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## SUMÁRIO

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>I. Editorial.....</b>   | <b>ix</b>  |
| Lilian de Angelo Laky e Erica Angliker   |            |
| <b>II. Dossiê – “Questions of Insularity in the Ancient Mediterranean” .....</b>   | <b>1</b>   |
| <b>1. Field Notes from the <i>Odyssey</i>: The Fabulous Ethnography of Aiolie, Aiaie, and Ogygie .....</b>                   | <b>1</b>   |
| Ioannis Petropoulos  |            |
| <b>2. The Iron Age Cyclades and Crete: Different Approaches to Connectivity Speculatively Related to Food Security .....</b> | <b>19</b>  |
| Doug Forsyth   |            |
| <b>3. Island on a Pendulum: Naxos Between Isolation and Connectivity.....</b>  | <b>51</b>  |
| Alexandra S. Sfyroera  |            |
| <b>4. Insularity and the Unique Position of Aeolic Song in Archaic Greek Poetry .....</b>                                    | <b>79</b>  |
| Tadeu Andrade  |            |
| <b>5. Travelers in the Mediterranean: The Case for Ancient Parians.....</b>  | <b>115</b> |
| Dora Katsonopoulou   |            |
| <b>6. Stone Artifacts from Agathonisi, Dodecanese, Greece: Evidence of Insularity .....</b>                                  | <b>127</b> |
| Eirene Poupaki   |            |
| <b>7. Mithridates, Helianax and Late Hellenistic Delos as Global City: Urban Insularity and Integration Fields .....</b>     | <b>165</b> |
| Fábio Augusto Morales  |            |
| <b>8. Insularity and Imperial Politics: Hadrian on the Greek Islands .....</b>   | <b>199</b> |
| Anna Kouremenos  |            |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>III. Entrevistas .....</b>   | <b>223</b> |
| <b>9. <i>Mare Nostrum</i> Entrevista: Gilberto da Silva Francisco – A pesquisa brasileira no <i>Heraion</i> de Delos .....</b>  | <b>223</b> |
| Gilberto da Silva Francisco, Lilian de Angelo Laky e Erica Angliker   |            |
| <b>10. <i>Mare Nostrum</i> Interview: Jonathan Pugh – The Power of Thinking with Islands .....</b>  | <b>265</b> |
| Jonathan Pugh, Lilian de Angelo Laky e Erica Angliker   |            |
| <b>IV. Artigos de Tema Livre .....</b>  | <b>279</b> |
| <b>11. Plutarco e os Lágidas: representação identitária e propaganda imperial .....</b>   | <b>279</b> |
| Felipe Aiala de Mello   |            |
| <b>12. Seria lícito se ocupar da espada, quando o senhor proclamou que quem a usa perecerá por ela? Tertuliano e a polêmica do serviço militar (século III).....</b>                          | <b>303</b> |
| Ludimila Caliman Campos   |            |
| <b>V. Resenhas .....</b>  | <b>321</b> |
| <b>13. Review of A. Kouremenos &amp; J. M. Gordon. <i>Mediterranean Archaeologies of Insularity in an Age of Globalization</i>. Oxford &amp; Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2020, 284 p. ....</b> | <b>321</b> |
| Tae Jensen, J.  |            |
| <b>14. Resenha de M. Brosius. <i>A History of Ancient Persia: The Achaemenid Empire</i>. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2021, 288 p. ....</b>  | <b>327</b> |
| Matheus Treuk Medeiros de Araujo  |            |



## QUESTÕES DE INSULARIDADE NO MEDITERRÂNEO ANTIGO



**Figura 1:** Vista aérea de Despotiko (cortesia de Yannis Kourayos).

Nos últimos anos, as ilhas, tema antes periférico nas investigações acadêmicas, tornaram-se objeto central de estudos. Com esse movimento, as ilhas vêm sendo abordadas menos como utopias, projeções de sonhos ou regiões irrelevantes em perene subordinação a poderes externos e mais como paradigmas de mudanças globais. Para cientistas, ajudantes humanitários e formuladores de políticas, elas apresentam condições para uma observação em primeira mão de fenômenos como a elevação do nível do mar e a acidificação do oceano, bem como de movimentos em massa de refugiados e do desaparecimento de culturas tradicionais. Como consequência disso, estudiosos de múltiplos horizontes disciplinares vêm agora se dedicando ao estudo das ilhas.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dawson; Pugh (2022).

Desde a década de 1940, o estudo das ilhas mediterrânicas vem sendo reabilitado em grande medida devido a novas concepções teóricas que forneceram perspectivas renovadas para a abordagem de materiais e narrativas bem conhecidos. As ideias revolucionárias de Fernand Braudel, apresentadas no inovador *O Mediterrâneo e o mundo mediterrânico na época de Felipe II* (1949) alterou o foco de atenção, levando-o das fronteiras continentais da região para a bacia marinha, incluídas suas ilhas, como forma de compreender os vários processos que se desenvolvem na longa duração.<sup>2</sup> Na mesma época, Emile Kolodny argumentou que o isolamento absoluto – um conceito que se considerava aplicável sobretudo às ilhas do Pacífico – era desconhecido no mundo grego.<sup>3</sup> Os estudos insulares foram subsequentemente fortalecidos no início da década de 1980 pela combinação da arqueologia processual e da biogeografia nos trabalhos de John Cherry como forma de explicar as dinâmicas de interações entre culturas, suas semelhanças e diferenças no processo de colonização de diversas ilhas mediterrânicas.

A obra *The Corrupting Sea: a study of Mediterranean history* (2001), de Peregrine Horden e Nicholas Purcell, aportou o principal avanço subsequente no estudo das ilhas mediterrânicas. O estudo abordou temas comuns na região ao longo dos três ou quatro últimos milênios, levando em consideração a extrema fragmentação em diversas paisagens terrestres e marítimas. Nessa análise inovadora das relações entre os diversos sistemas micro-ecológicos, as ilhas novamente assumiram uma posição de proeminência. Os autores fizeram notar que o Mediterrâneo tem sido uma área de incertezas bem como de grande mobilidade, dotada da costa mais extensa por unidade de superfície em todo o planeta. O fato de que navegadores podiam atravessar grande parte do mar sem perder a terra de vista, ademais de o Sol iluminá-lo ao longo de todo o ano, tornaram o Mediterrâneo uma terra de oportunidades que estimulou seus habitantes à diversificação, à produção e à exploração. Ademais, Patrice Brun reavaliou extensamente o papel da pobreza na moldagem da vida em diversas ilhas do Egeu, recorrendo a fontes antigas, tanto arqueológicas como textuais, para demonstrar a prosperidade econômica de ilhas como Naxos, uma grande produtora de vinho, e Kythnos, produtora de queijo. Brun mostrou que a alegada pobreza das ilhas era frequentemente associada à ideia equivocada de seu isolamento, o que constituía antes um *topos* literário enraizado em visões idílicas

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<sup>2</sup> Braudel (1958). É importante notar aqui que estudos atuais não consideram que nem mesmo as ilhas do Pacífico tenham sido isoladas; ver Terrell (1977, 1999 e 2018).

<sup>3</sup> Kolodny (1974).

de poetas de época helenística, romana e bizantina.<sup>4</sup> Mais recentemente, no início dos anos 2000, Cyprian Broodbank se valeu da chamada “análise do ponto proximal” para explicar relações entre ilhas (*islandscapes*), repensando assim os pressupostos, os objetivos e os métodos da arqueologia insular.<sup>5</sup> Mais especificamente, Broodbank rejeitou a abordagem linear para dar conta da relação entre as ilhas mediterrânicas, sobrepondo-lhe uma abordagem reticulada, a dar conta da interação entre todas as ilhas e delas com as sociedades estabelecidas no continente. O campo, hoje em pleno desenvolvimento, dos estudos insulares adotou em ampla medida a abordagem reticulada da história, da vida social e religiosa e da cultura material das ilhas mediterrânicas.

Nos quadros dessa pesquisa, o volume *Questões de Insularidade no Mediterrâneo Antigo* apresenta entrevistas, artigos e resenhas de livros que, em conjunto, trazem luz para problemas atuais nos estudos sobre as ilhas, tais como a identidade local e mudanças ambientais. Os oito estudos oferecem uma perspectiva interdisciplinar que reúne materiais arqueológicos, históricos, geográficos e literários para iluminar diversos aspectos da insularidade na Grécia antiga – especialmente na região do Egeu – na longa duração, aqui especificamente entre a Idade do Ferro e a época romana.

Dentro dos diversos temas dos estudos de insularidade, Ioannis Petropoulos, em *Field notes from the Odyssey: the fabulous ethnography of Aiolie, Aiaie, and Ogygie*, se envereda pelo debate das ilhas como lugares do fantástico. Ao analisar as três ilhas no Apólogo da *Odisséia*, mostra como a obra, cujo herói principal é um ilhéu, é texto fundamental para entender a percepção grega arcaica de ilhas como locais “remotos de fantasia, onde o primitivo e fatos extremos prevaleceram” – as bases da percepção ocidental sobre as ilhas.

Isolamento e conectividade, quase sinônimos de insularidade no debate contemporâneo sobre o tema na academia, são analisados a partir de diferentes realidades históricas, arqueológicas e geográficas nos demais estudos. Doug Forsyth, em *The Iron Age Cyclades and Crete: different approaches to connectivity speculatively related to food security*, propõe, a partir das evidências arqueológicas disponíveis, que fatores ambientais, o principal deles a pluviosidade, tiveram um papel importante em como a

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<sup>4</sup> Na vasta massa dessa produção acadêmica, os trabalhos mais relevantes são: Contantakopoulou (2010); Knappett (2011); Malkin (2011); (Malkin), Contantakopoulou; Panagopoulo (2011); Collar (2015); Dowson (2010b, 2010c, 2014, 2015, 2019a, 2021).

<sup>5</sup> Broodbank (2000), (21-23, 239).

conectividade nas ilhas cicládicas se desenvolveram na Idade do Ferro. O autor compara o caso das Cíclades com o da ilha de Creta, que detinha uma maior autonomia de água e de alimentos que as Cíclades, o que teria levado os ilhéus cicládicos e cretenses a desenvolverem diferentes abordagens com relação à sua insularidade. Alexandra S. Sfyroera, em *Island on a pendulum: Naxos between isolation and connectivity*, analisando o caso da ilha de Naxos na longa duração (da Idade do Ferro à época romana), discute as diferentes fases de isolamento e conectividade de Naxos e como os naxianos “forjaram sua identidade e a diferenciaram dos ilhéus de outras ilhas cicládicas e além”. A autora compara a insularidade de Naxos com um pêndulo, cujo movimento de vai e vem ocorreu devido à várias interferências, sendo a posição geográfica e a geomorfologia de Naxos o ponto fixo desse pêndulo. Tadeu Andrade, em *Insularity and the unique position of Aeolic song in archaic Greek poetry*, mostra “como a geografia insular de Lesbos contribuiu para o *status* singular de sua poesia em época arcaica – tamanho, unidade territorial e relativo isolamento, junto à sua coesão étnica e linguística”. Os fragmentos analisados evidenciam que “não apenas os eólios adaptaram o fraseamento pan-helênico a suas métricas, mas desenvolveram um sistema próprio de fórmulas”.

Dora Katsonopoulou, em *Travelers in the Mediterranean: The Case for Ancient Parians*, por meio das evidências arqueológicas e literárias, analisa as conexões de Paros com diferentes regiões do Mediterrâneo (norte do Egeu e Adriático) e com o Mar Negro a partir do papel destacado na colonização grega nas épocas arcaica e clássica. A autora também dá destaque em seu estudo ao importante desenvolvimento cultural que essa pólis-ilha alcançou e exportou aos locais onde colonizou e com que manteve contato, como é o caso da Itália do Sul. Eirene Poupaki, em *Stone artifacts from Agathonisi, Dodecanese, Greece: evidence of insularity*, a partir de categorias de artefatos em pedra encontrados em Kastraki, na ilha de Agathonisi no arquipélago do Dodecaneso, publicados pela primeira vez neste dossiê, discute a conectividade dessa pequena ilha com Mileto e outras cidades e ilhas na costa da Ásia Menor nas épocas clássica e helenística, por meio da origem desse material (locais e importados) e sua forte afiliação com os locais citados. Fabio Augusto Morales, em *Mithridates, Helianax and Late Hellenistic Delos as global city: urban insularity and integration fields*, acrescenta o debate da história global ao tema da conectividade, mostrando como outras perspectivas teóricas podem ser associadas à insularidade. O templo dedicado a Mitridates na ilha de Delos no final do século II a.C. é analisado a partir do tema da insularidade urbana, cidade mundial/global

e campos de integração. O autor conclui que “conexões da elite délia foram moduladas pela insularidade urbana particular de Delos e suas relações a processos de integração mediterrâneos”.

Anna Kouremenos encerra a seção de artigos do dossiê com seu estudo intitulado *Insularity and imperial politics: Hadrian on the Greek islands*. A partir das evidências arqueológicas e literárias disponíveis, a autora discute o papel das ilhas gregas para o império romano e sobretudo para os imperadores, destacando a presença de Adriano e o tema de conectividade *versus* isolamento insulares durante o seu reino. Em uma análise que vai além do contexto egeu, as ilhas gregas serviram como locais de exílio, foram escolhidas como residências de romanos, mas nunca foram colônias. Ilhas chegaram a ser presentes de imperadores: Adriano, por exemplo, chegou a dar de presente à Atenas a ilha de Cefalônia no mar Jônico. A autora defende que as ilhas gregas foram a Adriano muito mais que instrumentos à agenda política, como foram a imperadores precedentes. Para este imperador foram espaços da história única do passado grego.

Jesper Tae Jensen oferece ao dossiê a resenha do livro editado por Anna Kouremenos e Jody Michael Gordon intitulado *Mediterranean Archaeologies of Insularity in an Age of Globalization*.

A seção de entrevistas traz duas contribuições importantes no campo dos estudos sobre ilhas: a entrevista com Gilberto da Silva Francisco, que apresenta a pesquisa arqueológica a qual coordena no santuário da deusa Hera na ilha de Delos, e a entrevista com Jonathan Pugh a respeito de seu livro *Anthropocene islands: Entangled Worlds* escrito com David Chandler. Em uma entrevista disponível apenas no formato escrito, Gilberto da Silva Francisco proporciona um panorama desde o histórico das escavações até o estado da atual das pesquisas acerca do culto de Hera em Delos.

Realizada no formato *live* no canal do LEIR-MA/USP no Youtube, a entrevista que realizamos com Jonathan Pugh em setembro de 2021, e publicada aqui em formato escrito, encerra este dossiê. A conversa com Jonathan Pugh trouxe questões muito contemporâneas ao debate acerca da insularidade e do estudo de ilhas, que vão além dos temas mais estudados neste campo, que é o de isolamento e conectividade. As ilhas “devem ser vistas mais a partir do conceito de *islandness* do que pela definição tradicional de ilhas como entidades cercadas por água”. Como as ilhas se tornaram um tópico periférico no pensamento moderno? Como as ilhas no Antropoceno passaram a ser vistas

como centros de interesse? Essas e outras questões são tratadas em detalhes ao longo da entrevista.

O volume 12, número 2 da *Revista Mare Nostrum* (julho-dezembro de 2021), que contempla o presente dossiê, também apresenta dois artigos e uma resenha na seção de temas livres. Felipe Aiala de Mello, em *Plutarco e os Lágidas: representação identitária e propaganda imperial*, busca analisar as representações identitárias dos Lágidas e do Oriente forjadas por Plutarco em *Vidas Paralelas*. Plutarco, a partir de dicotomias opositivas estereotipadas sustentadas por preceitos helênicos, subjuga os Lágidas e o Oriente, em prol de uma suposta superioridade baseada em uma hierarquização cultural e moral, em sintonia com a propaganda romana. Ludimila Caliman Campos, em *Seria lícito se ocupar da espada, quando o senhor proclamou que quem a usa perecerá por ela? Tertuliano e a polêmica do serviço militar (século III)*, analisa o pensamento de Tertuliano quanto à polêmica do serviço militar cristão a partir de duas de suas obras: *De Idololatria* e *De Corona*. Para a autora, a questão levantada por Tertuliano nesses tratados evidencia um Cristianismo preocupado não somente com a manutenção do *status quo* de uma ética cristã, considerando todas as polêmicas que envolviam o serviço militar, mas expõe uma necessidade urgente de diferenciação identitária com o seu culto rival, o mitraísmo. Matheus Treuk Medeiros de Araujo contribui com a resenha do livro *A Pérsia Aquemênida em perspectiva: uma nova síntese historiográfica* - Brosius, Maria. *A history of ancient Persia: The Achaemenid empire*. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2021. Trata-se da resenha do livro, a seu ver, “mais atual” e que “deverá se impor como bibliografia geral sobre o tema”.

A publicação desse dossiê e número da *Revista Mare Nostrum* não teria sido possível sem a colaboração de alguns colegas: Estevam Lima de Almeida que revisou as normas de publicação de todos os artigos e resenhas deste volume, Fabrício Sparvoli pela organização final e publicação dessa edição, Gabriel Cabral, que colaborou com a organização da entrevista *live* com Jonathan Pugh, Luigi Lafasciano, que transcreveu a entrevista de J. Pugh, Gilberto da Silva Francisco, pela criação da capa deste volume, e Ana Paula Scarpa e Pedro Luís de Toledo Piza, que propiciaram todos os caminhos até a publicação deste número. Também gostaríamos de agradecer nominalmente aos revisores dos artigos e resenhas, colaboradores neste volume: Alexandra Alexandridou, André Malta, Anita Fattori, Cristóvão José dos Santos Jr., Daniel Figueiredo, Fabio Augusto Morales, Francisco de Assis Sabadini, Guilherme Diogo Rodrigues, Georgia Kokkorou-

Alevras, Gustavo Oliveira, Jesper Tae Jensen, Joana Clímaco, Norberto Luiz Guarinello, Robert Sutton, Sarah Azevedo, Thomas Coward, Uiran Gebara da Silva, Vicky Vlahou e Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge. Somos gratas a todos os estudiosos que colaboraram neste volume e especialmente aqueles especialistas que, mesmo diante dos contratemplos pandêmicos, enviaram suas preciosas contribuições ao dossiê. E finalmente, aos editores principais da *Revista Mare Nostrum*, Norberto Luiz Guarinello e Gustavo Oliveira, agradecemos a oportunidade de estimular o debate e a pesquisa sobre insularidade na academia brasileira.

As editoras,

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## I. EDITORIAL

### QUESTIONS OF INSULARITY IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN



**Figure 1:** Aerial view of Despotiko (courtesy of Yannis Kourayos).

In recent years, islands have moved from a topic of peripheral interest for academics to a central theme in scholarship. Thus, islands are being approached less as utopias, projections of dreams, and irrelevant tracts forever under the sway of external powers and more as paradigms for planetary transformation. For scientists, aid workers, and policy-makers, they offer conditions for the first-hand observation of such phenomena as rising sea levels and oceanic acidification as well as mass movements of refugees and the disappearance of traditional cultures. Researchers from a wide range of backgrounds are now, accordingly, engaging in island studies.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dawson and Pugh (2022).

The study of the Mediterranean islands in particular has, since the late 1940s, been rehabilitated in great part thanks to new theoretical conceptions that have provided fresh perspectives on well-known materials and narratives. The revolutionary ideas of Fernand Braudel presented in his ground-breaking work, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1949), shifted the focus of interest from the continental boundaries of the region to its marine basin, including its islands, to understand the various processes at work over the *longue durée*.<sup>2</sup> Few decades later, during the 1970s, Emile Kolodny argued that absolute isolation – a concept considered applicable mainly to the Pacific islands – was unknown in the Greek world.<sup>3</sup> Island studies was further invigorated in the early 1980s by John Cherry’s combination of processual archaeology and biogeography to explain the dynamics of cross-cultural interactions, similarities, and differences during the colonisation of various Mediterranean islands.<sup>4</sup>

Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell’s *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (2001) represented the next significant advance in the study of the Mediterranean islands. Their study traced common themes in the region over the past three to four millennia, taking into account the extreme fragmentation into various land- and seascapes. In this novel analysis of the relationships among the various micro-ecologies, again, islands occupied a prominent place. The authors emphasised that the Mediterranean has been an area of uncertainty as well as great mobility, with the most extensive coastline per unit area on the planet. The fact that navigators could traverse much of it without losing sight of land, and that the sun illuminated it year-round, made the Mediterranean a land of opportunity that encouraged its inhabitants to diversify, produce, and explore. In addition, Patrice Brun thoroughly re-examined the role of poverty in shaping life on several Aegean islands, drawing on ancient sources, both archaeological and historical, to demonstrate the economic prosperity of islands such as Naxos, a major producer of wine, and Kythnos, a producer of cheese. Brun showed the alleged poverty of the islands to be frequently associated with a false notion of their isolation that was, in fact, a literary *topos* rooted in the idyllic visions of poets in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times.<sup>5</sup> More recently, in the early 2000s, Cyprian

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<sup>2</sup> Braudel (1958). Here is important to note that current scholarship does not consider even the Pacific islands as having been isolated; see as Terrell (1977, 1999, and 2018).

<sup>3</sup> Kolodny (1974).

<sup>4</sup> Cherry (1981).

<sup>5</sup> Brun (1996).

Broodbank used “proximal point analysis” to explain inter-island connections (“islandscapes”), thus rethinking the premises, agendas, and methods of island archaeology.<sup>6</sup> In particular, Broodbank rejected the linear narrative approach to the relationships among the Mediterranean islands in favour of a reticulated one encompassing all of them interacting with each other as well as with land-based societies. The now flourishing field of island studies has largely adopted the network approach to the history, social and religious life, and material culture of the Mediterranean islands.<sup>7</sup>

Within the framework of this research, the volume *Questions of Insularity in the Ancient Mediterranean* offers interviews, papers, and book reviews that, together shed light on current issues in insularity studies such as local identity and changes in the environment. The eight studies offer an interdisciplinary perspective that combines archaeological, historical, geographical, and literary evidence for various aspects of insularity in ancient Greece—mainly the Aegean region—over the *longue durée*, in this case, from the Iron Age to Roman times.

Thus, Ioannis Petropoulos, in “Field Notes from the *Odyssey*: The Fabulous Ethnography of Aiolie, Aiaie, and Ogygie,” approaches islands as places removed from the real world. His analysis of these three key islands in Odysseus’s tales of his wanderings (*Apologoi*) demonstrates that the work, the protagonist of which is an islander, is foundational for understanding archaic Greek perceptions of islands as “remote fantasy places, where the primitive and extreme facts prevailed” and that it went on to serve as the basis for Western perceptions of islands.

In other chapters, distinctive historical, archaeological, and geographical realities inform analyses of isolation and connectivity, concepts closely associated with insularity in the contemporary academic discussion. Thus, Doug Forsyth, in “The Iron Age Cyclades and Crete: Different Approaches to Connectivity,” uses the archaeological evidence as a basis for speculation about food security, proposing that environmental factors, especially rainfall, played significant roles in how connectivity developed in the Cycladic islands during the Iron Age. Crete, with more ready access to fresh water and

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<sup>6</sup> Broodbank (2000, 21–23, 239).

<sup>7</sup> Amid the large volume of this scholarship, the most relevant works are Contantakopoulou (2010); Knappett (2011); Malkin (2011); Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulo (2011); Collar (2015); Dowson (2010b, 2010c, 2014, 2015, 2019a, 2021).

less dependence on imported food, developed an approach to insularity different from that developed on the Cyclades.

Alexandra S. Sfyroera, in “Island on a Pendulum: Naxos between Isolation and Connectivity,” analysing that island over the *longue durée*, discusses the various phases as the Naxians’ interactions with others and how they “forged their identity and differentiated it from islanders of other Cycladic islands and beyond” in response to various forms of interference, with the geographical position and geomorphology of the island making it the fixed point of the metaphorical pendulum.

Tadeu Andrade, in “Insularity and the Unique Position of Aeolic Song in Archaic Greek Poetry,” shows “how the insular geography of Lesbos contributed to the unique status of its poetry in the archaic period,” specifically, the island’s “size, territorial unity, and relative isolation, together with its ethnic and linguistic cohesion.” The fragments of poetry analysed here show that “not only did the Aeolians adapt pan-Hellenic phrasing to their metrics, but they developed their own system of formulae.”

Dora Katsonopoulou, in “Travelers in the Mediterranean: The Case for Ancient Parians,” analyses the archaeological and literary evidence for the connections among Paros, the northern Aegean and Adriatic Seas, and the Black Sea. The focus here is on the prominent role of the island-polis in Greek colonization in the archaic and classical periods and the continued export of its cultural products to the regions where its colonists settled, such as Southern Italy.

Eirene Poupaki, in “Stone Artifacts from Agathonisi, Dodecanese, Greece: Evidence of Insularity,” discusses the connectivity of this small island with Miletus and other cities and islands on the coast of Asia Minor in the classical and Hellenistic periods. Her analysis is based on categories of stone artifacts, both local and imported, found in Kastraki on the island of Agathonisi in the Dodecanese archipelago, that are published here for the first time.

Fabio Augusto Morales, in “Mithridates, Helianax, and Late Hellenistic Delos as a Global City: Urban Insularity and Integration,” contributes to the study of connectivity in global history by showing the relationship of various theoretical perspectives to insularity. To do so, he analyses the temple dedicated to Mithridates on the island of Delos in the late 2nd century BC as a product of urban insularity. The analysis supports the conclusion that “Delian elite connections were modulated by the particular urban insularity of Delos and its relations to Mediterranean integration processes.”

Anna Kouremenos concludes the selection of articles with a study titled “Insularity and Imperial Politics: Hadrian on the Greek Islands.” She discusses the role of the Greek islands in the Roman Empire and especially the emperors, highlighting the theme of island connectivity and isolation during Hadrian’s reign. Her analysis goes beyond the Aegean context to show that the Greek islands served as places of exile for the residences for Romans, but were never colonized by them. Emperors could even bestow islands as gifts; thus, Hadrian gave Cephalonia in the Ionian Sea to Athens. The author argues that the Greek islands were much more to Hadrian than pawns in his political agenda, however; unlike previous emperors, he saw them as the stage for the Greek past that he admired.

The volume also includes a review of a recent publication in the field of island studies. Specifically, Jesper Tae Jensen assesses *Mediterranean Archaeologies of Insularity in an Age of Globalization* by Anna Kouremenos and Jody Michael Gordon.

Interviews with two important contributors to the field of island studies close the book. In the first, Gilberto da Silva Francisco discusses his coordination of the archaeological research at the sanctuary of Hera on Delos and provides an overview of the history of the excavations.

We conducted the other interview with Jonathan Pugh in September 2021, discussing contemporary issues in insularity and the study of islands beyond the frequent topics of isolation and connectivity. Our talk explored his notion that this research “should be seen as more concerned with the concept of *islandness* rather than with the traditional definition of islands as entities surrounded by water.” Among the questions that we discussed during the interview were the manner in which islands became a peripheral topic in modern thought and the renewed interest in them in the Anthropocene.

*Mare Nostrum* volume 12, number 2 (July-December 2021) also includes two more articles and another book review. Felipe Aiala de Mello, in “Plutarco e os Lágidas: representação identitária e propaganda imperial,” analyses Plutarch’s representations of the Lagids and the Orient in his *Parallel Lives*. He argues that the ancient author, drawing on stereotyped oppositional dichotomies developed in Hellenic historiography and a cultural and moral hierarchy consistent with Roman propaganda, depicted the Lagids and the East as inferior to the civilisations of the West.

Ludimila Caliman Campos, in “Seria lícito se ocupar da espada, quando o senhor proclamou que quem a usa perecerá por ela? Tertuliano e a polêmica do serviço militar

(século III),” analyses the thought of Tertullian regarding Christians serving in the military in his *De Idolatria* and *De Corona*. For Caliman Campos, the questions raised by Tertullian in these treatises evidence not only a Christianity concerned with the maintenance of the *status quo* for Christian ethics during the controversy surrounding military service but also an urgent desire to differentiate Christian identity from identity associated with the rival cult of Mithraism.

Matheus Treuk Medeiros de Araujo contributes a review of *A History of Ancient Persia: The Achaemenid Empire* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2021) by Maria Brosius. He describes the book as “the most up-to-date” bibliography on the subject.”

The publication of this collection as a separate volume of *Mare Nostrum* would not have been possible without the collaborative efforts of our colleagues. Thus, we are grateful to Estevam Lima de Almeida, who revised the formatting of all of the contributions, Fabrício Sparvoli for the final organization and publication, Gabriel Cabral, who helped to organize the live interview with Jonathan Pugh, and Luigi Lafasciano, who transcribed it, Gilberto da Silva Francisco for the cover graphics, and Ana Paula Scarpa and Pedro Luís de Toledo Piza for providing all support for this publication. We are also indebted to Yannis Kourayos for granting us permission to reproduce the photo from Despotiko that accompanies this introduction.

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The editors,

Lilian de Angelo Laky (Department of History, University of São Paulo)  
Erica Angliker (The Danish Institute of Mediterranean Studies, Diomedes,  
Copenhagen).

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## II. DOSSIÊ

### FIELD NOTES FROM THE *ODYSSEY*: THE FABULOUS ETHNOGRAPHY OF AIOLIE, AIAIE, AND OGYGIE<sup>1</sup>

*Ioannis Petropoulos*<sup>2</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

Odysseus' ethnographic digressions in books 9-12 of the *Odyssey*—the so-called *Apologue*—have served as the premier paradigm for mythic and actual ethnography from Herodotus through Marco Polo and Christopher Columbus, and more particularly, for the 'I-witnessing approach' of ethnography. Among the peoples and lands and styles of thinking he encountered (*Odyssey* 1.3), the hero also became acquainted with several islands. As microcosms of larger societies, islands furnish 'master metaphors' and models with which to think about culture. In this article I discuss three islands from the *Apologue* in the chronological order of Odysseus' travels. They are inseparable from their geography and the personality and 'life style' of their inhabitants, as will be seen; these islands adumbrate the moral and gendered mythic cartography of Archaic Greece.

#### KEYWORDS

Ethnography, *Odyssey*, island imaginary, island as a metaphor, 'ethnographic savage'.

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### 1. Introduction

Written in New Guinea and the Trobriand Islands in the years 1914-15 and 1917-18, Bronislaw Malinowski's *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* has been described as an account of 'the paradigm journey to the paradigm elsewhere'.<sup>3</sup> In a slightly more fanciful sense, Odysseus' long ethnographic excursi in books 9-12 of the *Odyssey*—the so-called *Apologue*—served as the premier paradigm for mythic and actual ethnography from Herodotus through Marco Polo and Christopher Columbus,<sup>4</sup> and more particularly, for what C. Geertz has called the 'I-witnessing approach' of ethnography.<sup>5</sup> Among the peoples and lands and styles of thinking he encountered (*Odyssey* 1.3, πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω),<sup>6</sup> the hero, an islander, also became acquainted with islands that varied from the colonist's postcard Isle of the Goats to fabulous Scherie and the ultra-fabulous Isle of the Sirens, and Thrinakia. Strange things and beings are apt to be found in foreign parts, and the further the location, the stranger. Strangeness is arguably more concentrated when miniaturised in the compactness of an island. Likewise, real-life problems and traits that are writ large in a peninsula may gain universalising force on an island, even a make-believe one. As microcosms of larger societies, islands furnish 'master metaphors' and models with which to think about culture.<sup>7</sup> In what follows I discuss three islands from the *Apologue* in the chronological order of Odysseus' travels. They are inseparable from their geography and the personality and 'life style' of their inhabitants, as will be seen; these islands adumbrate the moral and gendered mythic cartography of Archaic Greece.

### 2. Aiolie, the shifting, shimmering island

ἔρρ' ἐκ νήσου θᾶσσον

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<sup>3</sup> Geertz (1988), 75.

<sup>4</sup> On ancient and subsequent ethnography see, e.g., Leach (1982), 62-5; Petropoulos (2019)b, esp. 158-63; Skinner (2012).

<sup>5</sup> Geertz op. cit., 78-9.

<sup>6</sup> 'Many were the people with whose customs and thinking [*noos*] he was acquainted.' Greek text and translations are taken from Perseus online unless specified otherwise.

<sup>7</sup> See Ronström (2013), esp. 158-60 for the island as metaphor or model.

‘Get the hell out of my island!’<sup>8</sup>

– *Odyssey* 10. 72 (Aiolos to Odysseus)

Aiolie (Αιολίη), the domain of Aiolos, Controller of the Winds, was a ‘floating island’ (10.3, πλωτή νῆσος) that moved, it seems, with the gusts of wind and the sea currents.<sup>9</sup> The name Aiolie is related to the adjective αἰόλος, ‘rapid’, ‘quick-moving’ but more frequently ‘glittering, dazzling’, as of armour.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the metal armour (τεύχεα) of a Trojan tumbling out of his chariot is αἰόλα παμφανόωντα (*Iliad* 5.294-5): the weapons gleam all the more in motion. To an approaching mariner the elevation of an island can suddenly rise sheer out of the misty sea, resembling the bulging boss of a shield flat on the ground.<sup>11</sup> In clear weather the hump of an island might glisten or seem to move as the fog envelopes it. Aiolie is the ‘rapidly shifting island’<sup>12</sup> or ‘shimmering island’. The name may suggest either or indeed both of these typical features of islands; a shimmering surface, after all, constantly seems to shift in sunlight. Aiolie became still more iridescent when it was buffeted by the wind.<sup>13</sup>

When Odysseus and his ships reached the isle, it lay, as one critic puts it, ‘(for the time being, at least) out in the western ocean, ten days’ sail westward of Ithaca.’<sup>14</sup> It appeared to be a typical walled city atop shiny cliffs rather like the anonymous besieged island-city described in *Iliad* 18. 205-14. The coastline of Aiolie however was ringed with unbreakable, dazzling bronze walls, which together with its slippery cliffs made it impregnable. The isle was denizenized by Aiolos, son of Hippota (an aristocratic name—‘Horseman’—which recalls the rapid movement of a horse)<sup>15</sup> and his queen, and their six sons and six daughters. The siblings were married to one another. Sibling incest was not only an exotic touch<sup>16</sup>—it was most bizarre amongst mortals—but also evoked, from an ethnographic perspective, *the endemism and inward-facing ideology of an island*

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<sup>8</sup> My tr.

<sup>9</sup> See D scholia on *Odyssey* 12.3 (Ernst, p. 202).

<sup>10</sup> Chantraine and also Montanari, s.v. αἰόλος.

<sup>11</sup> See Odysseus’ description of Scherie at *Odyssey* 5.278 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the Planktai, the Wandering Rocks, *Odyssey* 12. 61 and Herodotus 4.85.1; also the isle of Khemmis afloat in a lake in Egypt: Herodotus 4.85.1 (following Hecataeus).

<sup>13</sup> Homeric ἄημι = ‘to blow’, of the wind, can mean figuratively ‘to fluctuate’ (of θυμός, *Iliad* 21.386); in the *Homeric hymn to Demeter* 276 the passive ἄητο is used of the beauty of the goddess that *shines* around her. See LSJ and Montanari, s.v. ἄημι.

<sup>14</sup> West (2014), 118.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Achilles’ swift horse, Xanthos, which was πόδας αἰόλος (*Iliad* 19.404).

<sup>16</sup> Heubeck (1989), 44 on *Odyssey* 10. 7.

*community*. In the palace the entire family feasted merrily on an abundant supply of meat, its aroma filling the rooms. They were a small society of hearty meat-eaters throughout the day. By night the couples enjoyed their lovemaking.

The inbred enclosure and fixity of Aiolie were contrasted by its fluidity and indeterminacy in space. The motile island was ruled, suitably enough, by a wind-sorcerer of international folktales: appointed by Zeus ‘controller of winds’ (10.21, ταμίην ἀνέμων), Aiolos manipulated the winds (which were co-extensive with his nature) by binding them.<sup>17</sup> His wizardry in managing their direction and intensity—in effect, their labile personality—suggests that he was in a serious sense *polutropos*, like Odysseus, the archetypal versatile islander. Aiolos and Odysseus were ‘one who turns into many different selves’ (in G. Nagy’s gloss of πολύτροπος as used of Odysseus).<sup>18</sup> If indeed islands are good to think with as metaphors of culture,<sup>19</sup> the shifting movement of Aiolia is a metaphor for the ‘polydextrous and multifaceted competence’ of islanders across history.<sup>20</sup> Aiolos’ polydexterity enabled him to bind the very motility of winds in order to help Odysseus to sail to Ithaca.

### 3. Kirke’s island menagerie

Kirke and her four female servants (who were water and wood nymphs, 10. 348-5) were the sole inhabitants of a low-lying wooded island (10.197), Αἰαίην... νῆσον (‘the island of Aiaie’, 10.135).<sup>21</sup> Aiaie may be related to the word for Dawn (cf. 12.1).<sup>22</sup> Kirke had solar associations worthy of a guardian of animals, especially game.<sup>23</sup> She was the daughter of the Sun (10. 138) and half-sister of the solar Phaethousa and Lampetie (12. 379-81). Her name may be a feminine form of *kirkos*, ‘hawk, falcon’, a greedy but beautiful predator; it points to her connection to the Egyptian falcon-god Ra, a symbol of the rising sun.<sup>24</sup> Kirke’s Egyptian roots strengthen the likelihood that Aiaie was the ‘Island of the Rising Sun’, in the extreme east. νῆσος (‘island’), obviously, signposts Aiaie’s geomorphology.

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<sup>17</sup> *Odyssey* 10.20, with Heubeck op. cit., 43 on 10. 1-79.

<sup>18</sup> Nagy (2018).

<sup>19</sup> Again, Ronström op. cit., 158-9.

<sup>20</sup> Conkling (2007), 192; cf. Putz (1984), 26.

<sup>21</sup> The word-order can be inverted: νῆσον... Αἰαίην (11. 70 and 12. 3).

<sup>22</sup> Dawe on *Odyssey* 10. 135, citing E. Schwyzer.

<sup>23</sup> Bakker op. cit., 58 ff., esp. 75 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Heubeck (1989), 52 on *Odyssey* 10.133-574. West (1997), 408 connects the name with the Egyptian sun-god (Ra), who is ‘represented as a falcon, or with a falcon’s head’.

Speaking to the Phaiakians, Odysseus quotes at 10. 194-5 the words with which he recounted to his crew how supposedly he came to realise, after reconnoitering in a state of utter disorientation (10. 190-3), that they were stranded on an island.<sup>25</sup> The dilatory syntax and climactic enjambment of his sentence (10. 194-5) show the hero to be re-enacting the gradual formation of his impressions and his inference:

εἶδον γὰρ σκοπιὴν ἐξ παιπαλόεσσαν ἀνελθὼν  
νῆσον, τὴν πέρι πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωται.

‘For I climbed to a rugged point of outlook, and beheld  
the island, about which the boundless sea lies like a wreath.’<sup>26</sup>

– *Odyssey* 10. 194-5

In effect, ‘I saw—I then realised—that this was/ an *island*’ (10. 194-5). Odysseus’ observation that he was circled by the limitless sea could only mean that he was marooned on another inaccessible, faraway island. As some have suggested, Odysseus may here have deliberately been overdramatising his initial reaction to his discovery (10. 145-52) in order to motivate his crew to join him on a second survey. Even as theatrics, his desperate admission that he could devise no means of escape is revealing.<sup>27</sup> *Remoteness—being ‘out of the way’—is indeed a facet of the ‘island imaginary’ even today.* Kalypso’s island, as will be noted, is another ancient example.

Thickly forested (10.308), Aiaie had a welcoming natural harbour (10.141). Kirke’s palace was situated some distance from the shore (12. 343); caves, a chthonian detail, lay near the shoreline (10. 404, 424). The palace, built of polished stone (10. 210), and its

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<sup>25</sup> ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ τ’ ἴδμεν, ὅπη ζόφος οὐδ’ ὅπη ἠώς,  
οὐδ’ ὅπη ἥελιος φαεσίμβροτος εἰς ὑπὸ γαῖαν,  
οὐδ’ ὅπη ἀννεῖται: ἄλλα φραζώμεθα θᾶσσον  
εἴ τις ἔτ’ ἔσται μῆτις. ἐγὼ δ’ οὐκ οἶομαι εἶναι.

‘My friends, we know not where the darkness is or, where the dawn,  
neither where the sun, who gives light to mortals, goes beneath the earth,  
or where he rises; but let us at once take thought  
if any device is still left for us. As for me, I do not think there is.’

<sup>26</sup> Tr. slightly modified.

<sup>27</sup> See further below on the lack of *metis* (10. 193).

furniture (10. 233) and other conventional domestic trappings (10. 233)<sup>28</sup> including the smoke rising from the halls, stood in a clearing amidst ‘thick brush and a wood’ (10. 150). Out of the palace rose the divinely beautiful work song of Kirke as she worked at her loom (10. 221-3, 226-8).<sup>29</sup> To a casual visitor (assuming there would have been one!) the abode would at first have seemed unexceptionable until they would have noticed, as Odysseus’ scout Eurylochos did, that it was surrounded by huge mountain wolves and lions, monstrous-looking but abnormally tame (10. 211-19). Once human castaways on Aiaie,<sup>30</sup> they cowered, like timid guardians, before the halls of their mistress. We might also call Aiaie the Isle of the Beast Men.

Eurylochos’ report provided a foretaste of the topsy-turviness and paradox of an island inhabited by a congenitally evil witch drawn from folklore<sup>31</sup> who combined features of a Near Eastern Mistress of Animals and Ishtar-like love goddess (who also had traces of a Mistress of the Wild).<sup>32</sup> Homeric Kirke, then, was a witch and a Dominatrix of Animals and Men. She brought about successive reversals and strange happenings, even perverting social, especially dining etiquette.<sup>33</sup> With a wave of her wand and after administering a chthonian potion (10. 234-5),<sup>34</sup> the ‘awe-inspiring, fair-tressed goddess of human speech’ (Κίρκη ἐνπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα, 10. 136 = 12. 150) turned twenty-two of Odysseus’ men (10. 208) into grunting pigs that paradoxically retained their faculty of thought, and fed them acorns (10. 239, cf. 432-3).<sup>35</sup> She also attempted to animalise Odysseus (another reversal) but, forewarned and equipped by Hermes with an antidote to her ‘evil drugs’, the hero thwarted her (10. 310 ff.). Even then, she bluntly

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<sup>28</sup> The palace-style furniture and accoutrements are mentioned at 10. 314-15 and *in extenso* at 10. 352-70.

<sup>29</sup> On ancient Greek weaving songs and other work songs: Petropoulos (1989), 163, to which add Sappho fr. 102 (LP), which has the tone of a loom-song.

<sup>30</sup> So also Dawe op. cit., 417 on 10. 433; *contra*, Heubeck op. cit., 56. To Dawe’s note I may add a supporting consideration: 10.327-8 sounds like a formulaic advertisement of a magical recipe that has been tried and tested on previous victims; note especially the gnomic aorist, ἀντέτλη, and see Petropoulos (2019)a, 180, 184, 186 on comparable standard advertisements.

<sup>31</sup> Her evil replicates that of her brother, as implied by αὐτοκασιγνήτη in 10.137, αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο; cf. the name Αὐτόλυκος and especially αὐτομήτωρ, used by Semonides fr. 12 (W) of the bitch-woman: general discussion of the *topos* ‘like mother, like daughter’ in Petropoulos (2008), 125-6. Magical skills frequently are inherited from one’s mother; Aietes’ and Kirke’s mother, the Oceanid Perse, was a witch according to Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*, IV. Further on Kirke’s evil intent: φάρμακα λύγρ’ (10.236) and κακὰ φρονέουσ’ ἐνὶ θυμῷ (10. 317). For Kirke the witch, cf. esp. πολυφαρμάκου (10. 276) and another intensifying compound, καταθέλγειν, used of bewitchment (10. 213).

<sup>32</sup> On Kirke as Mistress of Animals: West (1997), especially 408; also Bakker op. cit, 75 ff. On Kirke as a Mistress of Animals and witch: Marinatos (2008), 10-13.

<sup>33</sup> Dawe on 10. 348; Heubeck (1989), 61 on 10. 325-35. Also see both on 10. 310 ff.

<sup>34</sup> See Petropoulos (2019), 182-3; 184n19 on this sequence; Marinatos op. cit., 12 on the potion as food for the dead.

<sup>35</sup> Dawe op. cit., 406 on 10.239: pigs are popularly connected with magic.

invited him to her bed (333-5), an outrageous violation of hospitality. After exacting an oath from her that she would not (executing still another reversal) *castrate* him (ἀνήνορα θήη, 10. 301), he ‘went up to her beautiful bed’ (10. 347).<sup>36</sup>

The nymph at length ‘released’ the captive men (10. 385, 387) from their lowly animalhood, through counter-magic (10. 391-7)—working yet another of her reversals.<sup>37</sup> By the end of the adventure she has switched over to a divine helper of the type found in myth, and behaves, in effect, as an amulet.<sup>38</sup> Odysseus’ porcine men resented their in-between condition: hungry hogs on the outside, intelligent human beings (but innocent of their memory of Ithaca) on the inside, they wept.<sup>39</sup> They were the complete converse of the Beast Folk in *The Island of Dr Moreau* (1896), H.G. Wells’ novel about a mad scientist who transforms the animals on an island into human beings. Wells’ erstwhile beasts, having ‘stumbled’, as he says, ‘in the shackles of humanity’, come to regret losing their instinctual lives.<sup>40</sup> The Kirke adventure similarly touches on the matter of man’s animality. Recounting his tearful reunion with the men who had stayed behind on Aiaie’s shore, Odysseus resorts to a bucolic simile that gains ironical point from the human-animal binary running through the episode: crew and captain alike are respectively animalised in the comparison to calves mooing and leaping gleefully out of their pens on seeing their mothers return (10. 410-15).

The lowing cows in the simile and the helpless, grunting pigs of Aiaie suggest that besides its concern in man’s animal side, the episode has an interest in the attributes of speech and thought, regarded by the Greeks as uniquely human and as prerequisites of civilisation.<sup>41</sup> Arrived at Scherie in book 6, Odysseus wondered aloud whether he had come to a land of wild—that is, uncivilised—men (ἄγριοι) or of men ‘of intelligible speech’ (αὐδηέντων).<sup>42</sup> In book 10 he reconnoitered Aiaie in hopes of sighting ‘the works of men’ and hearing ‘the voice of mortals’ (βροτῶν ἐνοπήν, 147). As remarked, he describes Kirke as a θεὰ αὐδήεσσα (10. 136), i.e. a goddess capable of humanly

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<sup>36</sup> Odysseus’ nakedness in bed (γυμνωθέντα, 10.341, cf. ἀπογυμνωθέντα, 10. 301) suggests that ἀνήνορα (‘unmanly’ or ‘non-manly’) here connotes desexualisation/ emasculation.

<sup>37</sup> λύεσθαι/ λύειν (‘to loose’, ‘release’) at 10. 385 and 387 suits the practice of reversing a binding spell.

<sup>38</sup> Marinatos op. cit., 13 on Kirke as an amulet.

<sup>39</sup> For their resentment cf. de Jong (2001), 259 on 10. 240; on their magically induced forgetting of Ithaca: 10. 235; its reversal: 10. 397 (after changing back into men, they recognise Odysseus).

<sup>40</sup> Cited in Carpi (2020), 228.

<sup>41</sup> Renehan (1981), 239-59 on this Greek attitude; Petropoulos (2013), 43-56 on the classical Greek definition of civilisation.

<sup>42</sup> 6. 120, 125.



intelligible speech. (Her native tongue would have been the distinctive speech of gods, but she also spoke the language of mortals *par excellence*, Homeric Greek.)<sup>43</sup> Hermes' role in the episode may be relevant to the matter of speech. As a herald of the gods, he relayed communication through speech; in *Works and Days* he implanted in Pandora a voice and the ability to tell deceitful tales and lies (79-80).<sup>44</sup>

Odysseus' confession, shortly after his arrival on the island, that he had lost his bearings and his problem-solving thinking (μητις, 10. 192-3), evokes more generally the typically human (as most ancients believed) ability to think.<sup>45</sup> Human thought and self-consciousness are cast in relief when Odysseus (supplementing Eurylochos' report with the help of hindsight) says that his comrades, though metamorphosed into swine, still fully retained their *nous* (νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος, 10. 240). Once restored to humanness, Kirke's prisoners immediately recognised Odysseus, again counterpointing human consciousness/ perception against subhuman life. The allegorist 'Heraclitus' (1<sup>st</sup> century AD?) tellingly associates Hermes in this episode with 'upright discourse' (*orthos logos*), or rational thought, and his winged sandals (on which he flew to Aiaie) with 'outer speech' (προφορικὸς λόγος), a Stoic category.<sup>46</sup> This Stoic reading is anachronistic; but already in Homer the squeals of Kirke's thoughtful pigs anticipate the formal mainstream Greek conceit—in the sense of concept and conceited view—that only *homo sapiens* was capable of thought and speech, that 'man alone of θνητὰ ζῷα was a λογικὸν ζῷον'.<sup>47</sup>

As it turned out, Odysseus surrendered to Kirke's sexual allure for a year (10. 467-8). Like primordial Ogygie, Aiaie, with its relaxation of sexual mores and other norms and more particularly, its animalising excesses, harks forward to the *notion of the island as a sensual paradise*. (Outside the Wanderings of Odysseus another such locus was Kranae island, which served as a love nest for Paris and Helen, *Iliad* 3. 445.) 'Heracleitos', at least, certainly read the Aiaian adventure as a lesson about the perils of unbridled ἡδονή ('sensual pleasure'), and in particular, gluttony (γαστριμαργία) that leads

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<sup>43</sup> Odysseus notes that the antidote, which Hermes described to him as a φάρμακον ἔσθλόν (10. 287), was called μῶλυ by the gods (10. 305). Gera (2003), 51-4 on language of the gods in Homer and Hesiod; on αὐδή, *ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>44</sup> Further, Gera *op. cit.*, especially 115-18.

<sup>45</sup> For a different interpretation of this passage see Bakker *op. cit.*, 79-80.

<sup>46</sup> *Homeric Problems* 72. 5-7, 14-18 (Russell-Konstan).

<sup>47</sup> Renehan *op. cit.*, especially 245-6.

to a life ‘more wretched than that of pigs’.<sup>48</sup> *Extreme things are liable to happen on islands, and especially on islands at the edges of the mythic Admiralty chart.*<sup>49</sup>

#### 4. *Kalypso’s ‘primitive’ isle*

Ὠγυγίη τις νῆσος ἀπόπροθεν εἰν ἄλι κείται

‘There is an isle, Ogygie, which lies far off in the sea.’

– *Odyssey* 7. 244<sup>50</sup>

The first outright mention of Kalypso’s island occurs at *Odyssey* 1. 50-1 where Athena refers to it twice as a νῆσος (1. 50) and qualifies it as ἀμφιρύτη (50) and δενδρήεσσα (51). ἀμφιρύτη, ‘with water all around’<sup>51</sup> or ‘sea-girt’ (a frequent poetic translation), points to an elementary physical trait of a generic island, namely its boundedness by water, its closure and self-containment.<sup>52</sup> Some thirty lines later Athena mentions the island by name, Ogygie (νῆσον... Ὠγυγίην, 1.85), apparently an adjective meaning ‘extremely ancient’, ‘primordial’.<sup>53</sup> The island was *remote* (5. 55),<sup>54</sup> situated as it was across an expanse of the sea that even Hermes found tedious to traverse, especially as the absence of human habitation ruled out the savour of sacrifices which he ordinarily might have relished on his aerial route (5.99-102). The unfathomable distance—literally, ‘water unsingable’ (cf. ὕδωρ/ ἄσπετον, 5. 100-1)—<sup>55</sup> between the isle and any other city made access prohibitive for speedy ships even in the best weather, as Odysseus noted before leaving the island (5. 174-6). Ordinarily, travel from the island was ruled out, for Kalypso had neither ships nor sailors (5. 141-2).

Δενδρήεσσα, ‘full of trees’, ‘abundantly wooded’—the other adjective Athena uses of the isle—will soon be borne out by the poet-narrator’s description of its forests and

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<sup>48</sup> *Homeric Problems* 72. 1 (Russell- Konstan). Socrates, in Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.3.6-7, proposed a similar reading of the episode.

<sup>49</sup> On fabulous geography see Romm (1992), esp. ch. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Tr. slightly modified.

<sup>51</sup> Dawe op. cit., 47.

<sup>52</sup> ἀμφιρύτη is used of Kalypso’s island again (1. 198); of the isle of Die (11. 325); and of Kirke’s island (12. 283).

<sup>53</sup> Also at 6. 172, 7.244, 254, and 12. 448. On the meaning of the adjective, see Heubeck-West-Hainsworth (1988), 85-6 on *Odyssey* 1. 85.

<sup>54</sup> Also cf. 7. 244, quoted above.

<sup>55</sup> On the especial stress laid on ἄσπετον, see Hainsworth (1988), 265 on *Odyssey* 5. 101.

luxuriant vegetation (5. 63-4). Even its shoreline was lined with trees (5. 238). The isle was located ‘on (or at) the navel of the sea’ (see below). The sole inhabitant (apart from her maids) was Kalypso, a nymph (so described by gods in conversation and by Homer in his third-person narration).<sup>56</sup> She accordingly is described as θεά, θεός, or δῖα θεάων throughout book 5 by other gods as well as Homer and Odysseus. In his *Apologue* the hero twice describes her as a ‘fair-tressed, awe-inspiring goddess’ (εὐπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεός, 7. 246, 255), which brings out her beauty, her immortality, and august divinity. After his touchdown on her island, Hermes found her in her cave, singing (like Kirke) a beautiful aria while she wove on her loom (5.61-2). An absolute loner—she had scarce dealings with the gods<sup>57</sup>—Kalypso was determined to share her empty loneliness with Odysseus. She dangled her deathlessness and her beauty in seeking to entice Odysseus into residing forever on her island, even promising to make him immortal. After seven years the unworldly charms of Ogygie (see below) and its nymph began to cloy (7. 259). During these years the hero was presumed dead by all but his family.

Athena’s comments at *Odyssey* 1. 50-4 furnish Kalypso’s genealogy and the sole ‘geographical’ coordinates of her island:

νήσω ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, ὅθι τ’ ὀμφαλός ἐστι θαλάσσης.  
νήσος δὲ δένδρῃεσσα, θεὰ δ’ ἐν δώματα ναίει,  
Ἄτλαντος θυγάτηρ ὀλοόφρονος, ὅς τε θαλάσσης  
πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς  
μακράς, αἷ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν.

‘...in a sea-girt isle, where is the navel of the sea.

’Tis a wooded isle, and therein dwells a goddess,

daughter of Atlas of baneful mind, who knows the depths of every sea, and

himself holds the tall pillars which keep earth and heaven apart.’

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<sup>56</sup> 4. 557; 5. 14, 30, 57, 149, 153, 186, 196, 230.

<sup>57</sup> 5. 77-80; 87-8 (the latter lines are an ironical understatement, in effect ‘You [Hermes] rarely come here’).

Evil intrigue ran in the nymph's genealogy, for her father was the son of one of the scheming Titan ogres of cosmic prehistory. Kalypso was the daughter of Atlas of baneful mind' (ὀλοόφρωνος, 1. 52). This trait aligned her to Kirke, another malign island-goddess whose brother (Aietes) was also ὀλοόφρων (10. 137).<sup>58</sup> According to Hesiod's *Theogony*, Atlas literally upholds the separation of sky and earth while standing forever in the extreme west (517-20), at the intersection of Night and Day (746-8).<sup>59</sup> Yet he is also a marine deity enjoying, like Proteus, knowledge of the depths of the sea.<sup>60</sup> Ogygie by the same account lies at a cosmic juncture, the ὀμφαλὸς θαλάσσης (*Odyssey* 1. 50), a phrase that antedates 'navel of the earth' used of Delphi<sup>61</sup> and similarly connotes creation and centrality and a demarcation of the world of immortals and mortals. Perhaps the submarine *omphalos* was situated in the sphere of Atlas in the west. This coordinate was, at any rate, the point on the surface of the map most distant from all land.<sup>62</sup> Ogygie was not merely hopelessly faraway, but also 'very ancient', 'primordial', as befitted a cosmic-era backwater. Such may be the import especially of the collocation Ὠγυγίη...νῆσος (7. 244).

The name 'Kalypso' (Καλυψώ), derived from the verb καλύπτω, 'cover', 'conceal' is a *nom parlant*. Veiling herself (καλύπτειν) like the Babylonian ale-maid Siduri<sup>63</sup> and living in a grotto, the nymph 'covered' Odysseus in her uterine, hollow haunts, imposing un-heroic obscurity upon him. The pleasance attached to Kalypso's cavern was a wondrous *locus amoenus* that proved to be a cozy Devil's Island.<sup>64</sup> The prodigal variety of trees, fragrances, exotic birds, its grape vine and the row of four springs running across the island in four directions (this quartet being an emblem of paradise)<sup>65</sup> filled even a god, Hermes, with stunned wonder (5. 63-73). M. L. West and others have remarked that

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<sup>58</sup> See n. 31 above.

<sup>59</sup> West (1997), 149: the Titan seems to be a cross especially between Yahweh and the Hurro-Hittite giant Ubelluri 'upon whom heaven and earth were built'. See also Dawe op. cit., 47-8 on *Odyssey* 1. 52.

<sup>60</sup> Proteus: *Odyssey* 4. 386.

<sup>61</sup> Pindar, *Pythian* 4. 74, Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 40, 166.

<sup>62</sup> West (2014), 128, who adds, 'In an earlier version of the story, before the importation of the Argonautic adventures, it marked the extreme limit of Odysseus' travels, the place at which his situation seemed most hopeless, furthest from any land and with no ship.'

<sup>63</sup> See especially West (1997), 410 on Kalypso and Siduri.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. West (2014), 128: 'a kind of idyllic Alcatraz' (which is less apposite since Alcatraz is easily visible from the mainland and has nothing lush about it).

<sup>65</sup> West (1997), 422: 'This arrangement has long been compared with the river that flowed out of Eden and divided into four streams.' Dawe op. cit., 221 on 5. 55-73 notes that the sheer beauty of the *locus amoenus* on her island (see below) puts paid to the theory of some critics that Kalypso is a Bride of Death.

lengthy descriptions of scenic beauty are uncommon in Archaic Greek poetry;<sup>66</sup> the departure from this rule in the Homeric passage just noted suggests that something quite extraordinary—indeed, otherworldly—is being depicted.

The seven-year dalliance of the hero and his divine hostess produced no children (at least in the *Odyssey*). The paradisiacal ambiance of Ogygie and its continuous access to a private sea and sex prefigure the island imaginary of Gauguin, R.L. Stevenson, and *South Pacific*, summarised by one expert as ‘*sea, sand, sun, and sex*’.<sup>67</sup> At *Odyssey* 1. 198 ff., incidentally, when Athena tells Telemachos that his father is being held captive on an island ‘by savage men’ she is being tactful by mixing truth with falsehood,<sup>68</sup> her delicate lie is based on what must already in the Archaic period have been another cliché: *distant islands are inhabited by ‘savages’*.<sup>69</sup>

In sum, Kalypso’s and Kirke’s islands stood at opposite latitudes, and were sensuous, static, feminised locations. Ogygia, unreachably far, lay plumb on the ‘navel of the sea’ in the occident. The island was striking for its botanical beauty and forests and bird species—and the sterile voluptuous company of its native. Kalypso’s prison paradise was centred on a grotto, a chthonian feature. In the far east, Aiaie’s enclosed space was filled with rampant thickets and surrounding glens and docile beasts. It was the domain of a witch (among other titles). The underground, and hence chthonian, penfolds<sup>70</sup> on the island contained swine, chthonian creatures. Both Aiaie and Ogygia offered continuity and fixity in their strange wildness. Solitary inhabitants both (especially Kalypso, whose haunts overlay the navel of the sea), the goddesses occupied a lone, self-centred universe, a kind of planet given over to metaphorical navel-gazing: an ‘I-land’.<sup>71</sup> Neither Kalypso nor Kirke seems to have ventured beyond her shores; as remarked, Kalypso’s island had no ships despite its abundant forests, although the nymph did conveniently have a bronze axe, with which Odysseus constructed his raft (5. 162).

Aiolie, on the other hand, was a small island in motion; swept along by gales and sea currents, it resisted location. Like Kirke’s isle it too was home to magic. The isle of

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<sup>66</sup> West (1997), 411.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Lowenthal (2007), 217.

<sup>68</sup> Dawe in conjunction with Heubeck-West-Hainsworth on *Odyssey* 1. 198 ff. On this exchange see Petropoulos (2011), ch.1.

<sup>69</sup> Compare Malinowski’s *The sexual lives of savages in North-Western Melanesia* (1929) for an instance of the modern (if now discredited) cliché. Lestringant (2006) traces the invention of the ethnographic ‘savage’ to Jean de Léry and his voyage to Brazil in 1556.

<sup>70</sup> Dawe on 10. 283.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Lowenthal op. cit., 218 (the island as metaphor of identity).

Aiolos enclosed a tiny inbred community that travelled across the ocean. All three islands were remote pockets of fantasy where cultural primitiveness prevailed and extreme things happened. The close encounters of Odysseus and his men on Aiaie and of Odysseus on Ogygie also bring out the degree and the dangers of ‘going native’, a transformation that always happens at the cost of the newcomer’s original identity. Kalypso’s and Kirke’s islands invite us to think about immobility, retardation, animal instincts, and regression, while Aiolie prompts thoughts in particular about the paradox of mental insularity and *kinesis*. In the global world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century where physical insularity is now impossible, this paradox is quickly dissolving.

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**Figures**



**Figure 1:** Herbert James Draper, 'Calypso's Isle' (c. 1897 Manchester Art Gallery, oil on canvas, 84 x 147.3 cm.).



**Figure 2:** John William Waterhouse, 'Circe invidiosa' (1892, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, oil on canvas, 87.4 x 180.7 cm.).



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**NOTAS DE CAMPO DA *ODISSEIA*: A ETNOGRAFIA FABULOSA DE EÓLIA,  
AIAIE E OGÍGIA**

*Ioannis Petropoulos*

RESUMO

As digressões etnográficas de Odisseu nos livros 9 a 12 da *Odisseia* – o chamado Apólogo – serviram como o principal paradigma para a etnografia mítica e atual, desde Heródoto passando por Marco Polo e Cristóvão Colombo, e mais particularmente, para a "abordagem testemunhal" da etnografia. Entre os povos e terras e estilos de pensamento que ele encontrou (*Odisseia* 1.3) o herói também se familiarizou com várias ilhas. Como microcosmos de sociedades maiores, as ilhas fornecem 'metáforas mestras' e modelos com os quais se pode pensar sobre a cultura. Neste artigo, discuto três ilhas do Apólogo na ordem cronológica das viagens de Odisseu. Elas são inseparáveis de sua geografia e da personalidade e "estilo de vida" de seus habitantes, como será visto; estas ilhas adumbram a cartografia mítica moral e de gênero da Grécia arcaica.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Etnografia, *Odisseia*, imaginário sobre as ilhas, ilhas como metáfora, "selvagem etnográfico".

# THE IRON AGE CYCLADES AND CRETE: DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO CONNECTIVITY SPECULATIVELY RELATED TO FOOD SECURITY

*Doug Forsyth*<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

This paper offers a case study of some of the Cycladic Islands examining connectivity and insularity between 1000 – 500 BCE. In the Cyclades, evidence of interaction with areas outside of the archipelago and of intra-island connectivity is observable on many of the islands. It will be argued that environmental factors, predominantly low rainfall, may be at least part of the explanation for the adoption of a strategy of reaching out beyond an island's shores. Cycladic islanders plausibly sought to develop strong networks of affiliation with trading partners from other regions perhaps to serve as buffer zones to rely on during periods of poor food productivity. Compared to Cycladic material, the archaeological evidence of Cretan items found outside Crete is not as robust. This paper speculatively suggests that Cretans, living in a more fertile environment, did not feel the same need as Cycladic islanders to establish networks of affiliation for purposes of food security.

## KEYWORDS

Cyclades, Crete, Connectivity, Rainfall, Food Security.

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### *1. Introduction*<sup>2</sup>

The Cycladic Islands are in the centre of the Aegean Sea. East – west transit between mainland Greece and eastern areas such as Anatolia and the Levant necessitates passing through the island group. Similarly, north – south movement would likely pass through the Cyclades. The islands are not on the fringe of maritime communication routes, but rather are at the very centre of trans-Aegean movement and exchange (Constantakopoulou 2018, p.ix.). The large island of Crete is to the south of the Cyclades and forms the southern border of the Aegean Sea. East - west and some north - south maritime trade is observable in the Cretan record. This paper will provide case studies of the Cyclades and Crete examining aspects of insularity and connectivity during the Iron Age, 1000 – 500 BCE, the period following the end of the Bronze Age down to the arrival of larger political entities such as the Persians to the region. The examination focuses primarily on the Cycladic islands where low rainfall is an environmental constraint. A brief section discussing much better watered Crete is offered as a contrasting counter point to the Cycladic practices. Also discussed will be the impact of weather on maritime transport considering the ramifications for connectivity.

Archaeological evidence comprises the bulk of the examination. This evidence consists primarily of ceramics found in domestic, temple, and funerary deposits and from surveys. Types include drinking and domestic shapes as well as transport vessels. No shape or context is given greater importance than another, all are considered as evidence of some type of contact between peoples.<sup>3</sup> Missing from the archaeological record are items that have not survived such as agricultural or pastoral products (independent of transport or storage vessels). These items may have been considerable. Ethnographic evidence from the 19<sup>th</sup> century is introduced as well to highlight several environmental constraints of the region.

I have written elsewhere on the adoption by some Cycladic islanders of what I termed additive economic practices and contrasted this with economic practices in the Mirabello region of Crete (Forsyth 2020, PhD Thesis *Economic and Social Development in the Iron Age Cyclades, 1000-480 BCE.*). These Cycladic practices were economic

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<sup>2</sup> The Author would like to thank the two external readers for their thoughtful and insightful comments that contributed much to this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Kotsonas 2011, p. 134-5 discussed the use of ceramic finds in Early Iron Age analysis. He argued (p. 137-8) for the value of a close examination of the technical aspects of production techniques to establish provenance beyond motifs.

activities that were additive to the base subsistence economy, broadly defined, and are observable on many, but not all, of the islands. I suggest the social decisions to engage in such practices were clearly economic, meant to produce additional goods and services that could be exchanged for material gain, and that they were strategic decisions, a product of human agency. It was a human plan to take advantage of the natural resources, geographic position, and new technologies for gain. It was an applied, practical strategy. In this paper I would like to suggest that a complimentary rationale to the creation of economic surpluses was achieving food security in an uncertain and fragile environment. This paper will propose that environmental factors, most notable the lack of rainfall, played a significant role in how Cycladic island connectivity developed. The comparatively plentiful finds of Cycladic materials stands in contrast to the less-plentiful evidence of connectivity from better-watered Crete, especially so given the relative size of the Cycladic islands to Crete. This suggests Cycladic islanders and Cretans developed different approaches with respect to insularity and networks and I propose that differing environmental conditions played an important role in their responses.

## 2. *Defining the Cyclades*

The Cyclades were a geographical association, not political. Individual inhabitants referred to themselves by the name of their island and not the archipelago. The Delian League assessments of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE were made against individual islands, not the archipelago.<sup>4</sup> Solon (fr. 2 G.-P.<sup>2</sup>=1-3 W<sup>2</sup>) referred to the Folegandrians and Sikinoi, Herodotus (8.1.46, 8.111.2) referred to the Keans and the Andrians, Archilochos to the Mykonians (LOEB 259, Archilochos 124), and Demosthenes (13.34) to the Siphnians and Kythnians as did Pausanias (10.11.2).<sup>5</sup> The Delian Assessment against the three independent poleis on Amorgos were grouped into the collective term Amorgoi.<sup>6</sup>

The Cycladic island group as defined today, consists of 32 islands (plus numerous islets and rocks) with an average size of 85 km<sup>2</sup> per island. The group extends southeast from the tip of the Attic Peninsula. The nearest island to Attica is Keos, 12 km from Lavrion and the farthest island from the mainland is Thera, 180 km.<sup>7</sup> Geologically, the

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<sup>4</sup> See Meritt, Wade-Gery, & McGregor 1950, the Tribute tables listed all islands as a single category not divided into regional subsets such as Cycladic, Ionian, Aeolic, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Φολέγανδριος, Σικινήτης, Κήτιοι, Ἄνδριοι, οἱ Μυκονίων, Σιφνίος, Κυθνίος.

<sup>6</sup> Ἀμόργοι; Marangou 2002, p.28, n80.

<sup>7</sup> Dawson 2014, Table 6.4 lists 28 islands. This examination covers 32 islands in the central Aegean plus Crete.

islands are volcanic, comprising the tops of mountains that rise above sea level (Sheedy 2006, p.16.). Most of the islands are formed around a central peak such as Paros, Siphnos, and Seriphos or are bisected by a long central ridge such as Keos, Amorgos, Andros, and Tenos. Sea levels have generally risen about two meters since antiquity, separating islands such as Paros and Antiparos that were once connected, perhaps as recently as the Archaic period.<sup>8</sup>

The geology across the archipelago is not uniform. The western islands of Kea, Kythnos, Siphnos, Seriphos, Kimolos, and Melos are all predominantly micaceous schists and blue or grey limestone with extractable mineral resources of iron, copper, lead, silver, and kaolin (Cherry, *et al.* 1991, p.57). The central islands of Paros, Naxos and neighbouring smaller islands are primarily metamorphic schists and marble (Bruno, *et al.* 2010, pp.101-2.) Marble and emery were exploited but these islands lacked the mineral resources of the western islands. The northern islands of Andros and Tenos both are micaceous schists with iron and marble resources, neither of which seem to have been exploited in the Iron Age (Sheedy 2006; McGilchrist 2010(18), pp.104-5.) The southern island of Thera is unique in that it is largely covered in deep ash (Tzachili 2005, pp.244-5.) The range of mineral resources in the Cyclades indicates a variety of possible exploitations could have been pursued by the inhabitants.

Artemidorus, quoted by Strabo (10.5.3), listed fifteen Cycladic Islands while Strabo recorded twelve and Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 4.12.65-7) fourteen. The term Cyclades derived from the word kuklos (κύκλος), “a ring or circle around” and referred to those islands that circled around Delos, making the definition geographic. Yet the southern islands Amorgos (80 km) and Sikinos (68 km) are closer to Delos than is Keos (82 km). To the east, Ikaria (64 km) would seem to qualify if geographic proximity to Delos was the criterion. This suggests something else was involved. The Homeric *Hymn to the Delian Apollo* (3a.147-155) describes the ‘long-haired Ionians’ travelling to Delos to engage in feasting and competitions honouring Apollo. Thucydides (3.104) also mentioned that from ancient times there was a great assemblage of the Ionians and the neighbouring islanders at Delos for the celebration of a festival in honour of Apollo. The

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<sup>8</sup> Kourayos, Sutton, & Daifa 2018, p.115; Dawson 2014, pp.27-32, Figs 2.2a-c with diachronic maps of sea levels, Fig. 2.4; Draganits 2009.

southern islands were considered Doric rather than Ionian and were associated traditionally with the Peloponnese.<sup>9</sup>

### 3. *Cycladic Evidence of Contact*

Iron Age evidence of contact both within the archipelago and further afield is considerable. Data from some of the islands is robust while from others the evidence is scant. A few examples are presented here.

The two central islands of Paros and Naxos are justifiably famous for their marble, exports of which can be found throughout the Mediterranean and beyond.<sup>10</sup> On Paros, evidence of foreign contact is preserved in many locations. Finds from the Sanctuary to the Delian Apollo serve to illustrate this. Across the bay from Paroikia, is a 150-meter hill on which a series of cult structures occupy the summit.<sup>11</sup> The earliest feature was a hypaethral altar of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the Late Archaic, a monumental marble temple was built (Ohnesorg 2017.). The earliest ceramics were Protocorinthian and Early Geometric. Protocorinthian vases including twenty aryballoi were well preserved (Rubensohn 1962, pp.8, 117-18.). Late Geometric Corinthian vases were found with oriental decorations in the form of running winged demons and animal motifs (Rubensohn 1962, p.125; Kourayos, Angliker, Daifa, & Tully 2018, p.150.). Other finds included a necklace consisting of thirty pieces of which eighteen were faience scarabs (Rubensohn 1962, pp.73-6.). Rubensohn attributed four Egyptian faience figurines found in Late Geometric levels to Naucratis and remarked that Parian coins are of the earliest coinage found in Egypt, suggesting to him that Parian traders were in Egypt (Rubensohn 1962, p.169, Plate 35, Figs 1-4.). From the Sanctuary to Apollo on the neighbouring island of Despotiko, more finds from an array of distant locations were uncovered. Carefully arranged and preserved under floor paving stones in temple building A1, was a collection of small items from earlier cultic activities at the site (Kourayos & Burns 2017, p.327, Fig. 1.). In this deposit, the largest group of imported ceramics are Corinthian, dated to

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<sup>9</sup> Sheedy 2006, p.13, 15, n87; Craik 1980, pp.4-5; The traveller Pseudo-Skylax defined the Cyclades as we do today but divided them into two groups: “those islands off Lacedaemon (Melos, Kimolos, OIiaros (Antiparos), Sikinos, Thera, Anaphe, and Astypalia) and those off Attica (Keos, Helene (Makronisos), Kythnos, Seriphos, Paros, Naxos, Delos, Rhenia, Syros, Mykonos, Tenos, and Andros).

<sup>10</sup> See Schilardi & Katsonopoulou (Eds.) 2010 *Parian Lithos, Parian Quarries, Marble, and Workshops of Sculpture* for a rich presentation of the marble trade.

<sup>11</sup> Rubensohn excavated the summit area in the 1920s, utilizing 20 workers over a period of just six days. Results were published post-war in 1962 just prior to his death.



7<sup>th</sup> and first half of 6<sup>th</sup> centuries (Kourayos & Burns 2017, p.330, Fig. 7; Kourayos, *et al.* 2012, pp.124-7, Fig. 37.). These Corinthian imports (mainly aryballoi and alabastra) date to the same period as the increase in Corinthian material at Al Mina in northern Syria (Vacek 2017, pp.49, 54, Fig. 7.13; Boardman 2006, p.521.). Also found in the deposit are ivory fibulae and disks, as well as simple beads made of glass, stone, and faience, possibly of Syrian or Phoenician fabrication. The origin of these items has not been established beyond typology (Kourayos & Burns 2017, pp.331-2, Figs 10, 11.).

Naxos is the only Cycladic island with secure evidence of continuous occupation from the Bronze Age.<sup>12</sup> The settlement at Grotta appears to have been abandoned at the end of Late Helladic IIIC. On top of the abandoned settlement, seven Protogeometric graves and pottery were uncovered as well as three Protogeometric tombs in the adjacent Aplomata cemetery (Charalambidou 2018, pp.144-49; 2017, pp.375-6; Sfyroera 2018, pp.328-30; Thomatos 2006, pp.255; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, pp.188-9; Lambrinouidakis 1988, p.235.). Grave 12 from Aplomata contained a one-handled cup with three sets of compass-drawn concentric circles on the shoulder, evident of the new Protogeometric style (Kourou 2015, p.85, Figs 2, 3a-b.). Pottery imports found in Late Protogeometric contexts at Grotta and in the north Plithos cemetery were overwhelmingly Euboean (Charalambidou, *et al.* 2017, pp.113, 116; Kourou 2015, pp.89, 91-2.). The continuous burial evidence suggests that the settlement moved nearby, probably further inland and higher, away from the encroaching sea but this has not been archaeologically attested.<sup>13</sup> Compared to the wide distribution of ceramics from nearby Paros, Naxian pottery found outside of Naxos is limited; found only in the surrounding Cyclades, Crete, and in Samos during the Geometric and Archaic periods (Charalambidou 2017, p.377.). Mainland Greek pottery imports are limited mostly to Attic and Euboean from the Late Protogeometric to Late Geometric (Charalambidou, *et al.* 2017, p.111; Vlachopoulos 2008a; 2008b; Lemos 2002, pp.27 ff.). Cist grave eleven from Mitropolis had two fine wheel made Attic imports and a coarse handmade Naxian jug (Charalambidou 2017, p.377, Figs 5a, 5b.). At Yria from the late 8<sup>th</sup> through the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Parian imports as well as local imitations of Parian pottery styles were plentiful. Euboean imports become less common after 700. East Greek imports at Yria from Rhodes and Samos begin from

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<sup>12</sup> Evidence from Koukounaries on Paros, Xobourgo on Tenos, and Ag. Spyridon on Melos may suggest continuity, but the evidence is equivocal.

