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by

Eric W. Driscoll

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Professor Emily Mackil, Co-chair
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Abstract

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This dissertation explores novel perspectives on the fifth-century Athenian empire, drawing on both overlooked evidence and new theoretical approaches. Informed by visions of state formation as formally experimental, its ultimate aim is to transform the conversation about the empire by bringing to light alternative lines along which sovereignty was expressed and contested. From its very beginning, Athenian imperialism mobilized forms of interaction that were altered in use, often in aleatory and unexpected ways. I thus see in its history not a trajectory from voluntary alliance to heavy-handed empire, but a conceptual and discursive struggle to define and control a novel form of politics.

The first chapter explores these issues through social-scientific and lexical discussion of empires and the Athenian empire in particular, and of the implications of the growing trend to refer to it with the word *arche*. In the second, I turn to dissent over Athens' solipsistic domination of the empire by considering the construction of several treasury buildings on Delos by Athenian allies during the early period of the empire (ca. 478-454 BC). These apparently simple buildings were enmeshed in the web of ideological forces unleashed in the aftermath of the Persian invasions, asserting loyalty to the Greek cause while simultaneously challenging Athenian domination of that cause's symbolic capital—and the definition of the empire that accompanied it. In the third chapter I use previously neglected literary and archaeological evidence to examine the interface between religious conduct and imperial power in Tenedos and Ionia. Pindar's eleventh *Nemean* ode deploys genealogical myth in order to express a Tenedian

aristocrat's dissent from Athenian power, urging, instead, solidarity with Sparta and Boiotia. By contrast, elites in Ionia ceased using painted sarcophagi just as they fell under Athenian sway, revealing their acquiescence to leveling, democratic pressures emanating from the imperial center. And in the fourth chapter, I consider contributions to the empire in a more general sense, showing how and why different imperial obligations endured after the collapse of the empire and, in particular, examining the interface between tribute payment and civic fiscality at Miletos.

A number of recent historians have argued that there are simply no appropriate historical comparanda for Athenian imperialism and that, accordingly, modern languages furnish no word that could accurately denote the empire. My first chapter therefore begins the dissertation by addressing the literature's largely implicit theory of the Athenian empire as a unique historical phenomenon defined by authoritarian control over subject cities—yet a control without administration, backstopped by a large naval force funded in part by the subject cities' own tribute. I invoke concepts much discussed in the literature on contemporary global politics, such as "empire by invitation" or "postmodern imperialism," to question the traditional story that the initially voluntary Delian League turned into a heavy-handed empire in the latter half of the fifth century. Even when supplemented by more recent views, advanced most forcefully by Lisa Kallet, that the empire was economically exploitative *ab initio*, this reductive account does not account for the elusive yet crucial quality of voluntary participation that always marked the empire even in the 420s and during the Ionian War. Far from being an incommensurable historical phenomenon, the Athenian empire raises questions of political theory that are of vital importance today, providing a particularly powerful example of the ambiguities and opacities of hegemony.

The second chapter continues to query what the empire was by focusing on the hermeneutics of tribute during the period traditionally called the Delian League. It begins by reviewing the consensus theory that Delos was chosen in 478 to be the league's headquarters because it was a major Ionian sanctuary, and that its Ionian character enabled Athens to exploit her own status as putative motherland of Ionians in order to achieve domination over the allies. A close examination of the slender evidential thread by which that account hangs shows its insufficiency; and, with it removed, the selection of Delos becomes rather mysterious. The relocation of the treasury to Athens in 454 suggests that Delos was not working very well to support Athenian hegemony—it suggests that the multivocal environment of Delos was too open by comparison with the univocality on offer at the heart of Athens. These points are buttressed by a comparison of Delos to the central places of the Peloponnesian and Ionian leagues, Sparta and the Panionion on the Mykale. This comparison illuminates the novel qualities of the Delian League as an institution while also highlighting the history of international contestation and thalassocratic ambitions staked out on Delos. Finally, with this picture of early Classical Delos sketched out, I turn to the tribute and to the treasuries themselves. The tribute turns out to be a way of expressing positions—taken voluntarily or ascribed violently—on Medism and Greek unity against the Persians. In consequence thereof, and as a result of the multivocal nature of Delos, the construction of treasuries on Delos by several allied cities during the period of Delian centrality within the alliance (478–454) is of special significance. Although the architecture of the treasuries is poorly preserved, enough remains to make it likely that all but one of

them date to the relevant period. Since the cities in question are among those Athens charged with Medism after the Persian Wars, their construction of treasuries must be indicative of their desire to declare full participation in and dedication to the Greek cause, but it unavoidably also asserts countervailing claims against Athenian domination of the league on a symbolic level.

One of the dissertation's overall aims is to shed light on attitudes within subject cities; accordingly, in the third chapter, I turn to excavating the ways in which elites responded—in their own cities—to Athenian imperialism in two case studies. The first deals with Tenedos, where a member of the aristocracy, Aristagoras, commissioned an ode from Pindar that was then performed for his inauguration as *prytanis*. Probably composed in the early-to-mid 450s, the ode remarkably emphasizes the kinship links between Tenedos, Boiotia, and Sparta (the latter two rivals or open enemies of Athens throughout much of the fifth century). Building on recent Pindaric criticism, I argue that the ode was meant to be a significant and effective intervention in the social life of Aristagoras' society, prying it away from alignment with Athens. In the event, however, Tenedos remained loyal despite this sign of elite disaffection. In some ways the reverse occurred in mainland Ionia, where patterns in the usage of Klazomenian sarcopaghi suggest that elites bowed before a leveling, democratic pressure toward less ostentatious funerary display just at the time this region was entering the Athenian sphere. The sarcophagi are painted with imagery redolent of aristocratic ideology and were probably accompanied by equally lavish funerary display when put into use. Where Aristagoras openly dissented from Athens, Klazomenian and other Ionian elites were conducted by pro-Athenian pressures.

This conclusion is somewhat paradoxical at first blush, since some have argued that mainland Ionian elites were the most negatively affected by the Athenian empire. While the second chapter dealt extensively with the tribute (phoros) as a system that signified allegiance to the Greek cause, the fourth and final chapter considers contributions to the empire in a more general sense. A discussion of the apparent requirement that allies bring a cow and panoply to the Greater Panathenaia demonstrates the complex interplay between voluntary and compulsory contributions to the empire, with effects continuing down through the fourth century. By contrast, the similar requirement to offer *aparchai* at Eleusis was not apparently embraced. I argue that this difference can be explained by the discrepancy of the two systems in which each instance of imperial control was embedded. The bulk of the chapter, however, focuses on the long-term organization of civic fiscality at Miletos, a very large territorial state that included islands far from its coast. By looking at the epigraphic evidence from the islands and the Athenian tribute lists, I argue that the requirement to collect and pay tribute to Athens fostered the development of institutions in these small, extraurban communities.

To my teachers.

'Tis certain with me that the world exists anew every moment, that the existence of things every moment ceases and is every moment renewed.

Jonathan Edwards

The perceptive bursts, the turbulent environment, the circumstances and accidents, the unexpected intuitions, the news, the dangers, ultimately, the arrows that flieth by day, they keep us awake. If we are requisite, upright, alert, tensed—if we are alive, it is because we know, because we hope that the unforeseeable will happen, that it will be unconnected to what is already there or already assembled, that it will catch us off our guard and that we will have to negotiate. Encounters in the middle of the crossroads, drama, luck, change of course. Life and thinking die and lie dormant from a lack of events, advents, adventure, a lack of history. If history took its orders from one or a few laws, we would be reduced to what we think the brute animals are. We understand nothing of origins and beginnings because we are drugged with order, we dream coiled up in the woeful security of our complexes.

Michel Serres

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Introduction

1. The Athenian Empire(s)

Existing accounts of the Athenian empire as an object of study within ancient history, especially in Anglo-American scholarship, tend to approach it as manifest in, first, the military actions undertaken by its Athenian-led forces, and in, second, the structured appropriation of resources from subject cities. This perspective results from the evidence at hand: the best account of Athenian imperialism is the *History* of Thucydides, who lived through and narrated the era of Athenian decline in the Peloponnesian War, as complemented by an enormous although lacunose epigraphic record from the fifth century, again weighted chronologically toward the end of the century, yielding significant if often enigmatic evidence for the scale and nature of Athenian imperial finance (among other topics). Also of importance are the topical historical references and ideologies that can perhaps be extracted from Athenian drama, especially the comedies of Aristophanes.[1] Meanwhile, the ideology of the Athenian democracy and/or empire has provided endlessly fertile ground for analyses of ever greater refinement and sophistication of the cultural production of fifth-century Athens (as distinct, that is, from the history of the empire), whether taking to be at issue the kinship ideology in Euripides' *Ion* or the artistic "program" of this or that building in the Agora or on the Acropolis. Ancient historians have often drawn on studies of this last kind to suggest that such cultural activity was so much propaganda, carried out in hopes of spreading self-serving ideas: that Athens sat, for example, at the head of an Ionian diaspora to which the allies belonged and, hence, owed allegiance.

The Athenian empire originated in the military alliance against the Persians that developed out of the so-called Hellenic League. There is clearly, then, much to recommend the idea that the Athenian empire is primarily about its military and the tribute, features overlaid by an apparently thin veneer of mystifying ideology. Violence and money, after all, have been the twin engines powering many projects of state formation throughout history. Yet this picture is not merely incomplete but incomplete in a way that leaves out precisely those dimensions of Athenian imperialism that are most interesting to a contemporary audience. The grand narrative histories of an earlier age—by Grote, Beloch, Duruy, and so on—were unabashed in using the Athenian empire to think about their contemporary world and vice versa, but more recently, historians have tended to emphasize its radical uniqueness. Ian Morris, for example, has argued at length that it was not an empire at all, while Olivier Picard has gone further by suggesting that there are simply no appropriate historical comparanda for Athenian imperialism and that, accordingly, modern languages furnish no word that could accurately denote the empire. Such views renounce the actual analysis of what the Athenian empire was, or how it worked, whether in comparative or theoretical terms. But sustained and deep influence of one state over others

[1] Earlier scholarship in an "old historicist" mode was more invested in this class of evidence than are most recent scholars. For example, a joke in the *Birds* famously led Wilamowitz to conjecture that Athens required the allies to use Athenian coinage. His guess was "confirmed" not long afterward, in the course of epigraphy's progress, and the relevance of the *Birds* passage for dating the Coinage (or Standards) Decree has been debated ever since (for an account, see Figueira 1998: 3 and 203–16). For an introduction to the traditional conception of sources for the Athenian empire, see Low 2008: 4–8.

is rarely accomplished through naked military threats or superior hard power alone, and instead requires "quasi-voluntary compliance" of one kind or another.[2] The explanations for how this worked in the Athenian case mostly put an enormous amount of weight, as mentioned, on Ionian kinship and associated religious propaganda. Though this assumption is of course not drawn from whole cloth, I think it has been overemphasized and in any case the ideology seems to have been most fully developed near the end of the century, rather than coterminously with the empire itself.

More importantly, however, I believe that the scholarly tradition has systematically overestimated both the practical and ideological coherence of the Athenian empire. Evidentiary Athenocentrism inevitably prioritizes Athenian claims to control over the more complex reality of how imperialism functioned on the ground. Furthermore, the scholarly portrait is deficient in its inattention to contestation of Athenian imperialism not (merely) in the military realm, but in the very venues and systems of interaction that—or so I argue—were activated or reshaped by Athenian imperialism. This dissertation pursues and explores that conviction in several ways; I am not, then, so much attempting to explain why the allies largely consented to Athenian rule as to explore the ways that Athenian imperialism functioned while thereby also laying itself open to contest and challenge. Although some of these ways were primarily symbolic or had no discernible effect (see ch. 3), others did; I will argue that some of the allies strategically used Delos to dissent from the Athenocentric vision of what we call the Delian League, eventually prompting the assertive gesture of relocating its treasury to Athens itself (ch. 2).

The big-picture conclusion I try to establish is that the empire itself was no one thing. Different accounts (or theorizations) of it were operative among different groups and at different times. Rather than a monolithic phenomenon (even a dynamic one, changing over time), the Athenian empire was inherently multiform. Although the loss of what we know to have been relevant, sustained texts composed by non-Athenians in the fifth century, such as Ion of Chios and Stesimbrotus of Thasos, is certainly a tremendous blow to the project I undertake here, it is not only in the explicit theorization or in the giving of accounts of Athenian imperialism but also in other and more communal genres of action that different understandings of the empire and different responses to the empire occured and remain, for us, visible.[3] A multi-disciplinary approach to the different Athenian *empires*, then, is necessary. I wager that attending to the languages of those other kinds of action will shed new light on how different groups within the empire construed it, challenged it, and went along with it. There are many Athenian empires: Thucydides' empire is only one, and the epigraphers' empire is another; why not an empire for the Pindarists and an empire for the Delian archaeologists?

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[2] On the manufacture of this species of compliance, see Levi 1988: 48–70; I will not, however, be deploying her rational choice theory in this work.

[3] On the fragments of such lost texts and their relevance to the Athenian empire, see Carawan 1989, Stehle 1994, Blanshard 2007, Geddes 2007, Olding 2007: 146–49, and now most explicitly Lenfant 2016.

2. A (very) short history of study

Modern study of Greek history has gone through many phases and fashions, but a few especially luminous worlds have always caught the eye. One is the Athenian empire of the fifth century BC, some parts of which we know so very much about from Thucydides while others remain shrouded in darkness. In an attempt to push back these shadows, ancient historians gradually collected and exploited new bodies of evidence, inventing new tools in the process; and thus the Athenian empire was once the object of cutting-edge research in ancient history. Important work on Greek statecraft and public finance, an especially vibrant field in Germany in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, by the 1930s had built a foundation for ever more energetic exploration of the empire. And scholars like Merrit, MacGregor, Wade-Gery, and West proceeded to put the finishing touches on these foundations, while profiting as well from a profusion of new finds coming from excavations across Attica (and indeed elsewhere), especially in the Athenian Agora (begun in 1931). The four volumes of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (1939–53) was a major milestone, rapidly advancing techniques for wringing knowledge out of the broken stones of Athens. Synthetic fruition came to all this exploratory labor in 1972, when Russell Meiggs presented his magisterial *The Athenian Empire*. Unfortunately, there proved to be flaws in the foundations, and Harold Mattingly had already begun to warn about them in the 1960s.

In short, for the middle decades of the twentieth century, many of the leading American and British ancient historians were engaged in the creation of a new narrative of Athenian imperialism that tried to recover in more detail what happened between the 470s and the 430s; that sought to assess the personalities and policies of Athenian leaders like Kimon and Pericles; and that assigned a significant role to what was termed Athenian propaganda. But the task was complicated because the relevant historiographical material, beyond Thucydides, is extremely disparate in character: a few papyrus scraps, lost histories presumed to have passed substantially through the filter of later writers' working methods or to provide the source for various asides later writers still, and so on. Even more important was the rapidly improving understanding of the so-called Athenian tribute lists and other imperial documents. Yet it was these very texts that proved to be a double-edged sword, for difficulties in assigning them precise dates—and what later proved to be mistakes in doing so—had the result that analysis of the empire got sidetracked to a considerable degree into a thicket of chronological debate. In an oft-referenced *TLS* essay of 1966, lamenting the general state of ancient history, Finley pointed to this character of the scholarship with his charge that "the problems and issues of the empire have been reduced to a question of the date when the Athenian stone-cutters began to carve the letter *sigma* with four bars instead of three."[4] But it is not quite right to suggest that the epigraphers quarreled over nothing, because in fact it does matter for broader historical questions whether (for example) distinct "policies" can be detected in the Kimonian, Periclean, and Kleonian eras—or whether the allies really cared who the leading statesmen in Athens were.

But Finley was right to highlight the hypertechnical nature of scholarship on the empire, which had already transformed its study (in the fairly narrow sense explained below) into a primarily

[4] M. I. Finley, "Unfreezing the Classics," in *TLS* (April 7, 1966), pp. 289–90, at 289.

epigraphical province. And that situation was only made worse between 1990 and (say) 2010. By the 1960s, epigraphical dating criteria had already become a major topic of debate, as Finley pointed out, and then in 1990, Chambers et al. published a paper that claimed to prove, once and for all, that *IG* I³ 11 must date to 418/7, when Antiphon was archon, rather than to 458/7 or 454/3, when it was Habron and Ariston (respectively).[5] This set off yet another round of debate that lasted through the '90s, this time over whether the reading of Habron was truly certain or not. The significance of the result went far beyond one text (although this text is also crucial for understanding the course of Athenian interest in Magna Graecia) because *IG* I³ 11 was a public document inscribed at Athens and bearing a sigma with three strokes.[6] The English and American scholars mentioned in the previous two paragraphs had developed criteria, tentative at first and then hardened in response to Mattingly's criticisms, for dating imperial documents by their letter forms, and one of their "rules" was that the three-bar sigma was not used in official documents after the mid-440s. By disproving that rule, the 1990 article opened the floodgates for downdating inscriptions that had always made (to some scholars) more historical sense later in the century but had been deemed impossible to place later than 440 owing to their use of "early" letter forms. The result was chronological anarchy, as the only firm system for dating inscriptions at all closely (when internal evidence was inconclusive) had collapsed. Some scholars pursued alternative, supposedly more accurate and objective, criteria in the morphological features of the inscribed words, while others sought historical parallels or contexts (primarily in Thucydides) which could serve to anchor newly unmoored texts. Though in a sense anarchic, however, this was a discussion in which only epigraphers could participate because expertise in the chronological arguments up to that point was still necessary. It is only in the past ten years that debate has finally died down, with a consensus building that many imperial documents are indeed to be assigned to lower chronologies.[7] My suspicion is that the Athenian empire lost a good deal of appeal as a result of this contentious upheaval, which did not even offer a theoretical proving ground in the way that certain aspects of Archaic history tend to. The increasingly technical nature of work on Athenian imperial epigraphy, in short, has further discouraged larger synthesis on the lines of a new Meiggs.

A fundamental problem facing anyone interested in working on the Athenian empire is, then, this history of study itself. And, indeed, the Athenian empire is no longer a focus of extensive and significant creative labor, for the reasons just explained as well as because, perhaps, intellectual fashion in ancient history has bypassed the names-and-dates, Big Man concerns of earlier generations. This is not to say no significant or creative work has been done, of course, and several crucially useful and important works have appeared in the past twenty years: Thomas Figueira's *The Power of Money* (1998) and Loren Samons' *Empire of the Owl* (2000), for example; and, more recently, Grégory Bonnin has studied "l'impérialisme athénien vu des Cyclades à l'époque classique" across both the fifth and fourth centuries (2015). Additionally, work on

5 Chambers et al. 1990.

6 Tracy has now assigned *IG* I³ 11 to the "late fine plain style with three-bar sigma" (Tracy 2014).

7 Rhodes 2008, Papazarkadas 2009, Tracy 2016. The most persuasive cases for retaining higher chronologies were made by Alan Henry, who never quite gave up on his "rearguard action" (see Henry 1978 for an important earlier contribution to the debate, and Henry 1998 and 2001 for his refusal to accept Antiphon, as well as the phrase "rearguard action").

Thucydides is naturally of great significance for the broader history of the empire, and Lisa Kallet's books in particular have transformed the conversation on *Money, Expense, and Naval Power* (1993; cf. 2001) in the Athenian empire, as has her intervention in the debate over the relationship between Athenian imperial and civic finance (2013). Finally, work of the kind alluded to above, on the politics of culture at Athens itself, has been in flower for many years.

3. This dissertation

I am speaking, then, in a very narrow sense when I say that the Athenian empire has not seen a level of scholarly activity commensurate with its importance within Greek history (or within ancient studies as a field of teaching). Yet there are many unfashionable or "understudied" topics in ancient history, and the absence of one particular kind of work is not a justification to undertake it. Although control of the technical literature and the debates between epigraphers and other ancient historians is a *sine qua non*—and one I hope I have adequately addressed—the real motivation for the present dissertation is that laid out in the first section above: the empire is simply more interesting than existing accounts allow it to be. We should be less afraid of overreading the evidence than of underestimating heterogeneity and difference within and between the poleis of the empire.

The boundaries of our ambition in writing the history of the empire need, then, to be pushed further. The basic conviction of this project is that a fundamentally new approach is needed. It is not my goal to replace Meiggs with an all-encompassing, up-to-date synthesis. Although Meiggs' work is now obsolete, the time is not yet ripe for a replacement. We must first pass through a new period of creative rethinking similar to the one Meiggs capped off from the 1930s through 1960s. My hope, then, is to play a role in kindling that conversation by providing sustained proofs-of-concept for some of the analytical lines that should be be a part of any broad new synthesis. I am no lone wanderer or voice crying in the wilderness, of course: a new approach is already, if slowly, emerging. Many active scholars have done important research on the Athenian empire, and a few of them are also at work on books that are sure to change the way we all think about the Athenian empire as a whole, rather than simply some part of it. Brice Erickson is writing one on the archaeology of the Athenian empire; Anja Slawisch has a forthcoming monograph on fifth-century Ionia, also an area of special concern for me. Several graduate students who participated in a panel on the "Local Effects of the Athenian Arkhe" in Montreal in 2017 are writing or have recently finished dissertations on various aspects of the empire. In short, the conversation I have in mind is already beginning.

