion.<sup>1</sup> But other sites have proved more productive, and Submykenaian ware penetrated as far inland as Sardeis.<sup>2</sup> The only sites traditionally concerned with the Kodrids are Miletos and Samos; though scattered finds from other places help to generalize the conclusions drawn from these.

The results of the excavations on the site of the temple of Athena at Miletos in 1955 have now been published; and we have also a preliminary report of the 1957 excavations.<sup>3</sup> It is by now almost certain that this was the site of archaic Miletos. Certainly the area contained a Greek settlement

- 
1. V. R. d'A. Desborough, Protogeometric Pottery 221; Ath.Mitt. xii (1887) 229f, Abb. 7-9.
  2. H. C. Butler, Sardis i 151-5.
  3. C. Weickert, Istanbuler Mitt. vii (1957), 102-132; Id.ap. M. J. Mellink, AJA lxiii (1959), 81; Id., 'Neue Ausgrabungen in Milet', in E. Boehringer (ed.), Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im Vorderen Orient (Berlin, 1959) 181-196.

of considerable importance from the sixteenth century onwards. Weickert cautiously states that 'auf die mykenische Ansiedlung folgt ohne lange Unterbrechung eine wahrscheinlich nicht grosse protogeometrische, an die eine geometrische anschliesst.' But there seems good reason to suppose that there was not even a short break in continuity.<sup>1</sup> House 3 contained pots of Myk.III A 2 to III C 1 fabric, together with two kraters, one of which is not earlier than III C 1, the other III C 1 at the earliest, and perhaps early Submykenaian. This last krater certainly belongs to the traditional date of the foundation. But Neleus was said to have expelled Karians, and the main site of his village is perhaps still to be found. Certainly there were native settlements at Miletos during the Bronze Age - on the site of the temple of Athena before the earliest colonists arrived, and also on the spur of Kilik Tepe, two and a half miles South of Hellenistic Miletos.<sup>2</sup> We are not therefore compelled to disbelieve the tradition for want of Karian remains. Indeed Bittel has stated his belief that the Natives outnumbered the Greeks, though Weickert denies

- 
1. Ibid., 'A major interruption in habitation is improbable ... since one also finds sub-Mycenaean and quantities of protogeometric sherds,' and possibly a Protogeometric house.
  2. G. M. A. Hanfmann, Harvard Studies lxi (1953), 4, with n. 11.

this.<sup>1</sup> At any rate, it is demonstrated that there were enough of them to make it possible to speak of Miletos as being in Karian hands during the Trojan War.

The period during which Miletos, as Milawata, was a land of Ahhiyawa, we said, should be represented by Myk.III A and III B ware. And this is, in fact, the apparent apogee of Mykenaian Miletos. At the 'Athena settlement' reconstruction followed a conflagration c.1425. House 2 contained pottery of II B and III A 1 date, House 3 III A 2 to the end of III C at least.<sup>2</sup> In 1957 digging was extended West, South, and East of the temple:<sup>3</sup>

The third level (L.H.III) differs from the first two in being equipped with an impressive wall provided with towers. A L.H.III stirrup vase was recently found under the wall and allows us to date its construction to the fourteenth century B.C. The pottery of this level is purely Late Mycenaean and again included examples of excellent technique and a special style. ... The wide bulge of the wall apparently followed the shore of the harbor of the period in question. The course of the wall makes it clear that the settlement enclosed by it must have been considerably larger than the section investigated so far. It seems that the fortification was destroyed before the end of the Late Mycenaean period.

West of here, on the limestone ridge of Deirman Tepe, were

- 
1. K. Bittel, 'Kleinasien und Byzanz', Ist.Forsch. xvii (1950), 24; C. Weickert, Bericht über den VI. intern. Kongress für Arch. (Berlin, 1940) 330.
  2. Ist.Mitt. vii 118ff.
  3. AJA lxiii 81.

buildings and fortifications which Furumark dates to the III B era.<sup>1</sup> They did not last into III C, when the Karians were in control, and the Hittites overlords. To this should be added the evidence of an unpublished chamber-tomb found in the course of early excavations. The pottery was seen by Furumark in 1939, and he dates it all to Myk.III B and early III C.<sup>2</sup>

There is archaeological evidence for the Minoan colonization of Miletos. At the 'Athena settlement' in 1938 the earliest layers contained LM I A pottery with typical Minoan 'conglomerate pattern' and closely composed floral elements.<sup>3</sup> But with this was found Myk.I ware of mainland origin. Furumark discounted the possibility of Kretan settlers on the ground that this pottery was further accompanied by MH matt-painted ware certainly of mainland origin. But the excavations of 1955 reopened the question. In House 1 were found LM I pots whose 'Ton und Farbauftrag sprechen für kretische Herkunft', together with pottery to be dated MM III-LM I transitional. Weickert was able to reject Furumark's conclusion, saying that the pottery upon

---

1. A. Furumark, Op.Arch. vi (1950) 202.

2. Loc.cit.

3. Weickert, Bericht, 325-32, Fl.24; Furumark, op.cit. 202; Weickert, Ist.Mitt. vii 117.

which it was based was later than that found in House 1. In the excavation of 1957, the first level contained a 'building with many rooms which has no connection with the Helladic house type based on the megaron.' In this were MM III-LM I pots, 'indubitably Cretan specimens', and others which are possibly Mykenaian LH I imports, bearing 'spirals with superimposed white.' The second level was LM II or LH II, and 'there is a gradual transition between the pottery of levels I and II.'<sup>1</sup> The increased number of finds of Minoan ware leads Weickert to suppose with increasing confidence that Miletos was after all founded from Krete in the Middle Minoan III period, and that Mykenaians joined the Kretan settlers c.1550, and dwelt at peace with them. The city was probably almost wholly Mykenaian by the time of the conflagration, c.1425.

It will be recalled that the Kretan settlers in Miletos were said to have halted first in Samos, and that fugitives from Krete reached Erythrai at a similar date.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence from Erythrai to confirm or to deny this story. But the Samian remains are entirely consistent with the tradition. The earliest material from Miletos was MM III.

---

1. Weickert, AJA lxiii 81.

2. Supra, pp.

The sherd collection of the American School of Classical Studies contains

- (1) an MM II fragment from Tigani, polished gray ware with added white bands, thick and made of coarse gritty clay.<sup>1</sup> In support, the same collection shows the following fragments from this site:
- (2) Cup of the normal Vapheio shape, but possibly lacking the central rib; well levigated pink clay; streaky brown monochrome paint inside; outside, brown wash and applied band of cream: ?MM III A.
- (3) Base of a jar, oatmeal fabric; cream wash outside, added matt-painted stripe 1/4" from base: ?MM III B.
- (4) Plain cup/saucer, similar to Urfirnis: MM III B - LM I A.
- (5) Plain cup/saucer: LM I A.
- (6) Another similar fragment.
- (7) Spout of a bridge-spouted jar; yellowish fabric, polished: LM I A, probably not later.

The story is taken up at this point by published material. In 1930 a bothros at Tigani was found to contain a considerable amount of pottery from a single period.

---

1. Plate XXXIII illustrates a selection of sherds 1-15. I am grateful to the Director of the American School for permission to study the sherds in the School's collection. I have not been able to discover exactly where in Tigani they were found: but the hill of the Church of the Metamorphosis is as rich in prehistoric pottery as the rest of the town is poor. I must thank Mr. R. Hope Simpson for help in identifying the sherds: his judgment was unclouded by knowledge of what I hoped to prove.

There was local ware somewhat related to Trojan, together with LM I A sherds decorated with spiral designs drawn in the Kretan manner, and imitations of Minoan shapes of the same period. The Minoan sherds are too coarse, and their painting too simple, for them to be actual Kretan imports: they are rather of East Aegean provincial make.<sup>1</sup>

Thus there is evidence of a brief period of Minoan influence, generally contemporary with the Kretan arrival in Miletos, but sufficiently earlier in its beginning to lend colour to the traditional story. The accuracy of this story seems almost to be proved when we find that some of the Minoan sherds from Tigani have their closest parallels at Miletos and then at the palace of Mallia, close to Kretan Milatos whence Ephoros brought Sarpedon's colony.<sup>2</sup>

The Kretan settlement at Tigani occupied the small hill which rises in the south-west quarter of the town, now crowned by the Church of the Metamorphosis. Like that at Miletos, it was infiltrated by Mykenaians at an early date. The German finds are still unpublished, and I give

- 
1. Ath.Mitt. lx-lxi (1935/6), 118, 172-9, 190-6, Taf. lxviii-lxxi; Furumark, op.cit. 200f. For a general account of the archaeology of prehistoric Samos, see now E. Buschor in Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen 207f.
  2. H. Walter, Ath.Mitt. lxxii (1957) 36, Beil. xlix 1; C. Weickert, Bericht 328f; Id., Ist.Mitt. vii (1956) Taf. xxx 1; Mallia 1 54, Taf. xxviii.

a list of sherds from my own collection and from that of the American School:<sup>1</sup>

- (8) Part of a krater or large bowl; thick sherd of well levigated pink clay; Urfirnis interior; exterior cream wash and pattern in applied matt brown: LM II. (A.S.C.S.)
- (9) Kylix, probably imported; buff fabric; lustrous cream slip and polish; rosettes between triple lines in lustrous black paint: LM II. (J.P.B.)<sup>2</sup>
- (10) Rim fragment of kylix or deep bowl; soft buff fabric; orange monochrome paint inside; cream slip and polish outside, and design of linked spirals in semi-lustrous orange paint: LH III A-B. (A.S.C.S.)
- (11) Tankard; local micaceous orange clay; horizontal bands of orange paint; uncertain whether slipped: LH III A-B. (J.P.B.)
- (12) Deep bowl; fabric similar to (10); orange monochrome paint inside; buff slip outside with added semi-lustrous dark paint: LH III B. (A.S.C.S.)

- 
1. My own pieces were found in a short time with no difficulty on the hill of the Metamorphosis, end of August 1959. In what follows I distinguish them by the addition of (J.P.B.), the American sherds by (A.S.C.S.).
2. Cf. LM lb from Knossos and Tylissos, Sir A. Evans, The Palace of Minos IV i (London, 1935) 286f, figs. 220-222; and from Tholos A at Fylos, Ath.Mitt. xxxiv (1909) Taf. xxiv 6.

- (13) Handle of krater; local gritty reddish clay, coarse ware; horizontal stripe of orange paint running on to top surface of handle: LH III B. (J.P.B.)
- (14) Krater; local micaceous red clay; reddish-brown horizontal band outside: LH III B. (J.P.B.)<sup>1</sup>
- (15) Tankard; buff clay, not well levigated, perhaps local; black streaky monochrome paint inside and decoration outside; probably no slip: LH III B. (J.P.B.)

To these may be added two feet of tripod cooking pots, of local micaceous clay, of the type common from MM III B onwards. (J.P.B.)

The site has not to my knowledge produced any identifiable fragments of LH III C ware, for which one must look to the Heraion. This is parallel to the withdrawal from Miletos in the Hittite period; and indeed what little evidence there is from Samos tends to show that the whole prehistoric occupation of the two sites followed closely the same pattern. Whether one chooses to identify the LH III settlement at Tigani with the colony which Makareus' son was said to have brought from Lesbos, at some date earlier than the Trojan War, will remain a matter of personal taste. But at least Samos is not lacking in remains of

---

1. This sherd came from the great hill North-West of Tigani, about 100 yards South of the Theatre. The hill seems a likely enough site for the Mykenaian cemetery.

the right period.

There is no suggestion in the tradition that Prokles and Leogoros found other Greeks already in possession of their chosen site, and we have seen that there are no indications of occupation of the Tigani site after the LH III B period. The new settlers chose a fresh site, at the other end of the plain, where the Heraion later stood. There was probably a low hill, no more than four or five feet high, which sank into the alluvial mud before the classical period: such positions were often chosen. The continuity of population probably begins with these colonists. We have a certain amount of published information about them, though not yet in any great detail. At the Heraion a poor chamber-tomb was found with Late Mykenaian contents - pyxis-shaped vessels. These cannot have been imported, for they are of the same clay as the generality of ware from the Heraion. The tomb is still unpublished.<sup>1</sup>

Sections of walling, perhaps of houses, and a terrace wall to the West of Altar I, are assigned by Professor Buschor to the Late or Submykenaian period on the ground of 'spät- und submykenischen Tassen' found in the fill behind them.<sup>2</sup> Altar I itself is said to approach the

- 
1. Mentioned by E. Buschor, Gnomon iii (1927), 189; R. Heidenreich, Ath.Mitt. lx-lxi (1935/6), 169, 172. Cf. JHS xlvii (1927) 250.
  2. E. Buschor and H. Schlieff, Ath.Mitt. lviii (1933), 158. See also JHS lviii (1938) 230 - South of the Altar; Arch. Reports 1959 (1960) 17 - Late Myk. defence wall.

Mykenaian or Submykenaian Age;<sup>1</sup> and the altars demonstrate the continuity of the site, Protogeometric lying in regular succession between Mykenaian and Geometric pottery, which last was found beneath Altar II.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Desborough does not consider that the amount of Protogeometric found would warrant the assumption of a settlement, and prefers to believe that the historic Samians arrived in early Geometric times, perhaps from the Kyklades.<sup>3</sup> But if the Proto-geometric finds would not in themselves argue a settled community, they are sufficient to bridge the gap between the otherwise demonstrated settlements of Late Mykenaian and Geometric times; and the shape of these Kalathoi seems to show a possible connexion with the Argolid, recalling the Epidaurian foundation.<sup>4</sup>

This is supported by Dr. Ohly's study of the animal terracottas.<sup>5</sup> His 'Group A' (earlier than 850) show the survival of Mykenaian tradition both in form and in technique. No piece is in fact itself certainly Mykenaian, but the earliest are probably not far from the end of the

---

1. Ibid. 157ff.

2. Ibid. 147, 160ff; cf. D. Ohly, ibid. 82ff.

3. V. R. d'E. Desborough, Protogeometric Pottery, 91, 114, 216ff, 304.

4. Ibid. 113f: since the same shape occurs at Ialysos, a Minoan foundation, Krete is a possible alternative source.

5. D. Ohly, Ath.Mitt. lxx (1940) 57ff, esp. 75f, 95.

Mykenaian period. Of course, such a tradition could have been kept alive elsewhere. But at least it is certain that the makers were heirs to the Mykenaian potters.

We conclude therefore that the traditions of early colonization in Ionia are supported both archaeologically and by the other evidence available outside the narrative of the migrations. Hence we are in a position to piece together a necessarily very summary account of the history of Samos from the seventeenth to the eleventh century B.C.

V

Samos has been occupied since late Neolithic times.<sup>1</sup> The pre-Greek inhabitants of the island were Lelegians.<sup>2</sup> The tradition accords well with what little is known of this people.<sup>3</sup> Linguistically, it seems that they were part of the earliest race to settle in the Aegean area. In Samos, their pottery shows them somewhat akin to the people of Troy II-VII.<sup>4</sup> They worshipped the Anatolian

---

1. Cf. Bürchner, RE 'Samos' col. 2210.

2. Cf. supra, pp. 14ff.

3. Cf. Sakellariou, op.cit. 414-18, and refs. there cited.

4. Sakellariou, op.cit. 383; Heidenreich, Ath.Mitt. 60/61 (1935/6) 172ff.

Virgin, and even claimed the holy lygos by their River Imbrasos as marking her birthplace.<sup>1</sup> The only one of their kings who survived into Greek tradition was Ankaios, credited with the parentage of the eponymous hero Samos.<sup>2</sup> Imbrasos and possibly Samos are Lelegian words;<sup>3</sup> and a Lelegian bears the name Lygos in another story.<sup>4</sup>

Into this sluggishly Anatolian world burst a lively succession of Kretan colonists in the seventeenth century B.C., choosing Samos and Miletos among other sites for settlement. Some of the settlers in both places came from the neighbourhood of Milatos in Krete. Their occupation continued without rivalry for some generations. But Mykenaians from the Greek mainland began to arrive towards the end of the sixteenth century, and their great-grandchildren were probably in undisputed possession of both sites. The settlers kept up their links with home,

- 
1. Paus. VII iv 4; cf. supra, p.17. Cf. the early name of the island, Parthenia (Aristotle, Fr. 570 ap. Pliny, NH v 135). The festival of the Tonáia (Menodotos, FGrHist 541 F 1, and Jacoby ad loc.) is pre-Greek, having no original connexion with the Greek ἱερός ἄμωσ of Hera.
  2. Paus. VII iv 1; supra, pp.14f.
  3. Samos: P. Kretschmer, Glotta xxviii (1940) 252. Imbrasos: Id., ibid. xxxii (1953) 168; A. Fick, Vorgriechische Ortsnamen (Göttingen, 1905) 54f; A. Laumonier, BCH xlvi (1934) 352 cf. 355; A. Goetze, Journ. Cuneiform Stud. viii (1954) 75 n.37 (Luvian).
  4. Schol. Eur. Rhes. 509.

and acknowledged the paramount chief of the mainland as their suzerain. Hence c.1300 the Hittite Emperor could demand that the King of Ahhiyawa extradite the pirate Piyama-radius from Miletos. But the treasonous Hittite escaped with seven thousand prisoners to an offshore island, whence he was able to resume raids on Karia and Lesbos: Mr. Huxley has suggested that Samos best fits the evidence, being an admirable base for a pirate, especially against the places mentioned, and convenient for the hasty ferrying of so many prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

By the time of the Trojan War Miletos had come under Hittite domination. The Mykenaian settlement at Tigani seems to have been lost at the same time: I have seen no pottery there later than Myk.III B. This marks the arrival of the Indo-European Karians, who entered Asia Minor c.2000 B.C., but did not reach as far South as Ionia until now.<sup>2</sup> The name of one of their leaders is preserved, Tembrion: the word is non-Greek, and is related to Tembris or Tembros, a tributary of the River Sangarios, and Tembri(ei)on, a

- 
1. G. L. Huxley, Achaean and Hittites 18-21, criticizing D. L. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad 13-15.
  2. Sakellariou, op.cit. 430-34, and refs. there cited. Early Greek historians were careful to distinguish Karians from Lelegians (cf. Pherekydes, FGrHist 3 F 155); later writers less so.

town in Phrygia.<sup>1</sup> Strabo's statement that Tembrion preceded Prokles, then, is probably correct.<sup>2</sup>

About 1120 the Ionian Prokles brought a colony of Epidaurians and settled at the Heraion. Tigani was still Karian. Soon afterwards, the land-hungry Kodrid migration began with the arrival of Androklos. In fear of imminent dispossession, Prokles' son Leogoros made common cause with his Karian neighbours.<sup>3</sup> But to no avail. Androklos defeated them, and they were forced to take refuge abroad. Some, with Leogoros himself, crossed to Anafia, and others may have gone to Samothrake. Others again, more adventurous, thought of the example of Kolophonian Mopsos,<sup>4</sup> or of Amphilochos after the Trojan War,<sup>5</sup> and sailed to find a new home at Kelenderis in Kilikia. The foundation of this Samian colony<sup>6</sup> is usually set in the seventh century.

- 
1. W. Ruge, RE 'Tembrion', 'Tembris'; P. Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache (Göttingen, 1896) 193.
  2. Strabo 633.
  3. Paus. VII iv 2; cf. supra, p. 20. Perhaps this explains the tradition found in Etym. Mag., s.v. Ἀτροπάλαια (citing Themistagoras) that Tembrion and Prokles made a joint foundation of two tribes. Cf. Wilamowitz, Kl. Schr. V 1 170, 176.
  4. Cf. supra, pp. 9 ff.
  5. Hdt. iii 91.1; cf. vii 91.
  6. Pomponius Mela, de Chorogr. i 13.5 (1 77). Apollodoros, Bibl. iii 14.2-3, has a fabulous tradition of the foundation of Kelenderis by Sandokos from Syria, six generations later than King Kekrops I of Athens.

That it was in fact Mykenaian I would argue from the inscription of Karatepe which we examined at the beginning of this chapter.<sup>1</sup> In it, Azitawad invokes Ba'al KRNTRS; and the word is philologically the same as Kelenderis.<sup>2</sup> The inscription is of the mid-eighth century. But, to judge from the archaeological remains at the Heraion, Samian trade - and, a fortiori, Samian settlement - in the eastern Mediterranean did not begin until c.700.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the Karatepe inscription requires that by c.750 the name Kelenderis should have become accepted even among local barbarians.<sup>4</sup> I suggest, instead, that Kelenderis was founded in Late Mykenaian times, and that the reason why Azitawad invoked its god is that he knew that both the people of Kelenderis and his own Danunim of Adana were sprung from the same Mykenaian stock.

Ten years after their expulsion, Leogoros and his men returned from Anaia, and drove out Androklos to face the barbarians of Ephesos. He was eventually killed in a skirmish near Priene. We have no reason to think that the

---

1. V.sup., pp.10f.

2. Cf. R. D. Barnett, JHS lxxiii (1953) 142, n.5.

3. V.inf., pp.117ff.

4. The name is Greek, not Anatolian: cf. Paus. II xxxii 9; infra, p.64.

Kodrids attempted to gain a new foothold in Samos; prudently they left Leogoros in peace, and planted their own towns on the mainland.

## VI

We have so far offered no evidence that the Late Mykenaians in Samos, whom we identify with the traditional Ionian colony of Prokles, did in fact come from Epidaurus. The predominance of the cult of Hera is an obvious pointer; though, of course, she was worshipped so widely that this cannot be treated as evidence.<sup>1</sup> She was, however, the greatest deity of the Argolid, and indeed possessed a temple at Epidaurus.<sup>2</sup>

The Epidaurian origin of the Samians is first specified by Pausanias.<sup>3</sup> But we can at once argue the existence of this tradition during the three centuries before Pausanias wrote; for in the second century B.C. one of the chiliastyes into which the Samian people was divided bore the name of

---

1. Sakellariou, op.cit. 100f.

2. Paus. II xxix 1.

3. VII iv 2 (Strabo 633 mentions Prokles, but not his origin).

Epidaurioi.<sup>1</sup> Three more centuries, and we find Herodotos naming 'Dorians' from Epidauros among the original settlers of Ionia.<sup>2</sup> Far from being an invention of Pausanias' own day, the story goes back at least to the fifth century.

In 602 Samos founded her chief colony of the Propontis at Perinthos.<sup>3</sup> Stephanos of Byzantion explains the origin of the name, ἀπὸ Περίνθου Ἐπιδαυρίου τοῦ μετὰ Ὀρέστου στρατευομένου. The source is not given, but should be early: Perinthos will not have waited long for an ἐπιχώριος ἦρωσ.

Bürchner considered the tradition of Epidaurian origin a fiction, based upon connexion of the name of an historical Prokles mentioned by Aethlios, with the homonymous tyrant of Epidauros in the time of Periander of Corinth.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, this Prokles was one of the three diadochoi of the fallen power of Argos, who founded their power in part

- 
1. L. Robert, BCH lix (1935), inscr. on p. 478, line 2. He argues further (483) that the groups Athenaioi, Halais, Kastais, . . . ikais, and Euboais on a Samian inscription of similar date (V. Theophrastidis, Arch. Δελτ. ix (1927) 95ff) are likewise chiliastyes, since they cannot be tribes, hekatostyes or gene.
  2. Hdt. i 146: 'Dorians' an insignificant anachronism, cf. Soph. Oed. Col. 1301; Eur. El. 836, Or. 1372.
  3. Infra, p. 172.
  4. RE, s.v. Samos, col. 2211: Aethlios, FGrHist 536 F 3.

upon a claim to pre-Dorian ancestry.<sup>1</sup> C.700 Samos had fought Argos for Epidauros,<sup>2</sup> and Prokles may well have been named in compliment to the Samians.

We are accustomed to think of the close ties between a colony and its metropolis as binding only on foundations of the historic period. But it was not until the time of Thukydides - or later - that the Greeks themselves began to distinguish historic from prehistoric or legendary settlements abroad. It is therefore interesting to examine whether such a sentimental connection may have existed between Samos and the eastern Argolid. I believe that its operation may be detected on two occasions. First, Samos appears to have been involved in the disastrous war against Argos and Aigina which ruined Athens c.700: the aim of this war, in which Athens and Samos both attacked Aigina, was to prevent Epidauros from becoming subject to Argos, and to deliver her from the menace of the Aiginetan corsairs.<sup>3</sup> The second occasion was c.520. The democrats

- 
1. Prokles was Periander's father-in-law, Hdt. iii 50; on the racial element in the power of the Isthmian tyrants, see A. Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants (London, 1956) 54ff.
  2. V.inf. pp. 93ff.
  3. For this war, see Hdt. v 82-88; dated and discussed by T. J. Dunbabin, "Ἐχθρὴ Παλαιή, BSA xxxvii (1936-7) 83-91: for Samos' part in it, Hdt. iii 59, interpreted infra p. 95.

of Samos, though aided by their Spartan friends, had failed to unseat the tyrant Polykrates. They sailed West, extorted a hundred talents from the Siphnians, then made their way on across the sea to the Argolid. There they bought the island Hydra from Hermione, and left it in the temporary keeping of the Trozenians, until they should themselves return from further adventures in Krete.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the very decision to return to the Argolid, I would suggest that the trust reposed in the Trozenians may have been based upon history.