<sup>13</sup> Lambrinouidakis 2004, pp.61-2 suggested the Protogeometric settlement moved just south to the hill of Kastro and is under the modern town.

the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and continue into the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Simantoni-Bournia 2002, p.278.). Corinthian imports become common after c. 800. At Middle Geometric Tsikalario, a Cypriot import was unearthed. There is debate as to whether this was an import, or an heirloom brought back to Naxos by a sailor involved in the Al Mina trade (Charalambidou 2017, p.377.). An intriguing example of diffusion are small terracotta birds, not commonly found in the Cyclades, yet twenty-six have been found on Naxos from burial contexts in Naxos Town and Tsikalario (Charalambidou 2018; 2017.). Other terracotta birds have been found on Cyprus, Rhodes, Samos, Crete (from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Viannou), and in the Cyclades on Andros at Zagora, at Siphnos on the northeast slope of Chora, and in Delos (Charalambidou 2017, pp.384-6, Figs 11, 12.). The mix of pottery forms and motifs seen in imports from the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards argues for an expansion of interconnectedness (Charalambidou 2017, pp.383, 387-8; Charalambidou, *et al.* 2017, pp.109-111; Coldstream 2009, pp.165-71; 1983, p.18.).

Andros and Tenos form the northern boundary of the Cyclades. Evidence of contact with Euboea is considerable. Crielaard and Songu suggest that the Karystia area of southern Euboea is more closely identified with the Cyclades than the rest of Euboea from which it is separated by the massif around Mt. Ochi (Crielaard & Songu 2017, p.276.). On Andros, inhabitants from two Geometric settlements merged around 700 BCE to form a *polis* at Palaeopolis (Hall 2014, pp.78-81, 85.). One of the infrastructure projects undertaken at Palaeopolis was the construction of a significant harbour mole. The harbour facilities merged with a defensive wall and were backed by an agora (Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2012, p.32, Figs 3, 4, 5.). The location was perfectly suited to capture maritime trade activity passing by (Kotsonas 2012, p.250; Palaiokrassa & Vivliodetis 2008, p.139.).

Thera marks the southern extent of the Cyclades and is the closest island to Crete with which the evidence suggests a trading network developed. Thera's connection with Crete is best demonstrated in pottery distributions (Erickson 2010). Belly-handled amphorae moved from Athens to the Cyclades and on to Crete in the Early and Middle Geometric periods (Whitley 2015, p.108.). They are found on the mainland in Athens and the Argolid, in the Cyclades at Naxos and Thera (plus a fragment at Delos) and in Crete at Knossos.<sup>14</sup> In Thera, a nearly complete Attic belly-handled amphora was found in grave

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<sup>14</sup> On Cycladic material in Knossos see Coldstream 2006; 1996; 1990.

29 in the northern cemetery at Mesavouno. Imitations of the design came from grave 18 in the south cemetery at Perissa (Whitley 2015, pp.115-6.). Finds from the Sellada cemetery dated to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century and included a range of items from various provenances including two silver rings with Egyptian (or pseudo-Egyptian) scarabs and Phoenician glass beads. Ceramics were mostly local, but with imports from Corinth, Crete, and Cyprus. A late 6<sup>th</sup> century grave complex from the same cemetery contained four pyre pits with Attic black figure cups (Zaphiropoulou 1971, pp.226-30; Sheedy 2006, p.62.).

Parian Aa, wheel group, and Melian-ware was found on Thera, at Itanos in eastern Crete, and at Tocra, suggesting a north to south trade route (Paspalas 2012, p.80; Papadopoulos & Smithson 2002, pp.163-6, 175, 178-9; Sheedy 2005, pp.188-9.). Cycladic pottery has been found in Crete at Azoria and Olous, and Cycladic one-handed cups were common in cemetery contexts such as the extra-urban sanctuary at Vamies near Itanos in the later 6<sup>th</sup> century (Erickson 2011, pp.388-9; 2010, pp.40-1, 77-86, 231, 287-91, Fig. 9.30; Coldstream *et al.* 2001, pp.23, 87.). Common types found at Itanos are skyphoi and cups with painted dots for decoration like those found at Despotiko (Erickson 2010, p.294, n126.). The ceramic evidence supports the establishment of a trade route in the 6<sup>th</sup> century from the Cyclades to Crete, passing through Thera and Itanos as the two hubs. From Itanos, Cycladic traders could move south to North Africa or southeast to Egypt, then work their way up the Levantine coast to northern Syria and then back west to the Cyclades (Viviers & Tsingarida 2014, pp.169-73; Erickson 2010, pp.233, 284, Fig. 11.1, n72; Viviers 2009.).

The north to south trade perhaps underlies Herodotus's (4.150-165) stories of the Therans founding colonies in North Africa at Plateia and Cyrene. Herodotus described a delegation of Therans wandering fruitlessly about Crete seeking information on Libya. Eventually, they came to Itanos where they met the murex fisherman Korobios who became their guide.

The sacred island of Delos was the recipient of countless dedications from throughout the Hellenic sphere. On Delos, the small Late Bronze Age settlement seems to have been abandoned in Late Helladic IIIB as Late Helladic IIIC evidence is not extant (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p.329.). This is earlier than the Late Helladic IIIC abandonments seen elsewhere such as Ayia Irini on Keos, Phylakopi on Melos, and Aghios Andreas on Siphnos. Evidence of habitation on Delos is not seen again until late in the 9<sup>th</sup> century (*Ibid.*). By the Late Geometric period, the sanctuary had grown in importance evidenced

by the construction of the Pre-*oikos* of the Naxians, the Temple of Artemis, and the small chapel to Hera on Mt. Kythnos, all constructed *c.* 700 or slightly later (Temple Gamma may predate these structures), (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, pp.179-83, 329.). Only Cycladic and Attic pottery has been found at Delos prior to *c.* 750.<sup>15</sup> By *c.* 700 this had changed (Coldstream 2003, p.215.). Significant volumes of pottery from Paros, Naxos, and Rhodes have been found on Delos as well as some finds from Euboea, Corinth, Cyprus, and notably, some from Crete. Delos was the recipient of dedications and offerings reflective of the growing economic capacity in the Greek world by the Late Geometric period. Greek societies were able to generate excess wealth enabling them to make dedications. Delos was a benefactor of the increasing economic output of other Cycladic islands and elsewhere.

The island of Keos (modern Kea) appears to have been nearly abandoned following the Bronze Age. Yet, sporadic finds in Temple A in the abandoned Bronze Age site of Ayia Irini suggest there was early Iron Age activity on the island (Gounaris 2005, pp.21-2, 29-30.). Shrine BB was built in Room Six where Protogeometric and Geometric period pottery sherds were found on the floor (Caskey 1998, p.127, Figs 11, 23, n16; Gounaris 2005, Fig. 4.). A shrine in Room One, noted for a stone head found in a ring stand, was dated to the Geometric period. This shrine continued in use to *c.* 500 (Caskey 1998, p.127.). Most of the imported pottery is Athenian but there are exceptions such as a Naxian pot from second half of 8<sup>th</sup> century, and a deposit of miniature Corinthian skyphoi. Later than many of the other Cycladic islands, significant repopulation is not evident until the 6<sup>th</sup> century when four independent *poleis* (Koressos, Ioulis, Poieessa, and Karthaia) were founded (Mendonis 1994, p.150.). Evidence of connectivity is robust thereafter. Pottery imports from Attica, Corinth, Paros, Melos, and Siphnos are widely found in surveys (Sutton 1991, pp.245, 252, Fig. 5.2; Mendonis 1994, pp.150, 152, 154.). Evidence of *miltos* extraction and export to Athens is preserved both archaeologically and by 4<sup>th</sup> century epigraphic evidence.<sup>16</sup>

On neighbouring Kythnos, an undisturbed *adyton* from an Archaic temple located on the middle terrace of Vrykastro was found (Mazarakis Ainian 2019; 2005, pp.90-3.). The finds come from wide-ranging provenances suggesting significant foreign contact.

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<sup>15</sup> One is tempted to suggest a correlation with the new construction and the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo referred to earlier.

<sup>16</sup> Theophrastus *De Lapidibus* 8.52; *IG* ii 1128. Cherry, Davis, & Mantzourani 1991, pp.299-300.

Ceramics from the *adyton* included Parian, Chian, East Greek bird bowls, Corinthian, and Attic black glazed items.<sup>17</sup> Jewellery finds consisted of amber, carnelian, rock crystal, glass paste, faience, and semi-precious stones belonging mostly to necklaces and often with incised representations, one of which was a Late Bronze Age ship. Also found were scaraboids, seals and gems, bone and ivory discs (with sphinx and goat motifs inscribed), as well as a few Egyptian scarabs belonging to 22<sup>nd</sup> (945-713) and 26<sup>th</sup> (664-525) Dynasties. Metal finds were the largest category from inside the *adyton*. There were about 100 iron and 450 bronze objects recovered. Fibulae suggesting island, Boeotian, and Phrygian origin as well as myriad small pieces were unearthed. More than 120 silver and 75 gold jewels in the forms of fibulae, pins, earrings, rings, rosettes, amulets, and pendants were present (Mazarakis Ainian 2005, pp.96-9 and Plates.). Most of the finds date to 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, but there are Protogeometric and Early Geometric pieces which, like the Bronze Age pieces, were probably heirlooms (Koutsoumpou 2017; Mazarakis Ainian 2005, p.99.).

Melos (modern Milos) was rich in mineral resources and the Melians had a robust trade throughout antiquity of its many and varied mineral resources (Shelford 1982, pp.74-81.). Other than the obsidian which can be chemically identified, three other mineral exports did not leave a traceable trail for the most part. Alum (a hydrated sulphate of aluminium) was used in dyeing and tanning. Kaolin (a hydrous silicate of aluminium) had three uses: whitening and thickening cloth, in ceramics, and for cosmetics. Abrasives such as pumice were mined and exported from Melos throughout antiquity.<sup>18</sup> Ceramic exports however are not plentiful and are found only on the near islands of Kimolos and Siphnos and at Tocrá in North Africa. ‘Melian Ware’ most commonly produced as a large krater/amphora, seems to have been first produced on Paros c. 680 and later Melos. Melian ware was widely exported, and examples have been found at Tocrá and on the Thracian coast opposite the Parian colony at Thasos, founded c. 680 (Paspalas 2012, p.81.).

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<sup>17</sup> Koutsoumpou 2017 discussed the ceramics in detail, she noted (p. 165) there are no finds from Naxos suggesting Kythnos was under some type of Parian zone of influence; Mazarakis Ainian 2005, p.96.

<sup>18</sup> Alum and Kaolin (Melian Earth) are mentioned by Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 33.65, 88, 94-8; 34.106, 116; 35. 183-8; 36. 154-6; Dioscorides *De Material Medica*, 5.114, 171-9; Theophrastus *de Lapidibus*, 9.62. McGilchrist 2010(19), pp.233-6 and Renfrew 1982, pp.275-8 both give a concise description of the various minerals that were mined and their uses; see also Pittinger 1975.

Evidence of connectivity is also apparent on Amorgos, Kimolos, Siphnos, and Tenos.<sup>19</sup> On many of the other Cycladic islands such as Anaphe, Folegandros, Ios, Mykonos, Rhenia, Seriphos, Sikinos, Syros, and the islands known as the Lesser Cyclades evidence of contact beyond the island during the Iron Age is sporadic at best. Space limitations preclude an extensive discussion of every island.

The archaeological record provides abundant evidence of intra-island connectivity as well as connectivity with distant locales such as mainland Greece, Egypt, the Levant, and North Africa. Moreover, the location of finds includes both final destinations such as sanctuary deposits and grave goods as well as items more logically attributed to through trade such as the belly handled amphorae and drinking shapes with dotted decorations. Evidence of long-distance trade in natural resources such as minerals and marble are compelling. The evidence has both depth and breadth to it suggesting Cycladic societies on many of the islands were well connected with others, both near and far, by the Late Geometric and on into the Archaic period.

#### *4. Impact of Climate*

The Cycladic islands lie in an area of very low precipitation. To the east of the Cyclades, in the Ceramic Gulf region of Anatolia to the east of Bodrum (Halicarnassus), annual precipitation is around 1,250 millimetres (mm) per year.<sup>20</sup> To the west, at Elis in the western Peloponnesus, rainfall averages around 1,100 mm annually (Bresson 2016, Fig. 2.4.). In the Cyclades though the average rainfall is about 400 mm, less than one-third the precipitation in Anatolia. See data from selected locations in Table 1 below:

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<sup>19</sup> On Amorgos, only Minoa has been systematically excavated, see Marangou 2005; 2002. Kimolos has kaolin quarries (also called Kimolian Earth by Strabo *Geog.* 10.5.1) at the northern end, see Pantou and Ditsa 2011; Coldstream 2003. On Siphnos, silver and gold mines were exploited in the Iron Age, see Hdt. 3.57; Pausanias 10.11.2; Brock and Mackworth Young 1949; Televantou 2017; 2008. On Tenos, Xobourgo is an intriguing site, see Kourou 2015; 2011, 2002.

<sup>20</sup> Known as Gulf of Gökova or Kerme in Turkish, Κεραμικός κόλπος in Greek.

| Rainfall per Year in Millimetres for Selected Greek Locations  |     |                       |     |
|--|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| Mytilini   | 648 | Ierapetra, Crete      | 662 |
| Samos  | 709 | Rethymno, Crete       | 777 |
| Naxos  | 366 | Tripoli, Peloponnese  | 781 |
| Milos  | 411 | Kalamata, Peloponnese | 780 |
| Zakynthos  | 943 | Athens                | 365 |
| Reference: Hellenic National Meteorological Service  |     |                       |     |
| Available at: <a href="http://www.currentresults.com/Weather/Greece/average-yearly-precipitation.php">www.currentresults.com/Weather/Greece/average-yearly-precipitation.php</a> . Accessed 7 Jan. 2021. |     |                       |     |

**Table 1**

Besides rainfall not being plentiful, there is no guarantee that passing rain showers are going to fall on a specific island or in an area where fields of individual interest are located. A personal story highlights this point: We are fortunate to own a small farm on the island of Paros. We have about fifteen olive trees from which we produce olive oil. Olive trees produce a crop every two years (not annually). In 2017, the winter rain was just twenty percent of normal, a micro-climate event. This had a severe impact on the olive production in what would have been the biennial good harvest year. The timing of the drought meant that we went four years between harvests of enough olives to produce oil. For an ancient society that depended on olive oil for both fuel and nutrition, the timing of the drought would have been a major setback.

Ongoing excavations on Naxos at the island-like headland of Stelida, to the southwest of Chora, are uncovering Mesolithic occupation levels much earlier than any prior evidence would indicate for Cycladic occupation (Sfyroera 2018, p.328.). Prior to these discoveries, the earliest human habitation evidence was found on Kythnos at Maroulas dated to Late Mesolithic 8<sup>th</sup> millennium where human burials, a house floor, and some circular structures have been found (Dawson 2014, p.174, Table 6.2.). Habitation evidence found on the larger islands dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium when seventeen of the islands were first inhabited, about 60% of the archipelago. Habitation spread to other islands over the next two millennia with most islands inhabited by the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium (Dawson 2014, pp.164-6, Fig. 6.19.). Compared to other Mediterranean

island groups, this is late, especially considering the proximity to the mainland.<sup>21</sup> Speculatively, perhaps the relative lack of rainfall on these islands made agriculture difficult and consequently the islands were unattractive for settlement.

The low rainfall in the Cyclades has the ancillary impact of sparse natural vegetation. The lack of vegetation results in a lack of organic material that over time degrades into soil. Consequently, not only are the islands lacking in precipitation they are also barren compared to better watered regions such as Crete.<sup>22</sup>

James Bent toured the Cycladic islands in two winters of the early 1880s. His primary purpose was to record the manners and customs of the islanders (Bent 1885, p.v.). Bent related several stories regarding drought. On the island of Folegandros, when sensing a drought, the entire population of the island would march in procession together with the priests carrying icons of the Panayia to the top of Mt. Prophet Elias where they would kneel *en masse* and pray for rain. They would then continue the procession to the shrine of Ag. Eleutherios and repeat the prayers (Bent 1885, p.203.). In the 1880s, long before mass-tourism, Bent recorded that Theraians frequently had to import drinking water from other islands and similarly on Syros, at times drinking water was delivered door to door by cart (Bent 1885, pp.122, 305.).

One of the possible remediation strategies for islanders during times of drought, was to develop robust networks of communication with other areas. These areas may have been able to provide food supplies when those from the home islands were inadequate. I suggest that one of the explanations for the abundant evidence of wide-ranging connections with other areas described above, was just this – to establish robust connections for safety if nothing else. The development of trade goods such as marble and other mineral resources would have provided the wealth to exchange for needed supplies. Unfortunately, reaching back over 2,500 years to a period in which writing had been lost, it is impossible to definitively know what individual motivations were. The evidence suggests areas of correlation but that is not the same as causation. Consequently, the proposals put forth herein must be treated as speculative. Describing why people did what they did, we can only go so far as to suggest a correlation between environmental

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<sup>21</sup> See Dawson 2014 on other island habitation: Cyprus 11,000-9,000 BC p.140, Crete 130,000 BP p.136, Corfu 7,000 BC p.126, Brač 7,000 BC p.121, Corsica 9,000 BC p.87. Crete is the outlier with evidence for significantly earlier habitation, see Strasser *et al.* 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Deforestation for ship building and fuel are complicating factors.



factors, food supplies, and the development of trade goods.<sup>23</sup> That being said, concluding that an area with poor rainfall and the consequent insecurity of food production engaging in trade should not be surprising given the example of Athens (See Table 1) where some of the steps taken by the Athenians to secure food supplies are preserved in the written record. Solon urged Athenians to produce olive oil and wine, crops which required less rainfall to grow than did grain and trade those products for grain from areas that were able to produce grain at higher yields than Attica.<sup>24</sup> Lysias 22 (*Against the Corn Dealers*) reveals Athenian angst about food supply and price manipulation in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE was acute.

##### *5. Weather Conditions as an Isolating Factor*

A complicating factor in the establishment of strong maritime based networks is that weather conditions in the Cyclades are not always suitable for maritime travel. Bent describes several instances of being stranded due to high winds during his travels. He was stuck on Sikinos, Milos, and Naxos. Traveling by steamer, not caique, from Milos to Syros, they had to seek refuge at Siphnos for two days while enroute for protection from the weather. A journey of only 95 km took nearly a week (Bent 1885, pp.80-81, 172, 177-8, 339.). Bent recounts a charming story of leaving Folegandros for a short sail to Antiparos, a distance of about 40 km. A west wind came up from a dark cloud and they changed course to Amorgos, the wind continued to build so they changed course for Ios, but they could not make it around the north side of Sikinos due to wind and wave conditions, so they headed back towards Folegandros from whence they started. The wind direction made this course no longer tenable, so they bore off for Santorini. They adjusted course once again and skirted the south coast of Sikinos eventually making it to Ios. Bent commented “it is not where you will go, but where you can get” (Bent 1885, pp.207-8.).

Connectivity amongst islands has become a popular area of scholastic inquiry, often in association with network theory.<sup>25</sup> The islands are close enough to one another that navigation by sight is possible. Broodbank proposed a network of connectivity in the Cyclades structured around the length of a day’s voyage utilizing Early Bronze Age

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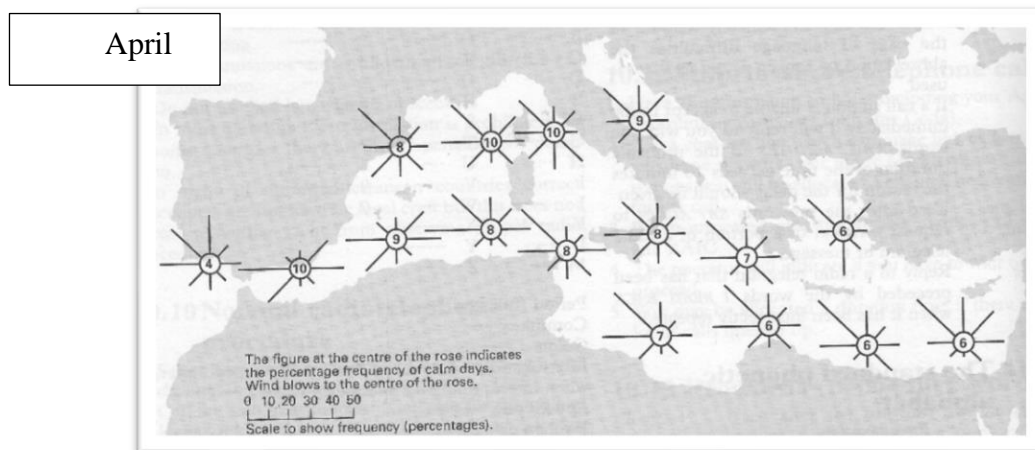
<sup>23</sup> See Manning 2018 for a compelling discussion on the need to consider environmental factors in historical analysis.

<sup>24</sup> See Bresson 2016, pp.120-9 on the environmental conditions for grain, oil and wine production as well as Van Wees 2013, pp.450-2, 457-60. See Van Wees 2013, p.463 on Solon’s trade prohibitions; Solon F65, Meiggs and Lewis 1988, 30 = Fornara 1983, 63; Plut. *Sol.* 24.1.

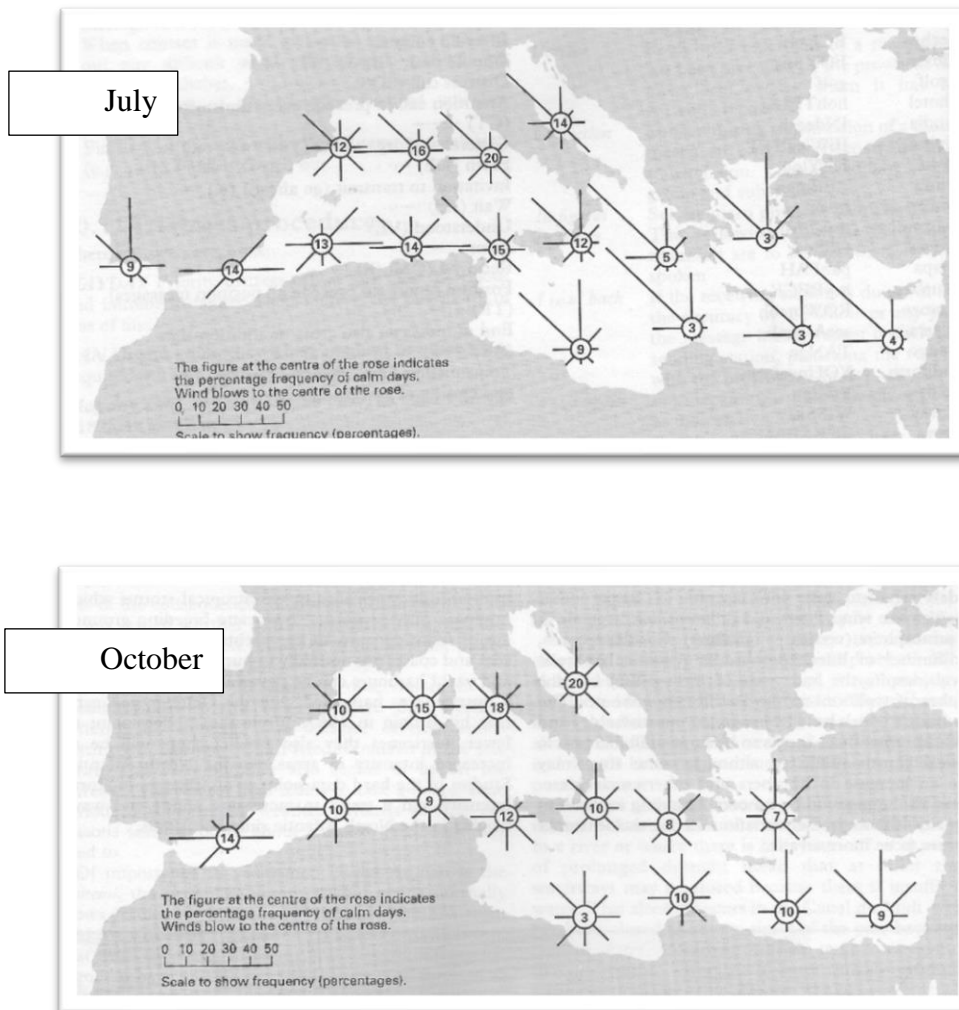
<sup>25</sup> See Manning 2018, pp.234-5, 252-5; Knappett 2011; Malkin 2011; Broodbank 2008, pp.63-7, Fig. 3.4.

technology of paddled transport. This brought most every island in contact with one another with just a few days paddling (Broodbank 2000, pp.105, 341-9; Dawson 2014, pp.36-8; Cunliffe 2008, p.51, Fig. 2.12; Cherry 1990.). With the development of sail in the Aegean, the entire archipelago could be transited in a couple of days under favourable conditions. This understanding was used to develop the thought that the Cycladic islands may have been more connected to one another than being separated by water might suggest (Dawson 2014, pp.128-31, Table 5.4; Broodbank 2013, Figs 7.31, 9.1; 2000; Malkin 2011; Constantakopoulou 2007; Horden and Purcell 2000, pp.123-171. See also Sheedy 2006, pp.15-16.).

Generally missing from this analysis though is the impact of weather.<sup>26</sup> Wind roses are diagrams developed to give a pictorial representation of wind direction over time (see Fig. 1). The longer the line radiating from the centre, the more days (of the period under analysis) the wind blew from that direction (number in centre represents days of calm during the period). Consider Figure 1, an island located to the north or northwest would be near impossible to reach against the dominant winds in July. In April and October, when the prevailing wind direction was more varied, islands to the north would become accessible again. Considering this real-life parameter, the connectivity between islands is weather dependent, i.e. not a constant.<sup>27</sup>



<sup>26</sup> Broodbank 2000, pp.92-6 discussed the impacts of wind and current on travel correctly noting that even in the summer season high winds can block voyages for extended periods. Heikell 2001, pp.27, 234 mentions Beaufort 7-8 force winds blowing continuously for two weeks in the Cyclades in July and August. <sup>27</sup> Murray 1987 discussed whether modern winds equate with ancient winds. Based on a comparison of modern data with records compiled by Aristotle and Theophrastus, Murray concluded the modern and ancient wind data had strong correlation, especially for the Eastern Mediterranean.



**Figure 1:** Wind Roses for April, July, and October (used by permission Rod Heikell, Mediterranean Cruising Handbook, 1998, Imray, pp. 110-111).

Bent noted the anthropomorphic quality of the winds. In Tenos, where the winds tend to be very strong, the northwind was termed ‘Mr. North Wind’ who was a dreaded visitor and in Thera where Bent encountered ‘hurricane force winds and waterspouts’ the wind was termed a ‘tornado’, caused by demons rushing about. The devil himself was often named ‘the wind’ (Bent 1885, pp.145, 265.).<sup>28</sup>

In the Roman period, the harshness of the Cycladic weather may have contributed to it being a place of exile. The orator Cassius Severus was banished to Seriphos, Caius Silanus to Kythnos, and Vibius Serenus to Amorgos as examples.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Κύριος Βορέας, άνεμοστρόβολος, ό άνεμος.

<sup>29</sup> Tacitus *Annales*, 4.21, 3.68, 4.13; see Sweetman 2016, pp.50-1.

Winds in the central Aegean can blow with considerable force both during summer months and in winter storms preventing prudent maritime travel for weeks at a time. These conditions leave individual island populations isolated from one another with no certainty as to when conditions will change making travel again possible. This suggests creating buffer stocks of food and other necessities was a responsible social strategy.

### 6. *The Case of Crete*

A brief discussion on Crete is offered as a contrast to the patterns seen in the Cyclades. The purpose is to stimulate thought as space limitations preclude a definitive analysis.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast to the Cyclades and keeping in mind the plethora of items not preserved in the archaeological record, based on the extant evidence, Iron Age Crete appears not to have been quite as outward looking. Few Iron Age settlements were located on the coast; only Phalasarna, Kydonia, Kommos, Ierapetra, and Itanos (Viviers & Tsingarida 2014, p.165.). Compared to the Cyclades, Iron Age contexts in Crete show less evidence of outside contact nor are Cretan origin items often found outside of Crete.

A few 11<sup>th</sup> century Cypriot items were found in Crete. From grave 201 of the North Cemetery of Knossos, a fragmentary four-sided decorated bronze stand was uncovered, and Cypriot bronze tripod stands were found in mid-10<sup>th</sup> century mortuary contexts.<sup>31</sup> Contact with Cyprus is further evidenced by black on red unguent vessels with a distinctive neck ridge at the handle attachment, usually found in a funerary context (Kotsonas 2011, pp.139-41 argues that these are locally produced imitations; Coldstream *et al.* 2001, pp.40, 42 argues for imports.). Also from Cyprus are animal shapes used as pitchers, especially bird shapes (Coldstream *et al.* 2001, pp.44.). Excavations of a tholos tomb excavated at Amari near Rethymon, produced a bronze amphoroid krater, an iron knife, a bronze fibula, a pin, and black-painted vase very similar to Cypriot black-slip ware (Kourou 2008, pp.363-4, Fig. 2.).

Near Eastern imports have been found at Knossos and Kommos in 10<sup>th</sup> century contexts.<sup>32</sup> A bronze bowl from Teke Tomb J, was inscribed with Phoenician writing (Kourou 2008, pp.365-6, Fig. 5.). Burial finds of gold jewellery of Phoenician design and

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<sup>30</sup> Erickson 2010 provides a robust view of the evidence from Crete.

<sup>31</sup> Kourou 2008, p.363. Whether this item too is an heirloom, or a fresh import is unclear, similar Cypriot bronze stands have been found in 11<sup>th</sup> c. contexts in Sardinia.

<sup>32</sup> Antoniadis 2017 gives an excellent summary.

a Sardinian askos (juglet), plausibly a Phoenician import, from Teke Tomb 2 suggest Phoenician trade along the north coast of Crete.<sup>33</sup> Material from Kommos suggests another Phoenician trade route existed along the south coast evidenced by finds of Phoenician transport amphorae and Phoenician pottery (Shaw & Shaw 2000, pp.216, 220-4, Plates 4.63, 4.64, material from temple phase A.). At Kommos c. 800, a temple was built seemingly for resident Phoenician traders (Papadopoulos 1997, p.193; Watrous 1998, p.75; Shaw 1982, p.185.). Evidence of contact is also found inland. At Eleutherna, from cemetery excavations, faience beads, molded glass phiale and a bronze bowl suggest contact with Cyprus, the Levant, and perhaps even Egypt (Stampolidis 1990, p.388.). Egyptian clay plaques and stonework has been found at Gortyn (Wallace 2010, pp.222-5.). Temple architecture at Prinias suggests Egyptian connections (Watrous 1998.).

Cycladic pottery was found on Crete at Eleutherna, Knossos, Kommos, Azoria, and Olous (Erickson 2010, p.231; Coldstream *et al.* 2001, pp.23, 87; Shaw & Shaw 2000, pp.219, 222-224, 228.). Shapes included elongated amphorae, belly handled amphorae, cups, skyphoi, oenochoe, pyxis, and Siphnian cooking pots which, with their bright red fabric, are notable (Coldstream *et al.* 2001, p.87.). The clay of Siphnos seems to have been particularly suited for cook-ware (Boileau & Whitley 2010, pp.238-42.). As mentioned above, at Itanos, Cycladic imports from 6<sup>th</sup> century contexts were found at the settlement cemetery and the extra-urban sanctuary Vamies (Erickson 2010, p.231.).

Looking beyond Crete, Late Geometric Cretan pottery exports are found almost only in the Cyclades, with remains primarily on Thera but with some finds on Melos, Andros, and Delos. There is only one Cretan vase found in Athens from this period. No Late Geometric period pottery from Crete has been found in the Levant, Cyprus or in the west until the founding of the colony at Gela in Sicily c. 689.<sup>34</sup> The lack of evidence of Cretan exports is admittedly based largely on negative evidence and we must keep in mind the caution mentioned earlier that items not preserved in the archaeological record may have been exported.

The situation in Crete in the early Archaic period stands in stark contrast to the development seen on many of the Cycladic islands. Cycladic ceramics were distributed over a wide area including Egypt, the Levant, and the northern Aegean suggesting an expansive trade network. Cycladic finds at Al Mina date to the 10<sup>th</sup> century while the

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<sup>33</sup> Vagnetti 1989, pp.355, 358-60, n2, the stratigraphy of this tomb is disturbed, date range is 850-680.

<sup>34</sup> On Cretan pottery outside Crete see Coulié 2013, pp.233-5; Coldstream 2003, pp.288-9.

earliest Cretan material at Tocra dates to 650-630.<sup>35</sup> Parians and Naxians were quarrying marble, the Siphnians mining gold and silver and the Melians kaolin and other minerals in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. In Crete, there is only minimal evidence of similar kinds of development. Cretan ceramics are not widely distributed. No imports of Geometric ceramics from Crete have been found at Al Mina or vicinity, though there have been some found on Cyprus in burial and sanctuary contexts (Luke 2003, on Al Mina p.58, on Cyprus pp.42, 44.). Numismatic evidence shows ten Cycladic *poleis* were minting coins from 540, as much as 70 years earlier than in Crete where the evidence suggests the first coins were minted c. 470 (Sheedy 2006, p.51, Table 1, 3; Stefanakis 1999, pp.249-51.).

Marble resources in eastern Crete existed but were not exploited.<sup>36</sup> One small quarry has been identified west of modern Siteia where marble was quarried sometime in the Classical and Hellenistic period. Platon identified 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century pithoi fragments in the area but it is unclear if they were in association with the quarry (Platon 1954, p.156.). Durkin and Lister were unable to date the quarry beyond saying it was Greek, not Roman. They suggest the closest parallel is with tool marks and quarrying techniques seen around the Pnyx in Athens dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Durkin & Lister 1983, pp.69-70, 83, n7.). This creates the impression that the conservative Cretans were wary and reticent of venturing far from home.<sup>37</sup> The Cycladic evidence suggests a coming together of multiple developments; social, economic, and entrepreneurial in the Iron Age Cyclades that did not manifest themselves in Crete.

### 7. Cretan Geography and Precipitation

Crete is the largest island in Greece with an area of 8,312 sq. km, 240 km in length, 48 km at its greatest width and just 12 km wide at its narrowest. The island is divided by significant mountain groups into zones (Sweetman 2013, p.10; Whitley 2013, pp.275-6; Wilson 2008, pp.77-9.). The White Mountains comprise the bulk of western Crete with several peaks near 2,400 m extending shear from the south coast, to Kydonia in the north, and almost to Eleutherna in the east. These rugged mountains seem to have limited

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<sup>35</sup> On Al Mina see Vacek 2017, p.49; Boardman 1996, p.157 on Al Mina date; On Tocra see Shaw 1982, pp.190-1. See Coldstream 2003, pp.215, 228 on Cycladic finds.

<sup>36</sup> See Kneucker, Dörr, Petschick, and Zulauf 2015, pp.359-60, Figs 3-5, 10 on marble resources in the Mirabello Bay area near Olous, Vrokastro, and Azoria; Seidel 2003, p.77 on marble near Lato; Barker 1976, pp.366, 371 on marble strata on the island of Mochlos near Azoria and on the southern shore of Mirabello Bay.

<sup>37</sup> See Erickson 2010, pp.15-19 on Cretan conservatism generally.

habitation to the northern coastal plain (Nixon, *et al.* 1988.). The central section is dominated by Mt. Ida, 2,456 m, the highest point on the island, two and a half times higher than the tallest Cycladic island Naxos, at just under 1,000m. The central massif divides north from south as well as east from west; the area around Knossos to the north and the fertile Mesara to the south are connected by multiple overland routes running either side of Mt. Ida. The eastern end of the island is split by two mountain groups: the area around Mt. Dikte (2,148 m) and the Thrypti (or Siteia) range (1,476 m) east of the Ierapetra isthmus, the narrowest part of the island. Within this mountain group is the high fertile plain of Lasithi, c. 900 m. The high mountains are covered with snow in the winter.<sup>38</sup> In the spring, the run-off of snow-melt waters the high mountain plains such as Lasithi and Nidha as well as littoral plains via seasonal rivers and streams (Pendlebury 1965, pp.5-6.). Springs were an important source of water for settlements and may have influenced site location (Nowicki 2000, pp.25-6.).

Crete is nearly twenty times larger than Naxos, the largest Cycladic island, 428 sq. km.<sup>39</sup> Crete is larger, more mountainous, better watered, and more climatically diverse than any of the Cycladic islands. Speculatively, Crete was large enough that the island's resources could support its own population's needs. From Table 1, the average rainfall on Naxos and Milos is 54 percent that of the average rainfall at Ierapetra and Rethymon. The need for Cretans to look beyond their island was not the same as for the Cycladic islanders. There was less environmental risk in the meteorology of the Cretan environment. Snowpack on the high mountains released its water slowly, lasting well into the spring, unlike rainfall which quickly dissipates, adding a buffer that the Cyclades did not have.

## 8. Conclusion

The evidence indicates that some of the Cycladic islanders created robust inter-island and distant maritime networks while the Cretans did not develop distant networks of similar depth. This suggests that insularity for the two regions was different. The array of archaeological evidence for both imports and exports suggests that Cycladic islanders

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<sup>38</sup> From personal experience: snow patches on Mt. Ida last as late as early May, the Lasithi plain had over one meter snow depth in the winter of 2001-2. In the Cyclades, Andros and Naxos can see some snow occasionally, but in both cases the accumulation is miniscule compared to Crete; Heikell 2001, p.476.

<sup>39</sup> Area references from McGilchrist 2010(17) *Naxos* and Pugsley 2010 *Blue Guide Crete*.

were less insular than the Cretans. Evidence also indicates that the two regions had different environmental scenarios especially as regards precipitation. Most likely this had an impact on food productivity and more so on the security of food productivity over the *longue durée*. This paper proposes that the Cycladic islanders developed stronger networks in part as a response to food security issues. Reciprocally, the Cretans did not have the same food supply risks due to better rainfall and soil conditions, consequently they were comfortable with a more insular approach. It is suggested that the relative rainfall between the Cyclades and Crete was a factor, emphatically not the sole factor, but one of a myriad of issues that may help to explain the more outward looking connections that the archaeological evidence suggests the Cycladic islanders pursued compared to the more stay at home Cretans. Insularity in this interpretation is a variable factor, not a constant, and degrees of insularity can be observed, it is not an all or nothing proposition. Cycladic islanders in the Iron Age appear to have been less insular than their contemporaries in Crete. The insularity and connectedness of the two regions were not the same.

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**AS CÍCLADES E CRETA NA IDADE DO FERRO: DIFERENTES ABORDAGENS  
À CONECTIVIDADE ESPECULATIVAMENTE RELACIONADAS COM A  
SEGURANÇA ALIMENTAR**

*Doug Forsyth*

**RESUMO**

Este artigo oferece um estudo de caso de algumas das ilhas do arquipélago das Cíclades examinando a conectividade e a insularidade entre 1000 e 500 a.C. Nas Cíclades, evidências da interação com áreas fora e dentro do arquipélago são observáveis em muitas das ilhas. Argumentar-se-á que os fatores ambientais, predominantemente de baixa pluviosidade, podem ser pelo menos parte da explicação para a adoção de uma estratégia de deslocamento para além da costa de uma ilha nessa região. Os ilhéus cicládicos procuraram desenvolver fortes redes de afiliação com parceiros comerciais de outras regiões, talvez para servir como apoios durante períodos de baixa produtividade alimentar. Em comparação com o material cicládico, a evidência arqueológica de itens cretenses, encontrados fora de Creta, não é tão consistente. Este artigo sugere de forma especulativa que os cretenses, vivendo em um ambiente mais fértil, não sentiram a mesma necessidade dos ilhéus cicládicos de estabelecer redes de afiliação para fins de segurança alimentar.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE**

Cíclades, Creta, Conectividade, Pluviosidade, Segurança Alimentar.

# ISLAND ON A PENDULUM: NAXOS BETWEEN ISOLATION AND CONNECTIVITY

*Alexandra S. Sfyroera*<sup>1</sup>

*δοκεῖ δὲ μέγα τι εἶναι καὶ χαλεπὸν ληφθῆναι ὁ τόπος*

*Arist. Ph. 212a8*

## ABSTRACT

Naxos, the largest island of the Cyclades, in the center of the Archipelago, swayed over time between the two ends of the pendulum of insularity, namely between isolation and connectivity, in almost every aspect of human life (society, politics, economy, art, worship etc.). The article examines the position and importance of the island in the Archipelago but also its interaction with the neighboring mainland. It seeks the identity of its inhabitants and whether it differed from that of neighboring islands. It is a diachronic study based on the methods of Historical Archaeology, extending from the Early Iron Age to the end of the Roman period. In this respect, the limitations imposed by the material remains of the past can be overcome by the exploitation of textual evidence in conjunction with evidence found in the landscape and the natural resources.

The starting point is the image of Naxos in myth and literature as a place chosen for the upbringing of gods (i.e., Zeus' and Dionysus') or as a deserted landscape of abandonment and pain (in the case of Ariadne). The article specifies which of these traditions are of local origin and which are panhellenic. Subsequently, local history issues related to the aspect of insularity are examined, such as: the trade of Naxian goods, the spread of Naxian coins, the mobility of Naxians as individuals (artists, professionals, pilgrims, etc.), products imports, the participation in alliances (i.e. Delian

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League, Second Athenian League, Nesiotic League), issues of colonization and mobility of Naxians in general etc.

**KEYWORDS**

Insularity, Island Archaeology, Naxos.

## 1. Prologue

Naxos has a prominent position in the context of insularity in the ancient Mediterranean world. It is the largest island of Cyclades in the center of the Archipelago, almost in the middle of the maritime routes that connected mainland Greece with Minor Asia and the Near East. Moreover, even for a short time, its presence was not limited to this specific geographical area, but it extended further west, to Sicily by means of colonization. Therefore, it is postulated that Naxos must have gained a privileged role in various developments at the local, regional, or even transregional level.

Thinking about *insularity* we should keep in mind the whole of the aspects that characterized Naxos as an island;<sup>2</sup> these aspects depend on its physical and anthropogenic environment and their constant interplay with the islanders. Among the objectives of this paper is to define the position and importance of Naxos in the ancient Greek world; to discern phases of isolation, connectivity or in-between states, in combination with the factors that caused them; to find out if, at last, Naxians had forged a distinct identity that differentiated them from the rest of the islanders and beyond, as well as its characteristics.

This diachronic study, extending from the Early Iron Age to the end of the Roman period, is based on the methods of Historical Archaeology. In this respect, the limitations imposed by the material remains of the past can be overcome, to a great extent possible, by the exploitation of textual evidence in conjunction with evidence found in the landscape and the natural resources. Especially the literary sources convey an almost authentic picture of Naxian insularity, coming from both Naxian and non-Naxian writers. This study comprises six short narratives focusing on important aspects of Naxian insularity.

## 2. In the beginning is... geography

Herodotus (5.31) is the first ancient author who includes Naxos in the Cyclades island complex,<sup>3</sup> where it has remained geographically and administratively till today. In the regionally organized Athenian Tribute list of the year 443/2 (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 269*), Naxos is recorded in the unit named *Νεσισητικῶ φόρο*, that is “the tribute of the islanders”. This unit

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<sup>2</sup> For answers to the question “*what is an island?*”, see Kopaka (2009, especially p.182-185); Constantakopoulou (2007, p.10-19).

Generally, about insularity: Broodbank (2000); Constantakopoulou (2007); Dawson (2019).

<sup>3</sup> For a full list of ancient Greek and Roman authors discussing this aspect, see Sfyroera (2011, pp.40-41 no.31). A comment for the word *Cyclades* in the ancient Greek Literature in Broodbank (2000, p.69).

comprises Cyclades together with the *poleis* of Euboea, Lesbos etc. Naxos is absent from the Homeric poems.<sup>4</sup> Its oldest reference in literal sources can be traced in an epigram of Archilochus (fr. 325 ,7th cent. BC) about two Naxian great men.

*Naxos* is the name of the island.<sup>5</sup> It is considered as a prehellenic toponym (Oikonomides, 1988); it does not mean anything specific. Because of this, ancient authors tried to give some explanatory interpretations; for example, according to Diodorus (5.51.3) Naxos was named after its Carian first king named Naxos. Other names listed in literary sources include: *Strongyle*, *Dia*, *Dionysias*. Following Kopaka's (2009) proposition that islands' names, toponyms etc. reveal something of their specific character, let us first focus on names referring to its geography. Henceforth, the name *Strongyle* (*Στρογγύλη*, Diod. 5.50.1) could reflect the view of ancient and later geographers that the island's shape was circular. Indeed, in maps charted by 16th cent. European travelers, Naxos was depicted with an almost circular shape (Sfyroera, 2007, figs 1-4). According to G. Plinius Secundus (*HN* 4.22.67) Naxos was also named *Kallipolis*, that is an island with a beautiful *polis* and *Mikra Sikelia*; since it was the strongest and most excellent (*κρατίστη*) island of the Cyclades (Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio* 25). Finally, the comparison of Naxos with a vine leaf (e.g., *Scholia in Aratum* 236; more literary sources in Sfyroera, 2011, pp.50-51 no.47) is rather related with the spread of the cult of Dionysus on the island.

Naxos was in the center of the Aegiis landmass that connected mainland Greece with Asia Minor. The slow sinking of Aegiis through a complex sequence of geodynamic processes that lasted for millions of years, resulted in the current form of the Aegean archipelago, with Naxos in the middle of the Cyclades complex (Korres, 2021, p.322). It is the largest island (429,79 km<sup>2</sup>) with a 148 km-long coastline (Evelpidou, 2020, p.2). It has the highest peak of Cyclades, the mountain *Zas* (1001 m.). Its geological structure is characterized by a variety of rocks and minerals (Dalongeville & Renault-Miskovsky, 1993, pp.12-14; Sfyroera 2011, pp.531-532). Most of Naxos' landscape is mountainous. The highest ridges are found along a central axis that crosses the island from north to south. The western and central areas are characterized by smaller or bigger plains with low hills. Moreover, the western coastline is smoother providing better berthing

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<sup>4</sup> A plausible explanation of the omission of Cycladic islands and Ionians in general from the epic in Crielaard (2009, pp.49-50); another opinion in Gounaris (2005).

<sup>5</sup> A thorough analysis about the name of the island and its unique *polis* in Sfyroera (2018, p.326).

opportunities (Dalongeville & Renault-Miskovsky, 1993, pp.12-14; Sfyroera, 2018, p.328).

Observing the geomorphology in relation to the distribution of habitation, one can ascertain that habitation patterns had been influenced by the geomorphology, with inhabitants being concentrated over time in specific areas. To this date, the southwestern areas of the island remain sparsely populated for a variety of reasons (e.g., limited road network). However, a closer look reveals that in the Early Bronze Age most of the habitation sites were found along the southern coasts (Fotou, 1983, pp.20-46; Vlachopoulos, 2016, pp.117-118). This dispersal of habitation may not have allowed land communication with the sites e.g., in the west of the island, but it was suitable as a part of a maritime network connecting Naxos with the smaller islands in the southeast.<sup>6</sup> Since the Middle Bronze Age, the majority of sites have been situated in the northwest and central parts of the island; meanwhile during the Late Bronze Age habitation gradually moved to the north and to the western coasts, without deserting the south.<sup>7</sup> Certainly, the landscape in its western/northwestern part has been transformed due to the more intensive exploitation and habitation in conjunction with major geological changes (e.g., the sinking of the Grotta coast where the Mycenaean city had been developed).

The advantages of the western areas of the island were such that they became a place of attraction for the Neanderthals who reached Stelida following coastal and/or marine routes during their travel from Anatolia to southwestern Europe. Stelida is a double-peaked hill (currently at 152 m. above sea level) in the southwest of the modern city of Naxos, providing abundant sources of chert, a siliceous raw material which is ideal for the manufacture of flaked stone tools (Carter, 2019). This evidence of Middle Pleistocene activity in the central Aegean Basin has provided new dimensions to the notion of insularity (e.g., the importance of geomorphology and natural resources).

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<sup>6</sup> As has been thoroughly explained by Broodbank (2009, *passim*).

<sup>7</sup> Hadjianastasiou (1989, p.206). A detailed catalogue and map of Bronze Age's sites in: Fotou (1983).





**Figure 1:** A panoramic view of the modern city of Naxos and its surroundings (photo taken from Saint Ioannis Chrysostomos monastery, copyright A. S. Sfyroera).

The oldest remains of habitation in the west, at the site where the only *polis* of the island was diachronically developed, are dated back to the Neolithic era. Even assuming that the original occupation was more or less accidental, its advantages were indisputably proven over time (Sfyroera, 2018, p.328).<sup>8</sup> According to Aristoteles (in Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 8.40) in the Archaic period most of the rich Naxians lived in the *polis* whereas the rest lived scattered (*κατὰ κώμας*) in the hinterland. Archaeological evidence<sup>9</sup> has proven that the Naxian *chora* was an important field for the development of habitation alongside the *polis*. As the described form of *kata komas* habitation is not entirely clear, it is hypothesized that a smaller or larger nucleus of settlement, consisting of houses or simple shelters, could constitute a *kome*, or perhaps one or more farmsteads with a central building and associated shelters.

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<sup>8</sup> For an analytical review on the geographical formation of the *polis* and its topography, see Sfyroera (2018).

<sup>9</sup> Such as surface surveys (e.g., Treuil, 1983; Énard-Cerceau *et al.*, 1993) and excavations of cemetery (Charalambidou, 2018), sanctuaries (Gyroulas: Lambrinouidakis & Ohnesorg, 2020; Melanes: Lambrinouidakis, 2005), great technical projects including the aqueduct (Lambrinouidakis & Sfyroera, 2010), farmsteads (Kreeb, 1988), towers (Charalambides, 2003; Haselberger, 1972) etc.

The large area of the island, its geological variation and geomorphological alternations, the water sources and the torrents<sup>10</sup> that balance the low rate of rainfall, all resulted in the wealth of its natural resources. There was plenty of land suitable for all kinds of cultivation: from fruit and olive tree orchards to vegetables and grains, and also for raising livestock. Literary sources inform us about famous, local (and therefore desirable and exportable) products, such as wine (Ath., *Deipn.* 1.56; 2.39), almonds (Ath., *Deipn.* 2.39), and goats (Ath., *Deipn.* 12.57). The forests provided timber for shipbuilding (Brun, 1996, p.49). The abundant and easily accessible marble deposits favored the development of monumental sculpture and architecture in the Archaic period. The marble together with the emery, the main raw material of its processing, both became exportable resources.<sup>11</sup> Naxos' sufficiency in material goods (*autarkeia*) and its prosperity in some periods can be attributed to these rich and diverse natural resources. For this reason, the island was named *lipara* by Pindarus<sup>12</sup> (*Pyth.* 4 v.88).

At first sight, one might argue that Naxos, being the largest Cycladic island with a single *polis*, is a typical case for performing insularity studies. However, its size and diversity are such that it cannot be perceived as a unified, whole entity. One could identify sub-geographical units that may function differently and variedly – e.g., the inhabitants of the coastal zone did not share the same way of life with the mountain dwellers of the inland. As a result, there is more than one form of insularity on the same island. Unfortunately, the inadequacy of archaeological evidence does not allow exploring all of them.

### 3. Naxos in the myth: a place of abandonment and despair vs an inviting and safe shelter

According to the oldest version of the myth of Ariadne in *Nekyia* (*Od.* 11, vv.321-325), the daughter of Minos was killed by Artemis on the island *Dia* (*Δία*) – after she got there with Theseus.<sup>13</sup> The poet Callimachus (4th-3rd cent. BC) is the first to mention that *Dia* was the oldest name of Naxos (fr. 274) – an information that is repeated by many subsequent authors (Sfyroera, 2011, pp.45-46 no.41). According to Diodorus (5.51.1-2) the island was named *Dia* by the giant brothers Otus and Ephialtes, the sons of Poseidon

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<sup>10</sup> Literary evidence about springs and a river of wine in: Sfyroera (2011: p.22 [at no.6]).

<sup>11</sup> On the importance of marble for the Naxian economy: Kokkorou-Alevras (2003).

<sup>12</sup> According to The Online LSJ *λίπαρά* means “fat, rich, fruitful” in this case.

<sup>13</sup> *Δία* or *Dia* is also today the name of a very small uninhabited island located just 7 miles northeast of Heraklion. Of course, it is not possible to know what Homer had exactly in his mind when referring to *Dia*.

who were also known as Aloades. They were the second in succession kings of the island following the first Thracian kings. Before Aloades, the island was called *Strongyle*. Therefore, we could conclude that *Dia* was the name attributed to the island in the myth. The attribution of this name to Naxos was a result of the integration of the Homeric tradition of Ariadne's death on the island *Dia* with the prevailing version of the myth that she had been abandoned on Naxos by Theseus (first reported in Eratosthenes, *Cat.* 1.5, 3rd-2nd cent. BC;<sup>14</sup> full literary evidence about Ariadne on Naxos in Sfyroera, 2011, pp.39-40 no.29). The association of Naxos with the island *Dia* could be facilitated by the fact that in the Homeric text, Aloades are mentioned immediately before Ariadne (*Od.* 11, vv.305-320). As stated in the literary evidence, they died and were buried in Naxos (first met in: Pind., *Pyth.* 4 vv.156-158; full evidence in: Sfyroera, 2011, p.43 no.36). According to *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*, *Dia* means “heavenly”, “of goddess”. According to a scholiast of Callimachus (*Etymologicum Magnum* p.266) *Dia* is derived from the genitive of the name of Zeus (*Ζεύς, Διός*), and it was chosen because of the tradition of the upbringing of the god on the island.

The dominant features of the island in the myth are those of a deserted place,<sup>15</sup> a place of abandonment and pain, due to the myth of Ariadne's.<sup>16</sup> In Nonnus' work *Dionysiaca* (Sfyroera, 2011, pp.137-141 nos.215-226), Naxos is an uninhabited place,<sup>17</sup> immersed in silence and loneliness, where the daughter of Minos finally died. However, it is the place where Ariadne was courted by Dionysus. Naxos was also a romantic place for the amorous union of Poseidon with Amphitrite according to scholiasts of Homer (e.g., Eustathius, *Od.* 1.114). Finally, Naxos is also represented as a dark place of revenge and death. As we have seen, Artemis killed Ariadne there. During a deer hunt, herself (e.g., pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.55) or her brother Apollo (*Od.* 11 vv.318-320) are thought to have murdered the menacing brothers Otus and Ephialtes using a plot; nobody could oppose the Aloades.

The second central characteristic of the island is that of a hospitable refuge. Occasionally it is the blessed place for the upbringing of gods and heroes. According to

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<sup>14</sup> According to the aforementioned text of Eratosthenes, the marriage of Dionysus with Ariadne took place on *Dia*. In addition, he cites that she had been abandoned by Theseus on Naxos. Therefore, *Dia* and Naxos are the same island.

<sup>15</sup> E.g., *ἐρημία ναυτική* according to Alciphron (4.19.10).

<sup>16</sup> These characteristics are also found in newer literary works, such as R. Strauss's opera “*Ariadne auf Naxos*” with H. von Hofmannsthal's libretto.

<sup>17</sup> *ἐρημάς* (Nonnus, *Dion.* 47 v.354).

the prevailing narrative, Dionysus was born and/or raised up on its mountains.<sup>18</sup> The local historian Aglaosthenes stated that Zeus also grew up there (Eratosth., *Cat.* 1.30). Hera entrusted her son Hephaestus to the Naxian craftsman Kedalion to learn the art of coppersmithing; he was born as a result of the illicit relationship of Zeus with Hera (Eust., *Il.* 3.646). Another case is that of Hermes who hid Ares on Naxos after releasing him from the shackles imposed on him by the Aloades (Eust., *Il.* 96-97). Last but not least, the fratricidal Voutis from Thrace took refuge in Naxos in search of a new place of residence after his expulsion from his homeland; he became the first king of *Strongyle* (Diod. 5.50.2-3).

Related to the feature of the hospitable shelter is the trait of the protected anchorage under difficult weather conditions. Traveling from Athens to the coasts of Asia Minor, Nileas, the son of Kodros, was forced to dock in Naxos due to bad weather conditions (Aelianus, *VH* 8.5).<sup>19</sup> Thucydides (1.137.2) attests that Themistocles also tried to dock in Naxos for the same reason during his travel to Persia.<sup>20</sup> Of the many characteristics attributed to Naxos in the myth this is the only one that corresponds to reality. The privileged position of the *polis* on the western, smooth coast of Grotta was reinforced by the double mooring capability of the two natural inlets in the west and north, on both sides of the peninsula *Palatia*. Consequently, ships were able to easily approach the *polis* even if strong winds were blowing from any direction – although these were more often from the north. In addition, the island occupied a central position in the Aegean Sea, being in the middle of the maritime route from mainland Greece to the East. Because Naxos was a rich and resourceful island, it was considered an ideal station for supplies.<sup>21</sup> It was readily recognizable at sea, even from a great distance, because of the presence of mount Zas, the highest peak of Cyclades.<sup>22</sup> For travelers approaching the island (from the end of the 6th cent. BC), the monumental doorway of the unfinished temple of Apollo on *Palatia* would be another landmark – mainly in difficult weather conditions. The seamen's

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<sup>18</sup> A lot of crucial events of his life took place on Naxos; a full list of the relevant literary evidence in: Sfyroera (2011, pp.23-24 no.9).

<sup>19</sup> This narrative is part of a story of Athenian inspiration about *Ionian migration*. It may be considered a starting point for a discussion about the composition of the island's population. Naxians were Ionians (as many other Cycladic inhabitants and beyond), although they did not accept their origin in their local narratives; this controversy is discussed in detail in: Sfyroera (*in press a*).

<sup>20</sup> See also Sfyroera (2011, pp.121-123 no.182), for chronological correlation issues that sometimes called into question the truth of the incident.

<sup>21</sup> Not surprisingly it has a central place in maritime routes diachronically, see Purcell & Horden, (2000, pp.141-142 and map M12).

<sup>22</sup> For a study on maximum visibility in the sea see: Brugge (2017).

knowledge of the smooth west coastline of the island and its sheltered double port, made Naxos a reference point in travels to and from the East.

To conclude, the image of Naxos in the myth consistently shares a common feature, that of isolation, precisely because it serves the need of the protagonists to take refuge on the island. Undoubtedly, no one gets abandoned or looks for a hiding place or shelter in a crowded place. This notion is partly consistent with our common perception of islands as places of loneliness, misery, and poverty. However, this negative image, mainly found in pan-Hellenic rather than local narratives,<sup>23</sup> was at odds with reality. Even its mythological names (*Dia*, *Dionysias*), as authorial creations, ascribe some qualities to the island, in contrast to its official name, Naxos, which bears no particular meaning.

#### 4. *Staying (?) at home in the age of the great expansion*

The *polis* of Naxos was formed relatively early. It had been shaped from the geographical standpoint shortly before the end of the Geometric period. The process of its geographical emergence and formation can be witnessed through the archaeological findings in the *polis* and its surroundings.<sup>24</sup> With regard to its political formation, archaeological finds have revealed that the Naxian society went forward with its transformation from a cluster of *geni* to a unified state after the middle of the 8th cent. BC. The worshipping practices of some eminent families at the Metropolis square and the sanctuary of Yria were adopted gradually by the entire community (Lambrinoudakis, 2001, pp.14-15). As concerns the third parameter, i.e., that of the territory, its *chora*, the *polis* of Naxos, as the only *polis* on the entire island, had no problems consolidating or extending its borders. In other regions of mainland Greece similar controversies led to confrontations and even to warfare; the conflict of Chalcis with Eretria over the Lelantine plain is an outstanding case. Nevertheless, insularity had sometimes its own disadvantages, as in the case of islandic neighbors (the rivalry between Naxos and Paros is a characteristic example).

The formation of ancient Greek *poleis* and colonization are almost contemporary phenomena. Naxos' involvement in colonial expansion is limited, although it could be

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<sup>23</sup> Only the narrations of Aglaosthenes about the upbringing of Zeus and Diodorus' about the Thracians are likely based on local versions of the myths.

<sup>24</sup> A detailed presentation of the geographical formation of the *polis* of Naxos in: Sfyroera (2018, especially pp.327-333).

reasonably assumed that it had all the means for such an expansion, i.e., ships and maritime knowledge.<sup>25</sup> Naxians in collaboration with Chalcidians founded their only *apoikia* in the west in 734 BC. This was an early period of search and experimental approaches for identifying new places of residence and trade. The *apoikia* was named *Naxos* and it was the first Greek colony in Sicily. The reduced interest of Naxians in the establishment of colonies is reflected in the absence of a certain cult of Apollo Pythios,<sup>26</sup> which is observed in other islands of the Cyclades with colonial activity, such as Andros (e.g., *IG XII Suppl.* 245) and Paros (e.g., *IG XII 5* 110, 134).

The reasons for this deficit should be sought in particular features of Naxian insularity: there was plenty of land suitable for a variety of uses and abundant natural resources. The only shortage was probably that of metals. The majority of the population would make a living from agriculture, livestock raising and fishing. As concerns the Naxian aristocrats (named *pacheis*, *fat people*<sup>27</sup>), they based their wealth, power and authority primarily on land ownership and also on commercial activities. Naxians and Chalcidians maintained longstanding ties, as indicated by significant quantities of Euboean pottery found in Naxos. Two crucial common elements of both *poleis* were the strong aristocratic character of their landowners'-based society and the emergence of new competitive social groups. The voluntary departure of dissatisfied and/or ambitious and adventurous citizens from both *poleis* alleviated (even temporarily) the tensions and strengthened them (a thorough analysis in Sfyroera *in press b*).

Other Cycladic islands, including Paros and Andros, founded colonies in the Northern Aegean during the first half of the 7th cent. BC.<sup>28</sup> Although the motives of the settlers were common in both cases (search for land, timber, metals etc., and trade expansion), the conditions of their departure from the homeland are considered to be different: Parians left their island voluntarily, whereas Andrians did not, a fact that is later reflected in the relations between the *metropolis* and colonies (Tiverios, 2020, *passim*). Neither Naxians nor Chalcidians had any relations with their colony, but this does not

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<sup>25</sup> Taking this into consideration, 200 years later Naxos became the largest naval power in the Cyclades.

<sup>26</sup> The cult of Apollo Pythios in Naxos is based on a hypothesis derived from a dubious reading of the epithet on the inscription *SEG* 41, 690 ll.3-4 –according to Matthaïou (1990-91, pp.113-116). On the connection between the colonial activity of some *poleis* and the cult of Apollo Pythios: Tiverios, 2020, p.50.

<sup>27</sup> Named so by Herodotus (5.30) in his narration of the expulsion of *pacheis* by the *demos* in the late 6th cent. BC.

<sup>28</sup> Parians about 680-670 BC (Tiverios, 2020, p.42), Andrians in the middle of the 7th cent. BC (Tiverios, 2020, pp.47-48).

necessarily mean that they resembled the case of Andros. As one of the oldest examples of colonization, the founding of Sicilian Naxos had some characteristics of an experiment, especially for Naxians who had not attempted it before. In addition, Naxians seem to have had little commercial interest in such a remote region as Sicily. The trade of agricultural products, marble or emery could be conducted in their vicinity.

Compared to Naxos, the increased colonial activity of Paros and Andros could be attributed to the fact that the formation of the *polis* on these two islands was not completed as early as in Naxos, where the powerful Mycenaean city had evolved into a single *polis* (Sfyroera, 2018, pp.328-331). In Andros and Paros there were more than one important settlements during the Geometric period (Tiverios, 2020, p.42 [Paros]; p.47 [Andros]). Consequently, internal tensions and conflicts after their *synoikismos* led to colonial expansion,<sup>29</sup> to settle disputes and resolve practical issues (such as the shortage of land).

In the middle of the 7th cent. BC, the confrontation between Naxians and Parians was linked to the Naxians' attempt to take advantage of the successful pioneering action of their neighbors who penetrated Thrace and exploited the wealth-producing resources of the region – mainly metals. The defeat of Naxians was massive<sup>30</sup> (Tiverios, 2020, p.42; Tsantsanoglou, 2020). Besides, smaller interests could have brought them into conflict, such as maritime control, fishing rights etc. In general, the two islands followed different coalitions. For example, in the war for the Lelantine plain, Naxians took the side of the Chalcidians, while Parians that of Eretrians. Many conflicts would naturally take place at sea, as evidenced by the testimony of the sinking of a ship carrying Milesian ambassadors (allies of Paros<sup>31</sup>) in the Paros-Naxos strait (*IG XII 5*, 445 vv.9ff). Regardless, their rivalry was documented in the 2nd cent. BC, demanding the arbitration of Eretria (*IG XII 5*, 128 and *IG XII 4*, 1065; Sfyroera, 2011, pp.384-386 no.571). Even today, the two islands do not maintain a very agreeable predisposition towards each other. This case exemplifies the usual mode of hostility existing between neighboring islands.

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<sup>29</sup> For the Andrian colonial expansion to the north: Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa (2020, p.70 – after the *synoikismos*); Paspalas (2020, p.67 – after the abandonment of Zagora); *contra* Televantou (2020, 60 – the overpopulation of Hypsele led to the colonial expansion). In the case of Paros, Koukounaries had been inhabited until the Archaic period (lately Schilardi, 2021, p.657).

<sup>30</sup> Archilochus (*IG XII 5*, 445 v.54): ἐνίκησαν καρτερῶς τοὺς Ναξίους.

<sup>31</sup> Paros and Miletos had a very close relationship – e.g., Hdt. 5.28-29.

Finally, if one of the goals of the colonial expansion of Andrians and Parians was to obtain metals, then they achieved it. They issued a silver coin earlier than more prosperous Naxos.<sup>32</sup>

The answer to the question whether Naxians traveled – and to what extent – is not easy. They certainly did not travel like, for example, Corinthians, Chalcidians, Parians or Andrians. Along with their presence in Sicily and Thasos, there are testimonies on their (early) settlement in Arkesini (Stephanus Byzantius 1.275; see also Sfyroera, 2011, p.206 no.344). Although this has not been archaeologically documented so far, it can hardly be ignored as a possibility.

The distribution of Naxian Geometric pottery in the Cyclades and Mediterranean has shown that its exports were rather sporadic. It has been assumed that the most frequent purpose of Naxians' travels was pilgrimage to certain sanctuaries (at Delos, Siphnos Samos) rather than commercial exchange. Outside the Aegean, a limited number of Naxian pottery coexisted with large quantities of Euboean, indicating that it was mainly transported with Euboean ships (Kourou, 1994, pp.291-292). Nevertheless, the well-studied pottery and the minor objects-findings from the sanctuary of Yria bring before our eyes “cultural and commercial relations” of Naxians in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean (Simantoni-Bournia, 2021). To conclude, Naxians may not have been considered ambitious seafarers nor good travelers, perhaps due to the conservative nature of their society (Simantoni-Bournia, 1994).

##### *5. Prosperity derived from the sea? The ambiguous Naxian thalassocracy*

The Archaic era was a period of growing prosperity for Naxos. Herodotus refers to Naxos, narrating the events that led to the Ionian revolution at the end of the 6th cent. BC.<sup>33</sup> He praises Naxos by conveying the words of Milesian Aristagoras in front of Artaphrenes, brother of Darius the king.<sup>34</sup> Thus, according to Aristagoras, “Naxos was indeed an island of no great size, but it was otherwise a beautiful and noble island lying near Ionia. Furthermore, it had a store of wealth and slaves”. In addition, “Paros, Andros, and the rest islands of those that are called Cyclades were dependent to Naxos”. It is also

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<sup>32</sup> According to Liampi Andrians issued silver coins in 530-550 BC (Liampi, 1998, p.220), Paros in 525-520/515 BC (Liampi, 1998, p.253), Naxos in 520-490 BC (Liampi, 1998, p.249).

<sup>33</sup> 5.28.1: καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλίτου Ἴωσι γίνεσθαι κακά.

<sup>34</sup> For further details, see Hdt. 5.30ff.



mentioned that Naxians had eight thousand men that bore shields, and many “long ships”, that is warships (Hdt. 5.31).<sup>35</sup>

No matter how much of Herodotus’ narrative could be doubted or considered excessive, it is important because for the first time, it places Naxos in an insular network and it is notably proclaimed that it surpassed all the other islands in prosperity.<sup>36</sup> Archaeological research confirms Herodotus’ testimony and supplements it with new evidence of prosperity. In summary, a series of major, mainly public projects testify to the economic potential of the *polis* (and also of some of its citizens) and the existence of a strong central government. Such works include the Temple IV with an altar at the sanctuary of Yria (ca 580 BC), the (unfinished) temple of Apollo on Palatia (second quarter of the 6th cent. BC), the all-marble temple at Gyroulas (530-520 BC), the 11 km-long aqueduct carrying water from the fountains of Melanes to the *polis* (second quarter of the 6th cent. BC). We can also add to this list the colossal statue of Dionysus and two over-life statues of kouroi, all abandoned unfinished at the marble quarries (Apollo and Melanes, respectively) and finally a significant number of various sculptures found in Naxos (Sfyroera *in press c*, with further bibliography).

However, it seems that Naxians did not simply indulge in making great works on their island. They sought to promote the power and greatness of their *polis* beyond the limits of their island, in areas where more people had access to and where Naxian influence and the admiration of others would be more prominent. In the middle of the 6th cent. BC. Naxian authority on Delos peaked, gradually decreasing towards the end of the century. In the first quarter of 6th cent. BC Naxians dedicated the colossal statue of Apollo and transformed the neighboring *Oikos of the Naxians*, making their two votive offerings coexist harmoniously. At the same time, the number of votive sculptures of Naxians doubled. In the first quarter of the 6th cent. BC Naxians dedicated two sphinx statues to the sanctuaries of Apollo at Delphi and Colonna (Aegina) (Sfyroera, 2011, pp.806-808 – with further bibliography).

All these magnificent works of architecture and sculpture had a strong monumental character. They reflected the perception of Naxians for themselves, both as a society and

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<sup>35</sup> According to The Online LSJ μακρὰ πλοῖα were the “ships of war”.

<sup>36</sup> Hdt. 5.28.1: Ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίη τῶν νήσων προέφερε.

as individuals. Monumentality in the Archaic period was the strongest societal expression for Naxians.<sup>37</sup>

Certainly, these monumental works required high intellectual skills for their inception, design and implementation. This knowledge could have been gained by Naxians over the years thanks to their longstanding experience in marble processing. However, it could have also been a result of their acquaintance with large-scale projects during their travels in the Near East, especially in Egypt (Kokkorou-Alevras, 1994) or through their alliance with other Greek cities that had created similar infrastructures.<sup>38</sup>

Much later sources (Eusebius Caesariensis, 4th cent. AD)<sup>39</sup> refer to the Naxian naval rule towards the end of the 6th cent. BC. According to Eusebius, Naxian *thalassocracy* was established after that of Lacedemonians and before that of Eretrians and lasted for 10 years, that is 510-501 BC (Fotheringham, 1907, p.86) or 516/5-507/6 (Miller, 1971, p.6). In spite of objections surrounding the accuracy of this list, the information on Naxian superiority aligns with Herodotus' testimony and archaeological evidence.

The exact character of Naxian thalassocracy remains uncertain. Certainly, they owned a significant number of ships, including warships and also commercial vessels.<sup>40</sup> The Naxian aristocratic fugitives (*παχελῖς*) and their allies asked the Persians for 100 ships in order to launch an attack against their compatriots, return to Naxos and regain their power (Hdt. 5.31.4). It is reasonable to assume that the requested number of Persian ships was proportional to those owned by Naxians. Eventually, although Persians helped them by offering 200 ships, the aristocrats failed to conquer the *polis* after a four-month siege (Hdt. 5.34). In addition, the comic poet Aristophanes cites that there was a type of Naxian ship named *kantharos*,<sup>41</sup> just like the vase symbol of Dionysus who was Naxians' *poliouchos* god. Not coincidentally, the archaic silver coins of Naxos depicted a *kantharos* vase as the emblem of the *polis* (Sfyroera, 2013, with older bibliography). This

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<sup>37</sup> This idea is further analyzed in Sfyroera *in press c*.

<sup>38</sup> Similar infrastructures include the aqueducts in Athens, Samos and Megara. Of note, Naxian tyrant Lygdamis had close connections with the tyrants of these *poleis* (Sfyroera, 2011, pp.809-815 *passim*).

<sup>39</sup> The *poleis* that ruled the sea from the Trojan war to the time of Xerxes are listed on an Armenian manuscript of Eusebius' *Chronicle* (pp. 225-226). According to him, his source was a work by Diodorus, lost today (further discussion in: Sfyroera, 2011, pp.89-91 no.115). The same list is repeated by Georgius Synkellus (*Ecloga chronographica* p.247β; see also Sfyroera, 2011, pp.66-67 no.76).

<sup>40</sup> According to Van de Eijnde (2020, 55) the main type of Archaic ship was the *pentekonter*, a 50-oar ship, that served both military and commercial purposes. These ships were owned by citizens – not by the *polis*.

<sup>41</sup> τὸ δὲ πλοῖο ἔσται ναξιοῦργησ κάναρος (Pax 143).

choice reflects both a tribute to their patron god and their strong military and commercial advantage, their navy. Lastly, despite the disasters it suffered at the beginning of the 5th cent. BC, Naxos joined the Delian League, initially contributing ships instead of money, like other naval forces of the time (Sfyrroera, 2011, pp.847 with testimonies and further bibliography). In conclusion, all these lines of evidence suggest that Naxos was an eminent naval force during the second half of the 6th cent. BC.

The exact character of the Naxian naval supremacy is vague. A possible hypothesis is that they dominated the Aegean commercially. So Naxian ships could serve commercial activities, such as trade of marble and sculptures, as it is documented archaeologically, or of some exclusive local products like emery, livestock or other agricultural products. Various findings from Yria allow the recognition of interconnections with other areas (e.g., Rhodes, Cyprus, Phoinicia, Egypt), although it is not clear whether these objects were brought to the island by Naxian or foreign merchants and mercenaries. Some of them were copied by local craftsmen (Simantoni-Bournia, 2021, especially pp.21-23). Naxian mobility and the dissemination of their knowledge and expertise are undeniable facts in the Archaic period.

Even the issue of silver coins (staters, drachmas, obols) following the Aeginetan standard towards the end of the 6th cent. BC served mostly commercial purposes. Naxian silver coins of high monetary value have been found in the most important hoards of Near East, dated from 500 to 460 BC (Sfyrroera, 2011, pp.816-821). Although the presence of Naxian coins does not necessarily imply the activity of Naxian merchants there, it confirms their involvement in a network of trade relations, where the Naxian currency had a stable place due to its reliability.<sup>42</sup>

Despite remaining questions and uncertainties, the sea and the integration of Naxos in smaller or wider exchange networks brought wealth to the *polis* and to some of its citizens.

#### 6. *Questioning a basic feature of insularity, that of security*

Shortly before the end of the Archaic era, Naxians were confronted for the first time with the collapse of a key feature of insularity, that is the security from hostile intrigues offered by a place enclosed by sea. The deposed aristocrats of Naxos asked Milesians for

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<sup>42</sup> On the role of Archaic coinage in Aegean -Egyptian overseas trade see Van Alfen (2020).

help (enemies of their *polis* until then). They requested 100 ships to attack the polis and return to power. Persians and Milesians besieged the *polis* of Naxians with 200 ships for four months; the *polis* thwarted the siege and its enemies departed (Sfyroera, 2011, pp.825-826). Naxos' great power, naval supremacy and possibly also the weakness of its opponents to effectively conduct a military operation against an island, are some probable causes of this outcome. The insular character of Naxos appeared to be an advantage in this early phase.

About 10 years later, when Persians campaigned against Greece, Naxos was their first stopover. Aiming at avenging the earlier humiliation of the Persian fleet, they enslaved the inhabitants, burned the *polis* and its sanctuaries, without encountering any resistance, since Naxians had abandoned the *polis* without even trying to defend their hearths (Hdt. 6.96; Sfyroera, 2011, pp.843-845).

Many other sieges of the *polis* followed. All of them had detrimental consequences for Naxians. As a member of the Delian League from a very early age, Naxos was also the first *polis* that tried to apostatize from it. Athenians, questioning Naxians' right to free choice, besieged their *polis* and forcibly returned it to the Alliance (470/468 BC; Thuc. 1.98.4; Sfyroera, 2011, pp.847-851). Naxos was besieged successfully for one more time by Athenians, in 376 BC, just before the battle of Naxos, where the Athenian fleet of Chabrias decisively defeated the Lacedaemonians (Diod. 15.34.3ff; Sfyroera, 2011, pp.851-852). By that time, insularity had evolved into a disadvantage for Naxians. Naxos was an island without a strong fleet and finite natural resources. It could hardly secure immediate help from elsewhere. It was therefore vulnerable to well-organized attacks by a great naval power, such as Athens.

### *7. Living in the shadow of great powers*

Naxos fought alongside the rest of Greeks during the Persian wars (Sfyroera, 2011, pp.845-846 including literal evidence). After their end, it joined the new strong network of the Delian League, under the Athenian control. Its likely voluntary participation at first soon became mandatory (if not unbearable) especially after its failed apostasy (Sfyroera, 2011, pp.847-851 including literal and epigraphical evidence). For the years to follow, Naxos became marginalized in an informal state of isolation. It was a member of great insular networks, such as the Second Athenian League and the Nesiotic League, or later

under the Rhodian control.<sup>43</sup> As part of *Provincia Asia* (since 133 AD) and *Provincia Insularum* (since 294 AD) Naxos did not retain any important political or economic role. For this reason, it was chosen as a place of exile for Romans who had been forced into isolation (Tacitus, *Ab Excessu Divi Augusti* 15.9; see also the comment in Sfyroera, 2011, p.185 no.299 on Plutarchus' *De exil.* 602D). However, Naxos did not go through a period of crisis and decline, since Naxian society and economy remained in a quite good condition according to the archaeological evidence (Lambrinouidakis, 2018, pp.4-6; also, Sfyroera, 2011, pp.885-889).