What distinguishes the present work from some of these other projects on the empire, however, is its interdisciplinarity and commitment to considering disparate kinds of material. In each of the four chapters that follow, I study different kinds of evidence using what may seem an eclectic assortment of methodologies. My first chapter begins the dissertation by setting the stage with a more thorough discussion than offered here of what the Athenian empire was and how it was been studied. It addresses the literature's largely implicit theory of the Athenian empire as a unique historical phenomenon defined by authoritarian control over subject cities. This literature has many true and important things to say about how Athens exercised control without

administration, control backstopped by a large naval force funded in part by the subject cities' own tribute. But other respects of the mainstream theory are, as indicated above, less satisfactory. I invoke concepts much discussed in the literature on contemporary global politics, such as "empire by invitation," to question the traditional story that the initially voluntary Delian League turned into a heavy-handed empire in the latter half of the fifth century. Even when supplemented by more recent views, advanced most forcefully by Lisa Kallet, that the empire was economically exploitative *ab initio*, this reductive account does not account for the elusive yet crucial quality of voluntary participation that always marked the empire even in the 420s and during the Ionian War. Far from being an incommensurable historical phenomenon, the Athenian empire raises questions of political theory that are of vital importance today, providing a particularly powerful example of the ambiguities and opacities of hegemony.

The second chapter continues to query what the empire was by focusing on the hermeneutics of tribute during the period traditionally called the Delian League. It begins by reviewing the consensus theory that Delos was chosen in 478 to be the league's headquarters because it was a major Ionian sanctuary, and that its Ionian character enabled Athens to exploit her own status as putative motherland of Ionians in order to achieve domination over the allies. A close examination of the slender evidential thread by which that account hangs shows its insufficiency; and, with it removed, the selection of Delos becomes rather mysterious. The relocation of the treasury to Athens in 454 suggests that Delos was not working very well to support Athenian hegemony; it suggests that the multivocal environment of Delos was too open by comparison with the univocality on offer at the heart of Athens. These points are buttressed by comparing Delos to the central places of the Peloponnesian and Ionian leagues, Sparta and the Panionion on the Mykale. This comparison illuminates the novel qualities of the Delian League as an institution while also highlighting the history of international contestation and thalassocratic ambitions being staked out, uniquely, on Delos. Finally, with this picture of early Classical Delos sketched out, I turn to the tribute and to the treasuries themselves. The tribute turns out to be a way of expressing positions—taken voluntarily or ascribed violently—on Medism and Greek unity against the Persians. In consequence thereof, and as a result of the multivocal nature of Delos, the construction of treasuries on Delos by several allied cities during the period of Delian centrality within the alliance (478–454) is of special significance. Although the architecture of the treasuries is poorly preserved, enough remains to make it likely that all but one of them date to the relevant period. Since the cities in question are among those Athens charged with Medism after the Persian Wars, their construction of treasuries must be indicative of their desire to declare full participation in and dedication to the Greek cause—but it unavoidably also asserts countervailing claims against Athenian domination of the league on a symbolic level.

One of the dissertation's overall aims is to shed light on attitudes within subject cities; accordingly, in the third chapter, I turn to excavating the ways in which elites responded—in their own cities—to Athenian imperialism. After an introductory survey of some of the theory I deploy to study the interrelationship of politics and religion, in particular of Foucault's notion of "conduct," I carry out two case studies. The first deals with Tenedos, where a member of the aristocracy, Aristagoras, commissioned an ode from Pindar that was then performed for his inauguration as prytanis. Probably composed in the early-to-mid 450s, the ode remarkably

emphasizes the kinship links between Tenedos, Boiotia, and Sparta (the latter two rivals or open enemies of Athens throughout much of the fifth century). Building on recent Pindaric criticism, I argue that the ode was meant to be a significant and effective intervention in the social life of Aristagoras' society, prying it away from alignment with Athens. In the event, however, Tenedos remained loyal despite this sign of elite disaffection. In some ways the reverse occurred in mainland Ionia, where patterns in the usage of Klazomenian sarcopaghi suggest that elites bowed before a leveling, democratic pressure toward less ostentatious funerary display just at the time this region was entering the Athenian sphere. The sarcophagi are painted with imagery redolent of aristocratic ideology and were probably accompanied by equally lavish funerary display when put into use. Where Aristagoras openly dissented from Athens, Klazomenian and other Ionian elites were conducted, in Foucault's sense, by pro-Athenian pressures.

This conclusion is somewhat paradoxical at first blush, since some have argued that mainland Ionian elites were the most negatively affected by the Athenian empire. While the second chapter dealt extensively with the tribute (phoros) as a system that signified allegiance to the Greek cause, the fourth and final chapter considers contributions to the empire in a more general sense. A discussion of the apparent requirement that allies bring a cow and panoply to the Greater Panathenaia demonstrates the complex interplay between voluntary and compulsory contributions to the empire, with effects continuing down through the fourth century. By contrast, the similar requirement to offer *aparchai* at Eleusis was not apparently embraced. I argue that this difference can be explained by the discrepancy of the two systems in which each instance of imperial control was embedded. The bulk of my attention, however, is on the long-term organization of civic fiscality at Miletos, a very large territorial state that encompassed islands far from its coast. By looking at the epigraphic evidence (mostly Hellenistic) from the islands and the Athenian tribute lists, I argue that the requirement to collect and pay tribute to Athens fostered the development of institutions in these small, extraurban communities. Finally, in a conclusion I tie together the various threads of the main text, and suggest how we should think about the Athenian empire as a historical phenomenon.

Chapter One: The Athenian *Arkhê*

1. Interstate Violence, International Law, and Cultural Superiority

> "In fact, one thing a comparative history of empire demonstrates is that it is only by looking at past empires that people have learned how to be imperial at all, since empire is a cultural practice and not some natural state." (Pollock 2006: 176)

On July 22, 2015, President Erdoğan agreed to allow the United States to use the Incirlik Air Base outside Adana, in southeastern Turkey, for operations against Islamic State forces in Syria. Two days later, Turkish F-16 jets struck a variety of Islamic State and Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) targets in both Syria and Iraq. In subsequent weeks and months, airstrikes against the PKK in Iraq continued, while Turkish involvement in the fight against the Islamic State in Syria remained minimal.[1] Though predating both the escalation of Russian airstrikes in Syria, beginning in September 2015, and the July 2016 coup attempt in Turkey, these developments led to a state of affairs in late summer 2015 that was already, from an American geopolitical perspective, complicated and precarious.[2] The United States has long designated the PKK a terrorist organization, but other Kurdish groups—sharing the PKK's ideological goals and in some cases affiliated with it—have been among the closest and most effective American allies in the region ever since the 2003 invasion of Iraq.[3] In particular, the People's Protection Units or Committees (YPG), the military wing of the Kurdish Democratic Union Party in Syria (PYD), was regarded as one of the most effective militias there.[4] As a result, U.S. officials maintained a somewhat fictive distinction between the different Kurdish groups operating in Upper Mesopotamia, regarding the PKK as terrorists but the YPG and the forces of Iraqi Kurdistan as close allies.[5] The contradictions were shortly laid bare when the Turkish government blamed the YPG for a suicide bombing in Ankara in February 2016, for which the YPG denied responsibility; it was in fact a Turkish group more radical than the PKK—the Kurdistan Freedom Hawks (TAK)—

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1 Dan De Luce, "Turkey Enters the War Against the Islamic State," *Foreign Policy* (July 23, 2015); Orhan Coskun and Dasha Afanasieva, "Turkey Stages First Air Strikes on Islamic State in Syria," Reuters bulletin (July 23, 2015); Anne Barnard, "Turkey's Focus on Crushing Kurd Extremists Complicates the Fight Against ISIS," *New York Times* (July 29, 2015); Dion Nissenbaum and Ayla Albayrak, "U.S. Concerns Grow Over Turkish Bombings of Kurds," *Wall Street Journal* (August 13, 2015). Newspaper citations are generally to print dates and titles (unless otherwise implied or indicated). I omit URLs for content readily available in print.

2 Michael R. Gordon and Eric Schmitt, "Russian Moves in Syria Pose Concerns for U.S.," *New York Times* (September 5, 2015); Helene Cooper, Michael R. Gordon, and Neil MacFarquhar, "Russians Strike Targets in Syria, but Not ISIS Areas," *New York Times* (October 1, 2015); Tim Arango and Ceylan Yeginsu, "Turkish President Returns to Istanbul in Sign Military Coup Is Faltering," *New York Times* online (July 15, 2016); Al Jazeera staff, "Turkey's Failed Coup Attempt," online at http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/12/turkey-failed-coup-attempt-161217032345594.html (last updated July 15, 2017).

3 Scott Atran and Douglas M. Stone, "The Kurds' Heroic Stand Against ISIS," *New York Times* (March 16, 2015); Ben Hubbard, "Success of Kurdish Forces Is a Rare Bright Spot for U.S. Policy in Iraq," *New York Times* (June 13, 2015); cf. the tale of Dr. Azar Mirkhan woven into Scott Anderson, "Fractured Lands: How the Arab World Came Apart," *New York Times Magazine* (August 14, 2016).

4 E.g., Cockburn 2015: 151–60; Anne Barnard and Karam Shoumali, "Kurd Militia Says ISIS Is Expelled From Kobani," *New York Times* (Jan. 27, 2015).

5 Tim Arango and Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Support for Kurds in Syria Angers Turks," *New York Times* (June 30, 2015).

that carried out the attack. Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu argued, however, that "whether it's KCK, YPG, PKK, TAK or PJAK, they are all part of the same terrorist structure," referring to several of the main Kurdish groups in Syria, Turkey, and Iran.[6]

Davutoğlu's position, though certainly redolent of anti-Kurdish bias, is not in fact beyond the pale of international law. The law of war has recognized a status of co-belligerency, in which a state that has remained neutral in the sense that no formal declaration of war exists but is in fact participating in war in association with one or more powers that are at war, or that has otherwise flagrantly violated its neutral status, can be treated, under the law of war, as a full participant in the conflict.[7] As the American "War on Terror" developed after the invasion of Iraq and through President Obama's administration, American military and administration lawyers argued that a cognate concept of co-belligerency applies or can be held to apply to non-state actors as well. This represented an attempted solution to the thorny epistemological problem of defining membership in the Taliban and especially the loose network known as al Qaeda.[8] On September 18, 2001, President Bush had signed the Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF), a Congressional Joint Resolution directing him to employ "necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons."[9] Since the AUMF remains the bedrock document authorizing the War on Terror, lawyers for the military and executive branch pursued a doctrinal extension of co-belligerency to non-state actors and developed the concept of associated or affiliated forces as a gloss on "such nations, organizations or persons" in the text of the AUMF.[10] Though the AUMF is of course not part of international law, Davutoğlu was therefore deploying the legal reasoning of American officials in asserting all Kurdish militant groups to be "part of the same terrorist structure."

The United States was not arriving at Incirlik for the first time in 2015. Construction on the

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6 Quote from Orhan Coskun, "DNA Report Suggests Ankara Bomber Was Turkish: Security Official," Reuters bulletin (February 23, 2016); also see Tim Arango and Ceylan Yeginsu, "Turkey Blames Kurdish Militia for Ankara Car Bombing," *New York Times* (February 19, 2016).

7 Bradley and Goldsmith 2005: 2112–13, with references. On the recognition of belligerent status in general, see, e.g., Detter 2013: 9–12, 34–37, 46–55, 144–47.

8 What counts as membership in al Qaeda is a fundamental legal issue in the habeas petitions filed by those detained as suspected terrorists, although relatively few such petitions ever reached that stage; see in particular Wittes et al. 2013: 36–38.

9 Public Law 107-40, *United States Statutes at Large* 115: 224–25, 2 (a).

10 Bradley and Goldsmith 2005: 2113–16; Nathalie Weizmann, "Associated Forces and Co-Belligerency," *Just Security* online blog post, February 24, 2015 (https://www.justsecurity.org/20344/isil-aumf-forces-co-belligerency/); Ingber 2017. For example, Michael Sheehan, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict, testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee in 2013 that "sympathy [with al Qaeda] is not enough . . . it has to be an organized group, and that group has to be in co-belligerent status with al Qaeda, operating against the United States . . . for AUMF, as we mentioned, it has to be an organized force first, and second that organized force has to be joined to al Qaeda as a co-belligerent to threaten us. So when both of those factors are in place, then we can move forward on AUMF" (Transcript of May 16, 2013 hearing, at 12 and 24; available online at https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/lawofarmedconflict_useofmilitaryforce_2001aumf_hearing_051613.pdf).

air base began in 1951 and it has been in continuous use by American forces, and others, ever since.[11] Since the base is located in Turkey, its use is ultimately subject to parameters established by the Turkish military and government, but authority for American presence at the base derived originally from multiple sources. Turkey joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952, after construction on the base had already begun.[12] A separate bilateral agreement between the two countries was signed in December 1954, codifying their shared use of the base.[13] Incirlik went on to become a key asset during the early Cold War, but the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 led to a disruption in the military relationship between Turkey and the United States. Control over American bases in Turkey was transferred to the Turkish state in 1975, as the Turkish response to an arms embargo and suspension of military aid imposed by Congress in February of that year in retaliation for Turkey's illegal invasion of Cyprus.[14] Before this time, Incirlik and other bases in Turkey were nominally joint operations but "the Americans ran the show."[15] After the embargo was lifted in 1978, Turkey agreed to reopen closed American bases but demanded a new agreement for military and economic aid in exchange.[16] During this time, however, the Incirlik base had remained open and active, largely *qua* NATO base rather than *qua* American base.[17] Thus, while Turkey tightened control over American operations at bases throughout the country, the degree to which it did so was partly a function of the legal mechanisms that could be seen as authorizing American military presence on Turkish soil. Finally, in an agreement signed on March 29, 1980, defense cooperation between the two states was restored.[18] While the Preamble and Articles I and VI of this new treaty affirmed the "sovereign equality" of the partners, only one party—the United States—maintained

[11] "Incirlik Air Base History," online fact sheet maintained by the USAF, last updated May 17, 2013 (available at http://www.incirlik.af.mil/About-Us/Fact-Sheets/Display/Article/300814/incirlik-air-base-history/).

[12] The formal agreement for Turkey to join NATO was struck on October 17, 1951, and entered into force on February 15, 1952 (*Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the Accession of Greece and Turkey*); the base was already under construction in the spring of 1951.

[13] This agreement is a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA)—a type of treaty governing the presence of one state's forces in the territory of another—and was signed on December 6, 1954. NATO membership itself involves a SOFA (initially ratified on June 19, 1951 and joined by Turkey on June 23, 1954), from which the Incirlik agreement is separate. The Incirlik SOFA and other American–Turkish bilateral treaties were replaced on July 3, 1969, by a Defense Cooperation Agreement. Although NATO treaties are public, neither the 1954 nor 1969 agreements were officially printed (*United States Treaties and Other International Agreements* 32: 3354). See Murphy 1991: 424–45.

[14] Bernard Gwertzman, "House Refuses Arms to Turkey, Rebuffing Ford," *New York Times* (July 25, 1975); Stephen V. Roberts, "Americans Adjust to Turkish Command of Bases," *New York Times* (October 20, 1975); "Incirlik Air Base History" (above, n. 11). Congress was particularly motivated in passing the embargo by the fact that in its invasion of Cyprus Turkey had mainly used American military hardware, supplied as defense aid, while under American law defense assistance is supposed to be used only for defense in the literal and not the euphemistic sense.

[15] See Roberts, "Americans Adjust," previous note.

[16] Dusko Doder, "Turkey to Permit 4 Key American Installations to Reopen," *Washington Post* (October 4, 1978); "U.S. and Turkey Renew A Military Base Accord," unattributed story in *New York Times* (January 10, 1980).

[17] "NATO Sees U.S. Intelligence Setback," unattributed story in *New York Times* (July 27, 1975); "Incirlik Air Base History" (above, n. 11).

[18] *Agreement for Cooperation on Defense and Economy*, *United States Treaties and Other International Agreements* 32: 3323–3486.

military bases in the territory of the other—Turkey.[19] Only one party furnished development and military aid to the other. The 1980 treaty, however, differs from earlier agreements in that "the defense cooperation . . . shall be limited to obligations arising out of the North Atlantic Treaty" and that, more specifically, United States forces are authorized only to "deploy aircraft to Incirlik . . . in support of approved NATO defense plans."[20] In replacing the 1954 and 1969 agreements, the 1980 treaty reflects long-held Turkish views that those earlier pacts were "too vague and [did not accord] Turkey appropriate benefits from and controls over US–Turkish defense cooperation," and fulfilled their desire not "to grant [the US] the flexibility [the US] enjoyed in the past" agreements.[21] Any use of Incirlik for military missions unrelated to, or exceeding in scope, formal NATO operations is not authorized by the 1980 treaty and requires separate approval from the Turkish state.[22]

So when President Erdoğan agreed to allow the United States to launch drone strikes out of Incirlik, after many months of dithering in Turkey's response to the Islamic State, he was balancing competing historical precedents as well as contemporary demands and interests.[23] Not unlike Pakistan though certainly at a lesser scale, Turkey has been accused by some observers of accepting economic and military support from "Western" states while failing to meet its promises on counterterrorism or, more precisely, while failing to prevent segments of the state from passively supporting certain terrorist organizations.[24] By publicly adopting a more active stance against the Islamic State, Erdoğan did much to quell those complaints, at least at first, while also gaining justificatory space for increasing the volume of Turkish strikes on Kurdish militant camps outside the borders of Turkey.[25] Although American officials grumbled about the subterfuge in interviews with journalists, the Turkish military was allowed to continue operations against the PKK and its affiliates more or less in exchange for the enhanced American use of Incirlik.

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[19] Moreover, the 1980 agreement explicitly specifies that American forces are under sole American command (*Agreement*, previous note, 3339). It goes without saying that only a few of the closest American allies—such as Germany and the UK—have ever maintained troops stationed at bases in America, primarily for training purposes.

[20] *Agreement*, 3327 and 3351.

[21] Quotes from *U.S. Security Policy Toward Turkey*, unattributed National Security Study Memorandum 227 (August 1975), 9 and 10 (available online at https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0398/1982289.pdf).

[22] Murphy 1991: 425–26. Such permission was granted, for example, during the 1991 Gulf War.

[23] Anne Barnard and Michael R. Gordon, "Goals Diverge and Perils Remain as U.S. and Turkey Take on ISIS," *New York Times* (July 28, 2015).

[24] Tim Arango and Eric Schmitt, "A Path to ISIS, Through a Porous Turkish Border," *New York Times* (March 10, 2015); Barnard, "Turkey's Focus," above n. 1. On Pakistan, see, e.g., Jayshree Bajoria and Eben Kaplan, "The ISI and Terrorism: Behind the Accusations," Council on Foreign Relations blog post (last updated May 4, 2011, and available online at https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/isi-and-terrorism-behind-accusations), and Dexter Filkins, "The Pakistani Dystopia," *New Yorker* (January 15, 2016, available online at https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-pakistani-dystopia).

[25] Negotiations over expanding Turkey's role in the war against the Islamic State had been ongoing for months, but the final straw was a suicide bombing in Suruç, very close to the Syrian border near Urfa, which was the first major terrorist attack in Turkey carried out by the Islamic State. See Karam Shoumali and Ceylan Yeginsu, "Suicide Bomber Kills at Least 30 in Turkish Town Near Syria," *New York Times* (July 21, 2015) and Ceylan Yeginsu, "Suicide Bomber Is Identified as a Turk Suspected of ISIS Ties," *New York Times* (July 23, 2015).

Erdoğan had made a skillful move in the sixty-year-old game of delicately balancing Turkish and American interests. American officials achieved their objective of compelling Turkey to follow a course of action. Turkish officials fulfilled their desire to strike at PKK camps in Iraq, corresponding to Turkish public opinion's significantly greater level of concern over Kurdish terrorism than the Islamic State. What may be most interesting about this chapter in the story of Incirlik, however, is Davutoğlu's cunning deployment of American legal reasoning in response to the February 2016 Ankara bombing. By doing so, he rendered legible to the American security apparatus the Turkish state's theory of Kurdish militancy and assimilated it to the American "War on Terror"—a strategy that was considerably helped, of course, by the PKK's longstanding designation as a terrorist organization by both states.[26]

Is there something that can legitimately be termed the American empire? If so, the story of Incirlik is only one of thousands that would go into its analysis. Incirlik is just one of several American bases in Turkey, and one of many hundreds worldwide. Consider a second, brief yet curious case that has just come to light. In August 2016, the United States government passed a tip to Egypt using secret but official diplomatic channels. As a result, Egyptian inspectors siezed a Cambodian-flagged, but actually North Korean, freighter steaming toward the Suez Canal. They found a cargo of 30,000 rocket-propelled grenades, sold by North Korea and worth approximately $23 million, in obvious violation of United Nations sanctions. The twist lies in the revelation of the purchaser: ultimately Egypt itself.[27] One segment of the Egyptian state, prompted by a request from the global hegemon, restrained the proscribed activity of a different segment of the state.[28]

As American power penetrates the inner workings of other states, shaping, curbing, and encouraging certain forms of behavior and certain forms of justification, it raises basic questions about what forms of influence might compromise sovereignty or might be taken as imperial in effect. At a time when the long-cherished billiard-ball model of impenetrable sovereign states is everywhere breaking down, a basic reassessment of the Athenian empire, too, is overdue.[29]

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[26] Indeed, Davutoğlu went further, accusing the United States of supporting terrorism through its cooperation with the YPG: "We cannot excuse any NATO ally, including the US, of having links with a terrorist organisation that strikes us in the heart of Turkey," he is quoted as saying by *The Economist* ("A bombing in Ankara moves Turkey closer to a fight with Syria—and Russia," unattributed story dated February 19, 2016, online at https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21693315-turkey-blames-terror-attack-kurdish-rebels-syria-they-are-backed-america-and).

[27] Megan Reiss, "North Korean Arms Entering Egypt: The System at Work," *Lawfare Blog* post (October 4, 2017, online at https://www.lawfareblog.com/north-korean-arms-entering-egypt-system-work), based on Joby Warrick, "A North Korean ship was seized off Egypt with a huge cache of weapons destined for a surprising buyer," *Washington Post* online story (October 1, 2017, available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/a-north-korean-ship-was-seized-off-egypt-with-a-huge-cache-of-weapons-destined-for-a-surprising-buyer/2017/10/01/d9a4e06e-a46d-11e7-b14f-f41773cd5a14_story.html).