We have argued that Samos' colony of Kelenderis in Kilikia is of Mykenaian foundation.<sup>2</sup> In his exploration of the eastern Peloponnese, Pausanias takes the road from Trozen and descends ἐν τὸν πρὸς τῇ Κελενδέρει καλουμένη λιμένι.<sup>3</sup> This is usually identified with the Trozenian haven of Pogon.<sup>4</sup> But if that is what Pausanias meant, it must be admitted that he found a remarkably obscure way of expressing it. The alternative is to suppose that he went to the other

---

1. Hdt. iii 57-59: infra p. 326f.

2. Supra, pp. 59f.

3. Paus. II xxxii 9.

4. For Pogon, see Hdt. viii 42, cf. Strabo 373.

harbour of Trozen, Psipha (modern Psifta, North of Trozen and South-West of Methana). Less than two miles from here is a LH III settlement, near the village of Ayios Yeoryios. It is the only settlement of this date which has been found in the area, and it lies virtually on the ancient border between Trozen and Epidauros.<sup>1</sup> That the first Samians in their darkest hour remembered to call their foreign refuge after an insignificant and otherwise unrecorded spot some ten miles from Epidauros is as clear evidence as we are likely to find in support of their own traditional origin: better than if the Kilikian colony had been called after Epidauros herself.

## VII

The Ionian Migration was a long drawn-out affair, and must not be thought of as immediately complete once the main settlers had arrived. Several smaller companies followed the Epidaurians to Samos. In the Roman period certain families claimed descent from Kephallenian, Arkadian, Thessalian, and Chalkidian, as well as Athenian and Epidaurian colonists. Iamblichos states the fact; and its truth for

---

1. For a map of the area in Mykenesian times, see G. Welter, Troizen und Kalaureia (Berlin, 1941), Taf. 1. (The site of Ayios Yeoryios is not marked: I am indebted to Mr. R. Hope Simpson for knowledge of it.)

his own day is not discredited by his uncritical assertion that Ankaïos brought them all.<sup>1</sup> The names of the Hellenistic chiliastyes take these family traditions back to the generations which followed the return of the exiles in 322 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The Kephallenian story is probably fictitious, based on the similarity of the names Same and Samos: there is no independent evidence in its support. Since Thessalian connexions with continental Ionian place-names and cults are strong, we may prefer to believe that the Thessalians in Samos - if any - came from elsewhere in Ionia, not directly from Thessaly.<sup>3</sup> The same considerations holds for the Chalkidians.<sup>4</sup> The Arkadians have the scanty support of a couple of inscriptions of men named Kleonaïos, at least one from the fifth century,<sup>5</sup> and the cult of Hera

---

1. Iambl., de Vita Pyth. ii 3-4.

2. V. Theopphanidis, Αρχ. Δελτ. ix (1927) 99; L. Robert, BCH lix (1935) 477ff; supra, p. 62 and n.1.

3. For Thessalian traces in Ionia, cf. Sakellariou, op.cit., passim.

4. Cf. ibid. 128 (Ephesos), 181f (Teos), 213 (Erythrai), etc. Cf. also the Abantes of Euboia, Iliad ii 536ff; IG XII ix 946 (Chalkis); Hdt. i 146.1; Ion, FGrHist 392 F 1 (Chios).

5. Ath.Mitt. xxxi (1906) 416 n.1; JHS lxxvi (1956), Arch. Reports 1955, 26.

Pelasgis.<sup>1</sup>

At some time the Samians, like the other members of the Panionian League, came to accept kings of the House of Neleus. When this revolution took place, we do not know. But it left its traces not only in the adoption of Attic tribes and calendar and Apatouria,<sup>2</sup> but also in the appearance of the tribe of the Boreis.<sup>3</sup> The name is

1. Dion. Perieg. 534, and Eustathios ad loc; cf. Hdt. i 146.1, Ἀεὶδαι Πελαγοί among the immigrants. Sakellariou suggests that the cult may be Thessalian, op.cit. 97 n.4. An altogether hopeless tradition brings a colony from Phleious, led by Hippasos in flight from Temenos' grandson Rhegnidas, yet only three generations before the time of Pythagoras, a descendant of the leader. This story Pausanias (II xiii 2) picked up in Phleious and Sikyon, not in Samos; and it was probably invented to glorify the Pythagorean school at Phleious (cf. Sakellariou, op.cit. 99f).
2. Sakellariou, op.cit. 271, cf. 255. To this evidence we should add the Boiotian connexions of Samos, such as the cult of Poseidon Taureos, ibid. 104, cf. 71f, 90f.
3. J. H. Mordtmann, Rev. Arch. N.S. xxxvi (1878) 303, cf. Ath.Mitt. vi (1881) 49: for this, as for the Attic tribes, the Samian evidence comes from Perinthos, so giving a terminus ante quem in 602 for their arrival in Samos. The tribes Chesia and Astypalaia (Etym. Magn., s.v. Ἀστυπάλαια) are not mentioned before inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, and were probably invented after the restoration of 322. The Ἀίσχιωνίη φυλή of Hdt. iii 26 is, of course, not a tribe but a family (cf. Id. iv 149.1, the Aigeidai at Sparta): for Aischrion as a Samian name in the fourth century, cf. the poet, Diehl, Anth.Lyr.Gr.<sup>2</sup> fasc. 3, pp. 121f; Athen. 296e, 335b.

also found for tribes at Miletos and her colonies,<sup>1</sup> and for a late chiliastys at Ephesos.<sup>2</sup> In a Milesian inscription of 450/49 B.C. we find the Boreis represented by their Prosetairos Kretheus; and since that was the name of Pylian Neleus' mortal step-father, it is virtually certain that the Milesian claimed Neleid descent.<sup>3</sup> The name Boros is attached to only three legendary figures, of whom one was a descendant of Neleus and ancestor of the Kodrid family.<sup>4</sup> We may be confident, then, that the Ionian Boreis comprised the close family of the Neleids together with all who claimed their kinship; and their appearance at Samos marks their assumption of rule over the island.

Now Samos could be permitted to join in worship of the Helikonian King. For the cult seems likely to have been Neleid in origin: there was an altar of Poseidon Helikonios at Athens, and in that part of the city especially associated

---

1. Sakellariou, op.cit. 73ff, 254ff.

2. Ibid. 135.

3. SIG<sup>3</sup> 57, dated by Milet I iii No. 122.77; Odyssey xi 237 - the founder of Iolkos; cf. infra, p.441.

4. Hellanikos, EGrHist 4 F 125, cf. (slightly different) Paus. II xviii 8. The other two are a Maonian slain by Idomeneus (Iliad v 43f), and a son of Perieres and son-in-law of Peleus. Sakellariou, op.cit. 256ff, cf. 73ff, following earlier scholars, supposes that Kretheus and Perieres make the Boreis Thessalian. But the names are sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the Pylian Neleids in fact came from Iolkos.

with Kodros.<sup>1</sup> Poseidon was reputed to be Pylian Meleus' divine father;<sup>2</sup> in the Odyssey Nestor is sacrificing at Poseidon's shrine when Telemachos arrives, and the latter and 'Mentor' begin by praying to the god.<sup>3</sup> A recently discovered Linear B tablet from Pylos shows that the wanax did in fact worship Poseidon in Mykenaian times;<sup>4</sup> and it would be natural for the Kodrids to carry a local cult with them, amalgamated with the worship of their Athenian and Boiotian companions.

For above three hundred years, from the Ionian Migration of the Kodrids to the war against Melie, our literary sources give us not a date, not a fact, about the history of Samos. We only have the Heraion to tell us there was anyone there at all.<sup>5</sup> Altar I seems to have been laid down early in the tenth century. Altar II about the middle of the ninth, Altar III in the second half of the eighth, and Altars IV to VII at more frequent intervals between then and the end

---

1. Kleidemos, EGRHist 323 F 1; H. T. Wade-Gery, The Poet of the Iliad 64 n.17.

2. Odyss.xi 254.

3. Ibid. iii 3, 43; cf. Strabo, 345, 347.

4. L. R. Palmer, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1958, 1ff

5. For Geometric houses of apsidal form, see Plate VIII; for Geometric pottery, Plate XXXIV, No.1 dated c.900, and No.2 not much later.

of the seventh century.<sup>1</sup> The first Hekatompedos was built in the early years of the eighth century, and an outer colonnade added a generation later.<sup>2</sup> Inside was a row of thirteen columns dividing the cella into two equal aisles, and behind the last column stood the cult-image. Columns and image were all of wood, standing on stone bases.

The pottery from the Heraion shows no evidence throughout this long period of considerable contacts abroad.<sup>3</sup>

The long stagnation of Ionia was the price paid for settlement in an area dominated by the far more numerous Karians. To hold their own against them was as much as the Greeks could do. Gradually, however, progress was made: three generations after the settlement of Chios - whenever that was - King Hektor was able to expel the Karians from his island.<sup>4</sup> One of the main problems was the Karian element around Mt. Mykale. There was a strong Karian strain among the Milesians, for many of the early settlers

---

1. Ath.Mitt. lv (1930) 1ff; lviii (1933).

2. Ath.Mitt. lv 10ff, Abb. 4ff, Beil. 1ff; lviii 151ff, Abb. 3f, 13ff, Beil. 46f.

3. Cf. Hanfmann, Harv. St. lxi (1953) 10ff.

4. Ion, FGrHist 392 F 1.

had taken barbarian wives;<sup>1</sup> and the little town of Melie, in whose territory lay the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios, was so completely infiltrated that Hekataios actually called it πόλις Καρίας. Even after its destruction a fort in the neighbourhood retained its name of Karion.<sup>2</sup> Stephanos of Byzantion found the reference of Hekataios in the Genealogies, in which the geographer was perhaps concerned to ask who were the 'parents' of Melie, that is, who founded the town.<sup>3</sup> He, then, may be the source of a fragment of Theopompos in which the historian makes Melia a daughter of Mopsos of Kolophon.<sup>4</sup> The conclusion that Melie was a pre-Kodrid foundation of Kolophon is supported both by the fact that Kolophon owned nearby Anaia before the Meliac war,<sup>5</sup> and by the occurrence of a particularly

- 
1. Hdt. i 146.2-3.
  2. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Inscripfen von Priene (Berlin, 1906) No.37, lines 108ff, etc.
  3. Hekataios, FGrHist 1 F 11: Steph. Byz., Μελία· πόλις Καρίας· Ἐκαταῖος Γενεαλογιών δ. Equally, Miletos and Priene are geographically part of Karia; but Steph. takes care to distinguish them as Ionian.
  4. FGrHist 115 F 103. The text reads Μηλιάδος: from among many proposed emendations I accept that of G. L. Huxley, La Parola del Passato lxx (1960) 57f. We already knew that Theopompos wrote of the Meliac war: Ff 59, 305 (Ins. v. Priene 37.121).
  5. Ins. v. Priene 37.59f.

great concentration of Boiotian place-names around Mt. Mykale;<sup>1</sup> for the first Kolophonians were survivors of the Fall of Thebes.<sup>2</sup>

But the survival of Kolophonian possessions in southern Ionia after the growth of Ephesos was an anomaly. That Melie, cut off from her metropolis, had largely reverted to Karian occupation, was even less tolerable. And when both Samos and Priene felt the pressure of the land-shortage in the second half of the eighth century, they resolved to seize the Melias. The brief mention of the war by Vitruvius states that the cities of the Panionic Dodekapolis joined together to destroy Melie, and most modern reconstructions of the war assume the truth of this as a basis.<sup>3</sup> But it is scarcely to be thought that Kolophon would join

- 
1. Cf. Wade-Gery, op.cit. 5 and 64 n.16.
  2. Cf. supra, p. 9.
  3. Vitruvius, de Arch. iv 1.4: (after a list of the twelve cities and 'Melite') haec Melite propter civium adrogantia ab his civitatibus bello indicto communi consilio est sublata. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 'Panionion', SbPAW 1906, 38-57 = Kl. Schr. V i (1937) 128-51, argued that Melie was a nuisance to the Ionians; that c.700 they banded together to destroy her; that they founded a common festival immediately afterwards; and that this was the first beginning of Ionian solidarity. See also M. Caspari, JHS xxv (1915) 173-88; Wade-Gery, op.cit. 3ff; C. Roebuck, Class. Phil. 1 (1955) 26-40; and for archaeological investigation of the site (mod. Camli), G. Kleiner in Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen 172-80.

in the destruction of her own daughter-colony, and we learn besides that Kolophon and Miletos lost by the war, at the expense of Samos and Priene,<sup>1</sup> suggesting that the former pair even fought against the latter. Furthermore, as we shall see, the date of the struggle coincides with that of the Lelantine war, when Ionia was anything but united, and when Samos and Miletos in particular were at loggerheads. It is clear, however, that Samos and Priene were working in concert. We read in Valerius Maximus that

Sami Prienensibus auxilium adversus Caras  
implorantibus adrogantia instincti pro classe et  
exercitu sibullam eis derisus gratia miserunt.  
quam illi velut divinitus datum praesidium inter-  
pretati libenter receptam vera fatorum praedictione  
victoriae ducem habuerunt<sup>2</sup>

Derisus gratia is a late and mistaken embroidery of the original story; for in their own day sibyls were held in awe, and to send one would be a sign of friendship, not derision.

The war took place earlier than c.650, for it preceded

- 
1. Ins. v. Priene 37.57ff. The suggestion that Samos gave Miletos Thebe and Marathesion in exchange depends entirely on a restored part of the text: geographically it is most unlikely.
  2. Val. Max. I v de ominibus, ext. 1.

the Kimmerian invasion.<sup>1</sup> If the story of the Samians' sending a sibyl is rightly attached to this occasion, then we may accept a date in the last quarter of the eighth century; for the Samian sibyl, Herophila, floruit in 712 according to Eusebios. It is noteworthy that she is also said to have visited Kolophonian Klaros.<sup>2</sup>

When the Melias had been conquered, the victors parcelled it out between them, together with lands wrested from Miletos and Kolophon.<sup>3</sup> But the border between Samian and Prienian territory was to be a matter of recurrent dispute between the two cities,<sup>4</sup> whose false claims repeated by historians made it impossible to recover the details of the original division. It was agreed that of the strip of coastal land from Mykale to Ephesos Samos took the

1. Ins. v. Priene No. 500 (OGIS No. 13) 11ff.
2. Paus. X xii 5. She was also closely associated with Delphoi, consultant oracle to the Lelantine alliance to which Samos belonged: ibid. 1, 5, ignoring the impossible chronology there implied (cf. infra, p. 90 and n. 5). J. M. Cook, BSA liii-liv (1958-9) 14, adds Hdt. 1 143.3, Smyrna's unsuccessful plea to enter the Dodekapolis, to his archaeological date for Smyrna's becoming Ionic (c. 800), and argues that the Meliac War must belong to the ninth century. But it was never more than a conjecture of Wilamowitz that the foundation of the Dodekapolis was linked to the war. Cook's excavations rather show just how weak a link it was.
3. Ins. v. Priene 37.59 seems to make the Panionic League responsible for the settlement; but this must be an anachronistic mistake: cf. Roebuck, op. cit. 32. For the topography, Th. Wiegand, Priene (Berlin, 1904) ch. 1; J. Keil, Jahresh. d. öster. arch. Inst. xi (1908) Beibl. 135-168.
4. For further trouble in our period, cf. infra, pp. 175ff. 446ff.

northern, Priene the southern half: but where was the border? A Rhodian tribunal of arbitration examined the authorities early in the second century B.C., and concluded that Pygela had indeed been allotted to Samos, but that the Batinetis, including Karion and Dryoussa, had fallen to Priene.<sup>1</sup> It seems most probable that Priene took all the land from her own city to Melie,<sup>2</sup> and that Samos was content with the area between Pygela in the North and Anaia in the South.<sup>3</sup>

With the destruction of Melie, and the consequent adjustment of boundaries on the peraiia, Samos' part in the Ionian Migration was at length complete.

- 
1. Ins. v. Priene 37, esp. lines 98-123; for the Rhodian judgment, ibid., lines 157ff.
  2. That she received Melie itself is argued from the fact that she exercised the priesthood of Poseidon Helikonios in later times: Strabo 384, 639. For Panionion was on the site of Melie. Cf. Roebuck, op.cit. 28 and n.16.
  3. Pygela, at the mouth of the River Kaystros, was surely the natural possession of Ephesos. Had she perhaps fought for Melie and, like Kolophon and Miletos, been forced to cede territory upon her defeat? Was this the occasion of the  $\phi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\kappa\eta\psi\iota\epsilon$  which caused both Ephesos and Kolophon to give up celebration of the Apatouria (Hdt. 1 147.2)?

## Chapter Two

## THE LELANTINE WAR

Τῆ Ἑλλάδι πένιν μὲν διείκοτε σύντροφός ἐστι:

so Herodotos.<sup>1</sup> By the beginning of the eighth century the small natural resources of the Greek mainland were becoming insufficient for the growing population, who therefore began to seek the means to a higher standard of living overseas. The pioneers in this movement were the Euboians. Early in the century a post was established at Al Mina in Syria, at the mouth of the River Orontes. The earliest Greek pottery from the site, skyphoi decorated with pendant semicircles, was formerly considered to be predominantly Kykladic. But Mr. Boardman has established recently that these pieces are in fact Euboian: though the decoration is common to both areas, a noticeable freedom from mica betrays the true origin of the clay. It was not until the second half of the century that other wares began to arrive - from Corinth and East Greece - while the Euboian potters themselves found an interest in copying Protocorinthian kotylai.<sup>2</sup> Al Mina is probably to

1. Hdt. vii 102.

2. J. Boardman, BSA lii (1957) 2-8, 24-26, with full references to both published and unpublished material from the site.

be identified with the ancient Posideion. Apart from a Late Mykenaian story, the settlement has no literary foundation tradition; but this is not surprising in view of its early date.<sup>1</sup> Nor may we reconstruct one in detail. For Chalkis has never been excavated, and such of its pottery as has been found does not differ from that of Eretria so as to allow of distinction between the fabrics of the two.<sup>2</sup> We can only say that Euboians from one or both of these cities established commercial relations with the Syrian coast soon after 800 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The object of their voyaging was undoubtedly the acquisition of metals, which were to be had in plenty from Kypros and Kilikia to Phoinikia.<sup>4</sup>

No more than a generation later the Euboian explorers

- 
1. For the identification, C. L. Woolley, JHS lviii (1938) 28ff; further discussed by Boardman, op.cit. 24ff.
  2. Boardman, op.cit. 1ff.
  3. The date is argued from the fact that the skyphoi with pendant semicircles are found on no western site: ibid. 7.
  4. C. Roebuck, Ionian Trade and Colonization (New York, 1959) chap. vi, passim; R. J. Forbes, Metallurgy in Antiquity (Leiden, 1950).

were investigating the prospects of trade with the West. Their first permanent colony was founded c.756 at Kyme on the Bay of Naples by a mixture of merchants from Chalkis, Eretria, and Kyme in Aiolis, who had for some years previously based themselves upon the offshore islands of Pithekoussai and Ainaria.<sup>1</sup> The joint nature of the enterprise is important. Archaeologically, it was indeed with the natives of Etruria and Latium that the Greek traders in the first part of the eighth century made their 'earliest and strongest contacts', rather than with the nearer lands of Sicily and southern Italy.<sup>2</sup> The predominant pottery fabric imported into the West before and during the period of the earliest colonies has been called Kykladia.<sup>3</sup> In the light of Mr. Boardman's discovery about Al Mina, we shall have reason to suspect that this material too is in fact Euboian.

The advance into Sicily soon began. To judge from the names of Ortygia and Arethousa, a Chalkidian post may

- 
1. Thuk. vi 4; ps.-Skymn. 238f; Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. vii 3; Strabo 243, 247; Livy viii 22.5; T. J. Dunbabin, The Western Greeks (Oxford, 1948) 3, 5ff, 445 and n.2. For more recent archaeological material, see summary by A. D. Trendall, Arch. Reports 1957 (London, 1958) 40f.
  2. Dunbabin, op.cit. 3.
  3. Cf. Dunbabin, op.cit. 4f, 8, 14, etc.

have been sited near Syracuse, though no archaeological remains of it have been found.<sup>1</sup> Excavation has made it clear, however, that Megara Hyblaia, founded in 728 B.C., was set down upon land colonized by Corinthians half a generation previously.<sup>2</sup> Neither of these early settlements is mentioned by Thukydides, who otherwise seeks to give a complete account. It would seem to follow that both were quite destroyed by the eventual colonists of these places, and that in consequence no ritual observances in honour of their oikistai survived.

Before long some understanding of Italian and Sicilian geography was carried back to Greece. Hesiod's father, himself a merchant of Aiolian Kyme,<sup>3</sup> sailed far across the sea in search of a living; and his son wrote of Aitna and Ortygia,<sup>4</sup> and the Straits of Peloros;<sup>5</sup> and, in the Theogony,

- 
1. Schol. Iliad ix 557; Strabo 449. The latter also mentions a Chalkidian colony Euboia which Gelon took for a Syracusan outpost (loc.cit.; cf. Hdt. vii 156; Dunbabin, op.cit. 128).
  2. Cf. G. Vallet and P. Villard, BCH lxxvi (1952) 283-346.
  3. Hesiod, Erga 631ff.
  4. Eratosthenes ap. Strabo 23: P.Oxy. 1358 ii 25f.
  5. Diod. iv 85.

of Kirke's sons by Odysseus,<sup>1</sup>

Ἄγιον ἦδ' Ἰατῆνον ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε,  
οἳ δὲ τοι μάλα τῆλε μυχῷ νήων ἱεράων  
πᾶσιν Τυρρηνοῖσιν ἀνακλυτοῖσιν ἄνακτον.

Investigation of the Euxine seems to have begun at the same time as that of Italy. The Eusebian date for the foundation of both Kyzikos and Trapezous is 756, and Trapezous is said to have been an offshoot of Sinope.<sup>2</sup> Eumelos, laureate of the Corinthian Bakchiads during the early years of their power, gave the name Sinope to a nymph, Borysthenis to one of the Muses.<sup>3</sup> The traditions of these cities made them Milesian foundations; but there is some danger that this evidence relates only to refoundation in the seventh century, after the withdrawal of the Kimmerians.<sup>4</sup> The

- 
1. Theog. 1011ff; cf. Fr.4, the birth of Graikos. The authenticity of the lines has been denied: cf. Jacoby, Hesiodi Theogonia (Berlin, 1930) 27ff. I assume that this poem is an earlier composition by the author of the Erga. On his date, v.infr. pp. 86f.
  2. Xenophon, Anab. IV viii 22.
  3. Ap. Rhod. Arg. ii 946 and Schol., Fr.8 Kinkel; Tzetzes ad Hes. i, p. 23, Fr.17 K: E. Will, Korinthiaka (Paris, 1955) 124-8. See also T. J. Dunbabin, JHS lxviii (1948) 67: the crucial evidence for Eumelos' date is Fr.13 K, which must have been written for the Messenians before the end of the First War.
  4. On the second foundations, see for instance Beloch, Griech. Gesch. I ii (1913) 233; J. L. Myres, CAH iii 662.

whole area has been disproportionately neglected by archaeologists, and it will come as no surprise if future excavation shows Euboians or Corinthians to have been responsible for this early penetration.<sup>1</sup>

It was most probably in this same period that Chalkis and Eretria founded their Makedonian colonies. Most of them lack a traditional date of foundation, and this fact itself suggests a high antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, there is no evidence of strife between Chalkis and Eretria over the choice of sites in the North, and so the colonies may be contemporary with Kyme, or at least earlier than the beginning of enmity between the two cities, which we shall place c.735.

The priority of contact with Etruria over settlement in southern Italy and Sicily is rightly taken to show that at this date the primary quest was for metals - Etruscan bronze and iron from Elba.<sup>3</sup> We find this to be the common

- 
1. Eighth century remains have recently been found at Kyzikos: E. Akurgal, *Anatolian* (1956) 154. Rhys Carpenter's nautical arguments against eighth century penetration of the Euxine (*AJA* lli (1948) 1ff) were effectively countered by B. W. Labaree, 'How the Greeks sailed into the Black Sea', *AJA* lxi (1957) 29ff; cf. A. J. Graham, *BICS* v (1958) 25ff.
  2. See D. W. Bradeen, 'The Chalcidians in Thrace', *AJP* lxxiii (1952) 356-380, esp. at end.
  3. Dunbabin, West. Greeks 3.

interest of all the areas we have mentioned: metals from Al Mina, and from the 'Copper Isle' on the way thither; Serbian tin, and perhaps gold and silver from the Pangaian range;<sup>1</sup> iron from the mountains behind Trebizond, where the fabulous Chalybes laboured in their mines.<sup>2</sup> Agriculture was not at first the important motive, and we infer that the shortage of arable land did not yet weigh heavily upon the Greek homeland.