To conclude, from the beginning of the Classical era Naxos' role and importance in the Archipelagos was extremely limited. While the image of the strong Archaic *polis* had definitely faded, Naxos never ceased to be a large and resourceful island.

#### 8. Coda

A pendulum with connectivity and isolation at its extreme positions could paint a vivid image of insularity. The island of Naxos, as the heavy mass hanging from the string, has kept on swinging diachronically back and forth in a more or less periodic motion – due to various interferences. However, it has never reached either of these extreme positions. These six short narratives capture some of the countless positions of insularity's pendulum. Naxos' geographical position and geomorphology remained unchanged – just as the pendulum is suspended from a fixed point. Nevertheless, its role, importance and interaction with the rest of the insular and mainland world were differentiated, in constant change, just like the pendulum's amplitude is never the same.

A combination of randomness (i.e., the location of the island in the center of the Aegiis landmass) and human actions have shaped the insularity of Naxos till today. Naxians had consciousness of the self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*) that their place offered them. That is why they were reluctant to travel during the colonization or believed that they could thrive outside the Athenian League. It could be argued that this feeling of autarky was a key characteristic of Naxian identity. It could also be combined with their love for monumentality. Through the latter they promoted, both inside and outside of their

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<sup>43</sup> Sfyroera, 2011, pp.852-854 (Second Athenian League); pp.864-866 (Nesiotic League); p.866 (under Rhodian control) with literal and epigraphical evidence.

island, the great perception they had for themselves and their *polis* (Sfyroera *in press c*).<sup>44</sup> These two notions were combined with a possible belief of invulnerability – at least until the last years of the 6th cent. BC.

From a more general perspective, one last comment about insularity: Despite the debatable role of isolation as a key feature of insularity, it cannot be completely rejected. No one has ever lived for a long period of time completely isolated out of necessity, with no other choice, in any part of the mainland, apart from a shipwrecked person on a deserted island. In our challenging times of the pandemic, we have witnessed how easy it is to completely isolate an island and limit the spread of Covid-19. There is a diachronic sense of protection and security that results from the lack of communication with the outside world. On the other hand, even today, there are a few days every year when communication between the islands and the mainland is impossible (due to extreme weather conditions or other factors, e.g., ship strikes). This aspect creates a strong feeling of isolation in islanders – and being one of them, I know this feeling very well.

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<sup>44</sup> About autarky and love of monumentality as principal features of Naxian Archaic society see: Lambrinoudakis 1988, 111.



**Figure 2:** Facing the peninsula of Palatia from the northern coast of Grotta in a windy springtime afternoon (copyright A. S. Sfyroera).

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**BALANÇANDO ENTRE AS EXTREMIDADES DE UM PÊNDULO: NAXOS ENTRE  
ISOLAMENTO E CONECTIVIDADE**

*Alexandra S. Sfyroera*

RESUMO

Naxos, a maior ilha das Cíclades, no centro do arquipélago, oscilou no tempo entre as duas extremidades do pêndulo da insularidade, ou seja, entre isolamento e conectividade, em quase todos os aspectos da vida humana (sociedade, política, economia, arte, culto, etc.). O artigo examina a posição e a importância da ilha no arquipélago, mas também sua interação com o continente vizinho. Busca a identidade de seus habitantes e se ela se diferencia daquela das ilhas vizinhas. É um estudo diacrônico baseado nos métodos da Arqueologia Histórica, que se estende desde o início da Idade do Ferro até o final do período romano. A este respeito, as limitações impostas pelos restos materiais do passado podem ser superadas pela exploração de evidências textuais em conjunto com as evidências encontradas na paisagem e nos recursos naturais. O ponto de partida é a imagem de Naxos no mito e na literatura como um lugar escolhido para a criação dos deuses (Zeus e Dioniso) ou como uma paisagem deserta de abandono e dor (no caso de Ariadne). O artigo especifica quais dessas tradições são de origem local e quais são pan-helênicas. Posteriormente, são examinadas questões de história local relacionadas ao aspecto da insularidade, tais como: o comércio de bens naxianos, a difusão das moedas naxianas, a mobilidade dos naxianos como indivíduos (artistas, profissionais, peregrinos, etc.), a importação de produtos, a instalação de grupos estrangeiros de pessoas na ilha, a participação em alianças (Liga de Delos, Segunda Liga Ateniense, Liga Nesiótica) e questões de colonização e mobilidade em geral dos naxianos, etc.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Insularidade, Arqueologia de ilhas, Naxos.



# INSULARITY AND THE UNIQUE POSITION OF AEOLIC SONG IN ARCHAIC GREEK POETRY

*Tadeu Andrade*<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

Archaic Greek poetry was a multiple phenomenon: different areas developed diverse, though interrelated genres. This article comments on the unique position Aeolic *mélōs* had in the archaic Greek song tradition. Firstly, it points to Sappho and Alcaeus' somewhat ambivalent reception by ancient authors. Secondly, it shows how different aspects of their corpus exhibit a pattern of communication with other Greek poetry, while maintaining its own particularities. This unique status is demonstrated by an analysis of Aeolic poetic formulae. Finally, the article proposes the insular geography of Lesbos as one of the reasons for the singularity of this poetry.

## KEYWORDS

Insularity, Greek lyric, Lesbian poetry, Orality, Formulae.

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### 1. Introduction<sup>2</sup>

Archaic Greek poetry is noticeably a mixture of cultural variety and unity. Just as there was no single Greek language, in Greek literature one could find a whole range of poetic genres distributed in different dialects. Thus, the distinctive form of *épos* seen in Homer was a predominantly Ionian fruit, as were elegy and iambus<sup>3</sup>. Likewise, an important branch of *mélōs* arose in Dorian lands, the earliest extant representative of which is Alcman, active in Sparta. At an early stage, some genres started not only to circulate throughout the Greek world, but also to be composed outside their original environments, by foreign poets. So, by the beginning of the 5th C.<sup>4</sup>, Doric lyric had been performed by poets from Rhegium, Ceos and Thebes, none of which was of Dorian ethnicity. Epic poets, on their turn, had arisen in Cyprus, Lesbos, Boeotia, Corinth, and Cyrene. Finally, elegy had already been sung by Tyrtaeus and Theognis in Dorian *póleis*.

During their transcultural expansion, these genres retained not only their metre and conventions, but sometimes even their dialect. Extant epic and elegiac poems and fragments are all in Ionic, despite the origin of their poets. Lyricists from all over the Hellenic world made literary use of Doric dialect, despite some differences<sup>5</sup>. Some evidence suggests this phenomenon could have been the result of subsequent uniformization, when the poems were established in writing<sup>6</sup>. However, the adoption of Ionic by other ethnic groups was already a reality in the Archaic era, as evidenced by the

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<sup>2</sup> Special thanks to Rafael Frate for the gentle language editing of this article.

<sup>3</sup> The statement holds even if we presuppose a previous, prehistoric, Aeolic phase of epic. If the Ionic tradition was not the first form of epic to exist in Greek language, still, Homer's metre and dialect are distinctively Ionic. On the origins of Ionic metrical forms, see West (1973). For a different explanation of the origins of the hexameter, see Nagy (1974, pp. 49-102). For arguments for and against the existence of an Aeolic phase, see Horrocks (1997, pp. 212-217), West (2002), Tribulato (2010, p. 393), and Hackstein (2010, p. 402).

<sup>4</sup> All dates are BCE, unless stated otherwise.

<sup>5</sup> Bacchylides' dialect, for instance, has fewer Aeolisms and more Ionicisms than Pindar's, see Jebb (1905, pp. 79-81), Colvin (2014, p. 148).

<sup>6</sup> For example, an elegiac couplet inscribed in Doric (131 *CEG*; Simonides, epigram 14 Sider) is found in a later source in Ionic (Plutarch, *On the Malice of Herodotus* 870e), see Nagy (1990, p. 53, n. 6). Moreover, Alcman's texts present later Laconian traits, that could not be present in the original songs; see Mitchell (1984, p. 20), Hinge (2006, pp. 3-5), Carey (2011, pp. 439-440), and Colvin (2014, p. 148). There is also some evidence of non-Ionian hexameters (such as Alcman fr. 26 *PMGF*, and Sappho fr. 104-106 Voigt), but that could also be the result of a later Doricization or Aeolicization of the texts. The most important testimonies of Ionic metre in other dialects are archaic verse inscriptions, such as the Doric hexameters on Mantiklos Apollo (326 *CEG*), and the Doric elegiac couplets on the 6<sup>th</sup> Century Ambracian monument (41.540A, 44.463 *SEG*). However, one should notice that Doricisms in Tyrtaeus and Theognis, for instance, are rare which might suggest that the poets at least avoided forms that were completely irreconcilable with the Ionic prototypes of the genre; see Horrocks (2010, p. 49). D'Alessio (2009a, p. 123) notes that even hexametric inscriptions in other dialects have a deep structure "easily 'translatable' into a relatively late stage of the ionicised epic diction".

deeply non-Aeolic language of the Boeotian Hesiodic poems<sup>7</sup>. Furthermore, the Doric basis of the language adopted by the Aeolian Pindar and the Ionian Simonides and Bacchylides is undeniable. In summary, as they were being produced in different areas, some genres retained various elements which tied them to their geographical origins: metre, conventions, language<sup>8</sup>.

Not all Greek poetry shared the same fate as the more prestigious genres. While song was an omnipresent practice in Archaic and Classical Greece<sup>9</sup>, and its different manifestations shared themes, metres, and techniques, few traditions became as widely known and incorporated by other communities as Ionian elegy and *épos* or Dorian *mélōs*. Local practices could have a degree of exchange with more prestigious traditions; however, this epichoric traditions appear to have exerted less direct impact on other regions.

Nonetheless, a strict Pan-Hellenic/epichoric opposition would be misleading. Some genres might have been restricted to their communities, while others might have circulated in nearby areas. The situation presents a full spectrum of possibilities. Even widely practiced genres must have expanded gradually from smaller areas to the whole of the Greek world. A case taken from better documented times, Attic drama, illustrates this process. From a local, if not isolated, phenomenon it became a general practice, to the point of being imitated by non-Greek peoples, such as Oscans and Latins. In Archaic times, an intermediary section of the spectrum consisted of traditions which, while becoming famous and producing Pan-Hellenic canonical poets, whose works were constantly reperformed, did not export their genres so widely. This was the case of Lesbian and Ionian *mélōs*. Three of the canonical Nine Lyric Poets arose from these traditions: Sappho, Alcaeus, and Anacreon. Their early fame is attested by their depictions in Attic pottery and comedies. They had a strong influence on Greek poetic culture, integrating, for instance, the Attic sympotic imaginary in the classical period, with a considerable impact on local drinking songs<sup>10</sup>. Still, if the extant poetic corpus is

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<sup>7</sup> Its more conspicuous trait being the rarer use of hiatus originating from lost digamma, which was still pronounced in Boeotian. On Hesiod's predominantly Ionic dialect, see West (1966, pp.79-91), Nagy (1990, p. 77, n. 123), Cassio (2009).

<sup>8</sup> On dialect in early Greek poetry, see D'Alessio (2009a, pp. 120-128), Silk (2009 and 2010), Tribulato (2010).

<sup>9</sup> On the role of song in archaic and classical Greek communities, see Herington (1985), Swift (2010, pp. 6-34), Hadjimichael (2019, pp. 23-57).

<sup>10</sup> For Anacreon's, Sappho's, and Alcaeus' reception in Attic symposia, see Yatromanolakis (2007) and Hadjimichael (2019, pp. 64-76). An extant Attic drinking song (fr. 891 *PMGF*) is the only piece of archaic

representative of archaic and classical realities, the genres of those poets, with their dialects and typical metres, were not so widely imitated as epic and elegy.

In the following pages, I present the unique position of one of those traditions: Aeolic song. In the first part, I briefly summarize what we know about its contact with other Greek poetry. I start with the ancient reception of Lesbian poetry and language, focusing on how classical Attic writers and later rhetors show both admiration for these poets and disapproval of their dialect. I also comment on Lesbian dialect, metre, and poetic *tópoi*. In the second part, I explore in more detail a much less debated aspect: Aeolic formulaic systems. In both sections, I show how Lesbian poetry tends to exhibit a pattern of connection to and independence from other Hellenic traditions<sup>11</sup>. I conclude with an account for this singular status of Aeolic song, based in the island's geopolitics, which framed the songs' performance, composition, and reception inside and outside Lesbos.

## *2. Aeolic Poetic Tradition: Lesbos and Beyond*

There is little room for conjecture on how the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus were composed, performed, and reperformed in Mytilene, Lesbos and in the rest of the archaic Mediterranean. Almost no contemporary evidence on the reception and circulation of Lesbian poetry survives. There are no sixth-century inscriptions on the island documenting their religious and poetical practices. We first hear about the Aeolic poets in the 5th C. in Herodotus (2.134-135; 5.94-95), and all extant contemporary information comes from the poems themselves, which, in their fragmentary state, are not particularly helpful. Numerous lines or half-lines have little or no context, and even well-preserved songs are somewhat obscure. Since there often is no other comparable example within the corpus, it is difficult to interpret an individual song's meaning and social function. If the books of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho and Alcaeus had survived in a better state, it would be possible to discern generic and topical recurrences and compare them with surviving non-Lesbian texts, such as Homer, Pindar and Theognis. If, for instance, all

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and classical evidence of an Alcaic imitation outside Lesbos (Alc. 249.6-9 Voigt). Atticized quotations in Aristophanes (*Wasps* 1234-5; *Birds* 1410) might also have originated from such songs; see Rösler (1980, pp. 91-106). Anacreon also influenced some of Bacchylides' banquet songs both metrically and thematically (fr. 17, 19, 20a Maehler); see D'Alessio (2016).

<sup>11</sup> The topics of part 1 and 2 have previously been discussed in my doctoral thesis (Andrade, 2019, pp. 16-74).

Sappho's and Alcaeus' poems composed in glyconics with double dactylic expansion were extant, it would be possible to discern if the epic-sounding fr. 44 Voigt was an exception or an instance of a Lesbian subgenre. That would help to ascertain the relationship of that poem with Ionic epic. All in all, in its remaining condition, Lesbian poetry and its place in the archaic Greek world is and will remain an unsolvable riddle in many respects.

However, if the extant fragments and the *testimonia* do not give us a clear picture, it still provides valuable information. We know a lot about the metre, language, and style of Sappho and Alcaeus, and, despite the various biases influencing the later appraisal of the Lesbian poets, many authors had a more privileged access to their corpus than we do. Based on their evidence, we can get a more precise (even if blurry and kaleidoscopic) image of Aeolic lyric<sup>12</sup>.

An ancient proverb meaning “in the second place” was “after the Lesbian singer” (Hesychius μ.1004 Latte)<sup>13</sup>. A fragment of Sappho herself refers to a similar idea: “superior, as the Lesbian singer to the others” (fr. 106 Voigt)<sup>14</sup>. This reputation adds to the legendary or semi-legendary status of the poets in the island. According to Phanocles (fr. 1.11-22 Powell), after Orpheus' death, the streams brought his head and lyre to Lesbos, where the islanders gave him the proper funeral rites. That was the *aition* for the prestigious Lesbian song tradition. The island was also home to Terpander and Arion, who were illustrious all throughout Greece and credited with important musical inventions (the former with the seven-stringed lyre, and the structuring of the *nómos*; the other with the development of dithyramb)<sup>15</sup>. Finally, two of its poets would form the Lyric canon and one of them, Sappho, would be called the Tenth Muse by the Hellenistic age. According to these *testimonia*, Lesbian music was an influential and cosmopolitan tradition, whose importance is hard to overestimate. This influence seems to have been recognized already in the 7<sup>th</sup> C., when Archilochus, an Ionian, affirmed his ability to perform the Lesbian *paián* (fr. 121 IEG)<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> On the origins of Lesbian poetry, see Hooker (1977, pp. 56-83), Bowie (1981, pp. 49-60), and, more briefly, Liberman (2002, pp. xi-xiv). The following account is mainly based on their studies.

<sup>13</sup> μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν. All translations in the article are mine, except if stated otherwise.

<sup>14</sup> πέρροχος ὡς ὅτ' ᾠοῖδος ὁ Λέσβιος ἀλλοδάποισιν.

<sup>15</sup> On Terpander's contributions to Greek music, see Pindar, fr. 125 Snell-Maehler, quoted in Athenaeus 14.635def; *Suda* τ 354 (iv.527 Adler); the *Parian Marble* 34 Jacoby; Plutarch, *On Music* 3.1132c; 4.1132de; 9.1134b; 5.1132f; 12.1135c; 28.1140f.; 30.1141c; Pollux 4.66 (i.221 Bethe). On Arion, see Hdt. 1.23-24 and *Suda* α 3886 (i.351) Adler. On Lesbian *kitharōidoi* see Beecroft (2008) and Power (2010).

<sup>16</sup> On this fragment, see Swift (2019, p. 306-7).

However, according to other sources, this might not be the whole picture. Even though Sappho and Alcaeus remained important poetic models through Classical and Hellenistic times<sup>17</sup>, some readers felt certain uncouthness in their language, which made them not wholly suitable models. Demetrius of Laconia (2<sup>nd</sup> C.) points to the obscurity of Sappho's and Alcaeus' Greek (*On Poems* 13 col. LXI-LXII, p. 123-124 Romeo). One century later, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, despite praising Alcaeus highly, berates the lack of clarity of his dialect (*On Imitation* 2.8, p.33 Aujac). Didymus (1<sup>st</sup> C. BCE and 1<sup>st</sup> C. CE), quoted in a scholion to Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (162, p. 265 Dübner), also affirms that the dialect must have hindered the circulation of Alcaeus' songs. Finally, Apuleius (2<sup>nd</sup> C. CE) mentions Sappho's sweetness as a counterpoint to the strangeness of her language (*Apology* 9). While Doric and Ionic verse diverged largely from Attic prose (the standard form of Greek for those Hellenistic and Imperial authors), and some varieties were considered harsh or unpoetic, neither were ever described as posing an unexpected difficulty to the reader<sup>18</sup>. For some reason, those Hellenistic and Imperial authors felt Aeolic to be especially remote from other Greek varieties.

An excerpt from Plato's *Protagoras* (341c) suggests that this perception might go further back in time. After Socrates' statement that, in the "Ode to Scopas" (fr. 542 *PMGF*), Simonides criticizes a saying by Pittacus, Prodicus suggests that the Mytilenean could not distinguish well between words because of his Lesbian origin and because he had been "nurtured in a barbarian language"<sup>19</sup>. While the last expression could be an allusion to Pittacus' Thracian father, Hyrrhas (or Hyrrhadius), it is beyond doubt that, for Plato's readers, the Lesbian dialect could present some comprehension difficulties to its native speakers<sup>20</sup>. While we do not know whether this perception reflected archaic and non-Athenian reception of Lesbian song, it implies that in the Pan-Hellenic canon, Lesbian poetry, despite all its influence and diffusion, sounded rather foreign.

When we look at the texts themselves, we find a combination of connection to and difference from other archaic exemplars. Archaic poetry was firmly based on inherited

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<sup>17</sup> On the reception and imitation of Sappho in Classical, Hellenistic and Imperial times, see De Vos (2014), Coo (2021), Hunter (2021), Morgan (2021), and Bowie (2021).

<sup>18</sup> Pausanias (3.15.2), for instance, considers Alcman's Laconian dialect to be ill-sounding. On atticism in Greek imperial literature, see Swain (1996, pp. 17-100) and Silk (2009). Hadjimichael (2019, pp. 213-253) studies how the Hellenistic reception of the lyric canon originates in Athens. On the reception of Homer in the atticizing Imperial period, see Kim (2010).

<sup>19</sup> ἐν φωνῇ βαρβάρῳ τεθραμμένος.

<sup>20</sup> On Pittacus' Thracian origins, see Diogenes Laertius (1.74).

elements on various levels. Poetic tradition manifested itself in dialect, metre, *tópoi*, and phrasing. These patterns formed registers shared by poets and audience, linked to a special type of communication. Such recurrences, though not a fixed set of rules, were respected and replicated. Some of them became typical of some genres and remained so even when they were exported to other regions. Despite some smaller divergences, Hesiod and Homer share dialect, metre, and traditional phrasing. Similarly, Bacchylides, a Cean, and the Theban Pindar composed their *epiníkia* in the same dialect, metres, components, and structures – sometimes honouring the same individuals. Traditional units, however, distinguished not only genres, but also poetic speech in general. Dialectal mixture and archaisms were typical of Greek poetry. Its metres were also shared by multiple kinds of poems, as hexameters by epic, elegy, epodes and *mélos*.

The same applies to traditional themes and song patterns. Laments on old age are attested in epic, elegy, iambus and *mélos*, and a prayer could be found in its typical structure as both the speech of an epic hero and a whole song by a lyric poet<sup>21</sup>. Phraseology was also a shared element, with the epithets recurring in different genres. Zeus is *Kronidēs* in Homer, Solon, and Pindar<sup>22</sup>. Earth is *mélaina* in Hesiod, Sappho, and the *Theognidea*<sup>23</sup>. The way a genre managed traditional material tells us a lot about its specificities and connections to the rest of Greek poetry.

The Lesbian tradition demonstrates its concomitant connection and uniqueness in many of those respects. The presence of Aeolic forms both in Homer and Doric lyric points to the Lesbian singers' influence on Greek poetic dialects (Hooker, 1977, pp. 56-83). Conversely, in Sappho and Alcaeus there are possible Ionic forms (both colloquial and poetic) which point to a kind of interdependence with that tradition (Bowie, 1981, pp. 136-137). Nonetheless, such foreign influxes are not so noticeable in the surviving fragments as they are in Doric lyric, for example. On the other hand, the dialect itself, in its phonology, morphology, and vocabulary, evidences the uniqueness described by later writers.

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<sup>21</sup> Laments on old age: *Iliad* 4.312-325; Mimnermus fr. 1-6 *IEG*; Alcm, fr. 26 *PMGF*; Semonides fr. 1 *IEG*; Sapph. fr. 58 Voigt; Anacreon fr. 395 *PMGF*. Prayers: *Il.* 1.37-42; 5.115-120; Sapph. fr. 1; 2; 5; 17 Voigt; *Theognidea* 1-18; Anac. fr. 357 *PMGF*. On *tópoi* and genres crossing different kinds of poetry, see Cairns (2007).

<sup>22</sup> For example, *Il.* 2.111; Solon fr. 31.1 *IEG*; Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 8.43.

<sup>23</sup> For example, Hesiod, *Theogony* 69; Sapph. fr. 1.10 Voigt; Thgn. 878.

Metre shows similar tendencies. Doric and Aeolic lyric share some *cola*, and Ionic hexameters might be related to them<sup>24</sup>. We also find Aeolic *cola* such as glyconics, pherecratians and metres such as asclepiadaeans and ionics in Anacreon and the Attic drinking songs. Even if those rhythms might be parallel developments from a common origin, they evidence a connection between traditions. Moreover, some statements by Pindar (*Olympian* 1.102, *Pythian* 2.69, *Nemean* 3.79) suggest that such *cola* were perceived as Aeolian by late-archaic poets (Nagy, 1990, p. 94). Some Lesbian fragments, on their turn, are composed in hexameters (Sapph. fr. 104-106 Voigt), others in a related rhythm with some Ionian prosodic features, such as epic and Attic correptions (Sapph. fr. 44.5, 8 Voigt). But, despite these signs, Aeolic metre has a prosody of its own, clearly conservative and refractory of innovations common in other traditions, such as resolution, contraction and correption (West, 1982, pp. 29-30, 34). Moreover, although Aeolic *cola* and verses have relatives beyond Lesbos, Sappho and Alcaeus compose poems in traditional forms almost exclusive to them until the Hellenistic times<sup>25</sup>. We find one extant classical example of Alcaics and Sapphics each outside Lesbos, but these exceptions rather stress the strictly Aeolic character of those forms. The former (fr. 891 *PMGF*) is an Attic version of a stanza which was part of a longer song by Alcaeus (fr. 249 Voigt), the latter (fr. 953 *PMGF*) pretends to be a song composed by Sappho herself. If the rarity of extant non-Lesbian poems is representative of ancient practice, Aeolic metre was particularly secluded from other Greek tradition as well.

As for genres and *tópoi*, there are plenty of Pan-Hellenic correspondences in the Aeolic corpus. Like the other Greeks, Sappho and Alcaeus composed hymns, *propemptiká*, *prosphōnētiká*, love poems, sympotic songs, invectives<sup>26</sup>. One also recognizes many poetic themes found elsewhere in archaic poetry: the *morbus amoris*, the political allegory of the ship, the people-devouring ruler, the abandoned shield, *Wertpriameln*, among others<sup>27</sup>. Everyone reading the only complete Lesbian piece, Sappho's "Hymn to Aphrodite" (fr. 1 Voigt), can easily perceive how much Aeolian poets

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<sup>24</sup> See note 3 above.

<sup>25</sup> On Lesbian metre, see West (1982, pp. 29-34), and Battezzato (2021, pp. 121-129).

<sup>26</sup> For instance, Sapph. fr. 1, 2, 17 (hymns); 31 (love poem); 94 (*propemptikón*); 55, 57 Voigt (invectives). Alc. fr. 34a, 45, 307, 308, 325 (hymns); 350 (*prosphōnētikón*); 332, 335, 338, 346, 347 (drinking songs); 70, 72 Liberman (invectives).

<sup>27</sup> For example, Sapph. fr. 16 (*Wertpriamel*); 31 Voigt (*morbus amoris*); Alc. fr. 6, 208 (the ship's allegory); 70, 129 (the people devouring ruler); 428 Liberman (the abandoned shield).

had in common with their Ionian counterparts<sup>28</sup>. Still, it is hard to find something specifically Lesbian in those respects, for the scant remains of archaic poetry leave us a vague idea of the output of early elegiac, iambic, and melic poets. The closest we can get to a specifically Aeolian tradition are Sappho's female homoerotic poems – and their similarities with Alcman's *partheneîa* present a *caveat*<sup>29</sup>.

Fragments tend to be more informative about phraseology. While a single-line remnant hardly reveals the poem's original content, it is not difficult to recognize in it an expression found in other Greek poems. The most complete account on the subject, Anne Broger's *Das Epitheton bei Sappho und Alkaios [The Epithet in Sappho and Alcaeus]* (1996) shows that, excepting some *hápax legómena*, most Aeolic epithets can be found in other Greek traditions, sometimes recurring in the same form, sometimes with metrical or semantic variations (pp. 304-309). Broger's conclusion about epithets could easily be extended to other kind of phrases: numerous expressions attested in other authors exist alongside some unparalleled ones<sup>30</sup>. Again, we are faced with a tradition in deep interchange with the rest of the Greek world. At the same time, the adjustment of traditional phrases to distinctive Lesbian metres indicates a kind of local adaptation of a general Greek phenomenon. Furthermore, the *hápax legómena* epithets and expressions might also suggest an exclusively Lesbian traditional diction.

Nevertheless, we cannot be certain that these unparalleled instances are particularly Lesbian. Their apparent isolation might be due to the fragmentary status of most archaic poetry. On the other hand, the corpus mostly makes it impossible to differentiate between traditional syntagmata and *ad hoc* creations. Only some epithets connected to the island's religious practices can have their traditional local status confirmed (Broger, 1996, p. 307). Thus, the comparison between Lesbian and other Greek poetic diction suggests contact. Still, while we notice that Aeolic poets adapted this general Greek phrasing to their contextual or metrical needs, the comparison does not allow us to presuppose a distinctive Lesbian diction, but a distinctive Lesbian appropriation of a general tradition<sup>31</sup>. However,

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<sup>28</sup> On the Aeolic connection to general Greek poetic tradition, see Rissman (1983), Meyerhoff (1984), Garner (2011b), and Kelly (2021).

<sup>29</sup> See Alcman fr. 1.64-77, 3.61-63, 79-81 *PMGF*; Calame (1997, p. 244-258)

<sup>30</sup> Some of these parallels are listed in the next section.

<sup>31</sup> Nagy (1974, pp. 118-139) comments on the relationship between Aeolic metre and the epic-like formulae in Sappho fr. 44 Voigt. For a different view of the same subject, see Ferrari (1986).



one aspect of the Lesbian corpus can provide more information on its particular use of traditional phrasing: formulae.

### 3. *Lesbian Formulae*

Few themes have been so often debated and resulted in such little consensus as the concept of poetic formula. As widely known, the formula is the foundational concept of oralist studies of Greek epic, and the theme of Milman Parry's dissertation on Homer. For Parry, formulae are: "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (Parry & Parry, 1971, p. 272). Initially, Parry saw in them the mark of a strong traditional diction, that predated the Homeric poems and informed them. He would later link it to the likely oral composition of those poems<sup>32</sup>. The definition of formula has expanded widely since, with some scholars focusing on analogous structures, others on lexical recurrence and some even proposing that Homer as whole is the result of formulaic composition<sup>33</sup>. Besides the expansion of the model, doubts have arisen concerning the validity of the definitions, the extent of epic formularity and its impact on composition and reception<sup>34</sup>. Nevertheless, few would today deny that hexametric poetry presents *some kinds* of formulae, encompassing both Parry's strict definition and more flexible kinds of repetition.

Formula studies have remained an almost exclusive territory of hexametric epic. In elegy, iambus, and lyric, the topic has been relatively neglected<sup>35</sup>. The cause of such scarcity appears to be the limitations inherent to formula studies, deeply affected by the different nature of the epic and lyric corpora. Formulae are patterns, and, consequently, their identification depends on repetition: labelling a phrase traditional is only possible if it recurs at least once in the poems. For instance, we know *pótnia* ("lady") is a typical epithet of Hera in epic because it recurs dozens of times (e.g. *Il.* 1.551, 568; 4.50; 8.198; *Od.* 4.513). On the contrary, there are some expressions that are repeated only once in the entire corpus. *Kléos áphthiton* ("immortal glory"), for instance, only appears in the extant

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<sup>32</sup> After the 1929 article "The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse" (Parry, 1971, pp. 251-265).

<sup>33</sup> Representative of a structural approach are Hoekstra (1965) and Janko (1982); lexical formulae were studied by Hainsworth (1967), Nagy (1974), and Sacks (1987). Finally, for formulae as the structuring principle of the whole epic poetry, see Nagler (1974).

<sup>34</sup> For a review of the debate, see Edwards (1986;1988), Russo (1997), and Kelly (2007, pp. 1-14).

<sup>35</sup> On elegiac formulae, see Giannini (1973) and Garner (2011a). On Sappho, see Nagy (1974, pp. 118-139), Ferrari (1986), Garner (2011b).

epic poems twice: in *Il.* 9.413 and in a Hesiodic fragment (fr. 41.5 Most). Had one of these examples been lost and were the phrase unattested in other genres (Sapph. fr. 44.4 Voigt; Ibycus 282.47 *PMGF*), it would be impossible to know that this expression was traditional at all. Compared to what the original output must have been, the extant epic corpus is small. However, there are thousands of Homeric hexameters, not to mention the thousands of Hesiodic and hymnic lines, full of repetition. The situation in lyric, known mainly through fragments, is far more problematic. The state of the lyric corpus severely compromises the detection of traditional phrases, even if taken in the broadest senses. Furthermore, although lyric poets frequently use epic phraseology<sup>36</sup>, one cannot normally discern if they employ it systematically or just as a nod to hexametric poetry.

Nonetheless, that formulae might have played a role in non-epic genres is clearly shown in better preserved corpora, such as elegy and epinician poetry. Elegy exhibits recurring phraseology (Garner, 2011a). Pindar and Bacchylides present some formulaic material as well, albeit its different nature, which admits synonyms and is not attached to specific metrical contexts<sup>37</sup>. As for Lesbian poetry, even though their corpus is much smaller than the surviving works of Theognis and Pindar, its fragments are sufficiently numerous to reveal some patterns. Parry himself quotes Sappho and Alcaeus as examples of traditional, perhaps oral composition (Parry & Parry, 1971, pp. 347-350). He laments the limitations imposed by the corpus, but argues that the dialect varieties in it, each with their own metric value, showed that “[th]e same forces which created the poetic epic language of Homer created the poetic lyric language of Sappho and Alcaeus”, and that “their poetic language was drawn from an oral tradition” (p. 347)<sup>38</sup>. That is, since Sappho and Alcaeus, like Homer, used a poetic dialect whose mixed and traditional nature apparently served a metric purpose and enabled composition, probably the same could be said about their phraseology. If Parry only suggests the possibility, a few years later, Jesper Svenbro took the idea further. In a letter addressed to Albert Lord (Lord & Lord, 1995, pp. 63-64) he notes that some Lesbian lyricists’ expressions recur in analogous metrical contexts, which we, by Parry’s original definition, could indeed call

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<sup>36</sup> See the example of *kléos áphthiton* above.

<sup>37</sup> Many of the recurrent themes and structures identified by Bundy (2006, first edition 1962) could be seen as flexible formulae, such as the phrasing related to storms and fair weather (pp. 47-50).

<sup>38</sup> See also Yatromanolakis (2007, pp. 197-210), and Garner (2011b).

formulae. He offers three examples, all in Sapphic stanzas, which I list below, alongside similar passages from other Greek poetry:

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| <p><b>1)</b> ὄκεες στρουθοὶ περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας<br/> “swift sparrows [...] above the <b>black earth</b>”</p> <p>οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ’ ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαιναν<br/> “others [say a host] of ships [...] on the <b>black earth</b>”</p> <p>γ]ᾶς μελαίνας<br/> “<b>black (earth?)</b>”</p> <p>ζῶδς ἐών· τότε δ’ ἤδη ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα<br/> “while he was alive, but by then the <b>black earth</b> already covered him”</p> <p>ἄριστα, Γῆ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε<br/> “[the Mother of Gods would] best [witness that], <b>Black Earth</b>, whose [boundaries] I once [suspended]”</p> | <p>Sapph. fr. 1.10 Voigt (str. Sapph.)<sup>39</sup></p> <p>Sapph. fr. 16.2 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p> <p>Sapph. fr. 20.6 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 2.699</p> <p>Sol. fr. 36.5 <i>IEG</i></p> |
| <p><b>2)</b> κῶττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι<br/> μ]αινόλαι θύμωι<br/> “<b>and what in my maddened heart I most wished to happen for myself</b>”</p> <p>κῶττι φοι θύμωι κε θέληι γένεσθαι</p>  | <p>Sapph. fr. 1.17-8 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p> <p>Sapph. fr. 5.3 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p>  |

<sup>39</sup> *Colon* abbreviations are those by West (1982, pp. xi-xii). I follow the stanza abbreviations by Liberman (2002, p. cii). The metrical descriptions are based on those by Liberman (2002), for Alcaeus, and by Voigt (1971), for Sappho and the Alcaic fragments not included into Liberman’s edition. Translations of the Aeolic texts are by David Campbell, with slight modifications, in order to stress formulaic similarities. In the case of Sappho’s fr. 58 Voigt, I have included the new text found in P.Köln 21351 and 21376. Translations of other authors are mine.

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| <p>“<b>and what he wishes in his heart to happen for himself</b>”</p> <p>σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν, ὅσα φρεσὶ σῆσι<br/>μενοιῶς,<br/>“may the gods give you <b>everything you wish in your thoughts</b>”</p> <p>ὄττι μάλιστα' ἐθέλεις, ὅτι με πρόφρων<br/>ὑπέδεξο.<br/>“[may Zeus and the gods give you] <b>what you most wish</b>, since you kindly hosted me”</p>  | <p><i>Od.</i> 6.180</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 14.54</p>  |
| <p>3) καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν<br/>“that <b>disturbs</b> my heart <b>in</b> my <b>breast</b>”</p> <p>κόλένας ἐν στήθ[ε]σιν [ἐ]πτ[ό]αισε<br/>θῦμον Ἀργείας Τροίῳ δ' [ὑπ'] ἄν[δ]ρος<br/>“<b>disturbed</b> the heart of Argive Helen <b>in</b> her <b>breast</b>; and [crazed] by the Trojan man [...]”</p> <p>θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς<br/>ἐδάμασσε<br/>“[Desire], poured around the heart <b>in</b> my <b>breast</b>, <b>tamed</b> it”</p> <p>ὑψόθεν ἐξ ὀροφῆς τῶν δὲ φρένες<br/>ἐπτοίηθεν<br/>“[Athena raised the Aegis] from the rooftop, and <b>their thoughts were disturbed.</b>”</p> | <p>Sapph. fr. 31.6 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p> <p>Alc. fr.283.3-4 Liberman (str. Sapph.)</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 14.316</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 22.298</p> |

Table 1: Formulae in Sappho and Alcaeus found by Svenbro.

Each of the three instances is “a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea” (Parry & Parry, 1971, p. 272), that is, it follows Parry’s strict definition of formula. It appears, thus, that at least sometimes the Lesbians could be formulaic in that sense. But Svenbro’s examples are not the only ones. Decades later, Yatromanolakis (2007, p. 203) found other instances in the Sapphic corpus. None of them fit the same stanza patterns, but all fill the same metrical sequence:

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| <p><b>4) ] .μεν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι</b><br/> <b>“impossible to become”</b></p> <p>ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ’ οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι<br/> <b>“it is impossible for a human being to become ageless”</b></p> <p>τοὔνεκεν οὐ ποτ' ἐγὼ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι<br/> <b>δυνατὸν</b> διζήμενος κενεὰν ἐς ἄ-<br/>     πρακτον ἐλπίδα μοῖραν αἰῶνος βαλέω,<br/>     “Therefore, I shall never<br/>     set a vain hope on an unattainable destiny<br/>     by seeking what <b>cannot happen”</b></p> | <p>Sapph. fr. 16.21 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p> <p>Sapph. fr. 58.18 Voigt (hag<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p>Simon. fr. 542.21-3 <i>PMGF</i></p>                        |
| <p><b>5) ] χροῖα γῆρας ἤδη</b><br/> <b>“old age already”</b></p> <p>] ποτ' [ἔ]οντα χροῖα γῆρας ἤδη<br/> <b>“old age already [...] that once was”</b></p> <p>θεύσειαι ἤδη γὰρ χαλεπὸν κατὰ γῆρας ἐπείγει.<br/>     “You will [not] run, for harsh <b>old age already</b> presses<br/>     upon you”</p> <p>οὐκέ]θ' ὁμῶς θάλλεις ἀπαλὸν χροῖα, κάρφετα[ι γὰρ ἤδη<br/>     ὄγμοι]ς, κακοῦ δὲ γήραος <b>καθαιρεῖ</b></p>   | <p>Sapph. fr. 21.6 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p> <p>Sapph. fr. 58.13 Voigt (hag<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 23.623</p> <p>Archil. fr. 188.1-2 <i>IEG</i></p> |

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| <p>“You are not blooming with your tender <b>skin</b> anymore,<br/>as once you did, for it is <b>already</b> withering<br/>in its furrows, and the [...] of <b>old age destroys</b> it”</p>  |   |
| <p>6) κακχέει λιγύραν αοΐδαν<br/>“[the cicada] pours its <b>clear song</b>”</p> <p>]σαοισα λιγύραν [αοΐ]δαν<br/>“<b>clear song</b>”</p> <p>δενδρέω ἐφεζόμενος λιγυρήν καταχεύετ' αοιδήν<br/>“sitting on a tree, [the cicada] <b>pours its clear song</b>”</p>  | <p>Sapph. fr. 101 A. 2 Voigt (metre uncertain, perhaps gl    hipp   )</p> <p>Sapph. fr. 103. 7 Voigt (either ar<sup>2c</sup> or hag<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p>Hesiod, <i>Works and Days</i> 583</p>                        |
| <p>7) ]ατε τὰν εὖποδα νύμφαν [<br/>“the <b>bride with her beautiful feet</b>”</p> <p>]ις εὖποδα νύμφαν ἀβ[<br/>“<b>bride with her beautiful feet</b>”</p> <p>χῶρι διατμήγουσι καὶ εὖποδα Δηϊοίνην<br/>“[who] distinguish [Apollo from the Sun] and <b>Deoine with her beautiful feet</b> [from Artemis]”</p> <p>ἔσσομένων κήρυκες ἐπέπταρον εὖποδες Ὠραι.<br/>“as heralds of the future, <b>the Seasons with their beautiful feet sneezed</b>”</p> | <p>Sapph. fr. 103.2 Voigt (gl<sup>2c</sup> or hag<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p>Sapph. fr. 103 B. 2 Voigt ( — — ∪ ∪ — — [uncertain])</p> <p>Callimachus, <i>Hecale</i> 103.2 Hollis</p> <p>Nonnos, <i>Dionysiaca</i> 7.107</p> |
| <p>8) ]..η χρυσοπέδιλ[ο]ς Αὔως [<br/>“<b>gold-sandalled Dawn</b>”</p> <p>ἀρτίως μὲν ἂ χρυσοπέδιλος Αὔως<br/>“<b>Gold-sandalled Dawn</b> had lately”</p> <p>Ἴστίην, Δήμητρα καὶ Ἥρην χρυσοπέδιλον<br/>“Hestia, Demeter, and <b>gold-sandalled Hera</b>”</p>   | <p>Sapph. fr. 103.10 Voigt (ar<sup>2c</sup> or hag<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p>Sapph. fr. 123 Voigt (cr hipp?)</p> <p>Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i> 454</p>  |

Table 2: Formulae in Sappho and Alcaeus found by Yatromanolakis.

To those examples we add other formulae found in both Lesbian poets<sup>40</sup>:

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| <p><b>9) τὰν ἰόκολπον</b><br/> <b>“the violet-robed one”</b></p> <p>]τα παῖδα Κρονίδα <b>τὰν ἰόκ[ολπ]ον</b> [<br/> <b>“the violet-robed daughter of Zeus”</b></p> <p>καί τινα Τρωϊάδων καὶ Δαρδανίδων <b>βαθυκόλπων</b><br/> <b>“and one of the Trojan or deep-robed Dardanian women”</b></p> <p>νύμφευσε δ' αὖτις <b>ἀγλαόκολπον</b><br/> <b>“[and he] later betrothed the bright-robed [daughter of Nereus]”</b></p> <p>φλέγεται δὲ <b>ἰοπλόκοισι</b> Μοῖσαις<br/> <b>“he burns with the violet-haired Muses”</b></p> | <p>Sapph. fr. 21.13 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p> <p>Sapph.fr. 103.3 Voigt (ar<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 18.122</p> <p>Pind. <i>Nem.</i> 3.56</p> <p>Pindar, <i>Isthmian Odes</i> 7.23</p> |
| <p><b>10) φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν</b><br/> <b>“He seems like the gods to me”</b></p> <p><b>φαίνεται φοι κῆνος</b><br/> <b>“He seems to himself”</b></p> <p>Φαίηκες, πῶς ὄμμιν ἀνήρ ὄδε φαίνεται εἶναι<br/> <b>“Phaeacians, how does this man seem to you?”</b></p>  | <p>Sapph. fr. 31.1 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p> <p>Sapph. fr. 165 Voigt (?,<br/> — ∪ — — — ∪ )</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 11.336</p>   |
| <p><b>11) φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν</b><br/> <b>“He seems like the gods to me”</b></p> <p><b>]ἴσαν θεοῖσιν</b></p>  | <p>Sapph. fr. 31.1 Voigt (str. Sapph.)</p> <p>Sapph. fr. 68a.3 Voigt (perhaps hag<sup>2c</sup>)</p>  |

<sup>40</sup> A previous version of this survey can be found in Andrade (2019, pp. 26-35), including more flexible kinds of formulae.

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| <p>“<b>like the gods</b>”</p> <p>πρὶν μὲν γάρ σε ζῶν ἐτίομεν <b>ἴσα θεοῖσιν</b></p> <p>“for once, when you were alive, we honoured you <b>like the gods</b>”</p>  | <p><i>Od.</i> 11.484</p>   |
| <p><b>12) ἄχω θεσπεσία</b> γελ[</p> <p>“marvellous echo”</p> <p><b>ἄχω θεσπεσία</b> γυναικῶν</p> <p>“<b>marvellous echo</b> [of the sacred yearly shout] of women”</p> <p><b>ἠχῆι θεσπεσίῃ</b> βέλεα στονόεντα χέοντο.</p> <p>“groaning darts were poured with a <b>marvellous echo</b>”</p>  | <p>Sapph. fr. 44.27 Voigt (gl<sup>2d</sup>)</p> <p>Alc. fr. 130b.19 Liberman (gl<sup>c</sup>    gl<sup>2c</sup>    gl<sup>c</sup>)</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 8.159</p>         |
| <p><b>13)</b> Ἄρτεμις δὲ θεῶν] <b>μέγαν ὄρκον</b> ἀπώμοσε</p> <p>“[Artemis] swore the <b>great oath</b> [of the gods]”</p> <p>] σέμνας <b>μέγαν ὄρκον</b> ε.[..]ε[</p> <p>“a <b>great oath</b> by august...”</p> <p>ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω καὶ ἐπὶ <b>μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι</b></p> <p>“I shall tell you this and <b>swear a great oath</b>”</p>  | <p>Sapph. fr. 44A.4 Voigt (perhaps gl<sup>2d</sup>)</p> <p>Alc. fr. 401N.11 Liberman (perhaps 2io anacl    ia dod)</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 1.233</p>                         |
| <p><b>14)</b> βροδοπάχεες <b>ἄγναι Χάριτες</b> δεῦτε Δίος κόραι</p> <p>“hither, <b>holy</b> rose-armed <b>Graces</b>, daughters of Zeus”</p> <p>]..<b>ἄγναι Χάριτες</b> Πιέριδέ[ς τε] Μοῖ[σαι</p> <p>“<b>holy Graces</b> and Pierian Muses”</p> <p>κόλπῳ σ' ἐδέξαντ' <b>ἄγναι Χάριτες</b> Κρόνῳ</p> <p>“the <b>holy Graces</b> took you to their bosom for Cronus”</p> <p>βᾶτε, <b>σεμναὶ Χάριτες</b></p> <p>“go, <b>honoured Graces</b>”</p> | <p>Sapph. fr. 53.1 Voigt (gl<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p>Sapph.fr. 103.5 Voigt (ar<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p>Alc. fr. 386 Liberman (ia gl)</p> <p>Euripides, <i>Helen</i> 1341</p> |



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| <p>ὦ Διὸς ἐννέα παρθένοι, <b>ἀγναὶ</b><br/> <b>Μοῦσαι</b>, λεπτολόγους ξυνετὰς φρένας αἰ καθορᾶτε<br/>         “O nine virgins of Zeus, <b>holy</b><br/> <b>Muses</b>, who behold subtly-speaking, smart thoughts”</p>   | <p>Aristophanes, <i>Frogs</i> 875-6</p>   |
| <p><b>15)</b> ὄρπακας ἀνήτω συν&lt;α&gt;έρραισ' <b>ἀπάλαισι χέρσιν</b><br/>         “binding together stems of anise <b>with your soft hands</b>”</p> <p>...]λων μῆρων <b>ἀπάλαισι χέρ[σι</b><br/>         “their [...] thighs <b>with soft hands</b>”</p> <p>οὐδέ μιν ἐντάνυσε· πρὶν γὰρ κάμε <b>χεῖρας</b> ἀνέλκων<br/>         ἀτρίπτους <b>ἀπαλάς</b>. μετὰ δὲ μνηστῆρσιν ἔειπεν<br/>         “But he did not string [the bow]. Before that, his unworn<br/>         and <b>soft hands</b> were tired<br/>         of drawing it. And he said to the wooers”</p> <p>πολλαὶ δ' <b>ἀπαλαῖς χερσὶ</b> καλύπτρας<br/>         “[and] many women [tear] their veils with <b>soft hands</b>”</p> | <p>Sapph. fr. 81. 5 Voigt (hag<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p>Alc. fr. 45.6 Liberman (str. Sapph.)</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 21.150-1</p> <p>Aeschylus, <i>Persians</i> 537</p>               |
| <p><b>16)</b> ]εὔ πρὸς <b>μακάρων θεῶν</b>[<br/>         “at the hand of the <b>blessed gods</b>”</p> <p>] .Δίο[ς] καὶ μ[α]κά[ρων θεῶν<br/>         “Zeus and the <b>blessed gods</b>”</p> <p>πρὸς τε <b>θεῶν μακάρων</b> πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων<br/>         “by the <b>blessed gods</b> and by mortal men”</p>  | <p>Alc. fr. 5.7 Liberman (gl<sup>c</sup>    gl<sup>2c</sup>    gl<sup>2c</sup>   gl)</p> <p>Alc. fr. 117b.16 Voigt (?,<br/>         ]⊖— ⊖⊖—[⊖—)</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 1.339</p> |
| <p><b>17)</b> †ὄταμε[...]διννάεντ' <b>Ἀχέροντα</b> μεγ[<br/>         “<b>eddying</b> (?) <b>Acheron</b>”</p> <p><b>διννάεντ' Ἀχέροντ'</b> ἐπέραισε, μ[<br/>         “he crossed <b>eddying Acheron</b>”</p>  | <p>Alc. fr. 38A.2,8 Liberman (probably gl<sup>2d</sup>)</p>   |

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| <p><b>Ξάνθου δινήεντος</b>, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς,<br/> “<b>eddying Xanthus</b>, whom immortal Zeus begot”</p> <p><b>δινήεις τ' Ἀχέρων</b>, αὐτὴν διὰ νειόθι τέμων<br/> “and <b>eddying Acheron</b>, cutting it through from below”</p>   | <p><i>Il.</i> 21.2</p> <p>Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i> 2.355</p>  |
| <p><b>18)</b> αὐτῷ&lt;ι&gt; μόχθον ἔχην <b>Κρονίδαις βα[σί]λευς</b> κάτω<br/> “the <b>royal son of Cronus</b> [devised] a toil for him under<br/> [the black earth]”</p> <p>]δη πόλις ὦ[..... <b>Κρο]νίδα βασι[λ]ης</b><br/> “the city [...] the <b>royal son of Cronus</b>”</p> <p><b>Κρονίδα βασι[λ]ης</b> γένος Αἴαν τὸν ἄριστον πεδ' Ἀχίλλεα<br/> “Ajax, descendant of the <b>royal son of Cronus</b>, best after<br/> Achilles”</p> <p>πρῶτα μὲν εὐχόμεσθα Διὶ <b>Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ</b><br/> “first let us pray to Zeus, the <b>royal son of Cronus</b>”</p> | <p>Alc. fr. 38A.9 Liberman (probably gl<sup>2d</sup>)</p> <p>Alc. fr. 296a.3 Liberman (likely pher<sup>3d</sup>)</p> <p>Alc. fr. 387.1 Liberman (gl<sup>3c</sup>)</p> <p>Sol. 31.1 <i>IEG</i></p> |
| <p><b>19)</b> τέγγε πλεύμονας φοίνωι, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον<br/> <b>περιτέλλεται</b><br/> “wet your lungs with wine: <b>the star is coming round</b>”</p> <p>πώνωμεν, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον περιτέλλεται<br/> “let us drink: <b>the star is coming round</b>”</p> <p>ἂψ <b>περιτελλομένου ἔτεος</b> καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὥραι<br/> “[the months and the days were fulfilled] while <b>the year<br/> came round</b>, and the seasons arrived”</p> <p>μεσσόθεν ἡμιτελῆς <b>περιτέλλεται</b> ἱερὸς Ἴππος</p>   | <p>Alc. fr. 347.1 Liberman (gl<sup>2c</sup>)</p> <p>Alc. fr. 352.1 Liberman (gl<sup>c</sup>)</p> <p><i>Homeric Hymn to Apollo</i> 350</p> <p>Aratus, <i>Phaenomena</i> 215</p>                    |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| “half-complete from its middle, <b>the sacred Horse comes round</b> ” |  |
|---|--|

**Table 3:** Other formulae in Sappho and Alcaeus.

If we consider how scarce our Sapphic and Alcaic remnants are, it is surprising that we have been able to find nineteen strictly formulaic expressions, both in a semantic and in a metrical sense. These figures suggest that Parry’s suspicions are right, evidencing a traditional, probably oral-derived diction in Sappho and Alcaeus. Like their Ionic relatives, Lesbian formulae tend to fill key portions of a verse<sup>41</sup>. Eight of them close hipponactean-derived verses (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 15: [— — ∪ ∪] — ∪ — —), and two expanded glyconics (16 and 19: [∪ ∪ — —] ∪ ∪ — ∪ —). Three open verses, both the Sapphic hendecasyllable (10: — ∪ — — — ∪) and expanded glyconics (12 and 17: — — — ∪ ∪ —). One example fills both the beginning and the end of a verse (2: — ∪ — (X — ∪) ∪ — ∪ — —). The remaining five expressions are more flexible, with different placement in the verse. All of them fill choriamb, a metrical sequence present in most Lesbian metres (7: — ∪ ∪ — —; 9: — ∪ ∪ — X; 13: ∪ ∪ — ∪; 14: — — ∪ ∪ —; 18: ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — [—]). The small number of examples does not grant a deeper understanding of this Aeolic formulaic system. We cannot exactly know how they relate to *cola*, nor the exact laws governing the use of formulae. Semantically, most expressions have parallels in other Greek poetry. Some of them have the same metrical shape in other genres (1, 12, 13, 17, 18); other contain the same words, but with phonological alterations (1, 11) or different order (6, 15). Nonetheless most are, in word choice and disposition, exclusively Aeolic: however related to Ionic tradition Lesbian phraseology might be, it forms a closed system of its own. This system, like dactylic diction, is likely the product of a long tradition. Thus, along with their distinctive *cola*, verses, and stanzas, Aeolic poets appear to have their own metrically conditioned inherited phraseology.

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<sup>41</sup> On the position of formulae within the hexameter, see Foley (1993, pp. 121-167). Nagy (1974, pp. 118-139), Ferrari (1986), and Garner (2011b) compare the metrics of traditional phrases in Sappho and their epic relatives.

#### 4. Poetic tradition, performance, and the Lesbian experience of insularity

In the politically and culturally fragmented archaic Greek world, a mixture of connection and isolation was the rule, either in the islands or the mainland cities. Local culture existed alongside intercultural contacts and exchanges. As we have seen, archaic and classical Greek poetry is a result of this contact, their different genres being tied to different regional and dialectal origins. For some genres originated in Ionia and the Peloponnese, connectedness resulted in them being adopted in other regions, with their characteristic metre and, sometimes, dialect. As for Lesbian poetry, there are numerous signs of its links with other Greek poetic practices as well. Nevertheless, it remained a mostly local phenomenon. If the intense traffic of the archaic Aegean explains the cultural and literary connection between Lesbos and the rest of the Greek world, would there be any geographical or cultural reasons for its relative isolation? A possible answer is Lesbos' experience of insularity, defined by two particularities: its size and its closeness to Anatolia. I shall discuss each of these in their possible impact on local poetic production.

Lesbos is the third largest island of the Aegean Sea, after Crete and Euboea, and harboured several communities. Despite their common Aeolian culture and language, the Lesbians formed six independent *póleis*: Mytilene, Methymna, Eresos, Pyrrha, Antissa and Arisba. Such variety in a well-defined insular territory caused a tension between unity and diversity, which could be felt in later, better documented times. First, during the Peloponnesian War, Methymna called on Athens to hinder a Mytilenian attempt of synoecizing the island under its command (Thucydides 3.2). Then, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> C., the Lesbians established their *koinón*, whose agreement regulated the cooperation between the cities, which, nonetheless, formed no political unity (Ellis-Evans, 2019, pp. 199-247). In both cases, distinct in time and political context as they are, we can discern both a tendency and a resistance to unity.

This ambiguity seems to have existed in archaic Lesbos as well. On the one hand, the simple lack of political unity, archaeological remains of border fortifications, attested rivalries between cities, and at least one war demonstrates Lesbos' non-unitary culture<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> On border fortifications in northern Lesbos, see Mason (1993, p. 230). Hdt. 1.151 mentions the enslavement of Arisba by Methymna.

Moreover, Lesbian contentiousness was proverbial in Antiquity<sup>43</sup>. On the other, there can be felt a sense of a Pan-Lesbian unity in the Archaic era. It was a general Greek attitude to consider islands as a unity that superseded the individual *póleis*<sup>44</sup>. In the case of Lesbos, there are many signs that show that both islanders and outsiders considered it to be an ethnic whole. Homer talks about Lesbos as a single, cohesive place, and alludes to Macar, the mythical king of the entire island<sup>45</sup>. In some extant fragments, Alcaeus and Sappho speak of the Lesbians as an ethnic unity<sup>46</sup>. Furthermore, there have been found archaic coins of individual cities bearing the inscription *les*, which points to an insular identity<sup>47</sup>.

There were also strong religious ties among all the cities on the island. Somewhere before the 7<sup>th</sup> C., the archaic Lesbians founded a common sanctuary. Probably situated at Messon (modern Mesa, at the centre of the island), it was dedicated to the so-called Lesbian Triad: Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus<sup>48</sup>. Of the practices and rites attested, three concerned all Lesbian cities. The place appears to have received exiles and, in Hellenistic times, was the seat of a Pan-Lesbian alliance<sup>49</sup>. Moreover, and more importantly for our theme, one or more festivals were held at Messon, celebrated by all the cities on the island. Those practices could have had an influence on Lesbian poetry. In Hesychius (μ 932 Latte), we hear of a Pan-Lesbian festival called *mesostrophóniai hēmérai*, the name of which could be a reference to the sanctuary<sup>50</sup>. There is little information about this festival

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<sup>43</sup> Aelius Aristides (24.54-56) compares Rhodes' harmony to Lesbian contentiousness. On the differences between the two islands, see Mason (1993, p. 225) and Malkin (2011, pp. 65-95). On Lesbian rivalry, see also Ellis-Evans (2019, pp. 222-243).

<sup>44</sup> Constantakopoulou (2005) collects and comments the evidence from the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Ellis-Evans (2019, pp. 222-243) shows how a sense of Lesbian unity did not exclude intense rivalry between the cities.

<sup>45</sup> Lesbos is described as single place in *Il.* 9.129, 271 and called "seat of Macar" (*Mákaros hédos*) in *Il.* 24.544. On the traditions about Macar, see Constantakopoulou (2005, pp. 6-7)

<sup>46</sup> Sapph. fr. 106 Voigt (on Lesbian singers); Alc. fr. 129.1 (on the Pan-Lesbian sanctuary), and 130b.17 Liberman (on the Lesbian women at the *kallisteía*)

<sup>47</sup> Constantakopoulou (2005, p.11). For Ellis-Evans (2019, pp. 224-227), the coins were issued by Mytilene, in an attempt to lay claim to Lesbian identity.

<sup>48</sup> A Pan-Lesbian sanctuary dedicated to the three deities is mentioned in Alc. fr. 129 Liberman and first connected with the temple at Messon, in which the Hellenistic Lesbian *koinón* was formed (according to a second-century inscription, *IG XII Suppl.* 136) by Robert (1960, pp. 300-311). See also Constantakopoulou (2005, pp. 15-16), Caciagli (2016), Nagy (2016, pp. 478-487), and Ellis-Evans (2019, pp. 227-230).

<sup>49</sup> A scholion to Alc. fr. 114 Liberman says the poet and his allies were exiled in Pyrrha, which lies near Messon; see Robert (1960, p. 305), Liberman (2002 p. xix), Ellis-Evans (2019, p. 229). In fr. 130b Liberman, Alcaeus speaks of being exiled in a place where Lesbian women sing and take part in a beauty contest. On this festival, see below.

<sup>50</sup> See Robert (1960, pp. 303-304), Nagy (2016, p. 464, n. 29), and Ellis-Evans (2019, p. 227, n. 108). Bierl (2016, p. 324, n. 60) and Nagy (2016, pp. 463-464, 470-471) entertain the possibility that the name refers to the time of the year in which the festival was celebrated, translating it as "the days that turn at the middle" (maybe, Bierl suggests, the days after an equinox).

in the sources, but, by taking other archaic local Greek festivals such as the Carnea and Panathenaea, it is possible to conjecture that poetic performances of different types took place during the celebrations. In addition, we hear of a female beauty contest at Lesbos, probably taking place at Messon, which might have been part of the festival mentioned by Hesychius<sup>51</sup>. According to Alcaeus' fr. 130b.18-20 Liberman, it included singing of some kind.

While we ignore the nature of these songs, there is some evidence for female choral performances at Messon. A fragment of a hymn to Hera by Sappho (fr. 17 Voigt) mentions the Triad and might have been composed for performance there<sup>52</sup>. Likewise, an anonymous epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 9.189) fictionalizes a chorus performance led by Sappho in a sanctuary of the goddess (Robert, 1960, p. 312, n.4). Thus, probably the Pan-Lesbian *témenos* hosted one or more kinds of poetic performance<sup>53</sup>. If this hypothesis is true, these festivals would be a perfect occasion for poets to display their abilities. There, they would be able to face a larger audience, interact and vie with their peers, and get acquainted with new songs and poetic techniques. Furthermore, if the festivals took place in spring or summer, the sanctuary's proximity to the sea makes the attendance of non-Lesbian guests probable<sup>54</sup>.

Like archaic Sparta and archaic and classical Athens, Lesbian cities formed prosperous, populous, and powerful polities. Mytilene in special was a major naval power in the Aegean at the turn of the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> Cc., with territories and client cities in Aeolis and in the Troad (Mason, 1993, pp. 226-231). Its power would attract seafarers from the whole Mediterranean world, for commercial and other purposes, not to mention religion, which had a major role in the sea traffic in the Aegean world<sup>55</sup>. If non-Lesbian attendance was expected, the festivals would also provide a chance for poets to become known

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<sup>51</sup> The contest is mentioned in Alc. fr. 130b.13-20 Liberman (linked to the place of his exile) and in Theophrastus fr. 564 Fortenbaugh (quoted in Athenaeus 13.610a-b), with no open mention to its exact location. In a scholion to *Il.* 9.128, it is located in a Lesbian temple of Hera (which was one of the deities worshipped at the *témenos*). See Robert (1960, pp. 312-315).

<sup>52</sup> Robert (1960, p. 314), Caciagli (2016, pp. 425-426), Nagy (2016, pp. 478-481). For a more nuanced view on the relationship between this poem and ritual performance, see D'Alessio (2018, pp. 42-45) and Power (2019, pp. 93-101).

<sup>53</sup> On Messon as a possible stage for poetic performances in Lesbos, see Caciagli (2016) and Nagy (2007 and 2016). On poetic singing at the *kallisteia*, see Nagy (2007, p. 215; 2016) and Boterf (2012, pp.135-142).

<sup>54</sup> If the name of the *messostrophóniai hēmérai* refers to an equinox, that could be the spring equinox.

<sup>55</sup> On the role of religion in the Aegean traffic, see Constantakopoulou (2007, pp. 29-60) and Rutherford (2013).

beyond the Aeolian cities of the Eastern Aegean. The evidence does not make room for much speculation, but, if these festivals really included poetic contests, they would be a major incentive to Lesbos' flourishing poetic activity. Its Lesbian character would encourage the use of the local dialect, metres, and traditional phrasing, and a Pan-Lesbian contest would entice its many *ainoí* to compete against each other, perfecting their techniques in the local traditional genres. Furthermore, the likely non-Lesbian attendance would offer an opportunity of fame outside the island – and would partly explain the reputation of non-travelling Lesbian poets in the Greek world<sup>56</sup>.

A parallel with this epichoric poetic festival, stimulating the cultivation and development of local poetic forms by means of regional competition, was the Great Dionysia and Lenaea in Athens. As Athenian affluence in the 5<sup>th</sup> C. warranted the financing of local poets and their fame throughout the Greek world, the prominence of Lesbos in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Cc. could have bolstered the poetic performances and fame of its *ainoí* within and outside the island. In summary, the first aspect of Lesbos' insularity which would have affected its poetry was the concomitant unity and variety of its territory and culture, a tension that would foster the development of traditional local forms.

Another aspect of Lesbian insular geography was its closeness to Anatolia. No other Aegean island lies so near Asia Minor, being at the closest only 10 km apart (Ellis-Evans, 2019, p. 157). That position stimulated from early on contacts with the mainland, which remained somehow in Greek collective memory. In Homer, for instance, Lesbos is part of Priam's empire and is sacked by the Achaeans<sup>57</sup>. In addition, like Troy, who had allies in Thrace, Mytilene seems to have had a strong connection to that region as well. Not only the Mytilenean settlement of Ainos was founded there, but also Pittacus, the son of a Thracian father, rose to pre-eminence and power in the city. Lesbian poets, in their turn,

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<sup>56</sup> Of course, there are other possible explanations, since e.g. foreign visitors taking part in local symposia could bring this repertoire home, and Lesbian guests could perform their native songs in other cities. On the symposium as a means of diffusion of Alcaeus' and Sappho's songs, see Rösler (1980, pp. 91-106) and Bowie (2016). In the case of Sappho, some girls of her entourage married into foreign families, and most probably brought some of her songs with them (see the discussion on fr. 96 Voigt below). Moreover, we should also not exclude the possibility of Alcaeus' songs becoming known outside Mytilene during his exile. On Alcaeus as a travelling poet, see Bowie (2009, pp. 118-122). Sappho might also have gone into exile, as mentioned in *Mar. Par.* 36 Jacoby.

<sup>57</sup> *Il.* 24.544 mentions the island as part of Priam's empire. The sack of Lesbos is mentioned in *Il.* 9.129, 271.

openly valued their ties to Anatolia, mentioning Lydia as a place with which the Lesbians had strong commercial, martial, and matrimonial ties<sup>58</sup>.

Textual and archaeological sources concur here. Material remains from the Bronze Age reveal a place that was an integral part of the Anatolian world (Spencer, 1995). The name “Lesbos” is perhaps mentioned in Hittite sources (as *Lazpas*) and many of Lesbian toponyms seem to have arisen from non-Greek languages (p. 275, n. 24; p. 290, n. 133). These contacts did not cease after Bronze Age. Iron Age findings point to a continuing connection to Asia Minor (pp. 288-293). Furthermore, in the Archaic era, there was even a territorial and political tie: Lesbian colonies in the Troad and Aiolis, and the Mytilenean mainland settlements, the *peraía*<sup>59</sup>. Beyond territory, there were cultural connections to Anatolia as well. Greek settlements in or near Asia have many and well-known ties of every type with non-Greek populations, the best known of which is the adoption of Eastern cults, such as those of Aphrodite, Adonis, and Cybele. Lesbos, however, shared some cultural traits with Anatolian (and South-Eastern Thracian) peoples which set it apart from other Eastern Greek cities. Aside from the aforementioned marriages and military and commercial ties, there is a piece of evidence that points to a special connection between the Lesbians and Anatolia: its pottery. While some remains of Laconian, Corinthian, Attic, and East Greek painted ware were found in some sites, most archaic Lesbian vessels were greyware<sup>60</sup>. The high quality of the material suggests that it was prestigious, and it was in those vessels that the equally famous Lesbian products were sold overseas (Spencer, 1995, p. 301). In the archaic era, greyware was already an established tradition in Anatolia and Thrace (Pavúk, 2008), and the Lesbians’ preference for it suggests that special connection to Asia mentioned in Homer, Sappho, and Alcaeus.

Therefore, if the insular geography contributed to Lesbos’ cultural unity, while separating it from the rest of the world, at that same time, its proximity to the Asian continent, fomented a connection to other local cultures, which set it apart from other Eastern Greeks. The Aeolian settlers, while maintaining distinctively Greek customs

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<sup>58</sup> Sappho mentions a fine Lydian headband in fr. 98 Voigt and envisage a girl of her circle living as a married woman in Lydia in fr. 96 Voigt. Alc. fr. 69 Liberman refers to a military alliance with the Lydians. Another Asian alliance is mentioned in Alc. fr. 350 Liberman, where the poet salutes his brother, who fought as a mercenary on the side of the Babylonians. See Thomas (2021, pp. 30-33) on interpretation problems in this fragment.

<sup>59</sup> Mason (1993, pp. 226-231); Ellis-Evans (2019, pp. 155-197); Thomas (2021, pp. 27-28).

<sup>60</sup> On grey ware in Lesbos, see Cook (1997, pp. 34, 115-117), and Spencer (1995, pp. 301-303). On painted ware found in Mytilene, see Schaus (1992).



(such as language, religion, poetry, and burial practices), appear to have adopted some of the previous, Anatolian-oriented culture and furthered those ties (Spencer, 1995, pp. 303-305; Thomas, 2021, pp. 29-33). If that reflected in their pottery, that might also have had an import on festivals and poetic practices.

It is not possible to know how Lesbian poetry related to Iron Age Anatolian songs<sup>61</sup>, but as those connections had stimulated a distinctive pottery tradition, it could also lead to Lesbian song forming a world of its own. In fr. 96 Voigt, Sappho appears to envisage a musical performance of a member of her entourage in Lydia (Boterf, 2012, pp. 40-41). We cannot know the details of such a presentation, but that she could imagine a Greek song performed in Sardis points to the possibility that the poetries of both regions could have a connection, as their aristocratic families, economy and military power had. At least musically, *testimonia* associate Lesbian poets with Anatolia. Pindar says Terpander invented the *bárbitos* after listening to the *paktís* in a Lydian banquet (fr. 125 Snell-Maehler). Furthermore, he and Sappho are said to have invented the Mixolydian *harmonía* ([Plut.] *Mus.* 16.1136c, 28.1140f). We cannot be certain of the truth value of those attributions and connections, but they are evidence of Lesbian musical ties to Asia Minor. If Sparta's greatest poet was perhaps a Lydian and said he learnt his songs from an Anatolian bird<sup>62</sup>, it seems likely that Lesbos, influenced by Lydia in so many aspects, would also have poetic ties to it.

In summary, Lesbos' geographical position might have contributed to the singular status of its poetry in at least two ways. At first, its size, territorial unity, and relative isolation, along with its ethnical and linguistic cohesion, formed a cultural and religious unity of multiple and prosperous communities. In the Pan-Lesbian sanctuary at Messon, the Lesbians likely held festivals and poetic competitions. That consolidated Lesbian

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<sup>61</sup> On the rare extant Lydian poetry see Littmann (1916, pp. 58-62) and West (1972). The most well-preserved song does not, however, exhibit many affinities with Lesbian verse. On Phrygian metre, which might or not be directly related to Greek verse, see West (2003). It is worth remarking that both Phrygian and Lesbian metres display the archaic Indo-European *anceps* opening and similar *cola* (West, 2003, pp. 85-86). Nonetheless, it is impossible to know whether these phenomena were separate developments or stimulated each other somehow.

<sup>62</sup> As widely known, ancient *testimonia* disagree on Alcman's origin, with some pointing to Sparta, and the majority to Lydia: *Anth. Pal.* 7.19, 7.709; Velleius Paterculus 1.18.3; an epigram quoted in Schol. Pind. i.11 Drachmann; the Scholiast B on Alcman 1.58s. *PMGF*; the scholion on *P.Oxy.* 2389 fr.9 col. 1 5ss. Others manifest doubt: in *Anth. Pal.* 7.18, and a biographical commentary on *P.Oxy.* 2506 fr. 1 col.ii. Two fragments by Alcman seem to allude to a Lydian origin. In fr. 16 *PMGF* he speaks of a wise man from Lydia, while in fr. 39 *PMGF* he claims to have learnt his song from chukar partridges, typical from Anatolia (Borthwick *apud* Arnott, 1977, p. 337, n.1).

traditions, encouraging individual poets to excel, exchange, and develop their poetic techniques. Secondly, Lesbos' Anatolian connections, attested both in literature and material culture, suggest communities more closely related to non-Greek peoples. If this affected their crafts, like pottery, it most likely influenced music and poetry as well.

### 5. Conclusion

As demonstrated above, Lesbian poetry had a special position in archaic Greece. In the first two parts, I showed how archaic Lesbian song was perceived as an especially different kind of Greek poetry. From Plato to Apuleius authors point to the strangeness of the Lesbian language, which can be extended to several traits of its poetry. Lesbian song did not expand as widely as Ionian and Dorian traditions, being reperformed, but rarely composed outside its original setting. Two of its poets, however, achieved Pan-Hellenic fame while composing in their own tradition. Lesbian poetry was both isolated and connected to the rest of Greek literature, in all its components. Its language is unique, but both influenced and was influenced by other dialects. Its favoured metres had a conservative prosody, which normally rejected Ionic-Doric innovations. Nevertheless, sometimes poets could use foreign metres and rhythmical traits. Lesbians also shared genres, *tópoi*, and traditional phrasing with other Greeks. Finally, the fragments show that not only the Aeolians adapted the Pan-Hellenic phrasing to their metres, but also developed a formula-system of their own.

In the last part, I demonstrated how this apparent paradox of isolation and connection to the Greek world could be partly explained by Lesbos' insular geography. Lesbos' territorial unity, aided by shared dialect and origins, consolidated a distinctive cultural cohesion. At the same time, the island was large and rich enough to hold six different *póleis*, which would both co-operate with and compete against each other. The common sanctuary at Messon embodied this tension between unity and rivalry of Lesbian cities, for it was a place to settle political differences and celebrate Pan-Lesbian festivals, which even included a beauty contest. It is very likely that festivals as this would also hold poetic competitions, as was normally the case throughout the Greek world. If this is true, these festivals would offer an opportunity for the poets to meet their peers, exchange songs and techniques, compete among themselves, and show their art before a larger audience. The explicitly Lesbian character of these festivals would promote the use of local forms, and the likely presence of non-Lesbian foreigners would ensure that the

winner would gain fame across the Mediterranean. That could partly explain why Sappho and Alcaeus became so well-known, despite their specific forms hardly being imitated outside Lesbos before the Hellenistic era.

The other aspect of Lesbos' geography probably influencing its poetry is its proximity and connection to Anatolia. These ties are attested in diverse sources from the Bronze to the Iron Age: literary memory, myths, and political facts such as territorial occupation, colonization, and political, marital and commercial ties. Especially significant is the fact that at least in one respect the Lesbians remained more closely connected to Anatolia than to other Greek populations: in its pottery. Lesbos imported some painted ware, but preferred bucchero to them, a technique that was common among non-Greek North-East Aegean populations. That points to the possibility that Lesbian poetry as well might have entertained an Anatolian connection that set it apart from other Greek poetry. Few Iron Age Anatolian poems survived, and it is impossible to know how those traditions related to Lesbos. Nevertheless, one fragment of Sappho seems to envisage a musical performance of a Lesbian woman in Lydia. According to some sources, the Lesbians had musical ties to Anatolia as well. Such a connection must remain a hypothesis, but it seems probable and sustained by the limited evidence.

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## **INSULARIDADE E A POSIÇÃO ÚNICA DA CANÇÃO EÓLICA NA POESIA GREGA ARCAICA**

*Tadeu Andrade*

### RESUMO

A poesia grega arcaica não era um fenômeno unitário: áreas diversas desenvolveram gêneros diferentes, ainda que interrelacionados. Este artigo aborda a posição única da canção eólica na tradição grega. Primeiramente, aponta a recepção algo ambígua de Safo e Alceu pelos antigos. Em segundo lugar, mostra como seu *corpus*, frente ao restante da poesia grega, demonstra um padrão de comunicação e independência. Discutem-se mais detalhadamente as fórmulas poéticas eólicas, em que essa tendência se torna especialmente evidente. Enfim, o artigo propõe-se discutir a geografia insular de Lesbos como uma das causas para a singularidade de sua poesia.

### PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Insularidade, lírica grega, poesialésbia, oralidade, fórmulas.

# TRAVELERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN: THE CASE FOR ANCIENT PARIANS

*Dora Katsonopoulou*<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

The island of Paros located in the centre of the Aegean Sea, emerged as an organized *polis*/state already in mid-8th century BC. Its geographical position favored early sea communications and foundation of colonies along the Mediterranean. In the article, I discuss the impressive phenomenon of itinerant Parians in the Mediterranean in relation to (a) the colonies founded by Paros in the Propontis, the North Aegean and the Adriatic Sea, (b) certain activities of travelling groups of artists in Greece proper and the periphery of the Greek world, and (c) two exceptional cases of itinerant Parians, Archilochos the poet (7th century BC) and Skopas the sculptor and architect (4th century BC). Finally, a short mention is made of another type of mobilization of fighters, under state control.

## KEYWORDS

Ancient Paros, Mediterranean Sea, itinerant artists, Aegean world, Adriatic Sea.

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The island of Paros lies almost in the centre of the insular complex of the Cyclades (Fig. 1) which connects the Aegean Sea with the Greek mainland and the Near East. Before the 2nd millennium BC Paros was a much larger island (The Greater Paros) together with the islands of Antiparos, Despotiko and other uninhabited islets, and was connected with the island of Naxos via a narrow strip of land. When physically separated from Antiparos sometime in the 2nd millennium BC, Paros continued to keep under its control the entire group of islands until at least the Hellenistic times. The geographical position of the island in the centre of the Cyclades, the favorable landscape and mild climate favored its early habitation and the maritime communications within and beyond the Aegean.