[28] Although this episode was not yet public and is not discussed, Peter Hessler provides a highly relevant account of the functioning of the contemporary Egyptian state in "Egypt's Failed Revolution," *New Yorker* (January 2, 2017).

[29] On the perennially discussed waning or withering of sovereignty, see for example Hardt and Negri 2000, Brown 2017; *contra*, Cohen 2004, Alvarez 2012. An analytical trope since at least Marx, the withering of the state was already being lamented in the 1920s and 1930s by a conservative thinker such as Carl Schmitt, who

We speak of being in or out of the empire, of loyalty and revolt, of crisis and stability, these binaries powerfully organizing historical discourse. Yet consider one more modern case. Nearly seventeen years after the invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001, the Taliban is still around, and the Islamic State has mostly taken over al Qaeda networks—and accomplished more than al Qaeda ever dreamed of. President Bush rarely articulated the goals of the invasion, which he initially billed as "carefully targeted actions . . . designed to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations and to attack the military capability of the Taliban regime."[30] As the invasion phase of the war came to an end, Bush boasted in a speech aboard the USS *Enterprise* that, "today, [the Taliban] control not much more than a few caves."[31] In 2016, according to the Department of State, there were 1,340 terrorist attacks in Afghanistan, killing 4,561 people.[32] Yet more relevant than the proverbial intractability of Afghanistan to the projection of imperial power is the ongoing influence of other powers besides NATO—and in particular, Iran.[33] Most of those who followed the news in 2001 remember a rapid campaign as U.S. troops and the Afghan Northern Alliance swept south to Kabul behind a moving screen of American air power. "It would be more accurate," according to the key American diplomat, "to say that the United States joined a coalition that had been battling the Taliban for nearly a decade . . . Iran, India, Russia, and the Northern Alliance."[34] And yet this moment of cooperation between the United States and Iran did not last long, with consequences that need not be detailed here. The point is that Iranian influence in Afghanistan has never gone away and may now be at a peak.[35] Considering the American military presence there, should we conclude that Afghanistan is part of an "American empire"? Or giving more weight to behind-the-scenes machinations, perhaps it instead belongs to an "Iranian empire"? Is the Afghan government loyal to any outside power

looked upon "liberalism" as concretely manifest in associations and institutions, what we would now call civil society, ever-growing in strength since the American and French revolutions—as society became more bourgeois and the economic sphere grew in importance with the acceleration of the industrial revolution and increasing global trade—and saw "the negation of the political…aim[ed] with great precision at subjugating state and politics" (Schmitt 1996: 22–25 and 69–78, at 70 and 72). The waning of sovereignty of which we now hear in the 21st century is the externalized, globalized correlate of the growth in bourgeois civil society, as supranational and multinational entities, organizations, and corporations act beyond or against the governance capacities of individual states, with particular attention to the United Nations and, above all, global capital (Hardt and Negri 2000; Habermas 2001: 58–112).

[30] Address to the Nation, October 7, 2001 (transcript online at https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html).

[31] Remarks by the President on Pearl Harbor Day, December 7, 2001 (transcript online at https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011207.html). In the same speech, Bush remarked that "throughout history, other armies have sought to conquer Afghanistan, and they failed; our military was sent to liberate Afghanistan, and you are succeeding." On this kind of salvific rhetoric, which we will shortly encounter in the main text, see Lincoln 2007.

[32] *Country Reports on Terrorism 2016: Annex of Statistical Information*, 5 (available online at https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/272485.pdf).

[33] Ariane Tabatabai, "Afghanistan: Another Victory for Tehran?" *Lawfare Blog* post (October 8, 2017).

[34] James Dobbins, "How to Talk to Iran," *Washington Post* (July 22, 2007). Dobbins was Special Representative to the Afghan Opposition, led the talks in Bonn that resulted in the interim government headed by Hamid Karzai, and served as the first American Ambassador to Afghanistan since 1989.

[35] Tabatabai, "Afghanistan" (above, n. 33); an aide to former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson was quoted saying that Iran is now "feeling as hegemonic as it has felt in a very long time" (Dexter Filkins, "Rex Tillerson at the Breaking Point," *New Yorker* [October 16, 2017]).

or cause? One might pose an analogous aporia for the Ionian cities in, say, 500 BC, or Lycia in the early 420s.[36] While the military events may seem dispositive—if indeed the mere flow of tribute, the "skeleton of the state," is not—I would submit in each case that matters are not so simple.[37] And a region of questionable "loyalty" or adherence to an empire clearly stands as a challenge to apologetic accounts of that empire, of which there are many both ancient and modern for the Athenian case, as being based on consent or popularity.[38]

In an earlier era of historiography, the Athenian empire was unselfconsciously used to think about contemporary political structures and vice versa. Recent studies have investigated this mode of grand narrative history in Grote, Victor Duruy, Beloch, and other authors of the long nineteenth century.[39] In the scholarly literature, however, the increasingly technical nature of the evidence and debates, especially after the 1930s, gradually closed off the study of the Athenian empire to work that was simultaneously of broad or even general interest and also fully informed of the latest specialist developments. By contrast with the similar span of time constituting the very early Roman empire, for example, there is little bibliography on the Athenian empire (the "forgotten empire"), even as closely related topics such as fifth-century Athens and Thucydides remain at the very heart of classical studies.[40] What I suggest is that the Athenian empire is a useful figure for thinking about international politics today, and vice versa. Returning to the question of the American empire, at least three reasons for asserting its conceptual cogency are immediately obvious. The first is the presence of American bases and troops in foreign territory. The second is American preponderance within the international institutions, such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and NATO, that govern international coexistence. The third is the intertwined commerical, ideological, and cultural power of the United States. None of these pass without contest on the international stage, nor can it be said that American imperialism has imposed itself unilaterally against the will of other peoples and states. This is particularly true of so-called cultural imperialism, often seen at work in the spread of, for example, Coca-Cola or McDonalds throughout the world.[41] As the example of Incirlik and the postwar history of Turkish-American relations demonstrates, the first two factors in particular are the subject of much negotiation and contestation.[42] Many historians and commentators have found it meaningful to speak of an American empire; and many, too, have scoffed at the idea. Perhaps most important to the scoffers is that the American empire is

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36 On Lycia, see Thonemann 2009.

37 For the quotation, see ch. 2 n. 133 below.

38 See, in particular, Meiggs 1972: 404–12. The authors of *ATL* wrote that "only Athens remembered the bright prospects of 478/7" once the "clarity of vision which th[ose] exalted days… brought to the allies" faded under "the strains of campaigning"; the alternative explanation that the allies objected to Athenian imperialism is barely available to these historians, for whom the "the Greeks" are "deeply conscious of their nationhood and delighted with their newly found champion" (*ATL* iii.226–27). For the idea of "postmodern imperialism" or "empire by invitation," see Stoler 2006 and Calhoun et al. 2006 more generally.

39 Liddel 2009, Pébarthe 2011.

40 Pébarthe 2008 for the label "forgotten empire."

41 Tropes, of course, of youthful, left-wing critique of American imperialism from the days of the Vietnam war—witness, e.g., Godard's 1966 *Masculin féminin* ("this film could be called The Children of Marx and Coca-Cola")—to the present.

42 The case also provides an eloquent example of the kind of data we lack for the negotiations—literal and implicit—between Athens and the member cities of the fifth-century empire.

not one of conquest; nor does it extract direct tribute from the objects of its imperialism. This dissertation is not about the American empire, but, to repeat, what I would like to suggest is that different figures of empire exist and that comparative reflection on them is useful. In addition to numerous and obvious differences, there are many points of basic similarity between Athenian and American imperialisms, which are both ambiguous cases—compared to certain other historical empires—in which the "consent of the governed" is a substantial feature of their workings.[43] In the Athenian case, such consent finds its expression in the scholarly obsession with pinning down the date, and defining the nature, of the transition from voluntary alliance to heavy-handed empire, a necessarily elusive metamorphosis. Can we see the consensual nature of this "empire by invitation" before 454 and its absence thereafter as such a clear-cut binary?[44]

Perhaps the single most important point to draw from this discussion is this: whether there is an American empire is not really an empirical question. The debate is not over facts, but over interpretation. This point is true, obviously, of any claim insofar as it takes the form of subsuming some agreed set of particulars under some universal, but particularly so here because the amount of interpretive or hermeneutic labor done by the label "empire" is so wildly unclear. There is a definite sense, if articulated with varying levels of crispness, that American imperialism has been radically intensified since 2001, and that this has to do with a breakdown in sovereignty—or with an oversaturation, an excess, of sovereignty. "Sovereign is he who decides on the exception," as Schmitt famously wrote, and Giorgio Agamben argues that governmentality has increasingly come to be defined by a generalized "state of exception" or emergency.[45] Although Agamben was writing about Roman law and about European and American politics in general since the first World War, his work has been taken as bearing with especial clarity on the War on Terror. In the state of exception, Agamben suggests, law in the sense of norms remains while the force of law in the sense of its application recedes (echoing Schmitt's claim that "the state remains, whereas law recedes"), arguing in a rather subtle way that the suspension of the law in application reveals to the maximum degree the gulf between law and life or norms and force, "an empty space, in which a human action with no relation to law stands before a norm with no relation to life."[46]

What this might have to do with empire, American or otherwise, is not actually discussed by Agamben beyond adducing President Bush's creation of a novel category of "enemy combatant," situated outside both American (criminal) law and international law, as an example of sovereignty's power to decide the exception.[47] What is needed is to "imperialize" the concept.

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43 The most obvious contrast for both cases would be empires such as the Roman, Neo-Assyrian, or Persian, which conquered and directly ruled imperial provinces from which tribute was extracted and transferred to the metropolis.

44 See Stoler 2006.

45 Agamben 2005. On Agamben's vision of sovereignty, see further Agamben 1998.

46 Agamben 2005: 86. The Schmitt quotation is at 1985: 12.

47 As I write, the persistence of this category remains as marked as ever, with the Trump administration now well into the ninth month of detaining an unidentified American citizen in a secret location somewhere in Syria. The administration is effectively defying the Constitutional guarantee that "the Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended" (Article 1, Section 9), placing the detention in—at best—ambiguous legal terrain (after the Supreme Court ruled in *Hamdi v. Rumsfeld* that American citizens captured and detained as

Law is a function of the territorial state, a juridical order tied to space and time and enclosed by the borders of the state.[48] The state of exception—the suspension of law—therefore is strictly unrelated to any question of imperialism, inasmuch as imperialism involves the use of power precisely beyond such enclosures and on the outside of the topological concept of law. In the globalized world of international law, and in particular of universalist human rights law and *jus in bello*, however, the War on Terror nevertheless occurs under color of law, as it were, while in fact suspending that law.[49] The ordinary functioning of legal norms is in suspension and the juridical order is replaced by a martial, emergency order, which strives unceasingly to conceal its exceptional character.[50]

Although the concept of the state of exception suggests that imperial power is projected through the abrogation of legal orders, the creation of new law and legal worlds often serves imperial ends as well. Conquest, violence, and force beyond the law are surely imperial gestures, but the imposition or creation of order beyond bodily compulsion is necessarily a part of any durable imperial project. If the indefinite detention of enemy combatants beyond the reach of any law save that by which the military chooses to bind itself is a disturbing figure of American imperialism, a much older one has had far greater effect. In his message to Congress in 1823, President Monroe asserted that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects

enemy combatants in war zones retain the right to petition for a writ of habeas corpus). Similarly, President Obama authorized the extrajudicial killing of American citizens, including children, far from any battlefield, justifying these strikes as necessary to prevent imminent threats and citing the impossibility of capturing their targets, thus blending in a startling fashion the "emergency-powers" deployment of military force with a criminal-law justification of doing so that is in fact beside the point *ex hypothesi*. Such actions raise the specter of "a pure violence without *logos* claim[ing] to realize an enunciation without any reference" (Agamben 2005: 40). A dissenting voice might respond that there was little novel about enemy combatant status by comparison with preexisting notions of illegal or unlawful combatancy under the Geneva Conventions (e.g., Detter 2007). (For a balanced overview, see Corn et al. 2012: 143–48).

48 Brown 2017: 55–83, esp. 57–59.

49 Enemy combatant status is only one case in point: the Geneva conventions cover soldiers and civilians; terrorism greatly exacerbates the preexisting yet repressed problem of irregular (hence potentially unlawful) combatants, disrupting the crystal clarity of international law's division of the world between two distinct conceptual spheres, military and civilian, belligerent and neutral, combatant and non-combatant, that goes back to the 1907 Hague convention and beyond (Schmitt 1990: 17–18). Yet actually to create a novel intermediate status in effect suspends the relevance of *jus in bello*. Even so, certainly, the military considers itself to be following laws of war, as extensively codified in military manuals. Thus, for example, under the Geneva conventions commanders are required to "do everything feasible to verify" that targets are military rather than civilian (Article 57 (2) (a) of the 1977 *Additional Protocol*). As applied by the United States, however, the standard becomes simply that the commander reasonably believed the target to be military (Bill 2009). Similarly, various branches of the government have sometimes claimed that 100% of the targets killed in drone strikes within a certain area over a certain time were militants (e.g., Scott Shane, "C.I.A. Is Disputed on Civilian Toll in Drone Strikes," *New York Times* (August 12, 2011)); partly this is because President Obama endorsed a record-keeping system according to which every adult male killed in a strike is presumed to have been a terrorist barring "explicit intelligence posthumously proving them innocent" (Jo Becker and Scott Shane, "Secret 'Kill List' Proves a Test Of Obama's Principles and Will," *New York Times* (May 29, 2012)). In effect, then, there is little serious constraint on the use of force against suspected enemy combatants, nor any legally meaningful threshold of evidence that must first be crossed.

50 For a technical discussion of military necessity and the suspension of the law of war, see Detter 2013: 429–33.

for future colonization by any European powers" and that "we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing [independent states in the Americas], or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."[51] This declaration, now known as the Monroe Doctrine, came to be decisive later in the 19th century and especially after the 1898 Spanish-American War, because it aggressively demarcated the entire Western hemisphere as a zone henceforth to be free of European "imposition."[52] The Doctrine had a long life and meant different things to different people over the years—from non-intervention to a principle of imperialism, from dollar diplomacy to CIA-sponsored coups, from Pan-Americanism to the Cuba embargo—but the consequences of its hemispheric thinking remained enormous even as the interpretation of its content changed.[53] In the early 20th century, as a consequence of the application of the Monroe Doctrine, there arose a serious debate as to whether there was a separate "American" international law. A Chilean jurist, Alejandro Alvarez, argued as much in many publications, including a 1910 treatise *Le droit international américain, son fondemont et sa nature* (Paris) to which the Brazilian Manoel Alvaro de Souza Sá Vianna replied in 1912 with *De la non-existence d'un droit international américain* (Rio de Janeiro).[54] The debate hinged in part on whether the Monroe Doctrine had any legal consequences or was merely a political declaration, but, as Alvarez elsewhere argues, its considerable consequences included quite significantly the fact that full international-legal recognition was shared by all independent states in the Americas, unlike in Europe.[55] Moreover, the Monroe Doctrine had enduring influence on international law, including on regional pacts within Europe that attempted to regulate war, and ultimately on the League of Nations.[56]

It is this dimension of the Monroe Doctrine's history that obsessed Carl Schmitt during his geopolitical turn culminating in *The* Nomos *of the Earth in the International Law of the* Jus Publicum Europaeum (written around the end of the second World War), and it did so for several reasons relevant to the present discussion. Schmitt's whole intellectual project leads, in a sense, to this book, which is ultimately a lamentation for the death of European global hegemony in the two World Wars and, more specifically, about the end of the juridical structure of the territorial division of the Earth according to the 18th- and 19th-century *jus publicum Europaeum*.[57]

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51 *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 18th Congress: 12–24, at 14 and 22–23.

52 See Alvarez 1924: 12–19 for a brief survey of the history of the Doctrine between 1823 and the end of the century. For a more thorough history, see Perkins 1933 and 1937; more recently, Sexton 2011.

53 "…the principles laid down by Monroe have been capable of an almost indefinite expansion" (Perkins 1937: 3).

54 Schmitt 2003: 229–30. By way of illustrating the scope of the debate, Alvarez wrote a number of books and articles devoted to the specifically American aspect of international law, including the 1909 *American Problems in International Law* (New York) and culminating in his 1924 *The Monroe Doctrine: Its Importance in the International Life of the States of the New World* (New York and Oxford).

55 Alvarez 1917: 143–44. On the irrelevance of the "legal" versus "political" status of the Doctrine, see also Schmitt 2011: 84–87.

56 Schmitt 2011: 81–83.

57 In German, the title is *Der Nomos der Erde im Völkerrecht des Jus Publicum Europaeum*, which is significant because, as the translator of a contemporary book (*Land und Meer*) has recently noted, Schmitt sometimes distinguishes between a more limited Völkerrecht as a translation of *jus gentium* and the emerging, universalist concept of international law as we now understand it (see Samuel Zeitlin's note at Schmitt 2015: ix), with

He argues, in brief, that "every new age and every new epoch in the coexistence of peoples, empires, and countries, of rulers and power formations of every sort, is founded on new spatial divisions, new enclosures, and new spatial orders of the earth."[58] The Doctrine was a bold step in developing a modern, postcolonial spatial order: not only was it "a fundamental rejection of recognition as conceived by the European powers," but it established "a Großraum in the sense of international law," an extension of "spatial sovereignty" far beyond the borders of the United States in a move characteristic of all "true empire[s]."[59]

The Großraum—"greater space"—was never an everyday notion of international law, but is, rather, Schmitt's innovatory attempt to understand and give conceptual form to the "spatial order of the earth" after the first World War.[60] It is worth quoting his definition at length: "A Großraum order belongs to the concept of empire [Reich], which must here be introduced into international law scholarship as a specifically international-legal greatness [Größe]. In this sense, empires [Reiche] are the preeminent great powers whose political ideas emanate throughout a certain Großraum and which fundamentally exclude the interventions of spatially alien powers in this Großraum."[61] It is easy to see how this idea arose from the Monroe Doctrine (establishing the first modern Großraum), but Schmitt is careful to emphasize (or to claim) that the spatial thinking rather than the content of the Doctrine itself is what informs the Großraum concept. In contrast to the state-centered international law developed by the Allies, and in keeping with his lifelong insistence on the concrete reality of juridical concepts, Schmitt speaks for Hitler's empire in suggesting that Großräume were to become the organizing blocks of the global political order. Certainly, from a normative perspective, Schmitt's writings from this period are among his most reprehensible. His wartime geopolitical concepts were meant to justify both German conquest—he wrote that "the Führer has lent the concept of our Reich political reality, historical truth, and a great future in international law"—and the elimination from the German Großraum of the Jews, a people Schmitt repeatedly describes as fundamentally rootless and landless, hence excluded from his telluric political ordering.[62] For him, both

disturbing if unsurprising consequences for his view of what "nations" and "peoples" count as fully human. Schmitt's works during the War, discussed here, are relevant for present purposes because they see him struggling to articulate a juridical and conceptual basis on which the German empire would take form as a new "ordering" (Ordnung) of the earth.

58 Schmitt 2003: 79. The German term Ulmen translates as "power formations" is Machtgebilden (Schmitt 1974: 48), which Schmitt uses vaguely to designate political structures that are neither states nor empires, such as religio-cultural systems (2003: 53, 1974: 23), but that might rise to that status precisely by entering into a "spatial order of the earth" as a land-appropriating power (2003: 126–130, 1974: 96–100). The detail is significant because it amounts to the claim that, as he explicitly laid out elsewhere, "the colony is the basic spatial fact of hitherto existing European international law" (Schmitt 2011: 114; see Kalyvas 2018). For Schmitt, that is, European colonial imperialism from the end of the 15th century onward is the decisive fact eventually constituting the European international order of sovereign states traditionally associated by political scientists with the 1648 Peace of Westphalia (Schmitt 2003: 86–100).

59 Schmitt 2003: 191, 281.

60 Schmitt 2011 (translating Schmitt 1991, a text first delivered as a lecture in 1939 and expanded variously before final publication in 1941); Schmitt 2003.

61 Schmitt 2011: 101, translation slightly modified (cf. Schmitt 1991: 49).

62 Schmitt 2011: 111, 121–22; Schmitt 2015. Again, there is a fundamental, conceptual difference between Schmitt and postwar ideas of international law: as he argued at the very end of his public career, whatever can be termed Völkerrecht had always been specifically European, not universal (Schmitt 1990: 14).

of these were natural consequences of the "concrete order" in central and eastern Europe in the middle of the century.

As an analytic concept in the theory of imperialism, however, there is a good deal to recommend Großräume. Schmitt's definition, quoted just above, has three determinative features. First, there is an intimate connection between a Großraum and the empire at its heart that defines it.[63] Every empire, by definition, has a Großraum outside its formal borders, over which it does not exercise direct control but possesses "spatial sovereignty." Second, the relationship between empire and neighboring polities includes shared political ideas that "emanate" outward. Third, spatially alien powers may not intervene in affairs internal to the Großraum. Together, these features sharply distinguish the Großraum from competing concepts such as empire, hegemony, or sphere of influence, by at once combining them and specifying their conceptual implications with greater clarity. Insofar as the American empire is or was actually a Schmittian Großraum, some of the characteristic objections to positing its existence melt away: the concrete, empirical validity of the Americas as a region substantially dominated by American (as opposed to European or colonial) political ideas, for example, can be treated as a simple fact rather than a feature of American imperial policy. And the fact that the United States possesses regional hegemony can be seen as imperial in effect, quite aside from the lack of imperial tribute yet without deploying debatable frameworks in which economic exploitation or cultural convergence are redescribed as amounting to imperialism.