But the new economic expansion led to a rise in the birth-rate - or, more probably, a decline in the exposure-rate - and within a generation the hungry and overpopulated cities began to send agricultural colonies in the wake of the traders - both directly to reduce the population at home, and also to assure continuous production of foreign grain for import into Greece. For this purpose the great plains of eastern Sicily were chosen, where legend told that Demeter first gave corn to mankind.<sup>3</sup> Of the colonies listed by Thukydides, Naxos was the first site selected. It was settled by Chalkis in 734, probably (its name suggests)

---

1. Cf. CAH iii 650.

2. Strabo 549ff; who adds that the Chalybes once produced silver also. Trapezous may have been the end of a caravan route to Urartu.

3. Diod. v 69.3.

with Kykladic cooperation.<sup>1</sup> In the following year Corinth planted Syracuse, probably on the site of earlier Chalkidian activity. In 729 the Chalkidians at Naxos joined some Megarians (who had made a false start at Trotilon) in founding Leontinoi. This they followed closely with a post at Katana, thus securing by three cities the whole of the fabulous Laistrygonian plain.<sup>2</sup>

But already we have evidence of rivalry and strife, as Chalkis and Corinth sought a monopoly in the West. On their way to dislodge Chalkidians from Syracuse, the Corinthians expelled Eretrian settlers from Kerkyra, planting there a colony of their own, to assure safe passage to the West.<sup>3</sup> Chalkis, already controlling access to Sicily at Naxos, lost little time in securing the route to Etruria also by setting garrisons at Zankle and at Rhegion.<sup>4</sup> In

- 
1. Thuk. vi 3.1; cf. Hellanikos, FGrHist 4 F 82, Strabo 267, p.5-Skymn. 273f.
  2. Thuk. vi 3.3-4.2; Dunbabin, op.cit. 10.
  3. Plut. Q.Gr. 11 (Eretrians); Strabo 269 (Liburnians, an anachronism); Schol. Ap. Rhod. Arg. iv 1212 (Kolchians: apparently nonsense, but perhaps connected with Eumelos' legend that Aietes and Medeia were of Corinthian origin, fr.2 Kinkel, quoted by Schol. Pindar Olymp. xiii 74 = FGrHist 451 F 2c).
  4. Rhegion was founded c.730, near the beginning of the First Messenian War (infra, p.91). It was founded from Zankle, which was therefore earlier, though later than Naxos. The purpose of the two garrisons is well shown by the nature of their steep and rocky sites, and by the fact that Zankle was founded first by pirates from Italian Kyme, then by Chalkis (Thuk. vi 4.5); while the oikistai of these two parties were later honoured together. See Dunbabin, op.cit. 11ff.

728 the Naxian Chalkidians expelled their Megarian friends of a year from Leontinoi.<sup>1</sup> The present chapter recounts the century of warfare whereby in envious competition the cities of Old Greece disputed control of the new and glittering opportunities abroad. It is easy to condemn the futility of this attempt to ration the infinite; but for the Greeks, 'plenty' was a concept known only in legend, and not readily to be understood in real life.

The first extended manifestation of this rivalry we call the Lelantine War - a misleading title, but useful; for the grand alliance on either side grew from a preliminary dispute between Chalkis and Eretria over the plain of Lelanton which lies between them.

In his introductory chapters Thukydides is concerned to show how trivial and parochial was the course of Greek history in former generations. Yet, even he admits, *μάχιστα δὲ ἔς τὸν ἴσθμῳ ποτὲ γενόμενον πόλεμον Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετριῶν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς συμμαχίαν ἑκατέρων διέστυ*.<sup>2</sup> In our reconstruction of this war, therefore, we must look for extensive alliances: it was not merely a neighbours' boundary-quarrel. *Τὸν ... πόλεμον*, in Thukydides as

---

1. Thuk. vi 4.1-2, giving 728 as the era of Megara Hyblaia, founded by those expelled from Leontinoi.

2. Thuk. i 15.3.

in Herodotos,<sup>1</sup> implies a single war so well-known as to need no further specification; and in the light of this and of Strabo's assertion that wars between Chalkis and Eretria were rare,<sup>2</sup> we may feel entitled to apply Ockham's razor to this extent, that the balance of probability is that any evidence of fighting between the two cities at an early date belongs, in the absence of indication to the contrary, to the war which we are considering.

Even so, there is little specific. From Herodotos we learn that Chalkis had the help of Samos, Eretria that of Miletos.<sup>3</sup> Plutarch read in Aristotle that Thessalian cavalry aided Chalkis, redressing what had been a heavy disproportion in favour of Eretria. With these Thessalians came help from the Chalkidians in Thrake.<sup>4</sup> Those are the only allies explicitly assigned. There is (so far) no reason at all to suppose that any one of them was a

1. Hdt. v 99, ὅτι γὰρ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἐρετρίωσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.
2. Strabo 448.
3. Hdt. v 99.
4. Aristotle fr. 98 Rose<sup>2</sup> (Plut. Amat. 17, Mor. 760), reading ἦκεν ἐπίκουρος Χαλκιδέωσι (μετὰ) τοῦ Θεσσαλικοῦ, πολέμου πρὸς Ἐρετρίαις ἀκμάζοντος (subj. Kleomachos of Pharsalos). (It is possible that this fragment belongs not to the philosopher but to Aristotle the Chalkidian, EGrHist 423.)

particularly important or primary ally: Samos and Miletos are mentioned in a Milesian context, Thessaly and Chalkidike because their part in the campaign formed the background of a love-story.

The direct tradition contains three indications of date - if they could be interpreted. First, the war was later than the foundation by the oligarchic Hippobotai<sup>1</sup> of the Chalkidian colonies in Thrake, and therefore also later than the change from monarchy to oligarchy in Chalkis. Since the Hippobotai were also responsible for the western colonies of Chalkis,<sup>1</sup> they were presumably in power by 734, if not by 756. As to the cities of Chalkidike, though certainly tracing their foundation to Chalkis, they are without traditional foundation dates. This fact probably indicates that they were exceptionally early.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, Hesiod was present at the funeral games of

- 
1. Aristotle fr. 603 (Strabo 447).
  2. D. W. Bradeen, AJP lxxiii (1952) 356ff, especially 378-80.

Amphidamas, a Chalkidian leader slain in the war.<sup>1</sup> It is usually thought easier to date Hesiod from the war than vice versa: but it would be strange if a Kymaian's son wrote so vaguely of Agrios and Latinos, Etruscan kings in the Holy Islands, at any great interval after the foundation of western Kyme; and the Works and Days belong most naturally to the last third of the eighth century, in the midst of pressing poverty and the remedies then being taken.

Thirdly, Aristotle spoke of the conflict as one of the obsolete cavalry wars, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων.<sup>2</sup> This tactical evidence implies a pre-hoplite war, to be dated therefore earlier than the rise of Argos in the first years of the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> An 'oracle' contained in the

1. Hesiod, Erga 650ff; with schol. quoting Plutarch (vol. vii p. 82 Bern.), τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀμφιδάμαντα ναυμάχουντα πρὸς Ἑρετειάδας ἕως τοῦ Ἀγλάαντου ἀποθάνειν. It has often been said (as, recently, by Bradeen, TAPA lxxviii (1947) 228) that Amphidamas was king of Chalkis and must therefore be earlier than the Lelantine war in which the Hippobotai-founded cities of Chalkidike took part. But in fact, as Professor Wade-Gery has demonstrated (Phoenix iii (1949) 87 n.7 = Essays in Greek History (Oxford, 1958) 8 n.1), there is every reason to suppose that Amphidamas was not a king; and the difficulty therefore does not arise.

2. Politica 1289b.

3. Hoplite armour came to Argos before 700: P. Courbin, BCH lxxxi(1957) 322ff, publishes a hoplite panoply from a Late Geom. grave; no shield; but E.Oxy. x 1241 col. v 30ff credits Argos with invention of the hoplite shield. Hoplites came to the rest of mainland Greece soon afterwards: H. L. Lorimer, BSA xlii (1947) 76ff.

Anthology confirms this interpretation:<sup>1</sup>

Γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελαγονικὸν Ἄργος ἄμεινον,  
 ἵπποι Θεσσαλικαί, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε γυναῖκες,  
 ἄνδρες δ' οἱ πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καλῆς Ἀρεθούσης·  
 ἄλλ' ἔτι καὶ πῶν εἰσὶν ἀμείνονες, οἱ τὸ μεσηγυρῶ  
 Τίρυνθος ναίουσι καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πολυμήλου,  
 Ἄργεῖοι λινοθώρηκες, κέντρα πτολέμοιο.  
 ὅμεις δ', ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὐδὲ τρίτοι, οὐδὲ τέταρτοι,  
 οὐδὲ δωδέκατοι, οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

It is clear that the lines about Argos (and Megara) are a later, illogical, addition. The men 'who drink the water of Arethousa' are the Chalkidians;<sup>2</sup> and the only possible context for an eclipse by Argos of Chalkis is the early part of the seventh century. Before that date, we now learn with interest, Chalkis was supreme. It will not require the additional allusion to Thessalian cavalry to persuade us that the original 'oracle' belongs to the time

---

1. Anth. Pal. xiv 73. Another version of the 'oracle' (preferred by H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, The Delphic Oracle (Oxford, 1956) 1 82f) has Aigion in place of Megara.

2. Cf. Strabo, 449.

of the Lelantine War.<sup>1</sup>

The direct evidence gives us a terminus ante quem c.680 for the Lelantine War. A terminus post quem of c.756 is provided by the foundation of Kyme, jointly by Chalkis and Eretria: so they were then still at peace.<sup>2</sup> To find a more precise date, and to see the nature of the struggle, we must look for widespread warfare and alliances in this period alone, and consider nothing which lies outside its two limits.<sup>3</sup>

In 733 Corinth acted against both Chalkis and Eretria.<sup>4</sup> Megara was at war with Corinth during the last quarter of the eighth century;<sup>5</sup> and when the Megarian settlers were

1. Further (as will appear) this version names only members of the Chalkidian alliance: Thessalian cavalry on the plain of Pelasgiotis (cf. Strabo 430, 436, etc.), Sparta, and Chalkis herself.
2. It is formally possible that either the Chalkidians or the Eretrians at Kyme were from the opposition party. We learn that there was stasis at Pithekoussai (Strabo 247; Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. xvii 3), and this may have been induced by the outbreak of the war.
3. Cf. W. G. Forrest, 'Colonisation and the Rise of Delphi', Historia vi (1957) 160-75. Admission of evidence over too long a period is the common fault of A. R. Burn, JHS xlix (1929) 14ff, D. W. Bradeen, TAPA lxxviii (1947) 223ff, and C. Roebuck, Ionian Trade and Colonization 71ff.
4. Supra, p. 83.
5. Hicks and Mill, GHI No. 1; Paus. I xliv 1, Orsippos, the first nude Olympic victor (720 B.C., Euseb.), later fought in this war. Cf. Plut., Q.Gr. 17; N. G. L. Hammond, BSA xlix (1954) 93ff.

expelled from Leontinoi in 728, they took over the Corinthian settlement at Megara Hyblaia, renaming it so.<sup>1</sup> But in the previous year they had been invited to collaborate with Chalkidians from Naxos in the foundation of Leontinoi.<sup>2</sup> Chalkis and Corinth, then, enemies in 733, were not yet friends in 729. The sequence of these events suggests that 728 was the date at which a series of local wars between neighbours<sup>3</sup> began to give way to a 'world war' between far-reaching groups of alliances. The hypothesis of such an alliance newly forged between Corinth and Chalkis is confirmed by the fact that c.721 Corinth sent one Ameinokles to Samos, Chalkis' friend, to demonstrate a new advance in naval design.<sup>4</sup> It was perhaps to seal her alliance at this time that Samos instituted a cult of Apollo Pythios, special helper of Chalkis and Corinth.<sup>5</sup>

---

1. Supra, p. 79, 84.

2. Thuk. vi 3.3-4.2.

3. Cf. Id. i 15.2.

4. Id. i 13.3: probably the pentekonter. C.704 is an alternative date.

5. Paus. II xxxi 6, one of three examples of specially ancient temples. Theodoros and Telekles made a bronze cult-statue (Diod. i 98). Cf. also the Samian sibyl Herophile at Delphoi, Paus. X xii 1, 5; supra, p. 74 and n. 2.

So far, then, Corinth gained control of the sea-passage to Italy by way of Kerkyra, and acquired the plain of Syracuse behind the best harbour in Sicily, while the plain of Leontinoi became an exclusive Chalkidian preserve. The combine sought control of the route to Etruria, and to this end Chalkidians from Kyme (what had happened to the Eretrians there?) and Euboia, seized the Straits of Messina by planting a garrison at Zankle with an offshoot at Rhegion.<sup>1</sup> The date lies between 734 and c.720: not earlier, because Naxos was for Thukydidēs the first Sicilian colony, founded in the former year; nor later, because Rhegion, Zankle's daughter, counted among her original settlers some members of the pro-Spartan party expelled from Messenia at the beginning of the First Messenian War.<sup>2</sup> This war, of nineteen years' duration,

- 
1. Thuk. vi 4.5; Antiochos ap. Strabo 257. For the interdependence of these two sites see Dunbabin, op.cit. 387: 'neither without the other had complete control of the Straits. Zankle had the harbour ... But Rhegion commanded the approach to Zankle, and the position of the acropolis appears to have been chosen for the view through the Straits.'
  2. Strabo 257, not necessarily from Antiochos, but almost certainly going back to his time: cf. Dunbabin, op.cit. 11ff, 441f.

lasted from c.735 to c.716.<sup>1</sup> It is particularly interesting to find Chalkis giving a home to the Messenian traitors; for Corinth, 'alone of the Peloponnesians',

---

1. Duration from Tyrtaios fr. 4.7. Date: according to Eusebios the war began in 746 (Jerome) or 740 (Arm. vers.); while Messene fell in 734 (Jerome). An earlier tradition that the war lasted c.735-716 is implied by the Olympic list of stadionikai, compiled by Hippias of Elis and preserved by Eusebios. The last Messenian victory was at the eleventh festival, in 736; the break is real, since of these eleven contests seven produced Messenian victors. The first Spartan victory in the stadion was in 716 (though Akanthos won the dolichos for Sparta in 720: Eusebios, and Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. vii 72.3); this too marks a real departure, since in the thirty-five Olympiads xvi-1 there were twenty Spartan victors. Hippias was short of reliable evidence (Plut. Numa i - where there is, however, no hint of forgery). In his arrangement of the list he had to employ intelligent conjecture: he decided to set the last Messenian victor just before the war, and the first Spartan just after it. He read in Tyrtaios that the war lasted for nineteen years, and knew that its beginning was associated with the foundation of Rhegion. He had access (as we have not) to the date of this. I believe that he had reason to regard the seizure of Zankle and Rhegion as closely contemporary with that of Naxos; and the rest followed. If this is so, then the correctness of Hippias' date for the Messenian War - and so for Rhegion - is independent of his perhaps over-schematic arrangement of the victor-list, which was a later step in the argument. (For a recent discussion of Hippias, see W. den Boer, Laconian Studies (Amsterdam, 1954) 42ff, with references to previous literature.) The general correctness of this date for the Messenian War is confirmed genealogically: Theopompos led Sparta (Tyrt. fr. 4.1-2) eight generations before Leotychidas (Hdt. viii 131.2), who commanded at Mykale in 479. See den Boer, op.cit. 65ff.

and Samos both fought for Sparta against loyal Messenia.<sup>1</sup> The war was Sparta's way of dealing with the land-shortage, common problem of her allies. But while she was engaged upon it, Argos overran the Thyreatis.<sup>2</sup>

If Samos helped Sparta, then Miletos probably intervened on the other side. Hence we may add the fact that Melos, traditionally colonized by Sparta c.1116 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> suffered a Milesian attack during the regal period, at about the same time as a similar attack on Karystos.<sup>4</sup>

Since we may confidently place Argos among the enemies of Sparta, and so also of the alliance to which Sparta belonged, it is right that we should consider Argos' other great war of this period. Its circumstances are related at length by Herodotos.<sup>5</sup> Aiginetan pirates stole

- 
1. Corinth, Paus. IV xi 1; Samos, Hdt. iii 47; cf. Jacoby's comm. on FGrHist 265 F 34-46. Messenia was aided by Arkadia, Argos, and Sikyon: Paus., loc.cit. Since all writers before Kallisthenes knew only of the eighth-century Messenian War, it is to this that Hdt. must refer, not to the Second War. But oral tradition must have confused the events of both inextricably, and the alliances must be treated with reserve.
  2. Eusebios, dated 720 (Jerome) or 718 (Arm. vers.); cf. Paus. III vii 5, where Theopompos, who began the war against Messenia, is now too old to join the struggle with Argos.
  3. Thuk. v 84.2, 112.2.
  4. Konon, FGrHist 26 F 44; cf. C. Roebuck, Class. Phil. 1 (1955) 39 n.57.
  5. Hdt. v 82-88.

from Epidaurus two wooden statues, in respect of which Epidaurus paid an annual religious due to Athens. Athens attempted to recover the statues by force, and Argos came to Aigina's assistance - which entails, geographically, that Argos had taken control of Epidaurus on the way. The defeat which Athens suffered on this occasion, c.700, was severe indeed. According to Herodotos, not only the Aiginetan but the Athenian account itself maintained that only one survivor reached Athens. From an archaeological point of view, all that high promise which Athens had shown in the eighth century was swept away, and the city did not recover for half a century.<sup>1</sup> Herodotos' account was repeated by Douris. Significantly, it appeared in his *Ἐπιών ᾠδῶν*.<sup>2</sup> In the light of this we may suppose that Herodotos referred to the same war when he said that Samos and Aigina did great damage to one another

- 
1. See T. J. Dunbabin, *Ἐκθῆν Παλαιῶν*, BSA xxxvii (1936-7) 83-91.
  2. FGrHist 76 F 24 (Schol. Eur. *Hecuba* 934); C. O. Miller, *Aeginetica* (Berlin, 1817) 73. What period did Douris' second book cover? Fr. 22-3 quotes BK. II on Pythagoras: but F 24 is probably a 'flashback'.

ἐπ' Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλείουτος ἐν Σάμῳ.<sup>1</sup> As I have remarked in another context,<sup>2</sup> Samos' motive for joining in this struggle may have been a lively filial devotion to Epidaurus; for Athens, the destruction of the Aiginetan pirates' nest which perpetually menaced her trade was motive enough for the war.<sup>3</sup>

In the Kyklades Naxos presumably supported Chalkis, who borrowed her name for Sicilian Naxos in 734. If so, then a prima facie case is established for Parian favour of Eretria: it is as good evidence as we are likely to find.<sup>4</sup>

- 
1. Hdt. iii 59. An early date is implied by the survival of kingship. βασιλεύω is not used as a synonym for τυραννεύω (though it could perhaps be so used; for Herodotos uses βασιλεύω and τυραννεύω indiscriminately in v 44). Nor can it be thought that the βασιλεύς is an annual magistrate, and that the phrase served to give a precise date: this would be most contrary to Herodotean practice.
  2. Supra, p. 63.
  3. Now that Athens is added to the Chalkidian camp, it is interesting to recall the tradition that Theokles, dikistes of Naxos, was an Athenian: Strabo 267; ps.-Skymnos 273f; discounted by Dunbabin, The Western Greeks, 8.
  4. Certainly we may not use sixth-century political connexions between Paros and Miletos, Hdt. v 28f; nor even argue from the seventh-century situation in Plut., Q.Gr. 30 (Mor. 298 AB), or Demeas, FGrHist 502 F 1 (IG xii 5 No. 445). For these events, v.inf., pp. 185f.

Against Alyattes of Lydia at the end of the seventh century Miletos had one ally only, Chios. This help repaid Milesian assistance once given to Chios against Erythrai.<sup>1</sup> We cannot be sure that this collaboration was earlier than 680, our lower limit of relevance, but it may well have been so. The best reconstruction of relations between these states was tentatively proposed by Mr. Forrest.<sup>2</sup> Erythrai, under King Knopos, entered the war on the side of Chalkis and Samos, while Chios followed Miletos and Eretria. But when Knopos was on his way to Delphoi, the chosen sanctuary of the Chalkidian allies, he was murdered by discontented aristocrats, who took possession of the city with help from Chios.<sup>3</sup> This is the Chian war against Erythrai for which Herodotos mentions Milesian aid. While the aristocrats governed Erythrai, the city belonged to the Milesian alliance. Together with Miletos and Paros,

---

1. Hdt. i 18.3.

2. Historia vi (1957) 168f with n.9.

3. Hippias of Erythrai, FGrHist 421 F 1. Monarchy, Delphoi, and aristocrats suggest a date in the late eighth century, rather than in the time of that Knopos who founded Erythrai, which is where Hippias places these events.

Erythrai sent settlers to Parion in 709,<sup>1</sup> and at the same time collaborated with Miletos in making war upon Naxos.<sup>2</sup> But the aristocrats were expelled and the monarchy restored by Knopos' brother.<sup>3</sup> Surely he had help from Samos. Now Erythrai returned to the Chalkidian alliance, in which she remained until the middle of the seventh century.<sup>4</sup>

In this way we may divide up the cities of Old Greece into two grand alliances: on the one side, Chalkis, her Thracian colonies, certain Thessalians, Karystos, Corinth, Samos, Sparta, Melos, Athens, Epidaurous, the Erythraian monarchy, and Naxos; on the other, Eretria, Megara, Miletos, Messenia, Argos, Arkadia, Sikyon, Aigina, Chios, the Erythraian aristocracy, and Paros. All the evidence belongs to about thirty years within the wider limited period

- 
1. Eusebian date: 709 (Jerome) or 708 (Arm. vers.). Settlers from Paros, Miletos, and Erythrai, Strabo 588; Ionia and Erythrai, Paus. IX xxvii 1; cf. Dion. Perieg. 517 (Thasians), Steph. Byz. s.v. Βοιωτῆς (Boiotians). Burn doubts the originality of the Milesian element (JHS lv (1935) 132 n.7), which Myres thought a later supplement (CAH iii 657). Paros would be more reasonably, though no more justly, suspect. Cf. Forrest, op.cit. 170 n.1. Burn further (loc.cit.) insists on lowering the date of Parion with that of Archilochos and Thasos: this seems a heavy reliance on Dion. Perieg. - for Burn at least.
  2. Andriskos, FGrHist 500 F 1.
  3. Hippias, loc.cit.
  4. She voted against Chalkis over Akanthos in 654: infra, p. 127.

legitimately to be allowed; and evinces a greater degree of cooperation than than at any other time in the archaic period. There can be little doubt that these are the two camps into which, Thukydides said, the Lelantine War split all Greece.

Of the course of the war we only know what has already been related. It is best summarized by means of a chronological table.

- c.800      Exploitation of Al Mina by Eretria or Chalkis or both.
- c.756      Foundation of Kyme: Chalkis and Eretria friendly.
- ?      Joint colonies of Chalkis and Eretria in the North.
- c.750      Corinthian settlement on site of Megara Hyblaia.
- c.735-716    First Messenian War: Sparta, Corinth, and Samos against Messenia, Arkadia, Argos, and Sikyon. Milesian attack on Melos.
- ?      Chalkis and Eretria dispute possession of the Lelantine Plain. Their hostility extends into their overseas interests (stasis at Pithekoussai). Sea-battle of Chalkis and Samos against Eretria and Miletos: death of Amphidamas the Chalkidian: Hesiod recites the Theogony at his funeral. Milesian attack on Karystos.
- 734      Naxos founded by Chalkis.
- 733      Syracuse founded by Corinth at the expense of Chalkis. They also expel Eretrians from Kerkyra; dedicate the spoils of a naval victory at Delphoi (Eumelos Fr. 11 Kinkel).
- c.730      Chalkidians seize the Straits of Messina.