Paros seems to have hosted settlements since the end of the 4th millennium BC. In the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, a significant settlement developed in the area of the modern Paros capital, and another important Mycenaean settlement flourished on the summit of the hill of Koukounaries in the bay of Naousa in northern Paros (Schilardi 2016). Numerous settlements prospered during the Geometric period and by mid-8th century BC Paros had emerged as an organized *polis*/state of significant power (Zapheirou 2008). In the following Archaic period, the island reached its peak and became a most significant economic and cultural center in the Aegean. Among the activities developed, contacts and exchanges, trade and shipping became predominant. Especially, the trade of the superb white Parian marble, the most sought after marble in the ancient world, proved particularly profitable for Parian economy during the Archaic and the Early Classical periods. Literary and archaeological evidence show that its use for statuary and embellishment of public buildings was in demand until well into the Roman times and spread to numerous places, thus connecting Paros with a wide network of clients in the Aegean and the Mediterranean worlds.

Let us now take a closer look at these islanders and their multiple activities. Already in early historical times, the Parians ventured travels abroad in groups or individually. Before the end of the century, Paros founded its first colony in the Southern Black Sea, Parion (ca. 709 BC), most probably in a joint enterprise with the cities of Miletos and Erythrai (Keles 2018, p. 179). The name of the mother island, Paros, is among the names mentioned in connection with the name of the colony itself, the other two being those of Parios of Erythrai or Alexander Paris - the famous prince of Troy (Keles 2018, p. 179). The Trojan hero was a very important figure for the city of Parion and its past history.

His tomb is said to have been located in the Agora of the city, where also stood his bronze statue by the famous Greek sculptor Euphranor of the 4th century BC from the Isthmos near Corinth. However, the particular ties of Parion with Paros may be indicated by the dedication of another famous work in Parion, the bronze statue of Herakles made by the early 5th century BC sculptor Hegesias of Athens (Katsonopoulou 2020, pp. 495-497). Given Herakles' reported association with colonial activities of Paros and the close connections of his life with both regions, Paros and the Troad, his statue in this case may allude to this capacity of the hero. Parion, located on an important route connecting the Black Sea with the Aegean Sea via the Hellespont, emerged as a significant trading post and a site of strategic importance for the region.

The foundation, only a few decades later, of another colony in the Northern Aegean shows the constant interest of the island of Paros in expanding its commercial and economic activities in the Northern Aegean – Black Sea line of trade routes. Beginning with the exploitation of resources available in the colonies, especially in Thasos of the agricultural and mineral wealth, and establishing good relationships via strong cultural and religious ties, the metropolis apparently increased its power and influence in a much wider area, economically and culturally.

The Parian settlement in the island of Thasos, established ca. 680 BC under Telesikles, the father of the famous poet of Paros Archilochos, was reinforced by a second wave of colonists ca. 650 BC, including the poet himself who served both as a settler and a soldier. In the surviving excerpts of his poetry, Archilochos recounts the life he lived in the colony, serving in the army alongside the general Glaukos, head of the army during the second generation of Parian settlers (Clay 2004). The famous poem of tossing away his shield to save his life when pursued by the Thracian enemy (Fr. 5W), is among the most shocking ones shedding light to the retreat in battles, an entirely untold aspect of a warrior's life before him (Katsonopoulou 2008). As Archilochos himself declares in Fr. 1W, he possessed the lovely gift of Muses, serving by telling the truth to others, as much as he was the servant of Enyalios, the god of war.

In another Fr. 22, quoted by Athenaios (*Deipn.* 12.25), Archilochos describes his admiration for the region of Siris that is beautiful, charming and desirable, with running waters, as opposed to the inhospitable landscape of the island of Thasos. The reference to yet another land beyond Thasos, further supports Archilochos' supposed mercenary status as a soldier, Siris identified in this case with the river in South Italy and the homonymous

city situated at the river's mouth (Tsantsanoglou 2008, p. 177). According to other views, the comparison made in Fr. 22 concerns the neighbouring valley of the Strymon river, in the mainland opposite Thasos, where also a town by the same name was located (Jacobs 1798, p. 166; Grandjean and Salviat 2012, p. 39). However, recent archaeological evidence from South Italy seems to support the identification of Siris mentioned in Archilochos with the region of Italian Siris. The study of archaeological finds from the excavations of Siris and especially of Archaic pottery excavated from the site of Incoronata indicate the presence of Parian potters and painters in the region, in Archilochos' time. Comparison of technical, stylistic and iconographic elements between Incoronata and the Cyclades suggest that the Cycladic potters, active at the site during the 7th century BC, came from Parian and Naxian Schools (Denti 2018, pp. 49-52). Their presence and activity in South Italy sheds light to a much broader phenomenon of travelling Parians in the Mediterranean diffusing Parian art and culture far away from their home island.

Part of this same phenomenon is also the attested presence of Parian sculptors in Sicily and South Italy, two significant cultural areas of Western Mediterranean, in the Archaic and Early Classical periods. The Western Greek poleis embellished their sanctuaries and public spaces with Parian marble sculptures. The use of the Parian marble was extensive and included also marble roofs. Recent evidence, especially from Akragas (Adornato 2021) and Selinous (Marconi 2021), show that Parian marble imports travelled to the West and with them Parian craftsmen who worked in their new destinations either to finish partly carved sculptures that travelled from Paros, or to carve in situ new statues out of the shipped marble blocks. Passing down their artistic knowledge and technology in the new areas, where they settled and worked, these groups of artists acted as agents of growing influence on behalf of their homeland in the periphery of the Greek world and contributed to establishing a sort of international relationships between Paros and the West.

The interest of Paros in the West indicated already in the Archaic and Early Classical periods, was again revived in the 4th century BC, when the island founded a new colony in the Adriatic Sea, more than 300 hundred years later than its earliest colonies of Parion in the Propontis and Thasos in the Northern Aegean. The position of the new colony, named Pharos, in a proper location in the Adriatic could well serve Paros' interests in commercial and economic activities in the region. A review of the

archaeological data from the site of Pharos (Kirigin 2006) suggests a well organized and export-oriented Parian settlement. The close relations with the metropolis are reflected in Pharos' coinage adopting the Parian emblem of the goat on the reverse of its coins since its beginnings in the 4th century BC (Kirigin 2003, pp. 26-28). It is of particular interest that following Pharos' foundation in Dalmatia in 385/4 BC, a new period of prosperity is observed in the island of Paros. New buildings and temples were constructed including the Prytaneion of the city with the temple and the cult statue of Hestia, a work of the renowned sculptor of the 4th century BC Skopas of Paros (Gruben 1999; Katsonopoulou 2004). Such a flourishing was probably related with the profit directed to the metropolis via trading activities of its colony in the Adriatic (Katsonopoulou 2021). The income from exporting wine alone was almost enormous according to archaeological evidence from Pharos (Kirigin 2018).

Apparently, the Parian colonies located in proper positions along the Mediterranean from East to West, contributed to a great extent in the enhancement of the status of their metropolis Paros. However, strong cultural influence of Paros in the Greek world seems to have been exercised also via certain individuals distinguished in the fields of Letters and Arts. Although we are aware of many such examples of prominent Parians from the Archaic and Classical times, I will limit myself here to two exceptional cases, Archilochos the poet and Skopas the sculptor and architect (Katsonopoulou 2019).

Archilochos and his revolutionary poetry reached far outside the island of Paros. In the Greek world, the Parian poet was held worthy of comparison only to Homer. He himself and his invective poetry were often the subject of discussion by critics, philosophers, grammarians and epigrammatists and many studies were written about the poet and his extraordinary work. Immortal and renowned in song, according to the Delphic oracle announced to his father Telesikles, Archilochos made his island immortal too. Interacting with Greeks and non-Greeks in so many different parts of the ancient world, where he travelled, as suggested from the surviving fragments of his poetry, he was apparently part of a network connecting Paros with other regions of the world.

In the same path followed three centuries later another great Parian, Skopas the sculptor and architect, one of the most itinerant Greek artists. Like Archilochos, Skopas travelled a lot outside the island creating exceptional sculptures and architectural works in numerous places of the ancient world, from the Peloponnese in the mainland to Attica, to Central Greece, to the North and to the East from Troad to Ionia. Skopas was the



introducer in the art of sculpture of the unique style of *pathos*, expressing through his figures the inner passionate feelings of their soul, in contrast to the serene and harmonious Classical figures of the previous 5th century. His style greatly influenced contemporary and later sculptural art. Skopas and Archilochos share the same feature of expressing in their pioneer works personal experience as opposed to the heroic element of the past (Katsonopoulou 2019). Archilochos remained a favourite subject among ancient scholars as late as Roman times. And Skopas was the most highly regarded Greek sculptor in imperial Rome, where many of his works were present. His timeless value and fame made famous Paros itself as indicated by the epithet *Parios* (*Πάριος*) accompanying his name in ancient sources.

Finally, a short mention should be made to another type of travelling involving fighters to fight a battle away from home. The most characteristic such case from Paros concerns the two *polyandria* (multiple burials) discovered in the main ancient cemetery of the city of Paros in modern Paroikia. The *polyandria*, dated between the third quarter of the 8th and the early years of the 7th century BC (Zafeiropoulou 1994, 1999), contained 160 amphorae holding the burnt bones of dead warriors suggesting the ability of the state to mobilize a large force of fighters to fight a battle outside the island. Their burial back in Paros in the main cemetery of the *polis*, and the demarcation of the area of their interment by the erection of a marble stele representing an enthroned female figure dated to ca. 700 BC (Mavragani 2000), indicate that this was a communal action. Similarly, Archilochos' mention of a group of a thousand men with reference to the second mission to Thasos (Fr. 97W) shows mobilization of major groups of citizens most probably under state control.

### *Conclusion*

From the above presented paradigms of travelling Parians, it becomes evident that Paros makes an exceptional case of a cosmopolitan island of the Aegean, which maintained communication and contacts with many other regions in the Aegean Sea and the coast of Asia Minor since early historical times. Recent archaeological evidence shows that relations and contacts were developed also with the West since the Archaic period. In the framework of their interests, especially in trade and shipping, the Parians were active in the Aegean and the Mediterranean for many centuries, thus contributing in the enhancement of the island's economy and culture. These aims were well served

through (a) the foundation of a number of colonies extending from the Southern Black Sea and the Northern Aegean to the Adriatic Sea, (b) the export and diffusion of the Parian marble in numerous places of the ancient world, and (c) the great works of its itinerant intellectuals and artists. Another reason for travelling seems to have been the mobilization of citizens, under state control, as fighters away from home.

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Figure



Figure 1: Map of Paros and surrounding islands (from Kourayos 2004, p. 8).

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## VIAJANTES NO MEDITERRANEO: O CASO DOS ANTIGOS PARIOS

*Dora Katsonopoulou*

### RESUMO

A ilha de Paros, localizada no centro do Mar Egeu, surgiu como uma polis/Estado organizado já em meados do século VIII a.C. Sua posição geográfica favoreceu as primeiras comunicações marítimas e a fundação de colônias no Mediterrâneo. No artigo, discuto o impressionante fenômeno dos pários itinerantes no Mediterrâneo em relação (a) às colônias fundadas por Paros na Propôntida, no Egeu do Norte e no Mar Adriático, (b) certas atividades de grupos itinerantes de artistas na Grécia propriamente dita e na periferia do mundo grego, e (c) dois casos excepcionais de pários itinerantes – Arquílocos, o poeta (século VII a.C.), e Skopas, o escultor e arquiteto (século IV a.C.). Finalmente, uma breve menção é feita sobre outro tipo de mobilização de combatentes, sob controle estatal.

### PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Paros antiga, Mar Mediterrâneo, Artistas itinerantes; Mundo egeu; Mar Adriático.



# STONE ARTIFACTS FROM AGATHONISI, DODECANESE, GREECE: EVIDENCE OF INSULARITY

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## ABSTRACT

The systematic excavation at Kastraki of Agathonisi island revealed the remnants of a fortified harbor, which developed commercial and political contacts with Miletos, the Ionic metropolis, and other cities of Asia Minor, as well as its neighboring or remote islands. These conclusions were provided by the well-studied findings of the excavation and can be also confirmed by the unpublished stone artifacts, such as vases, querns, and tools, which will be presented here. They were carved in local or imported rocks. The investigation of their origin elucidates the question of insularity, that is isolation and connectivity.

## KEYWORDS

Agathonisi, Dodecanese, Stone, Vases, Querns.

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### *1. Introduction*

Agathonisi, the northernmost island of the dodecanesian complex (fig. 1), is situated to the south of Samos and close to the Asia Minor coast. It is located at the southwestern end of the Menderes complex, so its geology is featured by the characteristic geomorphology of Menderes Massif, which is consisted of crystalline, semi-crystalline and schist limestones and limestone-schists (Panitsa & Tzanoudakis, 1998, p. 96).

The island had been inhabited since the late IV<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, according to the findings from Kastraki, a rocky hill at the northern cost between Maistros and Anginaria Bay (Triantafyllidis 2015, 96), whereas further traces of habitation of the III<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC had been also recorded at Kephala and Kalyvia (Triantafyllidis 2015, 95, n. 3).

Agathonisi is known as Tragia or Tragaia by the ancient writers<sup>2</sup> and it belonged to milesian territory with other neighboring islands, known as milesian (Patmos, Leros, Fournoi, Farmakonisi, Arkioi, Lipsi) (fig. 2). The key position of the island had been deployed by Milesians, who established garrisons during Classical and Hellenistic times, not only for mainland and maritime protection but also as an expression of their authority on the rural fortifications of these islands (Sarantidis, 2020). Important naval events took place nearby the island during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, like the battleship of Lade in 494 BC; the tragic epilogue of the Ionian Revolution ended with the victory of the Persians shortly before the beginning of the Greco-Persian Wars (Triantafyllidis 2006, 2010, 2014 & 2015; Triantafyllidis & Karatasios 2015; Sarantidis 2015). Several other sites of Agathonisi (Kavi, Prezivolia, Alonia, Kleftos, et.c.) can be dated in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and a few sites (Tsagaris, Tholoi and Ag. Ioannis) in the Early-Christian and Early Byzantine periods (Triantafyllidis 2015, 95, n. 3).

### *2. Excavation of Kastraki<sup>3</sup>*

The systematic excavation of Kastraki, inaugurated in 2006 by Pavlos Triantafyllidis, brought to light the archaeological remains of the fortified harbor and the naturally fortified citadel founded on the quarried rock of a hill (fig. 3). Important evidence from the site indicates the minoan presence on the island, whereas the archaic

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<sup>2</sup> Thucydides, book I. CXVI. 1; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Τραγία*; Strabo XIV 1.7. 635c.

<sup>3</sup> A full publication of the material quoted in this paper in greek will appear in the two volumes of the excavation at Kastraki of Agathonisi, which is under preparation (Triantafyllidis, in press a and b). That is why further information about the size of the city, the population and relevant issues are not discussed here.

pottery shows that the site continued to be inhabited during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> cent. (Triantafyllidis 2015, 96). The fort is trapezoidal in plan and it is arranged in terraces formed by robust pseudo-isodomic walls of rectangular plan, which embrace the rock, following the natural slope of the rocky hill towards the sea (Triantafyllidis 2015, 97, fig. 4). The access was enabled through rock-cut staircases. The fortification walls are dated in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent., but during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries some modifications of certain fortification walls had been realized, as part of a major military reinforcement of the fortification against piracy (Triantafyllidis 2015, 97-98, fig. 5). A quite interesting system of cisterns and wells, quarried in the rock, had been also excavated. The most impressive finding was a cistern hollowed in the rock and coated with hydraulic plaster at the top of the hill, which was located underneath a tower and remained in use from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD (Triantafyllidis 2015, 98, fig. 6). The remnants of a workshop for murex processing to produce the dye of the tyrian purple, as well as pigments suitable for pottery coating and painting had been also investigated; they are dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC to 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD (Triantafyllidis 2015, 98-100, fig. 7-9). Below a roman building of that workshop the remnants of a late-Hellenistic sanctuary, probably of the milesian city-deity, Apollo Didymeus, had been identified, too (Triantafyllidis 2015, 100-101, fig. 10). A built storage-room west of the southern fortification wall, had been excavated and from the clay findings was identified as a state apiary dated in the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC (Triantafyllidis 2015, 101-103, fig. 12-13). The above-mentioned findings provide evidence about the significant economic activities which were taking place on the small island during Hellenistic and Roman period. Quite impressive are also the military installations for mooring warships located to the southeast side of the fort (Triantafyllidis 2015, 95).

The various mobile findings of that excavation provide clues about its commercial and political contacts during the Hellenistic period. Indeed, the discovered coins of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC belong to the milesian mint, whereas the pottery, the terracotta figurines, the textile weights, and the metallic artifacts (weapons, nails, etc.), which came to light insinuate that the small island of Agathonisi had established interrelations with other cities of Asia Minor, as well as with other islands, not only the closest ones but also certain further islands of the Dodecanese.

Several fragments of querns, vases, and tools had been investigated, which were carved in various rocks, local and imported. These stone artifacts enlighten the everyday life of the islanders. In that paper after a short presentation of the unpublished material

(querns, vases, and tools<sup>4</sup>), there will be further discussion about the detected imports and the strong affiliations observed between the studied material and relevant findings from other sites (Asia Minor, Samos, Rhodes, Kos, and Nisyros).

### 3. *Vases*

The fragmented vases, which came to light during the excavation, belong to various types and were used mainly as household vessels. They are dated from the Classical to late Hellenistic period, besides a fragment of a prehistoric mortar (ΛΘ 229-fig. 4). The vases discussed here can be divided into two parts: the local products and the imports. The local products are all unfinished and they are presented at the beginning.

### 4. *Local products (unfinished vases)*

It is worth noting that local and imported rocks were used for the carving of everyday implements. The semi-carved artifacts (ΛΘ 230-fig. 5, ΛΘ 42-fig. 6, and ΛΘ 227-fig. 7) were carved in local limestone, however for the half-finished mortar ΛΘ 234 a grey volcanic rock was used, which is identical to the grey koan rhyolite (Poupaki & Chatziconstantinou 2001), a rock which was used for Hellenistic ὄλμοι in Halasarna of Kos (Poupaki, 2017, no.10).

The unfinished vessels studied were mortars (ὄλμοι) and they are all dated to Hellenistic period. Mortars, especially the biggest ones (ὄλμοι), cannot be identified only as kitchen utensils, because they usually had industrial use, as they served to crush cereals before their grinding in the mills, to collect the liquid extract (oil mixed with water) from the oil presses, or even to mix building materials for the preparation of mortars (Poupaki, 2011b, p. 61). These vases adopted features of the Hellenistic ὄλμοι discovered at various sites (Delos, Kos, Samos, Laconia, Corinth, and Asia Minor). Particularly, well-dated examples are the vases ΛΘ 230 and ΛΘ 227, which were found in a well's filling, dated in the early Hellenistic period, and associated to the clearing of the sanctuary at the second terrace of the site. Indeed, the unfinished mortar with spout ΛΘ 227 is a quite common type during Hellenistic period, e.g., in Athens (Poupaki, 2000, no. 88), Corinth (Davidson, 1952, nos. 816-820, 827-829, fig. 19, pl. 61), Delos (Déonna, 1938, pp. 110-114, pls. 319-326), Priene (Wiegand – Schrader, 1904, nos. 1541, 1559), Samos (Hiesel,

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<sup>4</sup>The material presented here will appear with the registration number of the excavation. For the better view of the material see Table 1. For a full catalogue of the material, see Poupaki (in print a and b).

1967, nos. 179-184, pl. 19), and Salamine of Cyprus (Chavane, 1975, nos. 4-8, pls. 1-2, 57). The vase ΛΘ 230 resembles certain vessels carved in volcanic rocks or limestone from Kos, Allianoi, and Zeugma (Poupaki 2011a, vol. 2, no. Αγ156; Türkmen 2009, pp. 31-33, Parton 2013, p. 300, fig. 6ab, no. SM 7). The other two vases, ΛΘ 42 and ΛΘ 234, are surface finds, however their profile is reminiscent of Hellenistic vases: The vase ΛΘ 42 resembles to the delian ὄλμοι with slightly conical shape (Déonna 1938, figs. 294-296, 298), but also to laconian vases, which were mainly used as cinerary urns (Poupaki 2006, nos. 17 and 26; Poupaki 2019, no. 19). The vase ΛΘ 234, even in an early processing stage reminds us of the Hellenistic mortars of Pompei (Poupaki 2011b, pl. 9b).

### 5. *Imported vessels*

The most elaborate vases found in the excavation were all imported. Two of them were carved in the same rock (ΛΘ 228 and ΛΘ 60), which was probably quarried from a neighboring island (Samos), whereas the third (ΛΘ 44+62AB) was probably imported from a remote one (Nisyros).

The shallow two-handled bowl (ΛΘ 228-fig. 8), which was carved in soft yellowish limestone, is a remarkably interesting vessel because of its shape, its material, and its use. Its shape looks familiar, because it looks like the smallest mortars, which were household utensils useful for the pounding of pulses, the mixing of spices and seasonings or the squeezing of fruits for the extraction of juices with the aid of a spout. However, they were also laboratory instruments used for the pulverizing of chemical substances, drugs, and cosmetics. In certain areas of Asia Minor were discovered in graves, as grave goods<sup>5</sup>. Additionally, the characteristic lugs of the vase, which are reminiscent of the spool-shaped lugs of the early bronze age mortars (Mylonas 1959; Runnels 1988), are quite common on Archaic pottery<sup>6</sup> and on Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic stone vases<sup>7</sup>.

A vase from Kition of Cyprus dated before the Hellenistic period (Salles-Chavane, 1993, p. 94) resembles the quoted vase, which is also alike a Hellenistic samian vase found in Aegina carved also in soft sandstone, which bears the same tool marks (point marks) on its inner surface (Hoffelner 1996, 45-46, no. S40). The Agathonisi vase ΛΘ

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<sup>5</sup> For relevant bibliography, see Poupaki (2011b, p. 55 and 2017, p. 75).

<sup>6</sup> E.g., an Archaic four-handled clay plate in British Mus., probably from Knidos (Datcha) Peninsula: Attula (2006, pp. 87, 90, cat. no. 3, figs. 8, 9).

<sup>7</sup> These lugs are attested on an Archaic three-handled bowl from the southern cemetery of Syracuse (Paolo Orsi Mus., no. 45), but also on Delian marble vases: Déonna (1938, fig. 137).

228 is carved in soft brownish sandstone, which is not local and resembles the rock of the samian vase. As a matter of fact, marl limestone had been quarried in southern Samos and especially close to Pythagoreio since the Archaic period and is considered to have been exported<sup>8</sup>. Similar porous limestone and sandstone were widely used in the Archaic period and they were extracted from Aegina, Corinth, and Rhodes, where major quarries were opened since the Archaic period (Kokkorou-Alevras et al., 2014, nos. 91-99, 105-114, 619, 962-975). In Cyprus, the soft limestone was used for vases even in Roman times (Chavane, 1975, pp. 15-16, nos. 11-13; Salles & Chavane, 1993, pp. 337-338, no. 803).

The vase ΛΘ 228 was found in the filling of a well, in a context dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. Its close resemblance to the Hellenistic samian vase and the pre-Hellenistic vases from Kition of Cyprus lead us to consider it as late Archaic or Classical and to think that it was imported from Samos.

That vase is also interesting because of the absence of abraded internal surfaces, which may indicate that it was not used as a mortar. Its friable rock was unsuitable for a utilitarian article. That is why ritual use seems more probable. Indeed, similar vases are usually depicted on vase paintings on scenes relevant to sacrifices and they were the containers of the holy water for the sprinkling of the altar before the sacrifice, known as χέρνιβες<sup>9</sup>.

Another vase, a bigger bowl with a rectangular handle with a curved profile and slightly elevated base (ΛΘ 60-fig. 9), is carved in similar limestone, probably of the same provenance as the previous vase. Its profile and the well-elaborated surfaces recall the Classical and Hellenistic vases carved in marble (mostly parian<sup>10</sup>, but also from elsewhere<sup>11</sup>) and in volcanic rocks (Vlachoyanni, 2012, pp. 41-42). It can be dated to the Hellenistic period, because of its features and of the context of the tank, where it was found (its context is dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC to 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD).

The most impressive vase studied is a ὄλυκος on a high base, which had been restored from several pieces (ΛΘ 44+62AB-fig. 12). It was found in a layer dated in late Hellenistic-early Roman period and resembles to some Hellenistic parallels from Delos,

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<sup>8</sup> Ancient quarries of soft limestone are located at Aspros Kavos in the surroundings of Pythagoreio and the underground quarries of Agiades and these on Katarouga or Koutsodonti hill between Pythagorio and Chora: Kokkorou-Alevras et al. (2014, pp. 24-25, nos. 45, 46 & 50); Tsakos & Vigiaki-Sofianou (2012, p. 18).

<sup>9</sup> For the marble χέρνιβες: Poupaki (2011b, pp. 56-60).

<sup>10</sup> E.g. an unpublished vase from Kos in the deposit of the Castle of Nerantzia (fig. 10-22).

<sup>11</sup> E.g. a similar vase carved in koan marble: Poupaki (2011a, vol. 2, no. Aγ185) (fig. 11-23).

Amorgos and in Marmaris museum, all unpublished. A similar vase on a high stand carved in koan marble can be dated in the same period (Poupaki 2011, vol. 2, no. Αγ 97). The vase is often depicted on black-figure vases<sup>12</sup> and is also imitated in coroplastic syntheses<sup>13</sup> of the Classical and Hellenistic period. It had been used for the preliminary crushing of the grains by means of a long and heavy pestle (ὑπερον)<sup>14</sup>. Bigger vases of that type are κάρδοποι and they were used for kneading (Poupaki 2001-2, pp. 300-304). The vase preserves traces of repair, that is a square socket on the base. The sockets on the stone household vessels used for the insertion of metallic clamps prove that the repairs of these vases are quite common, probably because of their high cost<sup>15</sup>. It is carved in dark grey volcanic material which resembles strongly the nisyrian lava.

### 6. Pestles

Mortars were in use together with the pestles. In Agathonisi, simple elongated pebbles of local origin were used as pestles, for crushing or mixing various substances in stone or clay vases (ΛΘ 107, ΛΘ 231- fig. 13 - and ΛΘ 237)<sup>16</sup>. Even though, a fragment of an ὑπερον was carved in purplish volcanic rock (ΛΘ 235-fig. 14), non-local, which can be considered as an import. The most impressive pestles found are these in the form of a human finger (ΛΘ 238, and ΛΘ 65- fig. 15), δακτυλοδοίδυκες. They can be dated in the Hellenistic age, basing on their context<sup>17</sup> and their counterparts from the bibliography<sup>18</sup>. The best-preserved finger-pestle (ΛΘ 65) is carved in white fine-grained

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<sup>12</sup> E.g. scyphus in Canellopoulos Mus. of Athens (no. 384), lekythos from Serpieri collection and kylix of New York Metropolitan Mus. (no. L.1982.110): Maffre (1975, fig. 2); Sparkes (1962, pl. VII.2); Neils (2004, fig. 4.4); Tsoukala (2009, figs. 9 - 10, 13).

<sup>13</sup> E.g. a coroplastic synthesis in Polygyros Mus. and another one from Tanagra cemetery in Louvre Mus. (CA 458): Kaltsas (2003, pl. 72); Tsoukala (2009, fig. 1); Pottier (1900, p. 512, pl. X.1).

<sup>14</sup> Déonna (1938, p. 106, figs. 133.2 and p. 50).

<sup>15</sup> Similar sockets are attested on a Classical basin stand (ὑποστατόν) from Kos and the upper part of a pompeian mill from Parion at the Marmara Sea: Poupaki (2012, vol. 2, no. Y4); Takaoğlu (2008, pp. 676-677, nos. 6-7, fig. 7b).

<sup>16</sup> They can be compared to implements from Delos, Knossos, and Tarsos: Déonna (1938, 116); Sackett & Cocking (1992, pp. 393-394, nos. S3, S13a-b, S24 & S55a, pls. 325-326); Goldman (1950, vol. 1, p. 387).

<sup>17</sup> The pestle ΛΘ 231 was found in a well, in a layer dated between 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. B.C.

<sup>18</sup> The finger-pestles are quite usual in the Hellenistic period, but they can be dated since the Archaic period (basing on the inscribed counterparts from Athena Lindia Sanctuary in Rhodes). The findings from Agathonisi are reminiscent of the delian and corinthian finger-pestles: Déonna (1938, p. 118, fig. 353); Davidson (1952, p. 193, no.1434, pl. 86).

marble, which could be Parian<sup>19</sup> or Milesian<sup>20</sup> or even from the neighboring island of Fourni<sup>21</sup>.

## 7. *Querns*

### *Saddle querns*

The earliest millstones from Agathonisi are saddle querns (ΛΘ 103, ΛΘ 115, ΛΘ 126, and ΛΘ 226-fig.16). Saddle querns were the simplest devices for hulling grain; they were long oval slabs of stone, on which the grains broke open through the reversible movement of a grinder, usually a simple pebble, small enough to fit in one's hand, or a similar slab with one flat side (Poupaki 2014-15, pp. 13-15; Poupaki 2017, pp. 79-80). Saddle querns from Agathonisi were carved in greyish volcanic material and they were probably imported<sup>22</sup>, because of the lack of volcanic rocks on the island. Their origin does not help their dating. Typically, they can be judged as prehistoric; however, in certain areas saddle querns were used until the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>23</sup>. A spherical grinder (ΛΘ 43-fig.17), small enough to be held in a human hand, was probably in use with a saddle-quern.

### 8. *Olynthian mills or hopper-rubbers*

Most of the querns studied are olynthian mills (ΛΘ 46, ΛΘ 109, ΛΘ 111, ΛΘ 112, ΛΘ 113, ΛΘ 127, ΛΘ 217, ΛΘ 218, ΛΘ 219, ΛΘ 220, ΛΘ 223, ΛΘ 225-fig.18). Olynthian mills, also known in the literature as hopper-rubbers, are rectangular-shaped friction grain mills the movable part of which was the upper millstone (ὄνος ἀλετῶν) while the lower (μύλη) was fixed on a stable surface (τράπεζα). The upper stone was hollowed out as a hopper to receive and funnel the cereals on the grinding surface of the lower mill through the slot which was carved on the bottom of the hopper. Grinding is

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<sup>19</sup> A finger-pestle from similar marble was also found in Halasarna and the origin of the marble is thought to be parian: Poupaki (2011a, no. 82). Parian marble was ideal for vases since the late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: e.g., perirrhanteria of Athenian Acropolis: Wagner (1997, p. 132). The thin-walled luxurious pyxides, known as “κυλιχνίδες παρίας λίθου”, are excellent vases of the Classical and Hellenistic period of the parian workshop: Robinson (1946, pp. 246-247, note 25); Jucker (1970, p. 182); Zaphiropoulou (1973); Colivicchi (1995); De Sienna, Lazzarini & Cancelliere (2012); Gaunt (2013); Brecoulaki, Kavvadias & Verri (2014); Brecoulaki & Kavvadias (2019).

<sup>20</sup> Milesian marble is pure white and fine-grained, whereas the marble quarried at Herakleia on Latmos since the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC was white and coarse-grained: Peshlow-Bindokat (1981 and 1994).

<sup>21</sup> Fourni marble, quarried at the western coast of the island at Petrokopio, was white, very fine-grained with rare grey spots or yellowish tinge: Lazzarini-Cancelliere (2000, p. 52).

<sup>22</sup> The major provenance regions, where similar volcanic rocks were quarried, are Saronic Gulf (andesite) and Kos (rhyolite): Poupaki (2014-15, pp. 14-15, notes 24-27 & 2016, p. 79, notes 138-142).

<sup>23</sup> E.g., in Troad: Takaoglu (2008, p. 673).

conducted by the to-and-fro movement of a rectangular shaped grinder on the rectangular quern, by means of a long lever (κώπη), which was fixed on special slots at each end of the upper millstone and held firmly in place by iron rods; finally, at one end of the upper millstone the lever was fitted over a pivot. The grinding surfaces may bear diagonal parallel striations, which could indicate a herringbone pattern, or alternated series of diagonal and horizontal striations. Chronologically, they may be placed approximately in the Classical to Hellenistic period, but in some cases their use may have arrived as late as in the Roman period (Poupaki 2014-15, pp. 17-19; Poupaki 2017, pp. 81-82). Agathonisi olynthian mills are carved in grey vesicular lava, which is reminiscent of the nisyrian volcanic tuff quarried in the open-air quarries and the subterranean galleries of Argos (Poupaki, in print c). Nisyros was famous for the manufacture of mills in antiquity, but until nowadays the nisyrian products had been detected securely only at the neighboring Halasarna of Kos<sup>24</sup>. There is, therefore, evidence for the high commercial value of these mills.

However, there are some sporadic findings carved in rocks like koan rhyolite (ΛΘ 221-fig.19), the andesite from Aegina or other sites of Saronic Gulf (ΛΘ 45-fig.20), as well as some of unknown origin (ΛΘ 1, ΛΘ 110, ΛΘ 222, ΛΘ 224, fig.21). The last two hopper-rubbers had circular hopper, they are carved in grey non-porous volcanic rock and they must be derived from a single workshop, whose location is under research<sup>25</sup>. According to R. Frankel (Frankel, 2003, p. 9), they belong to the main greek type of olynthian mill. Some querns of that type were found in the vicinity of the athenian acropolis (Poupaki, 2014-15, nos. 64, 65, 66, 67, 68).

The hopper rubber ΛΘ 221 (fig.19) is carved in a rock, which resembles to the koan olynthian mills carved in koan rhyolite, which are not quite common and follow the high-quality nisyrian mills (Poupaki, 2011b, nos. 32-33). The use of koan rhyolite was systematized in Roman times for the carving of rotary querns<sup>26</sup>, which were dominant

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<sup>24</sup>The applied archaeometric methods on the millstones from ancient Halasarna (Kardamaina, Kos) showed that the olynthian mills from the excavation were of Nisyrian origin and that they were either from the open-air quarry, either from the underground quarry of Argos: Katerinopoulos et al. (2016); Katerinopoulos, Mavrogonatos & Poupaki (2017).

<sup>25</sup> There is a current research about the origin of the hopper-rubbers of that type, which were discovered in Athens, during the excavation for the construction of METRO Railway Station "Acropolis" in Makrygiannis plot: Poupaki (2014-15, nos. 64-68).

<sup>26</sup> Rotary querns superseded the other types of querns and have remained in use ever since. They are round-shaped querns used for the grinding of cereals through the circular movement of a round-shaped grinder above a similar quern. The grinder is pierced in the middle to enable the spindle to pass through the stone and allow the upper stone to move smoothly. The hopper is curved around the hole of the upper stone.



until the byzantine era, and despite the lack of archaeometric origin studies, there is strong evidence that the koan products were exported (Poupaki, 2011a, vol. 1, pp. 103-104). The lack of archaeometric methods applied on samples of these findings leaves some doubt about the exact origin of that quern, as well as of the quern ΛΘ 45 (fig.20), which resembles the andesite from Aegina or other sites of Saronic Gulf, used especially in prehistoric times (Poupaki, 2014-15, pp. 14-15).

The scoriaceous lava of the hopper ΛΘ 1 recalls the rock used for koan hopper-rubbers and a rotary quern (Poupaki 2011b, nos. 31, 36, 38), which resembles the rock quarried in modern times at Pyrgi of Kos (Poupaki 2011b, p. 30).

All the millstones studied are dated in Hellenistic (ΛΘ 46, ΛΘ 109, ΛΘ 233) and Roman period (ΛΘ 225, ΛΘ 111) based on their context, whereas several examples of olynthian mills and saddle querns cannot be securely dated, because they are surface findings (ΛΘ 1, ΛΘ 113, ΛΘ 127, ΛΘ 219, ΛΘ 224, ΛΘ 226).

#### *9. Use of the querns from Agathonisi*

The millstones found were implements used for the processing of cereals and pulses. The most primitive querns, the saddle querns, are considered as inventions associated with the production of well-pulverized flour and they first appeared in ancient Egypt (Jasny 1950, p. 234). However, the olynthian mills improved and accelerated the processing of the grains. That is why they are considered as the first professional mills, used in bakeries (Poblome 2012, p. 85). The use of saddle querns for the murex processing at the prehistoric site of Mitrou, at eastern Lokris (Van de Moortel & Zahou, 2011, p. 293), could lead us to the assumption that hopper-rubbers could also be efficient for such use, and consequently, that certain hopper-rubbers from Agathonisi could be associated with the purple production well-documented on site. The use of hoppers-rubbers, even for the crushing of ores at Lavrion (Ardaillon, 1897, pp. 62, 69, 92) proves that the olynthian querns were multifunctional implements and could also belong to industrial equipment. To that point we ought to stress that there are no remains of murex processing

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Through it, it is common that cereals are funneled to the space between the two elements and then they are ground. The lower millstone and is fixed on a board (i.e., a table) beneath the querns, a structure that permits the steady rotation of the upper millstone. The spindle is held tight by a wooden frame fixed on the upper stone, whilst a wooden or metallic handle is fixed on its circumference, through the movement of which the circular movement of the quern is achieved: Poupaki (2014-15, pp. 20-21); Katerinopoulos et al. (2016, p.191); Poupaki (2017, pp. 84-86, with bibliography).

on the grinding surfaces of the olynthian mills of Agathonisi; further examination and chemical analyses are indispensable to reach a conclusion.

The remarkable number of hopper-rubbers used in the fortified site of Agathonisi is a unique example in the Aegean. Ancient writers (e.g., Xenophon, *The Anabasis*, 1.5.5, Frontinus, *Strategems* 4.1.6) state that certain types of querns were in use by the soldiers, especially during their excursions, which should be lighter (*molae manuariae*) than the household implements and would provide the best solution for grinding cereals needed for nourishing a certain order of soldiers. For example, in Roman period, the smallest rotary querns were used in the order of 10 soldiers, the *contubernium*, whereas the bigger ones were in use in the order of 100 soldiers, the *centurium* (Child, 1943). According to Xenophon (*The Anabasis*, VII.I.37), barley flour was indispensable for the preparation of a soldier's meal, while Herodotus (Herodotus, *History*, 7.17) states that one or two χοίνικες (=quarts) were provided for each soldier. Grinded barley (ἄλφιτα) was the most preferred for a soldier's meal, especially during excursions, because it could be easily mixed up with water, oil, or wine, to prepare μᾶζα (resembled to porridge), which did not need further cooking (Thucydides, *Historiae* III.49.3). On the contrary, the flour needed for the kneading of bread should be pulverized (Jasny, 1950, pp. 244, 247; Amouretti, 1986, pp. 124-126).

The querns used by the army were carved in resistant volcanic material, which was originated from certain quarries<sup>27</sup>. In many excavated *oppida* of the Roman period across Europe (France, Spain, Germany) inscribed rotary querns had been found, which preserve the name of the order, where the soldiers belong (Jodry, 2010, pp. 107-108; Jodry, 2011b). Paradoxically, in Greece, little is known about the everyday utensils used by the soldiers. An olynthian mill had been found at the Ptolemaic military camp excavated in Koroni of eastern Attica (Vanderpool et al. 1962, 36, no. 33, pl. III), but no more examples from other excavated areas inhabited by soldiers had been recorded. That is why that the milling implements from Agathonisi are so important. The fact that the discovered querns belong to two basic types: the nisyrian products and the hopper-rubbers with the circular

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<sup>27</sup> Querns carved in basaltic lava of Mayen in Eifel region (Germany) were of the highest quality and were exported in Central Europe during Roman period: Wefers (2011a); Mangartz (2006); Holtmeyer & Wild (2014). However, there were several other quarries of various rocks suitable for millstones in the Roman era, which circulated all over Europe. In France, several quarries of millstones were opened in Alsace and in Lorraine: Boyer *et al.* (2006); Farget (2006); Jodry (2011a). However, La Salle quarries in Switzerland and Lovocise quarries in Tsechia were also exploited for mills: Anderson (2003); Jacotey, Anderson & Jodry (2007); Wefers (2011b).

hopper of unknown origin may indicate that they were the basic types used by certain orders of soldiers. The best quality of the rock, which would be resistant during the grinding without leaving grits in the flour, was the basic criterion for the certain choice of products (Poupaki, 2011a, vol. 1, pp. 226-227). It had been, therefore, well appreciated by the inhabitants of that fortified site on that small Milesian island. It could be suggested that Miletus would be responsible for such provisions of that Milesian fort, although the lack of relevant evidence does not allow further discussion.

#### *10. Question of insularity: isolation and connectivity*

The observed interrelations of the island with the opposite coasts do not necessarily mean that the island had been totally independent from Milesian metropolis. On the contrary, even though Agathonisi is a rocky and remote island of the Aegean, it developed in antiquity economic activities as animal husbandry, mainly goat farming, fishery, and agriculture at the restricted fertile areas of the island. The recent findings from Kastraki added important evidence about the labors, which increased the income of the local population: beekeeping, honey production and production of purple-dye through the murex process were some of these tasks. The excavation provided also significant data about the occupation of the inhabitants with stone-carving. Local marble and limestone, but also imported volcanic rocks were used for manufacturing resistant vessels for everyday use. This may imply that the inhabitants of Kastraki settlement managed to combine their carving techniques with the ones adopted from other workshops of sculpture, so as to fulfill their needs and reduce the imports of high-priced products, as marble vases. The presence of specialized quarry-men and stone-carvers on the island can be corroborated by the existence of quarries of marble and limestone at Kavi (Triantafyllidis 2006, p. 185, note 50) and Kastraki (Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2014, no. 63a), respectively.

The remains of the quarry at Kavi, northeast of Mount Kephala in the vicinity of the open-air Isis sanctuary, provide enough information about the extraction: quarried blocks are still visible, whereas quarried surfaces of the rock where plinths were detached from the maternal rock are quite impressive. On the rock surface four incised foot impressions, life-sized, had been recorded, among which one contains a dedicatory inscription APXEAA (Triantafyllidis, 2006, pp. 185-186, fig. 9). Presumably, the quarry must be dated before the establishment of the cult on the site. That means that when the cult of Isis was initiated, the quarry had been probably left inactive. Future research,

though, on the site will enlighten more aspects about its activity and the use of its quarried material.

The fortified site of Kastraki had been established on a rocky hill close to a secure natural harbor. The rock had been quarried for the formation of terraces, where the buildings of the fort had been erected. The remnants of the quarried rock are best preserved to the southern slopes of the hill, where important evidence about the quarrying techniques are observed: stepped extraction, wedge holes (sphenoid and rectangular-fig. 22), point marks, series of point marks (*pointillé technique*), quarrying trenches around the detached blocks, a pole-hole (fig. 23) used for the retention of the transferring sled on the sledding-path of the quarry, a circular print from a detached column drum, vertical trenches from the use of the pneumatic hammer, as recent quarrying by means of modern equipment was not avoided, etc. (Kokkorou – Alevras et al. 2014, no. 64). Basing on these quarrying traces a dating of the extraction activity before 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC can be suggested. The Kastraki quarry was probably opened for the construction of the local fort and it was probably abandoned when the site was inhabited. The study of the unfinished vessels found aids in confirming this assumption, given that the unfinished vase ΛΘ 230 (fig. 5) carved in the local marble is well-dated in the early Hellenistic period, which means that the stone-carving activities took place before 275 BC at the site.

Local limestone quarried on both extraction sites was of high quality and it served perfectly for the carving of vases. The local sculptors borrowed patterns and types from the most popular marble workshops of the Hellenistic and Roman times, as it is attested by the study of their counterparts. We can suppose that either the local carvers were experienced craftsmen, either that foreign specialists on carving techniques spent some time on the island and transmitted their knowledge to the locals. The latest can be justified by the strong connection of the island with the Milesian metropolis, where important quarries were active since Archaic times, as the Heracleia on Latmos major quarries (Peshlow-Bindokat, 1981 and 1996; Herda et al., 2019), whose exploitation consisted a profitable activity throughout the Archaic and Classical period for Miletos supplying high-quality marble for major buildings (e.g., the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma) (Atanasio, Brilli & Ogle, 2006, pp. 190-198).

The occurrence of imported artifacts among the studied material from Kastraki excavation implies, besides the strong connectivity of the island with Miletos, the merchandise exchange with other cities of Asia Minor, as well as with other islands, not only the closest ones, like Samos, but also certain further islands of the Dodecanese, like

Kos, Nisyros, and Rhodes and Saronic Gulf. To these conclusions we come basing on the detection of the artifacts' stone origin. The lack of archaeometric methods applied on samples of stone samples from the artifacts forced us to rely only on the visual observation. In particular, the vase ΛΘ 228 is thought to be samian because it is carved in samian limestone, like an aeginetan parallel, too. The generalized use of samian limestone in architecture<sup>28</sup> and sculpture<sup>29</sup> since the Archaic period supports the idea of carving vases, too. The strong affiliation of the rock used for the vase from Agathonisi with the rock quarried from the underground quarries of southern Samos points out that the vase was probably carved in Samian workshop, which was active even since Archaic times, but continued their activity during the Hellenistic period, as the Agathonisi vase ΛΘ 60 proves, and even later. The probable use of nisyrian lava for the high stemmed ὄλυμος and most of the olynthian mills from Kastraki excavation indicates the circulation of the nisyrian products, at least, during the Hellenistic period. A recent study shed light on the activity of the nisyrian lava workshop, which was a unique production unit of artifacts of everyday use (e.g., 'olynthian' and 'delian'<sup>30</sup> mills, rotary querns, oil-presses equipment, mortars et.c.) in the Aegean from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards (Poupaki, in print c). Minor imports of olynthian mills from Kos or Aegina / Saronic Gulf or elsewhere imply that the small island was accessible from remote islands, even outside the Dodecanese. In the absence of archaeometric analyses, no more conclusions can be drawn. It is also impressive, that a half-finished mortar was carved in a rock reminiscent of koan rhyolite, but more provenances could be probable for its rock. However, it is quite important to observe that the foreign rocks had been transferred roughly finished and that their final formation was completed at the destination place<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> That limestone is attested at the double colonnade of the Dipteros II temple in Heraion of Samos-of the early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: Hellner (2001, pp. 7-8, note 8, p. 135, note 135); Osborne (2003, p. 99, fig. 103b). The samian limestone was also used in Roman period for the pavement of the the Sacred Way and for the Roikos altar: Tziligkaki & Stamatakis (2018, pp. 177-178).

<sup>29</sup> In Samos, Archaic stela were carved in soft, porous limestone, probably local: Tsakos & Viglaki-Sofianou (2012, p. 222).

<sup>30</sup> Delian mills are not hand-mills, but they were operated by a donkey or a slave due to a complex metallic frame: Poupaki (2017, nos. K65-K71).

<sup>31</sup> That is the case for the most stone-producing places, where rough blocks of stone were transported to the places of order, where they were shaped to get the final form. For instance, on the proconnesian products which were carried unfinished to Kos: Poupaki (2011a, vol. 1, 192-194).

## *11. Conclusions*

To sum up with the current presentation, it was briefly argued that all these stone artifacts of lesser value, as stone vases, and querns, bring information on the ancient history of Agathonisi. Basing on this subsidiary study, we may assume that the intercommunications of that island with the surrounding and most remote islands or Asia Minor proved to be valuable for the formation of its cultural identity. Meanwhile, its population managed to exploit local natural resources and to assimilate the foreign influences by producing native products of high quality. During the archaeological research, the minor findings confirm that several daily activities were adopted by the local population, e.g., fishing, beekeeping, weaving, and pottery production (Triantafyllidis, 2015, 95). To these labors, the carving of vessels using the local limestone quarried nearby can be added. Future archaeological research at Kastraki will complete this preliminary report on the productive activities of its inhabitants, which were not only military, but also “agro-economic and commercial” (Triantafyllidis, 2015, p. 103), and influenced the political identity of the small island.

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**TABLE 1**

| <b>CATALOGUE NUMBER</b>  | <b>DESCRIPTION</b>   | <b>DIMENSIONS<sup>32</sup></b>   |
|--------------------------|--|--|
|                          | <b>VASES</b>   |  |
| <b>ΛΘ 229</b> (fig. 4)   | Fragmented mortar carved in local grey marble. Prehistoric.  | ht 5.5, dp 1.5 – 4, d 18   |
| <b>ΛΘ 228</b> (fig. 8)   | Two handled, shallow bowl carved in samian yellowish sandstone (completed). Late Archaic-Classical.  | ht 7, rim d 23, base d 12, handle dim 5.5 x 1 x 2, base ht 0.7, rim th 1.5, wall th 1.5 – 2.5, bottom th 2.5         |
| <b>ΛΘ 60</b> (fig. 9)    | Two handled mortar carved in samian yellowish sandstone. Hellenistic.                                | Preserved ht 6.5, rim d 25, base d 45, handle dim 5.6 x 1.2 x 1.8, base ht 1, wall th 1.8 – 2.3, bottom th 1.3 – 2.5 |
| <b>ΛΘ 230</b> (fig. 5)   | Fragmented unfinished mortar ( <i>holmos</i> ) carved in local white-greyish limestone. Hellenistic. | ht 16.5 – 19.5, rim d 30, rim th 3, wall th 5.5-6.5, dp 15, bottom d 20  |
| <b>ΛΘ 42</b> (fig. 6)    | Fragmented unfinished mortar ( <i>holmos</i> ) carved in white-greyish local marble. Hellenistic.    | preserved ht 18, rim d 30, rim th 2.5, wall th 8, bottom th 2-4  |
| <b>ΛΘ 227αβ</b> (fig. 7) | Unfinished mortar with spout carved in white-  | ht 6, rim th 2-4, wall th 2.3 – 2.9, spout dim 10 x 12 x 6 x 3, spout dp 5, dim 27 / 34                              |

<sup>32</sup> All the dimensions are in centimeters. Abbreviations: Dim=dimension, ht=height, d=diameter, l=length, w=width, th=thickness, dp=depth

|                                  |  |   |
|----------------------------------|--|---|
|                                  | greyish local marble (completed). Hellenistic.   |   |
| <b>ΛΘ 234</b>                    | Unfinished mortar carved in grey rhyolite, probably from Kos. Hellenistic.                         | ht 23, rim th 10, bottom th 13                            |
| <b>ΛΘ102αβ</b>                   | Fragmented mortar carved in grey marble with white veins. Hellenistic.                             | rim th 3.5, wall th 3.5 – 4.5, handle dim 8.5 x 6.5 x 4.5 |
| <b>ΛΘ 44 + ΛΘ 62αβ</b> (fig. 12) | High stemmed mortar (completed) carved in grey vesicular lava, probably from Nisyros. Hellenistic. | Wall th 4.5-8, base d 30, base ht 18, bottom th 15        |
|                                  | <b>PESTLES</b>   |   |
| <b>ΛΘ 107</b> (fig. 13)          | Fragmented conical marble pebble   | ht 6, grinding surface d 5.7 – 6                          |
| <b>ΛΘ 231</b> (fig. 13)          | Fragmented trapezoidal marble pebble   | ht 9.5 , dim 5 x 5 / 8 x 8                                |
| <b>ΛΘ 237</b>                    | Fragmented elongated marble pebble   | Preserved ht 4, preserved d 2                             |
| <b>ΛΘ 235</b> (fig. 14)          | Fragmented pestle carved in non-local purplish volcanic rock                                       | Preserved ht 3, preserved d 3                             |
| <b>ΛΘ 65</b> (fig. 15)           | Finger-pestle carved in fine-grained white marble. Hellenistic                                     | l 9, w 3 – 4, th 2.5 – 4.2                                |
| <b>ΛΘ 238</b> (fig. 15)          | Finger-pestle carved in white-greyish marble. Hellenistic  | Ht 4, d 2.5   |
|                                  | <b>SADDLE QUERNS</b>   |   |
| <b>ΛΘ 103</b> (fig. 16)          | Fragmented saddle quern carved in grey vesicular lava. Prehistoric                                 | l 10, preserved th 13.5, th 6                             |



|                  |  |  |
|------------------|--|--|
| ΛΘ 115 (fig. 16) | Fragmented saddle quern carved in grey vesicular lava. Prehistoric                                 | ht 4.5 – 6, preserved l 14.5, maximum w 17.5 |
| ΛΘ 126 (fig. 16) | Fragmented saddle quern carved in grey vesicular lava. Prehistoric                                 | ht 5.8, preserved l 8, maximum w 13          |
| ΛΘ 226 (fig. 16) | Fragmented saddle quern carved in grey vesicular lava. Prehistoric                                 | ht 5.5, preserved l 9.5, maximum w 14.5      |
|                  | <b>GRINDER</b>   |  |
| ΛΘ 43 (fig. 17)  | Grinder carved in grey vesicular lava. Prehistoric   | ht 7, grinding surface d 5.9-7.5             |
|                  | <b>HOPPER-RUBBERS</b>  |  |
| ΛΘ 46            | Fragmented lower olynthian mill carved in grey vesicular lava, probably from Nisyros. Hellenistic. | ht 4.6 – 5.3, side l 16.5                    |
| ΛΘ 109           | Fragmented lower olynthian mill carved in grey vesicular lava, probably from Nisyros. Hellenistic. | ht 2.5 – 3.1                                 |
| ΛΘ 112           | Fragmented lower olynthian mill carved in grey vesicular lava, probably from Nisyros. Hellenistic. | ht 3.5 -4.1                                  |
| ΛΘ 110 (fig. 21) | Fragmented lower olynthian mill carved in grey volcanic rock of unknown origin. Hellenistic.       | ht 6, sides l 14 and 18                      |

|                         |  |  |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| <b>ΛΘ 222</b> (fig. 21) | Fragmented lower<br>olynthian mill carved in<br>grey volcanic rock of<br>unknown origin.<br>Hellenistic.       | ht 3.5 – 5.5, sides l 17.5 and<br>22   |
| <b>ΛΘ 217</b>           | Fragmented upper<br>olynthian mill carved in<br>grey vesicular lava,<br>probably from Nisyros.<br>Hellenistic. | ht 9 – 11.5, side l 9 – 11.5   |
| <b>ΛΘ 218</b> (fig. 18) | Fragmented upper<br>olynthian mill carved in<br>grey vesicular lava,<br>probably from Nisyros.<br>Hellenistic. | ht 11, side l 12 – 13.5, rim<br>th 3   |
| <b>ΛΘ 219</b> (fig. 18) | Fragmented upper<br>olynthian mill carved in<br>grey vesicular lava,<br>probably from Nisyros.<br>Hellenistic. | ht 10,5, sides l 9.5 and 12,<br>rim th 4 - 6                                       |
| <b>ΛΘ 220</b> (fig. 18) | Fragmented upper<br>olynthian mill carved in<br>grey vesicular lava,<br>probably from Nisyros.<br>Hellenistic. | ht 13.2 – 15.3, sides l 19-<br>22/ 23-25.5, rim th 3 – 3.5<br>/ 5 – 5.5, slot ht 3 |
| <b>ΛΘ 223</b>           | Fragmented upper<br>olynthian mill carved in<br>grey vesicular lava,<br>probably from Nisyros.<br>Hellenistic. | ht 4.6 – 8, sides l 21.5 - 23<br>and 17 – 17.5                                     |
| <b>ΛΘ 221</b> (fig. 19) | Fragmented upper<br>olynthian mill carved in   | ht 8.5-9.8, sides l 18.5 – 28<br>and 11-13, rim th 7 and 3.5                       |

|                         |  |  |
|-------------------------|--|--|
|                         | grey rhyolite probably from Kos. Hellenistic.  |  |
| <b>ΛΘ 45</b> (fig. 20)  | Fragmented upper olynthian mill carved in grey andesite from Aegina or other sites of Saronic Gulf. Hellenistic. | ht 6 – 9.5, hopper dp 2 – 2.5, socket dim 1.5 x 1.7 x 3, rim th 4.5 – 5.5  |
| <b>ΛΘ 113</b>           | Fragmented upper olynthian mill carved in grey vesicular lava, probably from Nisyros. Hellenistic-Roman.         | ht 8.5, sides l 19 and 2.5, slot dim 1 x 2.5 x 1, rim th 5.5               |
| <b>ΛΘ 1</b>             | Fragmented upper olynthian mill carved in black scoriaceous lava of unknown origin. Hellenistic - Roman.         | ht 9.5, sides l 5 – 6.5 and 5.5 – 7.5, slot dim 1.5 x 1.5 x 3.5, rim th 10 |
| <b>ΛΘ 127</b>           | Fragmented lower olynthian mill carved in grey vesicular lava, probably from Nisyros. Hellenistic - Roman.       | ht 5 – 5.5, side l 12.5  |
| <b>ΛΘ 224</b> (fig. 21) | Fragmented lower olynthian mill carved in grey volcanic rock of unknown origin. Hellenistic - Roman.             | ht 5.6 - 7.5, sides l 21/ 22.5 and 12.5                                    |
| <b>ΛΘ 111</b>           | Fragmented upper olynthian mill carved in grey vesicular lava, probably from Nisyros. Roman.                     | ht 13 – 15, side l 19, w rim 3 / 8   |

|               |  |                 |
|---------------|--|-----------------|
| <b>ΑΘ 225</b> | Fragmented lower<br>olynthian mill carved in<br>grey vesicular lava,<br>probably from Nisyros.<br>Roman. | ht 9, side l 19 |
|---------------|--|-----------------|

FIGURES



Figure 1: Map of Agathonisi (map by Pavlos Triantafyllidis).

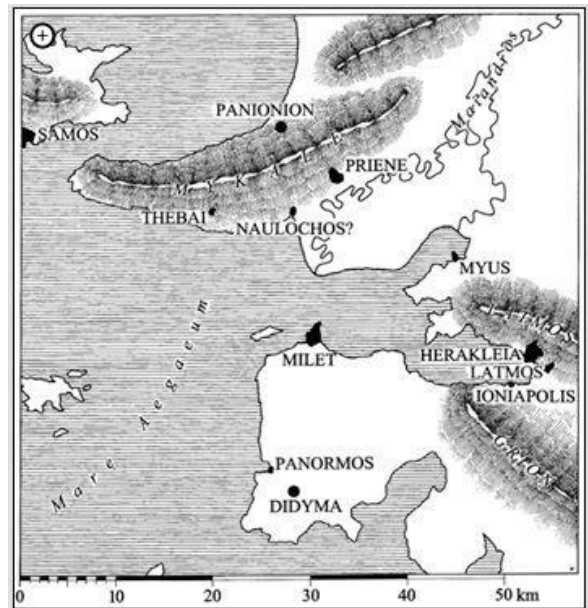
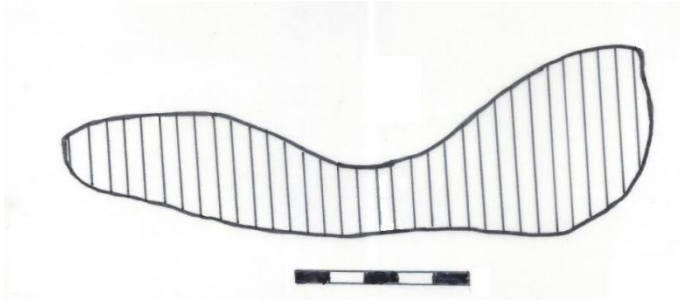


Figure 2: Map of Miletos and the milesian islands during the Classical antiquity (drawing by Jörg Denking, retrieved at: <http://www.latmosfelsbilder.de/0203.php?l=eng>).



Figure 3: Aerial photo of Kastraki fort in Agathonisi (photo by Pavlos Triantafyllidis).



**Figure 4:** Section of the mortar ΛΘ 229 (drawing by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 5:** Unfinished mortar ΛΘ 230 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 6:** Unfinished mortar ΛΘ 42 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 7:** Unfinished mortar with spout ΛΘ 227 (the vase is composed by two fragments and it is completed, photo by Pavlos Triantafyllidis).



**Figure 8:** Unfinished two handled bowl ΛΘ 228 (the vase is completed, photo by Pavlos Triantafyllidis).



**Figure 9:** Fragmented bowl ΛΘ 42 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).





**Figure 10:** Fragmented bowl from Kos (photo by Eirene Poupaki).

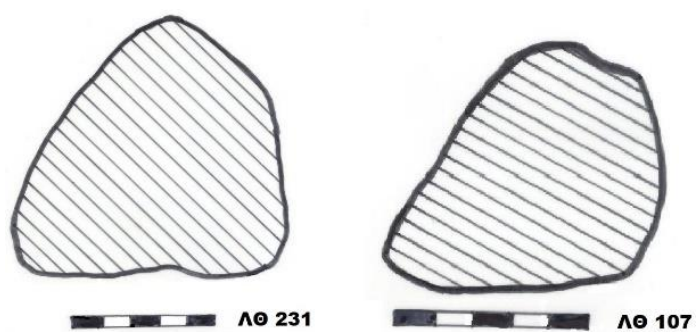


**Figure 11:** Fragmented bowl from Kos (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 12:** High stemmed holmos (the vase is composed by two fragments and it is completed, photo by Pavlos Triantafyllidis).





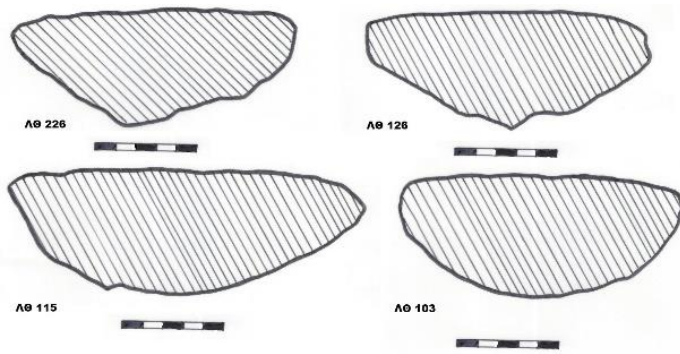
**Figure 13:** Sections of two pestles ΛΘ 107 and ΛΘ 231 (drawing by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 14:** Fragment of a pestle ΛΘ 235 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 15:** Fragmented finger-pestles ΛΘ 238 and ΛΘ 65 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 16:** Sections of four saddle querns ΛΘ 103, ΛΘ 115, ΛΘ 126, and ΛΘ 226 (drawing by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 17:** Grinder ΛΘ 43 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 18:** Fragments of olynthian querns ΛΘ 218, ΛΘ 219 and ΛΘ 220 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 19:** Fragment of Olynthian quern  $\Lambda\Theta$  221 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 20:** Fragmented Olynthian quern  $\Lambda\Theta$  45 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 21:** Fragments of Olynthian querns  $\Lambda\Theta$  110,  $\Lambda\Theta$  222 and  $\Lambda\Theta$  224 (photo by Eirene Poupaki).





**Figure 22:** Quarried rock with wedge-holes at Kastraki, Agathonisi (photo by Eirene Poupaki).



**Figure 23:** Pole-hole on the rock at Kastraki, Agathonisi (photo by Eirene Poupaki).

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**ARTEFATOS DE PEDRA DE AGATHONISI, DODECANESO, GRÉCIA:  
EVIDÊNCIAS DE INSULARIDADE**

*Eirene Poupaki*

RESUMO

A escavação sistemática em Kastraki da ilha de Agathonisi revelou os restos de um porto fortificado, que desenvolveu contatos comerciais e políticos com Mileto, a metrópole jônica, e outras cidades da Ásia Menor, assim como com suas ilhas vizinhas ou remotas. Estas conclusões foram fornecidas pelos achados bem estudados da escavação e podem ser confirmadas pelos artefatos de pedra não publicados, como vasos, *querns* e ferramentas, que serão apresentados aqui. Eles foram esculpidos em rochas locais ou importadas. A investigação de sua origem elucida a questão da insularidade, ou seja, de isolamento e conectividade.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Agathonisi, Dodecaneso, Pedra, Vasos, Kernos.

# MITHRIDATES, HELIANAX AND LATE HELLENISTIC DELOS AS GLOBAL CITY: URBAN INSULARITY AND INTEGRATION FIELDS

*Fábio Augusto Morales*<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the theoretical problem of the mediation between macro and micro scales of analysis in Global History, centered on the analysis of the temple of Mithridates dedicated by a certain Helianax in 102/1 BC in the *Samothrakeion* of Delos. After describing the available archaeological and epigraphical evidence, the paper discusses the concepts of (urban) insularity, world/global city, and integration fields, in order to explore their explanatory power for the analysis of the integration fields and modes of integration visible in Helianax's dedication.

## KEYWORDS

Urban insularity, Integration fields, Hellenistic Delos.

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### *1. Introduction*

The emergence of Global History as a distinct field in the last decades has attracted the attention of many historians who have been, in their respective fields, engaged in the critique of eurocentrism and methodological internalism<sup>2</sup>. Ancient historians were no exception. Struggling against the role eurocentrism played in its constitution since, at least, the 1980's, the field of Ancient History recently saw the profusion of works promoting a dialogue with the field of Global History regarding either the macrocomparison between cultures or empires<sup>3</sup>, or the study of ancient 'globalizations', networks, circulations, world-systems, and connections<sup>4</sup>. As expected, many critical questions made against Global History (Drayton & Motadel, 2018) were received by global-inspired Ancient Historians: do global approaches suppress local specificity, short-term processes, political frontiers, and individual agencies? Are global histories limited to 'globalized' social elites or exceptionally 'global' individuals? Do meanings and symbols play a role in Global History? These questions, which in a sense reflect the anxiety of cultural and social historians towards a supposed resurgence of the twentieth century, political/economic-oriented, and macro-scaled World History (inspired by either Braudel or McNeill, despite the deep differences; see (Mazlish, 1998), have fomented the construction of a very diversified set of approaches and models, both in Global History and in global-inspired Ancient History. This paper intends to contribute to this debate by exploring the mediations between micro and macro scales of analysis. Here, the micro scale is constituted by the analysis of a tiny building dedicated in a tiny sanctuary located on a tiny island, active for little more than a decade – the temple<sup>5</sup> of Mithridates of Pontus in the Delian *Samothrakeion*, dedicated in 102/1 and abandoned (probably) in 89/88<sup>6</sup>. The macro scale, in turn, focuses in the many integration fields (re)produced through that building, namely the fields of Athenian cleruchies, Hellenistic euergetism, East

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Amin, 2011; Anievas & Matin, 2016; Beckert & Sachsenmaier, 2018; Belich et al., 2016; Conrad, 2016; Crossley, 2008; Karras et al., 2017; Olstein, 2015; Sachsenmaier, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bang & Bayly, 2011; Hansen, 2000; Hansen et al., 2002; Lloyd et al., 2018; Mutschler & Mittag, 2008; Scheidel, 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Constantakopoulou, 2017; Guarinello, 2010; Hodos, 2006; Hodos & Geurds, 2017; Horden & Purcell, 2000; Knappett, 2011; Knappett & Society for American Archaeology, 2013; LaBianca & Scham, 2014; Leidwanger & Knappett, 2018; Pitts & Versluys, 2014; Purcell, 2016; Vlassopoulos, 2013; Wilkinson et al., 2011).

<sup>5</sup> The building is often called 'monument' or 'heroon' of Mithridates (e.g. Erciyas, 2001; Roller, 2020). However, as Bruneau (1970, p. 399) pointed, the dedicatory inscription mentions a *naos* in honor of Mithridates Eupator Dionysos.

<sup>6</sup> All dates are B.C., unless otherwise indicated.

Mediterranean trade, Greek religion, and West Afro-Eurasian empires, which articulated cities from Rome in the west to Nisa in the East (**fig. 1**). Bearing in mind these two poles, the paper discusses one of their mediations, namely, the ‘global city’ mode of integration (a concept borrowed and adapted from contemporary Urban studies), built upon the particular features of the Delian urban insularity in the Late Hellenistic period.

Therefore, the paper starts with a description of the building based on its archaeological and epigraphical remains. Then, it discusses the concepts of urban insularity, global city and integration fields in order to offer a global-inspired theoretical framework for the mediations between macro and micro scales. Finally, it articulates micro and macro scales, discussing the meaning of the temple both to the history of the urban development of Delos and of the Mediterranean integration under Roman rule.



**Figure 1:** Cities mentioned in this paper.

## 2. *The monument of Mithridates in the Delian Samothrakeion*

Located near the narrow watercourse of Inopos, between the Theatre Hill and the foot of the Mount Kynthos at Delos (**fig. 2**), the Delian sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace received in 102/1 the addition of a new building. The inscription on its architrave reads:

ID 1562:

1. 1: [ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἡλιάναξ Ἀσκληπιοδ]όρου Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς Πο[σειδῶνος Αἰσίου, γενόμενος] καὶ Θεῶν Με[γάλων Σαμο]θράκων Διοσκούρων [Καβείρων]



1. 2: [ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων τὸν ναὸν [καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα θεοῖς οἷς ἱερά[τευσε καὶ βασιλ]εῖ Μιθραδάτη Εὐπάτορι Διονύσῳ,

1. 3: [ἐπὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ] τῆς νήσου Θεοδότου τοῦ Διοδώρου Σουνιέως.

The priest Helianax, son of Asklepiodoros, an Athenian, priest for life of Poseidon Aisios, having become also the priest of the Great Gods of Samothrace, the Dioskouroi Kabeiroi, / on behalf of the demos of the Athenians and the demos of the Romans [dedicated] the temple and the statues in it and the weapons to the gods whom he has served, and to the king Mithridates Eupator Dionysos. / When Theodotus, son of Diodoros of Sounion, was epimeletes of the island. (trans. by A. M. (Sitz, 2017, p. 242).



**Figure 2:** Plan of Delos, from the *SIG de Délos* (École Française d’Athènes), available at <http://www.sig-delos.efa.gr>.

The dedicant, Helianax of Athens, son of Asklepiodoros, is mentioned in only one inscription aside from those from the *Samothrakeion*: he appears as the dedicant of a statue for Antiochos VIII of Syria and his wife Kleopatra in the sanctuary of Apollo, dated also to 102/1 (ID 1552). There is no consensus about Helianax’s family background, but a Delian inscription of 160/159 (ID 1555) may offer a clue: three Rhodian citizens, a

certain Agathanax, son of Epigenes, and the brothers Asklepiodoros and Hermogenes, sons of Asklepiodoros, made in that year a dedication to Laodike, sister of the king Pharnakes II and sister-wife of Mithridates IV of Pontus, in the Delian sanctuary of Apollo. Considering that the father of Helianax was one Asklepiodoros, son of Asklepiodoros (as indicated by one of the inscriptions inside the temple of Mithridates), F. Durrbach suggested that the above-mentioned Asklepiodoros and Hermogenes were actually the grandfather and grand-uncle of Helianax (Durrbach, 1921, p. 106). As Roller points out, by dedicating a statue of a Pontic queen at Delos (recently turned a free port by Rome and put under Athenian administration in 167), the two Rhodian brothers connected the Pontic kingdom with the great island powers of the era – Rhodes and Delos – as well as with Rome and Athens (Roller, 2020, p. 77). If the hypothesis is correct, Helianax came from a Rhodian family with Pontic connections whose members were made Athenian citizens around the middle of the second century (Mattingly, 2004, p. 47). Thus, the dedications to Mithridates VI added a new step in the Helianax family's established relations with the Pontic kingdom.

The inscription identifies Helianax as priest of two cults: he was a lifelong priest of Poseidon Aisios, and appointed priest of the civic cult of the Samothracian gods in Delos for the year 102/1. In the cult of Poseidon *Aisios*, 'auspiciousness' (probably related to safe seafaring) is attested only at Delos and in association to Helianax. The lifelong duration of its tenure raised controversy on the civic or private, Greek or oriental nature of the cult (Bruneau, 1970, p. 265; Parker, 2017, p. 157, n. 19). The history of the *Samothrakeion* and its cults (to the Great Gods of Samothrace, the Cabeiri, and the Dioskouri), in turn, is less obscure, although considerably confusing. Discovered in 1882 by S. Reinach and excavated in 1909 by J. Hatzfeld, the remains of the sanctuary were published by F. Chapouthier in 1935<sup>7</sup>. Three building stages are known. The first is dated to the middle of the fourth century, when an enclosure was built in the location comprising two terraces, the lower one limited by a semi-circular wall and the upper one dominated by a marble tetrastyle doric rectangular building, wider than it is deep, with the entrance and porch on the longer side. Although identified by Chapouthier as a temple, it was later interpreted as a *hestiatorion*, or dining chamber related to the cult. The second phase starts shortly before 131, when the building was extended to the south, receiving a

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<sup>7</sup> The excavation history and lengthy description of the remains can be found in Chapouthier (1935).

niche left to the entrance. The third and final phase started with the construction of the temple of Mithridates in 102/1, annexed perpendicularly to the earlier temple. The name *Samothrakeion*, however, appears only in the second-century inscriptions, associating the cult of the Great Gods with the Cabeiri (from Anatolia) and the *Dioskouroi*. A third century inscription mentions a ‘*Kabeirion* facing [Mount] Kynthos, suggesting that the first phase sanctuary was dedicated to the Anatolian chthonic gods known as *Kabeiroi*. While the assimilation of the *Kabeiroi* and the Great Gods of Samothrace is attested in the Classical period (e.g., Herodotus, 2.51), their assimilation to the *Dioskouroi* appears to have occurred only after 167. Bruneau associated it to the Samothracian diaspora in the Hellenistic period (Bruneau, 1970, p. 395), Cole interpreted it as an Athenian innovation, due to the radical change in the local community of worshippers after the expulsion of the Delians in 167 (Cole, 1984, p. 79)<sup>8</sup>. All the twelve known priests of the Great Gods are Athenians, but it is interesting to note that Helianax is the only one not identified by his deme (Bruneau, 1970, p. 397). The location of the sanctuary, near the watercourse of the Inopos, must have been dictated by cultic needs. In the same period and probably in connection to the sanctuary’s building, a reservoir for the Inopos’ waters was built a few meters away, thus diminishing the difficulties arising from summer droughts.

The mention of the act ‘on behalf the demos of the Athenians and the demos of the Romans’ points to the special relationship between Athens and Rome during the Second Athenian Domination. Rome gave the administration of Delos (along with Imbros, Lemnos, Skyros, and Haliartus) to Athens in 167/6, acknowledging its support during the Third Macedonian War, in contrast to Pergamon and Rhodes, which would be increasingly overlooked by the Senate. The Delians were expelled from the island – possibly by violence – and settled in the Peloponnese (Gettel, 2018; Habicht, 1997, p. 216–219). The Athenians sent a group of colonists and established a new government

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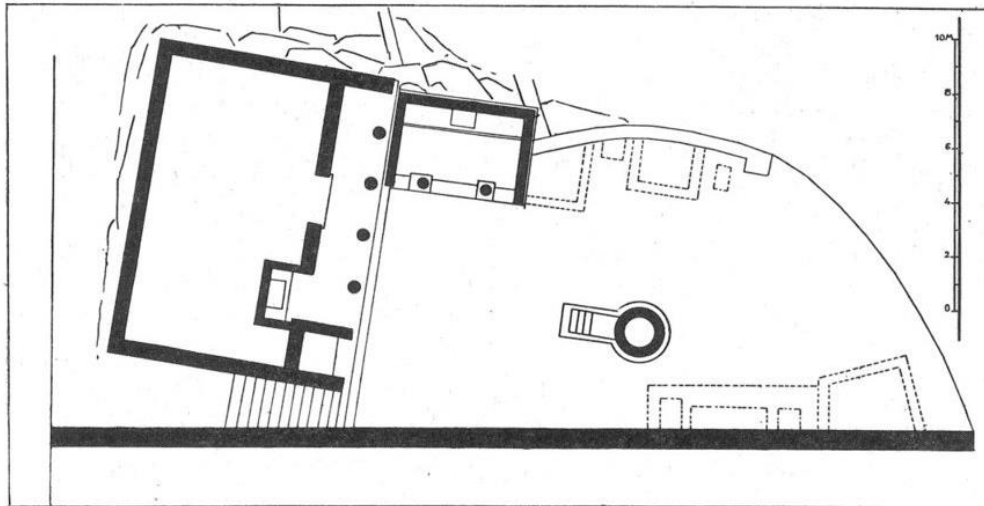
<sup>8</sup> The dating of the first stage in the fourth century was suggested by Chapouthier, following the analysis of architectural remains made by R. Vallois – who didn’t define a *terminus post quem* before the end of the Archaic period (quoted in CHAPOUTHIER, 1935, p. 78). Given the scarcity of clear direct links between Delos and Samothrace in the classical period (Cole, 1984, p. 77), it is tempting to associate the construction of the sanctuary, or at least the association of the *Kabeirion* to the Great Gods, with the huge building program that followed the liberation of Delos from Athenian rule in the late fourth century (Constantakopoulou, 2017, p. 57–110; Moretti, 2015), especially considering the importance of the Samothracian mysteries to the dynastic identity of the Macedonian kings (Ginouvé, 1993, p. 197–213), who at the time were deeply involved in Cycladic geopolitics and were responsible for the funding – if not the construction itself – of monumental buildings at Delos between the fourth and third centuries.

with an island governor (selected from the group of former Athenian archons) and officials in charge of public finances, the port and markets, the temples, and the gymnasium and competitions. Throughout the second century, other groups of residents were integrated in the government, as seen in the decrees passed by the Athenian cleruchs in addition to Romans and other foreigners (Habicht, 1997, p. 248–250). By granting the island to Athens, the Roman Senate also turned it into a free port, which, associated with the destruction of Corinth in 146, made Delos the most important Eastern Mediterranean center of trade of the second half of the second century, especially for the trade of slaves (from the Black Sea, Anatolia, and Syria) and oriental-manufactured goods directed to Italy (Bruneau et al., 2013; Kay, 2014, p. 197–213; Rauh, 1993, p. 41–68; Zarmakoupi, 2018b). The foreign colonies at Delos created many associations, but undoubtedly the more powerful was the Italian colony, whose power could be seen in the so-called Agora of the Italians, the largest building of the island, constructed just north of the Sanctuary of Apollo.