Clearly these two visions of American imperialism—one a juridical, geopolitical, and historical legacy of colonialism, the other a borderless war conducted in the language of military necessity in place of law—deal with incongruent subject matter. Yet both perspectives on America's exercise of power abroad might be termed imperial, pointing up the way that this label has "many different, fiercely contested meanings … [that] may seem quite unmanageably wide and various," united mainly by "the idea that empire is a Bad Thing."[64] If the former views imperial violence at the level of discrete persons in a sea of violent anomie and the second evacuates those persons from a universe of pure, juridical concepts, still a third view on imperialism emerges from other historical works. In his anthropological study of Russian imperialism in the Caucasus, Bruce Grant quotes the historian Azamat Dzhendubaev:

> Not long ago I came across a brochure with a title like "Speeches Made at the Meetings of the Caucasus Society" [from the early 1800s] . . . where members of the Russian elite were making toasts at public events, to the Caucasus, about the Caucasus, and so forth. In the full flush of war, there are still words about Russia's humanitarian role, how Russia should become a source of light, culture, and enlightenment in the Caucasus. Then, when the resistance began to grow, the toasts take on military notes: "As the bones of our hundreds and thousands of soldiers turn white in the hills, we cannot leave the territory for which we have paid such a high price." A little further on one begins to see disagreement over how to settle occupied lands.

[63] Although Schmitt asserts that empire and Reich are distinct concepts, he does so mainly to free the latter from the negative connotations of the former (2011: 102), just as scholars of the Athenian empire have taken to calling it an ἀρχή.

[64] Quotations from Howe 2002: 9–11.

> Who should be invited: Balts? Germans? Slavs? Note how the debate is no longer about how to "civilize" the mountaineers, but how to settle on their land.[65]

The point is one familiar to students of historical empire. Conquerers perennially ideologize conquest as a means to spread the superior cultural and civilizational values of the imperial metropolis to the backward periphery—the salvific mission of the Achaemenids, the White Man's Burden, the French posture in Indochina, the extension of law, justice, and order from London, Rome, and Mandalay to highland Scotland, Cilicia, and Burma. As Bruce Lincoln puts it with characteristic elegance and precision, "all imperial powers find it easier to undertake projects of conquest when they are able to recode their aggression as benevolence and their victims as their beneficiaries."[66] In his book, Grant unspools a subtle discussion of the interplay between figures of giving and taking in the metaphysics of imperialism, but the case is also a productive entrée to the general issues of empire with which this chapter deals. A similar figuration of the Athenian empire as a form of giving is often expressed in fourth-century retrospection. Demosthenes, for example:

> . . . ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματ' ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι . . . (*De cor.* 66)
>
> . . . [being aware that] our fatherland unceasingly strove for first place, for honor, for reputation, and that it expended more money and more bodies out of ambition and for the benefit of all, than any of the other Greek cities expended on their own behalf . . .[67]

Or Isocrates:

> . . . ἀξιοῦσι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι γέρας ἢ τοὺς πρώτους τυχόντας ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἢ τοὺς πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὄντας, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τούτους εἶναι μεθ' ἡμῶν . . . (*Paneg.* 22)
>
> . . . [if there are those who] think it worthy that hegemony, just like any other prerogative, ought to be held either by those who first obtained the honor or by those who are responsible for the most benefits to the Greeks, I believe that these too are on our side . . .

Here, by asserting that the Athenians are οἱ πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, Isocrates is essentially formulating a more abstract version of the bluntly literal vision of generosity Demosthenes expounds: the benefits for the Greeks were purchased with Athenian blood and gold. To repeat, this is a characteristic feature of imperial rhetoric, whether directed inward or outward. In an inscription in Susa, for example, Darius declares, "a wall had fallen down as a result of its old age. Formerly it was unrepaired. I made another wall (that will endure) from that time into

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65 Grant 2009: 47–48, qouting and translating from Dzhendubaev's remarks made at a conference roundtable published as "Perevernutyi mir beskonechnoi voiny," *Rodina* 3.4 (1994), 17—23, at 19.

66 Lincoln 2007: 32.

67 All unattributed translations are my own.

the future."[68] The idea that repairing a wall legitimizes imperial rule as much as the high-flown rhetoric of conquest and lordship over the four quarters of the earth may seem far-fetched, but assertions at both levels of grandiosity partake equally of the economy of imperial ideology. Expressing the closely related idea of cultural superiority, one further Isocrates passage rounds out the fourth-century picture corresponding to Dzhendubaev's capsule summary of nineteenth-century Russian responses:

> . . . τίς οὐ μνημονεύει τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, τὴν μὲν δημοκρατίαν οὕτω κοσμήσασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις, ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους νομίζειν αὐτὴν ἀξίαν εἶναι μὴ μόνον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων . . . (*Areop.* 66)
>
> . . . and who of my age does not remember that the democracy so adorned the city with sanctuaries and civic buildings that even still today visitors think her worthy to rule not only over the Greeks but also the rest of the world . . .

These three brief citations of Demosthenes and Isocrates scarcely begin to convey an adequate picture of either author's views on the Athenian empire. The complexity of Isocrates' views in particular is substantial.[69] Nevertheless, these passages suffice to suggest that—for fourth-century *post hoc* theorizations of the fifth-century empire—"in the physics of exchange, the metaphysics of reputation, sovereignty, and the grandeur of the soul coincided."[70]

Finally, Isocrates has this to say about the Athenians in the years after the Persian Wars:

> . . . οἱ γενόμενοι μετ' ἐκείνους οὐκ ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ τυραννεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν, ἃ δοκεῖ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν, πλεῖστον δ' ἀλλήλων κεχώρισται: τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχόντων ἔργον ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ταῖς αὑτῶν ἐπιμελείαις ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονεστέρους, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις ἔθος καθέστηκε τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων πόνοις καὶ κακοῖς αὑτοῖς ἡδονὰς παρασκευάζειν. (*De pace* 90)
>
> . . . those who came afterward wanted not to rule an empire, but to be tyrants, words which seem to have the same force, but are in fact far distant from one another; for it is the duty of rulers to bring it about through their own cares that those over whom they rule become more fortunate, while tyrants are accustomed to prepare pleasures for themselves out of the toils and misfortunes of others.

In this passage, as throughout *On the Peace*, Isocrates is critical—shockingly so—of the historical conduct of fifth-century Athenians.[71] Indeed, he seems to deny the empire the status of *arche*, considering it a tyranny instead.[72] This line of analysis carries us towards the Melian dialogue, the motif of the "tyrant city," and other topics that have been extensively discussed in

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[68] Khatchadourian 2016: 10, quoting from Lincoln 2012. On Old Persian imperial inscriptions, also see Kent 1953, Herrenschmidt 1976, and Lincoln 2007 (with much further bibliography).

[69] See Bouchet 2014, especially 31–108, a lengthy discussion of ἀρχή, δύναμις, ἡγεμονία, "a sort of trio" (p. 46) in the whole corpus of Isocrates' works, from which I have learned much. (I also thank Ashleigh Fata for discussing Isocrates with me.)

[70] Grant 2009: 54.

[71] Davidson 1990.

[72] See, however, Bouchet 2014 for a more wide-ranging treatment of Isocrates' views on the empire than *On the Peace* alone offers; Isocrates is by no means negative in his overall evaluation of the *arche*.

the literature.[73] What I focus on instead is the more narrow point that Isocrates here, in effect, denies the label *arche* to the fifth-century Athenian empire—and not just to Kleon's era, but with effect far earlier as well.

Many historians of the Athenian empire have, by contrast, recently eschewed the term "empire" in preferring *arche*, even as their analyses tend to ascribe greater intensity of exploitation and control to the Athenian project early in the fifth century.[74] The epigraphical explosion put an end to the 19th-century's "eternal pussyfooting between a liberal and an authoritarian model" of the empire and discouraged assimiliationist visions of metropolitan culture spreading throughout the Aegean.[75] One reason is that the inscriptions seem to show a more controlling empire than that preferred by some early-modern readers of Thucydides, though the opposite case has also more recently been made.[76] And the results are continuous with the view of Isocrates in *On the Peace*: an underlying conviction that empires are bad.[77] As Emily Greenwood points out, many "readers of Thucydides in the twenty-first century . . . harbor strong postcolonial and anti-imperial sympathies."[78] Where earlier generations of historians generally gave the Athenian empire a positive valuation, those days are beginning to come to an end.[79] Even those who are not strident postcolonialists may in recent decades have felt an increasing tension between the traditional positive valuation of the Athenian empire and the ideological and discursive currents emerging from the end of the era of colonial imperialism. The term *arche* provides a convenient euphemism for discussing an entity that some scholars may prefer to bracket off from that conceptual sphere.

2. Orthodoxies and Revisionisms

It may be helpful here to review some of the trends in what I think can fairly be called the main theory or account of the Athenian-led alliance, before returning to the question of the ἀρχή and whether it was an empire. Here lies a difficulty, because at first sight it can seem that few modern historians have seriously considered what the empire was in theoretical, comparative, or synthetic terms. Meiggs's *The Athenian Empire* is an ambitious and highly successful work of magisterial sweep and erudition, and it discusses every obvious facet of Athenian imperialism in one way or another, but rarely pauses to consider what the empire actually was. In this, it stands as a *summa* of the dominant Anglo-American school of research on the empire in the 20th century, which took as its task the reconstruction of the Athenian Tribute Lists and other imperial inscriptions and drawing from them their implications for narrative history. And for all that Harold Mattingly is the most vocal scholar to dissent from that orthodox narrative, presenting an ostensibly very different vision of the Athenian empire, his own analysis—to quote a caustic comment made by Thomas Figueira—"hardly transcends permutations on one

[73] See recently, for example, Spahn 2016: 74–76.
[74] On the latter point, I have in mind particularly Pébarthe 2011 and Kallet 2013.
[75] Pébarthe 2011: 64–65.
[76] Low 2005.
[77] See above, n. 64.
[78] Greenwood 2017: 165.
[79] Liddel 2009 and especially Kallet 2009 discuss this theme in the scholarship, with many references.

banality, that Kleon was really one bad guy."[80] There is some truth to this criticism, but it might be more accurate to observe that Meiggs and Mattingly, for all their differences, both subscribe to the same evolutionary model of the empire; Mattingly simply places much of the evolution later in the century.[81]

Their theory of the Athenian empire is not so much absent as intrinsically diachronic: it emerges from their narratives. In *The Athenian Empire*, Meiggs treats the empire not as an attempt to form a unified state (like the Roman empire) but as a bundled collection of bilateral relationships between Athens and the cities, a wheel along whose spokes tribute flowed to the center and instructions flowed outward.[82] The wheel was held together by the glue of the Athenian fleet, bounding the outward circumference of her power. And the spokes were formed by, first, ideological mechanisms (law and support for democracies) and, second, Athenian officials stationed in the cities (episkopoi, archontes, and garrisons). In his recent discussion of the historiography of the empire, Christophe Pébarthe has usefully summarized the more emic aspects of this theory. He writes: "It is necessary as a first step to agree on a definition of the *archè*, that is to pose the problem in Athenian terms, before considering any use of the concepts of empire and imperialism … Above all, *archè* entails the imposition of an authority over the allied cities, limiting or even destroying their *autonomia*, that is to say a domination exceeding the obligations contained in the constitutive treaty of the Delian League. Two elements … lead one to suppose that the Athenians were willing from the beginning to exercise full authority over the other cities. Just after the battle of Salamis, according to Herodotus and Plutarch, Themistocles extorted the islands. Herodotus asserts that the Athenian general was attempting to enrich himself. Perhaps, but would he not have argued that he was extracting the payment of an indemnity for the costs of the war waged by Athens? … The second element is brought into evidence by Thucydides. Recounting the early years of the Delian League, he emphasizes the defection and submission of Naxos, 'the first allied city to be enslaved contrary to the rules.' The Athenians made it impossible to leave the alliance without their agreement. They respected, then, neither the *eleutheria* nor the *autonomia* of the cities that had been guaranteed by the text of the treaty. In so doing, Athens expressed an authoritatian concept of their hegemony."[83]

For these accounts, the tribute and fleet were present from the beginning of the league and are therefore legitimate, while the other instruments of rule came swiftly to encroach on the αὐτονομία of the allies, a process that tipped the balance toward full-blown imperialism once the treasury had been relocated and Athens began imposing internal political orders on the allies.[84] At the end of the day, the orthodoxy's empire comprised officials, tribute, and military

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[80] Figueira 2001.

[81] This is not a small adjustment in certain respects, as Pébarthe argues (2011), but its difference from the orthodox view is one of narrative rather than vision.

[82] This vision emerges most clearly in Ch. 11, "The Instruments of Empire," and 12, "Imperial Jurisdiction" (Meiggs 1972: 205–33). Along with the next four (on tribute, trade, and religion), these chapters may look like a synthetic discussion of the empire as such before turning to a narrative of the Peloponnesian war, but they in fact remain primarily narrative.

[83] Pébarthe 2011: 74.

[84] "In the fully developed imperial system there were … serious encroachments … on the authority of the cities" (Meiggs 1972: 224).

force. It was a straightforward system of command and control that became an empire once a certain threshold intensity of control had been reached. And underlying Meiggs' vision is that the empire, finally, was acceptable because it supported democratic governments in the cities, bringing it to pass that "the many were not surpressed by the few."[85]

Four more recent, partly revisionist views should be discussed. Without really dissenting from this political ἀρχή, Pébarthe himself and, in a series of pathbreaking publications, Lisa Kallet have modified the orthodoxy substantially by drawing much greater attention to the economic dimensions of the empire, as has Thomas Figueira.[86] These three authors, though they—to be sure—disagree on many issues, offer complementary visions of the economic side of the Athenian empire from different perspectives. Pébarthe, drawing heavily on more technical aspects of economic history, attends to some sources of imperial revenue beyond the tribute: the mines of Thrace and commercial activity in the Aegean, increasingly centralized through the Piraeus or indirectly taxed by Athens in *emporia* elsewhere.[87] Figueira, meanwhile, has made a capacious, yet narrow, argument about economic integration in the Aegean world over the fifth century.[88] Against widespread interpretations of the Athenian coinage decree as "the measure which imposed Athenian currency on the Empire," to quote one typical formulation, with a sharp curtailment in coinage minted by allied cities as a result, Figueira suggests that it did not attempt to stop allied minting, that the diminution in minting was gradual and driven by endogenous economic factors, and that the economy of the Aegean until at least the final decade of the fifth century was characterized by increasing economic and monetary consolidation or integration.[89] The wider conceptual implications of this view for the empire are harder to pin down, although Figueira concedes that local minting could be a reservoir of local patriotism, suggesting a possible affective dimension to the cessation of minting that is otherwise denied by his analysis.[90]

In a more synthetic way, though cast as a study of Thucydides, Kallet has drawn attention to the economic backbone of the *arche* in its financial resources: naval force is a machine for turning silver into power. Without extensively drawing on the theory of imperialism or comparing the Athenian to other imperial formations, Kallet's vision is nevertheless clearly informed by the desire to draw attention to (Thucydides' prescient awareness of) that aspect of early modern and modern imperialism that involves the economic exploitation of colonized territories and the reciprocal relationship between military imperialism and such exploitation. She argues that "the imposition of tribute upon some of the allies was the fundamental basis on which the Athenians built the phenomenon of the *arche*," for it was the financial resources of the Athenian

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85 Meiggs 1972: 412.

86 Kallet-Marx 1993; Kallet 2001 and 2013; Figueira 1998 and 2003; Pébarthe 1999, 2000, and 2008. Picard 2000 should also be mentioned in this context: in this book, somewhat of a cross between a monograph and a textbook for the general reader, Picard implicitly questions the relevance of 404 BC in historical periodization (a move picked up on by Bonnin 2015), while also emphasizing the fiscal side of war as the main enterprise of the empire.

87 Pébarthe 1999, 2000.

88 Figueira 1998, 2003.

89 Quotation from Mattingly 1961: 148. On the diminution of allied minting, see now Kroll 2009.

90 Figueira 1998: 474.

state that enabled its naval hegemony over the Aegean.[91] Indeed, Kallet routinely refers to the Athenian empire as a "naval *arche*," and *arche* is glossed at least once as "naval supremacy."[92] By 2013, that particular phrase no longer appears, but the analytic vision is clearer than ever: tribute "paid for the navy, which became increasingly Athenian, and was used for overwhelmingly Athenian economic ends . . . we should regard the development of the *arche* not in terms of a change of collective attitude or aim but of the accretion of power necessary to secure economic goals."[93] That is, from the very beginning with the attack on Eion, Athenian imperial goals were continuous with their long-term economic ambitions.[94]

For these three historians, the Athenian empire is not just about taxation, military activities, and the creation of imperial jurisdiction over the allies, but also about economic exploitation, fiscal knowledge, and the consolidation of trade—about how " 'the power that rules the sea' . . . was simply a direction, or impetus, given to the previously less formed, less patterned, ecological interaction of several hundred settlements, several thousand microregions."[95]

Rather different is Ian Morris's thoroughgoing departure from the traditional accounts of the empire.[96] Indeed, he argues quite explicitly that the Athenian empire does not count as one at all. While Figueira, Kallet, Mattingly, Meiggs, Picard, and others, in their different ways, see the *arche* as a kind of empire, Morris argues that it cannot qualify to be an "empire" at all in cross-cultural terms. He objects that the *arche* did not last long enough to qualify as an empire (less than 75 years, compared to centuries for the Persian and Roman empires, for example), did not encompass a sufficiently heterogeneous population (with, he says, most members being Ionian Greeks), and quite simply was too small in terms of area, population, and revenue to compare with other empires in world history. Athenian imperialism was instead, he suggests, a different kind of state formation: an aborted trajectory toward a "Greater Athenian State" or even an Ionian state. Although Morris's argument is rich and makes a significant contribution to the study of the empire, I cannot agree with his basic thesis. There is no reason to get too far into the weeds, but to each of his objections there is a simple countervailing point. Even if a majority of those living in the ἀρχή were Ionians—and, although certainly it was significant, we will see in the following chapter that the Ionian element of the Delian League has been overplayed in the literature—large tracts of its populations were not, and some were not even Greek at all. These are not simply marginal or anomalous cases: a significant result of recent study of

91 Kallet-Marx 1993: 67–69.

92 Kallet-Marx 1993: 15 and, for the phrase "naval *arche*," 10–15 and *passim*, and 2001: 3, 199, and *passim*. In this second book, however, Kallet mounts an argument—with which I cannot really engage here—that the empire became even more focused on its economic structures than on its political dimension during the latter part of the Peloponnesian war (see esp. 205–15). As a result of this shift, she lays somewhat less emphasis on the concept of naval *arche*. Thucydides himself uses the phrase once: ἐν ἀρχῇ ναυτικῇ (8.96.5; cf. 2.65.7: τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντας καὶ ἀρχήν).

93 Kallet 2013: 56–57.

94 Cf. Davies 2013. Picard had suggested that the four major military actions of the early Delian League, on Thucydides' telling, programmatically correspond to securing the Aegean as an economic sphere of influence for Athens: with Eion, the Persians are expelled from Thrace; with Skyros, pirates are eliminated; and with Karystos and Naxos, the maritime cities of the Aegean are put on notice that they will have to participate in the novel Athenian polity (2000: 46).

95 Horden and Purcell 2000: 121.

96 Morris 2009.

imperialisms is that empires very often work precisely by establishing ambiguous conceptual zones and "administrative categories of people and territories to which no one was sure who or what should belong."[97] Moreover, while obviously Greeks in the fifth century possessed a shared ethnic identity as Greek, as well as shared identities as Ionians, Dorians, and so on, there is no reason therefore to assume that they were more amenable to political unification along those lines. Supposed cultural homogeneity ascribed from outside and appearing as a legitimating device for imperial conquest is, as ever, a nationalist fiction. Morris's other arguments find their validity in the comparative context of the volume to which he was contributing: the Athenian empire, as a small and relatively short-lived political formation, is manifestly very different from the Persian, Roman, or Chinese empires.[98] But neither its relatively limited spatial extent nor its duration of a mere three-quarters of a century can be said to exclude the Athenian case from the set of empires, however interesting those features may be in certain comparative or *histoire problème* perspectives.

3. Ἀρχή?

> "…terminology is the properly poetic moment of thought." (Agamben 2005: 4)
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> "In the polemic microscope, an atom is enlarged to a monster, and each party was skilful to exaggerate the absurd or impious conclusions that might be extorted from the principles of their adversaries." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* Ch. XLVII.5)

Morris's different conceived view aside, all contemporary historians of the Athenian empire agree that it became an empire, while dividing on whether it became fully imperial from 478, 454, 449, 431, or 425 (for example). They are more unanimous, however, in that over the past few decades historians have come to prefer, particularly those writing in French and English, the Greek term ἀρχή as a designation for the Athenian empire. As the two epigraphs to this section are meant to suggest, the choice of terminology is certainly highly significant, but I would like to avoid dogmatic and unproductive debates that might distract from increasing our understanding. My concern is not to persuade others to call or not to call the empire an ἀρχή, empire, league, alliance, ligue, Seebund, Reich, or anything else. The right term is not a magical talisman exuding an aura of analytic accuracy, and using a label performs little interpretive labor; in this dissertation I use several more or less interchangeably. What I want to insist on, however, is that the terminology can and does open a significantly illuminating window onto underlying political conceptions. There must be an explanation, beyond the growth of post-colonial sensibilities adduced above, for the considerable consensus in favor of rejecting the label "empire" in more specialist literature—even as the major English-language synthesis, not to mention our textbooks, refer to the "Athenian empire."