- 729 Leontinoi founded by Chalkidians and Megarians.
- 728 Megarians expelled from Leontinoi, found Megara Hyblaia on a Corinthian-held site. Corinth and Megara join Lelantine alliances.
- 720 Olympic victory of Megarian Orsippos: Megara at war with Corinth.
- c.721 Ameinokles of Corinth builds four ships for Samos.
- c.720 Argos seizes Thyreatis.
- ? Chalkis defeats Eretria on land with help from Thessaly and Chalkidike.
- ? King Knopos killed by Erythraian aristocrats, who seize Erythrai with Milesian aid.
- c.709 Erythrai, Miletos, and Paros found Parion.
- ? Erythrai and Miletos make war on Naxos.
- c.706 Taras founded by Sparta after the end of the Messenian War (Eusebios; Antiochos, FGH Hist 555 F 13, cf. Diod. viii 21).
- ? Restoration of the Erythraian monarchy.
- c.700 War of Argos and Aigina against Athens, Epidauros, and Samos under King Amphikrates.

This list of events should make it clear that commerce and colonization were the chief concern of the belligerents.<sup>1</sup> They fought for the best land in which to settle, and they

---

1. Most of them were besides concerned in border-disputes with their immediate neighbours - as Chalkis and Eretria over the vineyards (ὄρυκα ... οἰκιστῶν, Theognis 892) and minerals (Strabo 447, though there are no remains) of Lelanton; Sparta and Messenia; Sparta and Argos.

fought for a monopoly of produce to import into Greece.<sup>1</sup> That is the significance of the fact that those who took part may for the most part be divided into pairs of enviously hostile neighbours. Bradeen looks for a key to the Lelantine War in the participation of Samos and Miletos.<sup>2</sup> As well seek it in the enmity of Chios and Erythrai: the truth is that all Greece looked for a share in the new wealth of Magna Graecia; for no such agriculturally fruitful region was known elsewhere.

This conclusion is only apparently at odds with the recent trend of opinion which denies the Greeks political interest in economics.<sup>3</sup> It is argued that even in the fourth century there was no proper awareness of the necessity

- 
1. A. R. Burn noted (JHS xlix (1929) 14ff) that the Eretrian group of allies was more interested in the North-East, the Chalkidian in the West; then, illogically, traced the war to conflicting commercial interests. D. W. Bradeen pointed out (TAPA lxxviii (1947) 235) that concentration upon different areas would not lead to conflict. But the difficulty is resolved when we find that exploitation of the North-East does not seriously begin until the end of the war. The two sides were disputing the newly exploited West, where there is ample evidence of activity by the Eretrian group.
  2. Op.cit. 235, 237.
  3. Cf. for instance A. H. M. Jones, Athenian Democracy (Oxford, 1957) 93ff; M. I. Finley, The World of Odysseus (London, 1956) 71.

to secure markets for exported produce; that a fortiori such considerations can have had no influence upon policies of the archaic and earlier periods. The disproportionately high rate of survival of Athenian prose-literature has ensured that the evidence adduced is largely Athenian. But Athens was in the special position of being able to pay for her imports with silver mined at home, and it is scarcely fair to take her as a typical case. Yet even in Athens it is not hard to find those who understood the importance of exports, in the fifth century as well as in the fourth, the Old Oligarch and Thukydides as well as Plato.<sup>1</sup> We do not maintain, however, that a monopoly of export markets was the prize sought in the Lelantine War. Rather the contest was for exclusive access to apparently limited sources of food and raw materials to be imported into Greece. It takes no economic theorist to know that a state dependent for its very survival upon foreign produce will soon die if this is not forthcoming.

---

1. Ps.-Xenophon, Resp. Ath. ii 11, asks how a city can benefit from a surplus of ship-building timber, iron, bronze, or linen, if it is forbidden access to export-markets; cf. Thuk. i 120.2; Plato, Republic 370e5-371a2. We expect oligarchs, wealthy men, to show more awareness of the problem than democrats; and in the time of the Lelantine War commercial oligarchs (like the Bakchiads, Strabo 378) enjoyed political power.

The most noticeable effect of the war was that Chalkis and Eretria wore each other out. Which of them was nominally victorious, we cannot be sure; but when trade with Al Mina was resumed early in the seventh century, the volume of Euboian ware was much reduced.<sup>1</sup> In the North Eretria's early predominance passed to Chalkis. Of the allies, several were able to exploit each a section of the shattered trading empire of the Euboians. In the West, Corinth was the victor; and from now until her temporary decline in the face of an Argive revival in the Peloponnese there was scarcely a market in which Corinthian pottery did not overwhelm its rivals. Megara and Miletos eventually established their own monopoly on the shores of Propontis, no less jealously guarded than that of Corinth in the West. The movement to the North-East began in the last decade of the eighth century with the foundation of Parion.<sup>2</sup> A generation later the Megarians founded

---

1. Boardman, BSA lii (1957) 25. Boardman gives the overall victory to Eretria, on the ground that her pottery is known to have suffered no interruption (ibid. 28). He believes that Chalkidian production was interrupted; though until the site can be excavated it must not be assumed that this is right, since the two cities produced pottery virtually indistinguishable (ibid. 2). A. Andrewes points out (Greek Tyrants 40) that the Chalkidian victory mentioned by Aristotle, Fr. 98, refers only to one battle.

2. Cf. supra, p. 97.

Kalchadon, Astakos, and Selymbria, after which the stream of settlers became a flood.<sup>1</sup> At Al Mina it was the turn of the East Greeks: unfortunately their individual pottery fabrics cannot yet be safely distinguished, and it is not clear to what extent Samian ware is represented. But the opening of this great depot to the East Greeks must have caused the Samians no little interest, and, as we shall see, their import of luxury goods from the Semitic area began c.700.<sup>2</sup>

So much by way of a general account of the nature and scale of this war, in which Samos played a great, if shadowy part. The question why both she and Miletos became involved in it has never been satisfactorily answered. That the two Ionian cities were opposed to one another locally is easy enough to explain on the grounds of land-shortage at home and rivalry for foreign imports. In the last quarter of the eighth century, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> Samos and

- 
1. Kalchadon, Hdt. iv 144.2, founded 17 years before Byzantion, which is dated c.657 by Eusebios; Astakos, a colony of Kalchadon, acc. Charon of Lampsakos, FGrHist 262 F 6 (though Eusebios dates it 711 (Jer.) or 705 (Arm. vers.); Selymbria 'earlier than Byzantion', ps.-Skymnos 714.
  2. Infra, pp. 117 ff.
  3. Supra, pp. 72 ff.

Priene were involved in war against Miletos and Kolophon for the coastal lands between Ephesos and Mykale, including the Melias. Like the enmity of Miletos for Samos, that of Erythrai for Chios was the result of the tendency of both islands to expand on to the mainland nearby. The reason why Erythrai was generally allied to Samos is clear. Chios and Samos were the last islands on the northern and southern alternative routes to Asia Minor respectively. Both routes followed the Kyklades to Mykonos, in sight of land all the way, then divided at the western point of Ikaria - hence Miletos' interest in seizing this island, to blockade Samos.<sup>1</sup> Samos and Chios were therefore commercial rivals, and were subject to raids by their mainland neighbours Miletos and Erythrai. The robber of one accordingly became the friend of the other, Chios and Miletos against Samos and Erythrai, and it was on the terminal points of the sea-routes that the Ionian part of the war centred.

Still it is not explained why the Ionians joined the two alliances of the mainland. Of course, they depended on the major cities for metals and perhaps corn. But could they not be sure of obtaining these no matter which side was victorious abroad? For this purpose, a limited

---

1. Strabo 635.

victory at home was all that was necessary. Forsaking economics, it may be possible to maintain that dynastic responsibilities were the effective consideration, in a period when the heroic monarchy still survived in a number of the states involved, and when hereditary aristocracies ruled the others. We have already suggested that Samos' support of Epidauros was historically grounded;<sup>1</sup> and we may notice also that Chalkidians traditionally made up a part of the island's population.<sup>2</sup> A similar explanation may be given for the participation of Samos and Miletos in the Messenian War. Eumelos composed a processional hymn for a Messenian choir to sing at the Ionian cult-centre of Delos.<sup>3</sup> But what could bring Messenians to Delos? I suggest that they went there because of a strong historic connexion between Miletos and Messenia (not Pylos only), the same connexion which led Milesians to name their children after the Dorian conqueror of Messenia, Kresphontes.<sup>4</sup> For

---

1. Supra, p. 63.

2. Cf. supra, pp. 65f.

3. Eumelos, Fr. 13 Kinkel, quoted by Paus. IV xxxiii 2, cf. iv 1.

4. Milet I vi No.187 (SIG<sup>3</sup> 58; Tod, GHI i<sup>2</sup> 35). The name is also found at the Milesian colony of Pontic Apollonia, BCH xxv (1901) 317 No.15d; L. Robert, Études épigraphiques et philologiques (Paris, 1938) 199f. It is otherwise confined to Messenia. Cf. infra, p. 439. Aipyros, founder of Priene, bore the name of a son of Messenian Kresphontes (Paus. IV iii 8); and Eusebios names a Messenian Androklos as Olympic victor in 768.

Kresphontes had not sought to enslave the pre-Dorian inhabitants: Mykenaians and Dorians settled down together in Messenia to form a mixed society similar to that of Corinth or Sikyon. So Miletos loyally aided Messenia by raiding Spartan Melos, and Samos was drawn to Sparta by her own enmity against Miletos.

## II

To what extent does our reconstruction of the alliance to which Samos belonged receive support from archaeology? We must not expect too much from this source; for our hypothesis is of trade in goods which are not carried in pots, and which are either perishable (wool, grain, and spices) or unrecognizable (unwrought metal). Even so, the evidence is not negligible.

At the Heraion the earliest imported pottery from the Greek mainland is from Corinth. There are 'some fragments of large vases, an oinochoe and a lid', Middle Protocorinthian and to be dated c.700-675.<sup>1</sup> This import stands virtually

---

1. C. Roebuck, Ionian Trade and Colonization 77; R. Eilmann, Ath. Mitt. lviii (1933) 53f, Beil. xiv 4, 5; W. Technau, ibid. liv (1929) 26, Beil. xvi 5-10. Technau considered this to be East Greek imitation of Corinthian work; but it was later confirmed as genuine by H. Payne, Necrocorinthia (Oxford, 1931) 342, and E. Kunze, Ath. Mitt. lix (1934) 80 n.3. Further fragments were found in 1955: JHS lxxvi (1956), Arch. Reports 1955, 26. For recent discussion of the chronology of Protocorinthian ware, T. J. Dunbabin, Αρχ. Έρ. 1953-4 ii (1958) 247-262. The North Nekropolis also produced examples extending as late as Middle Corinthian (600-575): Payne, op.cit. 62; J. Böhlau, Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen (Leipzig, 1898) 39f (Grave 21) 136ff, Pl. iv 1-3, v 1, 3.

alone until the arrival of the first Lakonian ware c.640, and continues steadily throughout the seventh century, lasting until c.575. The quantity is not great. But it becomes significant when compared with the results of excavation elsewhere: at Miletos there was no Protocorinthian, and only a very little Corinthian.<sup>1</sup> Miletos' ally, Chios, likewise received almost nothing from Corinth: Protocorinthian was almost non-existent, Corinthian scarce, at Kato Phana; and very little of either was found at Emperio or Kofina ridge.<sup>2</sup> A different picture emerges at Ephesos: here significantly more pottery was uncovered, both Protocorinthian and Corinthian, to match the finds at Samos - though the quantity was still small.<sup>3</sup> And at Old Smyrna imported pottery from Corinth was found dating from the second half of the eighth century, Early Protocorinthian Kotylai, Late and Transitional ware in some quantity, and Early Corinthian until the destruction of Smyrna by Alyattes

- 
1. Wiegand commented on the rarity of Cor. work here, Abh. Berlin 1908, Anh. 8. Cf. K. F. Johansen, Les Vases Sicyoniens (Copenhagen, 1923) 88; Payne, op.cit. 186; C. Weickert, VI intern. Kongr. für Arch. (Berlin, 1940) 332; Roebuck, loc.cit.
  2. Ἀρχ. Δελτ. ii (1916) 206, fig. 26 (Kourouniotes at Kato Phana); BSA xxxv (1934-5) 162f; R. J. Hopper, BSA xliiv (1949) 252 (21); BSA xlix (1954) 135 No. 4, 140 No.67.
  3. Roebuck, op.cit. 78 with n.25.

c.610.<sup>1</sup> We had not otherwise discovered the allegiance of Ephesos or Smyrna.

To the evidence of pottery may be added the fact that some of the earliest bronze gryphon heads, with which Corinth began to decorate votive cauldrons at the end of the eighth century, found their way to Samos.<sup>2</sup>

Contact with the Kyklades is proved by the discovery of Kykladic Geometric vases at Samos, and by the influence of their style upon the island's own fabric.<sup>3</sup>

The development and distribution of Samos' own pottery is interesting. From the early eighth century for two hundred years East Greece had a common artistic style, whose evolution was led by the potters of Rhodes. 'It prefers panels to continuous zones and delights in rich constructions of hatched triangles, lozenges, and the so-called "Rhodian trees".' Among the various cities, the Rhodians were the 'most precise potters and the strictest draftsmen'; after them the Chiotas. The Samians and Ionians of the mainland, however, 'display a looser sense

---

1. J. K. Anderson, BSA liii-liv (1958-9) 138ff.

2. Cf. infra, p.134 and n. 5.

3. Technau, Ath. Mitt. liv 17, Beil. viii 4, 5; ibid. lviii Beil. xviii 1, 6, 10; cf. Hanfmann, Harv. St. lxi (1953) 31, n.64.

of construction, a broader, more pictorial manner of drawing.<sup>1</sup>

It is with the Geometric vases of Samos that we are here concerned. In the Early division of this period Samos produced a series of 'thin-lined' kraters and skyphoi.<sup>2</sup> Their style owes little to mainland pottery. They (or their influence) do not extend beyond Delos and Siphnos.<sup>3</sup> But Samian Late Geometric is a vastly more significant fabric. The style sets in fully developed, not as a gradual advance upon what preceded it, and it obviously owes a great deal to Attic Ripe and Late Geometric in its love of hatched meander and similar motives.<sup>4</sup> In view of this it is the more surprising to learn that no Attic Geometric fragments have been found in Samos: indeed, Attic imports are absent from all Ionia except Smyrna until the end of the seventh

- 
1. G. M. A. Hanfmann, op.cit. 13. On Samos, W. Technau, op.cit. 9ff, Abb. 1-3, 10f, Beil. 1 3; R. Eilmann, Ath. Mitt. lviii, 60ff, Abb. 8f, 14f, 17f, 20f, 26f, 45. On Rhodes and Chios, authorities cited by Hanfmann, op.cit. 32 n.71 (who there dismisses Schefold's suggestion, JDAI lvii (1942) 124ff, that the influence is rather Samian upon Rhodian).
  2. Technau, op.cit. Abb. 10 below left, 11, Beil. v, vi 2, 3, 4; Eilmann, op.cit. 62f, Abb. 8c, 9b-c, Beil. xx, xxii. Cf. Plate XXXIV 1-2.
  3. Délos xv (1934) Pl. xxx no.60, xxi no.61; Siphnos, BSA xliiv (1949) 45, Pl. xv 2 (there dated by Brock to the seventh century).
  4. Cf. Plate XXXIV 3; Ath. Mitt. liv (1929) Beil. 1-11.

century.<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately we are in a position to argue from particular, as well as from general, resemblance that there was immediate contact between Athens and Samos c.750-700, at the very time when on other grounds we supposed the two states to have been in naval league against Argos and Aigina. West of the altar at the Heraion were found fragments of a large skyphos decorated with representation of a prothesis after the Attic Geometric figure-style, hardly much later than 750 B.C. 'Kein Zweifel,' says Technau, 'dass das Gefäss einheimisch ist.'<sup>2</sup> Archaeologists have often commented that Attic influence is to be traced in the subject.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. Roebuck, op.cit. 79, with references to the few Geometric sherds and oil jars at Old Smyrna.
  2. Technau, op.cit. 15f, Taf. ii. I am indebted to Mr. Nicholas Coldstream for discussing with me the date of this piece.
  3. For example, A. Åkerström, Skrif. utgiv. av Svenska Inst. i Athen, 1951, 79f; Roebuck, op.cit. 79. H. L. Lorimer, however, considered that the scene reflected local rather than Attic usage: Homer and the Monuments (London, 1950) 161f. Hanfmann, op.cit. 32 n.68, oddly assigns the vase to the Kykladic Subgeometric 'Ad' group (see Délos xv), which J. K. Brock, BSA xliv (1949) 79, dates c.700-675. The only closely similar feature is the decorative motif of cross-hatching with dots in the interstices, as on the skirt of a clay figure from Siphnos (Brock, op.cit. 19 No.1, Pl. vi 1-2). Samos does have this Subgeometric motif elsewhere, cf. the terracotta heads, Plate XXXV 3-4 (JHS liii (1933) 287, fig. 13, and Hanfmann, op.cit., fig. 13). But it began earlier, cf. Ath. Mitt. lviii, Beil. xx 11.

The scene is placed upon an oblong panel, small after the East Greek manner in comparison with the extended zones of Attic ware. The dead lies in a sort of hammock, seen against a background of uneven dotted lines. Beneath the bier kneel two triangular-chested figures, their hands clasped above their heads in the traditional attitude of mourners. They are divided by a vertical row of dots. At either side a warrior stands guard, in crested helmet and equipped with 'Dipylon' shield and a pair of spears. Between each of them and the outer quadruple boundary is a vertical line of zig-zag.

A close parallel to this Samian scene is provided by the most famous of all the Dipylon vases, the amphora in the National Museum of Athens, No. 804.<sup>1</sup> Here the panel is more elongated, and six figures stand on either side of the bier, their hands clasped aloft in grief. Beneath the bier are two kneeling and two seated mourners. All the figures are divided by vertical columns of  $\mu$  or  $\lambda$ . There is no 'hammock'; but the pall is represented by an area of chequered pattern behind the bier. It is this last feature which most clearly shows that the Samian scene is copied from an Attic vase; for the copyist did not

---

1. E. Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen (Munich, 1923) Abb. M; M. Robertson, Greek Painting (Geneva, 1959), fig. on p. 34 (in colour); another, ibid. 38.

understand the chequered area, and carelessly replaced it by his uneven row of dots with no clear beginning or end, which represent nothing but the artist's anxiety to leave no space unfilled. Compare with this the vertical rows of dots between the Samian figures, replacing the careful columns of my and lambda between the Attic.<sup>1</sup> The Geometric friezes outside the scene itself can likewise all be paralleled in Attic work.

The 'Dipylon' shields are essentially a mainland feature. Moreover human figure-painting is very rare indeed on Geometric pottery outside Athens and her immediate neighbours. Yet apart from the prothesis we have fragments of two further

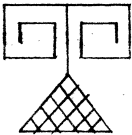
- 
1. The freedom of the copy here served to debase the original. But for another attempt by a Samian artist, this time in bronze, to adapt a mainland theme, and with more success, cf. the group representing a lion hunt - the only Geometric bronze group from Ionia to include a human figure: T. J. Dunbabin, The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours (JHS suppl. viii, 1957), Pl. v 2; G. Karo, Greek Personality in Archaic Sculpture (Harvard, 1948) 23ff. Springing lion, hunter, and dog, are all in motion, and proportion has been sacrificed in favour of vitality. The date is perhaps c.700. Contrast the static, angular approach of the artists of the mainland, for instance the centauremachy in New York, Dunbabin, op.cit., Pl. v 1; and Samian imitative pieces such as the horse and pair of horses, Plate XXV 1-2, or the terracottas illustrated by Hanfmann, Harv. Stud. lxi (1953) figs. 12-13 (the latter rather elongated example again more characteristically East Greek).

Samian skyphoi representing warriors.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that Samian Geometric painting owes much to direct Athenian inspiration;<sup>2</sup> and we are not surprised to find the connexion extended to military affairs also.

After this impressive archaeological support for the literary evidence of Samian friendship with Corinth and Athens, it is disappointing to find that there is no similar material to help the case of Chalkis and Sparta, the only two other cities of the mainland with whom Samos is explicitly said to have been on terms of alliance at this time.<sup>3</sup> Yet if their case is not supported, neither is it much weakened. For Chalkis is the only great city of early Greece which has never been excavated, and we know nothing of the imports which reached her. The evidence may yet be forthcoming, therefore. For Sparta, on the other hand, there is too much evidence: Lakonian pottery of the eighth century (but not earlier) shows the gradual infiltration

- 
1. Ath. Mitt. liv (1929) 16, Abb. 7f.
  2. Mr. Boardman suggests to me that this inspiration was not derived from imported Attic work, since there is no evidence for the export of Dipylon vases; and that the Samian artists therefore must have been to Athens. At any rate, a notable degree of contact is attested.
  3. Samos' continental ally Erythrai has not been excavated.

of orientalizing motives.<sup>1</sup> Transitional ware of the period 725-675 is fond of the common Samian and Rhodian device of a triangle surmounted by an elaborate tau of maeander.<sup>2</sup>



Clearly, these influences may have come to Sparta from Samos; but they are at least equally likely to be Rhodian, when we remember that the latter is the more widespread fabric.

No Samian pottery of this date has been found in the West. But we have not maintained that pottery was ever a considerable export of Samos: clearly it was not. The excavation of Ithaka, however, produced some Geometric ware of the eighth century for which Samian parallels have been proposed.<sup>3</sup> Leaving the Gulf of Corinth, Ithaka is the first port of call on the way to Kerkyra and the West.

Our verdict upon the archaeological evidence, then, is this: that contact between Samos and Corinth in the time

1. E. A. Lane, BSA xxxiv (1933-4) 101.
2. Ibid. 113; for Samos cf. Ath. Mitt. liii (1929) 18 Abb. 10; for Rhodes, Clara Rhodos iii (1929) fig. 76, BCH 1912, 501 figs. 7f. Lakonian Transitional bird bowls imitate a common East Greek class; but there are important differences: Lane, op.cit. 115; Price, East Greek Pottery 1f. The Transitional chalice, an open pot on a high foot, has parallels in Samos particularly; but here it seems that the influence is of Spartan on Samian ware: Lane, op.cit. 110; Böhrlau, op.cit. Taf. vi 1.
3. C. M. Robertson, BSA xliii (1948) 18f, 65 n., 81 n., 114.

of Ameinokles is assured, while there was then no Corinthian contact with Miletos; that there was a considerable artistic connexion between Athens and Samos at the time when they were both at war with Argos and Aigina; that East Greek - probably Rhodian, but perhaps Samian - features appeared on Lakonian pottery at the time of the First Messenian War; and that at the end of the eighth century the influence of Samian pottery extended at least some way along the sea route from Corinth to the West.

### III

The ancient monarchy of Samos had survived until the end of the Lelantine War. Its last representative, Amphikrates, ruled at that time. It is to be supposed that the destructive campaign at Aigina led to disaffection and revolution: the days of monarchy were everywhere past, and with the brilliant example of the Corinthian Bakchiads in mind, Samos was ripe for commercial aristocracy.

The next half century was a time of reconstruction and expansion. The only fact about Samos recorded of this period is her foundation of a colony on Amorgos in c.693.<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Semonides of Amorgos, FGrHist 534 T 1 (Suidas, s.vv. Σημωνίδης Ἀμοργίου and Σημωνίδης Κρινεῶν Ἀμοργίων: the former giving the date as 5 years after τὸ Ἴων καὶ, the latter (which I prefer historically) 9' καὶ 5' years thereafter).

All the details are obscure, or else anachronistic. There was indeed a body calling itself ο δημος ο Σαμίων ο κατοικων εν Μινωιδι in Hellenistic Amorgos; but the phrase recalls a cleruchy, and a recent one at that, rather than an ancient colony.<sup>1</sup> Are we then to dismiss the whole story as an archaistic fiction? In favour of such a course is the fact that Simmias of Rhodes, founder in one version, is a well-known Hellenistic grammarian. But outside the museum in Tigani stands a fifth-century statue-base of gray limestone inscribed Πανουε | Αμοργιο. The latter name at this date must lend support to the tradition of an early foundation.<sup>2</sup>

The use of Amorgos was twofold. With Ikaria still perhaps in Milesian hands, it formed a precious Samian link with the trade route through the Kyklades. And it made a base for the voyage to the eastern Mediterranean without following the Milesian-dominated coast of southern Ionia. For despite the interlude of Kypriote monopoly at Al Mina,<sup>3</sup>

---

1. Cf. IG xii 7 No.231.29ff (dated second to first century B.C.). Cf. also No.228.9f, ο δημος ο Σαμίων των κατοικουτων Μινωιδων; No.395.1ff, Μελησιων των κατοικουτων εν Αργολη.

2. For Amorgos and the Delian Confederacy, v.inf. p.466.

3. Cf. Sir Leonard Woolley, A Forgotten Kingdom (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1953) 172f; A. R. Burn, The Lyric Age of Greece (London, 1960) 47ff, adding Malalas, Chron. viii p. 257 Dindorf.