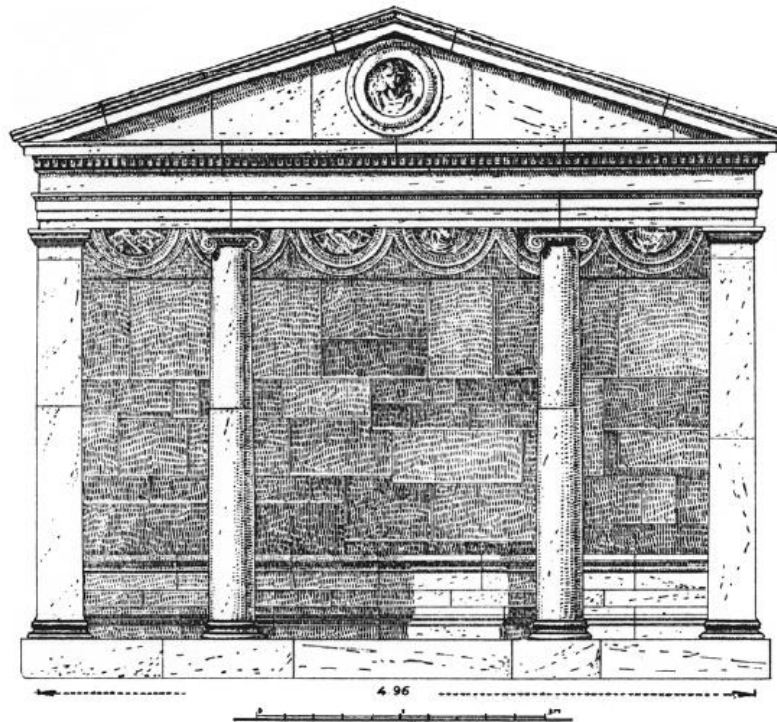
The inscription then mentions the dedication of a *naos*, statues and weapons to the gods served by Helianax (i.e., Poseidon, the Great Gods, and the *Dioskouroi-Kabeiroi*) and to Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysos, the king of Pontus and the then hegemonic power in the central Black Sea (Ballesteros Pastor, 2018a; Christodoulou, 2015; Erciyas, 2001, 2005; Højte, 2009; McGing, 1997; Roller, 2020). Pontic kings were already honored in Delos, both before and after 167 (Habicht, 1997, p. 253), but Mithridates VI had no parallel. As Ballesteros Pastor have showed, by having extended the empire over central Anatolia and the coasts of the Black Sea, fighting Scythians, inheriting the diplomatic relations of his dynasty, and building a cosmopolite court, Mithridates VI could represented himself simultaneously as champion of Greek culture and religion, heir of the Persian and Anatolian kings, and friend of Rome (Ballesteros Pastor, 1995, 1998, p. 59, 2006, 2018a, 2018b). His increasing power over Anatolia, however, would eventually lead to a conflict with the neighbor kingdom of Bithynia. The Roman intervention in favor of the Bithynian cause pushed Mithridates to declare war against Rome, which included the slaughtering of thousands of Italians residing in Asia Minor in 89. The so-called Mithridatic Wars included two invasions of Delos by Pontic or Pontic-allied forces, in 89 and 69; though essaying a recovery after the first invasion, Delos would have permanently lost its commercial centrality as well its huge population, being for the centuries ahead a symbol of solitude (Bruneau, 1968). At 102/1, however, the war between Mithridates and Rome was not on the horizon, and joint dedications to both

Mithridates and Rome were not uncommon (Verdejo Manchado & Antela-Bernárdez, 2015).

The *naos*, in turn, built perpendicular to the *Samothrakeion*'s *hestiaterion*, was an ionic distyle temple *in antis*, with a slightly rectangular plan of only 4.30 x 3.05 m, with an elevation of 4.65 m (**fig. 3**). In its pediment and in all inner walls stood busts inserted in concave shields or medallions (**fig. 4**), each one with its own inscription: one in the pediment, six in the back wall, and three in the each of the side walls (Chapouthier, 1935; Erciyas, 2001, p. 104–115; Kreuz, 2009). The inscriptions, in irregular states of conservation, identify the honored and repeat Helianax's dedication formula. The bust in the pediment, instead of representing Mithridates himself, represented an (due to the inscription's fragmentary state) unknown citizen of Amisos. The inner shield busts represented a curious sample. In the north wall stood the busts of Diophantos, son of Mithares, from Gazioura (residence of Pontic kings in northern Anatolia, near Amisos); the king Ariarathes VII of Kappadokia, nephew of Mithridates VI of Pontus, whose main capital was Mazaca-Eusebeia; the king Antiochos VIII Epiphanes of Seleucid Syria, whose capital was Antioch; Asklepiodoros, father of the priest Helianax, from Athens; an unidentified person; and an unidentified official of the Parthian court (whose main royal urban centers at the time were Nisa, Hecatompylos, Rhagai and Ecbatana). In the east wall stood the busts of an unidentified member of the court of Mithridates II of Parthia; another unidentified person; and Papias, son of Menophilos, from Amisos, friend and physician of Mithridates VI of Pontus. In the west wall stood the busts of Gaios, son of Hermaios, from Amisos, member of the court of Pontus; an unidentified secretary of Mithridates VI of Pontus; and Dorylaos, son of Philetairos, from Amisos, nephew of Dorylaos Taktikos, friend of Mithridates VI of Pontus and supreme commander of the Pontic forces. Only one of these portraits survived, though in a very damaged condition, which points to a probable *damnatio memoriae* related to the Mithridatic Wars. The places and individuals mentioned point to the extension of Helianax's network: Athens, royal urban centers of Anatolian, Syrian and Iranian kings; royal physicians, military commanders, and specific Anatolian cities such as Amisos, a former Milesian colony on the south shore of the Black Sea and important trade center for the Pontic kingdom, and Gazioura, residence of Pontic Kings in northern Anatolia.



**Figure 3:** Plan of the Samothrakeion in the second century BC (Chapouthier, 1935, p. 85, fig. 107).



**Figure 4:** Reconstruction of the Temple of Mithridates – elevation (Chapouthier, 1935, fig. 56).

Inside the building, a marble bench or continuous statue base of 60 cm high was stuck on the walls. In the center of the north segment, on the longer wall, an inscription reads:

ID 1563:

l. 1: [β]ασιλέα Μιθραδάτην Εὐπάτορα Διόν[υσο]ν

1. 2: τὸν ἐγ βασιλέως Μι[θ]ραδάτ[ο]υ Εὐεργέτου ὁ ἱερ[εὺς]  
1. 3: [Ἡλιάνα]ξ Ἀσκληπιοδώρου [Ἀθηναῖος ἀρετῆ]ς ἕνεκ[εν]  
1. 4: [κα]ὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων δια[τ]ελ[ε]ῖ ε[ἰς τὸν δῆμον]  
1. 5: [τὸν Ἀθ]ηναίων.

[Dedicated to] king Mithridates Eupator Dionysos, son of the king Mithridates Euergetes, by the priest Helianax son of Asklepiodoros, from Athens, for his continuous excellence and benevolence toward the Athenian people.

Above this inscription probably stood a free-standing statue of Mithridates VI himself, though no fragment was unequivocally identified. Pieces of two marble cuirassed statues were found near the *Samothrakeion*, carved with similar features of the contemporary statue of C. Bilienus displayed in the Agora of the Italians. However, their sizes didn't match the measures of the naos' base (Marcade, 1969, p. 331–333). The fact that the base is continuous along the three walls could indicate the existence of two other statues in the west and east walls, either of Pontic officials or of the *Dioskouroi*, but no additional inscriptions or fragments were found.

The location of the building, the origins of the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions, the offices held and the royal courts involved are revealing about the network of a local member of the Delian elite, as well as the ways the island connected itself to the wider world. These connections, however, were neither direct or mechanical; they were modulated by the particular urban insularity of Delos and its relations to the concrete Mediterranean integration processes. In order to support the discussion of the particular mediations between the dedication of the temple of Mithridates and its wider contexts, the next section will discuss the concepts of (urban) insularity, global city and integration fields.

### *3. Urban insularity, global city, integration fields*

The concept of insularity has a long and complex history in the social sciences (Baldacchino, 2004, 2018). It should be noted, however, the tension between the notions of isolation and connection, on the one hand, and of natural constraints and social fact on the other. From the common *topoi* of isolation and smallness, based on images of oceanic small islands with little if any contact with continental societies, in the last decades Island

Studies scholarship moved towards a view of islands as hubs of vibrant networks. The natural constraints of islands lost its central explanatory power due to the many ways societies manage to surpass and/or manage them (Patton, 2013, p. 33). In this sense, ‘insularity’ or ‘islandness’ began to be more associated with identity and discursive phenomena than to objective, natural factors. As Benoist put it, though insularity did not determinate the social development of islanders, they often see themselves as islanders (Benoist, 1987). Insularity has been defined as the set of cultural and symbolic features that shape insular identities in relation to, but not determined by, natural constraints (Constantakopoulou, 2010). Island Archaeology, for instance, shifted from a processualist emphasis on biogeographical factors to a post-processualist focus on meanings, taking islands and islanding as social and cultural processes (Boomert & Bright, 2007; Patton, 2013, p. 17–18). On Cycladic archaeology, the groundbreaking study of C. Broodbank explored the many ways Cycladic societies built their cultural and social ‘landscapes’ (a conceptual combination of land and sea) from Late Neolithic to Middle Bronze Age, discussing colonization histories, adaptation, demography and cultural variability (Broodbank, 2002). Other scholars, such as Chr. Constantakopoulou, A. Kouremenos, and others, have analyzed the interaction between culture and geography in the shape of particular insularities in the Cyclades from the Archaic to Late Imperial period, discussing topics that range from local constructions of the past and insular metaphors, to the role of insularity as practice and discourse in the creation of identities and religious, political and social networks (Constantakopoulou, 2010, 2017; Kouremenos, 2018; Kouremenos & Gordon, 2020).

Though this cultural turn in Island Studies freed the field from geographic determinism and the hegemony of isolated, small oceanic islands as preferred objects, only recently scholars have been considering the fact that many big cities, both ancient and modern, were/are island cities. New York, Lagos, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, London, Paris, Stockholm, Tokyo, Guangzhou, Manila, Jakarta, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Singapore, Tianjin, Venice, Bruges, Rotterdam and so on are (or were) based on small river, maritime, or estuary islands; even the apparently mainland city of Mexico began as the lake archipelago of Tenochtitlan (Grydehøj, 2015). As A. Grydehøj and others have put it, ‘strategically located small islands are so disproportionately likely to host major urban centers suggests that research into the islandness of such island cities could tell us something about cities in a broader sense’ (Grydehoj et al., 2015, p. 9). Reflecting on urban formation processes in small islands, A. Grydehoj, for instance, suggests three



types of spatial benefits that small, closetocontinent islands provide to cities: the water borders facilitate the territorialization and exercise of political authority of elites, which explains the great occurrence of island city capitals or island microstates throughout history; islands provide good conditions for territorial defense, as seen in the occurrence of fortresses in strategically located islands; the proximity to land and sea routes offers transport benefits to island cities, whose ports became important for whole mainland and archipelagic regions (Grydehøj, 2015). However, it should be noted the restriction, in urban island studies, to cases of early modern and modern island cities. Given the huge and increasing scholarship on Ancient Mediterranean cities, many of them island cities, it is reasonable to sustain that a dialogue between Ancient History and Urban Island Studies would be fruitful.

From the more obvious island urban landscape of Greek and Phoenician cities to the conjunctural ‘insularity’ of late fifth century Athens (Constantakopoulou, 2010, p. 137–175) and the Roman Empire under Tiberius at Capri (Campos, 2013; Houston, 1985), the interaction between insularity and urbanity played a key role both in urban formation processes and the integration of Ancient Mediterranean cities in the wider world, especially with the emergence of a ‘connectivity paradigm’ in the study of Ancient Mediterranean cities . Based on the critique of primitivist models of isolated and autonomies cities, late twentieth century scholars stressed the importance of Mediterranean networks and flows to the understanding of cities in their concrete, spatial contexts, being taken as places rather than (only) political entities (Morales & Silva, 2020, with bibliography). This trend was amplified by the influential *The Corrupting Sea* by P. Horden and N. Purcell, published in 2000, which proposed a historical ecological paradigm of Mediterranean history: the extreme microecological fragmentation and unpredictability of Mediterranean weather, a constant during the millennia, pushed coastal and island societies to build storage institutions and maritime connections in different scales and through different modalities, from migration and trade to empire and religion (Horden & Purcell, 2000). The critical reception of the book motivated the proposition of more nuanced models, from the study of ‘Mediterraneanization’ (Guarinello, 2003; Morris, 2003) to multiple ‘globalization/glocalization processes (Vlassopoulos, 2013). The category of ‘Ancient [Mediterranean] city’, which Horden and Purcell preferred to treat as ‘larger settlements and dispersed territories’ (given the mutable nature of cities and their discontinuous economic territories; Horden & Purcell, 2000, p. 89–122), was nonetheless maintained, though reinterpreted as hubs and nodes of

dynamic networks (Osborne & Wallace-Hadrill, 2013; Woolf, 2020; Zuiderhoek, 2017). Island cities, in this context, are particularly rich examples of connectivity and network patterns.

The emphasis on connectivity raises the issue of the relation between Ancient Mediterranean island cities and their networks. Here, it is worth considering the world/global city debate on contemporary cities, taken here for a comparative purpose. The concept of ‘world city’, popularized by the classical study of Peter Hall (Hall, 1966), was put in dialogue with world-systems theory in two papers, written by J. Friedmann & G. Wolff (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982) and J. Friedmann alone (Friedmann, 1986), and have since influenced many studies (Derudder et al., 2011; Knox & Taylor, 1995; Taylor, 2003; Taylor et al., 2003). The authors argue that, rather than nation-states as territorial entities, the world-system was operated by a network of cities which directed the flow of capital and power. The world-system, in fact, is seen as a network of city-regions that articulate territorial economies with the global system. The centrality of world cities, visible in the concentration of multinational corporate headquarters and international financial institutions and agencies (Derudder, 2012, p. 73), is the expression of the power of their economic territories (Friedmann, 2001). A few years later, S. Sassen would publish her influential book *The Global City* (Sassen, 2001), drawing attention to the networks created by advanced services firms in many cities around the world, which enabled knowledge and technology to the functioning of the global economy. Those firms, which offered services such as international and local legal consulting services, financial services, technological support and so on, operated according to volatile rules (when compared to traditional multinational companies), working for specific short-term demands with global teams of experts with direct access to specialized knowledge. Thus, these offices, concentrated in the business districts of cities possessing high-technology communicational infra-structure all around the world, produced a myriad of global intra-firm networks that did not match the neat center/(semi)periphery hierarchies of the world system and its world cities (Sassen, 2005). As Derudder summarized it, the Global City, whose territorial basis is the cities’ business districts, mainly differs from the World City in the defining key agents (advanced service firms x corporations), territorial basis (business districts x metropolitan regions), network structure (multiple networks x world-system hierarchy) and the potential de-territorialization aspect due to the importance of intra-firm global networks to its definition (Derudder, 2012).

The world/global city concepts, thus, refers more to modes of integration of a city in the world than to the nature of that city – despite its many ideological uses, from global city rankings to public policies to ‘globalized’ cities, often through varied forms of socio-spatial segregation (Carvalho, 2000; Ferreira, 2007; Fix, 2007; Ghadge, 2019). A city must not be exclusively defined as a ‘world’ or a ‘global’ city, but rather it is integrated in the world through the ‘world city’, ‘global city’ and/or other modalities (migration networks, tributary systems, touristic and cultural poles and so on). Here, the meaning of the world/global city concepts as modes of integration is employed in order to highlight the different ways a city – or particular places in a city, with its own consequences to the urban landscape – can interact with the wider world(s), whether it is the capitalist interstate world-system, the global economy, the global society and culture, etc. The world city mode of integration modulates and directs the hierarchies of entire territorial economies and its national states, with the long-term accumulation of power and money being expressed in the urban space. The global city mode of integration, in turn, inserts a city in volatile and rhizomatic networks, being expressed in the urban spaces in high-tech districts that sprout up whenever the business environment is favorable and the infrastructure is available.

Naturally, in order to be applied to premodern contexts, both concepts should be adapted to integration processes that differ from contemporary global capitalism and its key agents. The scholarship on ancient integration processes is extremely varied, ranging from a single Eurasian world-system (Gills & Frank, 1996) to multiple globalizations (Vlassopoulos, 2013), focusing on either trade networks, empires, or cultural communities. Here, I take two models I believe are particularly useful. K. Vlassopoulos, in his *Greeks and Barbarians* (2013), proposed the existence of four ‘worlds’ of interaction to explain the multiple relations between Greeks and Barbarians from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period: the world of empires, the world of apoikiai, the world of networks, and the panhellenic world. In a nutshell, each world was defined by specific social actions and actors who (re)produced the flows of movement of people, ideas and goods from different ‘currents of globalizations’ which created different symbolic and material communities (koinai) through the varied glocalization processes around the Mediterranean (Vlassopoulos, 2013). N. Guarinello, in turn, in his *Essays on Ancient History* (2014), focused on the community formation processes through the negotiation of external (spatial) and internal (social) frontiers, accumulated over the centuries among Mediterranean societies. The Roman empire, for instance, is interpreted both as the result

and as vector of a longer history of a Mediterranean integration process, managing complex and varied sets of civic, economic, ethnic, and cultural frontiers (Guarinello, 2010, 2013, 2014). On the one hand, while both authors seek to overcome the Eurocentric approach that isolate Greek and Roman societies from their Mediterranean framework, Vlassopoulos stresses the astonishing variability of the histories of Mediterranean globalization/glocalization processes (well beyond the Hellenicity/Hellenization paradigms), whilst Guarinello stresses unequal relations intra- and inter-communities as well the historical accumulation that produces social orders and frontiers.

In order to conjugate the potentiality of both models, it is worth to add a third support: Bourdieu's social fields theory. Though deeply marked by the methodological internalism of the twentieth century (Buchholz, 2008, 2016), the concept of fields is both elastic enough to deal with multiplicity and scale of Vlassopoulos' worlds and *koinai* (a field could have the limits of a house, a national state or the world economy; a society is crossed and constituted by many fields and subfields) and sufficiently consistent to consider the hierarchies of positions and varied capital accumulation forms implicated in Guarinello's frontiers (social agents build the field by competing with each other and defining the fields' rules and correspondent *habitus*). To highlight the inter-societal dimension of the fields which are the focus of this paper, I call them *integration fields*: fields that enable connections between different settlements, promoting synchronization processes and extending the localized particular social spaces. Integration fields – as social fields in general – do not correspond to functional spheres (economy, politics or culture; infra and supra-structures), but derive from structured and coherent social actions which form totalities, related to historically specific integration processes. Consequently, they must be defined from empirical, localized analysis of social practices facing the limits and possibilities of a particular context.

In the following section, an exercise of integration field analysis applied to Late Hellenistic Delos is proposed, discussing the particular mode of integration available to its residents and visitors through dedication of the temple of Mithridates in the Delian *Samothrakeion*. The dedication is seen as an example of the 'global city' mode of integration, based on subtle and volatile networks that unsettle fixed hierarchies in different fields.

#### 4. *The Delian Mithridateion in context*

Delos is traditionally presented as the archetypical commercial city of the Hellenistic period, with a cosmopolite population and intense commercial and financial activity. Rostovtzeff, for example, stated in 1941 that after the middle of the second century, Delos “ceased to be a Greek city-state and became an agglomeration of men whose connection with the island was temporary and whose interest lay in their business”, and, as consequence, the island was no longer ‘an appendix to the temple’, because then ‘it was in the harbour that the pulse of the community now beats’ (Rostovtzeff, 1941, p. 790). Accordingly, the commercial prosperity of Delos has been taken as the key to interpret its urban growth. Recent studies on Delian urbanism have focused on the building activity related either to commercial activities or to the cosmopolitan community installed in the island due to its economic opportunities (Chankowski, 2020; Hasenohr, 2012; Karvonis, 2008; Karvonis & Malmay, 2018; Trümper, 2008, 2011; Zarmakoupi, 2015, 2018a); relatively few studies have focused on the relation between spaces and their implications for the Delian urbanism (Bruneau, 1968; Fraisse, 1983, 2020; Fraisse & Fadin, 2020; Marc, 2000). The image that emerges, however, is that a city whose historicity depends on the transformations of the middle of the second century, with little to do with the particular insularity built in the relation of Delos and the wider world along the previous centuries; buildings such as the temple of Mithridates, in that paradigm, appears to add little to the comprehension of the urbanism as a whole. When we consider Delos’ insularity and integration fields, however, a new picture emerges.

The historical and cultural production of Delian insularity from Archaic to Early Hellenistic periods was studied by Chr. Constantakopoulou in two outstanding books (Constantakopoulou, 2010, 2017). In *The dance of the islands*, the author relates the island’s reduced size and poverty in natural resources, the Aegean navigability facilitated by the profusion of islands and the knowledge of maritime currents and winds, the Archaic discourse of Delos as Apollo’s birthplace, and the building of an Archaic religious network centered on the Delian central sanctuary. From those relations emerged images such as a ‘chorus’ of the Cycladic islands around Delos, as well the representation of the Delians as ‘parasites of the god’. The Delian religious network, which included Ionian and Dorian communities, for Constantakopoulou, had a markedly insular, Cycladic character, attracting the attention of competing powers since the sixth century (such as Naxos, Samos, and Athens). That Cycladic network would eventually become, in the fifth century, the material basis upon which Athens built its empire over south

Aegean, in a complex interaction with the Athenian ‘Ionian propaganda’ (Constantakopoulou, 2010, p. 61–89). In *Aegean interactions* (2017), dedicated to independent Delos (314-167), Constantakopoulou discussed the variety of strategies employed by Delian social groups to interact with the Early Hellenistic networks of social interaction (dealing especially with the epigraphic records of the sanctuary and the island’s building activity), which operated on a much broader geographical scope than its regionally-framed economic networks, encompassing relations well beyond royal euergetism (Constantakopoulou, 2017, p. 21).

This long-term construction of Delian insularity suffered a deep change with the establishment of the Athenian cleruchy in 167/6. Athenian administration, the free port status, the consequent commercial decline of Rhodes, and decisively the destruction of Corinth (in 146 BC) motivated an impressive urban growth with the establishment of trade colonies from all the Mediterranean, especially from Italy, Syria, and Egypt. At that point, a new element was added to the long history of Delian insularity construction (between religion and empire): the identity of Delos as a trade center, illustrated by a proverb quoted by Strabo: ‘Merchant, sail in, unload your ship, everything has been sold’ (Strabo, 14.5.2).

The Mithridatic Wars of the early first century would bring an abrupt end to this new amalgam of religious, imperial and commercial insularity: Delos would suffer two invasions by Pontic forces, in 89 and 69, virtually succumbing to the second. The abrupt demographic decline and the emergence Italian ports such as Puteoli and Ostia as Mediterranean trade centers deeply affected the Delian insularity, this time dominated by the *topos* of loneliness – according to Bruneau, due more to the contrast between its tiny population and the large number of unused buildings, than to an actual abandonment (Bruneau, 1968, p. 691–700).

The long history of Delian (urban) insularity produced a particular set of integration fields, each working according its own logic and exhibiting a particular arrangement of positions and frontiers. Here, five integration fields will be traced from the evidence available from the dedication of the temple of Mithridates in the *Samothrakeion*: the polis field, the imperial field, the religious field, the euergetic field and the commercial field.

The first is the polis field, visible both in the qualification of Helianax as Athenian and priest and in the mention to the Athenian people as co-dedicant (on the inscribed architrave) and as receiver of Mithridates’ excellence and benevolence (on the inscribed statue base). The polis field encompassed the institutional relations between Athens and

Delos, which regulates the main rules of government, the indication of magistrates, and concession of citizenship, as well as generated a peripheral cleruchy sub-field, produced by the dispute between magistrates and priests over positions in the island administration. Helianax's citizenship, if the hypothesis of a Rhodian family background is correct, illustrates the role played by the Delian cleruchy as a bridge to Athenian citizenship. Although previous views about the *ephebia* as automatically granting citizenship to enrolled foreigners has been criticized by recent scholars (Byrne, 2003; Oliver, 2013; Perrin-Saminadayar, 2005), it nonetheless facilitated the creation of social networks which could have led to the Assembly's approval for a request of enfranchising (Charade, 2009). Helianax's path to citizenship seems to be recent, as indicated both by the absence of demotic in the inscription of his father's portrait or his own demotic been the general 'from Athens', instead of indicating his particular Athenian *demos*. Although probably only recently enfranchised, Helianax was wealthy enough to build the temple and take of the cult activities at his own expenses; his wealth combined to a non-Athenian family background explains the prestigious, although not central, priesthood of the Great Gods, *Kabeiroi*, and *Dioskouroi*. The fragmentary inscription in the pediment, in its turn, which reveals only the honoree's ethnic ('from Amisos'), possibly points to the links between Athens and Amisos, where, in the fifth century, an Athenian cleruchy was installed (Erciyas, 2001, p. 160), though the lack of evidence prevents further hypotheses about possible personal relations between Helianax and the pediment's honoree.

The second is the imperial field, visible in the mentions to the Roman people, to Mithridates, and other Near Eastern kings and courtiers. Delos, being administered by a peripheral state such Athens, with no relevant military forces, had few options to protect itself in an increasingly dangerous environment. In the late second century, while the Roman republic was the undisputed power of the Mediterranean, Mithridates' expansion over the coasts of the Black Sea and Central Anatolia affected deeply the Near Eastern imperial field. By controlling Cappadocia, pressing Bithynia, and assuming the title of 'king of the kings' (at least in the Black Sea), Mithridates paralleled the Parthian emperor and accumulated the power which would sustain his wars against Rome, at the moment still an ally. The sample of honorees in the temple seems to reflect the political balance of the Near East: in the shield portraits, weaker, subordinated kings, such as Ariarathes of Cappadocia and Antiochos of Syria, were accompanied by members of Pontic and Parthian courts (as well Helianax's father), whilst Mithridates of Pontus received a free-standing statue with a cultic dimension. In this sense, it is understandable the absence of

Mithridates II of Parthia, who himself could not be demoted to a shield portrait nor promoted, there, to a free-standing statue.

The third is the panhellenic religious field, visible in the associations between different cults. Contrarily to the other fields, Delos occupied here a central position derived from its centuries-long religious insularity: being the birthplace of Apollo, Delos has been the focus of an intense religious network which connected Aegean communities from the Archaic period onwards. This centrality was expressed in the central placement of the sanctuary of Apollo in the Delian urban fabric (Étienne, 2018, 2019). Conversely, the peripheral character of the cult of the *Kabeiroi* and the Great Gods of Samothrace in the Panhellenic religious landscape (Constantakopoulou, 2016) was expressed in its marginal placement in Delos, at the foot of mount Kynthos. For the role played by the Mithridates' cult, Ballesteros Pastor suggested a strong religious association between Pontic and Delian cults of the *Kabeiroi* and the *Dioskouroi*, both linked to the safe seafaring, as part of Mithridatic propaganda (Ballesteros Pastor, 2006), while Erciyas interprets the temple as a symbol of Mithridates' 'prominence in the Aegean among the Greeks and the other Hellenistic monarchies' (Erciyas, 2001, p. 115). However, despite being a rising imperial power, Mithridates could not aspire to a shrine near the sanctuary of Apollo or a festival in his honor. The only Hellenistic kings or queens worshiped at Delos, as noted by Bruneau, were Antigonos and Demetrios of Macedon, Arsinoe Philadelphia, and Mithridates; however, none of these cults were instituted by the Delians or the Athenian cleruchy: the first was created by the Nesiotic league in the fourth century, the second was instituted privately by a nesiarch named Hermias, and the third, as seen, by Helianax (Bruneau, 1970, p. 577–578). This contrasts sharply with the public cult of Rome, associated with Hestia and the personified Demos, accompanied by the festival of Rhomaia, since the beginning of the Athenian cleruchy (Bruneau, 1970, p. 444–446).

The fourth is the euergetic field, where individuals and communities disputed positions as benefactors of Delos. The centrality attributed to Delos in the panhellenic religious field transformed the island, early in the Archaic period, in one of the main stages for the display of euergetic practices, ranging from dedication of buildings to donations of land and mobile offerings of valuables. In exchange, the city honored the benefactor in proportional ways, from proclamations and honorific inscriptions to festivals and cult, according to the particular features of the Delian field (Tully, 2021). As seen above, in the Hellenistic period, only the deified Roman republic received public cult, given the benefaction of the island itself to the Athenians. Nonetheless, the euergetic



field of Hellenistic Delos was open to multiple forms of competition. Helianax himself used two strategies: he dedicated a statue of Mithridates in the sanctuary of Apollo in the same year that he dedicated the temple in the *Samothrakeion*. Through the first strategy, he placed himself and Mithridates in the long list of private dedicants and honorees that filled virtually any corner of the sanctuary. Through the second one, he detached himself and his honoree from the rest, turning the *Samothrakeion* into an exclusive showcase for Mithridatic euergetism. As already noted, Helianax's choices for the shield portraits reveal his own personal connections (Roller, 2020, p. 129), which extended from the courts of Pontus and Parthia to the kings of Cappadocia and Syria (the latter was also honored by Helianax with a statue in the sanctuary of Apollo).

The fifth is the commercial field, where Delos gained centrality only in the second century, especially after the measures the Roman Senate took against Rhodes, revoking its possession over Lycia and Caria in 167, and the destruction of Corinth in 146. As Helianax's own career is not known, it is impossible to map his position in the commercial field, though his likely Rhodian family background points to a migration from a declining commercial center to a rising one. In the third century, Rhodes and Alexandria created the most secure – and most expensive – trade route in the Eastern Mediterranean, which enabled the island to become the main entrepôt of the Aegean, fighting piracy and developing banking and mass storage facilities (Gabrielsen, 2013). Along the second century, while Rhodes maintained a regional importance in the wheat and wine trade, Delos economic activity grew related to the slave trade and the commerce of luxury good from the East to Italy. The connections of Helianax to the Anatolian, Syrian, and Parthian courts could indicate his relation to the slave trade, given the role position of these regions as sources of slaves (Rostovtzeff, 1941, p. 771–798; Scheidel, 2011), but it remains hypothetical. Nonetheless, the multiple references to safe seafaring in the cult of the Great Gods, *Kabeiroi* and *Dioskouroi* both in Delos and Pontus (Ballesteros Pastor, 2006) suggests a connection of the dedication with maritime trade.

In sum, in the late second century, on the one hand, Delos conjugated central positions in the panhellenic religious field (due to the sanctuary of Apollo), the euergetic field (though competing with other center such as Athens and Delphi) and the commercial field (as redistribution entrepôt between the East and Italy); on the other hand, Delos was peripherally placed in the polis field, centered on Athens, and in the imperial field, centered in Rome. The Pontic kingdom under Mithridates VI, in that world, occupied a semi-peripheral position in the commercial field (through slave supply), the imperial field

(between Rome and Parthia), and the euergetic field (less honored than Rome in euergetic centers such as Delos), with no participation in the Delian polis field. The centralities of Rome, Athens and Delos in different fields is manifested in the central placement of Athenian offices and Roman/Italian cults and buildings (such as the Agora of the Italians). The semi-peripherality of Pontus in its respective fields was manifest in the relatively marginal position of its temple in the Delian urban fabric.

Regarding its particular mode of integration, the temple of Mithridates illustrates the range of Helianax's personal network, with ultra-specialized contacts which would enable access to four of the main Near Eastern monarchies (Pontus, Parthia, Cappadocia and Syria) beyond the hierarchies defined by the imperial and polis fields, using the euergetic field in a way similar to that of contemporary global cities' integration to the global economic field. Through his dedication, Helianax, from a (probably) recently enfranchised Athenian family and holding a mid-level Delian priesthood, could express and reproduce his power derived from diplomatic and euergetic relations with semi-peripheral imperial powers. The sample of honorees inside and outside the temple produced a map of Helianax's network, and as such indicated possible paths to anyone interested in creating bonds with the Black Sea, Central Anatolia and the Near East – a feature particularly important for slave traders. Helianax, then, could maximize his power combining capitals produced in different fields. Though we have no clue on the likely advantages the dedication of the temple gave to Helianax, we can see a parallel in the trajectory of Philostratos of Ascalon, who converted power accumulated in the commercial field into power reproduced in the polis and euergetic fields by receiving Neapolitan citizenship and the dedication of a portico in the Agora of the Italians (Hasenohr, 2015; Leiwo, 1989; Trümper, 2011). This 'global city' mode of integration, thus, is also found in other sites at Delos, such as the seat of the Poseidoniasts of Beirut and the Agora of the Italians, and mid-level sanctuaries, such as that of sanctuary of Serapis (Verdejo Manchado & Antela-Bernárdez, 2015). This could be contrasted to the sanctuary of Apollo, whose mode of integration in the wider world derived from the accumulated centrality of Delos in the panhellenic religious field, a central feature of its insularity, with its own dense and wealthy religious regional network, through which Delos competed with Athens and Delphi, themselves resulting from similar accumulations. In that sense, I suggest, the sanctuary of Apollo's mode of integration was closer to that of contemporary 'world cities' and their territorial economies.

### 5. Conclusion

The dedication by the Athenian priest Helianax of a temple to Mithridates VI of Pontus at Delos, was interpreted, in this paper, as a social action articulated by a set of structured spaces of intersocietal interaction – what have been here called integration fields. Rather than a single world-system or multiple globalizations, the integration field concept is sufficiently elastic to encompass multiple forms of interaction, and consistent enough to indicate the structured nature of particular integration processes. They result from complex and non-linear temporal strata and spatial scales. In the case of Delos, its particular urban insularity, built along many centuries, faced new challenges with the development of a new centrality in one strategic field – the commercial one. The ways groups and individuals interact with integration fields depends on their historically specific arrangement — integration fields are products as well as vectors of particular social actions. In the case of Helianax, the centralities of Delos in the commercial, panhellenic religious and euergetic fields, conjugated with the conjunctural rise of the Pontic kingdom in the Aegean subsystem of the imperial field, enabled the construction of a rhizomatic network that linked Delos to Anatolian, Syrian, and Parthian cities.

Rostovtzeff, quoted above, interpreted the history of Delos in the late second century as the passage from the temple to the port as the main social institution, replacing the polis by the cosmopolite agglomeration of mobile traders. As the discussion above showed, Delos remained a polis while incorporated the pressure generated by its new status as commercial center. Rather than a passage from the polis (temple) to the urban agglomeration (port), the process could be explained as a tension between the ‘world city’ (centered on the sanctuary and in the panhellenic religious field) and the ‘global city’ (spread over many places, with interactions primarily in the imperial and commercial fields) as modes of integration. This tension, in turn, reproduced and modulated the opposition between the traditional Attic aristocracy, which held the central offices in the polis field, and a new trading Delian elite, which explored the possibilities of the global city networks available at Delos (Antela-Bernárdez, 2009, 2015; Verdejo Manchado & Antela-Bernárdez, 2015). The influence of multidirectional imperial expansion in the Mediterranean and the Near East in the late second century generated a profound social change in both macro-regions, with many extremely violent episodes in some strategic nodes, such as Athens and Delos. Thus, an integrated history of Delos, inspired in the recent debates on Global History, must be written – not least because we are struggling to understanding parallel processes in our own world.

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## **MITRIDATES, HELIANAX E DELOS NO PERÍODO HELENÍSTICO COMO CIDADE GLOBAL: INSULARIDADE URBANA E CAMPOS DE INTEGRAÇÃO**

*Fábio Augusto Morales*

### RESUMO

Este artigo discute o problema da mediação entre as escalas macro e micro na História Global, centrando-se na análise da dedicação do templo de Mitridates por um certo Helianax, no ano de 102/1 a.C., no santuário dos deuses da Samotrácia em Delos. Após descrever os vestígios arqueológicos e epigráficos, o artigo discute os conceitos de insularidade urbana, cidade mundial/global e campos de integração, para então explorar sua capacidade explicativa na análise dos campos de integração e modos particulares de integração visíveis na dedicação de Helianax.

### PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Insularidade urbana, Campos de integração, Delos helenística.



# INSULARITY AND IMPERIAL POLITICS: HADRIAN ON THE GREEK ISLANDS

*Anna Kouremenos*<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

Since its conquest by Rome in the 2nd century BCE, Roman notables were a constant presence in Greece. While various sites on the mainland served as battlegrounds for Roman civil wars during the 1st century BCE (e.g., Pharsalus, Actium, Philippi), the early imperial period was characterized by the use of various Greek islands as places of – often self-imposed – exile and/or isolation for such notables as M. Vipsanius Agrippa (Lesbos) and Tiberius (Rhodes). Other imperial Romans sojourned in the Aegean islands for different reasons. Augustus spent a winter on Samos after his victory at Actium, using it as a temporary powerbase for the refinement of his imperial plans, and he visited it and other islands again as emperor. While the first two Julio-Claudian emperors maintained close contacts with the Greek world, in the 2nd century CE Hadrian took this connection a step further and promoted Hellenism as a major part of his imperial policy. Naturally, the Greek islands played an important role in imperial politics during his reign, but only as components of the wider Hellenic world and not as isolated entities. Hadrian visited Rhodes and Paros to restore and venerate older Hellenic monuments – the Colossus and the tomb of the poet Archilochus respectively – and possibly Samothrace in order to be initiated into the Mysteries of the Great Gods. He also visited other islands in Greece, but his exact travel itinerary can only be speculative given our fragmentary literary and epigraphic evidence. In this paper, I focus on Hadrian's presence on the Aegean islands and argue that during his reign they served mainly as sites that allowed for the implementation of his imperial plans by virtue of their easy access from the mainland Greek and Asian provinces. Accordingly, by promoting

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certain aspects of older Hellenic culture on specific islands, Hadrian conferred renewed prestige to these islands in the Roman Empire.

**KEYWORDS**

Roman Greece, Hadrian, insularity, Roman imperialism, Aegean islands.

### 1. Introduction

Long before the Roman conquest of mainland Greece in the 2nd century BCE, individuals from Italy were a constant presence on the Greek mainland and islands, initially as merchants and traders and later as students and settlers. Once all of Greece was incorporated into the Roman Empire by 67 BCE,<sup>2</sup> various sites on the mainland (e.g., Pharsalus, Actium, Philippi) served as battlegrounds for Roman civil wars during much of the second half of the 1st century BCE. In contrast, the period of the so-called *Pax Romana* (27 BCE-180 CE) saw a marked interest in the usage of various Greek islands as places of self-imposed exile, with such notables as Agrippa (Lesbos) and Tiberius (Rhodes) being the best-known Roman exiles on the islands of the Aegean. Other imperial personages sojourned on the Greek islands for different reasons, Augustus wintering on Aegina and Samos on two separate occasions, and Hadrian visiting Rhodes, Paros, and other islands to restore monuments and venerate the ancient Greek past. It is not an exaggeration to claim that, for many elite Romans, Greece came to be seen as a “Plan B” in case the situation in Rome and Italy became unbearable and/or inhospitable for them. That Greek islands served various purposes for elite Romans is therefore not unusual since they were located at the cross-roads between east and west. Added to their appeal was the fact that imperial Romans and their elite circles were generally familiar with Hellenic culture and language, making the Greek islands attractive dwellings as opposed to insular communities closer to Rome. Curiously, given their proximity to the Italian mainland, the Ionian islands do not feature prominently in the lives of imperial Romans who visited and remained in Greece for some time.<sup>3</sup> Our available sources suggest that emperors were almost exclusively interested in the Aegean and Cycladic islands and generally overlooked the insular landscapes of the Ionian Sea. The reasons for the latter’s marginalization are not clearly understood, but what is evident is that the Aegean world held much more appeal for certain emperors.

With the exception of Crete, none of the Greek islands had Roman colonies,<sup>4</sup> but many harbored resident populations from Italy. Some small Cycladic and Aegean islands

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<sup>2</sup> Crete was the last territory within the borders of modern Greece to be incorporated into the Roman Empire between 69-67 BCE. On this topic, see especially papers in Francis and Kouremenos 2016 with bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> The Roman period on the Ionian islands is, in general, poorly understood and researched. For a general overview of the evidence, see most recently Zoumbaki 2018 with bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> The sole Roman colony on Crete was *Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossus* on the site of the earlier Greek city of Knossos.

had long served as places of exile,<sup>5</sup> with a few gaining the reputation for being some of the most inhospitable places in the Roman Empire. Gyaros is a prominent example, with ancient sources preserving allusions to its destitute environment; so desolate was this small Cycladic island that one ancient author claims that on Gyaros even the rats ate rust!<sup>6</sup> Other, more hospitable, Greek islands sometimes functioned as places of exile for powerful individuals who had fallen out of favor with emperors and their inner circles. A case in point is the twice-exiled orator T. Cassius Severus, who, after authoring a series of defamatory pamphlets against Augustus' new imperial order, was exiled to Crete.<sup>7</sup> This must have been a rather comforting location for an involuntary exile since the island is not only the largest in Greece but also contained a number of prosperous cities and a thriving economy during the *Pax Romana*. Apparently Severus maintained the anti-imperial rhetoric on the island, and some years later his polemics reached the emperor Tiberius, who finally exiled him – and subsequently banned his writings – to the much less hospitable Cycladic island of Serifos.<sup>8</sup> Augustus' right-hand man, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, spent considerable time on the island of Lesbos on self-imposed exile, allegedly so that he might not seem to oppose or belittle the political career of Marcellus, Augustus' nephew, by his presence in Rome.<sup>9</sup> In the 2nd century CE, the sophist Favorinus of Arelate in Gaul, who had risen to prominence as a pre-eminent intellectual in the Greek world despite being a barbarian, was banished to Chios after falling out of favor with his patron, Hadrian.<sup>10</sup> It is evident that being exiled in his case did not mean being cut off from the world. Chios, so close to the mainland of the province Asia, where Smyrna and Ephesus were two of the most important centers of literary and cultural activity during the 2nd century CE, may have been chosen precisely for this reason: the island was quiet enough to serve its purpose as a place of exile yet near enough to the important centers on the Anatolian mainland that a quick boat trip would have made it easily accessible. Several other examples of prominent elite individuals who were voluntarily or involuntarily exiled to Greek islands could be cited,<sup>11</sup> but as this paper deals specifically

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<sup>5</sup> Le Quéré 2018; Sweetman 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Ael., *NA*, 5.15.

<sup>7</sup> On the career and exile of T. Cassius Severus in general, see Braginton 1944; D'Hautcourt 1995; Rudich 2006; Evans 2015. It is not known where in Crete he chose to settle.

<sup>8</sup> See Sweetman 2016 with bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 10.1.

<sup>10</sup> Cass. Dio, 69.4.1-5; Collart 1932; Swain 1989. See also Bowie 1997 for a different interpretation.

<sup>11</sup> See especially Sweetman 2016 for a recent treatment of Roman exiles in the Cyclades.

with Hadrian and his role in defining insularity in the Greek world, this is not the place to discuss non-imperial individuals further.

In what follows, I focus on Hadrian's presence on the Greek islands and the theme of insular connectivity versus isolation during his reign (117-138 CE). Although our evidence for the emperor's presence on various Greek islands is incomplete, enough literary and epigraphic testimonies survive to elicit some conclusions about the roles that certain islands played in his imperial policies. Unlike the evidence for the first two Julio-Claudian emperors, the literary testimonies for Hadrian's reign are rather poor, and we must rely heavily on the epigraphic record which is itself very fragmentary. Below I discuss what our available ancient sources permit us to conclude about the emperor's presence on certain Greek islands, the imperial precedents that may have guided his journeys and political motives, and the place of the Greek islands within the wider Hadrianic policy of consolidation and Hellenocentrism.

## 2. *Imperial precedents*

Hadrian was not the first Roman emperor to spend considerable time on the Greek islands. During his war with Marc Antony and Cleopatra's forces in the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, Augustus briefly encamped on the Ionian island of Cephallenia while his rival Antony made the neighboring island of Zakynthos one of his bases in western Greece.<sup>12</sup> After his victory at Actium, Augustus may have visited Leucas briefly since a large number of its inhabitants were later relocated to his newly established city of Nicopolis in Epirus.<sup>13</sup> No other emperor during the *Pax Romana* is recorded to have visited the Ionian islands, although a possible visit by Hadrian, even if not documented in our surviving sources, is plausible given his many trips to and from Greece during his lifetime.<sup>14</sup>

Augustus (r. 27 BCE-14 CE) visited Greece twice after his victory at Actium in 31 BCE, and he seems to have preferred sojourning on islands rather than the mainland. Three of these islands – Samos, Aegina, and Rhodes – were generally amicable to Rome, and it was in them that he chose to remain for some time during his imperial visits to the

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<sup>12</sup> See Zoumbaki 2018, 55-56 with bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, 2.13. On the population that formed Nicopolis, see especially Kirsten 1987; Purcell 1987; Isager 2001.

<sup>14</sup> On Hadrian's travels in general, see Dürr 1881; Birley 1997; more recently, see D'Ambrosi 2020 with bibliography.

Greek East. In the case of Samos, he received ambassadors from India on his second trip there in 21/20 BC.<sup>15</sup> Due to its strategic location and alliance with Rome, Augustus made Samos the base for his war with Parthia. Later, he met Herod of Judea on Rhodes, where the latter pledged allegiance to him even though he had originally supported Marc Antony.<sup>16</sup> Although it was not unusual for a travelling emperor to meet dignitaries outside Rome, the choice of the two Aegean islands to conduct political meetings set a precedent for Hadrian, who was an admirer of Augustus and followed many of his policies.<sup>17</sup>

No imperial Roman is as connected to a Greek island as Augustus' successor, Tiberius (r. 14-37 CE). Much has been written about the motive(s) that drove this emperor suddenly to go on a six-year, self-imposed exile on Rhodes before assuming the imperial throne, and these are as obscure today as they were to our surviving ancient sources. The reasons provided range from the indiscretions of his wife Julia, to holding a grudge against Augustus for favoring his own grandchildren for the imperial throne, to his desire for recreation and furthering his education, among others.<sup>18</sup> Whatever the real motive for Tiberius' sudden departure from Rome – and it is likely to have been a combination of reasons – for the purposes of this paper, I shall turn briefly to the evidence for the future emperor's withdrawal to the island. Two questions are pertinent for the overall theme of this dossier: why did he choose Rhodes for his self-imposed exile, and what did he do on the island for six years?

Tiberius' relationship with Rhodes predated his voluntary exile there. Evidently, he chose to withdraw to the island because of its beauty and healthfulness,<sup>19</sup> and lived there as a *semper privatus*, a civilian without offices. Suetonius reports that he partook in activities associated with elite Greek males: attending lectures and debates by renowned philosophers and orators, frequenting the gymnasium, involving himself in philanthropic deeds, and wearing Greek clothes.<sup>20</sup> Added to these was his interest in astrology; it was on Rhodes where he fell under the influence of Thrasyllus, a renowned Alexandrian astrologer whose descendants – G. Julius Antiochus Philopappos and Julia Balbilla –

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<sup>15</sup> Cass. Dio, 54.9.8. See also Schmalz 1997.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph., *AJ*, 15.6.6.

<sup>17</sup> On Augustus as a role-model for Hadrian, see especially Birley 1997; Spawforth 2011; Seebacher 2020 with bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> Four extant ancient sources provide theories for Tiberius' sudden exile to Rhodes: Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio. For commentary, see especially Levick 1972; Seager 1972, 29-35; Bellemore 2007.

<sup>19</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 11.1.

<sup>20</sup> Bellemore 2007, 425.

would have close connections to Hadrian and the imperial family in the 2nd century CE.<sup>21</sup> Suetonius records that Tiberius owned two modest houses on the island, one in the town of Rhodes and another, a *villa suburbana*, in an unspecified location.<sup>22</sup> At some point during his exile, Tiberius pleaded with Augustus to return to the imperial capital, but the request was refused.<sup>23</sup> A few years before he was eventually allowed to return to Rome, Tiberius visited Gaius, Augustus' grandson and presumed heir-apparent, on Samos.<sup>24</sup> It appears that after this meeting, Tiberius decided to spend most of his time until his return to Rome in 2 CE in seclusion on Rhodes, avoiding contact with ships carrying high-ranking officials who flocked to the island to meet him. It is tempting to speculate that some of Tiberius' later depravity on the island of Capri may have had its roots during his years on Rhodes, but the extant ancient sources do not provide any salacious details to corroborate this view. In any case, the long sojourn on Rhodes augmented Tiberius' philhellenism, and he later even pleaded with Augustus and the senate on behalf of Greek communities.<sup>25</sup> After he became emperor in 14 CE, he did not visit Rhodes or any other Greek island again.

Following Tiberius' reign, no Roman emperor visited Greece until Nero (r. 54-68 CE).<sup>26</sup> The latter's notorious tour of Achaëa, where he competed in the major games and contests and remained for a year, culminated in his proclamation of the freedom of the province. There is no evidence that he visited any islands during his year-long tour, and he also famously avoided visiting Athens and Sparta. One of his short-reigning successors, Galba (r. 68-69 CE), claimed maternal descent from the mythic Cretan queen Pasiphaë,<sup>27</sup> but did not set foot on Crete while he was in power. After Nero, no other emperor visited Greece while on the imperial throne until Trajan (r. 98-117 CE),<sup>28</sup> and it was not until the reign of his successor, Hadrian, that the Greek islanders would receive imperial visits and attention to the revival of their ancient past.

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<sup>21</sup> See especially Birley 1997; Brennan 1998; Kouremenos forthcoming.

<sup>22</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 11.

<sup>23</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 13.

<sup>24</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 12.

<sup>25</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 8. See also Rutledge 2008 with bibliography.

<sup>26</sup> On Tiberius' relationship with the Greek world in general, including his early visits, see Rutledge 2008.

<sup>27</sup> Suet., *Galb.*, 2. See also Morgan 2006, 31-32.

<sup>28</sup> Cass. Dio, 68.17.2. Trajan stopped in Athens on his way to Parthia and was met in the city by an embassy from king Osroes, who asked him for peace and proffered gifts. It is unclear how long the emperor remained in Athens.

### 3. Restoring the insular past? Hadrian and the Aegean world

Hadrian's close relationship with the Greek world predated his imperial visits to Greece and has been the subject of considerable scholarship in the past century.<sup>29</sup> He was, as far as is known, the only Roman emperor to have become a citizen and *eponymous archon* of Athens before ascending the imperial throne in 117 CE.<sup>30</sup> Thus, he was a regular on the Greek scene already as a private citizen and did much to foster Hellenism in the Empire during his reign. Here is not the place to discuss the various ways he promoted the Greek past in the Roman Empire. The rest of this paper examines his promotion of two aspects that relate to the theme of insularity: his restoration program that was closely tied to the promotion of the Hellenic past, and – closely related to this – his cultural and religious predilections, which were not limited to islands but nonetheless helped revive the prestige and economy of some insular communities in Greece.

Unlike two of his predecessors, Augustus and Tiberius, Hadrian's relationship with the Greek world was centered, above all, around the old centers of the province of Achaea – Athens, Delphi, and Sparta, among other cities.<sup>31</sup> He held offices in all three *poleis*, including that of *eponymous archon* in Athens,<sup>32</sup> *archon* at Delphi,<sup>33</sup> and *patronomos* in Sparta,<sup>34</sup> albeit the latter two were held *in absentia*. These and other offices in Greek cities reveal his close relationship with the Greek world, but also the reverence and support of his Hellenic subjects. Nevertheless, unlike Augustus and Tiberius, he did not single out any of the islands for long sojourns and seems to have had a marked preference for the cities on the mainland, especially Athens. The only Greek islands for which there is firm evidence for his presence are Rhodes and Paros, but surely the absence of literary and epigraphic evidence for other islands reflects our fragmented literary, epigraphic, and archaeological record. Although attempts to reconstruct the emperor's exact route in the Aegean are speculative, it is, in any case, certain that he visited several islands since a passage in the *Historia Augusta* states that “he sailed from Asia by way of the islands to

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<sup>29</sup> For a list of relevant bibliographic sources on Hadrian and the Greek world, see most recently Lagogianni-Georgakarakos and Papi 2018; Kouremenos forthcoming.

<sup>30</sup> Before Hadrian, Domitian was *eponymous archon* of Athens as emperor in 85-86 CE, but *in absentia*. On Hadrian's presence in and relationship with Athens before his ascension to the imperial throne, see Kouremenos forthcoming.

<sup>31</sup> On this aspect, see especially papers in Kouremenos 2022.

<sup>32</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1764 and 1832. He held this office in 112-113 and possibly also in 124-125. For the latter, see Kapetanopoulos 1992-1998, 217-218; Kouremenos forthcoming.

<sup>33</sup> He held this office at least twice; *Syll<sup>3</sup>*, 830, 836.

<sup>34</sup> See especially Bradford 1986; Kennell 2022.

Achaea".<sup>35</sup> This route is also confirmed by a treatise on physiognomy written by his friend, M. Antonius Polemo of Laodicea, who accompanied the emperor on at least some of his travels in Greece and Asia Minor.<sup>36</sup>

Let us first consider the evidence for Hadrian's presence on Rhodes since the sources are clear that he visited the island. Epigraphic documents from Ephesus preserve sections of the emperor's letters regarding Erastus and Philocyrius, sea-captains who took him by boat from that city to Rhodes.<sup>37</sup> It is not at all surprising that the emperor chose this large island for a sojourn, even if the exact length of his stay there is unknown, as is the location of his habitation. While on this island, he may have inspected the house in which Tiberius had lived for six years.<sup>38</sup> Well before Tiberius' lifetime, Rhodes had attracted many illustrious Roman students, including Cicero, Caesar, and Marc Antony, and by Hadrian's reign it had been an ally of Rome for several centuries.<sup>39</sup> The large Aegean island was not only famous for its schools of rhetoric and philosophy but also for being the only island in Greece to have contained one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Colossus, which originally stood on its main harbor. By the 2nd century, however, the statue lay in ruins for over four centuries, having been toppled by an earthquake in 226 BCE. Moreover, people from all over the Empire still flocked to see the statue in its ruined state. Pliny the Elder, writing in the second half of the 1st century CE, describes the remains of the Colossus in his own day:<sup>40</sup>

fifty-six years after it was erected, it was thrown down by an earthquake; but even as it lies, it excites our wonder and admiration. Few men can clasp the thumb in their arms, and its fingers are larger than most statues. Where the limbs are broken

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<sup>35</sup> HA, *Hadr.*, 13.1.

<sup>36</sup> On Polemo's treatise, which survives in Latin and Arabic translations as well as in a Greek epitome, see Gleason 1994, 30; Swain and Bladel 2008 with bibliography.

<sup>37</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 838. Hadrian employed Erastus – and presumably also Philocyrius – on more than one occasion; see Halfmann 1986; van Nijf and Meijer 1992, 72; Birley 1997, 172.

<sup>38</sup> Birley 1997, 173.

<sup>39</sup> On the relationship between Rhodes and Rome, see especially Gruen 1975; Ager 1991; Erskine 1991; on rhetoric and philosophy on Rhodes, see Enos 2004 with bibliography.

<sup>40</sup> Plin., *HN*, 34.18. Translated by J. Bostock and H.T. Riley.



asunder, vast caverns are seen yawning in the interior. Within it, too, are to be seen large masses of rock, by the weight of which the artist steadied it while erecting it.

For an emperor with pronounced antiquarian tastes and a predilection for restoring antique monuments, the remains of one of the ancient wonders would have presented a rare opportunity. In many parts of the Greek world, Hadrian ordered the restoration of older structures that lay in ruins, often incorporating them into new structures; some of the better-documented of these restorations/renovations in Greece include the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens,<sup>41</sup> the Temple of Poseidon Hippios in Mantinea,<sup>42</sup> and the Temple of Apollo in Abae,<sup>43</sup> among many others. It is in this spirit of restoration, then, that the ruins of the Colossus must have piqued his interest.

John Malalas' *Chronographia*, written in the 6th century, notes that:

in his reign, Hadrian re-erected the Colossus of Rhodes, which had fallen during an earthquake Rhodes suffered in earlier times, and lay on the ground for 312 years, with nothing having been lost. He spent to restore and erect it in the same place, for machines and ropes and artisans, 3 hundredweight, as he inscribed the year and expenses below it.<sup>44</sup>

This passage has been dismissed as fictional by some scholars mainly due to problems with the given year of the restoration,<sup>45</sup> with one scholar claiming that Malalas' assertion is "complete balderdash".<sup>46</sup> Apart from the fact that 312 years after 226 BCE do not add up to the reign of Hadrian,<sup>47</sup> another objection to the authenticity of Malalas' statement is that historical sources between his reign and the lifetime of the author would

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<sup>41</sup> Cass. Dio, 69.6.1; HA, *Hadr.*, 13.6.

<sup>42</sup> Paus., 8.10.2.

<sup>43</sup> Paus., 10.35.3-4. On the extent of Hadrian's restoration, see especially Yorke 1896; Birley 1997; Grigoropoulos 2015.

<sup>44</sup> Malalas, *Chronographia*, 11.18. Translated by B. Kiesling.

<sup>45</sup> 312 years from 226 BCE add up to 86 CE, which would mean the reign of Domitian (r. 81-96). Boatwright 2000, 24f34 dismisses Malalas' claim of the restoration of the Colossus during Hadrian's reign, while Birley 1997, 173 does not take a firm stand on the issue.

<sup>46</sup> Boatwright 2000, 24.

<sup>47</sup> Malalas seems to have miscalculated the year, or else the number is due to a scribal error.

have alluded to the restoration of such a grand monument, and it is true that no such references survive until the latter wrote about it in the 6th century. Neither do Rhodian coins from Hadrian's reign onward hint at a re-erected Colossus,<sup>48</sup> although a full-length depiction of the statue is not known to have been represented on Rhodian coins during its heyday in the 3rd century BCE. Moreover, it must be noted that the biographies of Hadrian have come down to us mainly as epitomes, and they are generally not much concerned with the emperor's restorations, some of which are known strictly from epigraphic sources. In any case, Malalas must have relied on an earlier source or sources for his assertion as it is unlikely that he simply fabricated the information about the re-erection of the Colossus in Hadrian's reign.

Pausanias, writing a generation after Hadrian, mentions some of the emperor's restorations, and as his *Periegesis* is concerned specifically with the province of Achaia, he does not refer to Hadrian's other restorations elsewhere in Greece and the islands. Surely, re-erecting the Colossus would have been a major undertaking, and I argue that Pausanias seems to hint that such an endeavor occurred in the earlier part of the 2nd century CE. In a passage where he describes the colossal statue inside the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens, which was inaugurated in c. 131/132 CE, he notes:

Before the entrance to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus – Hadrian the Roman emperor dedicated the temple and the statue, one worth seeing, which in size exceeds all other statues save the colossi at Rhodes and Rome.<sup>49</sup>

Pausanias' choice of words in this passage – ὄτιμη Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσὶν οἱ κολοσσοί – implies that the Rhodian monument was standing in his own lifetime in the mid-2nd century. Thus, he provides some indirect confirmation for Malalas' statement that Hadrian had indeed restored it. There is some additional literary evidence that hints at a restored and re-erected Colossus, albeit this

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<sup>48</sup> On the coins of Rhodes, see especially Maryon 1956; Ashton 1988 and 2001; De Callatay 2006; Kebrick 2019 with bibliography.

<sup>49</sup> Paus. 1.18.6. Translated by W.H.S. Jones.

derives from much later sources postdating the 6th century. Theophanes the Confessor, writing less than two centuries after Malalas, describes an Arab raid on Rhodes:

In this year Mauius came to Rhodes and demolished the Colossus of Rhodes 1360 years after it had been built. A Jewish merchant of Edessa bought it and loaded 900 camels with its bronze.<sup>50</sup>

This reference makes it clear that the statue did not lay in ruins on the ground but had to be demolished so that its bronze could be carried off. Versions of this story proliferated in various later texts in Greek and Syriac,<sup>51</sup> and the supposed inscription on the statue's base is given in Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus' *De Administrando Imperio*:<sup>52</sup>

The Rhodian Colossus, eight times tencubits in height, Laches of Lindos made.

Taken together, the passages from Pausanias, Malalas, and later writers offer some support for the restoration and re-erection of the Colossus at an earlier date, most likely in the reign of Hadrian, although additional restorations after his reign must not be ruled out given the material, size, and location of the statue. It should be noted that Theophanes claims that the statue was demolished "1360 years after it had been built". Thus, although the monument was apparently restored and re-erected in the reign of Hadrian, its original construction date was still highlighted in the 8th century and beyond. The inscription below the Colossus which provided the names of the original builders, as Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus notes, was well in keeping with Hadrian's proclivity to omit his own

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<sup>50</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 343, 7-10. Translated by C. A. Mango, R. Scott, and G. Greatrex. See also commentary in Conrad 1996.

<sup>51</sup> For a list of references, see Conrad 1996. For Rhodes in the early medieval period, see Roberts 2016 with bibliography; De Callatay 2006.

<sup>52</sup> Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* 20.7-10. Translated by R.J.H. Jenkins. Note that *Anth. Pal.* 6.171 preserves the supposed original inscription on the Colossus, which further enhances the notion that the inscription transmitted by Porphyrogenetus must be a later – probably Hadrianic – addition. The original inscription supposedly read as follows: *To you, Helios, yes to you the people of Dorian Rhodes raised this colossus high up to the heaven, after they had calmed the bronze wave of war, and crowned their country with spoils won from the enemy. Not only over the sea but also on land they set up the bright light of unfettered freedom.*

name from the buildings he restored.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, the inscription cited above, which may have been part of the same inscription referenced by Malalas, vaguely recalls the type of wording chosen for the famous inscription in the Pantheon in Rome,<sup>54</sup> which Hadrian also restored. In any case, it would have been unlikely that one of the original seven wonders of the ancient world would have gone unnoticed by Hadrian. Certainly, such a grand restoration would have brought increased interest in and revenue for Rhodes, an island whose fortunes were already favorable in the Roman period.

If Hadrian sailed from Asia to Athens “by way of the islands”, as the *Historia Augusta* claims, which other islands might have been on his route? There is good reason to assume that he sojourned on the Cycladic island of Paros, about half-way on his journey from Rhodes to Athens. Paros’ marble quarries were prized in antiquity, and these, along with other quarries in the Empire, were under the direct control of the reigning emperor. Hadrian often travelled with a coterie of architects, craftsmen, engineers, artists, and other professionals,<sup>55</sup> so a stopover on Paros to inspect its famous marble quarries may have been necessary. Marble from the island was used frequently for portraits of the emperor and members of his family and court as well as for various building projects across the Empire, but this need not suggest that he was directly responsible for this choice in material. Hadrian may have also desired to visit the island for another reason.

Paros was the home of one of the most famous literary figures of Greek antiquity, the Archaic-period poet Archilochus (680-645 BCE), whom the islanders continued to honor long after his death.<sup>56</sup> The *Palatine Anthology* preserves Hadrian’s epigram for the poet’s tomb:<sup>57</sup>

This is Archilochus’ grave, whom to raging iambics

the Muse led, favoring the Maionian (i.e. Homer).

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<sup>53</sup> HA, *Hadr.*, 9.9. He did not include his name on buildings he commissioned apart from that of the temple of Trajan in Rome.

<sup>54</sup> M. AGRIPPA.L.F.COS.TERTIUM.FECIT.

<sup>55</sup> Epit. de Caes., 150.

<sup>56</sup> Arist., *Rh.*, 1398b. The cult of Archilochus was active on Paros until at least the 3rd century CE. See especially Clay 2004, 34-39; Hawkins 2014, 26.

<sup>57</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, 7.674. Translated by W.R. Paton.

As with his veneration and restoration of tombs of other famous Greeks, such as those of Epaminondas in Mantinea and Alcibiades in Phrygia,<sup>58</sup> the veneration of Archilochus' tomb on Paros was highly symbolic: the emperor was not only displaying his knowledge of and fondness for the Hellenic past, which formed an important aspect of his imperial policy, but also imbuing the island with a renewed sense of local pride. Culture capital was valued highly in the 2nd century, and Paros, like many other insular and mainland communities, could boast of a glorious Greek past via its famous poet and sculptors. Thus, although there is no epigraphic evidence for Hadrian's presence on the island, it is unlikely that he composed the epigram elsewhere and sent it to Paros to be set up on Archilochus' tomb. It is evident that the emperor honored the tombs of other illustrious individuals in person,<sup>59</sup> and, as the *Historia Augusta* informs us, "so fond was he of travel, that he wished to inform himself in person about all that he had read concerning all parts of the world".<sup>60</sup>

Since Hadrian stopped on Paros on his way from Rhodes to Athens, what other islands might he have visited on this trip from Asia to Achaëa? Leaving aside some of the larger Aegean islands, the sea route would have taken him to other Cycladic islands. Although in decline for centuries, the sacred island of Delos,<sup>61</sup> birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, would have been of interest to him as a site of panhellenic religious significance. Another possible candidate for a stopover on his way to Athens is the island of Syros, where a statue of him and an epigraphic document recording the islanders' gratitude for his benefactions have been discovered.<sup>62</sup> However, such dedications are prevalent in both insular and mainland sites and do not necessarily confirm his direct presence in those locations. Indeed, if the prevalence of statues is an indication of an imperial visit, then the emperor would have certainly visited Crete since the island has produced more statues and statue bases of Hadrian than any other place in Greece apart from Attica.<sup>63</sup> To date, no literary or epigraphic evidence confirms his presence on Crete, although it is difficult

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<sup>58</sup> Tomb of Epaminondas: Paus. 8.11.8; tomb of Alcibiades: Ath. 13.574F; on the implications of Hadrian's restorations of older tombs in general, see Kouremenos forthcoming.

<sup>59</sup> On this subject, see Kouremenos forthcoming.

<sup>60</sup> HA, *Hadr.*, 17.8.

<sup>61</sup> On Delos in the Roman period, see more recently Le Quéré 2018 with bibliography.

<sup>62</sup> For imperial visits as occasions for the erection of portrait statues, see especially Højte 2000. Although dated, Dürr 1881 references many inscriptions dedicated to Hadrian on the Greek islands, including two from Syros on p. 58.

<sup>63</sup> On statues of Hadrian from Crete, see Karanastasi 2012 and 2016 with bibliography; Gergel 2004; Birley 1997, 153 speculates that Hadrian visited Crete in 123 on his way to Greece from North Africa.

to fathom that the largest Greek island with its many historic sites would have escaped an official visit on his numerous trips to the East. Other islands that almost certainly received a visit or visits from Hadrian include Aegina and Salamis, both closely connected to his favorite city. In any case, by Autumn of 124, Hadrian was back in Athens, where he conferred benefactions, revised the local laws, and perhaps served as *eponymous archon* for a second time.<sup>64</sup> It was during this period that he was also initiated, like Augustus before him, into the Eleusinian Mysteries, although this may have been his second initiation.<sup>65</sup>

The *Historia Augusta* states that Hadrian was “initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries in the manner of Heracles and Philip”.<sup>66</sup> The former was initiated into the Mysteries with Theseus as sponsor,<sup>67</sup> but no other ancient source mentions Philip II of Macedon as an initiate.<sup>68</sup> However, Philip and his wife Olympias were initiated into the Cabirian Mysteries of Samothrace,<sup>69</sup> so an interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries on the Macedonian king’s part would not have been out of character. If Hadrian was indeed following in the footsteps of Heracles and Philip by being initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, could he also have been following in the footsteps of the latter by initiating himself into the Cabirian Mysteries as well? Some confirmation for this is provided by Jerome, who notes that the emperor initiated himself in most of the mysteries of Hellas.<sup>70</sup> Fragments of an epigraphic document with the names of Roman initiates suggest that the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and the island as a whole were in relative poverty in Hadrian’s reign since no one assumed the financial burden of the eponymous magistracy.<sup>71</sup> Wouldn’t the islanders, knowing the emperor’s religious and cultural predilections, appeal to him for financial assistance? Interestingly, an edict of Hadrian from Maroneia in Thrace,<sup>72</sup> located on the mainland across from Samothrace, confirms his presence in that city and may date to his third official visit to Greece as emperor in

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<sup>64</sup> Kapetanopoulos 1992-1998, 217-218; Kouremenos forthcoming.

<sup>65</sup> Hadrian was probably initiated for the first time before becoming emperor; see most recently Camia 2022 with bibliography.

<sup>66</sup> HA, *Hadr.*, 13.1.

<sup>67</sup> Plut., *Thes.*, 30.5.

<sup>68</sup> Oliver 1950 argues — unconvincingly — that Philip is an error for Philopappos; on Hadrian and Philip II, see Kouremenos forthcoming.

<sup>69</sup> Plut., *Alex.*, 2.1. For commentary, see Cole 1984; Greenwalt 2009; Schockmel 2012.

<sup>70</sup> Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, Vit. Quadratus.

<sup>71</sup> See most recently Dimitrova 2008, 186-187 with bibliography.

<sup>72</sup> See Jones 2011.

131/132. It is, therefore, likely that a trip to nearby Samothrace may have also occurred at this time, even if there is no direct epigraphic evidence for his presence there.

Like Augustus before him, Hadrian also granted islands as gifts; he ceded at least three islands to his most favored Greek cities. In his zeal to benefit Athens, he gave the city, “much money, an annual dole of grain, and the whole of the island of Cephallenia”.<sup>73</sup> The grant of the Ionian island implied that revenue from it would have been transferred to Athens. Similarly, he granted the island of Caudus, located south of Crete, to Sparta.<sup>74</sup> And when the Spartan magnate G. Julius Eurycles Herculaneus bequeathed Cythera to Hadrian after his death, the emperor gave it to Sparta.<sup>75</sup> These island grants reveal that smaller insular communities could be exploited to benefit larger or favored cities on the mainland. How the Cephallenians, Caudians, and Cytherans felt about being subjugated to Athens and Sparta has not been recorded, but we should assume that most of the islanders were not content to lose their autonomy.

#### 4. Conclusion

This brief overview of Hadrian’s presence on the Greek islands reveals that insularity often played an important role in Roman imperial politics during his reign but also had earlier imperial precedents. In the Julio-Claudian period, Augustus and Tiberius chose to sojourn on Aegean islands in order to escape from and conduct political business away from Rome. The Greek islands were located far enough from the capital to allow these imperial personages some freedom to exercise their will and power away from the authority of the senate and the prying eyes of their families. At the same time, the Greek islands were accessible enough to allow them to receive visitors from other parts of the Roman Empire. The historical and cultural prestige of certain islands was not lost on the Julio-Claudians and some of their successors, but Hadrian took it a step further. While two of his Julio-Claudian predecessors sojourned on Greek islands for months or even years, as in the case of Tiberius, Hadrian paid short visits to them primarily for cultural and religious purposes as part of his wider policies of consolidation and Hellenocentrism. He did not single out specific islands due to their insularity or because of a desire to isolate

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<sup>73</sup> Cass. Dio 69.16.2.

<sup>74</sup> Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 99ff.

<sup>75</sup> On Hadrian’s bequeathing of islands to Athens and Sparta, see Birley 1997; Steinhauer and Paspalas 2006/2007 with bibliography. Cass. Dio, 54.7.2 notes that Augustus had also granted Cythera to Sparta as a favor to the latter.

himself; islands simply formed part of his grander vision for the Greek world and were as linked to the Hellenic past as the sites on the mainland. As such, they were simply an extension of and a link with the mainland, and their proximity and connectivity to the Roman provinces in Greece and Asia allowed the imperial traveler and his entourage quick access to these lands, with islands serving as stepping-stones. It was not their insularity that appealed to Hadrian as much as their unique history and connection to the ancient Greek past. As such, his relationship to the Greek islands differed markedly from that of Augustus and Tiberius, who mainly used them to further their personal and political agendas in the Roman present rather than focusing on the islands' standing in the Roman world via their historical and religious past.

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## INSULARIDADE E POLÍTICA IMPERIAL: ADRIANO NAS ILHAS GREGAS

*Anna Kouremenos*

### RESUMO

Desde a sua conquista por Roma no século II AEC, os notáveis romanos eram uma presença constante na Grécia. Enquanto vários locais no continente serviram de campo de batalha para as guerras civis romanas durante o século I AEC (por exemplo, Pharsalos, Actium, Philippi), o início do período imperial foi caracterizado (muitas vezes por auto-imposição) pelo uso de várias ilhas gregas como lugares de exílio e/ou isolamento para notáveis como M. Vipsanius Agrippa (Lesbos) e Tiberius (Rodes). Outros romanos imperiais permaneceram nas ilhas do Mar Egeu por diferentes razões. Augusto passou um inverno em Samos após sua vitória em Actium, usando-a como base temporária de poder para o refinamento de seus planos imperiais, e ele a visitou e também a outras ilhas novamente como imperador. Enquanto os dois primeiros imperadores júlio-claudianos mantiveram estreitos contatos com o mundo grego, no século II EC Adriano levou esta conexão um passo adiante e promoveu o helenismo como uma parte importante de sua política imperial. Naturalmente, as ilhas gregas desempenharam um papel importante na política imperial durante seu reinado, mas apenas como componentes do mundo helênico mais amplo e não como entidades isoladas. Adriano visitou Rodes e Paros para restaurar e venerar monumentos helênicos mais antigos - o Colosso e o túmulo do poeta Arquíloco, respectivamente - e possivelmente a Samotrácia a fim de ser iniciado nos Mistérios dos Grandes Deuses. Ele também visitou outras ilhas na Grécia, mas seu itinerário exato de viagem só pode ser especulativo dadas nossas evidências literárias e epigráficas fragmentárias. Neste artigo, me concentro na presença de Adriano nas ilhas do Mar Egeu e discuto que durante seu reinado elas serviram principalmente como locais que permitiram a implementação de seus planos imperiais, em virtude de seu fácil acesso a partir das províncias da Grécia continental e da Ásia. Assim, ao promover certos aspectos da cultura helênica mais antiga em ilhas específicas, Adriano conferiu prestígio renovado a essas ilhas no Império Romano.

### PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Grécia romana, Adriano, insularidade, imperialismo romano, ilhas egeias.



### III. ENTREVISTAS

#### ***MARE NOSTRUM* ENTREVISTA: GILBERTO DA SILVA FRANCISCO – A PESQUISA BRASILEIRA NO *HERAION* DE DELOS<sup>1</sup>**

A pesquisa sobre o santuário de Hera (*Heraion*) de Delos é um dos projetos desenvolvidos no âmbito da EfA. Ela foi iniciada no século XIX e avançou até o século XXI, mas com resultados publicados relacionados prioritariamente à produção de estudos específicos (o conjunto do material cerâmico encontrado no depósito votivo, o grupo de terracotas encontradas no mesmo contexto e em outras regiões do santuário), e poucas interpretações sobre o conjunto visando uma interpretação sociológica do fenômeno religioso ali desenvolvido na antiguidade. A pesquisa foi retomada pela arqueóloga Haiganuch Sarian (membro sênior da EfA) em 1990 e está sob minha responsabilidade desde 2018. O objetivo principal é apresentar um texto sobre a história do culto de Hera em Delos em um volume específico na série *Exploration Archéologique de Délos* (EAD) e, para tanto, o projeto é desenvolvido em intenso ambiente colaborativo.

Atualmente, a pesquisa é desenvolvida por uma equipe ligada ao grupo de estudos sobre o *Heraion* de Delos sediado na Unifesp, e as pesquisas arqueológicas são beneficiadas pelo financiamento prioritário da EfA. A formação da equipe contempla pesquisadores de várias universidades brasileiras,<sup>2</sup> com especialidades diferentes, visando a compreensão de um amplo e variado conjunto documental relacionado a práticas que se desenvolveram do século VIII ao I a.C. (entre os períodos caracterizados como arcaico e helenístico), portanto, em contexto estrutural ou de longa duração. Dessa forma, cabe notar que as informações que apresentarei na sequência são a síntese de ideias de publicações já estabelecidas, sua revisão, novos dados ainda não publicados, e a reflexão conjunta do grupo que venho liderando, seja nas reuniões que temos, atualmente de modo virtual, seja nas atividades de museu, biblioteca e de campo em Delos. Assim, o uso do pronome “nós” é mais que um “nós” majestático, mas a indicação do conhecimento que vem sendo produzido de forma colaborativa. E, com isso, é preciso ressaltar a importância das contribuições da professora Haiganuch Sarian, que não apenas retomou as

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Adjunto da Universidade Federal de São Paulo (Unifesp), Membro Sênior da École française d’Athènes (EfA).