The main reason offered for the choice is that *empire* is anachronistic, and possibly impossible

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97 Stoler 2006: 52; ". . . ill-defined or shifting spaces—places of partial, compromised, or vulnerable sovereignty; people with vague or unstable legal rights—are not a recent innovation, nor a derogation from some neater classical territorial form of empire with inhabitants sharply divided into rulers and ruled" (Pitts 2010: 225).

98 Morris and Scheidel 2009.

to define in any case, and therefore ought to be avoided. Imperialism and empire, like colonialism (and colony), are certainly among the most contested terms in the social sciences, as the extensive meditations above began to illustrate. Yet the features highlighted above would have to appear in any attempt to ostensively define the term *empire*. In particular the historical examples highlight how empires are normally understood to involve two or more ethnicities (in the definition of which race, language, and religion typically feature prominently) structured in a way that is, becomes, or can be understood as colonial. Colonialism, in turn, implies a violently reciprocal relationship in which the colonizers give their persons and culture to the colonized in exchange for the taking of wealth and land. Imperialism is not always thought to involve colonialism, however, and colonialism need not entail any formal relations of empire. An additional layer of complexity is introduced by the distinction sometimes posited between "being" and "having" an empire. For example, Roman historians often state that, before Augustus, Rome possessed an empire but was not itself an empire, if only because it did not have an emperor. If monarchical form is considered essential to "being" an empire, then of course the Athenian-led polity of the fifth century does not qualify. Nor would the American empire, and the great early modern seaborne empires would be tendentious cases as well—for the title "Empress of India" long postdated the British acquisition of empire. Clearly this definition does not merit much. As with so many other terms in the human and social sciences, no especially precise yet universally acceptable definition of *empire* is possible. It is ultimately these implications and terminological debates that lend the word *empire* its "slippery," "loaded" connotations.[99] While a high degree of lexical ambiguity could perhaps provide a good reason situationally to avoid a term, the word ἀρχή would have to be analyzed and defended as a replacement, a task scarcely undertaken as yet.

If some authors suggest that *empire* is referentially unstable, others offer a more historicizing justification for ἀρχή. Picard explains that he uses *archè* instead of empire, "which it is better to reserve for the possessions of the Great King, since the originality of this structure [i.e., the Athenian empire] means that the modern lexicon does not furnish an appropriate term and that we lack examples against which to compare it (except perhaps for Venetian power)."[100] Here, Picard layers upon the general objection that 'empire' is terminologically deficient the additional claim that there are no historical comparanda sufficiently similar to the Athenian case as to independently supply appropriate vocabulary. Although this is clearly correct in one sense—the Athenian empire is historically unusual—the idea that it falls outside the semantic domain of the word *empire* seems to me implausible.

The real issue here, however, is the term ἀρχή. Many historians are disaffected with 'empire'; but what do they intend by replacing it with ἀρχή, *arche*, or archè? The use of indigenous terminology can have its own appeal, but only when it is deployed under some description or shared account of what it accomplishes intellectually. Yet there has been little engagement with the word ἀρχή itself: it is simply taken as a more authentic designation for the phenomenon. In a recent publication, Peter Spahn has begun to remedy this deficiency by conducting a study of the word ἀρχή in Herodotus and (more comprehensively) Thucydides. His basic conclusion is

[99] Kallet-Marx 1993: 6, Figueira 1998: 2.
[100] Picard 2000: 10.

that ἀρχή was a highly slippery and vague term: "its meaning cannot be pinpointed."[101] In the word's political sense, its "most basic meaning alludes … to *the first*, *the front position*, neither in a temporal nor in a spatial sense, but denoting power and authority… [it] was never clearly defined in a legal sense… its meaning spanned instead from the regular annual office in the polis to the dominance of a tyrant."[102] More positively, he describes Thucydidean usage of ἀρχή as "not conceived of as an abstract or structural entity, but thought of as in connection with persons."[103]

When I began this project, I expected to conduct a thorough semantic analysis of ἀρχή in Greek prose before the fourth century. Beginning with Thucydides (before discovering Spahn's publication) I used a TLG lemma search to catalogue his 131 uses of the noun ἀρχή (not 114 as per Spahn) and took note of three additional places where it is clearly to be supplied.[104] This exercise convinced me, as Spahn concluded, that the word is highly indeterminate, and my anticipation of being able interestingly to connect its political sense (as command, empire, dominion) with its philosophical sense (as beginning, origin, first principle) was disappointed. Morever, the wide semantic range in Thucydides and—as I more impressionistically determined—other authors discouraged completing the analysis since it seemed unlikely to yield any further results of significance. Yet given his centrality to the history of the Athenian empire, the results of closely reading Thucydides' use of this word are very much worth considering. One of this dissertation's most basic convictions is that there is a difference between the history of the Athenian empire and the text of Thucydides' history, but he remains inescapable. And in practice, when scholars use the term ἀρχή instead of empire, it is in the wake of Thucydides. But, as will quickly become clear, Thucydides does not use ἀρχή to express a well-formed theory of what it was. Indeed, a few brief passages aside—1.96-97, for example—it is his text's lead that provided the blueprint for the moderns in treating the ἀρχή as a self-evident fact rather than a tenuous, virtual entity.

With some room for disagreement in a few marginal cases, I classified 100 of Thucydides' 131 (+ 3) uses of a form of ἀρχή within the broad semantic range "command/empire/realm." Most of the remaining uses refer to individual or boards of magistrates, political offices in general, or, less frequently, the "beginning" of something. Although my hope was to discover a hitherto unnoticed feature of Thucydidean usage, it turns out to be difficult to improve on existing dictionary treatments of the noun. In particular, ἀρχή is found governed by dozens of different verbs or prepositional constructions, so any attempt to classify its appearances with a high degree of specificity would soon founder on the extreme diversity of co-occuring words, breadth of meaning, and resultant lack of stable patterns of use. I accordingly followed the principle punningly dubbed "Occam's eraser" by Paul Ziff, the philosopher of language: "there is no point in multiplying dictionary entries beyond necessity."[105] A preliminary, rough classification for the lexical meaning of ἀρχή in Thucydides revealed some interesting features of his usage. First, he rarely uses a plural form of the noun, and when he does it never refers to the com-

[101] Spahn 2016: 70.
[102] Spahn 2016: 59–60.
[103] Spahn 2016: 66.
[104] Spahn 2016. No doubt, further *loci* where a form of ἀρχή is to be understood have eluded me.
[105] Ziff 1960: 44, 190.

mand/dominion/realm sense of ἀρχή, but either to magistrates or (in phrases such as κατ' ἀρχάς) to temporality. In the singular, there is little trouble telling whether it means military command, realm, etc., but there is a good deal of overlap in its collocations and grammatical structures. It is most commonly the object of the verbs ἔχω, κτάομαι, μετέχω, παραλύω, παραλαμβάνω, and ἐφίημι, or constructed with ἐν, εἰς, or κοινωνός. This pattern suggests that it could be thought of as a metaphorically physical possession; a space; or an almost processual abstraction. A rather fuller discussion of the word, however, is both possible and, I think, illuminating.

(i) Temporal:

In this usage, ἀρχή means 'beginning'. It appears in a number of different forms: simply ἡ ἀρχὴ (e.g., τοῦ πολέμου, 1.118.2, 5.20.1) or τὴν ἀρχήν as a temporal accusative of respect (2.74.2); or governed by prepositions, such as ἐπί τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς (1.93.3) or ἐν ἀρχῇ (1.35.5).

(ii) Governmental and Military:

Although in the plural, ἀρχή always means "offices," "magistrates," or the like, trouble in sorting out the word's senses begins to occur here because in the singular, there is little distinction at the level of grammatical construction or lexical context between "military command" (as of a body of troops), "office" (as in the polis), or even "rule" (as of a monarch, tyrant, or empire). In the plural, however, matters are straightforward: πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς (1.90.5), ἐν ἀρχαῖς (8.89.2) or ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς (6.54.6), ἐς τὰς ἀρχάς (5.28.1), δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς (8.54.4).

In the singular, a particular office can "be set down," as in the famous Ἑλληνοταμίαι ... κατέστη ἀρχή (1.96.2). One can enter ἐς τήν ἀρχήν (καθιστάμενοι ἐς, 8.70.1), but can also become μεταπεμφθεὶς ἀπό or ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς (1.128.3, 6.74.1), which happen to relate to military command but lexically could just as easily be a civic office; likewise with παραλύω τῆς ἀρχῆς (Φρύνιχον...παρέλυσεν ὁ δῆμος τῆς ἀρχῆς, 8.54.3; τὸν...Νικίαν οὐ παρέλυσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς, 7.16.1). So ἀρχή as military command and magistracy are closely related. Just as one can be "recalled" or "released" from it, one can receive it (παραλαμβάνω τὴν ἀρχήν, 3.109.1, 6.96.3, 8.85.1) or be sent to it (ἀπέστελλον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, 8.64.2), hold it (ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν, 3.115.6, 6.103.4, 8.46.1), or hand it over (τῷ Νικίᾳ παραδίδοναι τὴν ἀρχήν, 4.28.4; εἰ δὲ τῳ ἄλλως δοκεῖ, παρίημι αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν, 6.23.3).

(iii) Territorial:

In a number of cases, ἀρχή has a definite territorial valence. This is clear when it is governed by ἐν in conjunction with spatial entities: λιμένων ... ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ (1.67.4, 1.139.2); when it appears as a restrictive genitive with them: πόλεις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς (8.6.1, 8.48.4, 8.99.1) or Δῖον τῆς Περδίκκου ἀρχῆς (4.78.6); when it is in apposition to a geographical area or a whole string of toponyms: πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς, ἔπειτα διὰ Κερκίνης ἐρήμου ὄρους (2.98.1) and Ἑλλήσποντός τε ... καὶ Ἰωνία καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ τὰ μέχρι Εὐβοίας καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα (8.96.5); when it is ascribed spatial characteristics: ἔσχατοι τῆς ἀρχῆς (2.96.3), ἡ ἀρχή ἡ Ὀδρυσῶν μέγεθος ... (2.97.1); or when it is governed by an explicity territorial verb: ὡρίζετο ἡ ἀρχή (2.96.3). Perhaps the most significant, however, are cases where the historian's referential specificity clearly indicates a geographical conception and mental map: ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἄρνισαν πρῶτον τῆς Περδίκκου ἀρχῆς (4.128.4; cf. 4.78.6) or ἐσέβαλε ... ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου πρότερον οὖσαν ἀρχήν (2.100.3). Brasidas arrived "at Arnisa first of Perdikkas' kingdom" or, as we might more idiomatically put it, "at Arnisa on the edge

of Perdikkas' kingdom"; the second passage indicates a sense that an ἀρχή will have different shapes and sizes at different times.[106]

(iv) Imperial:

The preceding examples should be translated "kingdom" or "empire." Many other instances of ἀρχή, however, have the same translation but are non-territorial, or are even highly abstract, in their valence. Indeed, this category is the largest and most "slippery." It ranges from ἀρχή as a concrete, if non-territorial, entity, through ἀρχή as a solely metaphorically concrete entity, to ἀρχή as a process or even a temporal construct. Compare, for example, λιμένων ... ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ (1.67.4, 1.139.2) and τῆς ... Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἀπηλλάγημεν (6.82.3): the former is territorial in meaning, while the latter, as the collocation with ἡγεμονία makes clear, is not, yet both use the same word to refer to structurally equivalent interstate hierarchies.

Closest to the territorial senses are those uses where ἀρχή co-occurs with a physical place: Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν early in the Archaeology (1.9.2), setting it up as a programmatic term for the analysis of power throughout the rest of the *History*. In the Second Preface, Thucydides also conjoins the ἀρχή with a concrete entity: μέχρι οὗ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέλαβον (5.26.1). Here, the repeated κατα- compound emphatically punctuates and ties together the two clauses, interweaving the "stopping" of the empire and the "demolition" of the long walls. Some few other cases, such as τήν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιοτέραν καὶ μείζω ἕξουσι (5.69.1), arguably connote a spatial dimension ("greater"), but from here, the use of ἀρχή becomes ever more abstract or metaphorical.

In figuring it as a feature of Athenian ancestral patrimony, Pericles and other speakers routinely use verbs that connote possession or inheritance: ἀρχή shows up governed by δίδωμι, δέχομαι, and ἀναιρέω (in the same phrase: ἀρχὴν διδομένην ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνεῖμεν, 1.76.2), ἔχω (1.77.2, 2.65.11, 3.115.6, 6.83.4, 6.85.1), or δέχομαι, ἔχω, and κτάομαι (again in the same phrase at 2.36.3). Κτάομαι (1.144.1, 6.17.7, 6.18.2, 7.66.2) and ἔχω are among the more common verbs with ἀρχή. Indeed, a major feature of Thucydides' usage is that ἀρχή in the sense of kingdom or empire is normally found with a possessive expression, whether a dative of possession, a genitive name or pronoun, a verb such as ἔχω, or a possessive adjective: ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῖς ... ξυνέμεινεν (8.73.5); τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀρχῆς (6.90.2) or χαλεπωτέρα γὰρ ἂν τῆς ἀλλοφύλου ἀρχῆς (4.86.5); τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρχήν (3.39.2), etc. In this last case, the full phrase is μὴ δυνατοὶ φέρειν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρχήν–φέρω of course meaning endure or bear in a metaphorical sense, but more frequently taking as its object a concrete object.

Just as the empire can be "carried," it yields that which is carried: the notion of "bearing your empire," of course, puns on the φόρος at its heart. But this connection turns up as well, explicitly in a phrase such as τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς φόρους (8.5.5, referring to Tissaphernes' province) or less so in a more complicated construction, οἱ προσσχόντες αὐτοῖς χρημάτων τε προσοδῳ καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχῇ (1.15.1, "by cultivating fiscal revenues and rule over others," mutually constitutive aspects of imperial formation). Slightly more distantly, an ἀρχή can produce or possess not only revenue but also δύναμις: ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν (1.35.4), δύναμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν (1.77.3),

[106] Brasidas and his forces were retreating from Lynkos, beyond Eordaia in far western Macedonia; Arnisa is probably located near the southern tip of Lake Vegoritida to the west of Edessa and Naousa (*Inventory* p. 796).

κτήσασθαι δύναμιν ... καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς συγκατασκεύαζεν (1.93.4).

This last phrase moves us into yet more abstract domains. The verb συγκατασκευάζω in other authors takes mainly abstract objects, such as τὸν ἀνθρώπινον or τὸ ἐπιτήδειον (*LSJ*, s.v.). Like those, ἀρχή can be cultivated into a better condition, Λακεδαιμονίους νικήσαντες τήν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιοτέραν καὶ μείζω ἔξουσι (5.69.1), or ambitiously sought, ἐφιέμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς (1.128.4)—bringing us back, incidentally, toward the equally abstract concept of "office" and its syntactic similarity to "rule." But not only can ἀρχή be possessed, improved, enlarged, and so on—it can also be shared: τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας ... πολὺ πλέον μετείχετε (7.63.3), κοινωνοὶ μόνοι ἐλευθέρως ἡμῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντες (7.63.4), τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶναι κοινωνοὺς αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς (8.46.3—Tissaphernes again). And it is something in or under which one suffers, as is not only frequently implied but expressly stated: ὑπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μήδου δεινότερα τούτων πάσχοντες ἠνείχοντο, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι (1.77.5).

Finally, as this last set of senses begins to suggest, ἀρχή can be a sort of process, an action or activity—not so much empire as "ruling," a temporally extended phenomenon, bounded in time as a kingdom is bounded in space. One such use was already quoted: μέχρι οὗ τήν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι (5.26.1). Others are τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ἣν καὶ παυθῇ... (5.91.1) and ὑμεῖς τε μὴ παυθῆναι ἀρχῆς (5.100.1). These examples should be compared to other uses of the verb (all cited by the *LSJ*), such as Zeus to Hera: σὸς δόλος...Ἕκτορα δῖον ἔπαυσε μάχης (*Il.* 15.14–15); or Athena's creation of a phantasm of Iphthime: πέμπε δέ μιν ... Πηνελόπειαν ... παύσειε κλαυθμοῖο γόοιό τε δακρυόεντος (*Od.* 4.799–801); or χρὴ Κῦρον ... Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης (Hdt. 1.123.2). Indeed, there are Herodotean resonances in the Thucydidean examples—from the Second Preface and the Melian dialogue—concerned with the necessarily finite duration of even the firmest imperial power.

(v) Slavery

Perhaps the most insight can be gained into Thucydidean ἀρχή, however, by considering those substantives with which it is collocated, whether by apposition or antithesis. Several have been quoted already, particularly in (iii) above. Thucydides has ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡγεμονία (6.82.3), ἀρχή and toponyms, and (although not in apposition) ἀρχή and δύναμις or πρόσοδος. Far more pervasive is ἀρχή and τυραννίς or δουλεία, or ἀρχὴ ἀντ᾽ ἐλευθερίας. This last syntagm is particularly common. It might be a Persian ἀρχή: ἀντ᾽ ἐλευθερίας ἂν Μηδικὴν ἀρχήν... περιθείναι (8.43.3), or not, τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν ... ἀντ᾽ ἐλευθερίας (6.20.2); ἐλευθερίας ἢ ... ἀρχῆς (3.45.6). Just as ἀρχή is the opposite of freedom, it coincides with slavery and tyranny: ἀνδρὶ δὲ τυράννῳ ἢ πόλει ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ (6.85.1), τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν (3.37.2), ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι οὐχ Ἵππαρχος ... ἀλλ᾽ Ἱππίας ... ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν (6.54.2); οὐδ᾽ ἂν κατασχεῖν ... Ἱππίας ... τὴν τυραννίδα, εἰ Ἵππαρχος μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὢν ἀπέθανεν (6.55.3), ὑπέρ τε πατρίδος ἡ μάχη ἔσται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἅμα καὶ δουλείας (5.69.1), ὑμεῖς τε μὴ παυθῆναι ἀρχῆς καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες (5.100.1). Pericles tells the Athenians μηδὲ νομίσαι περὶ ἑνὸς μόνου, δουλείας ἀντ᾽ ἐλευθερίας, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως (2.63.1)—it's not only about Athenian servitude or freedom, but also the servitude (to them) or freedom (from them) of others. Indeed, while παραλύω seems to be the term for releasing someone from a military command, ἀπολύω is for those τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπολυθῆναι βουλόμενοι (2.8.5).

In this analysis, I have intentionally foregone a traditional literary analysis of Thucydides' text that would consider, for example, the slightly less immediate context of the words or attempt to

discern authorial purpose in their use. Rather, I considered the word under study—ἀρχή—in its immediate context, attending to what words co-occur with it, what grammatical structures it is deployed in, and what light this kind of lexical analysis sheds on its meaning. This approach is the most appropriate way to ascertain how a word works to construct and convey meaning. But authorial intention is also important, and so the foregoing analysis cannot offer not the whole picture: it is important to note that the word, when taking on its more "imperial" meanings, chiefly occurs in speeches. In the first book, for example, are thirteen cases in which Thucydides uses a form of ἀρχή that we would normally translate "empire."[107] Nearly all of these passages are speeches, including two given in indirect speech (1.67.4 and 1.139.2). Only at 1.93.4, 1.97.2, and 1.118.2 does Thucydides himself use the word ἀρχή to mean empire. This frequency pattern of use in the first book reflects the dueling Corinthian and Athenian speeches in the center of the book, as well as Pericles' address at its end, in which the worthiness of the Athenians to their empire is under debate. In later books when Thucydides himself uses ἀρχή it mostly means "military command" or "political office." A particular density of use occurs in the fifth book's digression on Hippias and Hipparchos, the source of several τυραννίς—ἀρχή collocations quoted above.[108] The fact that ἀρχή as *empire* is much more common in speeches suggests that it is not a neutral, empirical term, but an evaluative and affectively laden one—like the contentious concept of the "American empire."

Finally, some specific instances deserve to be highlighted. In the debate over the Sicilian expedition, Nicias declares that if anyone disagrees with his recommendation for the expeditionary force's size, παρίημι αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν (6.23.3). Slightly earlier, in a dig at Alcibiades, he advises the assembly not to listen to an inexperienced youth who might perhaps be hoping for τι ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς (6.12.2). And immediately before that, he projected that if Syracuse did conquer the rest of Sicily, they had nothing to fear since οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν στρατεῦσαι (6.11.3). Thus empire is on the table in the speech, and when Nicias accuses Alciabiades of hoping for profit from the ἀρχή, it may not be possible strictly to distinguish between the (presumably) intended lexical meaning "command" and the imperial forces at work behind that command. Likewise, Nicias suggests that he will give up "the command," but it could just as easily be read as "pass over the empire to him."[109] Perhaps more seriously: after the battle of Mantineia in 418, the Mantineians "released their ἀρχή of the cities": τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖσαν τῶν πόλεων (5.81.1). *Parva componere magnis*? Mantineia's petty Arcadian "empire" (cf. 5.29, 5.33) again suggests the difficulty of making any clear scalar distinctions whatsoever within the concept of ἀρχή.

4. Conclusion

> Denmark's a prison. (Hamlet)

[107] 35.4, 67.4, 75.1, 76.2, 77.2, 77.3, 77.5, 93.4, 97.2, 118.2, 139.2, and 144.1, and the implied case at 35.4.

[108] See also Spahn 2016: 68–72, for a useful discussion of ἀρχή in this section of the work, and 74–76, on the *polis tyrannos* motif. For the unsurprising conclusion that tyranny is mainly valued negatively in Thucydides, see the recent discussion in Dreher 2016, esp. 93–99.