Samos now became interested in trade with the Syrian coast.

The evidence of this is to be found in the new influx of oriental objects into the Heraion. Some carved ivories have been unearthed there which belong to the Phoinikian 'Layard Group' from the North-West Palace at Nimrud, used as a storehouse by Sargon in the last quarter of the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> There is a figure wearing Phoiniko-Egyptian dress, parallel to an example from Lindos.<sup>2</sup> There is an ivory panel of two figures enthroned on either side of an incense altar - again strikingly Egyptian in appearance - which is very close indeed to a panel from Nimrud in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> And there is a bearded head which evidently belonged to a composite figure.<sup>4</sup> None of these ivories is later than the eighth century. The pottery with which they were found dates from before and after

- 
1. R. D. Barnett, 'Early Greek and Oriental Ivories', JHS lxxviii (1948) lff.
  2. Buschor, in Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen, 210, Abb. 12; cf. C. Blinkenberg, Fouilles de Lindos i (Berlin, 1930) cols 395ff, Nos. 1582, 1572.
  3. Barnett, op. cit. 3f, Pl. i a-b respectively (wrongly lettered); Id., The Nimrud Ivories (London, 1957) Cat. C48-50, cf. pp. 128, 134f. The London specimen bears a cartouche apparently inscribed 'iwbnre in hieroglyphics: Barnett suggests this may refer to Ia'u-bi'di, King of Hamath in the last quarter of the eighth century - though the style appears earlier.
  4. JHS lxxviii 3, Pl. iii b.

600 B.C.; but they themselves probably entered the sanctuary c.700.<sup>1</sup>

The Heraion has also produced ivories parallel to the 'Loftus Group' from the South-East Palace at Nimrud. In particular we may notice what appears to be a fragment of a tall pyxis, decorated with a frieze of lions;<sup>2</sup> and a pyxis-lid, engraved with concentric circles of cable and other patterns.<sup>3</sup> Whereas the 'Layard Group' perhaps originated as far South as Tyre,<sup>4</sup> the Loftus pieces were probably made at Hamath, only eighty miles or so from Al Mina.<sup>5</sup>

Another interesting object manufactured in the same general area is a black steatite censer in the form of a cup held between the fore-paws of a lion.<sup>6</sup> The type is well known, often occurring in a varied form, with the bowl held

- 
1. Buschor, ap. Barnett, ibid. 3 n. 17.
  2. Buschor, Neue deutsche Ausgr. 210, Abb. 13; cf. Barnett, Nimr. Iv. Cat. S47-62, esp. S50, pl. xxxiii-xxxiv.
  3. Plate XXXV 1; cf. Barnett, op.cit. Cat. S34-46, pp. 47, 52, pl. xxix.
  4. Barnett, JHS lxviii 4 (citing Ezekiel xxvi).
  5. Id., Nimr. Iv. 47.
  6. Plate XXXV 3; Buschor, op.cit. 210, Abb. 11 - early daedalic context.

by a human hand.<sup>1</sup> A good - though not close - parallel to our piece is in Hamburg.<sup>2</sup> The treatment of the engraving and modelling is more linear, but there are holes for the lion's eyes which in our example are inlaid.

For the sake of completeness we may add local Samian work which closely follows oriental models: a bronze statuette of a bearded man, of Assyrianizing style;<sup>3</sup> and an ivory lion's head of Late Hittite inspiration.<sup>4</sup> We may remark too that the arrival of Kypriote terracottas shows the sea-route to the East to have been used for all this contact, rather than a continental caravan-route.<sup>5</sup>

During this century the cult image of Hera was made by

- 
1. For instance the ivory example, PLATE XXXV 4, held between two hands; cf. E. Kunze, Ath. Mitt. lx-lxi (1935-6) 222, 232, Taf. lxxxiv 14.
  2. Mus. für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1928/40; H. Th. Bossert, Syria xi (1930) 133-45, Pl. xxiv-xxv, esp. 136 No.10, Pl. xxv 1; Id., Altsyrien (Tübingen, 1951), No.763, cf. 765-6.
  3. E. Kunze, Kretische Bronzereliefs (Stuttgart, 1931) 238f, Beil.v a, b.
  4. E. Akurgal, Späthethitische Bildkunst (Ankara, 1949) i 75, 133f, Taf. xxxvii.
  5. Cf. infra, pp. 162f.

Smilis.<sup>1</sup> A recent study of its dress shows that here too the inspiration was oriental: basically the garments are those of Astarte.<sup>2</sup>

It was fortunate that Samos had turned her attention towards the eastern Mediterranean; for the supplies of western produce brought by Peloponnesian merchants were endangered by the renewal of hostilities among their native cities. The trouble came initially from a recrudescence of Argive power as a result of her enthusiastic development of the new hoplite tactics. Those who suffered most were her neighbours on either side, Corinth and Sparta. In 669 Sparta attempted to recover the Thyreatis, but was decisively beaten at Hysiai.<sup>3</sup> The most serious result of this defeat was that Sparta's military power appeared contemptible to her other neighbours. In 659 Phigaleia, with the help of

- 
1. Olympichos, FGrHist 537 F 1; cf. Paus. VII iv 4; Kallimachos, Fr. 100 Pfeiffer, and Diegesis ad loc. ('Skelmis'); Aethlios, FGrHist 536 F 3, giving the date as ἐνὶ Πρωκλέου - manifestly a mistake, unless due to a confusion with Prokles, tyrant of Epidaurus at this time. For Smilis, a contemporary of Daidalos, see H. Stuart Jones, Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture (London, 1895) 15, cf. 1-14.
  2. Ch. Kardara, AJA lxiv (1960) 350-358, and illustrations.
  3. Paus. II xxiv 7; cf. Eusebios (Jerome) ad Ol.28.1, Nudipedalia primum acta in Lacedaemone, and Wade-Gery's analysis of the origin of the festival, CQ xliii (1949) 79ff. That the Spartans were the invaders is argued by geography; cf. also supra, p. 95.

certain Arkadians, successfully resisted a Spartan invasion.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time the Messenians ventured upon a revolt which Sparta only crushed at the greatest expense.<sup>2</sup>

The Chalkidian alliance seems to have abandoned Corinth by c.681. It was in about that year, according to Thukydides, that the first naval battle took place, between Corinth and Kerkyra: unhappily he does not say who won.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. Paus. VIII xxxix 4-5.

2. Almost no details can be recovered. The fact of the Second Messenian War was first recognized by Kallisthenes in the poems of Tyrtaios. Later versions all ultimately derived from the former's largely fictional account, further embroidered by Rhianos, involving the legendary Messenian hero Aristomenes: cf. Wade-Gery, CAH iii 557f; Andrewes, CQ xlv (1951) 43ff; FGrHist 265 Rhianos Ff 38-46, 124 Kallisthenes Ff23-4, and Jacoby ad locc. As to date, Tyrtaios (Fr. 4.6) said in the time of the Second War that πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες fought in the First; this appears to date the Second War, or some part of it, between 675 and 655; though it is possible that Tyrtaios' words are only a vague mark of great antiquity, like παίδων πατέρες in Hdt. iv 145.2. This expression was the only evidence available to ancient writers, as to ourselves: unfortunately he did not name the Spartan kings involved (Paus. IV xv 2). A date c.650 is suitable historically, and the only evidence there is supports it.

3. Thuk. i 13.4, taking the end of 'this war' to refer to the Peace of Nikias (cf. Ameinokles in 721, supra, p. 90). The implication is that the naval raids of the Lelantine War were not set battles - unless Thuk. dated the war later than 681. H. Dondorff, De Rebus Chalcidensium (Diss. Halle, 1855) 12, recognized the significance of the date; but placed the war earlier on the ground that it was fought on land by naval powers.

In 663 Akrai was settled by the Syracusans, apparently without the customary appeal for an oikistes to be sent from Corinth their metropolis.<sup>1</sup> In both these events we see Corinth's colonies, beyond the reach of a revitalized Argos, remaining loyal to Chalkis and the allies. Towards the further abasement of Corinth, Argos lent help to Megara for her colonization of Propontis.<sup>2</sup> Surrounded by the enemy, the Bakchiads declined rapidly, until Kypselos came to deliver his city into new prosperity in 655.<sup>3</sup>

No produce from Magna Graecia could reach the Aegean but by one of two routes, across the Isthmus or around the Peloponnese. During the second quarter of the century,

- 
1. Thuk. vi 5.2; T. J. Dunbabin, The Western Greeks 56.
  2. Hesychios of Miletos, EGrHist 390 F 1; H. Merle, Byzantion und Kalchedon (Diss. Kiel, 1916) 7. Cf. Paus. VI xix 14; Argos helped Megara to revolt from Corinth ἔρεσι ν' (Clavier's emendation - oddly rejected by Wade-Gery, CAH iii 541 - for the pointless ἔρεσι ν' of the MSS) before the building of the Megarian treasury at Olympia - i.e. 50 years before (probably) Theagenes. It has been suggested (Wade-Gery, loc.cit.) that it was Megara's dependence on Argos at this time that gave point to the last two lines of the 'oracle' quoted above, p. 88.
  3. It was as the leader of the nationalists, anti-Argive, that he became tyrant: though his mother was a Bakchiad, his paternal ancestry was pre-Dorian (Hdt. v 92β); nationalism was the main factor, the racial question subsidiary, cf. A. Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants (London, 1956) 56. Cf. also the Sikyonian tyrant house, which came to power within a twelvemonth of the Corinthian.

Argos controlled the former through her satellites Corinth and Megara, Aigina and Epidauros: Poseidon himself forbade the latter.<sup>1</sup> The futility of their continued voyaging to the West was soon realized by the Chalkidians, and they returned to pick up the threads of their colonial enterprise in Thrake, this time in uneasy alliance with Andros, the ancient colony of Eretria.

In 655 a joint expedition founded Stageiros,<sup>2</sup> then landed on the promontory of Akte and seized the site of Sane. Two spies, a Chalkidian and an Andrian, were sent North to explore Akanthos. Plutarch relates, perhaps from an Aristotelian politeia.<sup>3</sup> Evidently there was already some sort of settlement, presumably deserted, for the Chalkidian outran his colleague to possess the place for Chalkis. Whereupon the Andrian hurled his spear into the gate and cried that Akanthos had been taken by the spear for Andros.<sup>4</sup>

- 
1. Cf. the proverb quoted by Strabo 378, remarking on the lack of alternative to the Isthmian crossing: *Μαλλᾶς δὲ κάρμυς ἐπιλήθου τῶν δίκαιε*
  2. Date, Eusebbs: Andrian, Thuk. iv 88.2; Chalkidian, Strabo 331 Fr. 36. The dilemma is resolved by their joint activity at Sane and Akanthos in the same year; and since this ended in hostility, the foundation of Stageiros must at least precede that of Akanthos.
  3. Plut. Q.Gr. 30 (Mor. 298A-B); Halliday ad loc.; date, Eusebios.
  4. Cf. the Spartan saying *νομίζονται πάλαι ἰδίαν ἦν εἶν τὸ δόρυ ἐφικνεῖται*, [Plut.] Apophth. Lac., Mor. 210E, 217E, 218F.

The incident produced an ugly international crisis. In the short time remaining Andros added another link to her chain, Argilos.<sup>1</sup> At the same time Thasos seized Galepsos and Oisyme, sites chosen to insulate her own peraiā from the Andrian colonies where war was now expected.<sup>2</sup>

From Paros Archilochos commented on the Thracian crisis to his friend Glaukos in worried Thasos, using the metaphor of storm signs which they both knew only too well:<sup>3</sup>

Γλαῶχ' ὄρα· βαθὺς γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν τεράσσεται  
πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὄρθον ἴσταται νέφος,  
σῆμα χειμῶνος· κειχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπίτης φόβος.

- 
1. Thuk. iv 103; undated.
  2. Thuk. iv 107.3; on the date, E. Oberhammer, RE xvii 2288, cf. F. von Hiller, RE v a 1313f. With these probably belongs Neapolis, undated (Hiller, loc.cit.).
  3. Archilochos Fr. 56. His date has been conclusively settled by Jacoby, CQ xxxv (1941) 97ff (an answer to A. A. Blakeway, 'The Date of Archilochos', Greek Life and Poetry (Oxford, 1936) 34-55): 'The poet was a young man about 652 B.C.' The association of Fr. 56 (and Fr. 3, below) with the Akanthos dispute was suggested, but not argued, by H. T. Wade-Gery, The Poet of the Iliad (Cambridge, 1952) 61 n.1; cf. W. G. Forrest, Hist. vi (1957) 163f. It is made attractive by the commentary of Herakleitos, who introduces the fragment (Alleg. Hom. 5 p. 6 ed. Bonn.): ὁ γὰρ ἄλλα ἀγορεύων τρόπος, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔν λέγει σημείων, ἐπινύμως ἀλληγορία καλεῖται, καθότις Ἀρχίλοχος μὲν ἐν τοῖς Θρακικοῖς ἀπειλημένος δεινοῖς τὸν πόλεμον εἰκάζει θαλασσίῳ κλύδωνι λέγων ὡς πῶς... For this allegory, cf. perhaps Plut. Pericles viii 7.

Whether the peaks of Gyrai are in Tenos or near Kaphareus in Eubolia - the former seems more likely<sup>1</sup> - the direction is virtually the same from Paros. That was the direction of the storm which Archilochos anticipated: Andros would make war upon Chalkis, and she would have the help of her mother-city Eretria; the Lelantine War would

- 
1. Bölte first proposed Tenos (Diehl ad.loc.), arguing from Hesychios' note of Mt. Γέει (S.V.) in Tenos, and the existence there of a phyle Γέει (IG XII v 872.93; 873.9, 12; 875.17; 877.7). Sir Maurice Bowra, CR liv (1940) 127ff, added to Odyssey iv 500f, 506f (the death of Ajax), Quintus Smyrnaeus xiv 568-72, and argued that the Epic tradition set Γεεῖν, πῆρεν by the south-east Eubolian promontory Kaphareus. F. H. Sandbach replied, CR lvi (1942) 63ff, by arguing from the emended text of Cicero ad Att. v 12.1, where the author speaks of his determination to stay in Delos after a rough passage from Peiræus nisi omnia Ζηφείρ ἴουέτωρ pura vidissem (cj. Müller from ΑΚΡΑΙΗΡΕΟΝ iura M: alia vulg.). There is more than an element of circularity here; and Archilochos' text is itself emended from Herakleitos' MSS: we must not lightly dismiss D'Arcy W. Thompson's Ζηφείρ ὀρέων (CR lv (1941) 67), for, pace Bowra, the weather sign is a common one. Sandbach quotes local meteorological phenomena at Tenos to give special point to Ζηφεί and ὄρεων; clouds form on the sides of the mountains, but are dissipated by the winds so as not to overtop the summit. Sandbach's very reasonable solution is to suppose that the Epic Γέει were in Eubolia, but that the name later became attached to Tenos, since tradition placed Ajax's grave on Mykonos (Apollod. vi 5) or Delos (Lykophron, Alexis 400ff). Hence Mt. Gyras and the phyle Gyra referred to above.

have to be fought over again.<sup>1</sup>

οὐ τοι πόλλ' ἐπὶ τόξῳ τανύσσεται οὐδὲ θάμειδι  
 εφενδόναι, εἴτ' ἂν δι' ἡμῶν ἄρης συνάγῃ  
 ἐν πεδίῳ. Σιφίων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσεται ἔργον  
 τούτης γὰρ κείνοι δάμονές εἰσι μάχης  
 δεσπότης Εὐβοίης δουρικλυτοί.

In fact, there was no war; for the two parties to the dispute resolved to put it to arbitration, probably late in 654. The judges chosen were Samos, as an ally of Chalkis; Paros, the ally of Eretria; and Erythrai, who had fought for both.<sup>2</sup> The result was not a foregone conclusion, for Samos and Erythrai had lost their pro-

---

1. Fr. 3. This has until recently been associated with the Delantine War. It is rightly divorced by Forrest, op.cit. 163f. The fragment has also been commonly connected with Strabo's account (348) of an inscription in the precinct of Artemis at Amarynthos, recording an agreement between Chalkis and Eretria *μη' χρεῖσθαι τυλοβόλοις*. Forrest (loc.cit.), with less justice, denies the authenticity of this pact to 'ban pikes and stick to gunpowder'. But it might well have been made by two normally friendly cities (Strabo, loc.cit.) immediately after an unpleasant war with pikes. (Compare our own tacit agreements to abstain from poison gas and stick to nuclear bombs.) However, since the agreement, if genuine, must be earlier than Archilochos' lines, we may allow that there is no close temporal bond between the two.

2. Plut., Q.Gr. 30 (Mor. 298 A-B).

Chalkidian monarchs since the alliance had last been seriously tested.

There was another factor. In the East the Kypriote embargo had lost its effectiveness.<sup>1</sup> The East Greeks were enabled to trade at Al Mina once more. Samos was only slowly recovering from her troubles of c.700, and if she were to vote for Chalkis now she ran the risk of exclusion from Al Mina by Eretria and her even more powerful partners. It was a risk she could not take. Samos and Erythrai voted for Andros, Paros for Chalkis.<sup>2</sup> This latter defection was unexpected, and Andros could not let it pass. Henceforth no Andrian was allowed to contract a marriage in Paros. But for Paros the decision was clear: if Samos and Erythrai were crossing from one alliance to the other, then she, their enemy, could not remain in the same camp.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. Woolley, op.cit. 173ff.

2. The result of the arbitration is assured by Thukydides, who speaks of both Sane (iv 109) and Akanthos (iv 84) as Andrian colonies, as well as Stageiros (iv 88.2) and Argilos (iv 103).

3. That Paros' enemy Naxos remained friendly with Samos is suggested by the presence of a Naxian daedalic statue at the Heraion, dedicated c.630: Plate XIX; cf. E. Buschor, Altsamische Standbilder 1-iii (Berlin, 1934) 23f, Abb. 72, 73, 75.

This change in Samos' alliance is well documented by pottery. At Eretria, probably in the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros, were found a large number of fragments of the lips of lebetes, together with some pieces of their bodies, with Subgeometric decoration c.650.<sup>1</sup> The closest parallels for the lip-profiles of these vases are to be sought in the material from the Samian Heraion, where similar vessels were likewise offered to the goddess.<sup>2</sup> The temple of Apollo and the cemetery excavated by Kourouniotes were remarkably bare of pottery imported from across the Aegean. But there were 'three fragments of large East Greek skyphoi of the type common on Samos, and of similar fabric.'<sup>3</sup> The Samian pieces referred to are certainly local work, and it is of the greatest significance that the

- 
1. J. Boardman, BSA xlvii (1952) 7, Pl. iiB 6, 7, 14-18.
  2. R. Eilmann, Ath. Mitt. lviii (1933) 106, Abb. 51-53, with Boardman, op.cit. fig. 9 (p. 8). A difference of technique, however, may be seen in the incised wavy lines on the lip of Samian fragments, Ath. Mitt. lviii Beil. xxv 7, 8, 14: Eretria used white paint in this position.
  3. Boardman, op.cit. 12; cf. Eilmann, op.cit. 68f, Abb. 17-18. This Samian ware is also found on Delos, Naxos, and Thera: Délos xv 'Rhodian' nos. 13, 14 (Pl. xlvii B), cf. Eilmann, Abb. 17c; no.15 (Pl. xlvii C), cf. Eilmann, Abb. 18a; Thera ii 30 fig. 80, cf. Eilmann, Abb. 17c; Ath. Mitt. xxviii (1903) 66; Naxos, Ath. Mitt. liv (1929) 155 Abb. 8, cf. Eilmann, Abb. 17a; Abb. 6.

only East Greek pottery of this date so far discovered in Eretria turns out to be Samian, while even local Eretrian ware admits Samian influence upon its shape.

With the arbitration over Akanthos, the Lelantine troubles came to an end. Overseas activity everywhere continued in its twin aspects of trade and colonization; but henceforth the emphasis was upon the former. Samos had learnt from the failure of her violent partisanship of the eighth century: now she became unwilling to fight other cities' wars, though she would not shrink from her own. Instead she exploited her new position of near-neutrality in such widespread commerce that before another century had passed she had taken her place among the most progressive states in Greece.

## Chapter Three

## THE AGE OF THE GEOMOROI

Instructed by Delphoi to found a colony in Libya, the reluctant Theraians had left their professional guide Korobios alone on the island of Platea, while they went back to seek further advice from the Oracle. After an unexpectedly long absence they returned, crossed to Aziris on the Libyan mainland, and moved to Kyrene six years later.<sup>1</sup> The Eusebian date for the foundation of this last city is 631 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Aziris therefore was settled c.637, and Korobios' sole charge of Platea is to be dated c.638.<sup>3</sup>

His provisions were running low, when a Samian merchant-ship arrived, belonging to one Kolaios.<sup>4</sup> The Samians left

- 
1. Hdt. iv 150-158. For the geography, see F. Chamoux, Cyrène sous la Monarchie des Battiades (Paris, 1953) 116ff.
  2. For archaeological support, cf. Chamoux, *op.cit.* 121. Though Lakonian Geometric ware reached Kyrene in the eighth century (Ath. Mitt. 111 (1927) 53, Abb. 31), no Early Lakonian did so.
  3. Cf. Dunbabin, Western Greeks, 339 n.1, further noting the consistency of this date with the Kyrenaian royal genealogy as given by Herodotos.
  4. Hdt. iv 152, for Kolaios; A. García y Bellido, Hispania Graeca (Barcelona, 1948) i 116 ff; A. Schulten, Tartessos<sup>2</sup> (Hamburg, 1950) 45f.

Korobios stores for a year, then sailed on their way. Their friendly act secured Samos the lasting goodwill of both Thera and Kyrene.<sup>1</sup> When they had reached home from the voyage they had a huge profit of sixty talents to account for - a figure only once surpassed, notes Herodotos.<sup>2</sup> They said that they had been on their way to Egypt - the normal route would be by Rhodes and Kypros - when a gale carried them off course to Platea. From there the East Wind bore them on between the Pillars of Herakles until by a miracle they came to land at Tartessos. They were the first traders to visit the place, hence the great value of their return cargo. A tithe of it bought a dedication for the Heraion, a bronze krater with jutting gryphon-heads around its rim, 'Argolic' in style, supported by three kneeling colossi, also of bronze and seven cubits high.<sup>3</sup>

The story demands an archaeological commentary. First, gryphon-kraters. Throughout the seventh century and during

- 
1. Hasebroek, Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece (London, 1933) 69 n.1, rejects the story of Kolaios as a fifth-century invention to explain this goodwill.
  2. By an Aiginetan Sostratos, son of Laodamas: perhaps the dedicator of two bowls to Aphrodite at Naukratis (E. A. Gardner, Naukratis ii (London, 1888) 62, Nos.701 (Pl. vi), 702-5.).
  3. Hdt. loc.cit. Buschor considered that Kolaios also dedicated his ship - on the puzzling 'ship-base' later covered by the South Stoa (Ath. Mitt. lx (1935) 238f); but it is better to keep this as a naval trophy: v.inf., p. 197.

the early part of the sixth they found much favour with wealthy dedicators from Samos to Etruria.<sup>1</sup> Complete but late examples have survived, great bowls upon stands, gryphon-heads around their rims, sometimes in alternation with sirens. Basically, the head is that of an eagle, with horse's ears, short or long, a more or less decorative top-knot or knob, and often with locks of hair falling down the neck to end in spiral curls.