<sup>2</sup> A composição do grupo pode ser observada no seguinte link: <https://www.unifesp.br/campus/gua/institucional/academico/grupos-de-estudos/2299-grupo-de-estudos-sobre-o-heraion-de-delos>.



pesquisas sobre o *Heraion* de Delos em 1990, mas que atuou na revisão de muitas das propostas anteriormente apresentadas e consolidou a participação de pesquisadores brasileiros nesse projeto, seja como colaboradores, seja como estagiários.

***Mare Nostrum* (Lilian Angelo de Laky e Erica Angliker): Quando começaram as atividades de culto no santuário de Hera em Delos? Você poderia apresentar um resumo das conclusões sobre as novas propostas de datação do início do culto?**

**Gilberto da Silva Francisco:** Os dados mais recentes relacionados às pesquisas sobre o *Heraion* de Delos, composto por um conjunto, ainda inédito, de objetos encontrados em escavações arqueológicas ao longo do século XX e XXI, e a partir de dados já publicados, que estão sendo reavaliados, indicam que o início do culto à deusa Hera em Delos teria iniciado no período caracterizado como geométrico recente, entre 750-700 a.C.

Essa referência temporal vem sendo defendida mais recentemente, em oposição à proposta anterior, defendida por Charles Dugas e André Plassart, que situavam o início do culto no século VII a.C., a partir da análise do material cerâmico do depósito votivo, correspondente à primeira fase do culto, que foi encontrado em uma escavação dirigida por Pierre Roussel em 1911, e apresentado parcialmente em publicações da EfA de 1928, por Dugas e Plassart, respectivamente, *Les Vases de l'Héraion* (EAD 10) e *Les Sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe* (EAD 11).

Antes disso, houve algumas intervenções. O próprio Roussel empreendeu uma delas em 1909, e é digno de nota algumas outras na segunda metade do século XIX, empreendidas por L. Terrier, A. Lebègue, M. Stamatakis, Th. Homolle e A. Hauvette. Entretanto, foi apenas em 1911, que o depósito votivo foi encontrado, quando Roussel aprofundou a escavação da *cella* do templo B, e encontrou o templo A,<sup>3</sup> o mais antigo, e o material correspondente à primeira fase do culto no *Heraion* de Delos. Assim, depois da análise desse material em 1912, o conjunto de oferendas e suas especificidades começavam a ser mais bem compreendidos, inclusive a cronologia do início do culto.

O autor que discutiu com mais profundidade esse material foi Dugas (EAD 10), que defendia o início do culto no século VII a.C., já que o conjunto mais expressivo e mais antigo encontrado no depósito votivo era aquele caracterizado pela cerâmica orientalizante. No mesmo depósito, foram encontrados alguns objetos cerâmicos correspondentes ao geométrico recente,

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<sup>3</sup> Para a situação dos elementos construídos e sua distribuição em fases de ocupação do santuário, ver fig. 2.

portanto anteriores ao século VII a.C., mas em menor número, o que foi interpretado por Dugas como material remanescente de atividades anteriores ao culto. Segundo ele, a região teria sido ocupada desde o geométrico recente, mas o culto só teria começado efetivamente depois. Essa interpretação orientou as narrativas sobre o culto de Hera em Delos e temas associados (como a própria cronologia inicial do templo A), apesar de algumas indicações ao material do geométrico recente em determinadas publicações.

Entretanto, ao longo do século XX e XXI, algumas novas escavações e a reavaliação do material do depósito votivo permitiu recuar um pouco mais a cronologia inicial do culto de Hera em Delos, incluindo o material correspondente ao geométrico recente nas práticas culturais ali desenvolvidas. Por exemplo, na escavação empreendida por Jean Ducat em 1964, foram encontrados fragmentos de cerâmica geométrica no terraço ao lado dos templos na região de alguns muros que ele escavou parcialmente, informação que foi reportada no *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (BCH) e que foi incluída timidamente no *Guide de Délos* (GD).

Em 2008, na escavação dirigida por Haiganuch Sarian, um conjunto expressivo de material do geométrico recente foi encontrado associado a um dos muros parcialmente escavados por Ducat, que, em 2008, foram integralmente escavados até sua base, consolidando a ideia de que aquela estrutura teria sido construída antes do século VII a.C. Além disso, a reavaliação do material geométrico encontrado no depósito votivo, que, segundo Dugas, não teria relação com o culto de Hera, indicava outra situação. Por exemplo, o exame mais detido de uma parte dele, 5 modelos cerâmicos de romã (ver figura 1), apontam para um tipo de objeto muito claramente integrado ao culto de Hera desde o período geométrico.



**Figura 1:** Modelos de romã em terracota datados do geométrico recente encontrados no depósito votivo do *Heraion* de Delos (autora: Carolina Machado Guedes a partir do programa *Metashape Agisoft*).

Em outros santuários da deusa, especialmente até o século VI a.C., modelos de romãs e a própria fruta foram oferecidos, o que nos revela uma forte possibilidade de que, em Delos, já no século VIII a.C., o culto à deusa teria começado; e que, no século VII a.C., ele teria sido ampliado. Assim, diferente de um início do culto no século VII a.C., pensamos que, nesse século, era iniciada uma fase de ocupação mais consistente do santuário, mas não o início do culto de Hera, que, em Delos, já era existente. Outros elementos também contribuem para essa interpretação de uma cronologia mais recuada do início do culto, tais como as formas de preservação do material do depósito votivo e a lógica da organização desse conjunto feita pelos antigos.

Quanto à preservação dos objetos, é importante notar que os mais antigos, conforme indicado, são datados do geométrico recente, objetos que já tinham mais de 200 anos quando o depósito votivo foi reunido. Se seu uso fosse desconectado do culto, portanto, não correspondentes ao conjunto de oferendas feitas à deusa, eles não teriam sido preservados no interior do templo, mas em situação menos protegida. Esses objetos utilizados em contextos menos perturbados, como contexto funerário ou ritualístico, tendem a ser preservados de forma diferente.

A maior parte dos objetos associados aos elementos arquitetônicos ou no próprio terraço, cujo uso estava relacionado ao santuário, mas não foram preservados no interior do templo, chegaram até nós bastante fragmentados. Geralmente, são pequenos fragmentos isolados, situação muito diferente do conjunto preservado no interior do templo que foi organizado como um conjunto no depósito votivo. A qualidade de preservação desses objetos é, de maneira geral, muito boa. No caso dos modelos cerâmicos de romã, por exemplo, além da boa preservação externa e pouquíssima fragmentação, um deles preservou alguns pequenos elementos internos, o que permitiu identificá-lo, inclusive, como um instrumento musical (uma espécie de chocalho). Assim, parece que esse conjunto de vasos do geométrico recente foi preservado no interior do templo e integrado ao conjunto de oferendas que crescia ao longo do tempo e não fora desse contexto, como remanescente de atividades anteriores e desconectadas do culto.

Ainda sobre o estado de fragmentação dos vasos de cerâmica do geométrico recente no depósito votivo, alguns deles, fragmentados, foram remontados e restaram poucas lacunas, o que permite observar as suas feições originais; diferente da maior parte dos fragmentos encontrados nas escavações dos elementos externos aos templos, que, geralmente, são pequenos fragmentos isolados, o que impede sua remontagem. Isso tudo indica que houve efetivamente

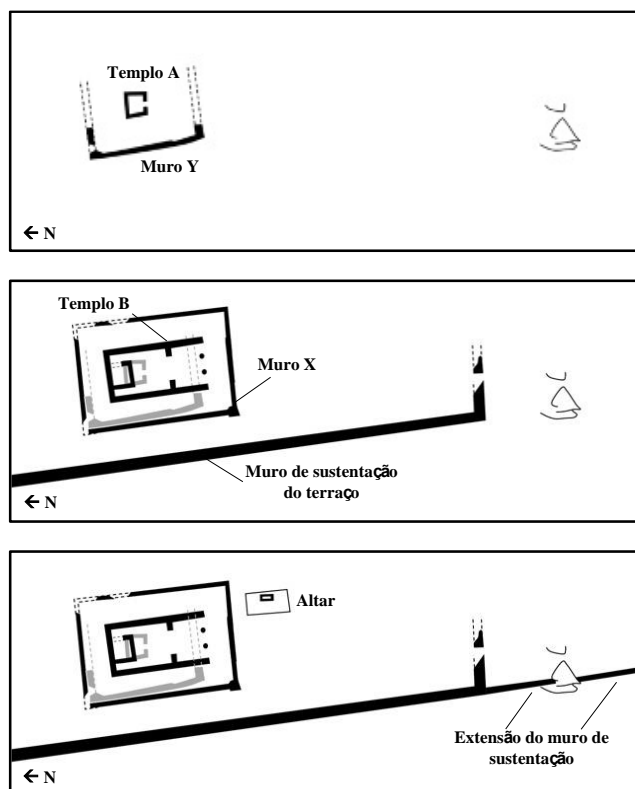
diferentes processos que incidiram sobre tais objetos ao longo do tempo. Aqueles que foram preservados no interior do templo e depois reunidos no depósito votivo são caracterizados por um grau de preservação mais amplo; seja aqueles que não foram fragmentados, seja aqueles cuja fragmentação preservou o conjunto de vestígios de um mesmo objeto, permitindo a sua remontagem.

Por fim, ainda, é importante notar que, no momento de criação do depósito votivo, quando o templo mais antigo, o templo A, foi parcialmente destruído, e o templo B, o mais recente, foi construído sobre ele, a aglutinação das oferendas da fase anterior foi muito possivelmente feita a partir do reconhecimento dos responsáveis pelo santuário como um conjunto. Ou seja, foram os próprios antigos que, no século V a.C., reconheceram a unidade de grupo de objetos, o que desabona em grande medida a interpretação de que tais objetos do geométrico recente encontrados no depósito votivo teriam sido correspondentes à ocupação da região antes do estabelecimento do culto de Hera.

***Mare Nostrum (Laky e Angliker): O Heraion passou por várias fases de construção. Quais são as principais fases do santuário?***

**Francisco:** Antes da apresentação das construções do *Heraion* de Delos, é preciso dizer algo sobre a terminologia que propomos para a identificação de alguns dos elementos do santuário. De maneira geral, a bibliografia utiliza o termo *Heraion* para descrever tanto o santuário (o complexo paisagístico-religioso) como os templos (um tipo de construção específica). Como há bastante variedade desse uso no que se refere à caracterização do *Heraion* de Delos, propomos, aqui, a delimitação do termo *Heraion* para a caracterização do *hieron* (a unidade sagrada), cuja delimitação espacial é o *tememos*.

Considerando isso, identificamos três fases de organização do espaço do santuário, que chamamos de *Heraion* I, II e III (ver fig. 2). Diferente disso, os dois templos, cuja construção foi subsequente (o primeiro datado de 750-700 a.C., e o segundo datado provavelmente do primeiro quartel do século V a.C.), chamamos, respectivamente, de templo A, o mais antigo, e templo B, o mais recente. Utilizarei, dessa forma, para a apresentação do espaço do santuário que mudou significativamente no longo recorte temporal relacionado ao funcionamento do santuário, os termos *Heraion* I, II e III para caracterizar as três principais fases de organização do espaço.



**Figura 2:** Fases de ocupação do santuário: **a.** (acima) *Heraion* I (século VIII-V a.C.); **b.** (meio) *Heraion* II (século V-IV a.C.); **c.** (abaixo) *Heraion* III (século IV ao I a.C.) (autor: Gilberto Francisco).

### *Heraion* I

A primeira fase marca a instauração do culto de Hera em Delos já na segunda metade do século VIII a.C. e durou até o primeiro quartel do século V a.C. Assim, um período de, pelo menos 200 anos. Nela, as construções conhecidas são simples e poucas: trata-se de uma capela e um muro associado a ela parcialmente escavado, cuja função ainda não é muito clara (pense-se na possibilidade de ele ter sido um muro que estruturava um pequeno terraço relacionado à capela, ou ainda um períbolo que delimitava o espaço do santuário naquele período).

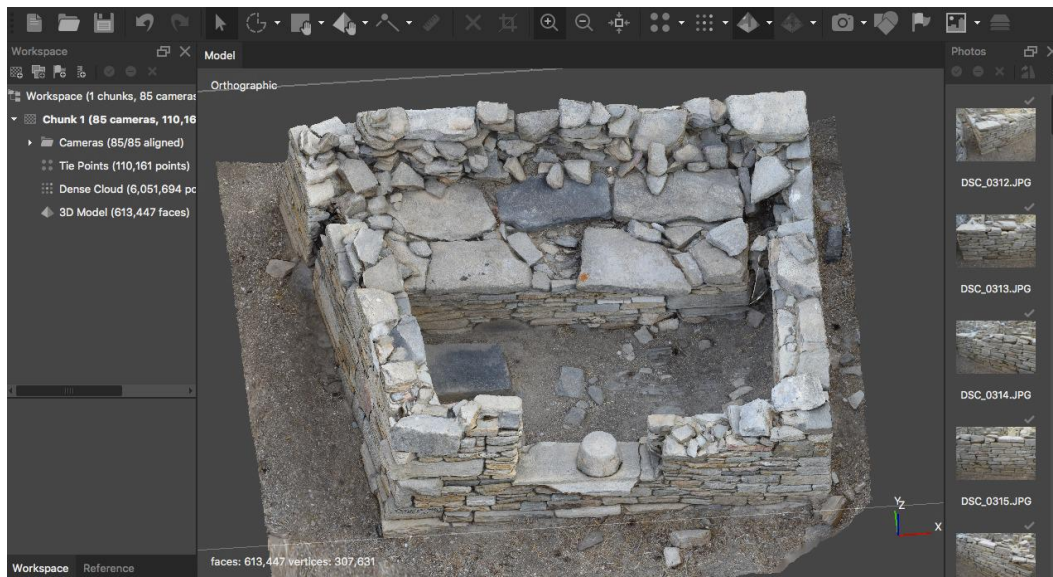
A posição do santuário é próxima do monte Cinto (no seu sopé), para onde ele estava orientado; ou seja, o santuário era voltado para o sul, estabelecendo-se uma conexão entre ele e o monte Cinto. O terreno apresenta uma leve inclinação e, nesse sentido, pode ter havido a necessidade de certa correção, o que pode ter sido sanado com a construção de um pequeno terraço talvez associado ao muro citado, atualmente chamado de muro Y, de cerca de 14 metros na sua extensão na região oeste do terraço. Sobre ele, foi construída a capela, o templo A, cuja forma é trapezoidal, e medindo, no comprimento e largura máximos, 3,4 x 2,87 metros (ver fig. 2b, 3 e 4).



**Figura 3:** Planta dos Muros X e Y: **a.** (acima) Extensão dos muros em escavação por Sarian (2008); **b.** (abaixo) Indicação dos trechos escavados por Paul Bernard (1958) e Jean Ducat (1964).

A parte que foi preservada é constituída por certa elevação das paredes (ver fig. 4) e, no interior, uma banqueta que domina toda a parte posterior da construção (onde, possivelmente, fosse depositada boa parte das oferendas), que é organizada por pedras de gnaiss. Ao lado dele, foi escavado o muro Y, cuja cronologia foi baseada nos achados cerâmicos (consistentemente situados no período geométrico), indicado a contemporaneidade do templo e do muro, que poderia ser uma espécie de períbolo e/ou de sustentação de um pequeno terraço.

A cronologia dessas duas construções é baseada no material encontrado no depósito votivo e no próprio muro, datados do geométrico recente. Assim, nessa primeira fase, pensa-se que a criação do santuário materializou um pequeno conjunto arquitetônico, muito possivelmente conectado ao monte Cinto, cuja ocupação parece ter durado, pelo menos, 200 anos, alcançando o primeiro quartel do século V a.C., referência cronológica indicada pelo material mais recente encontrado no depósito votivo, um representativo grupo de cerâmica ática, que foi datada inicialmente no século VI, mas, em algumas publicações mais antigas, já havia a sugestão de que parte desse material fosse correspondente à produção ática do início do século V a.C.; talvez, meados do século V a.C.



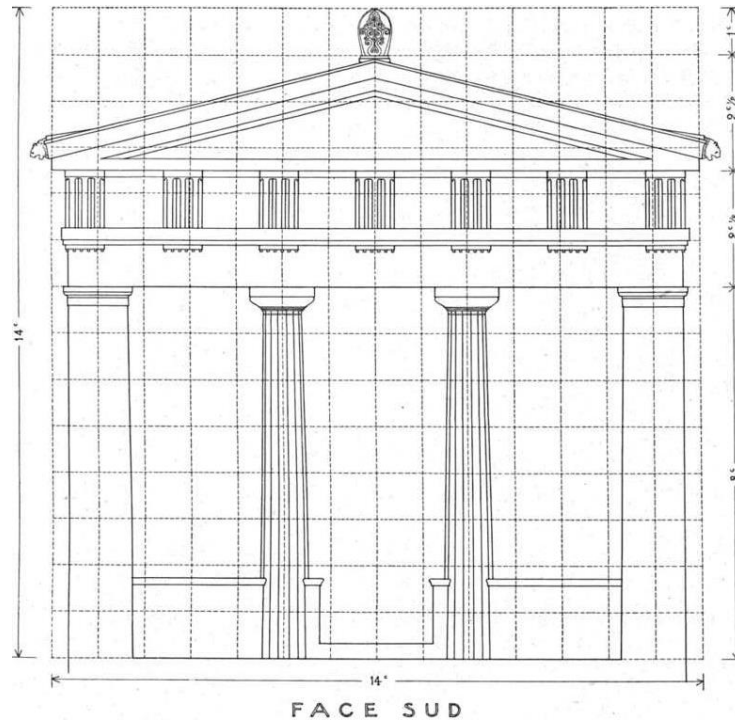
**Figura 4:** Imagem a partir de modelo 3D das ruínas do templo A (autora: Carolina Machado Guedes a partir do programa *Metashape Agisoft*).

## *Heraion II*

A segunda fase de ocupação do santuário apresenta uma significativa modificação do espaço. Além de uma grande ampliação do terraço, construiu-se um novo templo (o templo B), mais amplo e já ligado às perspectivas mais padronizadas da arquitetura grega: trata-se de um templo dórico distilo *in antis*, cujas medidas mais amplas têm cerca de 13 metros de comprimento e 6,9 metros de largura, construído com blocos de mármore de, pelo menos, duas origens diferentes, com uma planta caracterizada pela presença de um *pronaos* e uma *cella* (ver fig. 2b, 5 e 6).



**Figura 5:** Fotografia da fachada principal do templo B (arquivo pessoal)



**Figura 6:** Fachada principal – proposta de reconstituição (extraído de Plassart, EAD 11).

O início dessa segunda fase está conectada ao fim do culto na paisagem anterior, que foi amplamente destruída e os elementos arquitetônicos soterrados com as oferendas aglutinadas, o que nos coloca o primeiro quartel do século V a.C. (ou um pouco depois) como referência para a sua construção. Além disso, a ampliação do terraço demandou a construção de um grande muro (cerca de 64 metros de comprimento) de sustentação na parte com inclinação mais aguda do solo natural a oeste; e, nesse contexto, a projeção do terraço passava a alcançar a região próxima de um conjunto de rochedos, onde havia uma fonte e a escadaria de acesso ao topo do monte Cinto. Dessa forma, estabeleceu-se uma conexão explícita entre os espaços do santuário de Hera e de Zeus.

Sobre o templo, é preciso dizer que há uma série de elementos específicos, que não podem ser claramente situados nessa fase de sua construção, mas também poderiam ser relacionados a reformas posteriores. De qualquer forma, é importante citar que havia, no *pronaos*, uma sequência contínua de baquetas contíguas às paredes; associados às colunas e *antae*, há alguns elementos que indicam a anexação muito possível de grades e portas de material metálico; na *cella*, havia um solo composto por um mosaico de pequenos seixos rolados, sobre o qual estava situada uma base de estátua de culto, que ainda será descrita mais detalhadamente.

A fundação do templo B é relativamente alta, o que indica alguma referência da situação do solo do terraço na época de sua construção. Mais que isso, há mais um elemento que poderia



estar conectado a esse conjunto: trata-se de um muro (o muro X), circundando todo o templo, que foi interpretado, durante bastante tempo, como um muro de períbolo. Essa interpretação apresenta dois problemas significativos: o primeiro é a proximidade do muro em relação às paredes do templo B, o que não se justifica considerando o amplo espaço do novo terraço; e a própria situação externa de um altar que seria construído no final do século IV a.C.

Diferente disso, a revisão dessa interpretação sugere outra possibilidade: em vez de um muro de períbolo muito próximo do templo B, esse muro poderia ser a fundação de uma espécie de plataforma que esconderia a fundação do templo B com pedras irregulares e, além disso, permitia um melhor acesso ao interior desse edifício. Dessa forma, a segunda fase pode ser pensada pela intensificação do culto que teria demandado a construção de um santuário mais amplo. Essa ampliação ratificou a associação com o monte Cinto já que a projeção do terraço delimitava uma entrada para dois santuários. Além disso, o novo templo integrava o culto de Hera às tendências da época do ponto de vista arquitetônico, o que fica claro dada a construção do templo dórico *in antis*.

Há, ainda, um elemento importante e digno de nota: após a construção do novo templo no início do período clássico, aparentemente o santuário foi abandonado. Essa interpretação está baseada na lacuna de material entre a primeira metade do século V a.C. e o final do século IV a.C., quando a nova fase de ocupação do santuário foi iniciada; o que sugere a ausência de frequência do santuário nesse período. De fato, é complicado interpretar essa lacuna, que vem sendo pensada como abandono, mas essa interpretação deve ser aprofundada, considerando o contexto deliano de forma mais ampla.

### *Heraion III*

Essa última fase pode ser situada entre o final do século IV a.C. e o abandono do santuário, talvez, no século I a.C. Nela, podem ser observadas algumas modificações no templo B, o que ainda não é muito claro, e outros elementos fundamentais: a inserção de um altar jônico sobre um conjunto de degraus (uma espécie de plataforma) situado lateralmente diante da fachada principal do templo B e a ampliação do complexo da entrada do santuário (ver fig. 2c e 7).

Sobre o altar, um paralelo em Delos indica um referencial cronológico importante: trata-se do altar bastante parecido do *Afrodision* de Stesileos, datado do final do século IV a.C. Além da referência cronológica relacionada à época de construção desse santuário, o altar helenístico do *Heraion* de Delos apresenta alguns encaixes de grampos em “duplo T”, característicos da

produção arquitetônica da época. Parece que esse altar é datado do final do século IV a.C., o que nos apresenta um significativo referencial cronológico para situar essas novas intervenções no *Heraion*.



**Figura 7:** Fotografia das ruínas do altar, 2018 (arquivo pessoal).



**Figura 8:** Situação do *Heraion* (esquerda) e do *Afrodision* (direita) de Delos (extraído do *WebSig Delos* e adaptado).<sup>4</sup>

Tendo ainda o *Afrodision* como referência, é importante notar que não apenas o altar, mas o conjunto templo e altar indicam outros paralelos como o *Heraion* de Delos: o templo possui planta bastante parecida com o templo B do *Heraion*, possuindo as banquetas no *pronaos*

<sup>4</sup> Para o *WebSig Delos*, acessar o link <https://sig-delos.efa.gr/>

inclusive; e, além da similaridade desses altares, a posição relacionada aos templos é a mesma: eles são posicionados lateralmente diante dos templos (ver fig. 8).

Ainda, a orientação desses templos é quase a mesma. Ou seja, parece que houve certo interesse em emular alguns aspectos de um santuário já tradicional quando o *Afrodision* foi construído, o que foi expressado nessas semelhanças. Assim, a observação do *Afrodision* pode ajudar a compreender as dinâmicas desenvolvidas no *Heraion* no período helenístico.

Quanto à extensão do muro de cerca de 20 metros associado à entrada sul, que reorganizou a entrada do terraço do *Heraion*, ela pode ser compreendida tendo como referência a criação de outro santuário: o *Serapeion*, santuário construído no século II a.C. Quando ele foi construído, o terraço do *Heraion* já era antigo e abrigava as atividades relacionadas ao culto de Hera em uma perspectiva tradicional. Nesse sentido, na organização do espaço desse santuário, foi aproveitado o grande muro de sustentação do terraço do *Heraion*. O muro deixava se ser exclusivamente ligado ao *Heraion* e passava a ser elemento fundamental da organização do *temenos* do *Serapeion*.

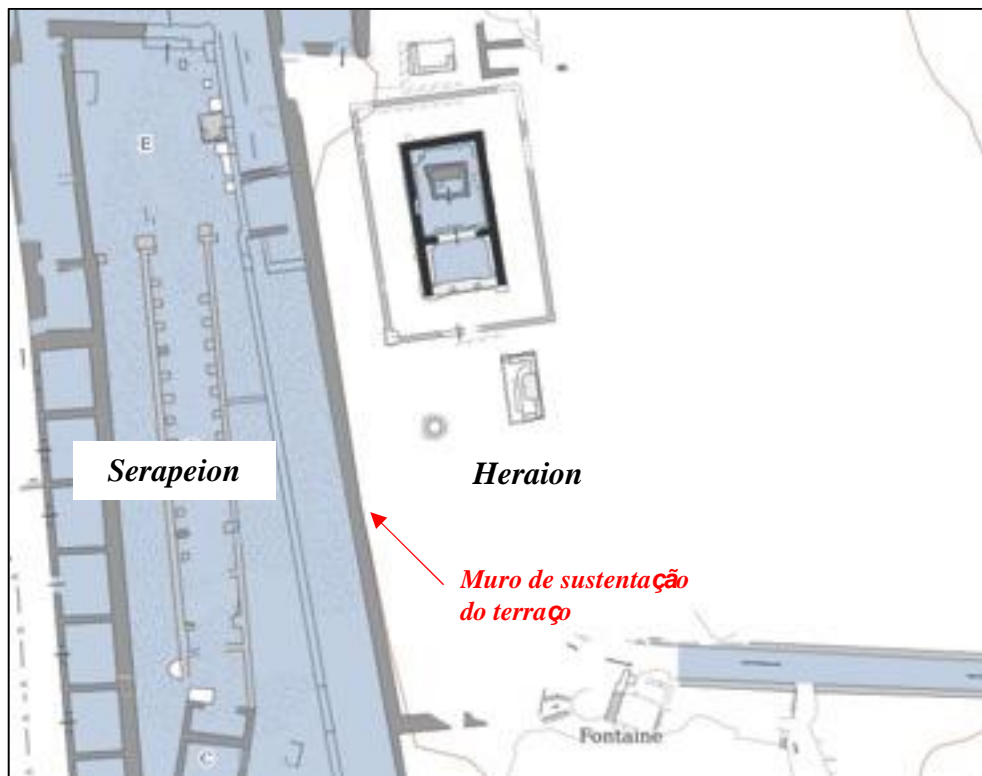
Foi, justamente respondendo à organização do espaço nesse novo santuário, que a extensão do muro anterior foi empreendida, considerando que o espaço foi projetado para além da delimitação final do muro de sustentação do *Heraion*. Assim, do ponto de vista da paisagem e do programa arquitetônico, o espaço do culto de Hera foi afetado pelas atividades do culto que começou a ser desenvolvido ao lado (ver fig. 9).

Esse muro foi escavado em 2006 em alguns trechos e o material associado a ele é prioritariamente do período helenístico, o que reforça a defesa de sua cronologia situada no período helenístico e a associação à espacialização do *Serapeion*. Entretanto, para uma compreensão mais bem definida desse cenário, é necessário aprofundar o estudo do conjunto de cerâmica helenística ali encontrado, o que poderá oferecer um maior detalhamento cronológico.

Nesta última fase de ocupação do santuário, o *Heraion* III, nota-se que o culto ainda era importante na medida em que um novo altar foi instalado e algumas possíveis reformas foram empreendidas no templo B além da reorganização do terraço com alguma possível relação com a criação do *Serapeion*. Algo dessas reformas foram indicadas em algumas inscrições desse período, o que ainda será comentado.

**Mare Nostrum (Laky e Angliker): É possível comentar algo sobre o culto praticado no *Heraion* a partir dos objetos votivos?**

**Francisco:** Em primeiro lugar, é preciso dizer que uma caracterização detalhada do culto de Hera em Delos não é possível de ser empreendida. As fontes conhecidas não possibilitam, por exemplo, a compreensão de aspectos específicos da natureza da divindade, do regime de oferendas em toda a duração do culto, da reprodução das práticas cultuais e dos elementos litúrgicos próprios desse culto. As hipóteses que foram defendidas ao longo do tempo repousam em aspectos generalistas; e será, nessa direção, que serão apresentados os objetos votivos mais significativos para a compreensão geral do culto de Hera em Delos.



**Figura 9:** Situação do *Heraion* e do *Serapeion* (extraído do *WebSig Delos* e adaptado).

Os objetos votivos conhecidos do *Heraion* de Delos são, na sua grande maioria, relacionados à primeira fase do culto e foram preservados por conta de sua aglutinação em um depósito votivo, que é interessante descrever de maneira geral. Como dito, na transição da primeira para a segunda fase de organização do espaço do santuário, o templo A foi destruído, mas foi mantida parte dele, onde foram aglutinados os objetos relacionados às práticas cultuais ali desenvolvidas entre a segunda metade do século VIII ao início do século V a.C. Sobre esse conjunto constituído pelas ruínas do templo A e pelo conjunto de oferendas, foi construído o

templo B. Assim, do século V a.C. até o ano de 1911, esse complexo caracterizado por um espaço delimitado pelas ruínas de uma antiga construção, que acolhia um grande conjunto de objetos de natureza variada, foi mantido intacto.

Desse conjunto, os objetos votivos relacionados ao culto de Hera, boa parte foi publicada, principalmente o grupo de quase 700 vasos de cerâmica e de centenas de estatuetas de terracota, e foi a partir deles que boa parte das interpretações sobre esse culto foi desenvolvida. Por exemplo, entre as publicações de Dugas e Plassart (EAD 10 e 11), observa-se a apresentação de um conjunto variado de vasos de cerâmica produzidos do período geométrico até o início do período clássico empreendida por Charles Dugas (EAD 10), que não chegou a desenvolver interpretações mais aprofundadas sobre sua natureza cultural. De fato, há algumas interpretações pouco profundas sobre o culto espalhadas na publicação, que desenvolveu prioritariamente uma consistente discussão sobre a tipologia dos vasos de cerâmica.

Já na publicação de André Plassart (EAD 11), apesar de a apresentação da documentação ser menos sistemática (não há um catálogo por exemplo), há uma discussão mais interpretativa das características do conjunto arquitetônico e dos objetos de outra natureza; assim, algumas características do culto aparecem de forma mais desenvolvida na obra de Plassart. Foi, entre a obra de Dugas (um catálogo sistemático), de Plassart (uma interpretação do conjunto) e ainda da publicação de Alfred Laumonier (EAD 23), que alguns elementos do culto passaram a ser definidos.

Por exemplo, a lógica da fertilidade associada a Hera e as comparações com outras manifestações similares em outros santuários da deusa a partir da apresentação dos modelos de romã já apareciam nessas publicações. Além disso, o conjunto de inscrições dedicatórias presentes no material do depósito votivo são apresentadas em uma perspectiva interpretativa. Aliás, é importante dizer que foi justamente a partir dessas inscrições que o próprio santuário foi identificado como um *Heraion*, na medida em que o nome da deusa aparece em alguns vasos de cerâmica e um fragmento de máscara de terracota encontrados no depósito votivo em 1911.

Antes disso, pensava-se na possibilidade de aquele santuário ser relacionado ao culto de Ísis ou Serápis, já que havia inscrições encontradas próximas dele que apresentavam o nome dessas divindades (hoje, sabe-se que tais inscrições são provenientes do *Serapeion*, santuário que foi construído ao lado do terraço do *Heraion* no período helenístico); e outros pensavam, ainda, que poderia se tratar de um santuário de Apolo ou da Deusa Mãe. Mas, mesmo antes do depósito votivo ter sido encontrado, o achado de algumas estatuetas femininas de terracota nas

intervenções até 1909 indicavam que o culto ali estabelecido seria, muito possivelmente, relacionado a uma divindade feminina, o que foi confirmado depois dos achados de 1911.

O conjunto amplo de objetos do depósito votivo apresenta algumas oferendas específicas, como no caso dos modelos de romãs, mas também alguns vasos como *lebes gamikos*, um tipo de vaso associado ao casamento. Além disso, Dugas defende a associação de vários vasos de perfumes (aríbalos e alabastros coríntios) ao universo feminino, já que seriam vasos relacionados a perfumes, ou seja, ligados à toailete feminina. Mas, apesar de essa interpretação não ser muito segura, é preciso prestar um pouco mais de atenção em seu argumento.

No grupo de 683 vasos do depósito votivo repertoriados por Dugas (que não representam o conjunto completo, mas sua maioria), as formas mais presentes são de vasos relacionados aos perfumes: da cerâmica produzida por oficinas em Corinto, a mais representativa do ponto de vista quantitativo, há, do chamado estilo coríntio, 179 aríbalos globulares, 26 aríbalos com base circular, 17 aríbalos com base estreita e 88 alabastros; além de 2 aríbalos globulares e 16 com base circular do estilo proto-coríntio. Esses vasos correspondem a quase metade dos vasos publicados por Dugas: cerca de 48% do conjunto. E, se considerarmos as formas mais representativas quantitativamente de maneira isolada, os aríbalos globulares coríntios representam cerca de 26% do conjunto; enquanto os alabastros coríntios, 13%. A questão, dessa forma, é diretamente ligada à interpretação dessas quantidades.

Percebe-se, nesse caso, uma forte presença de formas de vasos relacionadas ao uso de perfume, que podem ser conectadas de maneira abstrata ao universo feminino dado o uso, não exclusivo, mas consistente, no âmbito da toailete feminina. Como interpretar essa conexão? Em primeiro lugar, é preciso notar que não houve, até o momento, exames relacionados aos micros vestígios de conteúdos que poderiam ser preservados; no caso, o óleo perfumado. Entretanto, independente da presença do perfume, a forma, em si, já poderia estabelecer essa conexão entre o seu conteúdo tradicional, sua situação de uso e, ainda, as conexões com o universo feminino.

Mas, essas conexões são frágeis. É preciso notar que, no conjunto, os vasos proto-coríntios e, principalmente, os vasos coríntios do depósito votivo, para além das formas relacionadas a perfumes, representam cerca de 58% do conjunto de vasos de cerâmica ali imobilizados. Considerando isso, vale perguntar: qual o significado dessas quantidades bastante consistentes? É bastante claro que, no século VII a.C., a cerâmica coríntia teve sua produção e distribuição mediterrânica intensificada; o que pode ser verificado de forma específica também no conjunto do depósito votivo do *Heraion* de Delos. Assim, qual seria o significado dessa forte presença: uma adequação à especificidade do culto de Hera em Delos indicado pelos vasos de

perfume ali immobilizados na dinâmica do culto ou apenas um reflexo de um fenômeno mais amplo relacionado à grande distribuição da cerâmica coríntia, que proporcionou uma maior oferta de vasos produzidos em Corinto inclusive na região da Cíclades?

Dessa forma, parece que o conjunto de vasos de cerâmica, apesar de muito expressivo no depósito votivo, não indica forte especificidade no conjunto. Diferente disso, ela parece apresentar alguns elementos próprios do culto de Hera de forma limitada, e um grupo de oferendas que poderiam ser ofertadas a Hera, mas também a outras divindades.

\* \* \*

Além das centenas de vasos de cerâmica, outro grupo específico de objetos encontrados no depósito votivo são estatuetas e máscaras de terracota. A maior parte delas representa figuras femininas, cuja interpretação ainda merece atenção no escopo do nosso projeto. Dentre elas, um grupo expressivo de figuras femininas sentadas e, em alguns casos, pode-se dizer entronadas. Entre elas, há uma estatueta específica que representa um casal sentado, que pode ser interpretado como um casal genérico ou o próprio *hieros gamos*, Zeus e Hera. Mas, para desenvolver um pouco mais a interpretação sobre seus significados, é preciso considerar os problemas metodológicos relacionados à lógica dessas estatuetas de terracota em contexto votivo.

No caso daquelas encontradas no *Heraion* de Delos (seja um grupo menor de terracotas encontradas em escavações do terraço, seja o grande grupo que foi encontrado no depósito votivo), a maior parte delas femininas, foram interpretadas por Pierre Lévêque (*Héra et le lion, d'après les statuettes de Délos*, 1949) e André Plassart (EAD 11) como representações de Hera; o que foi rediscutido na publicação específica de Laumonier (EAD 23), que dedicou uma parte específica para as estatuetas jônicas encontradas no depósito votivo do *Heraion* de Delos. De forma sintética, apesar de haver boa possibilidade de várias delas terem sido, de fato, representações de Hera, há dúvidas de interpretação; segundo ele, elas poderiam representar a própria deusa, uma sacerdotisa ou a ofertante. Além disso, podemos considerar, em alguns casos, o fenômeno caracterizado por Brita Alroth (*Greek gods and figurines: aspects of the anthropomorphic dedications*, 1989) como “deuses visitantes”.

A própria lógica da representação, se considerarmos que determinadas estatuetas sejam representações de Hera, pode ser discutida. Seriam esses objetos de terracota produzidos originalmente com esse conteúdo; ou seja, no contexto da produção já haveria o interesse de

criar estatuetas que representassem especificamente a deusa Hera? Ou, diferente disso, um tipo iconográfico de significado mais abrangente e abstrato poderia ser associado, a partir de sua contextualização no culto relacionado a Hera e, nesse sentido, passaria representar a deusa? Há, relacionado a isso, alguns elementos específicos que sugerem uma intenção mais clara de identificação com Hera como, por exemplo, a posição sentada, mais especificamente, entronada; o que aparece de forma consistente na sua caracterização literária; mas, cabe lembrar, esse não é um tipo iconográfico exclusivo da figuração de Hera.

De qualquer forma, independente do significado específico atribuído a essas estatuetas de terracota, é importante notar que elas compõem um grupo consistente de representações femininas, o que já sugeria, mesmo antes do achado das inscrições dedicatórias no depósito votivo, que a divindade ali cultuada fosse feminina. Elas, associadas ao restante de grupo de oferendas, contribuem para uma interpretação sobre o regime de oferendas no *Heraion* de Delos, cujo foco parece ter sido em torno do universo feminino e, aparentemente, com algum interesse mais desenvolvido em torno do casamento.

\* \* \*

Como síntese, pode-se dizer que, na maior parte, além de poucos objetos mais específicos e com inscrições portando o nome da deusa, o conjunto é genérico e poderia ser encontrado em santuários variados. Ou seja, não é possível encontrar nesse conjunto a expressão de escolhas específicas de objetos relacionados exclusivamente a Hera. Ao contrário, o culto dela em Delos foi caracterizado pela presença de oferendas específicas ocasionalmente, mas, de maneira ampla, objetos de uso genérico caracterizam de forma mais adequada o conjunto de oferendas. Além disso, há poucas referências a elementos presentes no *Heraion* indicados em inscrições do período helenístico, tais como uma mesa lustral.

Tendo em mente todos esses vestígios, é possível observar de forma diluída alguns aspectos observados na deusa, tais como a fertilidade provavelmente associada ao casamento, a sua associação com Zeus em termos de um *hieros gamos*; mas não é possível identificar elementos mais precisos da dinâmica do culto e nem mesmo alguma forma de liturgia própria desse culto. Qual era a dinâmica dos sacrifícios e da deposição das oferendas? Qual a interferência de sacerdotes ou sacerdotisas? Havia uma organização ou ordenação das práticas no contexto do culto?



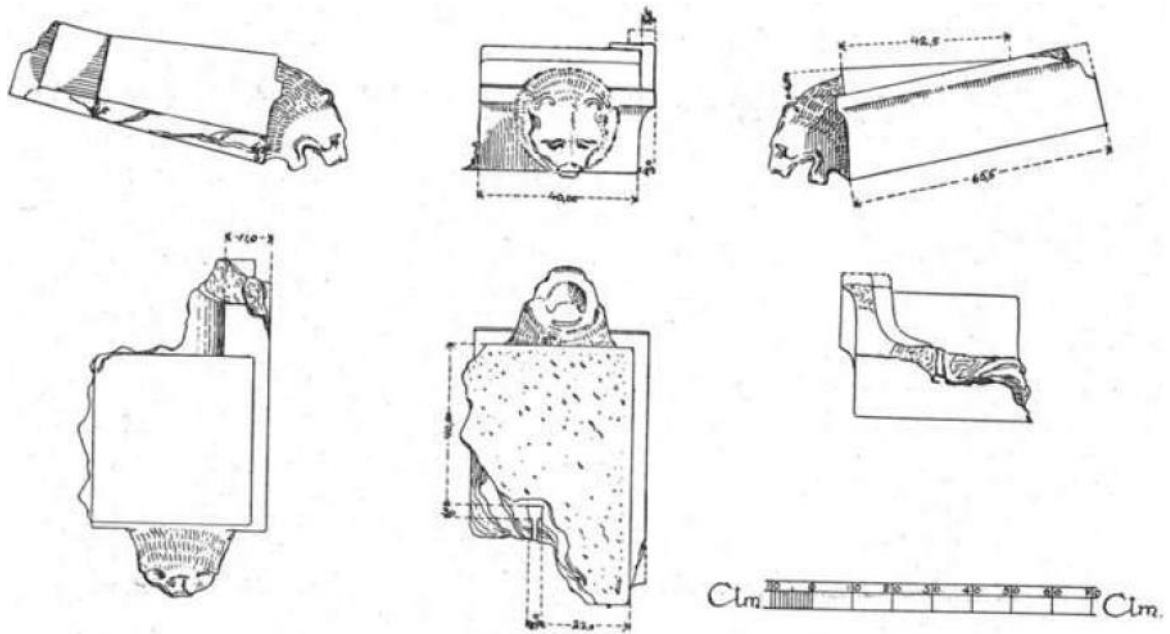
De fato, é possível observar, sobretudo para a primeira fase do culto de Hera em Delos, características gerais do regime de oferendas, tais como alguns elementos associados à deusa, a proveniência das oferendas, mas não muito claramente a dos fiéis.

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky e Angliker): No Museu de Delos, há esculturas curiosas como duas pombas que fizeram parte do programa escultural do templo. Você poderia comentar um pouco sobre o programa escultórico?**

**Francisco:** A compreensão do programa escultórico do templo B, o mais recente, é um desafio grande, considerando a quase ausência de elementos figurativos preservados. As esculturas de pombas (A 3122 e A 3123), geralmente atribuídas ao *Heraion*, não pertenceram realmente a esse santuário. É o que diz Antoine Hermary, na publicação *Sculptures archaïques de Délos : deux lions, une sirène et deux oiseaux*, depois de estudar a documentação relacionada a essas esculturas, tais como fotografias da época de seu achado e as anotações dos cadernos de campo; que indicou que o local do achado é a região sudeste do lago, próximo da Ágora dos Italianos.

De fato, uma delas (A 3122) foi encontrada nesse contexto, conforme indica a documentação citada; já a outra (A 3123), permanece com a proveniência incerta (ela já havia sido encontrada antes, mas a informação sobre sua proveniência foi perdida). Talvez, achados externos a Delos, relacionando Hera com a figura de uma pomba, além de ter sido encontrado no depósito votivo do *Heraion* algumas figuras femininas portando pombas, tenham influenciado a consolidação dessa informação equivocada que ainda é apresentada no Museu de Delos e no GD.

Dessa forma, o único elemento figurativo escultural do *Heraion* de Delos que conhecemos são as figuras de leões que decoram a *sima* do templo B (ver fig. 10), cuja datação provável é do primeiro quartel do século V a.C. A figura da cabeça de leão nessa situação não apresenta muita especificidade no que se refere ao programa escultórico do templo B, considerando que essa era uma solução comum na decoração arquitetônica em geral; ou seja, não há uma conexão específica com a deusa Hera.



**Figura 10:** Desenho de cabeça de leão compondo parte da *sima* do templo B (extraído de Plassart, EAD 11).

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky e Angliker):** Você poderia comentar algo sobre a distância entre o *Heraion* e o Santuário de Apolo e a proximidade do *Heraion* e o *Kynthion* no monte Cinto?

**Francisco:** Como dito, atualmente, pensamos que o culto de Hera em Delos teve início no século VIII a.C. e que, no século VII a.C., ele foi intensificado. Essa é uma interpretação mais diretamente ligada à quantificação dos objetos do depósito votivo, que ainda merece ser mais aprofundada a partir de leituras sociológicas. Por exemplo, a compreensão de formas específicas da primeira fase do culto, correspondente ao geométrico recente, de baixa intensidade (do ponto de vista quantitativo), mas já demonstrando certa integração com as formas do culto de Hera em outros *Heraia*.

Mesmo que sejam poucos objetos do geométrico recente encontrados no depósito votivo (são 16 objetos repertoriados por Dugas), eles podem ser associados a outros vestígios encontrados nas escavações do terraço do *Heraion*, que confirmam uma ocupação consistente no século VIII a.C. Além disso, a natureza específica de parte desse material indica associações com a dinâmica do culto de Hera em um circuito regional - por exemplo, a presença da romã e possíveis associações com características de fertilidade da deusa.

Além dessas comparações no âmbito específico do santuário da deusa em Delos e dos cultos relacionados a ela entre os séculos VIII e VI a.C. em uma perspectiva mediterrânea, a própria situação do santuário de Hera em Delos, considerando a complexidade religiosa das

atividades na ilha, informa bastante sobre a situação específica do culto de Hera em Delos e sua importância para a compreensão da implementação das atividades religiosas na ilha.

Nesse sentido, é preciso notar que Delos é uma ilha consagrada a Apolo. Ali, tendo em mente as informações paisagísticas e topográficas, epigráficas e literárias, é possível dizer que foi constituído um complexo de cultos, cuja personagem principal era o deus Apolo. Assim, as narrativas literárias, de caráter mitológico, indicam certa oposição entre a tríade apolínea (Apolo, sua irmã Ártemis e sua mãe Leto), de um lado, e Hera de outro.

Na seção deliana do *Hino Homérico a Apolo* (HHA), Hera atua contra o nascimento dos gêmeos Apolo e Ártemis em dois níveis: a sua fama teria influenciado várias cidades a rejeitarem a chegada de Leto para o parto, exceto Delos; e, ainda, ela retinha consigo a sua filha, Ilítia, divindade essencial para o desenvolvimento do parto. Assim, pensa-se Hera como inimiga da tríade apolínea, dada a narrativa que os coloca em contraposição.

Dessa forma, cabe perguntar, porque ela foi cultuada desde tão cedo em Delos, uma ilha consagrada ao deus Apolo? É preciso notar, a partir de tal questão, que o culto mais antigo registrado em Delos é aquele relacionado a Hera, já que os registros explícitos relacionados ao culto de Apolo datam do século VII a.C., tal como os de Ártemis e Leto; portanto, posteriores. É claro que, sobre essas informações cronológicas, é preciso ponderar um pouco.

Nesse caso, os registros conhecidos pelos arqueólogos indicam mais a nossa limitação do conhecimento do que elementos objetivos da própria ação humana no passado. Por exemplo, na região ocupada pelos santuários de Apolo e Ártemis em Delos, há vestígios que remontam a épocas mais antigas, representadas por material cerâmico do período micênico e proto-geométrico; portanto, anteriores àquele material do geométrico recente encontrado no *Heraion*.

Entretanto, esse material antigo relacionado à região dos santuários de Apolo e Ártemis não são claramente conectados ao culto desses deuses. Diferente dos modelos de romã, que indicam um elemento específico do culto de Hera, como visto, o material mais antigo encontrado na região dos santuários da tríade apolínea não pode ser conectado diretamente à atividade cultual. Dessa forma, o cenário é o seguinte: a partir dos registros arqueológicos, o culto mais antigo é aquele relacionado a Hera; depois dele, há, seguramente, elementos que indicam o culto de Apolo com alguma intensidade já no início do século VII a.C. Além disso, no mesmo século VI a.C., a narrativa sobre o nascimento de Apolo e Ártemis teria sido registrada (não se sabe se a partir de narrativas anteriores oralmente transmitidas ou respondendo diretamente ao contexto de consolidação do culto de Apolo em Delos), na seção

deliana do HHA, que, apesar do grande debate sobre sua datação, é geralmente situada em algum ponto do século VI a.C.

Entretanto, pode ter havido atividade cultural relacionada a Apolo e à tríade apolínea antes disso. Sabemos que, em vários contextos, atividades culturais não deixam claros registros. Por exemplo, a construção de templos, em vários santuários, não foi desenvolvida. E mesmo o elemento básico dos cultos, o altar, poderia ser composto por amontoado das cinzas de oferendas anteriores ou por materiais que não permaneceram. O que quero dizer é que há a possibilidade de ter havido atividade cultural relacionada à tríade apolínea antes ou ao mesmo tempo da fase inicial do culto de Hera em Delos; mas, sobre isso, não podemos dizer nada com muita certeza.

Mesmo na publicação mais recente da série EAD sobre o santuário de Apolo em Delos dirigida por Roland Étienne (*Le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Délos*, EAD 44) o capítulo que discute a cronologia inicial desse santuário (*Origines du sanctuaire d'Apollon*) escrito por Francis Prost indica que, sobre esse tema, não há nenhuma novidade. Ou seja, apesar de ser bastante razoável pensar que o culto de Apolo já tivesse sido instaurado antes do século VII a.C., não há nenhum vestígio que confirme essa hipótese, que permanece ainda apenas como sugestão. Como síntese, é complicado estabelecer a situação topográfica do *Heraion* de Delos baseando-se exclusivamente na oposição entre Hera e a tríade apolínea, considerando que não temos certeza que o culto a Apolo e Ártemis, os mais antigos da tríade, já tivessem sido estabelecido na época do início do culto de Hera no sopé do Cinto; e, além disso, a própria narrativa que os opõe não pode ser seguramente recuada para aquele contexto. Assim, outras perspectivas de compreensão da situação topográfica do santuário de Hera podem ser propostas - por exemplo, a relação do *Heraion* com o monte Cinto e, nesse sentido, com Zeus (ver fig. 11).

Como visto, no terraço no sopé do monte Cinto, foi construído uma pequena capela no século VIII a.C. (o templo A), que foi destruída para a construção de um novo templo mais amplo no início do século V a.C. (o templo B), é claramente conectado às atividades do monte Cinto. O templo A, o mais antigo, já era voltado para o monte Cinto, e essa orientação foi mantida na construção do templo mais recente, o templo B.

Sobre a construção do templo A e sua conexão com o monte Cinto, não é possível pensar em uma ligação com o culto de Zeus já no século VIII a.C. (se o culto a Zeus já existia ali nessa época, não deixou vestígios claros); entretanto, entre os séculos VII e VI a.C., havia atividade cultural relacionada a Zeus segundo os vestígios conhecidos: correspondentes ao período arcaico, foram encontradas 12 inscrições em fragmentos de cerâmica no local, duas delas

indicando explicitamente dedicatórias a Zeus. Desde então, é possível observar, claramente, uma associação espacial entre o culto de Zeus, no topo do monte Cinto, e Hera, na sua base. No momento da construção do templo B, houve uma ampliação do terraço do santuário de Hera, que confirmava essa conexão, na medida em que foi estruturado um *temenos* que, na sua entrada, dava acesso, ao mesmo tempo, ao santuário de Hera e à escadaria que dava acesso ao santuário de Zeus no topo do Cinto.

Essa conexão entre Zeus e Hera era bastante difundida no mundo grego. Além da constituição das narrativas que associavam os dois como um casal real e divino (o *hieros gamos*), havia formas de cultos que os associavam diretamente, como aqueles que eram desenvolvidos no interior das *gamelia*, uma festividade relacionada ao casamento, que tinha como divindades principais Hera e Zeus : por exemplo, na região da Ática, Hera chegou a ser caracterizada como Hera *Gamelia* e Zeus como Zeus *Heraios* (Zeus de Hera). Além disso, a associação entre Zeus e Hera na concepção de estátuas de culto também era algo observável em alguns contextos.



**Figura 11:** Foto indicando a relação entre o *Heraion* (quina NO do templo B) e o monte Cinto (arquivo pessoal).

Esta associação com Zeus já no período arcaico, no plano da configuração espacial desses santuários, é mais importante do que parece. Hera, como esposa de Zeus, a esposa-irmã, filha de Cronos e Reia como Zeus, é uma caracterização da deusa que começa a ser consolidada no plano poético. Por exemplo, é assim que ela aparece na poesia homérica e hesiódica; mas, no plano do culto, em alguns contextos, havia importantes narrativas alternativas e tardias, nas quais, Hera poderia ser esposa do Rio Imbrasos ou do Rio Ínaco; ou seja, ela também poderia

compor um casal sem a presença de Zeus. Foi, aparentemente, no plano poético que ela foi consolidada como a esposa de Zeus inicialmente, o que já aparece na configuração inicial do espaço do culto de Hera em Delos - a associação da deusa a Zeus, o que foi manifestado, já no período arcaico, na configuração espacial de seus santuários e na associação de ambos no *Dodektheon* de Delos juntos com Atena.

Ainda no século VI a.C., é possível pensar em alguma relação com a deusa Atena. É sabido que, no período helenístico, Zeus e Atena eram cultuados no mesmo santuário no topo do Cinto, além de outros espaços da ilha. Mas, a presença de Atena já cultuada no Cinto no período arcaico é discutível. Se o culto de Zeus é claramente observável desde o período arcaico, sobre o culto de Atena há uma indicação: em Paros, no santuário chamado *Delion*, foi encontrada uma inscrição, datada do século VI a.C., dedicada à “Atena Cíntia”; ou seja, a Atena do Cinto, sugerindo que a deusa já era cultuada no monte Cinto em Delos, portanto, junto de Zeus já no século VI a.C.

No que se refere à organização dos cultos em Delos no período arcaico, Hera pode ser colocada em relação à tríade apolínea e às questões próprias do mito que narrava a importância de Hera no contexto do nascimento de Apolo e Ártemis. Nesse sentido, inclusive sua distância dos santuários da tríade apolínea (enquanto Hera está próxima do Cinto, os santuários de Apolo, Ártemis e Leto estão mais próximos do litoral da ilha) foi interpretada como uma resposta topográfica à inimizade sugerida na narrativa mitológica. Ainda, ela pode ser pensada nas suas conexões espaciais com o santuário de Zeus e, possivelmente, de Atena, integrando-a a uma dinâmica de culto triplo, como observado no *Dodektheon* de Delos, no qual havia um altar para esses três deuses; e, fora de Delos, como a associação de Minerva, Juno e Júpiter, caracterizados como tríade capitolina em Roma já no século VI a.C.

Entretanto, nesse caso, parece mais prudente aprofundar a compreensão das conexões espaciais e suas implicações no plano do culto dessas divindades. Se é possível observar uma clara associação entre Hera, Zeus e Atena no *Dodektheon* de Delos desde o período arcaico e em outros contextos externos, a influência disso não deve ser diretamente projetada para a compreensão das associações desses cultos na região do monte Cinto. Tendo a tríade apolínea como referência, além das associações explícitas no plano da narrativa mítica (Apolo, Ártemis e Leto são conectados por laços familiares desenvolvidos no HHA por exemplo), e no plano espacial dos santuários dos três deuses (os santuários de Apolo, de Ártemis e de Leto, apesar de não serem necessariamente contíguos espacialmente, são claramente conectados por uma lógica de orientação dos templos) e de a tríade apolínea também se manifestar no *Dodektheon*

de Delos, havia efetivamente práticas culturais que associavam essas três divindades, conforme indicam várias inscrições dedicatórias.

Diferente disso, apesar da associação espacial entre os santuários de Hera, Zeus e, possivelmente, Atena, desde o período arcaico, não há indícios de culto conjunto dessas três divindades. Neste caso, em vez de uma tríade, parece que Hera foi associada especialmente a Zeus, deus que também era constantemente aproximado à deusa Atena. Assim, Zeus aparece como um intermediário que, na sua associação com Hera proporcionava o desenvolvimento de formas de culto relacionadas ao casamento (um casal modelar, o *hieros gamos*); e, na sua associação com Atena, a organização de um culto duplo estabelecido no topo de uma montanha, situação identificável em outros contextos no que se refere à instalação dos santuários de Zeus e Atena.

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky e Angliker): O *Heraion* de Delos tinha uma vocação de culto local ou pan-helênico?**

**Francisco:** O culto estabelecido no *Heraion* de Delos parece ter tido uma vocação sobretudo local ao longo do tempo. Essa é uma questão que merece maior aprofundamento, mas, os dados e interpretações atuais denunciam a lógica de um culto prioritariamente organizado em torno de uma comunidade deliana. Nesse sentido, há duas situações que indicam para isso: o debate sobre a proveniência de boa parte do material do depósito votivo, dessa forma, um material correspondente à primeira fase de ocupação do santuário; e a situação do *Heraion* de Delos no período helenístico, época de amplo desenvolvimento de práticas sincréticas em Delos.

Sobre o primeiro momento, como visto, o numeroso conjunto de objetos do depósito votivo, correspondente a práticas culturais em um amplo recorte temporal, apresenta, para boa parte desse período, objetos representativos de diferentes lugares do mundo grego. O material cerâmico, principalmente, tem origem variada; e, sobre o conjunto de terracotas, é possível observar certa consistência de origem jônica. Essa situação foi interpretada por alguns autores como presença jônica na ilha manifestada materialmente nos cultos.

Ora, sobre a presença de jônios em Delos não há dúvida (é só lembrar a influência de Polícrates de Samos na ilha no século VI a.C.); entretanto, não é possível dizer se essa presença interferiu efetivamente na organização e desenvolvimento de certos cultos, como aquele que se manifestou no *Heraion*. A massiva presença de terracotas de origem jônica, bem como de vasos de cerâmica daquele local, basearam interpretações sobre um culto realizado por um

comunidade jônica e, mais que isso, que a função do *Heraion* de Delos fosse uma espécie de substituto no contexto cicládico do grande *Heraion* de Samos para suprir as demandas religiosas dos jônios presentes em Delos principalmente.

Essa interpretação é bastante problemática, na medida que conecta diretamente um elemento historicamente conhecido (a presença de representantes da comunidade jônica em Delos) ao material arqueológico ali encontrado. Assim, se havia jônios na região, a consistência da presença de estatuetas de terracotas e vasos de cerâmica estariam diretamente conectados a eles. Entretanto, é preciso notar que os processos que permitiram essas duas situações (jônios em Delos e objetos de origem jônica ali encontrados) poderiam ser diversos, já que, no caso da presença desses objetos relacionados ao culto, poderia haver certo encaminhamento para ilha através de um mercado de distribuição da cerâmica e terracotas criados em polos produtivos da região da Jônia e não necessariamente trazidos pelos jônios.

A interpretação sobre uma consistente presença jônica, que foi associada à própria reorganização do santuário de Hera na sua segunda fase por alguns autores, conecta a influência de Polícrates de Samos em Delos na segunda metade do século VI a.C., estabelecendo um novo domínio sobre a ilha que era, até então, situada sob a tirania de Lygdamis de Naxos (apoiado por Pisístrato), o que teria proporcionado uma afluência de fieis jônios na ilha e, mais que isso, a renovação do *Heraion* já que a atividade cultural teria sido efetivamente ampliada ali. As terracotas de origem jônica seriam as representantes mais significativas da presença jônica no culto de Hera.

Entretanto, há alguns pontos que podem ser reavaliados. Em primeiro lugar, a coerência temporal entre a presença de Polícrates em Delos e a época de renovação do *Heraion* não é mais sustentada dada a interpretação de parte significativa do material do depósito votivo: um consistente conjunto de vasos de cerâmica ática, cuja cronologia avança até o primeiro quartel do século V a.C.

Esse novo referencial temporal para o fim da primeira fase de ocupação e o início da nova fase, relacionada à renovação do santuário, parece não ser coerente do ponto de vista temporal com o poderio samiano sobre Delos, na medida que a influência de Polícrates se manifestou na ilha entre c. 525 a.C., época que a dominação ateniense (direta ou indireta) sobre a ilha se esfacela, até a morte do tirano em 522 a.C. Ainda, é preciso considerar o desenvolvimento da guerra contra os persas e a instituição, na ilha, da sede da liga liderada pelos atenienses. Além disso, a atuação de Polícrates em Delos parece que estava mais ligada ao santuário de Apolo do que ao *Heraion*.



Sobre a forte presença de terracotas jônicas no depósito votivo, ela dividia espaço com uma consistente presença de vasos de cerâmica de origem ática, o que desabona uma coerência direta entre a origem das oferendas e dos fieis. É preciso lembrar, ainda, que a forte presença de vasos de cerâmica coríntia, como visto, não podem ser interpretados diretamente como uma forte presença de fieis oriundos da região de Corinto. Considerando isso, a explicação parece ser mais conectada com as redes comerciais que atravessaram objetos produzidos por vários polos produtivos gregos.

Ainda sobre esse tema, é importante dizer que alguns desses objetos de origem variada encontrados no depósito votivo do *Heraion* portam dedicatórias a Hera, e, a partir da análise estilística da escrita e do dialeto, observa-se que tal escrita era muito possivelmente deliana. Ou seja, objetos de origem jônica, ática e até coríntia portando inscrições produzidas por delianos. É claro que tais informações não esclarecem completamente a questão, mas parecem fragilizar a interpretação do *Heraion* como um santuário ligado prioritariamente à comunidade jônica no século VI a.C.

Essas informações indicam algo sobre as características de abrangência do culto em torno de Hera em Delos entre os séculos VIII ao V a.C. Para contextos posteriores, há pouquíssima informação sobre o alcance geográfico do culto (se era estruturado em nível local/deliano, regional/cicládico ou mediterrâneo/pan-helênico). Para compreender um pouco melhor essa projeção, é preciso recorrer a um cenário comparativo. E, nesse sentido, indicarei alguns elementos próprios do culto de Zeus em Delos no período helenístico, sua inserção em ambiente de práticas sincréticas e a situação do culto Hera nesse contexto.

De início, é importante notar que, nesse período, o culto de Hera não era integrado ao intenso ambiente sincrético que se estabelecera em Delos. Hera, junto a Anios (o herói fundador), Ilítia e Leto não foram sincretizados; enquanto Zeus foi muito consistentemente associado a divindades “estrangeiras” variadas. Ao lado do *Heraion*, por exemplo, Zeus é cultuado (como Zeus e Zeus *Kynthios*) no amplo complexo do *Serapeion*, onde ele também aparece como Zeus Ktesios e Zeus Ourios; mas, esse fenômeno não aconteceu apenas ali: além do culto sincretizado de Zeus, é possível perceber essa formulação sincrética em torno de Zeus associando-o a outras divindades que, até então, não povoavam os santuários do mundo grego com tanta intensidade.

Essa situação indica alguns possíveis aspectos do culto de Hera nesse período em perspectiva comparativa: Hera é uma das poucas divindades que se manteve exclusivamente grega na paisagem do monte Cinto e imediações, que foi marcada por cultos sincréticos de Zeus

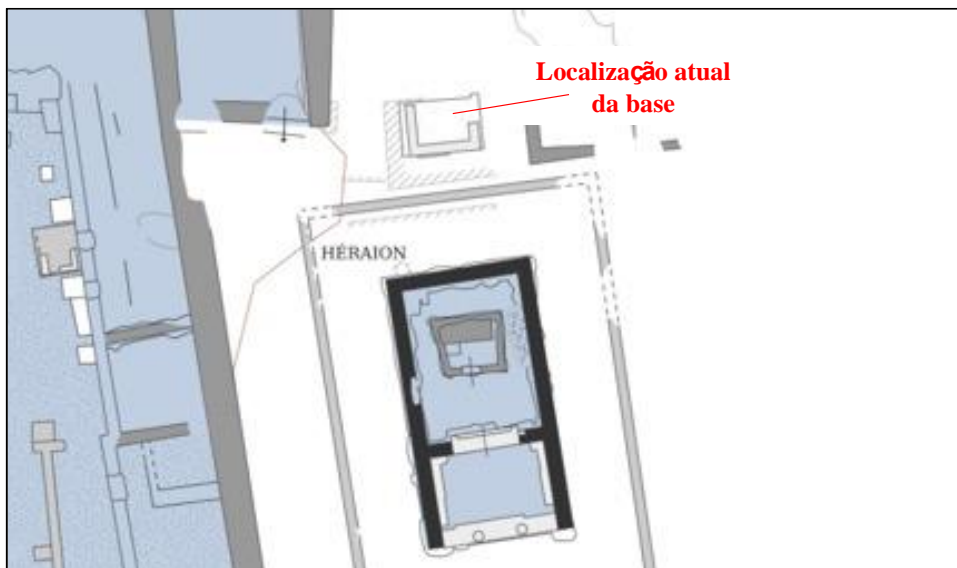
e outras divindades como Afrodite e Hércules. Dessa forma, Hera não parece ter sido amplamente cultuada entre as comunidades estrangeiras que passavam cada vez mais frequentar a ilha. Além disso, enquanto o culto de Zeus, antes delimitado prioritariamente no topo do monte Cinto, foi espalhado em outros espaços do monte Cinto além do *Kynthion*, e também nas regiões do sopé do monte; o culto de Hera continuava amplamente delimitado na região do *Heraion*, excetuando-se sua presença no *Dodektheon* (junto de Zeus e Atena) e em uma oferenda no santuário de Apolo, e talvez também no porto da ilha.

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky e Angliker): Há evidência de uma estátua de culto no *Heraion*?**

**Francisco:** Sim. Quando as ruínas do templo B foram encontradas, havia, no interior de sua *cella*, um solo com mosaico de pequenos seixos rolados e, sobre ele, um conjunto de pedras com recorte retangular, alinhadas e organizadas em “U” (ver fig. 12 e 13). Esse conjunto, por sua posição no templo e por suas características, parece ter sido a base de uma estátua de culto, sobre a qual não há informações específicas; entretanto, um conjunto de informações indiretas pode ajudar a pensar em alguns elementos da estátua de culto ali presente. Mas, de antemão, é importante dizer que características específicas, como a época de sua instauração e elementos estéticos não são conhecidas.

A posição atual dessa base não corresponde à sua composição na antiguidade. Em 1911, no aprofundamento da escavação no interior da *cella* do templo B proposto por Roussel, a base foi retirada pelos escavadores e reposicionada logo atrás do templo B, onde permanece até os dias atuais, sobre uma pequena plataforma de pedras. Esse não foi o único caso de reposicionamento. Vários dos elementos foram encontrados de forma aleatória nas escavações e, nesse sentido, foram reorganizados no espaço do sítio arqueológico de forma diferente. No caso das duas colunas do templo B, por exemplo, elas foram remontadas de forma equivocada no que seria a sua posição original.

Elementos do altar também foram remontados na posição de sua constituição original; e outros, cuja compreensão da sua posição não era clara, foram colocados exatamente ao lado do altar. Por fim, vários blocos que compunham as paredes e outros segmentos do templo B foram organizados em carreiras ladeando a construção. Ou seja, a situação da base de culto atualmente é produto dessa movimentação empreendida pelos escavadores que, desde o início do século XX, empreenderam escavações arqueológicas em zonas do terraço e no interior do templo B.



**Figura 12:** Situação da base da estátua no terraço e sua relação com outros monumentos (extraído do *WebSig Delos* e adaptado).



**Figura 13:** Imagem a partir de modelo 3D dos blocos da estátua remontados (autora: Carolina Machado Guedes a partir do programa *Metashape Agisoft*).

Sobre as características mais específicas da estátua de culto na sua formulação original, há três elementos importantes que podem auxiliar na compreensão de sua estrutura original: a própria base, uma estrutura de terracota do depósito votivo e algumas inscrições do período helenístico que indicam algo de sua materialidade.

No conjunto de oferendas, há uma parte significativa de figuras femininas sentadas que forma interpretadas por Lévêque, no artigo *Héra et le lion, d'après les statuettes de Délos* (BCH 73, 1949) como representações da própria deusa; o que foi replicado por Plassart (EAD 11) e

também por Laumonier (EAD 23), como visto, com reservas. Na interpretação de Laumonier, que busca uma terminologia mais neutra, a figura entronada é caracterizada como uma forma de representação de deusas ou sacerdotisas na coroplastia da região da Jônia. Entretanto, mesmo considerando o ambiente claramente duvidoso de interpretação, a presença do trono parece bastante significativo.



**Figura 14:** Estatueta de terracota de origem jônica (alt. 15 cm) proveniente do depósito votivo do *Heraion* (extraído de Plassart, EAD 11).

Esse modelo caracterizado por uma figura feminina entronada também é encontrado em algumas esculturas de mármore encontradas, seja no terraço do *Heraion*, seja nas suas imediações. E, novamente, a presença do trono é um elemento marcante. Nesse contexto, uma estatueta é bastante significativa para esse debate: trata-se de uma escultura em terracota de pequenas dimensões (um achado do depósito votivo), representando um casal - uma figura feminina e uma masculina (ver fig. 14) - interpretada como um casal não identificado (talvez os ofertantes ou o *hieros gamos* Zeus e Hera). Se aceitarmos que se trata de Zeus e Hera, essa seria uma indicação indireta de uma das formas de representação coerente com a estrutura larga da base da estátua formada pelos blocos acima citados. Mas, é importante dizer, a indicação é bastante indireta.

Além disso, há um conjunto de inscrições do período helenístico com elementos relacionados ao inventário dos objetos do *Heraion* e, um deles, é a presença de duas estátuas acrolíticas, o que reforçaria a presença dessa estátua dupla. A informação epigráfica não é clara nem detalhada. Sabemos que as estátuas possuem vestes de linho, que são acrolíticas e que dividem o espaço com outras estátuas (muito possivelmente menores) e outros objetos. Dessa forma, as dimensões da base, a terracota apresentando o casal entronado, a indicação das duas estátuas no interior da *cella*, são indícios importantes e que permitem pensar de maneira geral na forma da estátua de culto.

A presença de uma estátua associando Hera a Zeus não seria novidade no mundo grego e, em Delos, reforçaria a própria conexão espacial entre os santuários desses deuses que, como visto, foram aproximados em alguns contextos; e, em Delos, certamente foram associados espacialmente. Seria, assim, a estátua de culto conectada a essa associação entre Zeus e Hera: uma estátua dupla apresentando o *hieros gamos*?

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky e Angliker): É possível comentar algo sobre as fontes epigráficas e como elas podem auxiliar a compreensão das atividades no *Heraion* de Delos?**

**Francisco:** As inscrições diretamente associadas ao *Heraion* de Delos são poucas, mas bastante significativas. Elas são correspondentes, basicamente, à primeira e última fase de ocupação do santuário; portanto, correspondentes ao que caracterizamos como *Heraion* I e III. O conjunto mais antigo é composto principalmente por inscrições dedicatórias em vasos e uma sobre uma máscara de terracota do depósito votivo, correspondentes à primeira fase do culto; e algumas inscrições relacionadas à administração do santuário no período helenístico.

Sobre o primeiro grupo de inscrições, que já foi comentado acima, basta lembrar que ele é composto por dedicatórias presentes em um fragmento de máscara de terracota de origem jônica, em um vaso de origem coríntia e, na maior parte, em vasos áticos. E, a partir da análise estilística e, em alguns casos, dialetal, deduz-se que são inscrições produzidas por delianos. Mais que isso, há quem arrisque dizer que sejam oferendas apresentadas prioritariamente por mulheres, já que a maior parte dos nomes preservados de fieis é feminina.

Sobre as inscrições do período helenístico, elas foram publicadas na série *Inscriptiones Graecae* (IG) e *Inscriptions de Délos* (ID). Sua reunião em uma perspectiva interpretativa foi feita por Philippe Bruneau na obra *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (1970), que as dividiu em quatro categorias: (1) as contas dos *hieropes*

(oficiais responsáveis pelo culto) - o maior grupo de inscrições -; (2) os inventários atenienses do *Heraion*; e (3) o grupo menos expressivo, oferendas e dedicatórias; por fim, ainda, ela indica uma outra categoria específica (4) - a inscrição no altar do *Dodektheon*. Esse conjunto de inscrições bastante fragmentadas foi datado entre os séculos III e I a.C.

A primeira categoria, relacionada aos *hieropes*, é composta por 21 inscrições que tratam da administração do santuário. Nele, é possível encontrar informações sobre o estado de preservação do templo e algumas iniciativas para executar reparos e aquisições. É perceptível, por exemplo, que havia a necessidade de empenhar despesas para aquisição de telhas e algum mobiliário para o santuário, além da obtenção de véus para a deusa (presume-se, para a estátua da deusa).

A segunda categoria organiza um grupo composto por 6 inscrições que indicam os objetos presentes no interior do templo. A indicação de duas estátuas acrolíticas com mantos de linho (presume-se que fossem as estátuas de culto), além de mais duas outras estátuas, duas mesas de mármore, um *thymiaterion* de bronze, plaquetas votivas (uma delas faz menção à Hera no porto), entre outros. Além dessas informações específicas sobre o *Heraion*, duas inscrições colocam Hera em outros contextos delianos, como um *kymbion* dedicado a Hera encontrado no santuário de Apolo e a aproximação da deusa a Zeus e Atena em um dos altares do *Dodektheon* como já foi dito. Hera, ainda, aparece em uma inscrição com dedicatória a ela e a Atena pelo trierarca Medeios.

Esse grupo de inscrições indica principalmente elementos específicos do santuário da deusa, permitindo o aprofundamento da compreensão sobre os aspectos da estátua de culto e da dinâmica da ocupação do santuário, que, nos séculos III e II a.C., ainda merecia atenção na medida que a deusa ainda era cultuada e, mais que isso, o templo era alvo de reparos. Além disso, a tímida presença da deusa em outros contextos (no *Dodektheon*, no santuário de Apolo, talvez no porto e ao lado de Atena) também é indicada.

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky e Angliker): Qual o histórico de escavações francesas em Delos e especialmente das escavações brasileiras?**

**Francisco:** As pesquisas sobre o *Heraion* de Delos passam, quase invariavelmente, pela *École française d'Athènes*, uma instituição francesa que se estabeleceu na Grécia em plena atuação imperialista de algumas nações europeias. Assim, é importante notar que tal empreitada não visava exclusivamente a criação de impérios coloniais baseados na exploração econômica de outros povos, mas também a interposição dessas nações como produtoras de conhecimento.

Nesse caso, a Grécia tinha um papel fundamental na construção de um discurso sobre a origem da civilização ocidental que teria dado base à estrutura cultural e política dos impérios europeus do século XIX.

A EfA foi a primeira instituição estrangeira que se instalou, em 1846, no território grego, seguida pela criação de várias outras instituições depois disso, o que organizou, em grande medida, a produção de conhecimento, sobretudo arqueológico, sobre a Grécia antiga. Ou seja, a história das intervenções arqueológicas em Delos, e especialmente no *Heraion* local, está ligada intimamente à história dessa instituição e de seus pesquisadores, na medida em que, sobre Delos, constituiu-se um farto conhecimento sobre o passado com a mediação dessa instituição e prioritariamente em língua francesa. Havia, também, a participação de pesquisadores gregos, que representavam um país recém independente, e o acolhimento de pesquisadores estrangeiros no quadro de membros da EfA.

Além da pesquisa desenvolvida por pesquisadores gregos, com menor intensidade, e amplamente pelos pesquisadores franceses no âmbito da EfA, essa instituição abrigou pesquisadores de outras nacionalidades, geralmente francófonos, tais como suíços, belgas e canadenses, mas também gregos e brasileiros. Neste caso, considerando as pesquisas desenvolvidas em Delos, Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra de Meneses, Haiganuch Sarian e Gilberto da Silva Francisco, que foram membros da EfA, desenvolveram, e ainda desenvolvem, pesquisas relacionadas a projetos dessa instituição. Foi, dessa forma, que foi organizado o conhecimento arqueológico sobre Delos, incluindo o *Heraion*, o que apresentarei em linhas gerais na sequência.

\* \* \*

Em 1864, a então recém criada *École française d'Athènes* (1846) enviara pesquisadores para a ilha de Delos para o reconhecimento do local, o que permitiu a criação de um programa de escavações que foi iniciado em 1873, objetivando, principalmente, o reconhecimento de estruturas arquitetônicas e inscrições abundantes na ilha. As primeiras impressões sobre o *Heraion* de Delos como um dos objetos de estudo da EfA aparecem nesse contexto; entretanto, já havia registros de viajantes desde o século XVIII sobre elementos desse santuário; sobretudo relacionados ao templo B. Ou seja, o processo de produção de conhecimento desde o século XVIII até o início do século XX é o que poderíamos chamar de primeira fase das pesquisas

sobre o *Heraion*. Um período no qual, cabe notar, o conhecimento sobre esse santuário era ainda bastante desorganizado.

Como visto, algumas intervenções na região do *Heraion* foram empreendidas já no século XIX, mas a identificação da divindade cultuada naquele espaço ainda não havia sido feita. Só em 1909, as primeiras escavações sistemáticas do terraço foram iniciadas sob a liderança de Pierre Roussel, que, naquele ano, escavou trechos do terraço. Como síntese, além de achados significativos como cerca de 20 estatuetas de terracota e de elementos arquitetônicos, Roussel percebia a necessidade de entender melhor as estruturas do templo B e, mais que isso, se uma escavação mais detalhada daquele monumento não ofereceria mais dados sobre a divindade ali cultuada. Foi, nesse sentido, que ele empreendeu, em 1911, a escavação da *cella* do templo B e encontrou o depósito votivo e as ruínas do templo A.