[109] Or in 1.96, why not translate Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή (1.96.2) "the Hellenomiai then was established for the Athenians as their empire"?

Mantineia's empire, the tyranny of the Peisistratidai, Nicias' command in Sicily, Tissaphernes' province, and the Athenian empire—all these are ἀρχαί, to say nothing of ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου or the word's use in other authors. Given the obviously extreme polysemy of ἀρχή, it would be easy to deconstruct the very idea of writing a dictionary entry for it or assigning a specific meaning to each textual occurrence; it would also be easy to argue that Thucydides intended some productive ambiguity in some cases. While I indicated a few such possibilities above, I have otherwise tended here to follow the advice of the lexicographer Ladislav Zgusta "not to be too much impressed by the basic uncertainty of … lexical meaning."[110]

It is now clear that ἀρχή is at least as tricky a word to define, or to confine, as is *empire*—even in the work of just one ancient author. Like *empire*, it sometimes carries connotations of injustice and tyranny, enslavement and subjugation; it sometimes seems analogous to domestic political sovereignty. So what, in the end, is an ἀρχή? Spahn's conclusion that its range is so broad that "its meaning cannot be pinpointed" is a bit of an exaggeration, but it seems misguided to suggest that the term is a more authentic or accurate way to discuss the Athenian empire than any other, more modern word.

"Meaning is an elusive phenomenon."[111] But the terminological imprecision of ἀρχή is not just a problem of reference or its aberrance, but is a direct result of the underlying lack of concrete reality of that to which reference is being attempted. Even Thucydides, the godfather of analytical history and political science, developed no clear and convincing theory for the word's meaning—and he was writing during the period of its full flourishing, according to the standard narratives. *A fortiori*, the nature of the ἀρχή is unclear earlier in the century. Virtual entities, empires or ἀρχαί—from the Persian to the Athenian to the American—are by nature subject to contestation as their essence and effects. Hence the debate that can be traced out through the sources as to whether the Athenian empire was just or unjust, a tyranny or a force uniting Greece against foreign enemies; and hence its relative frequency in Thucydides in speeches rather than in the historian's own voice. Thucydides routinely places ἀρχή and τυραννίς on the same side of antitheses, seeing the one as a form of the other—but Isocrates with equal rhetorical impact and clarity of vision opposes them: οὐκ ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ τυραννεῖν. Meiggs follows Thucydides in seeing the empire as authoritarian, but with de Ste Croix and others reads Thucydides against the intended grain to see the authoritarianism as fundamentally popular, hence legitimate.[112] Similarly, debates over the cogency of American imperialism revolve around the democratic legitimacy or not of supranational organizations in which the United States preponderates, of the unilateral character or not of the police actions taken and the wars waged by the United States, and so on.

What all this suggests is that we might provisionally or initially label the Athenian empire as an empire, a necessary step for discussion, while leaving the precise content of the label underdetermined beyond the irreducible core of the concept—one state exercising power over peoples beyond its borders. The case studies of the contemporary world early in the chapter can, then, point the way toward patterns that turn up in different imperialisms and theorizations thereof:

[110] Zgusta 1971: 24.
[111] Adamska-Salaciak 2016: 146.
[112] Meiggs 1972: 408.

gulfs between authority formally presumed by the metropolis and exercised on the ground (the latter sometimes exceeding the former); discrepancies between stances of bilateral equality and manifest imbalances in the relationship; a lack of clear, binary status as "in or out" of the empire; different responses to the imperial project itself inside the societies and polities within its ambit.[113]

The Großraum concept also provides a tool useful for thinking about historical imperialism. The Athenian empire is not a unitary state, but it is a unified space—presumptively if not always factually—in which, for example, Persian or Spartan forces are not to be permitted intervention. The discrepant statuses and ever-contingent, ever-negotiated relationships between Athens and the subject cities take place in and through their shared political ideas and as a highly variable type of influence. In prescribing constitutional form to Erythrai (*IG* I^3 14), Athens was absolutely engaging in high-handed imperialism of the sort discussed in so many histories of the empire. At the same time, these events and facts can be redescribed as attempts to create a shared world of normative political commitments, to bind Erythrai as both *demos* and *polis* ever closer to Athens.[114] But such an action is always subject to interpretation.

Every party to human action can construe it as they please; this is a basic fact. Normally there is relatively little disagreement or contestation about most issues. But in the creation of a novel political formation, such as the Athenian empire, those involved will necessarily have different ideas about how it is justified and what it is for, and about what it finally is. Athenian actions often reveal the "essentially solipsistic conception of sovereignty" that could be characteristic of democratic empires.[115] But the other states that constituted the empire, and—even more importantly—different groups within those states, had other ideas, as the saying goes. In the end, then, there are many Athenian empires. The epigraphers' empire is one, and the Thucydidean empire is another. What this dissertation argues is that there is also a Pindaric empire, an empire seen from the Ionian coast, an empire contested in the display of the tribute on Delos, an economically exploitative empire, and many more. The empire was fundamentally novel, contested, and ambiguous in its definition—whether seen from Athens or the islands.

[113] On the last point, see also Robinson 1972, discussed in Ch. 3.
[114] Here as elsewhere I am inspired by Cover 1983.
[115] Ando 2011: 65.

Chapter Two: Delos and the Delian League before 454

"The failure of the Ionian Revolt marks the end of Ionian history." (Oswyn Murray)

1. Introduction

When the Delian League was formed, the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos became its headquarters. It held this position for about a quarter of a century. Past scholars have assumed that it was unilaterally selected as such by the Athenians to serve their own interests, but the evidence does not support such an account—the sources are largely silent on how and why Delos was chosen.[1] As a result, a question more productive than "why did Athens choose Delos?" may be "what characteristics of Delos were salient in the early decades of the League, and what cultural and political systems routed through Delos informed and were altered by the league's formation?" In my attempt to answer this question I draw attention to the relevance of Delos's history in the Archaic period as a site of contestation and competition. Assertive displays of power over Delos—by Peisistratos, Polykrates, the Naxians, and others—are too often taken literally, when they are better understood as indices of the island's multivocal character. This multivocality is essential for interpreting the construction by certain allies of their own treasuries in the sanctuary on Delos, an act that intervened significantly in the symbolic economy of the Aegean world in the decades following the Persian wars.

According to Thucydides, the new alliance formed with Athens at its head in 479/8 (the Delian League, as it is both convenient and conventional to call it) possessed Delos as its treasury and meeting place: "Delos was their treasury, and their meetings occurred in the sanctuary" (ταμιεῖόν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αἱ ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίγνοντο, 1.96).[2] Neither Thucydides nor any other ancient author has much else to say about the institutional structure of the alliance in this early period, but most scholars believe that Delos held regular assemblies (termed "synods" or "congresses") of the allies that were discontinued at some point, perhaps when the treasury was relocated to Athens.[3] With discussion in the literature mostly oriented around the military history of the league and the volume of the initial tribute (φόρος) assessment, scholars have mostly left the question of why Delos was chosen as the league's headquarters to the side. The literature is nearly unanimous in asserting that Delos was selected by Athens as the league's headquarters for a combination of religious and ethnic reasons: in the phrasing of the most recent monograph on Athenian imperialism, the Athenians were "playing again on Ionian feeling and symbolically chose a Panionian sanctuary . . . the religious dimension of the little island could not have been more important in its selection as center of the alliance… during the Ar-

[1] The sources relating to the transition from the "Hellenic League" to the "Delian League" have been analyzed many times and I do not intend to do so here. See Diod. Sic. 11.47.1 for a claim that it was Aristeides who proposed making Delos the headquarters, and Green 2006: 106, n. 179 for further ancient references.

[2] The critical editions from which I quote ancient authors are listed immediately before the main bibliography. When necessary, quotations are followed by a positive *app. crit.*

[3] Plutarch's story about Samos proposing the relocation (*Arist.* 25.3) is normally taken to be set at such an assembly. See below, n. 4, for literature discussing the league's original constitution.

chaic period, Delos had been the venue for festivals that united the Athenians, the Ionians of Asia Minor, and the Islanders. . . it was surely a matter of recreating, on the basis of ancestral kinship, an alliance of strongly Ionian connotation."[4] Like Bonnin, some scholars emphasize the Delian religious network, while others, such as Tuplin, put more weight on its Ionian nature so as to connect the island's selection with propaganda related to Athens' Ionian metropolitan status.[5]

Whichever of its two interwoven logics be emphasized, the account is deeply flawed. Delos's Archaic festivals did not in fact regularly draw Ionians from Asia Minor, nor were only Ionians present at them; in consequence, it can hardly be called a "Panionian sanctuary" in implied equivalence with the Panionion at Mykale.[6] Additionally, Ionians did widely believe that Athens was their mother city, but the most consequential deployment of this bond occurred in the prelude to the Ionian revolt, when Athens was persuaded to assist them militarily. In contradistinction to how scholars most commonly understand the relationship between Athenian imperialism and Ionian identity, this belief obligated Athens to her allies just as strongly as it buttressed Athenian claims to political sovereignty or control over other Ionian cities. The depth of this feeling can be glimpsed, for example, in their response to Phrynichus' play on the sack of Miletos (Hdt. 6.21).[7]

Although they do not explain why it was chosen as headquarters, the religious and ethnic associations of Delos were clearly important. They do not, however, begin to exhaust the relationship between the island and the early empire. Thucydides' half-sentence on the topic is all the evidence we have on the selection of Delos as headquarters. It therefore seems better to ask a broader and deeper question of the wider range of evidence that we do have: what logics and systems were involved in the selection of Delos? This chapter describes these logics and explores this question and by doing so moves beyond the Ionian paradigm, while also drawing attention to material that has been overlooked by historians of the Athenian empire, yet which significantly changes the big picture of its first decades after 478.

As I will show, three major systems came together in early fifth-century Delos. The first was religion: the island's role as a significant pan-Aegean sanctuary in the Archaic period, not unlike the Samian Heraion, was important. Delos sat at the center of a cultic network that was closely related to the later Delian League. In ways more similar to the canonical Panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia, however, it was also a venue for interaction between states *qua* states, especially in the sixth century. The second system, then, was one of interstate competition, display, and contestation. Like other Panhellenic sanctuaries, Delos was located in what Ian Morris has called the "interstices of the polis world."[8] As such, it became a privileged locus for expressing thalassocratic ambition—and hence was also well placed to serve as a powerful

4 Bonnin 2015: 92–94. There was once a cottage industry of articles dealing with the original constitution and purpose of the Delian League—e.g., Larsen 1940, Sealey 1966, Hammond 1967, Jackson 1969, Robertson 1980—in which the question of why Delos was chosen is barely if at all raised; cf., e.g., Tuplin 2006.

5 Tuplin: 2006: 12–13.

6 The Panionion, of course, was not a Panionian sanctuary either in the sense intended by Bonnin, since islander Ionians did not participate.

7 On which see Rosenbloom 1993, esp. 169–70.

8 Morris 1996: 36.

symbol of Aegean unity in 478, even if we are unable to specify the exact factors that went consciously into its selection by the new alliance. The third and final system was created along with the league itself, but it, too, has an important prehistory: the φόρος. Themistocles imposed an unofficial levying of tribute (αἴτεε χρήματα, Hdt. 8.112.1) on certain islanders after the battle of Salamis; this act was, itself, highly reminiscent of Miltiades' Parian expedition after Marathon (Hdt. 6.132–36). In these cases money was extracted on the alleged basis of Medism. The later institution of φόρος formalized this financial contribution to the anti-Persian cause on a notionally voluntary basis, thus transforming it, on a discursive level, from an undesirable punishment to a meritorious obligation. At the same time, as discussed below, the tribute's storage on Delos also tied the tribute to the island's religious and contestatory dynamics.

The question of the relationships between Delos and the early Athenian empire comprises, then, these three threads, which come together in the construction by several Athenian allies of their own treasury buildings, οἶκοι or θησαῦροι, on Delos. Delos was a religious center, but it was also, after 478 and before 454, an administrative center for the new league, where funds were stored—which must have required a personnel infrastructure—and intermittent meetings took place. The tribute stored there became entangled with the sanctuary's religious aura, and the φόρος was not all that represented the alliance's permanent presence on the island. Athens, it is believed, assumed the lead in sponsoring a new temple to Apollo (*GD* 13; fig. 2, below p. 73), while several other allied cities seem to have built treasuries of their own in the sanctuary (*GD* 16–20). And yet, shortly before 454, the league treasury was relocated from Delos to Athens. Although it can seem simplistic, the old view that this event is a punctuation mark in the history of Athenian imperialism deserves to be rehabilitated in the framework advocated here: the tribute is not just about money, and its relocation not simply an idle display of Athenian power. It is instead interwoven with Delos's religious network, the island's status approaching Panhellenicity, and its role as an open space for contestation. "Instead of relying on a univocal, necessary sequence of events," as posited by the Athenian-Ionian paradigm for the selection of Delos, the island "disclosed a field of possibilities" and created " 'ambiguous' situations open to all sorts of operative choices and interpretations."[9]

Although scholarly speculation about the precise volume of the tribute assessed or collected in the second quarter of the century has proven ultimately bootless, what is highly relevant is the bare fact of its storage and accumulation on Delos, prior to its transferral to Athens in 454. On Delos, at least three or four of the allied cities evidently possessed treasuries—the small buildings called variously οἶκοι, θησαυροί, or even ναοί, but invariably οἶκοι in the Delian inscriptions—that were built in the late Archaic period or in the first half of the fifth century.[10] These poleis were Andros; Karystos; Naxos; perhaps Keos.[11] Major difficulties of evidence are involved here, since the buildings in question are almost completely destroyed, and the textual evidence for their use is not only Hellenistic but also epigraphic rather than literary; as a

[9] Eco 1989: 44.

[10] Neer 2001 is now the most important publication on treasuries in general and the best place to begin, building on much earlier work by Dyer 1905, Roux 1984a, Rups 1986, and others.

[11] See Rups 1986: 172–209 for a convenient resumé of the relevant references to Vallois 1944–1978, Félix Dürrbach's epigraphical corpora, and the other publications of the École française. For the *hestiatorion* of the Keians, see Roux 1973.

result, linking the two domains of evidence together is unusually problematic.[12] Perhaps as a result, these treasuries have been neglected.[13] Their evidentiary intractability, however, does not wholly preclude interpretation, and their mere existence has important ramifications for understanding tribute in the Delian League—both before and after 454. Quite simply, if Karystos brought her φόρος to Delos to be stored, and if Karystos possessed a treasury on Delos, it is very possible that her tribute was kept in her treasury. Even if not, the presence of a cache of Karystian treasure face to face with the league treasury could only have created a certain structure of contestation. It is furthermore apparent that some of these treasuries were built during the period of the league itself—in which case their construction may, perhaps, have begun as a gesture meant to affirm enthusiastic participation in the league in the wake of the Persian Wars despite initial disinterest or outright medism; but can equally come off as an assertive act, especially from the perspective of 454 when the league treasury was moved to Athens.[14]

Recent studies have drawn together much evidence for activity of different kinds on and in connection with Delos, while others have reopened questions about the priority of Ionian identity on the island before the Athenian empire.[15] In fact, since the selection of Delos as the center of the new alliance and the agreement upon that alliance's terms must have taken place at the same time, Delos would appear to be central to the empire's early history in more ways than one. It is against the background of all this that the allied treasuries must be understood.

This chapter begins by reviewing and dismantling the theory that Delos was chosen in 478 because it was a major Ionian sanctuary, and that its Ionian character enabled Athens to exploit her own Ionian metropolitan status to achieve domination over the allies. A close examination of the slender evidential thread—the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and Thucydides 3.104—by which that account hangs shows its insufficiency; with it removed, the selection of Delos becomes rather mysterious once again. Instead of assuming that Delos served narrow Athenian goals, it would be more productive to consider the cultural and political logics and history preexisting 478 in order to see how they undergirt the relationship between the allies and the island in the second quarter of the century. Indeed, the relocation of the treasury suggests that Delos was not working very well to support Athenian hegemony: it suggests that the multivocal environment of Delos was too open by comparison with the univocality on offer at the heart of Athens. Perhaps the Athenians had not had a free hand to select Delos as the league's headquarters in 478 after all. These points are buttressed by a comparison of Delos to the central places of the Peloponnesian and Ionian leagues, Sparta and the Panionion at Mykale. This comparison

[12] That is to say, of course, that Pausanias did not visit Delos, and so we lack the corresponding main textual source available for the identification of the treasuries at Delphi and Olympia, which are also in better shape archaeologically.

[13] Among recent scholars, Barbara Kowalzig (2007: 87) mentions them in passing, the *Guide de Délos* (*GD*) offers a summary (Bruneau et al. 2005: 188–89), and there is a recent, very thorough, architectural study of the oldest treasury (*GD* 16): Benchimol and Sagnier 2008. Christy Constantakopoulou (2007: 50–53) provides, to my knowledge, the only attempt in print at a broader interpretation of the treasuries; but note her disavowal of any connection with the Delian league (53 n. 99). Otherwise there is little to add to the bibliography in Rups, scanty though that was.

[14] On their disinterest and medism, see Hdt. 8.111-12, discussed below, and Bonnin 2015: 109–12; cf. Gillis 1979: 59–71.

[15] See especially Kowalzig 2007 and Constantakopoulou 2007.

illuminates the novel qualities of the Delian League as an institution while also highlighting the history of international contestation and thalassocratic ambitions being staked out on Delos by contrast with other league centers. Finally, with this new, more complex picture of early Classical Delos sketched out, I turn to the tribute and to the treasuries themselves. The φόρος turns out to be closely related (in this early period) to the question of Medism and Greek unity against the Persians. In consequence thereof, and as a result of the multivocal nature of Delos, the construction of treasuries on Delos by several allied cities during the 478–454 period of Delian centrality within the alliance is of special significance. Although the architecture of the treasuries is poorly preserved, enough remains to make it reasonably likely that several of them date to the relevant period. Since the cities in question are among those credibly charged with Medism during the wars, their construction of treasuries could be indicative of their desire to declare full participation in and dedication to the Greek cause. At the same time, it unavoidably also asserts countervailing claims against Athenian domination of the league on a symbolic level. Neglected realities of display and constestation in the early League inform the meaning of the tribute. These conclusions have significant consequences for the ongoing reevaluation of early league history, which has tended towards seeing it as fully dominated by Athens from the very beginning. This domination was certainly exercised in many respects. But if Athens was trying to use Delos as a symbol-laden venue to achieve domination over the allies, then the treasuries represent a refusal to allow Athens to achieve discursive hegemony along with their military leadership.

2. Delos, the Delia, and Ionian Identity

> "In Folge seiner geographischen Lage bildete dieses Eiland seit uralten Zeiten den religiösen Mittelpunkt und Versammlungsort einer amphiktyonischen Vereinigun der jonischen Bewohner der umliegenden Inseln und des Festlandes…. Die Jonier, welche den ersten Anstoß zum Bunde gegeben hatten, bildeten ursprünglich das vorherrschende Elemente in demselben und die Athener suchten auch später, als dieses Verhältnis faktisch nicht mehr bestand, ihre Herrschaft dadurch zu rechtfertigen, daß ihre Stadt als Metropole der jonischen Kolonien galt." (Köhler 1870: 91)

> "Les Athéniens choisissent de manière fort habile le sanctuaire de Délos pour y organiser le rassemblement. Ils jouent là encore sur le sentiment ionien et choisissent symboliquement un sanctuaire panionien… D'un point de vue stratégique, il comporte certains avantages mais compte aussi nombre d'inconvénients… La dimension religieuse de la petite île est on ne peut plus importante dans son choix comme centre de l'alliance…. la nouvelle *symmachia* qui se dessine après le retrait des Péloponnésiens voit son centre de gravité s'orienter vers des cités ioniennes. Or, Délos a été, au cours de l'époque archaïque, le lieu de festivals qui rassemblent les Athéniens, les Ioniens d'Asie mineure et les Insulaires…. il s'agit bien de recréer, sur les fondements de liens de parenté ancestraux, une alliance à très forte connotation ionienne." (Bonnin 2015: 92–94)

The choice of Delos as the center of the Delian League is explained almost universally with recourse to its importance within the sphere of Ionian identity and Ionian religious practices, and this explanation is normally joined by an account of Athenian manipulation or exploitation

of that Ionian identity in the fifth century.[16] The argument, which has barely changed from 1870 to 2015, is that in some important way the Athenians employed ethnic identity as a means of domination, especially by channeling it through religion, and that the selection of Delos is an early sign of the imperial ambitions to come.[17]

This account has difficulties at the level of theory or explanation. The claim that Delos and the Delian League each possessed an "Ionian character" is so obviously true that disagreement would be futile, yet so vague as to be almost meaningless. Such a vague description can hardly bear the very strong claim of historical causality placed upon it. While the nature and implications of Ionian character could certainly be fleshed out thanks to recent work on συγγένεια, a more worrisome consideration would remain. The evidence for the idea that Delos should even be characterized as a strongly Ionian sanctuary in the early fifth century is quite slim. Although there is no question that many or most worshippers on Delos were Ionians, there is little evidence to indicate that this determined the island's character in a particularly strong way, and still less that it was Pan-Ionian.

2a. Texts and the Delia

The main evidence for the Ionian character of Delos is provided by the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (HH. 3) and Thucydides' chapter on Delian religion (Thuc. 3.104).[18] The latter has been much discussed for the historian's parallel account of Delos' purification by Peisistratos and the Athenian democracy, but it is also a touchstone for assumptions about the island's Ionian character; yet the reconstruction Thucydides offers of Ionian festivals on Delos in the Archaic period is itself simply derived from the *Hymn*. These texts are accordingly crucial for understanding what was going on Delos in religious and ethnic terms before the fifth century, and I discuss them at some length before turning to a briefer, complementary consideration of archaeological material. Recent work, particularly by Constantakopoulou and Kowalzig, has shown that the Delian sanctuary's catchment area was fundamentally nesiotic rather than Ionian—limited by and large to the Cyclades—a point whose implications are extended in the remainder of this chapter.