The inspiration of these bowls decorated with heads of animals is Urartian; and the same area is the birth-place of the gryphon - though no bowl from the East has been found adorned by gryphons.<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that the Urartian influence did not reach Greece directly, but through Phrygia.<sup>3</sup> This seems unlikely on two grounds: first, complete western examples, and especially their

- 
1. U. Jantzen, Griechische Greifenkessel (Berlin, 1955); earlier discussions by A. Furtwängler, Olympia iv (Berlin, 1890) 119ff; E. Kunze, II Olymp. Bericht 106ff, Pl. 46ff; H. Payne, Perachora i (Oxford, 1940) 126-30; G. Karo, Greek Personality 47ff.
  2. Cf. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Iraq xviii (1956) 150ff. esp. 156ff. The solitary gryphon from Sousa (Jantzen No. 142) was perhaps a Persian prize, like the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (Paus. I viii 5).
  3. R. D. Barnett, JHS lxviii (1948) 10; cf. K. Bittel, Grundzüge der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Kleinasiens<sup>2</sup> (Tübingen, 1950) 81; Roebuck, Ionian Trade 45f. For a different, less credible, account of the origin of these bowls, cf. C. Hopkins, AJA lxiv (1960) 368ff.

stands, follow the Urartian pattern with closer fidelity;<sup>1</sup> secondly, such heavy objects are more likely to have been brought by sea from Al Mina than to have crossed the Anatolian continent, where no considerable remains have in fact been found.<sup>2</sup>

In Greece the gryphon, like the siren, soon forgot its oriental origin. In general, East Greek style is to be distinguished from Peloponnesian: in the former the shapes are finely drawn and of a naturalistic character, while the latter leans towards a more abstract construction, boldly plastic, with emphasis upon the horizontal and vertical axes.<sup>3</sup> The gryphons may also be grouped by technique, hammering or casting. Hammered examples were not made after c.650, and seem all to be of Peloponnesian style. For chronology the effective stylistic criteria are progressive lengthening of the ear and elaboration of the top-knot, curving and slimming of the neck, and reduction of an originally much swollen pouch at the throat. For an absolute date, we

- 
1. Compare the stand of the Urartian bull-krater from Altintepe (Ankara mus. inv. 8823, Anatolian Studies iii (1953) Pl. xiii) with the Etruscan example from the Bernardini Tomb at Praeneste (Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome iii (1919) Pl. xlix).
  2. Cf. Dunbabin, The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours 67. Roebuck suggests that the Kimmerians prevented development of the trans-continental route, op.cit. 53 and n.59.
  3. Cf. J. M. Cook, JHS lxxvii (1957) 361.

depend upon Etruscan tomb-groups and representations on pottery, notably that of Corinth.<sup>1</sup> In his reconstruction, Jantzen relies heavily on two fixed points of Samian stratigraphy. One of the earliest of all examples was found beneath the surface of the Südhalle, together with geometric and orientalizing pottery of the mid-seventh century,<sup>2</sup> rather later than the second Hekatompedos, which Buschor dates 670-60.<sup>3</sup> This piece, Jantzen holds, actually arrived in the sanctuary c.700 or earlier. At the other end of the series is a late gryphon from the ash-layer of Rhoikos' altar, to be dated earlier than 550, perhaps c.575.<sup>4</sup> Between these limits the other gryphons are ranged by style, and Jantzen's findings are consistent with the Etruscan and Corinthian evidence.

The earliest gryphon-heads were produced by hammering sheet-bronze, and among the very first are Jantzen's Nos. 4 and 5 from Samos, of Peloponnesian style.<sup>5</sup> The repoussé

- 
1. Cf. Payne, loc.cit., and references there given.
  2. Jantzen, op.cit. 32, 84 (No.4); Ath. Mitt. lviii (1933) 142ff; 65-84, 90 ('Group J').
  3. Festschrift A. Rumpf (Krefeld, 1952) 32ff; cf. Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen 212.
  4. Jantzen, op.cit. 84 (No.176). By this time the fashion had evidently passed, for the style is in considerable decline.
  5. Compare No.4 from Samos with No.3 from Olympia, Jantzen's Pl. 1.

examples fall into four groups, dated c.700 or sooner to c.650. The first embraces the two Samian specimens and others from Olympia, Delphoi, and the Barberini Tomb at Praeneste; but the three succeeding groups, though enjoying otherwise similar distribution, are not represented at Samos. This distribution suggests that the Samian imports - for such they must be - came from Corinth: the conclusion is supported by the presence of Protocorinthian pottery at the Heraion, and by literary evidence of friendship between the two states at the time of the Lelantine War.<sup>1</sup> If the style had its Greek origin at or near Corinth, then Herodotos properly calls it 'Argolic'.<sup>2</sup>

Gryphon-kraters quickly became popular, and casting soon replaced hammering to keep pace with the increased demand. The first three groups of cast gryphons are contemporary with the hammered specimens. All have examples in Samos. The Samian factory probably began production at the time of Jantzen's second cast group; for between that and the first are two failures, the result of an unskilled attempt to use piece-moulds.<sup>3</sup> I would therefore suggest

---

1. Cf. supra, pp. 90, 106f.

2. Hdt. iv 152.4, ἐποίησαντο χαλκήϊον κρυτῆρος Ἀργολικοῦ τέρατος. Πέρις δὲ αὐτῶν γενησῶν Κεραιῶν προκερασσοί εἰσι.

3. Nos. 47-8, Jantzen's Pl. xviiif.

that Nos. 44-6, of the first cast group, are likewise Corinthian imports.<sup>1</sup> The second cast group, on the other hand, contains the earliest examples from other East Greek sites, from Kameiros and Ephesos;<sup>2</sup> and their manufacture perhaps marks the opening of the Samian factory, c.670 B.C. This agrees with our view that the first quarter of the seventh century was, for Samos, a period of growth and reorganization. Thereafter expansion was speedy, and from c.650 onwards Samos became the chief centre of production.

Jantzen's monumentale Gruppe, Nos. 72-9, shows a remarkable increase in size c.650, when gryphons were made large enough to match the proportions of Kolaios' krater. The surviving sixth-century examples, on the other hand, would be too small.

Kolaios' bowl was supported by three kneeling colossi. For this there is no direct parallel. To judge from surviving examples, the alternatives were of Urartian workmanship or inspiration:<sup>3</sup> a tripod-framework of bronze alone

- 
1. No.22 from Perachora is catalogued as repoussé by Jantzen; but Payne (loc.cit.) specially noted that, unlike its Olympic parallels, it was cast. We seem therefore to have evidence for this technique in use at Corinth.
  2. Kameiros, Nos. 56-7, cf. Samos Nos. 54-5; Ephesos, No.60.
  3. But cf. Barnett, op.cit. 10 and fig. 11 (Barberini Tomb, infra n.5), who argues that actual Urartian workmanship is not always distinguishable from North Syrian and Phygian.

or of iron with bronze feet,<sup>1</sup> or a bronze cone with repoussé decoration.<sup>2</sup> Bowls supported by caryatids do however occur, in other materials than bronze, from the very end of the seventh century. The design appears to have originated in Sparta: at least the earliest examples, perirrhanteria from Olympia and Isthmia, appear to be carved from the characteristic blue marble of Lakonia.<sup>3</sup> The crowning bowl is carried on a pillar and further supported by three women, each standing upon a recumbent lion whose tail she grasps in her hand. The style crossed the Aegean, but without the lions: substantially later is an example from the Athenian Akropolis, of Naxian marble and island workmanship.<sup>4</sup> Further East

- 
1. Cf. Bernardini Tomb, Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome iii (1919) Pl. xlix (and supra p. 133 n. 1); La Garonne, Jantzen, op.cit. Pl. lviii.
  2. Cf. Barberini Tomb, Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome v (1925) Pl. xxviiiif. The tripod made by Glaukos of Chios for Alyattes combined elements of both these forms of support in its design, to judge from Paus. X xvi 1 and Athen. 210c.
  3. Olympia iii (Berlin, 1897) 26ff, Taf. v; cf. F. Matz, Gesch. der griech. Kunst (Frankfurt a.M., 1950) i 382f, Taf. 120, 246; Isthmia, Hesperia xxiv (1955) 128f and fig. 1 on p. 130, Pl. 50c, d (lion's head, and base); cf. ibid. xxii (1953) 191f, Pl. 59d (lower part of woman holding lion's tail). A similar perirrhanterion of limestone, archaistic or reworked, came from Corinth to the Ashmolean Museum: Cecil Smith, JHS xvi (1896) 275-80.
  4. H. Schrader, Die archaischen Marmorwerke der Akropolis (Frankfurt a.M., 1939) 325 No. 448f, Abb. 375ff; Ath. Mitt. xvii (1892) 41, Taf. vii.

still, a clay model of perhaps the second quarter of the sixth century, from an East Greek factory, was found in Rhodes,<sup>1</sup> Conservative as ever, the motive remained popular among the Spartans, who commemorated their victory over the Messenians in 490 by dedicating bowls borne by single caryatids at Amyklai - two by their own sculptor Gitiadas, and one by Kallon of Aigina.<sup>2</sup>

Bowls supported by three human figures, then, seem to be a Spartan innovation. What of the kneeling colossi? A plastic vase of this form, and to be dated c.550, was found in Rhodes. But Professor Buschor considers it Samian, and brings it into connexion with Kolaios' dedication.<sup>3</sup> In this he is supported by the discovery in Samos of a virtually identical head from a similar vase.<sup>4</sup> Alternatively, the colossi may have been of the form of a statuette in Vathy, kneeling on the right knee, left foot advanced, with

- 
1. F. Studniczka, in Antike Plastik W. Amelung (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928) 251f, Abb. 7-8.
  2. Paus. III xviii 7; for this Messenian revolt, Plato, Legg. 698e, cf. 692d: for a full discussion of the problems involved see L. H. Jeffery, JHS lxix (1949) 26-30.
  3. Altsamische Standbilder 49, Abb. 179; M. I. Maximowa, Les Vases Plastiques (Paris, 1927) Pl. xvi 67, cf. xvii 69; L. Curtius, Ath. Mitt. xxxi (1906) 174ff, Abb. 5, Taf. xv.
  4. Buschor, op.cit., Abb. 194.

the right hand on the hip, left on the left knee.<sup>1</sup> Even though the parallels are later than the time of Kolaios, we may say that the kneeling man is found as a motif favoured by Samian modellers.

It is clear from Herodotos' use of the present tense that his report of Kolaios' offering is that of an eyewitness.<sup>2</sup> The size of the gryphon-heads, implied by the scale of the whole composition, argues a date not long after the middle of the seventh century, and this is consistent with the literary tradition of Kolaios' voyage. It is not possible to be so certain about the supporters: they could have been original, but we have found no parallel examples as early as c.630.<sup>3</sup>

So much for Kolaios' offering: next we consider his journey. Discussion of relations between Samos and Kyrene must be reserved until we come to examine Arkesilas' request to Polykrates.<sup>4</sup> Contact with Thera is demonstrated archaeologically. Samian Subgeometric ware was not widely

---

1. Buschor, op.cit., Abb. 183-5: Vathy B232.

2. Hdt. iv 152.4, quoted supra, p.135 n.2.

3. Paus. VII v 4, discussed infra pp.294ff, shows that the Persians destroyed Rhoikos' Heraion c.540. Kolaios' original stand (of Urartian pattern?) might have been destroyed and replaced.

4. V.inf., pp.316ff.

distributed; we have already met it in Chalkis and Eretria; otherwise it is recorded only from Naxos, Delos, and Thera.<sup>1</sup> Samian contact with Thera's metropolis, Sparta, began at this time: the earliest of a long series of Spartan pots imported into the Heraion is dated c.640.<sup>2</sup>

From Platea Kolaios sailed to Spain to begin the exploitation of a virgin market at Tartessos.<sup>3</sup> That the name belongs to the neighbourhood of Cadiz is shown by its geographical confusion with Gades, Gadir, by later topographers.<sup>4</sup> As Professor Rhys Carpenter has pointed out,

- 
1. V.sup., p. 13 n. 3. Ionian contact with Thera (and Krete) was rare before c.650: Roebuck, Ionian Trade 76.
  2. E. A. Lane, BSA xxxiv (1933-4) 179, 184: Lakonian I fragment, with a lion.
  3. This does not necessarily imply that traders had not reached other parts of Spain previously; and Rhode (Gerona Prov.) is said by Strabo 654 to have been founded from Rhodes before 776. There is no archaeological confirmation of this; nor a great number of Rhodian pots from Sicily before c.650 for support (cf. Dunbabin, The Western Greeks 228ff, 340, 472f). The earliest pottery from Spain is from Ampurias (Emporion), Corinthian from c.600 onwards. (The first piece is García y Bellido, op.cit. ii 150 No.6, Pl. lxiv; cf. H. Payne, Necro-corinthia 147, fig. 54C-D.) There are no foreign imports into Spain earlier than those from Cadiz Prov.
  4. Noticed by Paus. VI xix 3.

there were three Tartessoi:<sup>1</sup> a Celtic kingdom of South-West Andalusia;<sup>2</sup> a river (the Guadalquivir) whose 'silver roots' were in the Sierra Morena above Cordova;<sup>3</sup> and a trading-post in Cadiz Bay, where offshore islands provided as good a shelter as Platea in Libya or Pithekoussai in Italy.

Despite attempts to explain them otherwise, Herodotos' words are explicit in their insistence that Kolaios was the first foreign trader to reach Tartessos. Roman tradition, derived from Timaios, held that Gadir was founded by the Phoinikians c.1100.<sup>4</sup> This must be dismissed; for the earliest Phoinikian objects discovered in the area date from the final decades of the sixth century. Phoinikian imports into Utica and Carthage began in the third quarter of the eighth century; into Motya and western Sicily not before 700; into Sardinia towards the end of the seventh century; and into Ibiza (Pityoussa) in the Balearics in the early sixth century. Their absence from Cadiz, therefore, until a comparatively late date is what (without

---

1. AJA lxii (1958) 51.

2. Hdt. i 163; Celtic, R. Carpenter, AJA lii (1948) 478ff.

3. Stesichoros, Fr.4; cf. Paus. loc.cit.

4. Shortly before Utica (Vell. Pat. i 2.3), founded 287 years before Carthage ([Arist.] περι θαλασ. ζκουσεμ. 134), whose Timaian era was 814/3 B.C.

Timaios) we should expect.<sup>1</sup>

It is all the more significant to find that the earliest foreign material from near Cadiz is Greek. First comes a 'Corinthian' helmet found in 1938 near Jerez de la Frontera, at the edge of the River Guadalete which empties into Cadiz Bay. It is to be dated c.630-625.<sup>2</sup> Of about the same date are two Etruscan bronze jugs, round bodied with small mouths and conical necks, to be paralleled among the finds in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere. It is unlikely that they were carried to Spain by Etruscan ships: probably Greeks picked them up on the way.<sup>3</sup> The third earliest find is also of bronze: one of the gryphon-heads of which we have spoken, to be dated c.600.<sup>4</sup> The peculiar convention

- 
1. R. Carpenter, AJA lxii 37; cf. ibid. 47f, 51, refuting the arguments for a much earlier date summarized by W. F. Albright, AJA liv (1950) 174-6. The identification with Tarshish of the Old Testament is to be abandoned, since Eziongeber in the Gulf of Aqaba was on the way there (Kings I xxii 48; R. Carpenter, AJA lii 479).
  2. García y Bellido, op.cit. ii 82f No.1, Pl. xix, with bibliography; cf. the similar helmet, Die Antike xv (1939) 21, Abb. 2f; A. Schulten, Forsch. u. Fortschr. xv (1939) 44f, there dated to the second half of the century by E. Kukahn. A helmet of c.550 or later was found at Huelva: García, op.cit. 84f No.4.
  3. Discussed by Carpenter, AJA lxii 50.
  4. Jantzen's No.134; García, op.cit. ii 83 No.2, Pl. xx 2; Arch. Ang. 1941,205 (better photograph): Madrid market, 1933, said to have come from Andalusia; present whereabouts unknown.

whereby the edges of beak, eyelids, and brows, are pinched into a ridge can readily be paralleled among Samian examples.<sup>1</sup> We conclude that there is evidence of Greek contact with Tartessos at the time of Kolaios' visit, but not before,<sup>2</sup> and that Samian bronze-work was taken there during the next half-century.

Of what did Kolaios' return cargo consist? So great a profit could only be made in silver. Stesichoros of Himera called Tartessos river *ἄργυροέειρος*; and his city was a port of call on the route to Spain.<sup>3</sup> This, of course, is not evidence for the preceding century. But Arganthonios the Tartessian king was on his throne at least as early as c.620,<sup>4</sup> and his name is evidently derived from the Celtic

- 
1. Cf. Nos. 118, 120ff, of this group.
  2. H. R. W. Smith, *AJA* lvii (1953) 33, rightly rejects García's insubstantial contention that Phokaians preceded Kolaios.
  3. Stesichoros, Fr. 4. It is to be noticed that Himera and Selinous issued silver coin before the other Sicilian states. Roebuck, *Ionian Trade* 99, makes Phokaia's own preference for electrum coinage an obstacle to supposing that she imported quantities of Spanish silver. But the use of electrum was dictated by Lydia. For Tartessian silver, see also Strabo 151, and Diodoros v 35.
  4. He was 'already dead' at the time of the fall of Phokaia c.539 (Hdt. i 165), and he reigned for 80 years (*ibid.* 163.2). His longevity (120 years, Hdt. *loc.cit.*) was proverbial in Samos also: Anakreon, Fr. 8 (giving him 150 years). If not credible as a reign, perhaps the 80 years mark the antiquity of Greek trade with Tartessos.

argent, 'silver'. Rhys Carpenter points out that this implies Arganthonios was a Celt;<sup>1</sup> it also implies a high antiquity for Tartessian silver.

The other valuable material to be obtained from Tartessos was tin, both raw and alloyed as bronze.<sup>2</sup> Pausanias tells us that Myron of Sikyon dedicated two thalamoi of bronze at Olympia in 648, τὸν μὲν Δῶριον, τὸ δὲ Ἐλεαίαιε τῆς Πύλων. The Eleans, he adds, said that the bronze was Tartessian.<sup>3</sup> This information may of course have been mistaken or deceitful; and if the stylistic reference is to orders of architecture, then it is anachronistic and the thalamoi are to be dated no earlier than the sixth century.<sup>4</sup> But even that date is early enough to be interesting.

The tin route to Cornwall,<sup>5</sup> however, closed since its

- 
1. AJA lii 478ff.
  2. On the scarcity of tin see Roebuck, op.cit. 97: a precious metal in the Iliad, unknown in the Odyssey, and not readily available nearer than Iran and the Caucasus.
  3. Paus. VI xix 2ff.
  4. Cf. TAPA lxxii (1941) 266ff: perhaps dedicated by Myron II (acc. 600-595 B.C.).
  5. Cf. M. Cary, JHS xliv (1924) 166ff. There are a few objects of Mykenaiian and contemporary Egyptian faience in the County Museum at Truro. 'Beads for the natives.'

slight exploitation in Mykenesian times, appears to have been reopened at least by c.700. The evidence for this is in the Herzsprung shields.<sup>1</sup> These shields are distinguished, for whatever reason, by an indentation of their central boss or its surrounding rings, V-shaped or U-shaped. The latter form is widely scattered in northern Europe and even reaches Ireland. The former also reaches Ireland; but otherwise it is known from reliefs of Atlantic Bronze Age II date (750-550)<sup>2</sup> in Spain, and from eighth and seventh century contexts at Delphoi, Samos, Krete, and Kypros. The most securely dated of these are in the form of terracotta votives from the Samian Heraion.<sup>3</sup> They were found beneath Altar V and Hekatompedos II, and so are earlier than c.670-660: how much earlier, we cannot be sure. It seems clear that this Greek style reached Ireland by way of Spain, but not through

- 
1. H. Hencken, AJA liv (1950) 295-309; Lorimer, Homer and the Monuments 169 (the 'Lambda' shield), quoting Sir John Myres.
  2. Cf. Hencken, op.cit. 302f.
  3. R. Eilmann, Ath. Mitt. lviii (1933) 121f, Beil. xxxvi 13, 16; xxxvii 3-5 (under Hekatompedos II); xxxvii 7 (filling of Altar V).

Tartessos,<sup>1</sup> and not necessarily emanating from Samos. It is hard to see what this route is but that of the tin trade.

A literary tradition has survived which may help.

Pliny tells us, plumbum ex Cassiteride insula primus adportavit Midacritus.<sup>2</sup> The name has been re-hellenized, and we read much hopeful speculation about Meidokritos the Massaliote adventurer,<sup>3</sup> who first brought tin from its northern source. All this is fantasy. Pliny's text is guaranteed;<sup>4</sup>

- 
1. R. Carpenter, AJA lxii 49f, adds the Herzsprung shields (which on any reckoning must be considerably earlier than Kolaios' voyage) to the Jerez helmet, to make an hypothesis of Samian trade in finished armour against raw bronze. But (as Hencken had already pointed out, op.cit. 303) the distribution of the Herzsprung shields in Spain does not follow the drainage of the Guadalquivir, but rather the valley of the Gardiana, the southern part of the present frontier between Spain and Portugal. This presupposes a different point of contact, perhaps still used in the second half of the seventh century, if we may judge from a scarab of Psamtik I found in southern Portugal (Correia, Una Conferência sôbre a necropole de Alácer do Sal (Coimbra, 1925) 21).
  2. Pliny, NH vii 197; A. R. Burn, The Lyric Age of Greece 57.
  3. Cf. P. Bosch-Gimpera, CQ xxxviii (1944) 54. The mistake was not made by M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, The Ancient Explorers (London, 1929) 30f, though they give the nationality as 'presumably Phocaeen' with no more reason.
  4. By the garbled versions of Hyginus, Fab. 274.6, Midas rex Cybeles filius Phryx plumbum album et nigrum primus invenit, and Cassiodorus, Var. iii 31.4, plumbum Mida ... regnator Phrygiae. (We must not, of course, follow Knaack, Hermes xvi (1881) 587, in emending Pliny's text to Midas Phryx.)

then the correct Greek form is Midakritos, 'chosen of Midas': not a name to be given later than c.700, and immediately suggesting Kymaean nationality. For Kymaean Agamemnon's daughter married the Midas of her day,<sup>1</sup> and the city was concerned in the early quest for metal, both at Italian Kyme in the first half of the eighth century, and also in the East, as is shown by her early foundation of Side.<sup>2</sup>

The arrival of the Celtic Tartessians probably marked the establishment of a monopoly in tin, and their market was a fruitful source of both northern tin and Spanish silver by the time of Kolaios' arrival.

Samian exploitation of Tartessos lasted until c.600, when the Phokaians took over direction of the far-western trade.<sup>3</sup> Roebuck suggests that the Samians retired content with their profits from Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean; alternatively that their business sense was too keen for

- 
1. Pollux, Onom. ix 83, with a story of interest in precious metal; cf. Aristotle, Fr. 611.37.
  2. Kyme, supra p.78; Side, Strabo 667; Roebuck, op.cit. 67 and n.24. How was the tradition of Midakritos' voyage preserved? surely by the same means at Kyme as that of Kolaios at Samos. The link is provided by Ephoros of Kyme, from whose work πρὸς ἑσπερίων Pliny apparently drew his information: next but two he lists Anacharsis' invention of the potter's wheel, a fiction of Ephoros (EGrHist 70 F 42 = Strabo 303 with refutation from Homer); and Pliny confesses acquaintance with the πρὸς ἑσπερίων (T 33d).
  3. Cf. P. Bosch-Gimpera, 'The Phokaians in the Far West: an Historical Reconstruction', CQ xxxviii (1944) 53ff; García y Bellido, op.cit. i 111ff; A. Schulten, Tartessos<sup>2</sup> 44ff.

Arganthonios' liking.<sup>1</sup> The former explanation is incredible, the latter I should like to believe. But in fact we should seek a reason for Samos' advance rather than for her subsequent eclipse. It is easily found: her mainland rivals had been held down by the Kimmerians at the crucial moment of her own expansion. Now they had recovered, and competition had to be endured.

## II

Kolaios was on his way to Egypt when the storm swept him to Libya. That is to say, by c.638 Samian trade with Egypt had begun. There is nothing remarkable in this: Egypt had been open to Greeks for a century, ever since the reigns of Tefnakhte and his son Uahkerē' of the XXIVth Dynasty, the earliest Pharaohs known to historical Greek tradition, in which they appear as Tnephachthos and Bokchoris respectively.<sup>2</sup> Archaeological evidence agrees: no Proto-geometric, and virtually no Geometric pottery has been found in Egypt, but Egyptian objects reached mainland Greece at Eleusis, Sparta, and Perachora by the end of the eighth

---

1. Op.cit. 96.

2. Diod. i 45; cf. CAH iii 276f.

century, and the traffic increased thereafter.<sup>1</sup> That Samos exploited at least part of the route to Egypt during this period is shown by her continuous import of Kypriote terracottas from the early seventh century until well into the sixth.<sup>2</sup>

The first reliable literary evidence of East Greek contact with Egypt is Herodotos' account of the rise of Psamatik I, which took place a quarter of a century before Kolaios' voyage. Psamatik's success in overthrowing the Dodekarchy came with the help of a hoplite mercenary force from Ionia and Karia;<sup>3</sup> and to Egypt at the same time came a contingent sent by King Gyges of Lydia.<sup>4</sup> But we are not

- 
1. Lorimer, Homer and the Monuments 88 with n.4; cf. the vase with cartouche of Bokchoris from Tarquinia (E. H. Dohan, Italic Tomb-Groups (Philadelphia, 1942) 106ff), and a scarab with his name from Ischia (Arch. Reports 1957 (London, 1958) 41). A Subgeometric sherd, perhaps Euboic, is known from Memphis: Ch. Clairmont, Berytus xi (1955) 100 No. 8, Pl. xx 6.
  2. Vide infra, p. 163.
  3. Hdt. ii 151-4. For the date of Psamatik's succession, 663 B.C., see discussion, H. R. Hall, CAH iii 287f.
  4. Cf. the clay cylinder of Assurbanipal (D. D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago, 1926-7) ii 298, para. 785). Gyges' contingent may, of course, have consisted of the Ionians and Karians mentioned by Hdt. We learn from Plut, G. Gr. 45 (Mor. 302e) that Gyges employed Karians for his rise to power. For the contemporary Archilochos they were typical mercenaries: Fr. 40.

told from which cities the Ionian soldiers were drawn.<sup>1</sup>

It seems likely, however, that some came from Samos. Excavation of the Heraion has made it clear that the great series of Egyptian souvenirs brought to Samos began to arrive about the middle of the seventh century - earlier here than at any other East Greek site so far examined.<sup>2</sup> One of the first offerings, a bronze cat, was found discarded in a dated context of the third quarter of the seventh century, together with Protocorinthian and local pottery.<sup>3</sup> Its arrival, therefore, should be set not later than c.650, and many other yet unpublished finds are said to be no later.