A escavação de 1911 marca uma nova fase dos estudos do *Heraion* de Delos. Em primeiro lugar, porque o santuário passou a ser identificado com mais clareza pelos pesquisadores. Depois, porque estruturas de uma fase anterior do culto foram reveladas, com itens importantes como o próprio edifício conectado ao culto de Hera em uma época mais antiga, e o conjunto de oferendas representativo de um período de mais de 200 anos, o que permitiria pensar com mais profundidade em questões como a intensidade e variedade da dinâmica do culto ali estabelecido.

O achado do depósito votivo do *Heraion* de Delos é um marco importante não apenas para a compreensão da história do culto de Hera em Delos, mas para a própria história do culto em contexto cicládico. Na época, o achado foi destacado em publicações da imprensa europeia, e foi imediatamente alvo de interesse de alguns pesquisadores. Por exemplo, Charles Dugas, que publicou o conjunto de vasos de cerâmica do depósito votivo em 1928 no volume 10 da série EAD, em 1912, já havia publicado uma espécie de esboço da tipologia desses vasos de cerâmica (*Un trésor céramique à Délos*, no periódico “La revue de l’art ancien et moderne”). Foi, também, em 1912, quando o material encontrado em 1911 começou efetivamente a ser estudado, que foram identificadas as várias inscrições dedicadas a Hera e foi quando se consolidou a identificação do santuário ao culto de Hera; portanto, caracterizando aquele complexo paisagístico religioso como um *Heraion*.

Como resultado, os achados de 1911 proporcionaram a produção de dois estudos em 1928, os já citados volumes da série EAD 10 e 11. O primeiro deles, específico sobre o material cerâmico proveniente do depósito votivo do *Heraion*; o segundo, sobre os vários santuários da região do monte Cinto, com interesse destacado sobre o santuário de Hera. Além disso, no



Museu de Delos, enquanto o próprio edifício foi se organizando, o destaque desse material do depósito votivo do *Heraion* era perceptível, na medida em que, nas vitrines da sala devotada à cerâmica, a maior parte dos vasos expostos era proveniente do depósito votivo do *Heraion*.

É preciso notar, nesse sentido, a importância do Museu de Delos nesse processo. Antes de sua construção, que foi iniciada em 1904, boa parte do material arqueológico encontrado nas escavações tinha destino um pouco incerto. Sabe-se que a maior parte foi sediada no Museu de Míconos e alguns objetos considerados mais interessantes poderiam mesmo ser deslocados para o Museu Nacional Arqueológico de Atenas. Mas, há um conjunto expressivo de objetos cuja localização atual não é conhecida. No tocante ao *Heraion* de Delos por exemplo, a maior parte dos objetos encontrados nas intervenções de campo até 1909 não são atualmente localizados.

A partir desse material encontrado em 1911, ainda, foi publicado outro volume da série EAD (23) sobre as terracotas. A publicação tem interesse mais amplo, mas a presença do grupo das estatuetas e máscaras de terracotas do depósito votivo (e a inclusão de alguns achados anteriores) é bastante destacado. Ou seja, as escavações de 1911 basearam as três publicações mais importantes sobre o *Heraion* de Delos até o momento.

Entretanto, ao longo do século XX, algumas questões ainda duvidosas proporcionaram a retomada tímida das escavações no local: Paul Bernard, em 1958, visando a compreensão da cronologia do templo B, trabalhou em uma sondagem na região de sua quina sudoeste, encontrando, além de objetos como um vaso ático de figuras negras atribuído ao então caracterizado como “Pintor do *Heraion*”, algumas estruturas construídas (trecho da quina de um muro); e Jean Ducat, em 1964, escavou o setor oeste partindo do muro do templo B, encontrando outro trecho do muro Y e também de outro muro ao lado (o muro X), além de fragmentos de cerâmica geométrica (ver fig. 3).

Apesar desses achados significativos, essas sondagens foram apenas publicadas de forma muito sintética no BCH em 1959 e 1965 (ver DAUX, 1959 e 1965), sem maiores consequências nas interpretações gerais sobre o *Heraion*. Desses dados efetivamente novos, as publicações agregaram, de forma tímida, a informação dos fragmentos geométricos encontrados por Ducat e, respectivamente, a possibilidade de se pensar em outro cenário de datação do início do culto; como, por exemplo, no GD, que acaba optando pela tradicional datação do século VII a.C. para esse início.

Essa é o que se pode chamar de segunda fase de estudos arqueológicos sobre o *Heraion* de Delos, que começa em 1911 (talvez possa ser recuada para 1909) com os grandes achados e seus desdobramentos: publicações cujo objetivo mais direto era a reflexão sobre segmentos

específicos da documentação e uma visão pouco aprofundada sobre o conjunto e, mais que isso, sobre o fenômeno sociológico.

Outros exemplos dos desdobramentos dessa primeira fase são publicações como *Le mobilier délien* (EAD 18) por Waldemar Déonna, de 1938, e *Les Mosaïques* (EAD 29) por Philippe Bruneau, de 1972, nos quais os vidros e corais provenientes do *Heraion*, no primeiro caso, e o mosaico da *cella* do templo B, no segundo, são repertoriados em um grupo que abrange também objetos provenientes de várias outras regiões da ilha. É digno de nota, ainda, é o apêndice sobre a fachada principal do templo B na publicação de 1995 por Philippe Fraisse et Christian Llinas, *Documents d'architecture hellénique et hellénistique* (EAD 36).

Fora do âmbito das publicações da EfA na série EAD, no GD ou no BCH, os debates sobre o *Heraion* de Delos também foram influenciados pelos achados de do início do século XX e pelas publicações baseadas neles. Por exemplo, existe um grande interesse pelos tipos de cerâmica do depósito votivo. Além disso, algumas publicações mais recentes, como o capítulo *Héra, Apollon et l'Héraion de Délos à la période archaïque* de Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, no livro “Les sanctuaires archaïques des Cyclades” (2017) organizado por Alexandre Mazarakis Ainian, esbarrou na dificuldade de uma visão atualizada dos dados. Ou seja, do ponto de vista das publicações, não há muita novidade sobre o *Heraion* de Delos.

Entretanto, uma nova perspectiva de compreensão desse debate começava a ser desenvolvida em 1990, quando Haiganuch Sarian tornou-se responsável pela retomada do projeto, já pensado como um estudo do conjunto: os dados topográficos e paisagísticos, as ruínas arquitetônicas, o material cerâmico, as terracotas e ainda um conjunto variado de fontes, que passaram a ser observados a partir de uma visão integrada, a partir de duas perspectivas: a revisão dos dados e interpretações das publicações até então disponíveis e a retomada das atividades de campo visando o detalhamento de aspectos formais e cronológicos dos elementos construídos e sua conexão com a paisagem.

Nesse sentido, um exemplo é emblemático: do conjunto de muros, templos e altar, os principais elementos arquitetônicos do santuário, ainda havia dúvida sobre sua cronologia e sobre a relação entre eles. A interpretação de que um dos muros laterais era o muro de períbolo, mesmo que muito próximo do templo em um espaço amplo do novo terraço, ainda era mantida e, vale dizer, ainda manifestada no GD. A situação externa do altar, portanto, ainda era corrente e os muros X e Y não eram compreendidos efetivamente. Assim, era importante retomar as atividades de campo para sustentar algumas novas hipóteses críticas às interpretações até então vigentes.

Com a retomada das pesquisas, Sarian estabeleceu um programa visando o estudo do material cerâmico já publicado por Dugas, mas também aquele que foi encontrado por Bernard e Ducat, que ainda não havia sido estudado (ver SARIAN, 1997 e 2000). As missões de 1998 e 2000 em Delos foram caracterizadas pelo estudo desse material, o que já apresentava um cenário diferente das interpretações consolidadas. Por exemplo, o material geométrico encontrado na escavação de Ducat indicava que determinadas estruturas associadas a eles, correspondentes à fase inicial do culto, eram muito possivelmente anteriores ao século VII a.C.

Considerando algumas lacunas na compreensão dos monumentos já estudados e a possibilidade de avançar na compreensão de outros até então quase desconhecidos, Sarian liderou uma série de intervenções no campo, algumas escavações arqueológicas visando reconhecer estruturas já estudadas e entender regiões pouco escavadas até então. Em 2002, 2006 e 2008, foram escavadas regiões do santuário, incluindo algumas anteriormente escavadas, mas que ainda poderiam revelar novidades.

É importante saber que intervenções no terraço já haviam sido efetuadas e que, em 1909 especialmente, ele foi amplamente escavado. Entretanto, o objetivo prioritário era revelar as ruínas arquitetônicas que foram escavadas, mas aprofundando sua escavação até a base. Em alguns contextos, foi justamente assim que as novidades foram reveladas.

Nesse sentido, algumas informações passavam a ser consolidadas, como a cronologia mais recuada do início do culto, dado o farto material cerâmico do geométrico recente associado ao muro Y. Tal muro já havia sido escavado parcialmente por Bernard e Ducat, mas foi na escavação liderada por Sarian que ele foi integralmente até sua base, junto ao muro X, revelando uma quantidade consistente de material geométrico efetivamente associada à base do muro. Incluindo-se, ainda, um lécito pouco fragmentado entre as pedras do muro Y.

Além disso, outra região do santuário, cujo interesse dos escavadores antigos foi pouco desenvolvido (a extensão da entrada na extremidade sul do terraço), foi escolhida para a escavação de segmentos do muro, revelando uma consistente presença de cerâmica do período helenístico, inclusive associada à base do muro. (onde foi encontrada uma lamparina quase integralmente preservada) Dessa forma, confirmava-se, ali, a ideia de uma extensão do terraço e reorganização da entrada do santuário no período helenístico.

Esses são apenas alguns dos muitos indícios que tais escavações revelaram. Não caberia, aqui, apresentar os resultados de forma pormenorizada, já que muitos dos novos dados estão ainda sendo estudados. Entretanto, sobre essa nova fase, que ainda está em curso, é importante indicar que, sob liderança de Sarian, foi constituída uma prática de pesquisa desenvolvida por

equipes compostas prioritariamente por pesquisadores brasileiros; sejam colaboradores, sejam estagiários. O que promoveu a presença consistente de pesquisadores brasileiros atuando nesse projeto, desde 2000.

Essa foi uma importante oportunidade de integrar a pesquisa arqueológica no seio da EfA às estratégias de formação de arqueólogos brasileiros que pesquisam temas relacionados à Grécia antiga. Mais que isso, houve uma significativa colaboração de pesquisadores relacionados a universidades brasileiras, muitos deles docentes, que atuaram nesse projeto, seja nas atividades de campo, de análise de material no Museu de Delos, e no aprofundamento das leituras em bibliotecas especializadas.

Atualmente, mantenho uma equipe composta prioritariamente por pesquisadores brasileiros, entre as atividades do grupo de estudo no Brasil e as atividades de campo na Grécia. Considerando a amplitude cronológica e a grande variedade documental, o objetivo é consolidar um grupo composto por pesquisadores que atuem em diferentes domínios visando o aprofundamento das questões colocadas para a compreensão da história do culto de Hera em Delos. Mais que isso, pensamos na formação de alunos de graduação e de pós-graduação, proporcionando sua efetiva integração ao projeto. Por exemplo, alguns deles já desenvolvem pesquisas diretamente conectadas ao estudo específico do *Heraion* de Delos, mas também a questões relacionadas como representações e cultos de Hera no mundo grego antigo, o que proporciona ao grupo uma visão mais ampla de características das práticas religiosas relacionadas a Hera.

Considerando essa efetiva participação brasileira, mediada pela EfA, nesse projeto, é importante dizer que, se o objetivo principal é a produção de uma publicação específica sobre o *Heraion* na série EAD, esse não é o nosso único objetivo. Além da formação de pessoal nas dinâmicas de pesquisa arqueológica especificamente, pensamos em desenvolver diferentes linhas do projeto. Por exemplo, a criação de uma exposição virtual, integrando os dados paisagísticos, arquitetônicos, e dos inúmeros tipos de objetos associados a esse santuário, tais como vasos de cerâmica, terracotas, ossos, vidros, corais, metais etc., integrando às informações que estão, atualmente, desarticuladas. Além disso, trabalhamos para a produção de uma publicação sobre o tema em língua portuguesa, além do desenvolvimento de atividades pontuais relacionadas ao potencial pedagógico do projeto e uma exposição destacando a presença de pesquisadores brasileiros nesse projeto.

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky e Angliker): Como a insularidade pode impactar o trabalho de campo do arqueólogo?**

**Francisco:** A insularidade é um elemento essencial para se pensar na pesquisa arqueológica. Há, nela, aspectos variados a serem considerados na compreensão dos processos passados (em que medida a insularidade influenciou as territorialidades, a constituição de paisagens, a circulação, contatos etc.); mas também da própria dinâmica da pesquisa arqueológica que, nesse contexto, encontra certas dificuldades específicas. No caso de Delos, especificamente, a insularidade é fundamental para se pensar nas dinâmicas estabelecidas na antiguidade e na contemporaneidade.

No que se refere às dinâmicas antigas, a relação entre Delos e a ilha ao lado, Reneia, e a integração de Delos no contexto cicládico e do Mediterrâneo oriental são elementos importantes ligados à insularidade, o que é indicado na narrativa mitológica: Delos é situada em um contexto de ilhas circundantes, o que é associado ao próprio nascimento de Apolo que, depois de seu nascimento, proporcionaria a fixação da própria ilha; ou seja, reconhece-se, nas narrativas mitológicas, certas características específicas desse conjunto de ilhas, imputando-as a caracterização de um grupo articulado.

No caso do culto de Hera em Delos, seu santuário foi instaurado relativamente distante do litoral (a região dominada pelos santuários de Apolo e Ártemis); mas, há, como visto, uma inscrição que faz menção a Hera no porto. O significado dessa presença de Hera no porto é pouco conhecido, mas é importante notar que Hera, em outros contextos, era também caracterizada como uma deusa dos marinheiros.

No tocante à ocupação contemporânea da ilha, é preciso notar que Delos não foi urbanizada desde a modernidade, diferente de várias ilhas cicládicas como Paros, Naxos e Míconos. Essa situação proporcionou certas limitações para o desenvolvimento das pesquisas arqueológicas ali desenvolvidas desde o séculos XIX. Nesse sentido, na ilha, foram construídas poucas edificações relacionadas à guarda e exposição de objetos provenientes do sítio arqueológico (o Museu de Delos) e um certo aparato que responde às demandas das pesquisas arqueológicas, como um grupo pequeno de habitações.

Delos foi listada como patrimônio da humanidade pela UNESCO em 1990 e um dos sítios arqueológicos na região das Cíclades mais visitados por turistas. O complexo da ilha, assim, além das habitações ligadas à estadia dos arqueólogos e guardiões que operam na ilha, possui também o museu citado e um quiosque onde foi instalada uma lanchonete; ou seja, uma estrutura mínima que serve às necessidades dos grupos de turistas que são, em grande medida,

conduzidos pela ilha por guias autorizados. Há, inclusive, a proposta de alguns percursos sugeridos por um programa distribuído aos turistas, com projeções de tempo diferentes (45 minutos a 3 horas de circulação na ilha).

Essa visitação é bastante intensificada durante o verão grego, o que proporciona uma maior oferta de embarcações que partem de Míconos para Delos, principalmente, mas também de outras ilhas próximas, o que praticamente cessa durante o outono e inverno. O acesso à ilha, atualmente, depende dessa dinâmica específica ligada ao trânsito de embarcações de vocação prioritariamente turística, que também atende o deslocamento dos arqueólogos em certa medida. Ou seja, não há um serviço de deslocamento específico dos pesquisadores de ampla oferta.

Delos é uma ilha que não apresenta equipamentos urbanos como em outras ilhas cicládicas ou outras ilhas bastante conhecidas como Egina e Creta nas quais as atividades arqueológicas também são intensas. Em Delos, não podemos contar com comércio ou espaço onde são prestados serviços de saúde rapidamente. Dependemos de alguma embarcação que nos transporte até Míconos para acessar tais equipamentos. Dessa forma, é bastante importante programar muito bem as atividades ali desenvolvidas, bem como preparar a equipe para imprevistos, tais como um acidente ou dificuldade de saída da ilha. Nesse sentido, é importante que as equipes que ali operam sejam compostas com, pelo menos, um membro com treinamento para primeiros socorros e que a pequena farmácia mantida nas instalações dos arqueólogos esteja sempre bem suprida.

Além disso, é preciso estar atento às informações sobre a meteorologia, já que isso pode interferir sensivelmente no acesso e saída da ilha. Há épocas em que a navegação na ilha é interrompida dadas as condições meteorológicas desfavoráveis, o que pode durar dias, semanas ou mais que isso. Ou seja, chegar ou deixar Delos depende, em grande medida, da circulação promovida por empresas que tratam prioritariamente do deslocamento massivo de turistas por mar e, além disso, das condições meteorológicas.

No contexto específico da pesquisa, é interessante notar a dificuldade de acesso a locais próximos, como o caso da ilha de Reneia, bastante próxima de Delos. Em 2019, participei de escavações arqueológicas naquela ilha, uma iniciativa da Eforia das Cíclades com participação de arqueólogos gregos, da EfA e alguns outros que trabalham no projeto de topografia de Pompeia. Um dos grandes problemas relacionados a essa escavação, já que não há serviço regular de transporte até Reneia. Dessa forma, foi necessário contratar um serviço relativamente caro de transporte dos pesquisadores de Delos para Reneia diariamente.

Outra questão específica própria de ambiente insulares como Delos é o processo ligado à preservação dos vestígios arqueológicos, já que esses são ambientes amplamente afetados pela umidade marinha. Se boa parte dos objetos de menores e médias dimensões foram preservados no interior do museu local, há vários elementos, sobretudo ruínas arquitetônicas, que permanecem no sítio arqueológico e que sofrem a ação da umidade marinha. Essas são questões fundamentais para se pensar na preservação dos monumentos que permanecem no sítio arqueológico.

Em Delos, nas zonas mais próximas do litoral, o mar avança e interfere diretamente na estabilidade de algumas estruturas. Por fim, ainda, é possível observar que, nesse ambiente, várias das estruturas estão submersas, o que indica a mudança dos limites do litoral ao longo do tempo. Nesse caso, são propostas algumas atividades de pesquisa que visam reconhecer e, ainda, recuperar alguns dos vestígios ali encontrados, no campo que se convencionou chamar “arqueologia subaquática”.

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**MARE NOSTRUM INTERVIEW: JONATHAN PUGH –  
THE POWER OF THINKING WITH ISLANDS <sup>1</sup>**

**Mare Nostrum (Lilian Laky):** Today we are interviewing Professor Jonathan Pugh from the Department of Geography at Newcastle University, who is one of the leading theorists on insularity. I find it particularly stimulating to discuss islands, one of my favourite topics, with Professor Pugh. He has produced more than seventy publications on various aspects of island studies, held a number of visiting fellowships, delivered international keynote speeches, and been invited to speak at universities in several places around the world including Princeton, Harvard, Virginia Tech, Cornell, London, Zurich, Dublin, California Western, and Taiwan. Jonathan's recent work examines the increasingly prominent role that the study of islands is playing in approaches to critical thinking (see Pugh and Chandler, 2021). We invited Jon to explain to us the relevance of his research and publications. So, please, Jon, let's start with an explanation of what the Anthropocene is.

**Jonathan Pugh:** It is my pleasure to talk with you, Lilian and Erica. What is so interesting about islands and the scholarship relating to them is the involvement of people from very different backgrounds. I personally know nothing about the archaeology of islands, the Greek Mediterranean, or Croatia. I really hope that I can learn as much from you as you can learn from the work that I am doing in more contemporary contexts.

In particular, my work focuses on how people think about islands today, how islands became generative for broader critical trends in contemporary culture, and, in the past five years, thinking about the Anthropocene. I have observed in recent publications that archaeologists are increasingly engaging with the concept of the Anthropocene. In the broader context of contemporary social sciences and humanities, however, the Anthropocene represents a huge field of study. In my latest book, written with David Chandler from the University of Westminster, I made the argument that islands are absolutely crucial for the Anthropocene (see Pugh and Chandler, 2021).

**Mare Nostrum (Erica Angliker):** Just a quick question, Jon, regarding your statement that you work on contemporary islands. Do you work only on inhabited islands?

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<sup>1</sup> <https://youtu.be/Fv8mX6Y-r3E>.

For example, Despotiki, the island where I conduct my archaeological research—under the direction of Yannis Kourayos, archaeologist of the Ephorate of the Antiquities of the Cyclades, which is part of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports—has been uninhabited for 200 years.

**Pugh:** Well, I have a very different background, as I started my studies in the Caribbean. In my work, I am interested in how islands or “islandness” can help generally in understanding what the Anthropocene is—which brings me back to your first question. For a lot of people, the Anthropocene means a new epoch in history characterized by climate change, global warming, intensifying hurricanes, ocean acidification, the loss of Indigenous Peoples, islands sinking under rising seas, continued colonial exploitation, and so forth. So, the Anthropocene is this kind of profound shift that merits classification as a new geological era—i.e., a shift from the Holocene to the Anthropocene—because humans have affected and transformed planetary conditions so greatly. I think of the Anthropocene as much more of a *shift in mindset* in which the key change is that we are no longer satisfied with the current framework for reasoning. I refer to the mode of reasoning that splits the world into dichotomies between humans and nature, and the mind and the body, that humans exploit to command and control nature. That mindset is now clearly under attack because it led humans to screw up the planet.

Now, this reasoning leads further to a key trope that is rising to the surface of contemporary debates once the current framework for reasoning comes under attack. The dominant trope in the Anthropocene thinking in which I personally engage is **relational entanglement** between humans and nonhumans. Islands relate very strongly to this trope because, in a sense, they have always been thought of as relationally entangled with humans, though, in the past, this trope was largely driven by the modern colonial attitude towards nature, which focuses on controlling it. In the Anthropocene, as relational entanglement becomes a dominant concern, it is inevitable that Anthropocene scholars and scientists will take an interest in geographies and geographical forms that *enable* them to think relationally about humans and nonhumans. My more recent work has been looking at why islands, which were the peripheral geographies of modernity – such as tiny islands in the middle of the Pacific, the Maldives, and the Caribbean islands – have become so important in contemporary debates about the Anthropocene, which are concerned with the relational entanglements between humans and nature. Islands were liminal, peripheral topics in modern thought, but not so in Anthropocene thinking. In the Anthropocene, islands have become a topic of considerable interest, and not just because

they are powerful symbols of global warming (obviously, phenomena such as the intensifying hurricanes or rising sea levels, to which many islands are subject, reflects the extent to which humans have screwed up the planet). Rather, my focus is upon how islands have attracted interest lately because the West has become interested in developing *relational* ways of thinking about being and knowing. There is this Western crisis of faith in modernity, and here islands and island cultures are increasingly engaged in both mainstream policy making *and* critical theory and activism in order to challenge modern reasoning – that is, to challenge human/nature, mind/body, subject/object divides, and the command and control approaches of modernity. So, because Anthropocene thinking is interested in relational entanglements between humans and nature (i.e. working through and beyond the divides of modernity), and developing relational and non-modern ways of thinking, islands and islanders have moved from the periphery to the centre of much debate.

**Mare Nostrum (Angliker):** Very interesting. If I can relate what you just said to my field of research, in ancient history, the Cycladic islands were always thought of as isolated and peripheral. This discourse was, not coincidentally, constructed by an empire, specifically, the one controlled by Athens, that dominated these islands. On the other hand, from the perspective of the relationship between humans and nature, in ancient religion, there is a kind of respect towards nature and all natural elements. Just looking at the Cyclades, this attitude is archaeologically materialized in such features as peak sanctuaries and altars on mountaintops as well as offerings to Zeus or Apollo to propitiate these gods and ensure good weather and safe travel by sea. From this evidence, we infer a greater awareness of nature's power and of humans' status as a part of nature, rather than the will to dominate it, in the ancient Cycladic islanders. The culturally-encoded respect for nature that we perceive in them represents, in a way, an alternative to modern colonial thinking, too.

**Pugh:** Absolutely—and that is why I am so interested in learning how islands were thought of in antiquity. Islands have always been sites of relational entanglement. Consider Darwin's research: he discovered a whole new idea of life itself, one that is relationally entangled rather than linear. Since then, in disciplines like biology, relational entanglement, species differentiation and adaptation has been said to be amplified, made more visible, on islands. I refer to this example to make the point that Darwin's way of thinking was affected by *islandness* as he became increasingly interested in a relational

approach to biology. Although obviously in different ways, the kinds of geographical forms and cultures that you are talking about had a sort of relational thinking as well.

In the past few decades, writers about islands such as Hau‘ofa (2008) on the Pacific and Glissant (1997) on the Caribbean have become remarkably prominent in the broader social sciences and humanities. They were always good writers; it is we, in the West, who have changed recently and become increasingly interested in relational modes of thinking and, at the same time, sceptical of empires. This must be a perennial question among historians—how to understand historical changes in relation to the topics and figures that garner broad interest as cultures evolve.

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky): Thank you for clarifying the overall concept of Anthropocene, which is all the more important to us since, in classical studies, topics such as the environment and interactions between humans and nature still represent a niche in the scholarship. It is, then, crucial for us to review the ancient testimony so as to engage classicists in this debate.**

**Pugh:** Indeed, and I think it necessary to stress once more that shifting patterns of thought and culture evolve from —and are entangled with—geographical forms and figures such as islands. Islands were peripheral under modern reasoning, the ‘outside’ of continental dominance. But today islands have become central to the international debate about the Anthropocene, and, as I said, not only because they are symbols of the human abuse of nature. Work with islands has also become important because today islands are widely understood to be generative and productive of new modes of thinking that challenge modern reasoning. As an example, consider the concept of *resilience*, an adaptive and heuristic analytical tool that we (in the West at least) all now use very much today. Though not being confined to islands (my children, for example, are given ‘resilience lessons’ as part of their school education), much of the earliest research on resilience was, in fact, carried on in insular contexts precisely because of the Darwin-inspired thought of islands as emblematic sites of adaptive relations. That is why I use islands to foreground my argument regarding the shift from modern to Anthropocene thinking.

Regarding whether the concept of an island may be applicable to areas constrained by entities other than bodies of water—for example, a lockdown during a pandemic that confines people to certain places—the answer is absolutely yes. The book *Anthropocene Islands: Entangled Worlds* (Pugh and Chandler, 2021) is more concerned with the

concept of *islandness* than with the traditional definition of islands as entities surrounded by water. For example, a national park in the middle of the U.S. state of Texas can be thought of as an island. In general, conceptually speaking, ‘islands’ can be understood as localized sites of relational entanglement, so the concept is applicable as well to forests, nature preserves, some contemporary approaches to gardening, and so forth. What we are really talking about then is *islandness*, which has become a highly productive concept, or analytical device, in the context of the waning faith in modern reasoning – for ‘islandness-thinking’ paves the way for more relational approaches to understanding notions such as being, knowing, and developing. Accordingly, islandness is characteristic of anything today, be it a city, a car, or a person, locked down in the middle of the pandemic.

***Mare Nostrum (Laky): Why did islands become so important for the contemporary debate and, in particular, for Anthropocene studies?***

**Pugh:** I think that I have partially answered that question. Islands, at least if we consider the traditional definition of “island” as land separate from the mainland, were the liminal or transgressive spaces of modernity. In Darwin, or Margaret Mead, or even Robinson Crusoe, at the foundation of the modern Western disciplines of biology, anthropology and literature, islands were already considered sites of relational entanglement. But modernity and colonialism sought to ‘rise above’ this, command and control nature and islands. Consider Robinson Crusoe: he wants only to *command and control* the island where he is shipwrecked, in order to ensure his survival, in the manner of a typical ‘modern man’. That said, I think it is a mistake to think of islands as blank spaces in Western imagery since they have often been understood as spaces of complex relational entanglement, even if only for the purpose of control. It is in the context of Anthropocene thinking, where modern, command and control approaches are waning, in which the interest in human-nonhuman entanglement comes to the fore, that the concepts of island and islandness become interesting.

***Mare Nostrum (Angliker): Again, it is interesting to apply these notions to Greek antiquity. With respect to the ancient Cyclades, there were also narratives describing these islands as “blank spaces” or an area of transition between the East and West and, hence, from the perspective of various empires, an area to be controlled.***

**Pugh:** Absolutely—islands can be and were considered sites of relational entanglement in the past too. But under modernity, the aim was to rise above and to ‘command’ all this. It is only recently, though, that Anthropocene thinking has become concerned with digging deeper into the history of islands as relationally entangled sites. Anthropocene thinking is interested in islands as emblematic sites of relational entanglements in order to develop alternative, less modern, ways of thinking about being and knowing, such as ‘resilience-thinking’ we talked about earlier. Personally, I never felt comfortable with the notion of islands as blank spaces because no space can be literally blank. Islands exist in the imagination and culture, and, throughout history, various meanings and aspects of them have captured the public interest and fostered scientific and cultural debate.

***Mare Nostrum* (Angliker):** I am not comfortable with the concept of ‘blank spaces’ either. Thus, when visiting various of the Cyclades, I did not focus on their history and archaeology only but was able to appreciate various aspects of the contemporary lifestyle. This perspective caused me to reflect on the fact that these concepts of ‘blank’ and ‘isolated spaces’ exist much more in the culturally-constructed labels that we put on things than in reality. Indeed, though, islands exist and function in ways quite different from those on mainland, for all aspects of life and culture are entangled.

**Pugh:** Islanders and islands, as you say, have always been involved in complex relational entanglements. People like Derek Walcott, who won the Nobel prize for literature for his poetry [in 1992], or Kamau Brathwaite from Barbados, who wrote in the fifties and sixties—they were peripheral, whereas now they are becoming central, and we need to ask ourselves: ‘why?’. Our interests are obviously shifting, and I believe that the concepts of island and islandness are playing a major role in setting the agenda for Anthropocene thinking, to the point that, to me, Anthropocene thinking *is* islandness thinking.

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky):** Why are islands more appropriate for the study of the Anthropocene than other geographical forms, such as valleys, mountains, and deserts? More generally, what distinguishes islands from mainland areas in terms of studies of the Anthropocene?

**Pugh:** We have already mentioned the generative power of islands. Perhaps another way to answer your question is to consider the power of islandness thinking to transform everything into an island in the Anthropocene—a snowflake, a person, a city, a car—and how these things are entangled with other relationships. The concept of ‘islandness’ represents privileged access to thinking about how things as relationally entangled with other things. This is why many of the contemporary modes of thinking draw on relationally-entangled notions, for instance resilience, as we mentioned earlier. Anything or anyone that we classify as ‘resilient’ possesses that quality in relation to something else. We can then think of this concept, resilience, as an island because it calls into action all of its simultaneous relations with other things. Thus, as we examine in great detail in the book, islandness has become a generator of, and a framework for, Anthropocene thinking. To take another example, islands are often referred to as the proverbial “canary in a coal mine.” The Maldives can be thought of as the canary in the coal mine for global warming or, in other words, the front line of planetary change. For these islands are suffering from intensifying hurricanes and bearing witness to all sorts of signals about what is to come. But what we underscore in the book is that this is also a *mode of logic*, a *particular* way of thinking. It is a shift in thought towards the logic of what in the book we call ‘correlation’ – a shift in thought such that humans have become interested in ways of constantly ‘sensing’ shifting relations. Think of the rise of sensors in everyday life more generally, which reflects that logic. In Anthropocene thinking, then, islands are the canaries in the coal mine because they also reflect our significant contemporary interest in sensing relations; whether by tracking the evolutionary pathways of an island’s species, or the digital sensing devices referred to as “smart island technology.” All of these themes fit into a key trope of our times – sensing as a mode of governing in our contemporary era.

Overall, to me, the question “What can others learn from islands?” can be misleading, for we are all islands. To quote the philosopher Jacques Derrida (2011: 9), “there are only islands at the end of the world.” What he means is that there are only islands after the end of the world of modern reasoning, and we find ourselves now in that place.

**Mare Nostrum (Angliker):** I really appreciate the concept of entanglement. When I first started studying ancient islands, I made much use of the concept of networks, which is indeed important, but, as I realize now, entanglement is more



**inclusive. For example, the concept of networks does not take into account the agency of nature.**

**Pugh:** Concepts such as networks and adaptive relations reflect, after all, various ways of thinking about inter-relations and the shifting complexity of life nowadays. In the context of ancient history, it must be really difficult for an historian not to project his or her contemporary concepts into the past.

***Mare Nostrum* (Angliker):** I guess that it is impossible. That is why, as a historian and archaeologist, you can rethink the same site over and over. Turning again to the Cyclades as an example, Delos was one of the most important islands in the Aegean as home to a Panhellenic sanctuary of Apollo. For several decades, scholars have been discussing the various cities and empires that struggled for control of the island and its history, but only recently have we begun to consider how it was even possible for people to live on an island with a semi-arid climate. So, even in archaeology, only recently has the interest in natural resources led to the discovery that rock formations such as those on Delos can store a great deal of water and render islands inhabitable despite a difficult climate.

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky):** Your book investigates how islands went from being imagined as isolated and backward to a prominent position in discussions of the Anthropocene. Would you please say a few more words about this shift?

**Pugh:** I think that the key consideration in this regard is that island scholarship, and scholarship more generally, often fails to explain sufficiently what is meant by ‘isolation’. Isolation is not the opposite of relation and movement. As a matter of fact, nothing is literally devoid of relationships, and, in reality, we see quite the opposite, that everything is relationally connected to something else. Considering once more Margaret Mead as well as more recent work, such as that of Glissant (1997) and Christina Sharpe (2016), islands have for long time been considered as localized spaces for the complex coming together of relations. Even more so in the current Western imagery, in which islands serve as exemplary sites of relational entanglement—such as a coal power station in North America that can have a negative impact on an island in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. In the Anthropocene there is no ‘away’, everything is entangled because, ultimately, there exists no way out of such a phenomenon as global warming. Islands have never been isolated. The evolution of species in the Galapagos was the product of relationships that were amplified compared with those on the mainland, and, therefore, more recognizable

for Darwin than relationships on the mainland. And yet, the relationships that Darwin observed there were part of a broader web. It follows that islands are so important in the Anthropocene because they embody and show clearly the relational entanglements that we are dealing with broadly.

To be honest, this increasing interest in islands may generate cultural side effects, such as the risk of fetishizing islands and Indigenous island cultures to which they have been home—but that is, perhaps, another question. I am just describing a general shift in thought that is placing islands at the centre of our cultural agenda, of Anthropocene thinking, whether we think of islands literally as spaces surrounded by water or, more conceptually, we deal with the broader concept of *islandness*.

***Mare Nostrum* (Angliker): Your comments in this regard are relevant to the current state of island research in classical archaeology and history. Though archaeologists excavated Greek islands for centuries, the scholarship has privileged the investigation of the Athenian empire and the Greek mainland as a kind of paradigmatic case study for the rest of Greece. Only recently has there developed a more widespread interest in the dynamics, history, and material culture of islands. In a way, we can then say that classical archaeology mirrors the general cultural dynamics that you just described.**

**Pugh:** This is an exciting observation, and it makes me think that there must be a book or a body of published research on the concept of islandness in Greek myth and history.

***Mare Nostrum* (Angliker): Indeed, there has been research on this topic, and more is expected with the publication of our dossier on islands for the journal *Mare Nostrum*.**

**But let's move on to another question, specifically, whether the concept of islandness and networks is always utopian, or whether it can be applied to scenarios characterized by conflict. For example, in the context of the pandemic, humans are under attack by viruses.**

**Pugh:** I think that the answer to your question depends on the stakes of your research. In my work, I try to track shifts in thinking, particularly about the concept of islandness in Anthropocene thinking. From this perspective, the distinction between realistic and utopian is blurry: all kinds of thought, be they realistic, idealistic, or utopian,

shape our reality because they arise from a specific historical and culturally-determined society. The content of Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, for example, may seem utopian, but, to really appreciate its impact, we should read it in the context of the time in which it was written and track the connections between the ideas presented and concrete historical events. After all, from the point of view of Anthropocene thinking, utopias are as concrete as other ideas because they describe what we think it means to be human at a given moment. Concepts such as utopia, resilience, adaptation, and islandness evolve as our culture and thought evolve. At the same time, their cultural relevance and meaning in a given moment are generative of the material possibilities of change at that moment. The fact that we are now dealing with Darwin's research and with the concepts of islandness and resilience determines the span of our possible outcomes, which obviously will change in the future along with the ways in which people think.

***Mare Nostrum* (Angliker): Would you give us an overview of your book *Anthropocene Islands: Entangled Worlds* (Pugh and Chandler, 2021)?**

**Pugh:** In the book—which I wrote with David Chandler and that is available free for anyone to download—the aim is to clarify and conceptually draw out, for the first time in the literature, what we see as the key shift to working with islands and islandness in a broad range of contemporary Anthropocene thinking and related practices. We first provide an overview of the multiple ways of thinking about islands and various perspectives on them in the Anthropocene and their role in the development of ways of thinking about being—that is, relational ontologies—and knowing—that is, relational epistemology. In doing so, we elaborate four tendencies or analytics that position the figure of the island centrally within broader debates about the Anthropocene. In the rest of the first half of the book, we discuss *Resilience* in Chapter 2 and *Patchworks* in Chapter 3, which are different ways of thinking about islands and islandness in relation to the Anthropocene. The concept of *Resilience* has a kind of modern legacy, while that of *Patchworks* is increasingly losing that legacy. In the second half of the book, we examine two other analytics—*Correlation* in Chapter 4 (which we discussed earlier, when talking about the contemporary interest in islands as *sensing* devices of the Anthropocene) and *Storiation* in Chapter 5—that reflect the same shift from modern to Anthropocene legacies that we detected in the concepts of *Resilience* and *Patchworks*.

The book as a whole looks at the ways in which islands and islandness have become generative of various attempts to question modern, colonial thinking and of alternative

ways of imagining possibilities for being and knowing apart from the constraints of the modern framework of reasoning. There is one thing that, I think, needs to be restated: the Anthropocene in contemporary thought does not exist in people's heads. In other words, you cannot develop a discourse about how you think about the world without thinking about the world. As a geographer, I am interested in how certain geographies, more than others, rise to the surface for the development of thought in the world. Thus, I am interested in islands and islandness because these have, as discussed, shifted from the periphery to the centre of a debate about the Anthropocene involving international policy-makers, critical theorists, artists, and poets. The second aim of the book is, then, to connect to a broad network of people and draw out these kinds of concerns. The book is just a start, seeking to set an initial agenda for a wider research network which examines why and how islands are being engaged for the broader development of contemporary critical thinking.

***Mare Nostrum* (Angliker): It took me years to think about the islands that I work on as a *Patchwork*, and, when I finally did, I was at last able to make sense of the web of relations in which islands engage with the surrounding environment and cultures. I think that the concept of *Patchworks* is so useful for the study of ancient islands because of its non-linear approach that it suggests to the aforementioned multiple relations.**

**Pugh:** I am noticing that the concept of *Patchworks* seems to be particularly generative of new approaches for historians. Indeed, the *Patchworks* approach challenges the more linear understanding of island dynamics that incorporates resilience thinking and opens up the possibilities of a broader spatial ontology that considers the complexity of both the spatial and the temporal becoming of things. For this reason, I would say that the *Patchworks* approach is much less “solutionist” than resilience ontology.

In general, the manner in which particular aspects of Anthropocene thinking are emerging in the work of historians and archaeologists as well proves to me that we find ourselves in the most exciting time to work in island studies. I do not make this statement just because of the growing empirical set of data that we are collecting from various branches of scholarship—archaeology, history, anthropology, and critical Black studies, just to mention a few—but especially because the concept of *islandness* itself seems to plug into our contemporary concerns. In Derrida's (2011: 9), statement that “there are only islands after the end of the world” lies a profound realization. Once the human/nature

dichotomy is challenged, once modern frameworks of reasoning are undermined, we first of all recognize that, in reality, this culturally-determined duality never involved all humans but always concerned specifically ‘White colonialist Man’ trying to control nature. It is this critical turn that has allowed relational thinking, and islands as exemplary sites of relational entanglements, to come to the fore in public debate.

***Mare Nostrum* (Laky): What is your critical agenda for island studies in the Anthropocene?**

**Pugh:** It’s been incredibly exciting to see the book and the wider project take off in the way that it has over the past year—built as it is around the rather straightforward notion that *thought develops in the world, that geographical forms and cultures (like islands) matter to and for the development of wider thought*. Thus, islands and the conceptual power of islandness do “work” for the development of wider contemporary thinking concerned with critiquing modern reasoning. As I said, the book just seeks to open up this agenda, and it is being developed in a lot of ways by a lot of people, as can be seen on the website [anthropoceneislands.online](http://anthropoceneislands.online). Among the initiatives currently ongoing, we have a monthly reading group, which I run with Kasia Mika, in which we discuss works dealing with islands, *islandness*, and relational entanglement. We also have a monthly early-career group, which I lead with Maggie Henry, intended to provide a safe space in which early-career researchers are free to discuss, develop, and test their ideas. We also have a permanent *Anthropocene Islands* section in the *Island Studies Journal*—and we thank Adam Grydehøj and the editorial team for their support—and specifically designated *Anthropocene Islands* themes at conferences such as the Islands of the World conference in Croatia in June 2022.

In short, all of our initiatives seek to create spaces for people of all backgrounds and at all stages in their careers. We want to share practices and thoughts about how *islands* and *islandness* are being put to work to generate critiques of the modern framework of thought.

***Mare Nostrum* (Angliker):** Thank you very much for all of your insights on islands and islandness, Jon. We hope that this exciting discussion on the generative power of these concepts for expanding the boundaries of Anthropocene thinking will proceed and increasingly include more classics scholars.

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#### IV. ARTIGOS DE TEMA LIVRE

##### PLUTARCO E OS LÁGIDAS: REPRESENTAÇÃO IDENTITÁRIA E PROPAGANDA IMPERIAL

Felipe Aiala de Mello<sup>1</sup>

#### RESUMO

Este artigo busca analisar as representações identitárias dos Lágidas e do Oriente forjadas por Plutarco em *Vidas Paralelas*. Ao falar de um lugar ideologicamente marcado, sob o ponto de vista de um cidadão de uma *polis* grega (Queroneia) que viveu sob o domínio romano, Plutarco reconfigura fatos, dados, enfim, a própria história, com uma escrita de cunho biográfico, documental e histórico e, ao mesmo tempo, estrategicamente, dramático, teatral, emocionado e moralizante. Busca-se mostrar que Plutarco, ao forjar a representação da dinastia Ptolomaica, o faz sob uma perspectiva imperialista e orientalista, coadunando com a ideologia romana. As principais categorias analíticas utilizadas na consecução deste texto são *imperialismo*, *orientalismo* e *representação/identidade*. A metodologia utilizada na análise baseia-se na forma tradicional do trabalho do historiador, qual seja, a das críticas internas e externas das fontes, aliada à análise de conteúdo. Vemos que Plutarco, a partir de dicotomias opositivas estereotipadas sustentadas por preceitos helênicos, subjuga os Lágidas e o Oriente, em prol de uma suposta superioridade baseada em uma hierarquização cultural e moral, em sintonia com a propaganda romana.

#### PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Plutarco, *Vidas Paralelas*, Lágidas, Oriente, propaganda imperial.

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## 1. Introdução

Plutarco – historiador, biógrafo e filósofo grego –, viveu entre os anos 45 e 120 d.C. aproximadamente. Membro de uma família nobre, teve acesso a uma educação de alta qualidade, estudando em Atenas e em Roma e viajando por diferentes lugares do Mediterrâneo. Mesmo que as datas de nascimento e morte sejam imprecisas, o local é certo – a cidade de Queroneia, na região da Beócia, entre a península do Peloponeso e o Sul da antiga Grécia. Essas deduções e essas assertivas estão ancoradas sobretudo na própria obra do historiador-biógrafo, que recorrentemente faz referências às suas origens e à sua região, sempre de maneira afetiva.

Boulogne (1994) observa que é recorrente a divisão da obra de Plutarco em dois grandes grupos – *Moralia* e *Vidas Paralelas* –, mas que isso não significa que as biografias contidas em *Vidas Paralelas* não tratem de questões morais, pelo contrário. Plutarco compõe suas biografias justamente buscando nas personalidades que alcançaram a celebridade, por suas ações políticas, exemplos de ética e de moralidade, seguindo e segundo parâmetros próprios da tradição helênica. Entre os séculos I a.C. e III d.C., era comum os biógrafos e literatos descreverem a história de vida de pessoas valendo-se de uma espécie de padrão (régua) moral e comportamental. Com isso, eles circunstanciavam o universo das representações sociais e dos saberes vigentes tanto no espaço-tempo dos biografados como também nos seus próprios, o que acrescenta aos textos valor documental histórico, ainda que permeados de ficcionalidade (Swain, 1996). As fronteiras do gênero *biografia* com outros gêneros configuram, desde a Antiguidade até os dias de hoje, algo complexo e polêmico. Na época de Plutarco, o gênero biográfico engendrava sobretudo a história, a filosofia e a literatura, ou seja, não havia uma divisão clara desses gêneros, era algo híbrido, compósito e de fronteiras fluidas, o que leva a constantes desafios de estabelecimento de regras necessárias a uma reatualização e diferenciação conceitual. Bakhtin (1993), interessado nas nuances das biografias da Antiguidade, fala em biografia *energética* (ações pessoais do sujeito) e *analítica* (vida social, familiar). Segundo o autor, a primeira enquadraria melhor a obra de Plutarco e a segunda a de Suetônio, por exemplo. Para Momigliano (1993), a separação entre biografia e história (política) teorizada no período helenístico já era uma realidade no século V. a.C. Ainda segundo o estudioso, tanto os gregos quanto os romanos perceberam que escrever biografias não era exatamente a mesma coisa que escrever história. Ao manter a biografia separada da história, eles puderam apreciar as semelhanças e as diferenças entre

ser um poeta e um filósofo, um mártir e um santo. Eles também foram capazes de notar o que há de humano em um rei ou em uma celebridade política.

Tratando da escrita de Plutarco, Martins (2007, p. 22) assevera que “assim como a história, a prática biográfica na Antiguidade Clássica também se aproximava da literatura, na medida em que seus escritos constantemente incluíam maniqueísmos e boatos”. Próximo do pensamento de Martins (2007), Schiff (2011) lembra que relatos como os de Plutarco devem ser necessariamente repensados quanto ao seu teor documental-histórico. Ainda segundo a autora (2011, p. 17) “[...] para padrões modernos [autores como Plutarco] são polemistas, apologistas, moralistas, fabulistas, recicladores, fazem cortar-colar, são hackers”. Ainda assim, fontes como as de Plutarco são algumas das poucas que temos para mostrar como ele delinea, retraça identidades sociais valendo-se dos padrões *paidêuticos* helênicos. Além de fonte documental histórica e de cunho assumidamente biográfico, a coletânea *Vidas Paralelas* é composta de um conjunto de retratos de homens ilustres reproduzidos, de maneira intencional e educativa, com julgamentos éticos e morais que servissem de modelo. Nesse ínterim, Plutarco também fala de personagens coadjuvantes, valendo-se de todo um repertório de estereótipos e clichês para também descrevê-los e representá-los como contraponto. Os membros da dinastia Lágida compõem parte desse quadro de personagens secundários que perpassam diversas biografias ilustres, geralmente do lado oposto aos atos nobres.

Em uma conhecida anedota que demonstra a relação quase familiar do queronense com os Lágidas, Plutarco conta que seu avô Lâmprias teria conhecido, em sua juventude, Filotas, um médico que fazia seus estudos em Alexandria e frequentava o Palácio dos Ptolomeus. Esse avô parece ter marcado sobremaneira a vida de Plutarco, visto que o filósofo recorrentemente o cita. Histórias cheias de imaginação e eloquência que compuseram uma memória ao mesmo tempo doméstica e coletiva. Histórias cultivadas em casa e que moldaram Plutarco se cristalizaram em seus escritos e chegaram até nós como raros documentos daquele espaço-tempo: “Esse avô culturalmente curioso certamente exerceu uma forte influência sobre o neto para manter sua memória tão viva, a ponto de evidenciar com mais clareza o relativo apagamento do pai” (Sirinelli, 2000, pp. 120-121).

Plutarco fazia parte de uma elite que escrevia para elites, que dominavam a escrita e os registros escritos, organizando suas próprias concepções da vida social e partindo de suas próprias criações da memória cultural instituídas em seu espaço-tempo. Esse contexto nos faz concordar com Funari (2003, p. 22), quando este afirma que “a ideologia

da classe dominante se torna a ideologia dominante para a sociedade um todo”. Mais particularmente, a ideologia imperial alcança as sociedades sob seu domínio, incluindo-se aí, evidentemente, Plutarco e sua representação dos Lágidas e do Oriente. Para Flacelière (1963, p. 33), ser grego e/ou romano não representaria um problema para Plutarco, tendo em vista que, no seu entendimento, “Roma era grega desde suas origens as mais distantes”, ou seja, Roma já era de certa forma helenizada desde sua fundação; a língua e a cultura grega já faziam parte do mundo romano, logo, Roma era, em muitos aspectos, uma cidade helenizada e helenizante. O grupo de amigos romanos de Plutarco pertencia à elite do Império. Um desses amigos, Sósio Senécio, teria sido inclusive o responsável por apresentar Plutarco a Trajano (imperador de 98 a 117 d.C.), que também se torna seu amigo e o convida a frequentar os palácios romanos e a proferir palestras aos romanos ilustres (Pinheiro, 2013; Ziegler, 1964). Cabe registrar que a primeira viagem de Plutarco a Roma se deu sob o regime de Nero e que a Grécia já se encontrava sob o domínio romano há mais de dois séculos. Não haveria, nesse sentido, razão para acreditar que homens gregos, sobretudo homens notáveis como Plutarco, se sentissem socialmente intimidados ou humilhados com a subjugação da Grécia e com sua anexação pelos romanos. Plutarco teria, então, aproveitado essa estada em Roma para conhecer mais e melhor o espírito romano, observar como viviam e pensavam, para conhecer e dominar o funcionamento do sistema imperial, e, sobretudo, frequentar bibliotecas e acervos que lhe seriam de grande valia na confecção de sua obra (Beck, 2014).

Plutarco busca transmitir a seus leitores “uma mensagem que oscila entre o louvor da antiga Grécia e o reconhecimento do destino imperial de Roma”, conforme afirma Pinheiro (2012, p. 238). Mesmo sob o domínio romano, os gregos buscavam guardar sua memória, sua identidade e o orgulho da cultura helênica herdada. O queronense teve a chance de fazer parte de um período importante da história do Império Romano. Ele vivenciou momentos de grande efervescência social e política em suas viagens, assistiu à subida de Vespasiano ao trono enquanto se encontrava em Roma. Nesse momento, a administração de Vespasiano traz modificações nas relações entre Roma e as províncias, implementando uma política de apaziguamento que traz consequências que afetam a vida dos gregos, em geral, e a de Plutarco, particularmente. Emprega-se, como política de Estado, uma harmonização nas relações entre Roma e algumas de suas províncias. Evidentemente, diante da multiplicidade de províncias e de sua heterogeneidade, essas relações variavam, a nível de tratamento político, bélico e financeiro, o que impactava nas decisões de domínio imperial. Já para Pinheiro (2013, p. 58), as *Vidas Paralelas* de

Plutarco não vislumbram uma inclinação clara por declarar a superioridade helênica, mas “apenas assumem que os valores da sua cultura, a grega, são os que mais interessam naquele momento, aliados ao poderio romano e aos nobres princípios da própria cultura romana”. Privilegiando ou não mais os gregos do que os romanos, fato é que Plutarco dedica suas *Vidas Paralelas* a celebridades romanas, seus co-enunciadores e possíveis financiadores. Ademais, na composição das biografias, Plutarco geralmente emparelha um grego com um romano e, como contraponto retórico-discursivo e ideológico, tem-se, como pano de fundo, os bárbaros, os estrangeiros, como os Lágidas, por exemplo.

Plutarco denigre a imagem do Oriente, dos Lágidas e de seus aliados. Essa atitude era comum aos poetas, historiadores e políticos greco-romanos (Aburto, 2009; Mello, 2019). Intelectuais como Plutarco buscavam questionar os excessos em seus personagens, dando relevo às virtudes e aos bons costumes greco-romanos na antinomia da barbárie. Diante da necessidade de exaltar o tradicionalismo, o respeito às normas e aos bons costumes, à ética e à moral, os Ptolomeus e o Egito tornam-se, sob a pluma de intelectuais helênicos, alvos de críticas que, com o tempo, só aumentaram (Rodrigues, 2002).

## 2. *Embasamento Teórico*

Para pesquisarmos a representação dos Lágidas e do Oriente em *Vidas Paralelas*, é praticamente impossível não lidar com conceitos que, de alguma maneira, se completam e se complementam: *orientalismo*, *imperialismo* e *representação identitária*. Para tratarmos do conceito de *orientalismo*, procedemos a uma espécie de transposição no espaço-tempo, já que ele foi forjado para explicar, prioritariamente, eventos históricos temporalmente mais próximos de nós e, no nosso caso, nos servimos dele para explicar eventos históricos da Antiguidade, o que nos remete à história dos Lágidas na obra de Plutarco: “episódios romanescos, seres exóticos, lembranças e paisagens encantadas, experiências extraordinárias [...] que remonta à concepção grega sobre os bárbaros” (Said, 2007, p. 27). Cabe lembrar que Said (2007, p. 28) conta com o Egito como parte do escopo daquilo que ele nomeia de *Oriente*: “partes determinadas do Oriente como o Egito, a Síria e a Arábia não podem ser discutidas sem também se estudar lugares mais distantes como a Pérsia”. Além de Said (2007), Plutarco também vê o Egito como parte do Oriente. Em *Vida de Antônio* (XXX), o narrador diz: “de maneira que as províncias do Oriente ficaram com Antônio, as do Ocidente com César e as da África com Lépido”. Continuando, tem-se: “Antônio parte para as províncias do Oriente para adquirir fundos [...] e chega ao Egito para se encontrar com Cleópatra” (XXIII).

O *orientalismo*, segundo Said (2007), é uma invenção que serve para sustentar um discurso e uma ideologia de controle, uma instituição corporativa de conhecimento responsável por perpetuar clichês, um modo ocidental de dominar, reestruturar e exercer o poder sobre o Oriente. Trata-se de um conjunto de ideias circunscritas a valores, apresentados de modo generalizado, que caracterizam estereotipadamente o Oriente. A intenção é “naturalizar” um pensamento hierarquizante, algo que sirva como instrumento “para negociar opiniões sobre ele, descrevendo-o, colonizando-o: em resumo, o orientalismo como um estilo ocidental para dominar, reestruturar e ter autoridade sobre o Oriente” (SAID, 2007, p. 29). Orientalismo supõe, então, a crença numa distinção efetiva, ontológica e epistemológica entre dominadores e dominados.

No caso da representação dos Lágidas, o *orientalismo* mostra-se intimamente ligado ao contexto político no qual eles (e também o autor grego) se inserem. Essa dinastia foi tida por Otávio e por alguns intelectuais da Antiguidade como uma ameaça à supremacia romana. Ainda que oficialmente reconhecida, por um período, como “aliada e amiga” política de Roma, os Ptolomeus, que compõem a Dinastia Lágida, ao se unirem a Antônio, por exemplo, passam a ser peça importante no jogo político, o que justifica o intento de descaracterização de sua imagem e a propalação de uma propaganda contra eles, um discurso de medo e de contaminação oriental. Os Lágidas tornam-se, nesse contexto, mais do que apenas um símbolo do Egito; eles sintetizam o ideário de todo o Oriente e do que esse Oriente (exótico e ameaçador) representa para Roma. Assim, quando Otávio declara guerra ao Egito, volta a atenção da opinião pública romana tanto para Cleópatra VII quanto para Antônio, que era, na verdade, seu verdadeiro alvo. Otávio forja uma propaganda xenófoba e anti-Lágida para atacar Antônio, com o objetivo de se beneficiar politicamente da situação, já que, nesse cenário, ele é retratado (por intelectuais contemporâneos a ele e também os subsequentes) como o bom e exemplar líder romano (Siani-Davis, 1997; Goldsworthy, 2012).

Schmidt (1999), cuja obra se intitula justamente “Plutarco e os bárbaros: a retórica de uma imagem”, vê que a representação dos bárbaros é recorrentemente estabelecida em torno de um certo número de estereótipos que advém de uma tradição literária que remonta ao século V a.C., período em que ocorreram as Guerras Médicas e se consolidou um processo de reforço identitário helênico no contraponto com os persas contra quem eles lutavam. Buscando mostrar a importância do conceito de *orientalismo* neste artigo, registramos algumas palavras de Hernández e González (p. 23) a respeito da relação de Antônio com o Oriente, na *Introdução* da obra de Plutarco *Vida de Antônio*, que

traduziram e comentaram. Para os autores responsáveis pela obra em sua edição da Gredos,

Não surpreendentemente, é também no Oriente que Antônio busca aliados, visitando cidades gregas na Ásia Menor e juntando-se à rainha Cleópatra do Egito, antes de enfrentar Otaviano em solo grego em Ácio, na costa de Ambracia. É claro, em cada caso, qual é o papel de liderança que a Ásia tem para sua riqueza e o poder das casas governantes ali, e o papel subsidiário da Grécia como um campo de batalha onde as forças dos oponentes são medidas. A derrota de Marco Antônio foi na verdade uma grande derrota do Oriente contra o Ocidente.

Seguindo esse raciocínio, acreditamos que a representação do Egito como um espaço no Oriente, ainda que localizado no continente africano, diz respeito a uma relação de poder e de dominação, ou seja, é uma construção greco-romana que surge nas ações imperialistas, momento em que são construídas instituições autorizadas a lidar com essa realidade, a divulgar e a justificar a ideologia imperialista de autoridade sobre o Oriente, como o Egito dos Lágidas, por exemplo. Ademais, é sabido que o Egito, antes da invasão de Alexandre, o Grande, era dominado há dois séculos pela monarquia persa, símbolo da cultura oriental e bárbara para os helenos. O Egito dos Lágidas, nos dizeres de Plutarco, é terra manchada por crimes contra heróis gregos e romanos, como Agesilau e Pompeu, por exemplo; por crimes de calúnia e de levante contra César; e, juntamente com Antônio, de apropriação da Síria, Armênia e Chipre, entre outros territórios conquistados pelo reino romano no Oriente, e distribuídos entre Cleópatra e seus filhos.

Outro conceito importante e que tem uma relação direta com o *orientalismo* é o *imperialismo*. No caso romano, o imperialismo teve uma atuação heterogênea, impactando, de maneira distinta, nas várias outras culturas que entraram em contato com Roma. No entanto, a presença do imperialismo não se deu de forma unificada, passiva e pacífica (Erskine, 2010). Isso significa dizer que tanto os romanos quanto os seus dominados possuíam capacidade de adaptação a novos ambientes e a culturas outras: “A identidade de qualquer pessoa forma uma negociação complexa e contínua de uma série de elementos: etnia, posição, gênero, idade e ocupação” (Revell, 2009, p. 151). Para

Erskine (2010, p. 69), é preciso tomar cuidado quando se fala em consentimento quanto à dominação romana. O autor afirma que por mais que parcerias e concessões fossem feitas, os romanos nunca perderam seu apreço pelo *terror*, o que pode ser comprovado pelos abundantes registros dos massacres nas fontes desse período e mesmo posteriores. Mattingly (2011), outro importante autor que estuda o conceito de *imperialismo* na Antiguidade, investiga o poder e a identidade na Roma Antiga, explora as experiências regionais e locais como parte do processo interpretativo de vestígios arqueológicos, concluindo que não se pode falar em *imperialismo romano* de maneira generalizada. O autor vê, com reservas, estudos que tratam de Império e de imperialismos de maneira homogênea, sem levar em conta as idiosincrasias contextuais. Das especificidades de cada caso é possível, no entanto, perceber pontos comuns entre as ações expansionistas imperiais romanas, inclusive nas representações dos estrangeiros.

A naturalização da violência colonial romana foi consubstancializada em várias formas de expressão cultural como, por exemplo, pela filosofia, pela literatura e outras formas de representação. Mattingly (2011, p. 23) cita o romano Cícero para exemplificar o endosso das ações colonialistas e imperialistas, mas nós poderíamos facilmente citar Plutarco e sua representação da dinastia Ptolomaica. Além disso, ainda como estratégia ideológica e bélica, buscou-se o embotamento e a inferiorização do *outro*, do colonizado, em um processo de “naturalização” de suas ações. Roma contava com a ajuda de escritores, poetas, filósofos e oradores, como colaboradores em sua propaganda, que buscava se fortalecer diminuindo, descaracterizando e silenciando as culturas com as quais rivalizava. Autores como Cícero, Virgílio e Plutarco “cantam” a supremacia romana, as vitórias dos líderes romanos, enaltecendo-os pela sua bravura, reforçando, assim, a “missão divina” de dominar. Esses elementos ideológicos e propagandísticos deram ao Império Romano um caráter distintivo, conforme assevera Mattingly (2011).

Esse cenário remete-nos a Plutarco, que, em *Vidas Paralelas*, em uma prática orientalista, imperialista e colonialista, conspurca a imagem dos Lágidas, representando-os como inimigos de Roma, degenerados e corruptos, incestuosos e conspiradores, entre vários outros adjetivos *ethóticos* pejorativos relacionados a um ideário greco-romano de Oriente. Nesse contexto, é importante refletir sobre qual ponto de vista Plutarco narrou, até que ponto ele justificou e, por conseguinte, propalou e cristalizou, com seu discurso, a ideia de supremacia greco-romana, a necessidade de imposição e/ou de adoção da

cultura greco-romana por parte das elites dos territórios conquistados<sup>2</sup>. Isso explicaria, inclusive, a própria condição social e identitária de Plutarco, que era cidadão ilustre queronense, ateniense e também romano. Plutarco, com sua narrativa, demonstra ter assimilado bem a propaganda alimentada por Otávio em seu processo de valoração de Roma, a ponto de escrever sob encomenda de políticos romanos e para leitura das elites tanto romanas quanto gregas, que viam, juntamente com ele, aparentemente, o mundo dividido em duas categorias: os civilizados e os bárbaros. Segundo Silva (2009, p. 166), Plutarco e seus compatriotas “compunham um grupo diferenciado em Roma e que, em relação aos demais povos conquistados, eles eram tratados com distinção pelos romanos”.

Erskine (2010), discorre sobre a relação da elite grega e romana, o que nos auxilia a compreender o lugar de Plutarco na estrutura imperial. Ele afirma que muitos gregos da elite, como Plutarco, Dion Cássio e Estrabão, por exemplo, tinham cidadania romana e também possuíam altos cargos na estrutura imperial, sendo coparticipes do imperialismo. Esses autores são tidos como exemplos dessa situação de adaptabilidade, diversidade e de troca cultural no contexto imperial. Possivelmente eles teriam buscado se manter próximos do círculo de poder romano, com o objetivo de adquirir cidadania romana e, ao mesmo tempo, manterem-se membros das elites locais. Ser grego, romano, greco-romano ou egípcio no Império Romano é, evidentemente, uma questão de representação identitária, visto ser uma construção histórica que se baseia na alteridade, no *outro*, nas distinções cambiantes (e semelhanças também cambiantes) entre as culturas. Sendo a *representação* constituída por dispositivos consensuais de conhecimento, cujas pretensões são de estar “no lugar de uma verdade”, ela está intrinsecamente relacionada a construções socioculturais e político-ideológicas. Ademais, como assevera Guarinello (2009), a identidade deve ser vista como uma construção social que ocorre em processos de inclusão assim como de exclusão, desempenhando papel importante na compreensão do que seja um civilizado e um bárbaro no Mundo Antigo. O estudioso destaca que, em razão da diversidade de culturas, o Império Romano precisa ser entendido como espaço de negociação de múltiplas identidades. Logo, aquilo que distingue um grego e/ou um romano de um bárbaro é cambiante, provisório e mutável, tendo em vista os contatos entre si e com outras identidades presentes nas relações sociais e políticas do e no Império.

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<sup>2</sup> A respeito da cooptação das elites dos dominados, cf. Woolf (2011).



Said (2007) alerta que as representações não refletem algo dado ou “real”, pronto para ser examinado por análises ou teorias, mas sim um produto criado pelos homens e por condições históricas específicas que engendram um pensamento, um imaginário e uma presença que marcam as relações de poder. As identidades e suas representações podem, assim, se fazer presentes em símbolos, lendas, mitos, personagens fictícios, propagandas, provérbios, figuras de retórica, saberes de crença, ou seja, tudo aquilo que possui uma relação com a leitura que os indivíduos de uma sociedade fazem sobre o mundo, sobre os outros e sobre si mesmos. Nessa perspectiva, percebemos que os imaginários, as representações sociais e discursivas a respeito dos Lágidas e também de Plutarco, além do Egito, de Roma e da Grécia, não podem ser rígidos e não devem ter como objetivo o estabelecimento de “verdades”, tampouco de “verdades uníssonas”.

Na narrativa de Plutarco em *Vidas Paralelas*, o passado se presentifica, se materializa, e o tempo se cruza com o espaço para juntos reproduzirem a representação dos Lágidas e também a do Egito; identidades individuais, sociais, espaciais e culturais que, amalgamadas, se (con)fundem inexoravelmente no discurso historiográfico. O queronense faz com que a dinastia macedônica reflita e refrate o Egito e sua memória cultural. A dinastia e Plutarco contribuem para fixar o Egito nos espaços da História e na História dos espaços, aventam sentidos a si próprios e, por conseguinte, a nós. A representação dos Ptolomeus, do Egito e de Plutarco se tornam uma espécie de garantia de contiguidade da memória, que acaba por alimentar e legitimar os discursos da História em temporalidades diversas.

### *3. Os Lágidas de Plutarco*

Após a morte de Alexandre, o Grande (356-323 a.C.), uma nova dinastia macedônica – a dos Lágidas, se instala no poder em Alexandria, que ali se mantém por três séculos aproximadamente, até a morte de Cleópatra VII. Essa herança deixada por Alexandre é reivindicada por Ptolomeu I, que, reinando de 305 e 283 a.C., dá início à Dinastia Lágida. Ptolomeu I e seus sucessores eram, assim, em primeiro lugar, reis macedônios, de cultura helênica, que desejavam manter o legado de Alexandre e sua missão de anexar cada vez mais territórios (Palestina, Síria meridional, Chipre e Líbia, por exemplo), e aumentar seu poder no Mediterrâneo (Bevan, 1934). Para dar legitimidade ao seu reinado, os Lágidas, estrategicamente, adotaram costumes e rituais da monarquia egípcia que os precederam, assim como os invasores persas haviam feito antes deles. Apesar disso, a corte ptolomaica permanece falando grego, adotando parte

dos princípios helênicos durante os mais de três séculos de poder. Mesmo com problemas de confiabilidade de fontes, é sabido que os Lágidas são oriundos da aristocracia macedônia, razão pela qual vários historiadores afirmam que eles não eram nem genuinamente gregos e tampouco totalmente macedônios ou parcialmente egípcios, eram, talvez, uma mistura de tudo isso.<sup>3</sup> Ainda assim, os Ptolomeu teriam governado o Egito durante séculos e chegado a controlar grande parte da costa oriental do Mediterrâneo, não sem dificuldades, haja vista as crises, guerras e disputas políticas, além dos conflitos e problemas familiares e das suas relações conflituosas com outras monarquias helênicas e com os romanos.

Muito do que Plutarco diz sobre Alexandria serve, guardadas as devidas proporções, para definir identitariamente os Lágidas, o Egito e o Oriente. Em Alexandria ficava o principal palácio da dinastia. Lá eles cresceram, se educaram e viveram grande parte de suas vidas; fato que leva alguns historiadores a dizerem que os Ptolomeus não eram egípcios, já que habitavam uma *polis* grega, naquela época.<sup>4</sup> Vale lembrar que Alexandria, fundada por Alexandre, o Grande, em 331 a.C., pelo fato de ser helênica, e mesmo estando em um reino representado estereotipadamente com múltiplos elementos do Oriente, foi considerada espaço de cultura grega.<sup>5</sup> Nesse sentido, Alexandria era uma cidade no/do Egito, sem, contudo, ser totalmente egípcia. No entanto, Plutarco parece fazer questão de silenciar que a Alexandria de Alexandre, o Grande, e dos Ptolomeus, por exemplo, é um espaço de poder ancestral mítico e, assim como Roma e Atenas, era helênica e cosmopolita. Ainda que Alexandria fosse um centro urbano, cultural, político e econômico de grande importância, ou seja, fonte de riqueza e de conhecimento no contexto geral das diversas relações internacionais no Mediterrâneo antigo, alguns gregos

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<sup>3</sup> Ainda que Grant (1972, p. 5) afirme que “Cleópatra não tinha uma gota de sangue egípcio em suas veias”, o autor acredita na forte miscigenação (hibridismo racial) entre os Ptolomeus, o que leva a se supor inclusive que Cleópatra poderia ter sido negra. No entanto, Foss (1987) assevera que “[...] se Cleópatra era negra, ninguém o mencionou”; e Shohat (2004) complementa a problemática dizendo que “[...] se Cleópatra era branca, ninguém tampouco o mencionou. Toda essa polêmica aquece a discussão sobre uma possível higienização (e ocidentalização) da imagem de Cleópatra na atualidade.

<sup>4</sup> Callatay (2015) vê que Cleópatra VII acabou sendo excluída da helenicidade pela tradição greco-latina e jogada no terreno da barbárie. Preferimos dizer que essa exclusão se deu pela tradição greco-romana, incluindo-se aí Plutarco.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarco (*Vida de Alexandre*, XXVI), narra a história da fundação de Alexandria. O autor afirma que a decisão de Alexandre de construir uma cidade grega no Oriente foi inspirada em Homero e que ele, na época em que discutia com os responsáveis pela construção sobre a melhor topografia, teve uma maravilhosa visão da cidade em um sonho que lhe determinava o local exato onde a cidade deveria ser erguida. A narrativa de Plutarco sobre Alexandria mostra que ele via a cidade como espaço grego, helênico. No entanto, quando ele fala de Cleópatra VII, ele a coloca em um espaço egípcio, oriental.

e romanos costumavam enxergar a cidade sede da monarquia Ptolomaica como uma síntese do modo de existência miscigenado e oriental, inevitavelmente associado à dinastia (e vice-versa). Alexandria era uma cidade considerada, na época, por parte das elites greco-romanas, como a capital da degeneração política e social, uma ameaça à hegemonia romana, posicionamento sustentado na representação identitária dos Lágidas.

Segundo Rodrigues (2002), Plutarco discorre sobre diversos membros da dinastia Lágida em *Vidas Paralelas*. Apesar disso, as informações são esparsas e superficiais, o que não diminui sua importância para a produção historiográfica sobre o Egito Ptolomaico. O patriarca e fundador da dinastia, Ptolomeu Sóter, aparece sobretudo na biografia de Demétrio, mas aparece também em 4 outras biografias de Plutarco. Nesses trechos, o queronense fala sobre relações matrimoniais e alianças políticas, assim como as famosas batalhas de Salamina de Chipre e em Ipsos. Seu filho, Ptolomeu II Filadelfo, aparece em *Vida de Arato* e seu sucessor, Ptolomeu III Evérgeta, em *Vida de Cleómenes* e em *Vida de Filopémen*. Também encontramos pequenos trechos que se referem a Ptolomeu IV Filopator, Ptolomeu VIII Físcon, Ptolomeu IX Látiro, Ptolomeu XII Aulete (Pai de Cleópatra VII), e Ptolomeu XIV (irmão/esposo da última rainha Lágida). As figuras femininas da dinastia também são representadas em *Vidas Paralelas*, como a princesa Arsínoe e as rainhas Berenice e Cleópatra VII Filopator.

Em *Vidas Paralelas*, vê-se que, através das análises comportamentais dos personagens sob o jugo moral, Plutarco insiste em repisar o caráter “egípcio” e “oriental” dos Lágidas sob uma perspectiva depreciativa como estratégia retórico-discursiva: “aquilo que chamamos hoje de uma guerra de propaganda” (Gaudefroy, 2017, p. 135). Em *Vida de César* (LXIII), Plutarco nos apresenta as entranhas da corte ptolomaica, trazendo detalhes do funcionamento das tramas tidas como sórdidas contra Júlio César e os romanos. Após a chegada de César em Alexandria, montou-se no reino dos Lágidas, uma espécie de complô contra o romano. Nesse contexto, César já era amante de Cleópatra, e seu irmão/marido - Ptolomeu XIII, aconselhado pelo eunuco Potino (autoridade principal entre os conselheiros do rei), conspirou contra ambos, levando a uma guerra entre Roma e o Egito em Alexandria. César, ao cobrar uma dívida feita pelo pai do jovem rei e de Cleópatra - Ptolomeu XII, foi perseguido e boicotado, insultado e ameaçado por membros da corte ptolomaica, sobretudo por Potino, que já havia mandado matar, de forma desonrosa e traiçoeira, o romano Pompeu. César deplora as intervenções do eunuco egípcio e é obrigado a fazer guerra contra Ptolomeu XIII e seus conselheiros. Para Plutarco, após a morte do rei ptolomaico, César providencia o casamento de

Cleópatra com seu irmão mais novo - Ptolomeu XIV, e os coloca no trono egípcio, mesmo sabendo que a rainha estava grávida de César. Após esse conflito, os romanos levam presa a princesa Arsínoe, irmã de Cleópatra e do jovem rei, para Roma, onde é exibida e humilhada em um triunfo de César. Para Plutarco, o relato desse cenário demonstra a instabilidade política do Egito Ptolomaico, composto de elementos bárbaros tais como a presença de um eunuco com muito poder político, as várias traições, os complôs, os incestos, as dívidas e até mesmo a gravidez (proposital) da rainha, elementos que compõem uma retórica de feminização e inferiorização, marginalização e barbarização, justificando, assim, a interferência, o domínio e a manipulação por parte de Roma.

A título de ilustração, trazemos, aqui, cinco pequenos excertos de *Vidas Paralelas* que exemplificam o julgamento moral de Plutarco a respeito dos Lágidas. No primeiro, vê-se a representação de Ptolomeu como usurpador, perigoso e corrupto; no segundo, Ptolomeu é delineado como bajulador e traiçoeiro; no terceiro e no quarto, o Egito e a corte dos Ptolomeus são mencionados por sua riqueza, luxúria, exotismo e frivolidade, além das emoções tais como discórdia e inveja; e no quinto, Plutarco mostra Ptolomeu como assaltante e depredador, saqueador e pilhador:

Os negócios na Macedónia foram perturbados porque Ptolomeu matou o rei e usurpou o reinado. Os servidores e amigos do rei morto chamaram em seu socorro Pelópidas, o qual desejando chegar logo, não levou consigo guerreiros de seu país, mas, reuniu subitamente alguns no lugar mesmo onde estava, com os quais se pôs imediatamente a caminho para ir em busca de Ptolomeu. Quando se aproximaram um do outro, este achou meios de comprar e corromper por dinheiro os soldados que Pelópidas havia trazido, fazendo-os passar para o seu lado [...] (*Vida de Pelópidas*, XLIX).

O próprio rei Ptolomeu, então ainda muito jovem, fez o melhor acolhimento possível a Lúculo, pois, entre outras demonstrações de amizade, alojou-o e alimentou-o em seu castelo real, onde, até então, nunca fora hospedado nenhum capitão estrangeiro; nem poupou despesas, para homenageá-lo, coisa que nunca fez

com outros. Na partida de Lúculo, o rei disse-lhe adeus, abraçou-o, e ofereceu-lhe uma linda e preciosa esmeralda engastada em ouro, que Lúculo logo recusou; mas, como o rei lhe mostrasse a sua efígie ali gravada, acabou aceitando, receoso de que, julgando-o partir descontente com a sua pessoa, o rei lhe preparasse alguma emboscada no mar (*Vida de Lúculo*, V).

A esperança de Arato o levava ao Egito, fora de seu país, e ele apreciava muito as riquezas daquelas terras, ouvindo falar de tantos elefantes, de grandes frotas de navios e de seus Palácios, como é costume no Egito: mas, agora que ele viu de perto e percebeu que tudo aquilo é apenas ilusão e vã aparência, falsa pompa e um pouco de fumaça. [Em meio a intrigas envolvendo o nome de Arato e Ptolomeu] este lhe mandou um mensageiro expressamente para se queixar e lamentar-se a ele. E, assim, havia também entre as grandes amizades de príncipes e reis daqueles que, por ciúme, porfiadamente, despertavam entre eles a malignidade e a inveja (*Vida de Arato*, XVII).