In the *Hymn to Apollo*, the Delia is visualized as a luxurious festival: athletic and musical contests, song, choral performances. Those present are specified as Ionians, but the hymn also in-

[16] Paradoxically, this nearly universal and largely unexamined consensus conflicts with what archaeologists have long noted: the Cycladic character of the actual finds on Delos. As Georges Roux once wrote, "il s'agit uniquement des Cyclades, de l'Attique et de l'Eubée. L'Ionie la plus riche, l'Ionie d'Asie Mineure, est absente…" (1984b: 99).

[17] By way of illustrating its consensus status, some notable or influential statements of this view may be found in publications as diverse as Gallet de Santerre 1958: 205; Meiggs 1972: 43; Robertson 1980: 75; Smarczyk 1990: 464; Hall 1997: 55; Bruneau et al. 2005: 33–35; Tuplin 2006: 12–13; Constantakopoulou 2007: 67–68; Chankowski 2008: 29; Nagy 2011: 284; Rutishauser 2012: 87. Note the crucial fact that the most historically consequential deployment of Athenian metropolitan status transpired before the Ionian Revolt, when appeals to it operationalized ethnic identity as a source of obligation to Ionia—rather than domination over it. There is a large bibliography on the genesis and development of Ionian migration stories, often discussing Athenian manipulation thereof; see especially Sakellariou 1958 and Connor 1993.

[18] Hornblower 1991–2007, i. 517–531 is a superb discussion of this passage.

scribes a broader worshipping community within the festival, one spanning the whole Aegean world. Thucydides, writing late in the fifth century and aware of the *theoriai* still sent to the Delia, uses several passages from the *Hymn* to offer an interpretation of the earlier, "Homeric"-period festival represented by the *Hymn* (different from the festival he actually had knowledge of) that has often been taken as equating the Delia to the Ionian festivals in Asia Minor. On this account, the Delia was a rival to the Panionia and the Ephesia.[19]

The *Hymn to Apollo*'s date is a convoluted issue. It has normally been thought, since the 18th century, to comprise two distinct Hymns, a *Delian* and *Pythian Hymn to Apollo*, which were stitched together, probably early in antiquity.[20] Some scholars believe in a highly specific scenario for the stitching-together of the two halves: Polykrates in 523 or 522 supposedly wanted to host a festival on Delos in honor of Apollo under both his Delphic and Delian guises—the perfect context for joining preexisting *Delian* and *Pythian Hymns* to Apollo.[21] This conjecture would nicely tie the extant *Hymn* closely to Delos, but it is hardly necessary for present purposes: what is important is that the *Delian* section (at least) probably dates no later than 600, and continued to have relevance later in the Archaic period.

The Homeric Hymn to Apollo is therefore our most important textual evidence for Archaic religious activity on Delos.[22] In particular, two passages call for extended comment; the first is the catalogue of places Leto visited while searching for a place to give birth to Apollo:

Πῶς τ' ἄρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα;
πάντηι γάρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νομοὶ βεβλήατ' ἀοιδῆς,

[19] Some scholars identify the Panionia and the Ephesia (most notably Hornblower in his summary discussion of the overall section *ad loc.*). Others, such as Nagy, disagree but retain the reconstructed relationship of competition between the different festivals (esp. 2011: 224–226).

[20] The division is based on the fact that the two sections recount different stories set in different parts of the Greek world, told in different language and with different geographical conceptions, and on the fact that the *Delian* section appears to preserve the terminating formulae of a hymn. See Chappell 2011 for a recent review of the debate, and Janko 1982: 99–132 for a stylometric and phraseological discussion of the two sections and their relative dating. Since Ilgen's 1796 edition until Martin West's 1975 study, Analysts universally agreed that the *Delian Hymn* was older. West's view that the *Delian Hymn* imitates the *Pythian* has apparently found no converts; Douglas Frame (2009: 629—630), for example, shows no inclination to follow his chronology. Janko's method, based on "quantitative linguistic evidence, detailed phraseological study of the parallel passages," and historical evidence (1982: 112), has of course not always been greeted without skepticism, but his conclusions are widely taken as the best available guesses. On the other hand, any sense of certainty or even consensus regarding the chronology of early Greek epic should be wholly unsettled by the diversity of views on offer in Andersen and Haug 2012. The main arguments Unitarians mount on the literary level are that, first, it is merely circular to assume that differences in topic and diction must correspond to a chronological gap; second, that since the text we have is in fact (arguably) a satisfactory artistic and hermeneutic whole, there is no reason to break it apart; and finally, that despite some differences, there are in fact compositional parallels throughout the *Hymn*, especially in its use of catalogues (see Richardson 2009 and 2010 for the last point, and Miller 1979 for the first two); cf. Janko 1991: 12.

[21] Janko and Burkert independently arrived at this clever conjecture, later elaborated further by Aloni: Burkert 1979, Janko 1982, and Aloni 2009. For Apollo's two guises, see Parke 1946. The Polykrates story is, problematically, attested only by the Suda.

[22] I here cite four recent works pertaining closely to matters under discussion in this section, notably the poetics of the *Hymn* and its relationship to Delos as an Ionian religious center, the Athenian Empire, and the historical concept of Homer: Frame 2009 and Nagy 2009, 2010, and 2011. These will be discussed further below.

ἠμὲν ἀν᾽ ἤπειρον πορτιτρόφον ἠδ᾽ ἀνὰ νήσους·
πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τοι ἄδον καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι
ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων, ποταμοί θ᾽ ἅλαδε προρέοντες,
ἀκταί τ᾽ εἰς ἅλα κεκλιμέναι λιμένες τε θαλάσσης.
ἦ ὡς σε πρῶτον Λητὼ τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσι,
κλινθεῖσα πρὸς Κύνθου ὄρος κραναῇι ἐνὶ νήσωι
Δήλωι ἐν ἀμφιρύτηι; ἑκάτερθε δὲ κῦμα κελαινὸν
ἐξήιει χέρσονδε λιγυπνοίοις ἀνέμοισιν·
ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμενος πᾶσι θνητοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις.
ὅσσους Κρήτη <τ᾽> ἐντὸς ἔχει καὶ δῆμος Ἀθηνῶν
νῆσός τ᾽ Αἰγίνη ναυσικλειτή τ᾽ Εὔβοια
Αἰγαί τ᾽ Εἰρεσίαι τε καὶ ἀγχίαλος Πεπάρηθος
Θρηϊκιός τ᾽ Ἄθως καὶ Πηλίου ἄκρα κάρηνα
Θρηϊκίη τε Σάμος Ἴδης τ᾽ ὄρεα σκιόεντα
Σκῦρος καὶ Φῶκαια καὶ Αὐτοκάνης ὄρος αἰπὺ
Ἴμβρος τ᾽ εὐκτιμένη καὶ Λῆμνος ἀμιχθαλόεσσα
Λέσβος τ᾽ ἠγαθέη Μάκαρος ἕδος Αἰολίωνος
καὶ Χίος, ἣ νήσων λιπαρωτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται,
παιπαλόεις τε Μίμας καὶ Κωρύκου ἄκρα κάρηνα
καὶ Κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα καὶ Αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπὺ
καὶ Σάμος ὑδρηλὴ Μυκάλης τ᾽ αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα
Μίλητός τε Κόως τε, πόλις Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
καὶ Κνίδος αἰπεινὴ καὶ Κάρπαθος ἠνεμόεσσα
Νάξος τ᾽ ἠδὲ Πάρος Ῥήναιά τε πετρήεσσα,
τόσσον ἔπ᾽ ὠδίνουσα Ἑκηβόλον ἵκετο Λητώ,
εἴ τίς οἱ γαιέων υἱεῖ θέλοι οἰκία θέσθαι.
αἱ δὲ μάλ᾽ ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
Φοῖβον δέξασθαι . . .

25 ἦ ὡς Race 1982: 48 n. 39 ἢ ὥς Chalkokondyles ἠὼς codd. ἦ ὥς Barnes, Cassola
36 Ἴμβρος τ᾽ εὐκτιμένη codd. Ἴμβρος ἐϋκτιμένη Hermann, Cassola

And how am I to hymn you, since you are in every way good to hymn? For everywhere, Apollo, are the fields of song set down for you, both on the calf-rearing mainland and across the islands; every height delights you, as do the far headlands of lofty mountains and the rivers that flow into the sea and capes plunging into the sea and the harbors of the ocean. Perhaps how Leto first bore you as a delight for men, when she lay upon mount Kynthos on that rocky island, seagirt Delos? and the dark spray from either side was carried onto land by shrill winds; let loose from there are you lord for all mortals. All those Crete holds within and the country of the Athenians and the island Aigina and ship-famed Euboia, and Aigai and Eiresiai and Peparethos near the sea, Thracian Athos and the upper peaks of Pelion, and Thracian Samos [Samothrace] and the shadowy mountains of Ida, Skyros and Phokaia and the steep hill of Autokane, fair-built Imbros and inhospitable Lemnos, holy Lesbos, seat of Aiolid Makar, and Chios, lying as the fairest of the isles

> in the sea, and rugged Mimas and the upper peaks of Korykos, radiant Claros and the steep hill of Aisagea, watery Samos and the lofty peaks of Mykale, and Miletos and Kos, city of Meropian men, and lofty Knidos and windy Karpathos, and Naxos and Paros and rocky Rhenaia, so far Leto besought, as she began to birth Apollo, if any land might be willing to establish a house for her son. But they quivered and all were afraid, and none dared receive Apollo. . .

The catalogue of toponyms and epithets in lines 30-44 of the *Hymn* is virtually certain ultimately to represent, as has often been noted, a (partial) list of places where Delian Apollo was worshipped.[23] Like other catalogues in early hexameter, it has sometimes been decontextualized and studied individually, since lists, like type scenes and other set pieces, are reasonable candidates for prior, possibly independent existence apart from the surrounding composition.[24] In fact, the catalogue is deeply embedded grammatically and conceptually implicated in the project of the *Hymn*.[25] The generic function of the hymn is also crucial as a motivation for the catalogue's inclusion, which actually works together with much of the first 139 lines as an extended invocation of Apollo by situating at length his birth in space and time.[26] The entire catalogue is structured as a sequence of coordinated toponyms, amounting to a compound subject for the verbal phrase ἐντὸς ἔχει (l. 30), which takes as its object the relative pronoun ὅσσους. The antecedent of ὅσσους is the preceding line's πᾶσι θνητοῖσιν over whom Apollo rules (ἀνάσσεις). At the end of the catalogue, however, the list is itself transformed into the referent for τόσσον... ἵκετο Λητώ (l. 45).[27] As William Race puts it, "…the list is doing double duty. What began as an impressive list of places where Apollo *now* holds sway, is suddenly converted into foil as a list of places which *then* (πρῶτον) rejected the pregnant Leto."[28]

Double duty is done in another sense as well. Jack Goody identifies three main varieties of list: the inventory of entities or events, the agenda, and the lexical list.[29] In these terms, the catalogue in the *Hymn* partakes of both the inventory and the agenda types—is both retrospective and prospective. It records a list of places both where Apollo Delios is worshipped and where Leto was rejected; the latter rejection *in illo tempore* functions as an aition for present devotion; Apollo's worship is projected from the mythical past into the present and future as both the payment of an obligation and a source of joy (χάρμα βροτοῖσιν, l. 25).

Lists, furthermore, entice because they are the products of principles of selection and ordering that remain immanent within them, waiting to be uncovered. Conceive a list, briefly, as a form

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[23] For site-by-site references, see Richardson's (2010) commentary *ad loc.* and the information presented in Kowalzig 2007: 83–110. As Gallet de Santerre wrote, the catalogue lists "pays…en liaison avec le hiéron délien…. sans doute envoyaient-ils pour la plupart des délégues aux fêtes de Délos" (1958: 243).

[24] For formalist analyses of the *Hymn*'s catalogue, see for example Baltes 1981 and Faraone 2013: 310–312.

[25] The best discussion of the rhetorical structure surrounding the catalogue is in Race 1982: 47–54.

[26] For the potentially problematic nature of Leto's wanderings as represented in the catalogue, see Cursaru 2010.

[27] Both Baltes (1981: 26) and Race (1982: 47–54) take notice of this shift in grammatical construction, with the former imagining the "bewilderment" of the audience.

[28] Race 1982: 49.

[29] Goody 1977: 80–111. He is primarily thinking of early Mesopotamian writing. The lexical list is an element of scribal pedagogy and the basis of what is sometimes called *Listenwissenschaft*. An agenda-list, by contrast, can be as simple as a shopping list or as sophisticated, enduring, and significant as an itinerary for a journey—or a pilgrimage. Also see J.Z. Smith 1982: 43–47.

of information processing and storage: the nature of both the spoken and written word compels that information to be permanently arranged in sequence. The process of forming a list can be understood as a function that acts on a set by selecting and arranging some or all of its elements, (creating and) transforming one unordered group of entities into a list sequenced according to some rule.[30] While it is, of course, theoretically possible for a list to be randomly arranged, this is unlikely in real examples (even a grocery shopping list might reflect, for example, its author's imaginary journey through the store's aisles from produce to dry goods to dairy, or be clustered according to the ingredient lists of the recipes from which it was generated).[31] The sites in the *Hymn* are arranged roughly geographically, spiraling in from Crete through Athens to Euboia, northern Greece, Asia Minor, the Cyclades, and Delos.[32] Though there is nothing in the *Hymn* itself that actually says explicitly the catalogue lists poleis participating in the cult of Apollo Delios—that is by sending choruses and contestants to the Delia—the logic of the hymn implies that its list of places rejecting Leto now engage in the cult of her fearsome child, Apollo Delios, now the owner of πολλοὶ νηοί (l. 143). We may therefore assume, as Thucydides does, that the *Hymn* was performed and reperformed at the μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἑορτὴ ἐν τῆι Δήλωι (Thuc. 3.104.6). In this case, the catalogue acts to represent the actual cities from which actual celebrants and pilgrims had come to Delos to be present for the performance—although with what palimpsestic compression we cannot now say, and certainly with many omissions, since many island states near to Delos are left out. At this "prototypical festival," the Aegean world is nevertheless notionally present in its entirety.[33]

The *Hymn*'s catalogue of lands that rejected Leto is its most detailed specification of Apollo Delios' catchment area. The list is by no means exclusively or even predominantly Ionian: the first place named is Crete, and the only two locales given any kind of ethnic identification are Lesbos, "seat of Aiolid Makar," and Kos, "city of Meropian men" (ll. 37, 42). Makar is a legendary king of Lesbos, the Meropes the legendary pre-Greek inhabitants of Kos. These mythical references draw attention to Greek migration stories, which are intimately tied up with ethnic filiation; in the former case the text explicitly specifies Lesbos as Aiolian. Kos, of course, was a member of the Dorian Hexapolis (as was Knidos [l. 43]). Athos and Samothrace are both described as "Thracian" (ll. 33–34) but this is presumably a geographical description, since Samothrace is

[30] A function, in mathematics, can be most rigorously understood as a rule or "mapping" associating every element in one set with no more than one element in a second set, thus "transforming" the first set into the second (e.g., Rudin 1976: 24–25).

[31] The alphabetic ordering of our lexica and encyclopedias is the degree zero of this organization, one with little further significance. It is possible to argue, therefore, that encyclopedias represent the abnegation of a responsibility to bring fields of knowledge and inquiry into dialogue with one another or to arrange them in a hierarchy (although cf. the discussion of the *Encyclopédie* and d'Alembert's *Discours préliminaire* in Pocock 1999, Part II). By contrast, within their own obviously rather restricted pedagogical sphere, lists such as that in the *Hymn* function as a vital element in the reproduction of religious knowledge.

[32] West (2003), however, is surely wrong in transposing l. 35 after l. 37 to produce a more geographically accurate arrangement: see Baltes 1981: 27 n. 11 and Faraone 2013: 311. This latter article contains an illuminating discussion of the arrangement of poetic catalogues, although the tentative implication that the *Hymn*'s catalogue was composed in two stages seems exceptionally analytic (cf. Baltes 1981, with a different idea of the catalogue's arrangement).

[33] For an analysis of the *Hymn*'s role in Thucydides as a description of a prototypical festival, see Nagy 2010: 220–221 and Nagy 2011.

otherwise normally considered Aiolian; alternatively, these could be thought of as further references to the pre-Greek inhabitants of these areas. The point, nevertheless, is clear: cities all across the Aegean Sea came to Delos to worship Apollo, Ionians and otherwise.[34]

In an equally important passage toward the end of the Delian section, however, the *Hymn* (ll. 143-173) describes the festival itself and here gives another, discrepant, characterization of the worshipping group: they are ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες, "Ionians with trailing tunics" (l. 147). After a brief catalogue of the landscape genres Apollo enjoys, reminiscent of the priamel preceding the earlier catalogue, the *Hymn* continues:

ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλωι Φοῖβε μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ,
ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίηις ἀλόχοισιν.
οἱ δέ σε πυγμαχίηι τε καὶ ὀρχηθμῶι καὶ ἀοιδῆι
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν ὅταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα.
φαίη κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι αἰεὶ
ὃς τότ' ἐπαντιάσει' ὅτ' Ἰάονες ἀθρόοι εἶεν·
πάντων γάρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμὸν
ἄνδρας τ' εἰσορόων καλλιζώνους τε γυναῖκας
νῆάς τ' ὠκείας ἠδ' αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλά.

> But in your heart, Apollo, most of all you delight in Delos, where Ionians gather, their tunics trailing behind, along with their children and high-minded wives. And with boxing and dancing and song they give you heed and delight you, when they set their contest.[35] And one might say, if he came upon them when the Ionians are gathered, that they are ageless and undying; for he would see the grace of everything there, and it would delight his spirit to look upon the men and fair-girdled women, their swift ships and their many possessions.

This passage is the textual basis on which ideas of the Delia as a major, pan-Ionian festival ultimately rest. It insists emphatically on this Ionian identity, repeating the ethnic descriptor Ἰάονες (ironically, an Aeolic form) in both lines 147 (to which cf. *Il.* 13.685) and 152, and drawing some attention to stereotypes of the Ionian manner of dress.[36]

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[34] See also Constantakopoulou 2007: 54–55 for presentation of some evidence pertaining to the worship of Apollo Delios by Dorian islanders and outside Delos.

[35] See Nagy 2010: 12–19 for the translation of ἀγῶνα as "contest." This is plainly how Thucydides understands it. Nevertheless, most commentators on the *Hymn* evidently agree with Richardson (2010, *ad loc.)* that it "has its basic sense here of a gathering."

[36] The classic texts with reference to Ionian dress include the present lines and *Il.* 13.685 as well as Asios fr. 13 (Bernabé), Thuc. 1.6.3, Xenophanes fr. 3 (D-K), etc., all often connected to the discourse of ἁβροσύνη (on which see Kurke 1992). The lines of Asios, an Archaic Samian poet, are especially relevant:

οἳ δ' αὔτως φοίτεσκον ὅπως πλοκάμους κτενίσαιντο
εἰς Ἥρης τέμενος, πεπυκασμένοι εἵμασι καλοῖς,
χιονέοισι χιτῶσι πέδον χθονὸς εὐρέος εἶχον·
χαῖται δ' ἠιωρεῦντ' ἀνέμωι χρυσέοις ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς,
χρύσειαι δὲ κορύμβαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τέττιγες ὥς·
δαιδαλέας δὲ χλιδῶνας ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίοσ' ἔσαντες

The Thucydides passage (3.104) has been just as authoritative for this reconstructed pan-Ionian Delia. Before moving to Thucydides' own text, however, it is worth digressing briefly on his version of the passage just quoted. In Thucydides the first five lines are as follows:

ἀλλ' ὅτε Δήλωι, Φοῖβε, μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,
ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
148 σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν·
ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίηι <τε> καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῆι
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.

> But when on Delos, Apollo, you most gladdened your spirit, where Ionians, their tunics trailing behind, along with their own children and wives, gather on your street; where they give you heed and delight you with boxing and dancing and song, when they set their gathering.

The differences here are obviously minor in terms of overall sense, although highly intriguing from a textual-critical perspective.[37] One variant, however, is quite intriguing: σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν in l. 148. As Cassola assumes, this "road" must be the Sacred Way taken by festival processions into the temenos.[38] An early sixth century phase of the propylaia for this route, as well as one later in the century, have been detected by the French excavators; clearly, these are too late to be brought into dialogue with a seventh-century "Homeric" date for the *Hymn*, but there would have been an earlier route. Inasmuch as the *Hymn*'s passage represents the "prototypical festival" for its Athenian recreation, Thucydides' variant highlights the processional reality of the prototype. Like the description of the festival itself, and the immediately subsequent passage on the Deliades, the reference to "Apollo's Way" is a highly self-referential, deictic indication of the performance context intrinsic to the *Hymn*.

The point is worth making because we see in Thucydides 3.104 an extremely confident, literal hermeneutic employed in his reconstruction of the earlier festival, with ramifications for its utility.[39] The basic assertions Thucydides makes about the pre-fifth century festival (ἑορτή) are as follows: there was a "great assembly" (μεγάλη ξύνοδος) of Ionians and neighboring islanders (περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν, 3.104.3). They came as pilgrims, *theoroi*, with their women and children, they had musical and athletic contests, and they put on choruses. The contests did not include horse racing (3.104.6). With one exception, every element of this summary is directly taken

<———>τες ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστήν.