The cat, seated with the tail (as usual) on the ground at its right side, is a typical Saite figure of Felis ocreata maniculata, native of Ethiopia and the Upper Nile. The modelling is naturalistic, with emphasis on the massy spatulate shoulders; the back is perhaps more rounded than is common; the whole surface is left plain except for hair-incision of whiskers and ears, though the latter were pierced

1. The Abu Simbel inscriptions of 589 B.C. (Tod, GHI i<sup>2</sup> 4; A. Bernand, Rév. des Et. Gr. lxx (1957) 3-20; dated by A. Rowe, Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte xxxviii (1938) 157ff) were carved by men from Teos, Kolophon, and Ialysos (among others). Their captain Psammetichos son of Theokles may have been a second-generation mercenary. But the same is not necessarily true of his men.
2. Lorimer, loc.cit. J. D. S. Pendlebury's statement, Aegyptiaca (Cambridge, 1930) 105, that only one Egyptian object was found in Samos (an Apis) is superseded by the great amount of material now exhibited in Vathy.
3. Vathy, B445; PLATE XXXVIII 1: Arch.Anz. 1937, 204 Abb. 4 (another view); Ath. Mitt. lxxviii (1953) 127 n.2. Vathy, B1070 is a minute cat of whose finding no details are available.

for the adornment of ear-rings now lost. Our cat was evidently not of the most expensive class, for its eyes were not inlaid in paste but <sup>t</sup>case in one piece with the figure.<sup>1</sup>

In Egypt the cat was sacred to the goddess Bast; and reverence of the cat revolved about the goddess' sanctuary at Boubastis.<sup>2</sup>

When Psamatik's foreign troops had fulfilled their task, he settled them on either side of the Pelousiac Nile, in veteran colonies which they called Stratopeda, ὀλίγον ἔνεθε Βουβαστίου πρόλιος.<sup>3</sup> Since the initial service of Psamatik's mercenaries is contemporary with the import of Egyptian trinkets into Samos, while Boubastis is the likely source of at least some of this material, we are justified in concluding that some of the dedicators were mercenaries returned from reserve at Stratopeda, and so that Samians fought in Psamatik's army.

Psamatik celebrated his victory by building the South

- 
1. For a similar cat (but with inlaid eyes), see F.F. J(ones), Rec. of the Art Mus. Princeton Univ. xi (1952) No. 1, 2ff and plate. Cf. also N. and B. Langton, The Cat in Ancient Egypt (Cambridge, 1940) Pl. v 227, xv 43.
  2. Cf. Hdt. ii 67.
  3. Ibid. 154: not identical with Daphnai (ibid. 30, 107 - now Tell Defenneh), as H. R. Hall argued, CAH iii 292; cf. R. M. Cook, JHS lvii (1937) 234f.

Propylaea at Memphis, to the glory of Ptah.<sup>1</sup> This god, identified by the Greeks with Hephaistos,<sup>2</sup> was the chief lord and protector of the ancient royal city. The occupation of Memphis marked the final success of Psamatik's initiative, and his mercenaries must still have been with him. To one of them the experience was unforgettable; and when he returned to his home in Samos and married, he named his son in memory of the expedition, Hephaistopolis.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. Hdt. ii 153; he also consecrated a Court of Apis here. It was at Memphis that Psamatik had received the omen of his success: ibid. 151.
  2. Cf. Hdt. ii 2 et passim.
  3. Rhodopis, who was at Naukratis in the time of Amasis, but also of Sappho (see discussion, infra pp. 154f), had previously been a slave of Iadmon son of Hephaistopolis (Hdt. ii 134f). This should mean that Iadmon was born c.615, his father born and named c.650. The Greeks constructed many such divine nicknames for Egyptian cities (but comparatively few for cities outside Egypt): Strabo records Aphroditis Polis, Apollonopolis, Dios Polis, Heliou Polis, Herakleous Polis, Hermou Polis, Latopolis; besides such animal-names as Kynos Polis, Leontopolis, Lykou Polis, and even Krokodeillon Polis. Some of these were certainly current in Herodotos' day, as Hermeo Polis (ii 67) and Heliou Polis (ii 3, 7-9 etc.; NB Heliopolitai, supporting the form Heliopolis), and it is probable that others also were then in use. The distribution of such names makes it virtually certain that Hephaistopolis relates to Egypt, undoubtedly to Memphis. The name is never found again, and did not supersede that of Memphis among the Greeks: precisely parallel is the case of Dios Polis, which never replaced the name of Thebes (Cf. Strabo 805, 815). (Dios Polis may be a sixth-century name, for it occurs in the Pythagorean biographical tradition: Iambl., de Vita Pyth. ii 12.)

The Milesian contingent, a naval force of thirty vessels, established a post near the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile which they called *Μυλαίων Τείχος*. A few years later they defeated Inarōs in a battle on water, and founded what was to become a trading settlement at Naukratis, already the site of a considerable native town.<sup>1</sup> The name of the place, 'strong in ships', agrees well with this tradition.

According to Strabo, the Milesians founded Naukratis *ἐν τῷ Ψαμμητίχου*.<sup>2</sup> The other indication of date is given by the mention of Inarōs. The story of his defeat is commonly rejected as due to confusion with the fifth-century Libyan of his name.<sup>3</sup> From what the confusion arose if there was in fact no seventh-century Inarōs is not explained.

- 
1. Strabo 801, where the synchronism with the reign of Kyaxares of Media should perhaps be rejected as a gloss, following Hirschfeld, *Rhein. Mus.* xlii (1887) 211f. For Psamatik's encouragement of Greek trade even before he overthrew the Dodekarchis, cf. Diod. i 66.8. For the special friendship between Miletos and the Saites, cf. Necho's dedication of Josiah's trappings at Branchidai after the battle of Megiddo in 608: *Hdt.* ii 159, and How and Wells *ad loc.*; II *Kings* xxiii, II *Chron.* xxxv, for the battle.
  2. *Loc.cit.*
  3. For instance, W. M. F. Petrie, *Naukratis* i (London, 1886)
  4. This course involves the further difficulty that the fifth century Inarōs was a friend of the Delian League (*Thuk.* i 104.1, 110.3), of which Miletos was a member.

On the other hand, the 'Fight for the Armour of King Inarōs', a romance first written down in the Ptolemaic period after four centuries of oral transmission, involves historical figures mentioned by Assurbanipal as having been set in authority in the course of Esarhaddon's campaign in 671 B.C.: Pedubastet of Tanis, Pakruru of Pisopdu, Ziḥa of Siūt, and Pimai probably of Mendes.<sup>1</sup> This evidence suggests that the traditional date of the foundation of Naukratis was at the beginning of Psamatik's reign, and that it had a circumstantial basis.

Since the work of Beazley and Payne<sup>2</sup> it has been usual to date the foundation of Greek Naukratis c.615-610.<sup>3</sup> That is the date of the first pottery imported from Corinth: there was very little indeed of Early Corinthian ware, and no Protocorinthian, apart from one fragment of a debased linear style which lasts in parallel with Early Corinthian until the end of the seventh century; while the majority of fragments belonged to the first quarter of the sixth century. The earliest Attic pottery was found to belong

- 
1. On the 'Fight for the Armour', see H. R. Hall, CAH iii 290, cf. 281f. For Assurbanipal's record, D. D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records ii 293f, para. 771. Hall does not mention the passage of Strabo, and inclines to believe that this Inarōs too was the fifth-century king. (On the name Inarōs, see recently D. M. Lewis, Historia vii (1958) 395.)
  2. J. D. Beazley and H. G. G. Payne, JHS xlix (1929) 253-72, for the Attic pottery; Payne, Necrocorinthia (Oxford, 1931) 25 with references there given, for the Corinthian.
  3. See especially R. M. Cook, JHS lvii (1937) 227ff, with full references to the material from Naukratis and elsewhere in Egypt.

only to the very end of the seventh century.

It may well seem strange that this East Greek colony should be dated by reference to pottery from Athens and Corinth rather than from the East Greek homeland. The disproportionate significance attached to this evidence arises from the greater minuteness of the study of these fabrics by such scholars as Beazley and Payne, and the formidable certainty of their conclusions. In fact the relevance of Corinthian pottery for the date of a Milesian colony (except to provide a vague terminus ante quem) is made extremely doubtful by the very small quantity of such pottery which reached Miletos itself;<sup>1</sup> and the increased volume of import into Naukratis after 600 only reflects the new alliance between Periander and Thrasyboulos. As for Attic ware, in the period before 600 it left Greece very rarely indeed - and then perhaps on Corinthian ships - and the wonder is that any reached Naukratis at all.<sup>2</sup>

The East Greek wares are not so well known: but there was a great amount of 'Rhodian' at Naukratis, and it is becoming increasingly probable that some of it is considerably older than anything on the site from Corinth or from

---

1. V.sup., p.107 and n./.

2. B. L. Bailey, 'The Export of Attic Black Figure Ware', JHS lx (1940) 60ff: before 600 the only foreign sites are Cervetri, Marseilles, Naukratis, and Troy.

Athens.<sup>1</sup> It is unlikely that any of it will prove to be earlier than c.640; but we cannot yet rule out the possibility of a military foundation early in the reign of Psamatik, which gradually became commercial during the succeeding generation.

The Greek cities most involved in trade at Naukratis established their own religious centres there. Herodotos names three of them, the sanctuaries of Milesian Apollo, Samian Hera, and Aiginetan Zeus.<sup>2</sup> To these must be added, from archaeological evidence, the sanctuaries of Aphrodite Pandemos and of the Dioskouroi.<sup>3</sup> There was besides an Hellenion.<sup>4</sup> Three temene were marked out before the end of the seventh century. Those of Apollo and Aphrodite are as old as the town itself, to judge from the pottery found

- 
1. Cf. Roebuck, Class. Phil. xlv (1950) 236 and 244 n.7. Naukratis is not a stratified site - despite the attempted reconstruction by E. Gjerstad, Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anthropol. xxi (1934) 67-84.
  2. Hdt. ii 178. That of Zeus was not found by the excavators. For the significance of Herodotos' remarks, see discussion of Amasis' reorganization, infra pp. 247ff.
  3. Aphrodite: E. A. Gardner, Naukratis ii 33ff; Pandemos in dedicatory inscriptions, ibid. 66 Nos. 818, 821. Roebuck, Class. Phil. xlv (1950) 242, argues that the shrine was Chiote. Dioskouroi: Gardner, op.cit. 30ff.
  4. Hdt. ii 178: established by Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai; Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos, Phaselis; and Mytilene: probably dating from Amasis' reorganization, infra p. 250.

in them. The Samian temenos was found to have been virtually obliterated by modern stone-hunters, and it contained little material which could be dated.<sup>1</sup> However, the building which it surrounded - presumably the Temple of Hera, though the orientation is without parallel<sup>2</sup> - was shown by its level to have been among the earliest on the site.

Before the time of Amasis there were other posts besides Naukratis: this follows from Herodotos' statement that Amasis abolished them.<sup>3</sup> They may have taken the form of islands in the Nile: we have seen that islands were often favoured for this purpose when the goodwill of the natives was uncertain, as at Pithekoussai and Platea. Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ἰφρακός, notes that ἔστι καὶ Ἰφρακός ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῳ καὶ Χίος καὶ Λέσβος καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Σάμος καὶ ἄλλαι, ὡς Ἐκκεταῖος.<sup>4</sup> If these names were known to Hekataios,

1. Gardner, op.cit. 60f (originally thought by Petrie to be the Palaistra).
2. Interior measurement 56' x 18'10"; surrounding wall of mud-brick, retaining a carefully levelled and sanded area which held the vanished foundation-blocks. Dimensions and position favour identification of this as the Heraion. But the orientation is North-South. The parallel of Phigaleia is deceptive, for there difficulties of terrain are an explanation, not relevant at Naukratis. The temenos also contained another building 'of unknown character and extent' (Naukratis ii 61), of which no more has been heard.
3. Hdt. ii 178-9.
4. Hekataios, FGrHist 1 F 310.

then since they are unlikely to have been given between his time and Amasis' reorganization<sup>1</sup> they must be earlier than either. Chios and Lesbos were members of the Hellenion at Naukratis, and so among those affected by Amasis' restrictions.<sup>2</sup> Samos is a certain, Kypros a plausible trader there. It therefore seems probable that the best interpretation of this fragment of Hekataios is to understand a reference to small national trading posts in the Nile; and it is interesting to find that Samos maintained one of them.

There was, then, considerable scope for contact between Greece and Egypt until the time of Amasis, among mercenary settlements, at Naukratis, and on a number of smaller sites in the Delta. So far as Samos is concerned, detailed evidence is most readily available at Naukratis. Samian pottery arrived here at the end of the seventh century, when quantities of characteristic one-handled cups were

---

1. Here the actual nature of the reorganization is irrelevant: the argument depends on the Ionian opinion of it, given by Herodotos.

2. Hdt., loc.cit.

dedicated in the precinct of Hera.<sup>1</sup> Lakonian ware began to be imported about 590, at which date it began to reach Samos too.<sup>2</sup> The Hephaistos Painter and his contemporaries are strongly represented on both sites, and it is an easy guess that this otherwise narrowly confined fabric found its way to Egypt in Samian ships.

The merchants at Naukratis made immense profits,<sup>3</sup> which they were as ready to dissipate as any other sailors far from home. Prostitution flourished there, says Herodotos;<sup>4</sup> and Aphrodite received her share of the proceeds.<sup>5</sup> It was

1. Naukratis ii 61, 67; Edgar, BSA v (1889-90) 54 No.20 - now CVA Fitzwilliam Mus. Fasc. 2 (Gt. Britain Fasc. 11) IID Pl. xvii 71, inscribed [ΓΑ]δικος μ δεθ[ηκε] τη[ε] [η]. For examples from Samos, Ath. Mitt. liv (1929) 33 Abb. 25.3-4, Beil. xviii 2 (compared by Kunze ap. CVA, loc.cit.); and my PLATE XXXV 5. There is one vertical handle; outside the lower half is painted in poor black glaze, the upper half left plain; the whole of the inside is usually painted. Slightly later is a type of stemless kylix painted outside with broad and narrow bands of black, inside either similarly decorated or black-glazed all over (Naukr. i Pl. x 4 etc.; Boehlau, Aus ion. und ital. Nekr. Taf. viii 21). Pots of both shapes occur with the name Νεγ painted; but on most the dedication is scratched.
2. E. A. Lane, BSA xxxiv (1933-4) 179f.
3. Perhaps the Aiginetan Sostratos was one of them: sup., p.131 n.2.
4. Hdt. ii 135.5; cf. Athen. 596b.
5. If the dedications by women to Aphrodite (Naukr. ii 62ff, Nos. 712, 745, 761, 798, 808) are gifts from free hetairai - for this category, cf. Hdt. ii 135.2 - then many of the dedications by men will be gifts from owners of prostitute slaves.

probably about 580 that one Xanthes brought from Samos the most notorious courtesan of them all, the Thracian slave Rhodopis. She won the heart of Sappho's brother Charaxos of Mytilene, who bought her and set her free, moving his angry sister to lampoon his weakness. Rhodopis chose to stay in Naukratis, however, and was still there in the time of Amasis, piling up a great fortune - great, that is, for a Rhodopis, says Herodotos - out of which she sent a present to Apollo at Delphi.<sup>1</sup>

1. Hdt. ii 134-5. The date depends on the reference to Sappho (and, less reliably, on a synchronism with Aesop the fabulist, cf. infra, p. 255). D. L. Page holds that Sappho need not have been aged more than 50 in the early years of Amasis' rule (Sappho and Alcaeus (Oxford, 1955) 49). But she cannot well have been younger; for she was a contemporary of Alkaios and Pittakos (Strabo 617; cf. Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants 93), and suffered banishment as early as the 45th Olympiad (600-596 B.C.: Marm. Par., FGrHist 239 A 36; Page, op.cit. 225; cf. T. J. Cadoux, JHS lxxviii (1948) 92). She will not have been a child at the time, for the date was taken as her akme (600/599, Jerome; 595/4, Arm. vers.). It seems chronologically preferable, therefore, to take Herodotos' phrase κατὰ Ἀρκάδιον Ἀλεξέουτα ἢν ἀκμήουσα Ἀλκιώτις (134.2) to refer to her period of high success after Charaxos had freed her (135.2).

Is Rhodopis identical with Doricha? Page is convinced (op.cit. 49 and n.1). The identity was first proclaimed by Strabo 808. Athenaios, who knew his poets, says (596c: speaking of Doricha) Ἡρόδοτος (sic) δ' αὖτις ῥοδῶπιν καλεῖ, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι ἐπέειπε ἡς Δωρικῆς ἐστὶν ἄλλη. At any rate, the surviving poem (Fr. 5 + 15b LP) is not that mentioned by Herodotos; for here Sappho prays that Charaxos may come safe home, and not fall a victim to Doricha again (i.e. he has given her up), whereas the taunting poem Herodotos knew was written after Charaxos' return.

But Naukratis not only provided opportunities to make money and to spend it: it held the place of an international university for the exchange of ideas and inventions, exerting an influence of almost incalculable magnitude on the philosophical and material background of life in sixth century Ionia. Here, in the first quarter of the sixth century, in company with his future colleague Rhoikos,<sup>1</sup> Theodoros came by the knowledge and versatility which made him the greatest practical genius of the age - architect, inventor, sculptor in bronze, goldsmith, and seal-engraver.<sup>2</sup> The young Pythagoras too was sent to Egypt a year or two before Amasis' reorganization of Naukratis, when continued residence in Samos became politically impossible for him.<sup>3</sup>

1. Rhoikos' presence is attested by his dedication of a bowl to Aphrodite: Naukratis ii 65 No.778; Prinz, 'Funde aus Naukratis', Klio, Beiheft vii (1908) 118; dated c.600-575 by L. H. Jeffery, Local Scripts of Archaic Greece (Oxford, 1961) 328: Ροιφος μ ανεθηκε τη[φ]ροδ.πηι.
2. On Theodoros, cf. Lippold, RE 'Theodoros' No. 195. Theodoros' date depends on that of the Ephesos foundation deposit: infra, p. 193 n.1.
3. Iamblichos, de Vita Pyth. ii 11-12. The best reconstruction of the chronology of Pythagoras' life is by A. Rostagni, Atti della R. Accad. delle scienze di Torino xlix (1914) 373ff, 554ff. Rostagni takes the final exile as his base date, 529 B.C. I set it two years earlier, and consequently raise all dates by this amount. For a criticism of Rostagni, see K. von Fritz, Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy (Columbia, New York, 1940) 47ff. The two 'facts' which will not fit Rostagni's reconstruction - the capture of Pyth. by Kambyzes, and his tuition of Empedokles - form the basis of A. Delatte's attempt (Musée Belge xviii (1920) 5ff); but he creates more difficulties than he settles. Cf. also APPENDIX C.

The city gave its visitors an unrivalled opportunity both to learn from fellow Greeks whom politics might otherwise prevent them from meeting, and to travel into the interior and taste the wisdom of the native Egyptians.

Polycharmos of Naukratis recounted the adventures of the Naukratite Herostratos, a trader between Egypt and Kypros, and the dedication which he made to Aphrodite in gratitude for the safe outcome of an uncommonly hazardous crossing.<sup>1</sup> The date given is 688 B.C., impossibly high since it precedes the foundation of Naukratis itself by a generation at least. But Herostratos' career should perhaps be retained in the early years of the settlement. His name, as a 'Hera' compound, may indicate Samian origin: certainly it was borne by a Samian in the second half of the sixth century.<sup>2</sup>

Herostratos' enterprise covered the last lap of the journey from Samos to Egypt. We must look now at the earlier part of the route, and add a short note on the island's relations with Kypros. This part of the eastern

---

1. Ap. Athenaios, Deipn. 675f-676c.

2. Antigonos of Karystos, FGrHist 544 F 1: v.inf., p.321.

shipping lane had been open for commerce between Kypros and Samos ever since the early years of the seventh century. West Kypriote terracottas of all dates from then until well into the sixth century have been found in the Heraion, besides others of Kypriote craft but Samian clay which prove the immigrant status of their makers.<sup>1</sup> Greek terracottas everywhere were individually made until the second quarter of the seventh century. But even among the earliest of these Kypriote imports are examples of figurines cast in a mould. It appears that Samos learnt the technique from her Kypriote guests and passed it on.<sup>2</sup>

Within this period of intimacy between Samos and Kypros we must set the career of Dexikreon, who, according to Plutarch, amassed a great fortune from the sale of fresh water to mariners between the two islands, and enriched Aphrodite with a part of it.<sup>3</sup> There is a bond between

- 
1. D. Ohly, Ath. Mitt. lxxv (1940) 57-65; Roebuck, Ionian Trade 65-8.
  2. Id., ibid. lxxvi (1941) 34ff. It is interesting that Pliny, NH xxxv 152 (a comparison with xxxv 16 establishes the source as Cornelius Nepos), records that plastice, clay modelling, was invented in Samos multo ante Bacchiadas Corintho pulsos - but by Rhoikos and Theodoros: perhaps an anonymous achievement hopefully ascribed to famous names.
  3. Plutarch, Q.Gr. 54 (Mor. 303C). Halliday, ad loc., supposes the source to have been Douris.

Dexikreon, Herostratos, and all the merchants of Naukratis, in their special devotion to Aphrodite. Indeed, this deity seems to have been the only one honoured at Naukratis with both a temenos of her own and a place in the Hellenion.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that she stood in a tutelary relation to Herostratos and Dexikreon, and to the former, at least, as mariner rather than as merchant. Probably she watched over the whole route in her capacity of Euploia, a title with which we find her endowed in later days at Mylasa, Knidos, and Aigai in Kilikia.<sup>2</sup> Besides, Ionian poetry knew her as Kypris, a name full of meaning for traffickers in these seas.<sup>3</sup>

### III

Our account of the commercial expansion of Samos must be interrupted for a political digression. In the first decade of the sixth century Samos fought a colonial war

- 
1. Infra, p. 251.
  2. Mylasa, Μουσ. καὶ βιβλιοθ. ἐμύρηνος 1875, p. 50; Knidos, Paus. I 1 3; Aigai, Inscr. Gr. ad. res Rom. pert. iii 921 (CIG 4443: named with Augustus and Poseidon Asphaleios). See also L. R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford, 1896) ii, 636f; RE s.v. Euploia.
  3. Iliad v 330 etc.; cf. Odyssey viii 362f, for her home at Paphos.

with Megara in the Propontis, τῶν γεωμόρων ἔχόντων τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ τῆν Δημοτέλους σφαγῆν καὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν αἷς ἑκαίτου μοναρχίαι.<sup>1</sup> This is the only reference to Demoteles which has survived.

The preliminary question to be decided is the meaning of μοναρχία. Though its literal translation is 'sole rule', it seems probable that the ordinary usage of the word in non-philosophical prose is as a synonym for τυραννίς, a meaning which is as old as Solon and Theognis.<sup>2</sup> There can therefore be little doubt that Demoteles was a tyrant, not last of the hereditary kings.

There is no indication of the date of Demoteles' tyranny, except that it preceded the war with Megara; though the fact that it was mentioned at all in this context may suggest that its dissolution was a comparatively recent event. We shall not go far wrong in supposing a short-lived tyranny at some point in the last third of the seventh

- 
1. Plutarch, Q.Gr. 57 (Mor. 303E). The source was probably either Aristotle or Douris: Halliday, ad loc. For the date of these events, v.inf. pp. 174, 188.
  2. A. Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants 26f: Solon, Fr. 10 Diehl presumably of Peisistratos; Theognis 52 (a condemnation of tyranny). Thuk. i 122.3, 'monarchy' and 'tyranny' as synonyms in the same passage; cf. Isokrates, Panegyricus 125f. For Herodotos, Βασιλευς, τύραννος and μούνδερχος are interchangeable: see J. E. Powell, Lexicon to Herodotos (Cambridge, 1938) s.vv. (As an exception to the rule, at Kos μούνδερχοι are annual magistrates: SIG<sup>3</sup> 1012.)

century, an attempt as premature here as that of Kylon at Athens.