Mas, infelizmente, o velho Ptolomeu, antes de poder cumprir o que havia prometido a Cleômenes, isto é, mandá-lo de novo à Grécia, morreu, e depois de sua morte, a corte caiu na dissolução de banquetes e no domínio das mulheres e a promessa feita a Cleômenes, foi esquecida; o jovem rei (LV), só pensava em mulheres e vinho; se ele não estava embriagado, então a sua maior preocupação e o seu maior empenho, era dar festas e sacrifícios (LVI), tocar instrumentos musicais pelo palácio para reunir gente, dar espetáculos, como um artista e charlatão, enquanto Agatocléia, que era sua amiga, a mãe dela e um certo Oenante, homem da pior espécie, dirigiam os principais negócios do reino. (*Vida de Cleômenes*, LXVI).

[Antígono], tendo sabido que Ptolomeu passava por Chipre, assaltando e depredando toda a Síria, reduzindo por bem ou à força, todas as cidades e aldeias ao seu domínio, para lá enviou seu filho, Demétrio, que então tinha somente vinte e dois anos, e pela primeira vez ocupava o cargo de chefe e comandante, numa empresa de tanta importância [...] Todos se alinharam com Antígono e Demétrio, contra tudo e contra todos, exceto Ptolomeu (*Vida de Demétrio*, VI; XXVII).

Ainda sobre a propaganda imperial contra os Lágidas, Huzar (1988, p. 348) afirma que a campanha contra Cleópatra e sua família se aproximou de uma xenofobia histórica, sobretudo quando os rumores de que César e Marco Antônio planejavam mudar a capital imperial para Alexandria, uma cidade considerada licenciosa e corrupta. Para o autor, poucos romanos haviam viajado ao Egito, o que comprova uma idealização excessiva de um espaço desconhecido. Essa propaganda otaviana de oposição vai ao encontro do sentimento popular, que já via a rainha lágida como a responsável por vários conflitos desde César<sup>6</sup>. Esse sentimento foi afluído pela propaganda orquestrada por Otávio, que acabou por orientar os historiadores em suas leituras dos fatos. Trazemos, aqui, dois excertos da obra de Plutarco, agora sobre Cleópatra, a última rainha ptolomaica. No primeiro, o queronense mostra que a rainha é esperta e sorradeira no trato com o romano César; no segundo, Plutarco a culpa por enlouquecer o romano Antônio com sua sensualidade, sexualidade e feitiços:

[César] secretamente mandou chamar Cleópatra, que estava nas redondezas; ela, em companhia de Apolodoro Siciliano, um amigo, partiu em um pequeno barco, no qual chegou a se aproximar do Palácio de Alexandria, quando já era noite escura; e não tendo meios de entrar sem ser reconhecida, ela se escondeu em uma trouxa de roupas, que Apolodoro dobrou e amarrou com uma corda, colocou-a na cabeça,

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<sup>6</sup> Sobre a propaganda arquitetada/orquestrada por Otávio contra Cleópatra, cf. Scott (1919; 1933) e Rodrigues (2013).

passou pelo portão do Palácio e a levou até a presença de César (*Vida de César*, LXII).

[...] Antônio estava com sua mente perturbada e de tal modo encantado com o veneno do amor, que não pensava em outra coisa senão nela [...] dizia ainda Otávio que Antônio não era senhor de si, porque Cleópatra, por meio de seus encantos e de seus venenos amorosos, o havia privado de seu bom senso e que lhes fariam guerra [...] (*Vida de Antônio*, XLVI; LXXVII).

Vê-se, dos excertos acima, que a arte de manipular não é exclusiva de Cleópatra; Plutarco também manipula sua narrativa, ao depreciar os Ptolomeus, valendo-se de críticas aos comportamentos morais, éticos e estéticos de Cleópatra e de seus familiares (Gurval, 1995). Ressurge, nesse cenário, uma ideologia que reverbera ou encontra eco no imaginário social e na literatura greco-romana por séculos. Otávio, com a ajuda de intelectuais<sup>7</sup>, buscou construir seu próprio *ethos* e o de César como romanos bons e leais, e um *ethos* de Antônio e seus aliados estrangeiros como traidores públicos e rivais degenerados de Roma. E Plutarco não foge a essa regra.

Como já dito, o grego era a língua materna dos Ptolomeus, falada tanto em Alexandria quanto em Atenas e Roma, língua dos negócios e das relações políticas e diplomáticas, e falada por pessoas consideradas cultas. Sobre a educação e a cultura de Cleópatra em Alexandria, por exemplo, as fontes principais também vêm da narrativa de Plutarco (*Vida de Antônio*, XXVII, 4-5), segundo a qual:

[Cleópatra] falava a poucas nações bárbaras, por meio de intérprete, mas dava ela mesma as respostas, pelo menos à maioria, como aos etíopes, árabes, trogloditas,

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<sup>7</sup> Entre seus colaboradores de peso, Otávio contou com Cícero e suas *Filípicas* (algumas delas retomadas nos discursos de Plutarco) para difundir sua propaganda anti-Antônio e anti-Cleópatra. Aufrère (2018, p. 32), ao pesquisar o discurso de Cícero, fala em “crime de lesa-majestade”, tamanho o ódio e a difamação que ele alimenta pela rainha e pelos seus. Sobre Antônio, Cícero, em seu discurso lido no Senado romano (Sexta Filípica) disse que ele é patife imprudente, tolo, bêbado, obsceno, sem vergonha, depravado, libertino e saqueador, uma besta feroz, alguém que prefere obedecer a uma mulher avarenta (Cleópatra) do que ao Senado e ao povo romano.

hebreus, sírios, medos e partos e a muitos outros ainda, cuja língua aprendera quando muitos dos seus predecessores, reis do Egito, dificilmente tinham podido aprender somente o egípcio e alguns até esqueceram a da Macedônia.

Informações como essas registradas por Plutarco teriam sido tomadas por ele próprio (e por muitos que o leram e copiaram) como uma constatação cabal à revelia de uma pesquisa pautada em fontes documentais seguras. Ademais, vemos, nesse trecho, que Plutarco fala a respeito do domínio de várias línguas por parte da dinastia Lágida. No caso específico de Cleópatra, vemos que, a princípio e em uma primeira leitura, pode parecer um elogio ou positividade<sup>8</sup>, mas não necessariamente o é. Destarte, percebe-se que as línguas e dialetos citados dizem respeito a questões geográficas, ou melhor, geopolíticas do Oriente, já que esses reinos eram vassalos à monarquia ptolomaica. Assim, seria compreensível que Cleópatra e seus familiares falassem vários idiomas e dialetos, já que eram os representantes de um reino importante que mantinha relações diplomáticas e políticas, financeiras e comerciais com muitos outros reinos e povos. Chama-nos a atenção que aquilo que parece um elogio pode ser, na verdade, uma crítica ou até mesmo um conjunto de insultos. De início, percebemos no/do excerto supracitado uma ênfase negativa quanto aos seus antecessores, uma crítica aos Ptolomeus, que não se preocuparam em aprender a língua dos ancestrais – o macedônio, e tampouco aquela dos dominados, ou melhor, daqueles que eles governavam – o egípcio. Isso poderia configurar uma crítica a esse Oriente despreparado para a liderança política.

Para Sartre (2018), a Etiópia servia, em textos da Antiguidade, para nomear grande parte das populações negras da África, o que cobre, na geografia atual, partes do norte do continente, da Etiópia até o Marrocos, um conjunto enorme de povos e culturas com línguas diversas. No que diz respeito aos trogloditas, sociedade que teria vivido nas proximidades do Mar Vermelho, povo retratado pelo ideário greco-romano como de hábitos rudes, privado do uso de uma língua, no sentido que normalmente a concebemos, ou seja, era um povo “primitivo” que se comunicava por gestos, grunhidos e gritos (Sartre, 2018). Assim, dizer que Cleópatra dominava essa língua não significaria necessariamente um elogio, mas sim um deboche. Coincidência ou não, o termo *troglodita* atravessou os

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<sup>8</sup> Sobre o multilinguismo e o multiculturalismo no Mundo Antigo, cf. Rochette (1997).



séculos cristalizado em estereótipos para designar aquele que é considerado rude, sem civilidade e que age tal como os pré-históricos. Fica, então, a suspeita de que Plutarco estaria sendo cáustico ao dizer, direta ou indiretamente, que os Ptolomeus, assim como os orientais, podiam ser definidos identitariamente com esses adjetivos.

No contexto por nós analisado, tem-se que as representações das identidades dos Lágidas, dos gregos e dos romanos, por exemplo, seriam definidas e normatizadas não só no “jogo de espelhos” das identidades *vs* alteridades, mas também a partir dos registros documentais que as projetam e as fixam, as cristalizam e as propagam. Biografias como as de Plutarco traduzem-se em formas de cristalizar as memórias e de reivindicar as identidades. Próximo a essa linha de raciocínio, Schiff (2011, p. 93) lembra que relatos como os de Plutarco a respeito dos Lágidas devem ser necessariamente repensados quanto ao seu teor documental-histórico. Isso porque o fato de contar parte da história da vida da dinastia faz com que esses relatos sejam, muitas vezes, apologéticos, relativamente tendenciosos, com objetivos estratégicos e políticos, ideológicos e propagandísticos fortemente presentes em textos ficcionais, ainda que de cunho histórico ou biográfico. As representações dos Lágidas e do Egito construídas por Plutarco fazem parte de um projeto maior, qual seja, uma propaganda romana, iniciada sobretudo por Otávio e seus aliados, para fins políticos. Isso porque no ideário de Plutarco, tanto os Lágidas quanto o Egito estariam inexoravelmente vinculados ou assimilados à noção de *barbárie*. Ao falar dessa dinastia, ao desconstruir seu *ethos*, Plutarco a liga à ideia (negativa) de *hubris*, que comporta e condensa um conjunto de traços identitários de caráter moral, estereotípico e estigmatizante tais como desvio, excesso, corrupção, decadência e/ou falta moral, enfim, a própria *barbárie*.

Com uma visão tida por nós como imperialista e xenófoba, o Oriente dos Lágidas, aos olhos da cultura greco-romana, e discursivizado por Plutarco, como espaço da luxúria, da sexualidade vulgar, dos excessos, da corrupção e da crueldade, é o cenário dos embates e dos ataques, a arena de luta entre os nobres e seus “inimigos”. Os que pertencem ao Oriente são delineados majoritariamente como indolentes e efeminados, perversos e traiçoeiros, enganadores, desonestos e cruéis, a despeito das contradições que essa visão possa evidenciar. Essa visão preconceituosa e clichê persiste mesmo quando se trata de um espaço no continente africano no qual se fala grego, onde se vive segundo os preceitos da cultura helênica, como é o caso de Alexandria. As representações que definem os Lágidas nas *Vidas Paralelas* geralmente funcionam como uma espécie de rótulo simplificador no processo de construção de suas identidades, método utilizado também

na representação de outros monarcas marcadamente orientais, como no caso de Xerxes e Dário, por exemplo. Em uma espécie de espelhamento, o que Plutarco diz das cortes orientais também é encontrado na representação da dinastia Ptolomaica, com as mesmas estereotípias.

#### *4. Considerações finais*

Acreditamos que a construção identitária dos Ptolomeus é feita consciente e deliberadamente por Plutarco com o objetivo de sustentar, subsidiar a história das grandes personalidades greco-romanas. Essa representação (familiar, social, política e cultural) pode ter sido utilizada por Plutarco para desconstruir a força e o poder do reino egípcio ptolomaico e subjugar-lo na personificação de seus monarcas, por conseguinte, agradar o poder político vigente, no sentido de buscar contrapor sua força de corrupção e suas estratégias políticas aos poderes e racionalidade romana imperial, reiterando os valores greco-romanos. O biógrafo de Queroneia edifica a identidade dos Ptolomeus (e do Egito) ora revelando, ora negando seus modos, a forma como eles se vestiam, falavam, o lugar que ocupavam naquela sociedade em que viviam, suas ações políticas, posturas, ideais, enfim, seus valores morais, éticos e estéticos. A resistência dos Lágidas e do Egito contra o poder de Roma, ainda que não totalmente negligenciada, parece ter sido trazida para registro na narrativa plutarquiana para efeitos retóricos específicos: por um lado, convencer, seduzir seu público greco-romano da extraordinária capacidade de liderança de Roma, o poder e a supremacia romana; por outro, para mostrar o despreparo dos adversários, no caso, os Ptolomeus, os egípcios (Alexandria e o Oriente), personificados na dinastia e em suas desmedidas.

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**PLUTARCH AND THE LAGIDS: REPRESENTATION AND IMPERIAL  
ADVERTISING**

*Felipe Aiala de Mello*

ABSTRACT

This article seeks to analyze the representations of the Lagids and the Orient forged by Plutarch in *Parallel Lives*. Speaking from the point of view of a citizen of a Greek polis (Queroneia), who lived under Roman rule, Plutarch reconfigures facts, data and history itself, with his biographical writing that is simultaneously strategically dramatic, theatrical, emotional and moralizing. This article intends to show that Plutarch, forging the representation of the Ptolemaic dynasty, does so from an imperialist and orientalist perspective, following Roman ideology. The main analytical categories used to produce this text are *imperialism*, *orientalism*, and *representation/identity*. The methodology used in the analysis is based on the traditional form of the historian's work, that is, the internal and external criticism of the sources, combined with content analysis. We see that Plutarch, based on stereotyped oppositional dichotomies supported by Hellenic precepts, subordinates the Lagids and the Orient in favor of a supposed superiority based on a cultural and moral hierarchy, like in the Roman propaganda.

KEYWORDS

Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, Lagids, Orient, imperial propaganda.



# SERIA LÍCITO SE OCUPAR DA ESPADA, QUANDO O SENHOR PROCLAMOU QUE QUEM A USA PERECERÁ POR ELA? TERTULIANO E A POLÊMICA DO SERVIÇO MILITAR (SÉCULO III)

Ludimila Caliman Campos<sup>1</sup>

## RESUMO

O presente artigo tem por objetivo analisar o pensamento do escritor norte-africano Tertuliano quanto à polêmica do serviço militar cristão. Para tanto, selecionamos duas de suas obras, a saber: *De Idololatria* e *De Corona*. A questão levantada por Tertuliano nesses tratados evidencia um cristianismo preocupado não somente com a manutenção do *status quo* de uma ética cristã, considerando todas as polêmicas que envolviam o serviço militar em si (sacrifícios aos deuses e ao imperador e a obrigação em se torturar e assassinar os inimigos), mas, principalmente, expõe uma necessidade urgente de diferenciação identitária com o seu culto rival, o mitraísmo, o qual arrebanhava grande parte de seus seguidores nas fileiras militares romanas.

## PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Império Romano, Tertuliano, Cristianismo, Serviço Militar.

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No século XVIII, o filósofo Jean-Jacques Rousseau, na obra *Do Contrato Social* (2011), defendia que o homem é bom por natureza, mas a civilização o corrompe. Ou seja, para além do próprio contrato social, a formação da civilização por si só trazia conflitos para o seio das relações humanas. Todavia, é possível atestar que Rousseau estava equivocado, pois os homens nunca foram o que ele entendia como “bons selvagens”. Segundo Fabio Faria e Lawrence H. Keeley, na obra *A Guerra Antes Da Civilização: o mito do bom selvagem* (2011), o *Homo sapiens sapiens* nasceu em meio à guerra. Para provar essa hipótese, os autores pesquisam várias marcas arqueológicas que apontam para as guerras na Pré-História.<sup>2</sup> Reconhece-se, porém, que, ainda que a guerra seja inerente ao ser humano, as civilizações trataram de aperfeiçoá-las, ou seja, a forma de matar mudou no tempo e no espaço.

No caso do Mundo Antigo, mais especificamente de Roma, os conflitos eram muito diversos e a força militar deveras multifacetada. Podemos pontuar que o exército era muito bem estruturado, contando com numerosas divisões e uma hierarquia complexa. Vale destacar que as forças militares eram diferentes se compararmos as províncias com a capital Roma. Enquanto, na cidade de Roma, as três principais guarnições eram divididas em coortes pretorianas, coortes urbanas e *vigiles*; nas províncias, a divisão era em legiões, forças auxiliares e *numeri* (Le Bohec, 1994).

As coortes pretorianas funcionavam como guardas para o imperador e proteção da cidade. Apesar de ter a mesma função das coortes pretorianas, as coortes urbanas, formadas por um estrato social mais pobre, desempenhavam, prioritariamente, a função de força policial na cidade. Já os *vigiles* foram um grupo criado por Augusto em 6 d.C. para exercer as funções de bombeiros e guardas noturnos (Le Bohec, 1994).<sup>3</sup>

No âmbito da força militar provincial, vale ressaltar, as legiões eram compostas por cidadãos romanos e gozavam de maior prestígio social se comparadas às demais funções. Também havia uma força auxiliar, um corpo de tropas regular formada por peregrinos e súditos imperiais que não possuíam cidadania romana – pelo menos até 212, quando Caracala vai conceder cidadania a todos os habitantes do Império (Gonçalves, 2006). Alguns atuavam de maneira voluntária e, muitas vezes, não remunerada. Ainda havia os *numeri*, unidades nativas (ou “bárbaras”) aliadas, de fora do Império, que

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<sup>2</sup> Fabio Faria e Lawrence H. Keeley (2011) desenvolveram suas análises a partir de pesquisas arqueológicas feitas a nordeste da Bélgica as quais foram encontradas algumas fortificações bélicas. Os autores notaram que os primeiros registros pré-históricos estão repletos de relatos de cunho bélicos, o que fortalece a tese defendida.

<sup>3</sup> Todas as datas deste artigo são d.C., salvo quando expresso em contrário.

lutavam ao lado das forças regulares em uma base mercenária. Tanto os soldados auxiliares e *numeri* quanto os legionários podiam compor as fileiras da infantaria pesada, podendo atuar na cavalaria (tanto a blindada quanto a leve), ou ser arqueiros ou fundeiros (Rogan, 2013).

Vale destacar que foi ainda ao final a República que o recrutamento de cidadãos (somente usado para casos de emergência) foi substituído por um exército profissional permanente, composto principalmente por voluntários que, via de regra, cumpriam mandatos de cerca de 20 anos (Goldsworthy, 1998).

No período imperial, mais especificamente durante o reinado de Augusto, havia 28 legiões, consistindo quase que inteiramente de infantaria pesada, com cerca de 5.000 homens cada (total de 125.000)<sup>4</sup>. Já no reinado de Septímio Severo, houve um aumento para 33 legiões com cerca de 5.500 mil homens cada (total de 180.000 homens). As legiões continuaram a recrutar cidadãos romanos, tanto os habitantes da região do Lácio quanto das colônias romanas (Goldsworthy, 1998).

Os militares passavam apenas uma fração de suas vidas em campanha. A maior parte do tempo era gasta em tarefas militares de rotina, como treinamento, patrulhamento e manutenção de equipamentos. Os soldados também tiveram um papel relevante fora da esfera militar. Eles atuavam como força policial para os governadores das províncias, além de trabalharem na construção de diversas obras públicas como fortificações, estradas, pontes, portos, prédios públicos, derrubada de florestas e drenagem de pântanos. Deste modo, o exército foi fundamental na construção de uma infraestrutura militar e civil provincial no Império Romano (Campbell, 2002).

Os soldados desfrutavam de ampla liberdade de culto no Império Romano. Durante o Principado, viu-se um aumento na popularidade dos cultos de mistério entre os militares. Tais cultos, geralmente centrados em uma única divindade, envolviam rituais secretos os quais eram divulgados apenas para os iniciados. Vale frisar que, de longe, o culto mais popular no exército foi o mitraísmo.<sup>5</sup> Apesar de não ter o mesmo apelo quanto

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<sup>4</sup> A legião é uma organização militar romana, originalmente, a maior organização permanente. Durante o período republicano, os romanos adotaram o modelo de falanges gregas. Entretanto, por acharem muito pesada para os combates que promoviam nos vales e colinas na Península Itálica, os romanos desenvolveram um novo sistema tático baseado em unidades de infantaria pequenas e flexíveis chamadas manípulos. Cada manípulo contava com 120 homens dividido em 12 grupos e 10 fileiras. Durante a República, cada legião era composta por mais de 3 mil membros. Durante o período imperial, o tamanho das legiões se tornou mais variado (Campbell, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> O mitraísmo é uma religião de mistérios, de tipo iniciática, calcada na adoração ao deus Mitra. O culto de mistérios em honra a Mitra surgiu por volta do final do século I, como atesta um documento encontrado na Germânia Superior no qual um homem da cavalaria do exército romano, denominado Tácito, dedicou um altar votivo ao deus (Clauss, 1990). Todavia, o deus Mitra remonta aos cultos indianos, tendo sofrido

o mitraísmo, o cristianismo também foi um culto adotado por alguns militares, conforme atesta Tertuliano.

Em termos contextuais, os textos de Tertuliano por nós analisados remontam à transição do século II<sup>6</sup> para o III, pouco tempo antes da Anarquia Militar<sup>7</sup>. Alguns historiadores apontam que, nesse período, a maior preocupação dos imperadores era a defesa das fronteiras contra as invasões dos bárbaros e a manutenção dos aparados do *imperium*. De acordo com Ikuo Murone, em um artigo intitulado *Tertullian and the Roman Army* (1973), os imperadores desse período, mais especificamente Septímio Severo e Caracala, se empenharam em reforçar o exército romano executando dois planos, a saber: a ampliação da cidadania para os soldados e o fortalecimento e controle da disciplina militar. O primeiro plano visava reforçar o exército com mais soldados romanos e, ainda, ampliar a fonte de receita das províncias. A maior parte dos recrutados eram jovens *humiliores*.<sup>8</sup> Do ponto de vista dos *humiliores*, juntar-se às legiões romanas significava a única chance de ascensão econômica e social. O segundo plano buscava estabelecer a chamada Monarquia Militar, na qual o poder dos imperadores e o êxito do seu exército se pautavam na realização de cerimônias religiosas públicas com a participação direta dos soldados que ali mostravam sua lealdade ao imperador. A

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diversas transformações ao longo do tempo, ganhando grande destaque no zoroastrismo persa. Vale frisar que Mitra, enquanto uma divindade indo-iraniana, é conhecido não apenas como o deus dos acordos e tratados, mas do próprio contrato, como atesta Avesta. Em Roma, Mitra ganhou novos atributos, sendo conhecido como um deus onipresente, responsável por ordenar o cosmos (Marques, 2017). No âmbito do Império Romano, o culto mitraísta era uma devoção praticada, exclusivamente, por homens, formado por uma hierárquica bem delimitada e organizada por níveis, que exigia sigilo em torno das suas doutrinas. Os cultos eram realizados em templos em forma de caverna (*mithraeum*) (Ulansey, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> A O século II ficou conhecido com o período da *Pax Romana*, definido por alguns autores como o *Século de Ouro* ou como o *Império Humanístico* (Petit, 1989). No âmbito religioso, tal momento foi caracterizado pela diversidade de religiões e religiosidades, muitas delas vivenciadas fora dos cultos oficiais do *mos maiorum*, expressão das novas necessidades surgidas gradativamente em Roma e em seus domínios (Sanzi, 2006). De fato, foi um período de grande inquietação, marcado por um sentimento de insuficiência das religiões tradicionais (Petit, 1989). Além da consolidação do culto ao imperador e da permanência das antigas tradições religiosas, houve uma grande proliferação de religiões orientais, que coexistiram dentro do Império, entre elas o cristianismo.

<sup>7</sup> A chamada “Anarquia Militar”, “Crise do Terceiro Século” ou “Período dos Imperadores Soldados”, começou com o assassinato do imperador Severo Alexandre por suas próprias tropas em 235, indo até 284 com a ascensão do Imperador Diocleciano e sua Tetrarquia, uma nova proposta de governo para o Império. Nesse ínterim, houve, pelo menos, 26 requerentes ao título de imperador, a maioria gerais do exército romano, que assumiram o poder imperial sobre todo ou parte do Império, e que foram oficialmente aceitos pelo Senado romano como imperadores durante esse período, assim se tornando imperadores legítimos. Em 268, o Império havia se dividido em três estados concorrentes: o Império Gálico, incluindo as províncias romanas da Gália, Britânia e Hispânia; o Império de Palmira, incluindo as províncias orientais da Síria, Palestina e Egito; e o próprio Império Romano, central e italiano, independente. A crise resultou em mudanças tão profundas nas instituições do Império, na sociedade, na vida econômica e na religião, que a maioria dos historiadores define esse momento como a transição entre os períodos históricos da Antiguidade Clássica para a Antiguidade Tardia (Hekster; Kleijn; Sloopjes, 2006; Gonçalves, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> Os *humiliores*, do latim, “as pessoas mais humildes”, era um termo empregado, durante o Alto Império Romano, para fazer referência aos cidadãos livres de baixa renda e status social inferior.

estratégia era que os imperadores se apoiassem no elemento militar constituído a partir das massas das províncias para se manter no poder e, em troca, as legiões recebessem as benesses do Império, como o aumento do soldo e o status de cidadão (Gonçalves, 2006). Assim, considerando que muitos cristãos estavam diretamente envolvidos com a vida militar romana nessa época, era inevitável que os escritores cristãos se posicionassem sobre o assunto. E Tertuliano, por sua vez, foi o primeiro escritor cristão que assumiu o problema do serviço militar como tema relevante na vida cotidiana dos cristãos.

Filho de um centurião romano do norte da África, segundo Jerônimo, *Quintus Septimius Florens Tertulianus*, mais conhecido em Língua Portuguesa como Tertuliano, nasceu em Cartago por volta de 160 (Power, 1971). Durante a sua juventude, estudou em Roma, recebendo educação em literatura, em direito e em retórica, sendo fluente em grego e latim. Logo depois de sua conversão, já adulto, Tertuliano se pôs a defender a fé cristã contra pagãos e heréticos. Conhecido por seu extremo rigor, Tertuliano foi autor de diversas obras apologéticas e teológicas, mas não se sabe ao certo se ele chegou a ser um sacerdote ordenado (Garcia, Selvatici 2020). De acordo com Jerônimo (*De Viris Illustribus*, 53), Tertuliano teria atuado como presbítero na Igreja de Cartago, sob a tutela do bispo Cipriano. Todavia, ao que parece, isso não durou muito. Ainda de acordo com Jerônimo, “[...] desapontado pela inveja e pelo abuso do clero da igreja romana, ele entrou para a doutrina da Montano” (*De Viris Illustribus*, 53).<sup>9 10</sup> É possível que a desilusão de Tertuliano com a *ekklesia* tivesse ocorrido por conta de alguns desentendimentos com as lideranças eclesiais locais.<sup>11</sup> Logo, ele teria visto no montanismo um cristianismo menos institucionalizado e com mais rigor moral.<sup>12</sup> Tertuliano teria falecido por volta do ano 220 (Dunn, 2005; Decret, 2009).

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<sup>9</sup> As obras em latim são de tradução da autora do artigo.

<sup>10</sup> “Hic cum usque ad mediam aetatem et contumeliis clericorum Romanae Ecclesiae, ad Montani dogma delapsus, in multis libris Novae Prophetiae meminit, specialiter autem adversum Ecclesiam texuit volumina, de pudicitia, de persecutione, de jejuniis, de monogamia, de ecstasi libros sex, et septimum, quem adversum Apollonium composuit.” (*De Viris Illustribus*, 53).

<sup>11</sup> A melhor tradução para a palavra *ekklesia* na língua portuguesa é o termo —congregação. A utilização do termo —igreja, apesar de ser mais usual, está relacionada a uma instituição já estruturada politicamente, muito mais identificada com sua formação no medievo e na contemporaneidade do que com o contexto apostólico e pós-apostólico. De fato, a palavra *ekklesia* é a única que perfeitamente traduz o que eram as comunidades nos primórdios da história cristã.

<sup>12</sup> O montanismo foi um movimento cristão que nasceu na Frígia em 156. Montano, líder e fundador do grupo, era um sacerdote de Cibele que se converteu ao cristianismo. Todavia, o modo pelo qual ele lidava com o agir do Espírito Santo o colocou fora da *ekklesia*. Logo estabeleceu uma comunidade paralela na qual contava com a ajuda de duas profetisas, Maximila e Priscila, que haviam deixado seus maridos para seguir Montano. Entre os ensinamentos básicos da organização, denominada também como Nova Profecia, estavam a iminência da parousia e a divindade e atuação do Espírito Santo por meio dos dons espirituais (Boer, 1976).

Dentre as obras de Tertuliano, duas merecem destaque quando ao assunto tratado, a saber: *De Idololatria* e *De Corona Militis*.

A primeira obra foi escrita entre 203 e 206 e foi registrada no *Codex Agobardinus*, datado do século IX. Sua ideia central era abordar como o cristão deveria viver em um mundo onde o paganismo e a adoração aos ídolos estavam incorporados em todos os espaços e ocasiões sociais.

A segunda obra é datada de 202, e foi também registrada no *Codex Agobardinus*, bem como nos *Codex Florentinus* e *Codex Luxemburgensis*, ambos do século XV. Destaca-se por contar, logo no início, a história de um soldado cristão que havia chamado a atenção de todos por se negar a ser coroado. A partir desse relato, Tertuliano se dedica a tecer críticas à prática de serviço militar entre os cristãos.

*De Idololatria* é considerado o primeiro tratado sistemático sobre a idolatria do início do cristianismo latino. Na obra, Tertuliano inicia seu texto explicando a ideia geral do termo latino *idololatria*. Segundo ele, a *idololatria* expressa o que considera ser “a alta culpa no mundo” (*De Idololatria*, I, 1).<sup>13</sup> Ademais, de acordo com Tertuliano, o idólatra é uma espécie de assassino, uma vez que ofende e engana a Deus (*De Idololatria*, I, 2-3). A partir de uma leitura atenta, é possível concluir que Tertuliano traz uma abordagem bastante ampla do termo ao considerar idolatria, simplesmente, qualquer honra dada a seres divinos fora do sistema cristão, sendo essa prática honorífica cúltica ou não. Deste modo, um cristão vagando em um mundo cheio de ídolos precisaria manter a vigilância constante para não cair no pecado de idolatria, oferecendo honras aos deuses (Grillo, 2014).

Tertuliano inova sobre o assunto ao enfatizar que várias práticas de idolatria se colocavam fora da esfera cúltica (*De Idololatria*, II, 1). De acordo com ele, algumas profissões específicas estavam diretamente associadas às práticas idólatras, a saber: os astrólogos, que praticam as artes das adivinhações fora do âmbito da igreja cristã; os professores, pois quando ensinam história e literatura acabam por pregar e fazer referências sobre os deuses e suas histórias mitológicas; os comerciantes, principalmente aqueles que vendiam incensos e obras de arte, sendo tais denominados “ministros da cobiça”. Nesse contexto, Tertuliano ainda dá um destaque ao serviço militar. Ele afirma o seguinte:

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<sup>13</sup> “Principale crimen generis humani, summus saeculi reatus, tota causa iudicii idololatria.” (*De Idololatria*, I, 1).

(...) também poderemos ver a definição a respeito do serviço militar, que está entre a dignidade e o poder. Mas agora questiona-se se um cristão pode se dedicar ao serviço militar e se um militar pode ser admitido na fé, independentemente de sua hierarquia, mesmo em grau inferior, que não tem necessidade de participar de sacrifícios ou penas capitais. Não há compatibilidade entre o sacramento divino e o humano, entre o estandarte de Cristo e o estandarte do diabo, entre o campo da luz e o campo das trevas, nem pode uma alma dever a dois senhores, Deus e César. E Moisés carregava uma vara, e Arão usava uma fivela, e João [Batista] vestia uma saia de couro e Josué, filho de Num, liderou uma marcha, e as pessoas guerreiam, se quiseses debater. Mas como pode guerrear, ou melhor, como vai servir, ainda que em paz, sem uma espada, aquele que o Senhor tomou? De fato, embora soldados tivessem vindo a João e aceitado suas observações; embora o centurião tenha acreditado, o Senhor, depois, ao desarmar Pedro, desarmou todos os soldados. Não nos é permitido nenhum modo de vida que acarrete atos ilícitos (*De Idololatria*, XIX).

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A retórica tertuliana evidencia, logo de início, que militares responsáveis por sacrifícios e penas de morte eram praticantes de idolatria e, por isso, a ocupação desses cargos por cristãos era contrário à fé. De uma maneira geral, o escritor evidencia que o serviço militar deveria ser evitado pelos cristãos não somente porque a guerra não combinava com a vida cristã, mas, principalmente, porque, num contexto de *pax deorum*,

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<sup>14</sup> “Possit in isto capitulo etiam de militia definitum uideri, quae inter dignitatem et potestatem est. At nunc de isto quaeritur, an fidelis ad militiam conuerti possit et an militia ad fidem admitti, etiam caligata uel inferior quaeque, cui non sit necessitas immolationum uel capitalium iudiciorum. [2] Non conuenit sacramento diuino et humano, signo Christi et signo diaboli, castris lucis et castris tenebrarum ; non potest una anima duobus deberi, deo et Caesari. Et uirgam portauit Moyses, fibulam et Aaron, cingitur loro et Iohannes, agmen agit et Iesus Naue, bellauit et populus, si placet ludere. [3] Quomodo autem bellabit, immo quomodo etiam in pace militabit sine gladio, quem dominus abstulit ? Nam etsi adierant milites ad Iohannem et formam obseruationis acceperant, si etiam centurio crediderat, omnem postea militem dominus in Petro exarmando discinxit. Nullus habitus licitus est apud nos illicito actui adscriptus.” (*De Idololatria*, XIX).

os soldados acabavam sendo obrigados a prestar honras e sacrifícios a César, uma prática dita pagã e idólatra, de acordo com Tertuliano.

Se, no tratado *De Idololatria*, Tertuliano traz alguns argumentos quanto à participação de cristãos no serviço militar, na obra *De Corona Militis*, ele aprofunda o assunto. Tertuliano inicia seu texto contando a história de um certo soldado que recusou publicamente as dádivas de Septímio Severo e Caracala, não aceitando se curvar e ser coroado com louros por César<sup>15</sup>. Tal soldado, que se autointitulou cristão, acabou abandonando o serviço militar. De acordo com Tertuliano (*De Corona Militis* IX), a coroação, por si só, é um ato de veneração pagã, uma vez que nenhum patriarca, nem profeta, nem levita, sacerdote, governante, apóstolo, pregador do evangelho ou bispo teria portado uma coroa. Segundo ele, nem mesmo o templo de Deus foi coroado; como nem a arca da aliança, nem o tabernáculo da testemunha, nem o altar, nem o castiçal foram coroados. Ele conclui afirmando que o único digno de coroação deveria ser Deus. Tertuliano relembra que Jesus havia sido coroado com uma coroa de espinhos pelos soldados romanos, mas os cristãos não deveriam levar isso em consideração, por se tratar alegadamente de uma prática pagã, além de se configurar como uma atitude insolente e desrespeitosa.

Tertuliano prossegue em seu texto argumentando “[...] Que sentido há em discutir o meramente accidental, quando aquilo em que repousa deve ser condenado?” (*De Corona Militis*, XI, 1).<sup>16</sup> Ele indaga as contradições em se servir ao exército na medida em que um cristão não poderia coadunar com práticas consideradas nefastas como a utilização de correntes, a prisão, a tortura e o castigo, sabendo que o próprio Cristo teria sofrido nas mãos dos soldados. Tertuliano ainda assevera que a própria vida militar é uma condição de ilegalidade para alguém que pretende se manter no cristianismo. Segundo ele, a guerra em si não é apropriada para um cristão, pois isso implicaria num estado de coisas miseravelmente imperfeitas e aquém das promessas do Evangelho. Tanto é que, em sua

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<sup>15</sup> A coroa de louros (uma trama composta por folhas de louro e ouro) era um símbolo do triunfo apoteótico oferecido aos generais vitoriosos ao entrarem na cidade de Roma. A origem do uso do adereço remonta à mitologia grega, mais especificamente a história de Dafne. Na história, Dafne se transformava em um loureiro para fugir de Apolo, que estava apaixonado por ela. Apesar da transformação em loureiro, Apolo resolve levar a ninfa consigo, fazendo-a seu símbolo desde então. Por esse motivo, na arte grega, Apolo era, costumeiramente, representado com uma coroa de louros. Em Atenas, muitos nobres também faziam uso do da coroa de louros, por simbolizar distinção e glória, ainda que tenha sido substituída, algumas vezes, por ramos de oliveira (Smith, 2014).

<sup>16</sup> “Quale est alioquin de accidentibus retractare, cum a praecedentibus culpa sit?” (*De Corona Militis*, XI, 1).

opinião, os integrantes do exército romano que se convertessem ao cristianismo deveriam abandonar a carreira militar imediatamente.

No capítulo seguinte, Tertuliano volta a discutir a questão relacionada às coroas:

[...] Mas primeiro falemos da coroa. O louro é sagrado para Apolo ou Baco: para o primeiro, como o deus das flechas; para o segundo, como o deus dos triunfos. Assim Cláudio ensina quando diz que os soldados costumam ser coroados com murtas. De fato, os romanos adotaram a murta de Vênus, a mãe dos descendentes de Enéias e a amante de Marte, por causa de Ilia e de Rômulo romano. [...] Quando os militares são coroados com folhas de oliveira, se adora Minerva, que é igualmente a deusa dos combates, e que usa uma coroa feita com folhas de oliveira, por causa da paz que fez com Netuno. A esse respeito, a superstição da guirlanda militar está por toda parte, cheia de contaminação e difamação. E é ainda mais impura, em razão disso. Bem! O que achamos da celebração anual de votos, a primeira perante os césares, a segunda perante os capitéis? Ocorre primeiro na parte do acampamento onde fica a tenda do general e depois nos templos. Além dos juramentos nesses lugares, observe-se também o juramento com as seguintes palavras: “Juramos que você, ó Júpiter, que terá um boi com chifres decorados com ouro”. O que significa esse enunciado? Sem dúvida a negação (de Cristo). Embora o cristão, nesses lugares, não diga nada com a boca, ele responde com uma coroa na cabeça. O soldado é ordenado a se apresentar com a mesma coroa de louros quando recebe uma gratificação. É certo que a idolatria não é gratuita: "Ela ainda vende a Cristo por um pouco de ouro, como no passado fez Judas. Você não pode servir a Deus e a Mamom (Mt. 6:24), mas teria que dedicar suas energias a Mamom e se afastar de Deus? Você pode dar a César as coisas que são de César, e a Deus as coisas que são de Deus (Mt. 22:21),



não apenas para não oferecer o ser humano a Deus, mas também para tirar o denário de César? O louro do triunfo é feito de folhas ou cadáveres? É adornado com fitas ou túmulos? É enfeitado com unguentos ou com lágrimas de esposas e mães? Alguns podem também até ser cristãos; pois Cristo também está entre os bárbaros. Quem carregou (uma coroa dessas) em sua cabeça, não guerreou contra si mesmo?

Dá-se o nome de castrenses às coroas que os césares distribuem para os seus guardas particulares em certas solenidades. Nesse contexto, eles se tornam um soldado e um servo (dele); mas, no caso do soldado cristão, se ele é dos dois senhores ao mesmo tempo, de Deus e César, certamente, não é de César, já que serve a Deus, uma vez que oferece a si mesmo com orações ao alto. (*De Corona Militis*, XII).<sup>17</sup>

No trecho acima, Tertuliano associa as pompas dos soldados aos deuses pagãos e as honras ao Império e seu imperador. Logo, para além da ideia de que os cristãos não poderiam compor as fileiras do exército, pois a prática militar não se coadunava com a ética cristã de paz e combate à violência, ele ainda associa essa prática ao fato de que os rituais militares estarem repletos de práticas idólatras e honras aos deuses pagãos e ao

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<sup>17</sup> “Sed et de corona prius dicamus. Laurea ista Apollini uel Libero sacra est, illi ut deo telorum, huic ut deo triumphorum. Sic docet Claudius, cum et myrto ait milites redimiri solere: Veneris enim myrtus, matris Aeneadarum, etiam amiculæ Martis, per Iliam et Romulos Romanae. Sed ego Venerem non credo ex hac parte cum Marte Romanam, qua pelicis dolor est. Cum et olea militia coronatur, ad Mineruam est idololatria, armorum aequè deam, sed et pace cum Neptuno inita ex hac arbore coronatam. In his erit serti militaris superstitio, ubique polluta et polluens omnia. Quae iam pollutantur et causis. Ecce annua uotorum nuncupatio: quid uidetur? Prima in principiis, secunda in capitoliis. Accipe, post loca, et uerba: Tunc tibi, Iuppiter, bouem cornibus auro decoratis uouemus esse futurum. Cuius sententiae uox est? Vtique negationis. Etiam si tacet illic christianus ore, coronatus capite respondit. Eadem laurea in donatiui dispensationem denuntiatur. Plane non gratuita idololatria, aliquibus aureis uenditans Christum, ut argenteis Iudas. Hoc erit Non potestis Deo seruire et mammonae, mammonae manum tradere et Deo absistere? Hoc erit Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae Dei Deo, nec hominem Deo reddere et denarium Caesari auferre? Triumpho laurea foliis struitur an cadaueribus? lemniscis ornatur an bustis? unguentis delibuitur an lacrimis coniugum et matrum? Fortasse quorundam et christianorum: et apud bárbaros enim Christus. Qui hanc portauerit in capite causam, nonne et ipse pugnavit? Est et alia militia, regiarum familiarum. Nam et castrenses appellantur, munificae et ipsae sollemnium Caesarianorum. Sed et tu proinde miles ac seruus alterius, et si duorum, Dei et Caesaris, certe tunc non Caesaris, cum te Deo debes, etiam in communibus, credo, potiori.” (*De Corona Militis*, XII).

imperador. Para rechaçar a ideia de que os soldados poderiam adotar atitudes venerativas diante do imperador, Tertuliano faz uma interpretação da fala de Jesus na passagem bíblica em que fariseus e herodianos questionam Jesus quanto ao pagamento de impostos.<sup>18</sup>

No último capítulo de *De Corona Militis*, Tertuliano fortalece seu argumento ao destacar que o exército estava repleto de seguidores de Mitra e que, por isso, não deveria ter suas fileiras ocupadas por cristãos.

Companheiro deste soldado, envergonhe-se! Você não merece ser julgado; você deve ser condenado como um soldado de Mitra que, enquanto é iniciado em um antro, um verdadeiro campo de trevas, vive como se quisesse falsear o martírio, e recebe a coroa que lhe é apresentada por uma espada e colocada na cabeça. Então, uma mão se coloca sobre a cabeça, o que o adverte a deixá-la (a coroa) a cair da cabeça, talvez jogá-la por cima do ombro, repetindo: Mithras é a minha coroa. Desde então, ele nunca usou uma coroa. Este sinal atesta sua eleição, se por acaso o sujeitar à prova do juramento: que ele rejeita a coroa, que proclama que está inteiramente em seu deus, acredita-se imediatamente que ele é um

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<sup>18</sup> “Depois eles lhe enviaram alguns dos fariseus e dos herodianos para o apanhar em alguma palavra. Estes, vindo a ele, disseram: Mestre, sabemos que és verdadeiro, e não se te dá de ninguém; porque não te deixas levar de respeitos humanos, mas ensinas o caminho de Deus segundo a verdade; é lícito ou não pagar tributo a César? Pagaremos ou não pagaremos? Mas Jesus, percebendo a hipocrisia deles, respondeu-lhes: Por que me experimentais? trazei-me um denário para eu vê-lo. Eles lho trouxeram. Perguntou-lhes: De quem é esta effigie e inscrição? Responderam-lhe: De César. Disse-lhes Jesus: Dai, pois, a César o que é de César, e a Deus o que é de Deus. Admiravam-se muito dele” (Mc. 12:13-17). “Então os fariseus se retiraram e consultaram como apanhariam a Jesus em alguma palavra. Enviaram os seus discípulos, juntamente com os herodianos, a perguntar: Mestre, sabemos que és verdadeiro e que ensinas o caminho de Deus segundo a verdade, e não se te dá de ninguém, porque não te deixas levar de respeitos humanos; dize-nos, pois, qual é o teu parecer; é lícito ou não pagar o tributo a César? Porém Jesus, tendo percebido a malícia deles, respondeu-lhes: Por que me experimentais, hipócritas? Mostrai-me uma moeda de tributo. Trouxeram-lhe um denário. Ele perguntou: De quem é esta effigie e inscrição? Responderam: De César. Então lhes disse Jesus: Dai, pois, a César o que é de César, e a Deus o que é de Deus. Ao ouvirem isto, admiraram-se e, deixando-o, foram-se” (Mt. 22:15-22). “ Observando-o, enviaram-lhe emissários, que se fingiram justos, para o apanhar em alguma palavra, de modo que o pudessem entregar à jurisdição e à autoridade do governador. E perguntaram-lhe: Mestre, sabemos que falas e ensinas retamente, e não te deixas levar de respeitos humanos, mas ensinas o caminho de Deus segundo a verdade; é-nos lícito ou não pagar tributo a César? Mas Jesus, percebendo a astúcia deles, disse-lhes: Mostrai-me um denário. De quem é a effigie e a inscrição que ele tem? Responderam: De César. Disse-lhes Jesus: Dai, pois, a César o que é de César, e a Deus o que é de Deus. Não puderam apanhá-lo em palavra alguma diante do povo; e maravilhados da sua resposta, calaram-se” (Lc. 20:20-26).

soldado de Mitra. Vamos reconhecer, aqui, as habilidades do diabo em usurpar algumas das coisas divinas e confundir a fé dos discípulos. (*De Corona Militis*, XV, 3-4).<sup>19</sup>

No trecho acima, é possível perceber que havia uma clara competição entre os adoradores de Cristo e os adoradores de Mitra. Tal competição ocorria, pois o mitraísmo, além de ter sido um dos cultos mais populares no Império durante os séculos II e III, era estrangeiro e oriental, tal qual o cristianismo, logo, seu concorrente direto. Se não bastasse, conforme assevera o próprio Tertuliano, na obra *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* (XL), o culto de Mitra adotava rituais deveras semelhantes aos empreendidos pelos cristãos. De acordo com o próprio Tertuliano, o culto mitraico perverteria a verdade do cristianismo por meio dos seus ritos místicos de seus ídolos imitando e distorcendo as escrituras e os rituais cristãos, como o *baptismus* e a *eucharistia*. Vale ressaltar que Justino, o Mártir, ainda no século II, também acusou os mitraístas de imitação.<sup>20</sup>

Enquanto, em sua retórica acerca das religiões tradicionais romanas, Tertuliano não se preocupou em acusá-las abertamente, quando este tratou do culto de Mitra é possível perceber não somente um confronto direto, mas também uma competição de caráter distintivo.<sup>21</sup> Por seu turno, o que estaria por detrás dessa competição era um claro jogo identitário delimitado pela oposição binária “nós” e “outros” (Silva, 2000). Adotando as tipologias de competição religiosa de Hans Mol (1972), podemos concluir que se trata de um processo de comparação entre grupos que produz uma dinâmica

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<sup>19</sup> “Quem et bonus miles eligendo in caelesti ordinatione profecit. Erubescite, commilitones eius, iam non ab ipso iudicandi, sed ab aliquo Mithrae milite. Qui cum initiatur in spelaeo, in castris uere tenebrarum, coronam interposito gladio sibi oblatam quasi mimum martyrii, dehinc capiti suo accommodatam, monetur obuia manu a capite pellere et in humerum, si forte, transferre, dicens Mithran esse coronam suam. Atque exinde numquam coronatur, idque in signum habet ad probationem sui, sicubi temptatus fuerit de sacramento, statimque creditur Mithrae miles, si deiecerit coronam, si eam in deo suo esse dixerit. Agnoscamus ingenia diaboli, idcirco quaedam de diuinis affectantis ut nos de suorum fide confundat et iudicet.” (*De Corona Militis*, XV, 3-4).

<sup>20</sup> Na obra *Apologia Prima* (66:3-4), Justino afirma que “Os apóstolos, na história escrita por eles, chamada de Evangelhos, nos entregaram o que lhes foi ordenado - que Jesus tomou pão, agradeceu, disse: “Fazemos isso em memória de Mim”; este “é o meu corpo” e, da mesma maneira, “tendo tomado o cálice e dando graças, disse: Este é o meu sangue” (Lucas 22:19). Os demônios, por sua vez, têm imitado [nossa eucaristia] por meio dos cultos de mistérios de Mitra. Nesses, o pão e o copo de água são usados com encantamentos em ritos místicos destinados para aqueles que estão num processo de iniciação.”

<sup>21</sup> Sobre esse assunto, vale destacar que Tertuliano, na obra *Apologeticum*, busca criar uma identidade coletiva por meio da reafirmação dos dogmas cristãos e modelos de conduta que deveriam ser seguidos, sendo que uma das formas para se fazer isso era por meio do resgate de elementos da história, cultura práticas religiosas romanas (Oliveira, 2015).

competitiva na qual cada um deles tenta aprimorar suas identidades<sup>22</sup>. Numa tentativa de alcançar uma posição comparativamente superior, e sem espaço para negociação, os grupos se auto valorizam a partir da estigmatização do outro. Por outro lado, quando a ação de um grupo pela distinção positiva é frustrada ou, de alguma forma, ativamente impedida por um grupo externo, promove-se um conflito aberto e hostilidade entre dos grupos (Seul 1999). Considerando que as tradições e instituições religiosas resistem às mudanças e às negociações sociais exatamente para proporcionar aos indivíduos âncoras mais seguras para autoreferência, investir contra a integridade identitária seria agredir a estabilidade da própria religião. Deste modo, a agenda retórica de Tertuliano estava voltada para atacar o culto mitraico a fim de proteger o culto cristão de uma instabilidade identitária preservando, assim, seus rituais, doutrinas, estruturas morais e papéis sociais.<sup>23</sup> Não é à toa que Tertuliano acusa os mitraístas exatamente de imitadores de rituais de passagem – *baptismus* e *eucaristia* –, isso porque, os ritos são espaços privilegiados para a socialização religiosa que contribuem para a coesão das identidades coletivas.

Ademais, David Rankin destaca que, tanto em *De Corona Militis* quanto em *De Idololatria*, Tertuliano emprega o vocábulo *castra* (campo) com um relevante significado eclesiológico. O aumento da militarização nas províncias imperiais romanas significou um aumento na pressão para que os cristãos tomassem algumas decisões quanto a assumir a identidade cristã ou seguir as leis romanas e portar armas. Nesse contexto, muitos soldados se convertiam ao mitraísmo e, alguns outros, ao cristianismo. Todavia, Tertuliano, enquanto portador de uma retórica eclesiástica, buscou delimitar uma fronteira entre a *ekklesia* (campo da luz) e os seus oponentes (o mundo) enquanto campo das trevas.

Deste modo, é possível concluir que Tertuliano se colocou contrário à participação de cristãos no exército romano – algo que já ocorria – por dois motivos simples e um complexo. O primeiro, simples, era que, para ele, um soldado cristão não conseguiria se negar a prestar honras e sacrifícios aos deuses e ao imperador nas cerimônias oficiais, e

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<sup>22</sup> Hans Mol (1972) discute o potencial integrador e desintegrador da religião ao desenvolver algumas hipóteses sobre os vários modos pelos quais as instituições e ideologias religiosas ocidentais competem entre si. O autor sugere que isso ocorre em pelo menos três níveis: no nível de lealdade institucional, quando as organizações religiosas que tiveram que competir invariavelmente se mostraram mais aptas para a adesão; no nível da formação da identidade, quando as orientações religiosas ocidentais do tipo sectário geralmente competem com foco na identidade; e, por fim, no nível da ideologia, quando as doutrinas da salvação religiosa ocidental tiveram a vantagem competitiva por meio do equilíbrio entre a ancoragem emocional e explicação abrangente.

<sup>23</sup> De acordo com Garcia e Selvatici (2020), Tertuliano, na obra *Adversus Marcionem*, se utiliza de estratégias semelhantes de desconstrução identitária ao se referir a figura Marcião.

o segundo porque havia o problema do próprio ofício do soldado em guerra – a função de torturar e a assassinar o inimigo – que não se coadunava com a ética cristã. O motivo mais complexo, por seu turno, seria a necessidade de diferenciação identitária entre o cristianismo e o mitraísmo. De fato, o discurso de Tertuliano, confirmado também por Justino, o Mártir, evidencia que havia um problema identitário grave no cristianismo, possivelmente porque os praticantes do mitraísmo e do cristianismo eram confundidos entre si pelos romanos. Logo, o mitraísmo, enquanto sistema de crenças organizado com uma grande rede de adeptos nas administrações militar e imperial, representava, por si só, um grande desafio à formação identitária da emergente *ekklesia* cristã.

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**WOULD IT BE LAWFUL TO TAKE THE SWORD, WHEN THE LORD PROCLAIMS  
WHOEVER USES THE SWORD WILL PERISH FOR IT? TERTULLIAN AND MILITARY  
SERVICE CONTROVERSY (3RD CENTURY)**

*Ludimila Caliman Campos*

**ABSTRACT**

This article aims to analyze the thinking of the North African writer Tertullian regarding the controversy of Christian military service. For that, we selected two of his works, namely: *De Idololatria* and *De Corona*. The question raised by Tertullian in these treaties shows a Christianity concerned not only with maintaining the status quo of a Christian ethic, considering all the controversies surrounding military service itself (sacrifices to the gods and the emperor and the obligation to torture and murder enemies), but, above all, it exposes an urgent need for identity differentiation with its rival cult, Mithraism, which gathered a large part of its followers in the Roman military ranks.

**KEYWORDS**

Roman Empire, Tertullian, Christianity, Military service.

## V. RESENHAS

### **MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGIES OF INSULARITY IN AN AGE OF GLOBALIZATION**

**ANNA KOUREMENOS & JODY MICHAEL GORDON**

**OXFORD & PHILADELPHIA: OXBOW BOOKS, 2020.**

**Pp. 284. ISBN 978-1-78925-344-3, \$55.00.**

*Jesper Tae Jensen*<sup>1</sup>

As can be seen by the vast amount of research literature, insular studies in general have experienced an overwhelming interest from scholars around the world during the past 10 years. All kinds of insular studies pop up from different disciplines. Especially plentiful is insular research analyzing the global impact deriving from the climate crises like topics of global warming and its impact on the sea level rise and how this might or rather will impact social structures of island habitation around the modern world. This interesting volume under review studies social structures under the lens of modern globalization but deals with ancient cultures around the Mediterranean Sea from the Middle Aegean Bronze Age to the Late Roman period.

As stated in the preface, the two editors organized a panel for the 118<sup>th</sup> Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) annual meeting in Toronto, Canada in 2017. The volume under review is based on the papers from this meeting, but they have been supplemented with contributions written by additional scholars. All research contributions use case-studies from different islands of the Mediterranean region to analyze both the material and cultural evidence in order to document the process of insular cultural changes, identity, and connectivity.

This very stimulating anthology begins, after a preface and a section of abstracts, with an introduction written by the two editors. After that, the eight research papers have been arranged chronologically. Finally, the volume ends with an afterword and a short index.

In the introduction (Chapter 1), the two editors present a selection of important research contributions of island studies in the ancient Mediterranean with a focus on their theoretical approach on identity, connectivity, and as the title states, globalization. Anna Kouremenos and Jody Michael Gordon also show with a case study how these approaches and this theoretical framework may be applied and developed regarding ancient island societies and island identity. Finally, they focus on

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globalization and how this phenomenon has affected us all in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and not least how (Classical) archaeology as a discipline recently has addressed globalization in different and interesting ways of looking at ancient Mediterranean life. Kouremenos and Gordon conclude that “[f]or globalized archaeologies, materiality and mobility are key to revealing levels of connectivity.” In short, a globalization approach to archaeology is useful in analyzing ancient societies and can also be used to reveal agencies and connectivity in general. The introduction ends with a presentation of the eight research papers set into a historical context with some final remarks about the book’s afterword.

The first two research chapters (Chapters 2-3) investigate Bronze Age societies on each side of the Mediterranean world, Sardinia in the West and the Cycladic island Kea in the East. Anthony Russell begins with an investigation of the material culture of the local islanders from late Bronze Age Sardinia in order to find evidence of globalized societies. He analyzes two import commodities in his case study: Helladic pottery and copper oxhide ingots. The Sardinians, who was famous for their circular towers, the Nuraghes (after which the culture is named today), were clearly integrated into regional trade as shown by the amount of Helladic pottery and copper oxhide ingots found. However, Russell’s analysis convincingly states that Sardinians were not embracing the input from other cultures. Instead, they use imports e.g. the Helladic pottery for a very local purpose. The Nuragic culture seemed to have had a very closed and insular development with a low degree of connectivity with their neighbors. Thus, Russell concludes that there were no Nuragic globalized communities on the island.

Whereas there were no direct traces of globalized communities on Sardinia in the West, Evi Gorogianni’s study shows that in the East, in the Middle to Late Bronze Age Aegean societies, globalization was not a modern phenomenon. In this case study, Gorogianni analyzes both local and imported pottery together with objects used in textile production like loom weights and spindle whorls found at the site of Ayia Irini’s Northern Sector on Kea. Besides the obvious factors that were strong forces in the process of globalization, namely trade and exchange (pottery), it is also argued that migration and a planned articulation of a kinship network based on marital alliances played a major role of globalization in the Aegean (textile production). Gorogianni also uses parallels from outside of the Aegean (like the Incas) to strengthen her case of marital alliances that lead to cultural exchange in the Aegean. Her exciting theories and refreshing views are a most welcome contribution to Aegean Bronze Age studies.

Moving away from the Bronze Age and into the Iron Age, the key words for the two next chapters are *Greek colonization* and *Greek influence*. Chapter 4 deals with the Dalmatian archipelago located on a major sea route in the Adriatic, while Chapter 5 treats the first Greek colony on Sicily, the city of Naxos.

Charles Bennett and Marina Ugarković set out to explain local diversity under the lens of globalization in the form of Greek influence. Furthermore, they also trace the networks that connected Dalmatia to the Greek world and analyze how increased connectivity affects both local communities and the Greek colonies on the islands. Their study shows how the material culture and cultic practices were selectively adopted both by the locals and by the Greek colonists on the islands of Pharos, Issa, Korčula, and Brač and thereby this study also clearly shows the local diversity in each community on the four investigated Dalmatian islands.

Leigh Anne Lieberman follows, in Chapter 5, Justin Jennings's definition of global cultures. They are "created by dynamic tension between the global and the local."<sup>2</sup> She then investigates eight complementary trends that characterize this process creating global cultures and examines their impact on Naxos on Sicily and their settlement during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. She focuses on the manipulation of numismatic iconography of the two gods Apollo and Dionysus minted by several east Sicilian communities. Lieberman's fascinating study convincingly shows how iconography of the two gods was exploited in response to different transitions like destruction, depopulation and repopulation of Naxos by Naxos' shifting populations and their surrounding neighbors. Former studies have used ancient literary sources in order to understand the fate of Naxos and the eastern part of Sicily without any satisfying results, but Lieberman's innovative approach can explain the cultural changes that took place, how the use of symbols (like images of Apollo Archegetes) on coins that originated in a *local* Greek polis (Naxos) became a symbol for eastern Sicily on a *global* level.

From one of the smallest archaeological objects (coins) to the largest (architecture), Alexander Smith sets out to study the Late Talayotic stone house architecture on Menorca in Spain in Chapter 6. He analyzes the Carthaginian and Roman influence on the local domestic architecture in a "new" globalized world with increasing extra-insular contacts from the two super powers during the late 6<sup>th</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. This refreshing paper, about another culture named after its towers, megalithic Talayots (Arabic for "watch tower"), claims that being exposed to global influence leads to self-reflection and an emphasis on indigenous customs. This local insular expression of identity can be

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<sup>2</sup> Jennings, J. 2011. *Globalizations and the Ancient World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 29.

traced specifically in the domestic architecture with a continuation from traditional local megalithic structures from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Smith's study also demonstrates that the local architectural development of the round megalithic house and the use of space, found new expressions but always remained true to the island's traditional local architecture.

The keyword for the next two chapters is *ports*. In Chapter 7, cult statues found in ports on Delos, Rhodes, and Amphipolis are studied, while Chapter 8 analyzes globalized ports (and cities) on Crete.

Lindsey A. Mazurek takes us back to the Aegean Sea and into the Hellenistic period. Her case study focuses on tracing a specific statue type of the Egyptian goddess Isis, the *Knotenpalla*. The type is characterized by a costume featuring a fringed mantle knotted between the breasts to create an X-pattern over a thin chiton with folds cascading over the lower half of the body. The *Knotenpalla* was (probably) created by Greek devotees of Isis in the middle of the Hellenistic period. Her cult statues/statuettes of this type were thought to be created and also found in port cities on Delos and Rhodes. However, since another Isis statuette of the same type was found at the port of Amphipolis in mainland Macedonia, Mazurek suggests a new way of considering island and mainland connectivity by using a seascape-approach analyzing the transmission of the *Knotenpalla* statue type. She concludes that these ports had a shared innovation connected to a religious movement with increased maritime mobility that characterizes the Hellenistic globalization.

In Chapter 8, Jane E. Francis' case study move us to ports and cities on Crete in the Early Roman Empire. She examines the material (ceramics, statues, architecture, infrastructure) and cultural (taste, lifestyle, imperial cult, cultic practices, burial customs) evidence in order to understand the process of the Romanization of Crete. Francis' analysis demonstrates that Romanization was a slow process that took several generations after the Roman conquest in 67 BC. It also shows that the transformation into a Roman province was not uniform and that globalization and insularity can be studied here on one single island at the same time in order to give a more nuanced picture of the process of globalization. Francis concludes that Roman Crete was never entirely Romanized and thereby both globalization and insularity existed at the same time during the Roman period.

After Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete, it is finally time in Chapter 9 to study the influence of connectivity on the last of the big islands of the Mediterranean Sea. The third largest island, Cyprus, is the subject of Jody Michael Gordon and William R. Caraher's case study. Like in the former chapter, the process of globalization during the Roman period is examined by analyzing the material culture. Gordon and Caraher compare the archaeological remains (ceramics, coins, architecture)

between the Early (c. 30 BC-AD 29) and Late Roman (c. AD 293-649) periods, when Cyprus was integrated into two empires, the Roman and the Byzantine respectively. The study shows that during these two periods, Cyprus experienced an extra-insular influence, especially during the 4<sup>th</sup> century when the imperial administration moved to Constantinople. The examination of the archaeological remains also shows that the Cypriots embraced these globalizing influences gradually and, as the study showed in Chapter 8, the globalization and insularity existed side by side. The Cypriots embedded the global influence selectively in their material culture, just like the Cretans.

P. Nick Kardulias states in his Afterword that by studying ancient societies through the lens of globalization, we can as archaeologists give modern man a fuller and more clear understanding of forces affecting our life today. He further emphasizes the strength of the volume with its long chronological and wide geographical span. The contributors' focus on insularity versus globalization "provides the additional time depth and data from a range of cultural settings that can enrich our understanding of both the geographical and temporal extent of globalization. Archaeology reveals long-term patterns of interaction that help us understand the general nature of the process. It is in this way that the present volume can address those who often ask what lessons the ancient world holds for life in the 21<sup>st</sup> century." As in all good collections of papers, an afterword by a highly respected scholar within the field is an excellent way to finish the volume. P. Nick Kardulias does just that.

Ancient people living on islands with borders of water defining their living space with contact to other places and people only by means of transportation and commerce by rafts/boats/ships has thereby given the islander a self-identity that is expressed and might be "easier" to detect through their material culture compared with people living on the mainland. This volume under review shows that archaeology is an excellent discipline to use for studying insularity<sup>3</sup> combined with recent social

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<sup>3</sup> Of three recent ongoing projects investigating insular studies in the ancient Mediterranean world: 1. *Being an Islander: Art and Identity of the Large Mediterranean Islands* at Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, directed by Anastasia Christophilopoulou (Curator of Greece, Rome and Cyprus at the Department of Antiquities of the Fitzwilliam Museum). The research project runs between 2019 and 2023, with a major exhibition opening on 21 February 2023 and closing on 4 June 2023.

For the webpage, please see: [https://fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/being-anislander-art-and-identity-of-the-large-mediterraneanislands?fbclid=IwAR3DHmpP9KoMikIbtYZjvtgwwJas4BoansqmMH6G9jc6EJ\\_ZSNSLT6U7YFg](https://fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/being-anislander-art-and-identity-of-the-large-mediterraneanislands?fbclid=IwAR3DHmpP9KoMikIbtYZjvtgwwJas4BoansqmMH6G9jc6EJ_ZSNSLT6U7YFg)

2. *The Small Cycladic Islands Project (SCIP - also EKYNH: το πρόγραμμα Έρευνας Κυκλαδικών Νησίδων)* is a collaboration between the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades, the Norwegian Institute at Athens, and Carleton College, directed by Demetrios Athanasoulis (Director, Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades), Žarko Tankosić (Project Manager, SFF SapientCE, Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion, University of Bergen, Norway), and Alex R. Knodell (Associate Professor of Classics & Director of Archaeology, Carleton College, US): <https://smallcycladicislandsproject.org/>

3. *DFG Netzwerk: Island Studies Network: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Island Exchanges, Environments, and Perceptions* at Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Institut für Klassische Archäologie, coordinated by Laura Dierksmeier and Frerich Schön: <https://uni-tuebingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/fachbereiche/altertums-und-kunstwissenschaften/institut-fuer-klassische-archaeologie/forschung/dfg-netzwerk-insular-dynamics/>

theories and approaches from a globalization perspective in order to shed new light on connectivity, cultural diversity, and not least what causes social and cultural changes in the ancient Mediterranean world through different time periods. The authors strive to show that islands in the ancient Mediterranean Sea was not static places as has been formerly presumed in earlier island studies, and the contributors succeed in their endeavor of studying ancient island societies though the lens of modern globalization.

The results of the above-mentioned papers collected and edited by Anna Kouremenos and Jody Michael Gordon clearly set the high standard within academia for further studies of the processes of globalization within insularity in the ancient Mediterranean world.

### *List of Contents*

1. Introduction by Jody Michael Gordon and Anna Kouremenos
2. Nuragic Networking? Assessing Globalization and Glocalization in a Late Bronze Age Sardinian Context by Anthony Russell
3. Mobility and Globalization: The View from the Bronze Age Cyclades by Evi Gorogianni
4. Globalization Processes and Insularity on the Dalmatian Islands in the Late Iron Age by Charles Bennett and Marina Ugarković
5. Apollo Archegetes as a Globalizing Divinity: Numismatic Iconography and the Memory of Sicilian Naxos by Leigh Anne Lieberman
6. Balearic Indigeneity in a Global Mediterranean: Considering Circular Domestic Structures of Late Iron Age Menorca by Alexander Smith
7. Fashioning a Global Goddess: The Representation of Isis across Hellenistic Seascapes by Lindsey A. Mazurek
8. Globalization and Insularity in (Dis)Connected Crete by Jane E. Francis
9. From the Land of the Paphian Aphrodite to the Busy Christian Countryside: Globalization, Empire, and Insularity in Early and Late Roman Cyprus by Jody Michael Gordon and William R. Caraher
10. Afterward by P. Nick Kardulias

## A PÉRSIA AQUÊMÊNIDA EM PERSPECTIVA: UMA NOVA SÍNTESE HISTORIOGRÁFICA

**BROSIUS, MARIA. *A HISTORY OF ANCIENT PERSIA: THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE*. HOBOKEN, NEW JERSEY: WILEY-BLACKWELL, 2021, 288 P.**

*Matheus Treuk Medeiros de Araujo*<sup>1</sup>

“Para produzir um livro poderoso, você precisa escolher um tema poderoso”, afirma Ismael, em *Moby Dick*. “Expandimo-nos às suas dimensões” (Melville, 1851, p. 507). E poucos recusariam que as proporções e a grandeza do Império Aquemênida sejam equiparáveis à majestade do cachalote. Como, então, poderia o historiador da Pérsia, agraciado com um tema grandioso, produzir uma narrativa ao mesmo tempo concisa e à altura de seu objeto de estudo?

Eis o grande mérito do recém publicado volume *A History of Ancient Persia: The Achaemenid Empire*, de Maria Brosius (2021): trazer ao público uma narrativa sintética das façanhas dos aquemênidas, mantendo-se sempre à altura de sua missão. O volume integra a série *Blackwell History of the Ancient World*, cuja proposta é servir de guia introdutório às diversas civilizações da Antiguidade, sem jamais evitar algum aprofundamento a respeito de debates destacados de cada área. Brosius, doutora pela Universidade de Oxford por sua pesquisa sobre as mulheres na Pérsia Antiga (1996), foi também professora associada do *Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations* da Universidade de Toronto. Atualmente aposentada, Brosius continua a realizar pesquisas sobre a Pérsia Pré-Islâmica, com ênfase nas suas relações com o Egeu.

De forma geral, o livro de Brosius segue uma divisão cronológica tradicional a partir dos reinados dos monarcas aquemênidas, de Ciro II a Dario III (c. 559-330 a.C.). Como de costume, após os eventos que conduzem à ascensão de Dario I, a autora dedica dois capítulos ao detalhamento de aspectos organizacionais do império, discorrendo sobre seu aparato administrativo e o funcionamento da corte (p. 85-136). O livro é extremamente bem-sucedido no propósito de entremear descrição historiográfica com a abordagem de fontes originais (amiúde extraídas do útil volume de Amélie Kuhrt, 2010),

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refletindo, como não poderia deixar de ser, um conhecimento apurado a respeito de debates atuais. Em cada capítulo, temas importantes são destacados para aprofundamento apartado, conforme o padrão dessa série.

A narrativa principal foge pouco do parâmetro seguido por outras obras de síntese desde os anos 1990. Inicialmente, a autora discute a evidência para a posição dos persas durante o último século do Império Neoassírio, ressaltando sua subordinação aos elamitas, e não a um putativo Império Medo (p. 5-15).<sup>2</sup> Passa, então, ao vácuo de poder causado pela destruição de Susa (646 a.C.), à ascensão da dinastia de Teispes, ao advento de Ciro, o Grande, e suas conquistas, da Lídia à Babilônia (p. 18-31).<sup>3</sup> A versão negativa de Heródoto sobre Cambises, sucessor de Ciro, é questionada com base na evidência egípcia (p. 33-45).<sup>4</sup> A Inscrição de Behistun, de Dario I (“DB”), é lida criticamente a fim de desvelar a provável usurpação do poder por esse monarca (p. 47-64).<sup>5</sup> O reinado de Xerxes é visto como uma era de estabilidade, em contraposição à visão negativa das fontes gregas (p. 143; 146-147; 151).<sup>6</sup> Artaxerxes I, Dario II e Artaxerxes II são descritos como monarcas racionais, que jogam com a divisão interna dos gregos em seu favor (p. 152-197). Da mesma forma, a ideia de uma “decadência” persa no período que precede as conquistas de Alexandre é rejeitada (p. 190-195).

Em relação aos seus predecessores, o livro de Brosius se destaca não apenas por ser o mais “recente”, mas por efetivamente ser o mais “atual”. O extenso volume de Pierre Briant (1996), detalhista e direcionado ao público especializado, decerto permanece sendo a obra de referência para o estudo desse período, mas já se encontra defasado em alguns temas que Brosius tem a vantagem de requalificar. Entre eles, a ideia de que as listas de *dahyāva* da epigrafia real persa não seriam mais do que “listas de povos”, substituída pelo entendimento de que constituíam, sim, um rol de províncias do império, em sentido territorial e administrativo, conforme demonstrado por Jacobs (2011) (Brosius, 2021, p. 114-115).<sup>7</sup> Outros temas atuais envolvem as ressonâncias da tradição

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<sup>2</sup> Como em outros manuais: Water, 2014, p. 21-34; Kuhrt, 2010, p. 4-5; Allen, 2005, p. 21-24; Brosius, 2006, p. 4; Briant, 1996, p. 32-38.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Waters, op. cit., p. 35-51; Kuhrt, op. cit., p. 47-49; Brosius, 2006, p. 8-13; Briant, op. cit., 41-60.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Waters, op. cit., p. 56-57; Kuhrt, op. cit., p. 104-105; Brosius, 2006, p. 64; Briant, op. cit., p. 66-72.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Waters, op. cit., p. 59-68; Kuhrt, op. cit., p. 135-139; Allen, op. cit., p. 42; Brosius, 2006, p. 17-18; Briant, op. cit., p. 119-127.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Waters, op. cit., p. 131; Allen, op. cit., p. 56-57; Kuhrt, op. cit., p. 238-243; Brosius, 2006, p. 25; Briant, 1996, p. 559.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Briant, 1996, p. 189. Ou, ainda, a caracterização de Alexandre como “o último dos aquemênidas” (Briant, 1996, p. 896), questionada em razão do efetivo fracasso do monarca macedônio em fixar qualquer laço sólido com a dinastia persa e seus costumes (Brosius, 2021, p. 217-219).

literária mesopotâmica no Cilindro de Ciro (p. 27) e os paralelos entre o livro de Ester e a *História* de Heródoto (p. 143-144).

A autora se distingue dos predecessores também por um privilegiado olhar sobre as mulheres do império,<sup>8</sup> como, por exemplo, quando explica a importância dos casamentos dinásticos para a política de legitimação de Dario I (p. 61-64), ao descrever as posições assumidas por mulheres da corte (p. 102-103), ao mencionar dados sobre a mulheres trabalhadoras nos arquivos de Persépolis (p. 131-132), ao discorrer sobre o patrimônio de rainhas e princesas (p. 158-159), e, por fim, em sua discussão sobre a política de casamentos macedônios com mulheres orientais (p. 217-219). Outro ponto positivo é a referência a evidências arqueológicas e iconográficas, com discussões sobre *Perserie* (p. 149-150)<sup>9</sup> e “persianização” das elites provinciais (p. 119-121; 175-185).

Quanto aos aspectos espinhosos, a autora endossa a ideia de uma pragmática “tolerância aquemênida” (p. 1), o que talvez reflita sua preocupação com nosso contexto crescentemente isolacionista (p. xxx).<sup>10</sup> A debatida “Paz de Cálias” parece ser tida por fato histórico neste livro (p. 157).<sup>11</sup> O “zoroastrismo” dos aquemênidas é colocado em questão (p. 93-94), mas sem maiores detalhamentos. Aqui e alhures, em certas temáticas debatidas, a autora conscientemente adota uma posição com a qual concorda, e evita enveredar pelas turbulentas tecnicidades do debate especializado, em consonância com o propósito da obra.

Alguns tópicos específicos, contudo, poderiam ser aperfeiçoados. Em relação às questões econômicas e tributárias, o tratamento é sumário (p. 125-126), e poderia ser ampliado caso a autora explorasse as descrições sobre preços, trabalho e a organização fiscal da Babilônia Aquemênida, desenvolvidas por autores como Jursa (2010) e Pirngruber (2017). Ao longo do livro, e ao falar da corte real (p. 99-100), a autora discute pouco a instituição dos eunucos, embora sua narrativa não possa deixar de evidenciar a importância de tais figuras nos conflitos palacianos (p. 153; 205).<sup>12</sup> Por fim, as referências bíblicas, especificamente as tradições de Esdras e Neemias (p. 122; 158), poderiam ser submetidas a discussões sobre autenticidade e cronologia.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> O tema de seu doutorado (1996) figura de forma proeminente também em Brosius, 2006, p. 41-43.

<sup>9</sup> A partir, sobretudo, de Miller, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Ideia presente também em seu volume anterior (Brosius, 2006, p. 1-2). Cf., contudo, Asheri, 2006, p. 57-64.

<sup>11</sup> Em seu volume anterior, “uma contestada tradição grega antiga” (Brosius, 2006, p. 26).

<sup>12</sup> A ideia de que os autores clássicos viam os eunucos de forma negativa pode ser equivocada. Cf. Lenfant, 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Sobre a autenticidade das cartas e a tradição de Esdras, cf. Grabbe, 2004, p. 76-78. Além dos itens elencados, as discussões sobre o olhar enviesado das fontes clássicas continuam a partir de uma perspectiva

Nenhum desses itens é especialmente relevante à luz da natureza introdutória da obra, que, ademais, revela domínio ímpar da bibliografia especializada, combinado a uma narrativa fluida e agradável. Em termos de história factual, o livro é extremamente útil para o historiador que procura um guia conciso para se localizar em meio à complexa cronologia do império. Além disso, a conclusão do livro, com sua discussão sobre a memória dos aquemênidas em períodos subsequentes, realça aspectos pouco conhecidos da relação de Sassânidas e do Reino de Comagena com o passado Aquemênida, incluindo as vias pouco óbvias de sua familiarização com tal herança majestosa (p. 221-223).<sup>14</sup>

No balanço geral, esse volume tem méritos indiscutíveis. Não só como leitura introdutória, mas enquanto exemplo bem sucedido de história narrativa, ele deverá se impor como bibliografia geral sobre o tema. Por fim, em nosso contexto de crescente chauvinismo e extremismo, deve-se celebrar a atenção dedicada ao tema da diversidade étnica em um império antigo.

*Atualmente, o volume deve ser importado, e pode ser adquirido por cerca de US\$ 50 em versão física, sem considerar os custos de conversão e frete, ou por US\$ 40, em versão digital (e-book Kindle).*

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de oposição polar entre gregos e persas (Brosius, 2021, p. 145-147), hoje discutível em alguns casos, embora a autora revele ponderação em suas análises.

<sup>14</sup> A partir, sobretudo, de Shayegan, 2011.

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