This is perhaps an appropriate moment to consider the Geomoroi. We conjectured that they succeeded the hereditary monarchs in power: now for the first time we meet them explicitly. The word is used of Samians only once more in the extant sources, in Thukydides' account of the events of 412.<sup>1</sup> Politically, the Geomoroi were oligarchs: Plutarch says so specifically,<sup>2</sup> and in Thukydides they are identical with the *δυνατοί*, and subject to attack by the demos. As to numbers, in 412 two hundred of them were executed (*πενή δυνάτωιδίτων*), and four hundred banished; so there must have been at least six hundred altogether, and even more if any were allowed to remain in the island.

It is almost certain that the word was a proper name in Samos, as at Athens and Syracuse,<sup>3</sup> and it should therefore be capable of definition. The decree of 412 confiscated the lands of those condemned; and the lands were later parcelled out among the demos. The same decree forbade intermarriage between demos and Geomoroi. For this

---

1. Thuk. viii 21.

2. *τῆς οἴκο γεωμορίας ἀλυφείας*, loc.cit.

3. Athens, Aristotle, Resp. Ath. Fr. 2, a division parallel to Eupatridai and Demiourgoi; Syracuse, Hdt. vii 155.2.

provision there must have been a simple test to enable the legality of any marriage to be decided. From this it follows that the Geomoroi could be defined formally; and since their land-tenure, their geomoria, had been abolished, the criterion can only have been one of birth. The Geomoroi, then, were certain named families, and the composition of their order was therefore immutable.

But while landownership played no part in defining the Geomoroi in 412, etymology proves it to have been the original basis of their name. At Teos, it appears, tradition preserved the record of lands granted ( $\nu\acute{o}\epsilon\gamma\omicron\iota$ ) when the Ionians first settled there.<sup>1</sup> At Miletos there was still in the fifth century a clan which traced its ancestry to Neleus, leader of the Ionian migration.<sup>2</sup> The most likely explanation of the special position of the Gamoroi at Syracuse is that they were the descendants of the early settlers, who followed Archias from Tenea with their estates already allotted before they sailed.<sup>3</sup> We may conclude that the Geomoroi of Samos claimed descent from the Epidaurian colonists who shared in Prokles' colony at the end of the

---

1. CIG 3064, 3081; D. W. S. Hunt, JHS lxxvii (1947) 68-76.

2. Infra, pp. 438 ff.

3. Cf. How and Wells, ad Hdt. vii 155.2.

twelfth century. Their name, however, is probably no earlier than the political unrest which culminated in the fall of the Kings.

#### IV

The Kimmerian onslaught of 652 had seemed catastrophic at the time, and Gyges had paid the penalty of his disloyalty to Assurbanipal in sending help to Psamatik I for his well-timed blow against the Assyrian yoke. But Ardys did homage to the Emperor, and the Kimmerians did not remain for long. Sinope and the other devastated northern colonies were soon refounded, and joined by yet more new settlements.<sup>1</sup>

The trade route from the rich crops and mineral deposits of the Black Sea shore to the hungry cities of Greece led through the Bosphoros and the Hellespont. Of these strategically vital lanes Megara already held the former, with her colonies at Kalchadon and Byzantion, supported by Selymbria forty miles westward, on the northern coast of the Propontis,

---

1. For recent archaeological commentary, cf. M. Mellink, AJA lix (1955) 235f; Roebuck, Ionian Trade ch. viii. The current view is that the Pontic colonies were first founded at the end of the seventh century; but not enough excavation has been done to make this conclusive against the strong literary evidence of earlier settlement.

and Astakos at a similar distance to the East.<sup>1</sup> From Byzantion the merchant hugged the Asian shore as far as the Hellespont, avoiding the savage Thrakians of Europe.<sup>2</sup> He sailed by a continuous line of Milesian posts dominated by the ancient colony of Kyzikos at its centre.<sup>3</sup> Arrived at the straits, his passage was at the mercy of Miletos and Mytilene. On the European side Mytilene held Madytos and Sestos, while in Asia she shared Abydos and Arisbe with her ally. To the North, Milesian Lampsakos; to the South, a Mytilenaian post on Tenedos.<sup>4</sup>

1. Vide supra, pp. 102f.
2. For Thracian wreckers at this time, see Archilochos, Fr. 79 (at Salmydessos on the Euxine, and still active in the time of Xenophon: Anabasis VII v 12).
3. Kios (626/5, Eusebios), Daskyleion, Kyzikos (756, 675, Eus.), Artake, Priapos (at the same time as Abydos, Strabo 587, cf. 590), Kolonai, Paisos.
4. Abydos (founded in the time of Gyges, Strabo 590) is Milesian in Thuk. viii 61, Aiolian in ps.-Skymnos 709; Arisbe Milesian in Strabo 635, Mytilenaian in Steph. Byz. Since Arisbe is also a place in Lesbos, we may think that the Mytilenaian settlers arrived first. Lampsakos was Milesian according to Strabo 589, though its native Charon said the colony was Phokaian (ap. Plut. de Mul. Virt. 18 = Mor. 255A-E: FGrHist 262 F 7). Steph. Byz. records both traditions. Tenedos is Aiolian in Thuk. vii 57; Madytos and Sestos Lesbian according to Strabo (ap. Eustathios on Dion. Perieg. 513): see Busolt, Gr. Gesch. i<sup>2</sup> 463f. It is to be noticed that the two Thalassocracy Lists from which the surviving Eusebian list is welded overlap at this point; and that the Milesian version gives Miletos a period of power from the treaty with Alyattes c.600 to the end of the Milesian tyranny c.585, while the Athenian (?) list embeds these years in a longer Lesbian period. See APPENDIX D.

Our story opens in the closing years of the seventh century, when Megara lay under the shadow of her greater rival, the Corinth of Periander; when oligarchic wrangling in Mytilene had not yet been resolved by the accession of Pittakos; and when Miletos, with nothing left but hope, was on the point of ending her ruinous war with Lydia by a treaty. This, if ever, was the moment for others to seize control in the North.

Now Athens took a hand, and in about 600 founded Sigeion in the Troad, and Elaious on the opposing European shore. The plain of Sigeion is broad, the soil deep and fertile: but we cannot think that the strategic aspect was overlooked. This act was a deliberate challenge to the Mytilenaian 'empire' of which Aelian speaks,<sup>1</sup> and it was not long before Athens was embroiled in warfare. Unhappily at first, for her commander, Phrynon, was killed in single combat with the gladiator Pittakos, later to be tyrant of Mytilene. The affair was finally settled by the arbitration of Periander - impartial because his own interests lay in

---

1. Var. Hist. vii 15: another aspect of the thalassocracy.

North-West Greece and Magna Graecia<sup>1</sup> - and Athens retained Sigeion.<sup>2</sup>

From this base she could disrupt Megara's Black Sea trade, an economically useful contribution to the current campaign to take Salamis. This Solon accomplished at some date before his archonship in 594/3;<sup>3</sup> not long before, if

1. This is not contradicted by his settlement at Poteidaia in Chalkidike (Nik. Dem., EGrHist 90 F 60; cf. Thuk. 1 56). The area was rich in timber and minerals, certainly. But the real significance of the colony was its closeness to the end of what was later the Via Egnatia, at Thessalonike. The other end of this ancient trade-route, branching to Epidamnos and Apollonia, had already been secured by Corinth, whose exports now penetrated far along it.
2. Main narrative in Hdt. v 94f, who confuses this war, however, with the later campaign of Peisistratos (pace D. L. Page, Sappho and Alcaeus 154ff, who argues unconvincingly that there is no confusion). For Pittakos' gladiatorial net, see Plut., de Her. Mal. 15 (Mor. 858B: not in Hdt.). The date: Pittakos is a contemporary of Alkaios, whose floruit in Eusebios is 595, and in Suidas Ol.42, 612-08 B.C. The poet's brother fought for Babylon (Fr. 350 Lobel-Page, ap. Strabo 617), probably during Nebuchadnezzar's Palestine campaign of 597, since Fr. 48 L-P 10f refers to both Babylon and Askalon in Philistia. Cf. Page, op.cit. 223f. Phrynon was said to have been an Olympic victor, and Eusebios records a victor of that name in 636.
3. Plut. Solon 8-9; cf. Arist. Αθ. Πολ. 17. To this success Solon himself refers, Fr. 2.6: the Σαλαμινάφραταί are those who lost Salamis later, and the fr. is propaganda before Peisistratos' final seizure of the island: there is no reliable evidence that Athens had ever held Salamis before Solon; though she had probably made an unsuccessful attempt in the time of Kylon and Theagenes.

he was still alive when Peisistratos first seized the tyranny.<sup>1</sup> But Solon's success was not assured by Athenian activities alone. While Sigeion disrupted Megara's trade, her defensive posts at Byzantion and Selymbria were put in jeopardy by a newcomer to the North-East.

In 602 Samos, freed by Lydia from the threat of Milesian reprisal, founded Perinthos on the readily defensible Chersonesos of Marmaraeḡlisi, some twenty-two miles along the coast West of Selymbria.<sup>2</sup> And with this foundation we must associate the further fortresses of Bisanthe and Heraion Teichos. Bisanthe, the modern Tekirdağ, lay nearly thirty miles from Perinthos, toward the Hellespont.<sup>3</sup> This too is a well-defended site, and was one of Alkibiades' castella.<sup>4</sup> The character of Heraion is sufficiently emphasized by its suffixed title Teichos. It lay at the modern Karauli, not far to the East of Bisanthe, which it

1. Plut. Solon 32; cf. Fr. 10.

2. Synkellos 238, cf. Eusebios; Plut. Q.Gr. 57 (Mor. 303E); Pliny NH iv 18. Remains at Marmaraeḡlisi (der. later Herakleia): for map of the site, and further references, see RE, 'Perinthos'. Lat. 40°58' N; Long. 27°58 E.

3. Mela de Chor. ii 24; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰ.ε.δ.α.β.γ. (Formerly Rodosto, from later Rhaideston vel simil.) There is no direct evidence for the date of foundation: the terminus ante quem is 430, Hdt. vii 137 with Thuk. ii 67. Lat. 40°58' N; Long. 27°32' E.

4. Nepos Alc. vii 4; cf. Plut. Alk. 36. 'Ein festes Schloss', E. Oberhammer in RE, 'Bisanthe'.

helped to link with Perinthos.<sup>1</sup>

To this date also we must assign - if we accept its late tradition - a Samian settlement at Prokonnesos.<sup>2</sup> This island, lying off the peninsula of Kyzikos and Artake, had been a Milesian colony since the time of Gyges, for it was founded at the same time as Abydos.<sup>3</sup> Now Samos seized it, to protect the lines of communication with her three new cities on the North coast. There can be no doubt that all these sites were chosen for their military advantages. They covered a pioneering route, which preferred to cross the Propontis near Kyzikos and to follow the European coast, braving the Thrakians, from there to the Bosphoros.

The new foundations did not have long to wait for Megara's reply. She sent a naval expedition against

1. Steph. Byz. and Suidas, both s.v. "Ἡραίων Τελεῖον". The terminus ante quem for the foundation is Hdt. iv 90, an account of the geography of Dareios' expedition across the Bosphoros in 514. (It does not necessarily follow from the context that Heraion was there at the time of the expedition.)
2. Theophanes Continuatus, de Constantino Porphyrogenito 272B, ed. Bekker (Bonn, 1838) p. 437. Later Malone: now Pascha Limani, 4 O.28 N., 27.37 E (identification discussed by ATL i 542f):
3. Strabo 587 with 590; cf. Herodotos' dating of Aristetas of Prokonnesos c.680 (iv 14ff). If the tradition of a Samian foundation is accepted, there can be no better commentary on the weakened state in which Miletos found herself as a result of the Lydian war.

Perinthos, probably in support of an amphibious assault by her own colonies in the area. Samos reacted in haste by sending a force of thirty ships under nine commanders, and after two had been destroyed by lightning the remainder inflicted an overwhelming defeat on the Megarians.<sup>1</sup> All this argues an extremely good Samian intelligence service. Plutarch gives no indication of the date of this battle, but it belongs naturally to the historical context which I have already outlined. I shall argue later on other grounds that it was fought before 591,<sup>2</sup> and if this is so it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was the departure of the Megarian fleet for Perinthos that gave Solon the opportunity to seize Salamis. But this latter event was earlier than 594/3; and the foundation of Perinthos and the other forts, the Megarian attack, and the capture of Salamis, should all be set between 602 and 595.

Disaster to Megara, however, brought no corresponding advance to the government of the Geomoroi, now in power in Samos. Like the Spartans at Tegea, the Megarians had brought chains with them for the prisoners they intended to take. Instructions were sent to the Samian generals that these

---

1. Plutarch, Q.Gr.57 (Mor. 303E-304C).

2. See p. 188.

were to be used to bind the six hundred Megarian captives themselves, who were then to be carried to Samos. The sailors had no love for their aristocratic masters, and persuaded the prisoners to help overthrow the home government. So upon their arrival in Samos the Megarians were led through the market-place to the council-house, their ostentatious chains caught by a weak link, and with swords concealed in their garments. They fell upon the Geomoroi and killed them where they sat. In return, they received citizenship in the new democracy - the first, so far as we know, that Samos had received. To commemorate this event a great hall was built, and the Megarians' chains laid up in this Pedetes for posterity.<sup>1</sup>

At about this time - I shall try to establish the exact date later - a dispute broke out between Samos and Priene over borderlands of the Batinetis. The effect of this was to challenge the settlement made between the two

---

1. Plutarch. loc.cit. It has been suggested that the reception of these Megarians covers a regrouping of alliances, and that Megara and Samos made common cause against their hostile neighbours Corinth and Miletos, as a reaction to the friendship of Periander and Thrasyboulos (Glutz and Cohen, Histoire Grecque i 279f, 312f, 329). The idea is attractive; though the fact that the Megarians accepted the Samian invitation to settle (this, not an honorary title, must be the right interpretation) itself argues that they were at odds with their home government.

cities at the end of the Meliac War.<sup>1</sup> It seems that during the Kimmerian raids both Samians and Prienians had abandoned their farms in the area. But the invaders only remained for three years, and when all was safe again at first only the Prienians returned in any considerable strength; while the few Samians who did venture on to the mainland paid to Priene what clearly amounted to 'protection money'.<sup>2</sup> At last the Samians began to return in greater numbers, and met with a hostile reception. Losing patience, Samos sent a contingent of a thousand men. The Prienians fell upon them and massacred them. Nothing more was said about attacking Priene for the next six years.<sup>3</sup>

It will be useful at this point to sum up the chronology so far:

- c.600 War of Athens and Mytilene for Sigeion;  
Treaty between Alyattes of Lydia and Thrasyboulos of Miletos (Hdt. i 20ff).
- 602 Foundation of Perinthos, Bisanthe, Heraion Teichos, Prokonnesos.
- c.602-595 Unsuccessful Megarian attack on Perinthos; Solon takes Salamis; democracy at Samos.

---

1. Cf. supra, pp. 74f.

2. Inschriften von Priene No. 500, rescript of Lysimachos, King of Thrake 306-281 B.C. (Dittenberger, OGIS No. 13).

3. Plutarch, Q.Gr. 20 (Mor. 296A); cf. infra, pp. 182ff.

The following is the chronology which will be proposed for the events which occupy the rest of this chapter.

- 591/0 Mytilene attacks Samos; Lydo-Median war begins.
- 590/89 Generalship and subsequent tyranny of Syloson I.
- c.587 Murder of Lykophron at Kerkyra: Syloson rescues Kerkyraian boys.
- 586/5 Death of Periander.
- 585 Alliance of Miletos and Samos;  
May 28th, end of Lydo-Median war; Battle at the Oak;  
Bias' settlement between Priene and Samos.

Athens and Samos had probably concerted their measures at Sigeion and Perinthos; and Mytilene and Megara must have concerted their defence. The disaster at Priene had been a crippling blow for Samos, and now her enemies might retaliate. The Megarian fleet was probably still too weak to venture far from defensive patrol duties at home. But Mytilene (now reviving under Pittakos) was unhampered, and descended without delay. This was the situation at the end of the nineties: confusion and suspicion in the island following the defeat of Priene, the Mytilenaian fleet all round, making short raids, destroying crops, as they awaited their opportunity for a major assault. Events cried out for a strong leader to rally the dissidents behind him and to defeat the enemy. Fortunately, the fleet was still intact.

The long Sacred Way across the marsh to the Heraion

was vulnerable, and the sea-borne enemy could descend quickly at any point along a shore approachable for its whole length. Consequently, the festal procession had been cancelled. Syloson, the son of Kalliteles, who had been elected general against the Aiolians in token of his apparent democratic leanings - the democracy was therefore still in power - said he would not remain in office and see the goddess thus neglected. Besides, he urged, the very act of holding a normal festival at the present moment would strike a heavy blow at enemy morale. The Samians were enthusiastic in their praise for Syloson's courage and his piety. But while they were all at the Heraion, he and his sailors seized the Akropolis by night, and in the morning Samos awoke to find a tyrant in control.<sup>1</sup>

This event is most naturally to be dated in the year following the Priene affair. We hear no more of the Aiolian war,<sup>2</sup> so no doubt the Mytilenaians were defeated - or bought off - by the new government. This was the first test that any such aspirant had to pass.

It has been usual to dismiss this story, which appears

- 
1. Polyainos, Strateg. vi 45. Polyainos calls the enemy fleet Aiolian. That it was more precisely Mytilenaiian, I infer from the historical context.
  2. Until its revival against Polykrates: Hdt. iii 39.4; inf., pp. 313 ff.

in no author but Polyainos, as a distorted and duplicated account of the rise of Polykrates and his brothers. Both revolutions took place when most of the people were at the Heraion:<sup>1</sup> but this argues competent planning on either occasion, and the circumstances are otherwise very different. Furthermore, this Syloson is described as the son of Kalliteles, not of Aiakes.<sup>2</sup> Since we have no independent evidence for the Aiolian war, the story contains no indication of date. But if it is true, we must suppose that Syloson was in some way connected to Polykrates, on the ground of the name of the latter's brother. We shall therefore seek to place him in the sixth century. Perinthos was founded in 602, and some time later the Geomoroi were still in power. They were succeeded by a democracy; and any date from then onwards would be suitable for the rise of Syloson.

At the end of his long life Periander of Corinth tried to make provision for the succession of his tyranny in capable hands. His chosen successor was Lykophron, the younger of his two sons by the unfortunate Melissa, and now

---

1. Cf. Polyainos i 23.

2. We may note that Kalliteles was a Samian name in the second century B.C.: Amyntas, P.Oxy. iv 662, col. ii, οὐνομα μὲν ἠελζῶ ἐμρίν, ζέου, ἐκ δὲ γοῦτος | Καλλιτέλους γενόμεν... (D. L. Page, Greek Literary Papyri (Loeb) i 456).

viceroys of Kerkyra, with whom, however, he was on no friendly terms. The arrangement finally agreed between them was that Lykophron should come to Corinth and take over the government while Periander retired to Kerkyra. But the Kerkyraians, never easily loyal to the House of Kypselos, and still sympathetic to the Bakchiads whom they harboured, frustrated his design by murdering Lykophron. Periander's revenge was to take three hundred sons of the leading Kerkyraians, and send them to his friend Alyattes of Lydia to be made eunuchs. The convoy put in at Samos on the way to Sardis. Samos' alliance with Corinth had lapsed when Periander became friendly with Thrasyboulos in Miletos: the alliance had in fact been with the Corinthian empire of the Bakchiads, and Samos was true to its spirit now. The boys were helped to escape to the temple of Artemis, and, like David, they fed upon the shew-bread until their enemies sailed away.<sup>1</sup> They were restored to Kerkyra, Herodotos says, by the Samians. But Plutarch says that the Knidians came and drove off the Corinthians, then took the boys home.<sup>2</sup> It is hard to tell

- 
1. Hdt. iii 48-53; cf. infra, p. 196 n. 1. The alliance was effective c. 721, Thuk. i 13. On Kypselos' accession some of the Bakchiads banished (Hdt. v 92e) settled in Kerkyra, Nik. Dam., FGr Hist 90 F 57.
  2. De Her. Mal. 22 (Mor. 860BC), citing Antenor's Kretika and Dionysios the Chalkidian. This would only be possible if the tyranny had now fallen; so a date at the very end of Periander's reign is certain.

which account should be preferred.

In 525 the Corinthians were eager to join the Spartan expedition against Polykrates, which was undertaken at the request of the Samian democratic opposition. They were moved, Herodotos says, by the desire for revenge for Samos' frustration of Periander's gift to Alyattes.<sup>1</sup> This motive is only intelligible if the rescue of the Kerkyraian boys had been the work of a tyrant; and then perhaps only if Polykrates could be held responsible for the deeds of a relative.<sup>2</sup> A general punitive expedition we could understand; but the episode of the boys is given as a reason for the provision of assistance for one party against another.

To sum up, we can only say that there are no grounds for disbelieving Polyainos' account of Syloson's revolution. If his story is true, then the political situation suggests a date some time after 602. And if I am right in arguing that Syloson was responsible for the affront to Corinth,

- 
1. Hdt. iii 48.1. We shall not be much moved by Plutarch's strictures (loc.cit.).
  2. Plutarch points out the apparent illogicality of motive (loc.cit.), but dismisses the motive instead of restoring the logic. There is the further difficulty, to see why the Corinthians should have felt the need to avenge a reverse suffered by the tyrant whose memory they most abhorred. Herodotos himself raises the question (iii 49), and we may accept the explanation he gives, continuing bitterness between Corinth and Kerkyra.

then the context in Periander's last years gives a terminus ante quem between 590 and 585.<sup>1</sup>

Τίς δ λεγόμενος ἐν Πριήνῃ πρὸς ὄρου κόντος; Plutarch inquires.<sup>2</sup> His answer was to be found in Aristotle's Ἑαμίῳν Πολιτικά.<sup>3</sup> Six years after their notable defeat of the Samians, the men of Priene 'met the Milesians by what is called the "Oak", and lost the best and foremost of their citizens. This was the occasion when the Sage Bias won praise, on an embassy from Priene to Samos.' After this terrible disaster the most solemn oath among the women of Priene was 'By the Darkness at the Oak'. The 'Oak' (Δρῦς) was the territory of Dryoussa, containing the fort Karion, in perennial dispute between Samos and Priene. The dispute was put to arbitration in Hellenistic times and we possess two inscriptions of that date about it: the one gives the historic reasons for the decision of Lysimachos in favour of the Council and People of Samos,<sup>4</sup>

- 
1. Our authorities differ slightly on the date of Periander's death: 586/5, Sosikrates ap. Diog. Laert. i 95; cf. Eusebios, 586 (Arm. vers.), and 587 (Jer.); cf. also Aristotle, Politica 1315b, and Diog. Laert. i 98.
  2. Q.Gr. 20 (Mor. 296A); cf. Diog. Laert. i 84, quoting Demodokos Fr. 6 and Hipponax Fr. 73
  3. This is given as the source by Zenobios, Centur. vi 12: Aristotle, Fr. 576 Rose (1886).
  4. Inscr. von Priene No.500; OGIS No.13.

the other the judgment of a Rhodian commission declaring for Priene, on the ground that the Samian evidence did not bear close scrutiny. The Rhodians say that the only authority for the Samian claim to Karion and Dryoussa was Maiandrios the Milesian, and that even his writings are of doubtful authenticity.<sup>1</sup> But even if the terms were forged, there is no reason to doubt that Bias did in fact make some settlement between Priene and Samos. And Plutarch is not telescoping the narrative when he makes Bias' embassy the consequence of the Battle at the Oak: μετὸ δὲ τῶν πελάγους τῶν γεινομένων αὐτοῖς (sc. the Samians) ποτὶ Πειραγῆς ἐπὶ Δρυὶ καὶ νίκῃς κλιεῖν ἔχειν καὶ τούτων τῶν χωρίων ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις αὐτῶν γράεσθαι, δεῖξασθαι γὰρ ποτ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑδάτων ῥοαί.<sup>2</sup>

Bias' embassy was to Samos, not to Miletos, and the Rhodians make the battle one between Priene and Samos. It follows that in their victory Aristotle's Milesians were acting as the allies or agents of Samos, an event so extraordinary in the history of the two cities as to require special explanation. A time at which such an alliance was merely possible will not suffice: we shall look for

- 
1. Inscr. von Priene No.37; SGDI 3758; EGrHist 491 F 1: lines 118-123, allowing that more reputable authorities supported Samos' claim to Pygela.
  2. Ibid., lines 106f.