The fragment (assumed to be a description of Samian religious customs, although the genre is not certain) might suggest that this kind of display in dress, like the ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες of the *Hymn*, is especially suitable for cultic contexts. Also relevant are such artworks as the Geneleos group from the Samian Heraion (Baughan 2011, with bibliography; note especially p. 44: "The corpulence of some of the figures is not merely an Ionian stylistic quirk but a self-conscious statement of social identity, one that embraced luxury and opulence…"; cf. Neer 2010: 119 and 146).

37 Editors of the *Hymn* vary in their attitude toward the Thucydidean quotation; Cassola, whose text I use, incorporates none of the variants, while West accepts many, producing a sort of hybrid of the two versions. See Nagy 2011 for some discussion of the critical issues.

38 Cassola trans. *ad loc.*

39 The complete text and a translation of the passage are provided in Appendix 1.

from the *Hymn*. His "great assembly of the Ionians" (μεγάλη ξύνοδος τῶν Ἰώνων) is a redescription of the *Hymn*'s "Ionians gathered" (Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται, l. 147), as well as "Ionians were gathered" (Ἰάονες ἀθρόοι εἶεν, l. 152, just after Thucydides' quotation ends). The wives and children are mentioned in line 148 of the *Hymn*. The choruses and contests in music and athletics are mentioned in lines 149–150. Thucydides then buttresses his contention that the "Homeric" festival included musical contests by quoting lines 165–172, where Homer instructs the Deliades to declare him the ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν if ever in the future anyone asks them, which Thucydides evidently takes as a reflexive reference to the competitive setting in which the *Hymn* itself was sung or chanted.[40]

In short, Thucydides' only evidence for what he believed to be the Homeric-era festival of the Delia appears to be the *Hymn* itself. He adds only one detail that is not directly taken from the quoted text of the *Hymn*, which is his description of the participants as a ξύνοδος... τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν.[41] The most likely explanation for this addition of "nearby islanders" is that Thucydides had in mind the catalogue in lines 30–44 of the *Hymn*.

Although Thucydides confidently presents the "Homeric" Delia as a major, pan-Ionian festival, his only evidence for this phase of the festival is the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, read in the light of the Athenian reorganization of the festival in 426. But that text's own specification of the worshipping group as Ionian is, as we have seen, far from absolute, nor is it unambiguous. Scholars have always taken Thucydides to say that the Delia was frequented by the Ionians of Asia Minor; but these are not the only Ionians that the *Hymn* (and Thucydides) could be referring to. Thucydides does have independent information about a later phase of the Delia, which he describes at the end of the chapter after concluding his review of the Homeric evidence. "Later," he says (3.104.6), "the islanders and the Athenians continued sending choruses along with the sacrifices." It is notable that he shifts his description of the worshipping group as he moves from the "Homeric" phase to this intermediate period: earlier it had been the Ionians and nearby islanders, but later, it is the Athenians and the islanders. There are at least three obvious interpretive possibilities here. One, by far the most popular, is that there was a real, historical change from an earlier period, in which the Ionians of Asia Minor (those Frame helpfully terms Panionians) came to the Delia, to a later period (presumably after the Lydian or Persian conquest, or the Ionian Revolt) when they were prevented from so doing by "misfortuntes," ξυμφοραί (Thuc. 3.104.6).[42] On a second view, Thucydides says "Ionians" before when he really just means "Athenians."[43] Finally, the third possibility is that Thucydides, as an Athenian reading the *Hymn* in the late fifth century, probably equated Ionians in general with Panionians in particular, and concluded that the Homeric Delia included them, thus constructing a historical

[40] This setting is also importantly assumed in a fragment of Hesiod (357 M-W), which posits a competition in song on Delos between Hesiod and Homer (in flagrant contradiction of the former's autobiographical declaration in *Works and Days*).

[41] As Hornblower comments (*ad loc.*), περίκτιονες is "epic" diction. He is, though, wrong to see an allusion to an institutionalized Delian amphictyony, which is a figment of the scholarly imagination: see Wüst 1954: 129–41, esp. 140–41 and, more recently, Chankowski 2008: 20–28 and 241–45.

[42] Panionians: Frame 2009. This is the position adopted by, for example, Meiggs and Nagy, and partly endorsed by Chankowski.

[43] Chankowski concludes that Thucydides makes a "glissement des Ioniens vers les Athéniens" (2008: 22).

shift rather than simply gliding from one term to the other; in this, he was, however, mistaken.

The last view is the best. Thucydides' entire reconstruction of the "Homeric" Delia derived from the *Hymn*. He had no independent knowledge of it. In the scholarly reading of Thucydides and the *Hymn* as together demonstrating a Panionian festival on Delos in Archaic and pre-Archaic times, it has simply been assumed that the Ionians referenced in both texts means "all Ionians" and specifically the Panionians, thus imagining a situation of direct competition between the Panionia and the Delia.[44] The Ionian identity of the Delia can also, moreover, be called into question by a passing reference in Pausanias to a "processional song," αἶσμα προσόδιον, composed by the semi-legendary Eumelos of Corinth to be sent to Delos by the Messenians.[45] Even if, as I am inclined to believe, this is an invented tradition (in which case its invention would likely date to the fourth century), it would seem necessarily to imply that the Messenians were at that later date imagined as partaking in the Delia in the distant past. If, on the other hand, the tradition is reliable, Pausanias' dating of this event puts a Messenian *theoria* to Delos in the eighth century, not long before Janko's date for the *Homeric Hymn*.[46] In either case, the Ionian character of the Delia is further undermined, for the Messenians were Dorian.

The regnant conviction that the Delia was a major, Ionian festival rivaling the Panionia itself, then, is derived from a maximalist reading of Thucydides' own maximalist reading of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. That text and others, however, offer a different view of the Delia's catchment area: it is the Aegean world *tout court*. As Barbara Kowalzig has recently demonstrated, the evidence for fifth-century *theoria* to Delos is exclusively nesiotic (except for Athens).[47] If there were good reason from other texts or other kinds of evidence to support a Delian Panionia, it could certainly be said that the *Hymn* is congruent with that evidence. But the textual evidence so far reviewed is not very suggestive of this regnant interpretation, and when the archaeological evidence is more thoroughly considered, it becomes clearer still that Archaic and pre-Archaic Delos functioned as a regional shrine frequented primarily by islanders—and not a Panionian sanctuary in competition with the Panionion at Mykale.[48]

2b. Archaeology and the Delia

Christy Constantakopoulou has produced a useful account of the architectural evidence for notable investment or involvement in the religious life of Delos in the Archaic period, concluding

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[44] This hasty conclusion has even led scholars to ask questions of historical priority: Caspari, for example, reasoned that the *Hymn*'s illustration of a Delian "Panionia" must postdate the Panionia at Mykale because it is more inclusive (Caspari 1915: 175–76).

[45] Paus. 4.4.1: ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιοι τότε τῷι Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι· τὸ δέ σφισιν ἆισμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὔμηλος, εἶναί τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα. Cf. Paus. 9.12.6.

[46] On Eumelos, see West 2002. Of course, dates in this period are quite imprecise.

[47] Kowalzig 2007, ch 2 (esp. p. 99: "…we have no evidence for a Delian song *not* from an island. Despite the paeans' extremely fragmentary nature, the group of Naxos, Keos, Paros, and indirectly Kos forms a picture consistent enough to establish the themes of this fifth-century insular song-culture").

[48] The basic fact of Delos' archaeologically Cycladic catchment area has long been recognized, but not always appreciated. See, however, Chankowski; S. West's commentary on Od. 6.162; etc.

that it uncovers a nesiotic rather than Ionian sphere of activity.[49] The cultural predominance of Naxos and Paros in the Archaic Cyclades, especially on Delos, has long been proverbial, and Constantakopoulou's contribution is to highlight in the clearest fashion to date the largely overlooked contradiction between the actual material found on Delos (indicating a nesiotic catchment area for the shrine) and the widespread idea of Delos as an Ionian religious center.[50] This can be clearly illustrated from the built monuments on early Delos. Constantakopoulou draws attention to the "early monumentalization" of the island's religious life in the form of Temple (or Building) Γ (*GD* 7), the Archaic Artemision (*GD* 46), and the Archaic Heraion (*GD* 101)—monumentalization early by comparison, that is, to Delphi and Olympia, two of Delos' rivals as early Panhellenic sanctuaries (for a plan of the sanctuary, see fig. 2 below).[51]

These structures were all built in the seventh century, and should therefore correspond to the period of the Delia's alleged Panionian flourishing. In their architectural style, however, they are purely Cycladic.[52] This overall lack of Asia Minor stylistic influence obtains as well for the other sanctuary structures of the Archaic and Early Classical periods: the Oikos of the Naxians (*GD* 6); all three temples of Apollo (*GD* 11–13); the treasuries (*GD* 16–20). Indeed, the style

[49] Constantakopoulou 2007: 38–60, esp. 49–50.

[50] See already Roux 1984b making many of the same arguments, and Gallet de Santerre 1958: 289–296 for a partial catalogue of Naxian (and Parian) activity on Delos. Indeed, even in the nineteenth century scholars were already pointing out that the Delian League had an Aegean, rather than Ionian, catchment area: the question is what to do with the point (e.g., Busolt 1897: 73–74).

[51] Quote: Constantakopoulou 2007: 41. As Alice Donohue once remarked, however, "monumentality remains one of the most unsatisfactory concepts in the history of art" (Donohue 2005: 131, n. 336.). Constantakopoulou argues for a significance to the "early monumentalization" of Delos that is in my view not warranted: although it is true that these EIA–Protoarchaic buildings significantly predate the earliest certain cult buildings at Delphi and Olympia, they are not commensurate with those later constructions. The Heraion is apparently less than 9 m², Building Γ around 27 m², and the Artemision slightly under 82 m² (this does not include a hypothetical pronaos). By contrast, the extant Heraion at Olympia, for example, is a monumental temple with a peristasis, and it covers around 950 m², or nearly twelve times the area of the Artemision. Clearly, we are dealing here with different degrees of monumentality. And at least at Delphi, we know there were several small buildings, of date similar to those on Delos, which probably had cultic functions; Christian Le Roy published the remains of their roof tiles (*FD* IIc). At Olympia, the excavators have recently discussed the possibility that an EIA apsidal structure in the Altis (Building VII) is the oldest temple (see Kyrieleis in *OlBer* XIII: 5, with references). Finally, it needs to be kept in mind that the dates of such structures tend to be more conjectural than firmly established and are often factoids recycled by scholars who have not considered their evidential basis. The Heraion at Olympia is normally now dated "ca. 590," following Dinsmoor but, as Sapirstein has recently reminded us, the stratigraphic evidence for this is not terribly abundant (2016: 570–71): beyond the likely late seventh century terminus for the deposition of Olympia's infamous black layer, a single alabastron that is either Early Corinthian or (according to one earlier scholar) Transitional provides the Heraion's *post quem*. The Heraion could therefore arguably date as much as thirty (if not forty) years earlier than 590, although informed current opinion still accepts a date no earlier than 600.

[52] The Artemision and the Heraion "were constructed in the usual Cycladic Geometric masonry, of long and thin schist slabs carefully laid" (Coldstream 2003: 215). Building Γ is slightly more controversial, since a once-common view was that it was a Mycenaean temple (Gallet de Santerre 1958: 91–93), and some have seen technical similarities to Building Ac under the Artemision (Vallois 1944–1978, I.16; Coldstream 2003: 215). But specialists now view Temple Γ as an EIA structure, while Building Ac is still attributed to the Mycenaean period. (There is apparently no stratigraphic evidence for the dating of either building, despite Gallet de Santerre 1958: 93.) For summary discussions with earlier bibliography, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 179 and 182 and Bruneau et al. 2005: 32, 176, and 208.

of some of these structures seems to look west rather than east. Most importantly, the non-peripteral *Porinos naos* (*GD* 11), the most early of the three temples, is often described as Attic in technique, and even attributed to Peisistratos or Peisistratid activity. There seem to be three main elements of this allegedly Atticizing architecture: the use of poros (as opposed to island marble), the use of the Doric order (as opposed to Ionic), and the use of double-T clamps.[53] The use of poros, Doric architecture at this Ionian, Cycladic sanctuary has sometimes been taken to be a problem, and the suggestion that the *Porinos naos* must be of Attic sponsorship is one proferred solution.[54] But as architectural specialists have continued to increase our sense of how prevalent "island Doric" architecture was, while also looking with less favor than in the past on equations between architectural style or technique and political sponsorship, it is unclear whether there is still any credible argument for associating the temple with Peisistratid activity.[55] Technical details do not, of themselves, imply any relationship of patronage or control. For example, Erik Østby observed in the late Archaic Doric Temple of Athena at Karthaia on Keos that one group of sima profiles provides a "certain indication of connections with mainland architecture," especially with buildings at Olympia and in Arcadia.[56] Yet no one has suggested that this is indicative of Peloponnesian sponsorship of the temple; and this difference with the *Porinos naos* has at least as much to do with the metanarratives of modern Peisistratid historiography as any *a priori* distinction between the cases. Indeed, a second group of simas from the same temple "points clearly to connections with Attic architecture," with likewise no consequent suggestion that it was therefore an Attic building.[57]

Similarly, consider what Vallois has written of the late-fifth century Temple of the Athenians (*GD* 12), which he describes as "l'enterprise la moins autochtone" in all of Delian architecture:

> Lorsque l'impérialisme athénien, après avoir arrêté l'activité des chantiers locaux, s'affirme positivement, dans le dernier quart du V^{e} siècle, par la construction d'un nouveau temple, on s'attendrait à trouver dans cet édifice une simple réplique des temples doriques d'Athènes : il en va tout autrement. La technique est attique . . . mais le monument s'adapte à l'esthétique locale, comme aux proportions et dimensions en hauteur du Grand Temple voisin : plan ionique, soubassement à quatre degrés, assise décorative de l'entablement, sima en doucine décorée d'une frise sculptée de type ionien.[58]

As he brilliantly obseves, even this temple, a structure of undoubted Athenian sponsorship and

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[53] Gruben 1997: 373. The poros is even said to be Attic on occasion, as part of a strong claim for the temple's being an "Attic building" (e.g., Constantakopoulou 2007: 63–64).

[54] Gruben 1997: 373, n. 297.

[55] *Contra* Ekschmitt 1986 II.167 ("Seine Erbauung wird ins Ende des 6. Jhs. gesetzt und die Verwendung des Porosgesteins auf athenische Bautradition zurückgeführt. Auf die Vorherrschaft der Naxier war 540-28 die des Peisistratos gefolgt, die um 525 von der des Polykrates abgelöst wurde."), Constantakopoulou 2007: 63–66. Island Doric: Østby 1980, esp. 211–223, Schuller 1985, Ohnesorg 2017. Also consider the Doric Building A in the North Temenos recently excavated on Despotiko, whose first phase is around the middle of the sixth century (Kourayos et al. 2012; also see Kourayos and Daifa 2017 with further bibliography).

[56] Østby 1980: 211–12.

[57] Østby 1980: 212.

[58] Vallois 1944–1978 II.587.

built at a time when Athens directly administered the sanctuary on Delos, is of ambiguously hybrid style and technique. Architectural style may in general not be a very reliable index of political relationships or even sponsors' identities on Delos, although there will be many cases where it is all we have to go on. Yet a building's epistyle moldings, capital profiles, use of clamps, and even the choice of order and decoration could have as much to do with negotiations between architects and craftsmen, the budget of the sponsor, and local tastes as with political assertions or even subtly insinuated relationships.[59]

In short, then, the distinct lack of Asia Minor architectural influences or direct interventions on Delos is unfortunately no more than suggestive and should be set aside. Perhaps, then, more mobile material culture can be of some assistance. Let us return to the slightly earlier buildings very roughly contemporary with the *Hymn to Apollo*. The Artemision foundation deposit, apparently laid down around 700 B.C., is well known for its Bronze Age ivories, especially a widely illustrated plaque depicting a "Mycenaean warrior."[60] The deposit (in its condition as of 1995) yielded 2,533 individual fragments of ivory, almost all of which are from inlay or appliqué plaques.[61] In studying several dozen of the more art-historically interesting pieces, the excavators were struck by the stylistic coherence of the assemblage, but subsequent reexamination has shown fairly conclusively that they are in fact a collection of items with discrete spatial and chronological coordinates of production; many of the figural pieces are probably from Cypriot workshops.[62] Others could be from Syria.[63] By contrast, however, Tournavitou argues that the bulk of the full assemblage is made up of typical mainland Mycenaean products.[64] Decoration ranges from none to faint incision to relief work of very high quality; it includes geometric designs, animal friezes, human figures, at least three column models, and assorted other objects such as pommels and spindles.[65] As Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux observed, it is obvious that the ivory strips were originally furniture attachments.[66] They tentatively suppose that these plaques derive from the "throne of the Mycenaean goddess," a hypothetical pre-Artemis or *potnia theron* figure (worshipped, presumably, in the Mycenaean Building Ac underneath the

[59] This is, therefore, not to say that architectural style is never in any way political. Quite the contrary. The Atticizing features of the *Porinos naos* are significant because they suggest that Delos was more likely to draw craftsmen, expertise, and pilgrims from the west—that is Attica—and from its immediate neighborhood, the Cyclades—recall the roughly contemporaneous Doric temple at Karthaia—rather than from the Ionian east. Such a point is a very different claim from the attribution of it to Athenian or Peisistratid sponsorship, but it is a more robust claim—and arguably more interesting.

[60] The date of ca. 700 is provided by the ceramics: the deposit yielded some Neolithic and Middle Bronze sherds, more Mycenaean sherds, and still more of Geometric date, but nothing at all from the Orientalizing period (Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 243–47); although the *Guide* indicates that recent opinion favors a lower date, one too much advanced into the seventh century would be inconsistent with the absence of Orientalizing, more compatible with secondary deposition toward the end of Geometric.

[61] Vallois 1944–1978 I.10–14; Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948; Tournavitou 1995.

[62] Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux write: "Quand on examine l'ensemble de la trouvaille, on est frappé par son homogénéité… on les dirait sorties d'un même atelier, peut-être l'oeuvre d'un même artiste" (1947–1948: 204). But see Poursat 1977: 152–58; Cypriot manufacture for some pieces seconded by Tournavitou 1995.

[63] Poursat 1977: 158.

[64] Tournavitou 1995, esp. 526–27. As Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux put it, the ivories were produced in an age "quand les leçons des maîtres crétois n'étaient pas encore oubliées" (244).

[65] Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 154–206.

[66] Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 201.

Archaic Artemision).[67]

What has not been much discussed is why this cache of Mycenaean ivories, whose production predated their deposition by five hundred years or more, was assembled and apparently buried as a foundation deposit when the protoarchaic Artemision was constructed around 700 B.C. The deposit is not composed exclusively of the ivories; far from it. In addition, it also contained worked bone objects; gold diadems, jewelery, and repoussé pieces; bronze arrowheads and spear tips, implements, and a statuette in smiting god pose; worked stone objects, including the base of a probably Minoan vase in green breccia; and more.[68] According to Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux, the majority of these finds, like the ivories, date from the Late Bronze Age. Others, however, are more likely to be later: a repoussé gold bee is best compared to those from the Ephesian Artemision hoard, and the excavators also recovered a scarab manufactured, they suppose, in Naukratis, five bronze coins as late as the second century, three Attic black-glaze sherds and part of a stamped Hellenistic bowl, and a fragment of an inscribed bronze tablet likely fourth-century in date.[69] The excavators insistently argue that these objects were not part of the original foundation deposit, being found instead at its margins or outside the zone of concentrated "precious debris."[70]

In fact, it is far from clear that the material constitutes a foundation deposit in any specific sense. As Gloria Hunt has shown in gathering the archaeological evidence for Greek foundation deposits, there are two types: one, which she calls the East Greek type, contains valuable objects such as coins and gold, and is indeed not fundamentally dissimilar from votive assemblages; the second type instead represents the detritus from a ritual of consecration of some kind, typically comprising ash, vessel fragments, and bone.[71] The excavators actually found such a deposit, which they term the "fosse de consécration," buried well below the wall of the Archaic Artemision, hard by the later Hellenistic temple foundations (fig. 1).[72] It yielded "terre mêlée d'ossements d'animaux, de débris carbonisés, de fragments calcinés de poterie commune et quelques tessons caractéristiques des époques mycénienne et géometrique… la fosse ne contenait rien de précieux."[73] In this, it sounds similar to the roughly contemporary temple foundation deposits on Naxos, at the so-called heroon in Eretria, and elsewhere in the Greek world.[74] By far the best known example of a foundation deposit of Hunt's East Greek type is from the

67 Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 206 (with n. 2); for Building Ac, see Bruneau et al. 2005: 207–8.

68 Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 206–43.

69 Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 211, 218–19, 238, 246, 235–38.

70 Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 246–47. Although the excavators are quite attentive to stratigraphic concerns, it is unfortunate that they make little attempt to discuss the deposit's formation processes or explain whether any of the other objects were also found "outside the deposit…at a superficial level," in what we must assume is soil that was disturbed during the construction of the Hellenistic Artemision or around that time, or to explain how they determined the spatial parameters of what they understand as the undisturbed part of the deposit.

71 Hunt 2006. For a detailed exposition of several deposits of the second type in early Naxian temples, constituting important comparanda for the present case, see Lambrinoudakis 2002.

72 Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 152–53, pls. XIX and XXII.

73 Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 152.

74 Lambrinoudakis 2002 describes the Naxian deposits; one, assigned to the early eighth century, contained a bull skull and MG jug; others contained ash, bone fragments, and sherds. For other sites, see Hunt 2006: 65–109.

Ephesian Artemision, the type specimen for those deposits full of coins, gold and silver jewelry, and ivory appliqués and trinkets.[75] The Delian foundation deposit Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux published is of this type, yet the Artemision also yielded one of the ritual type.

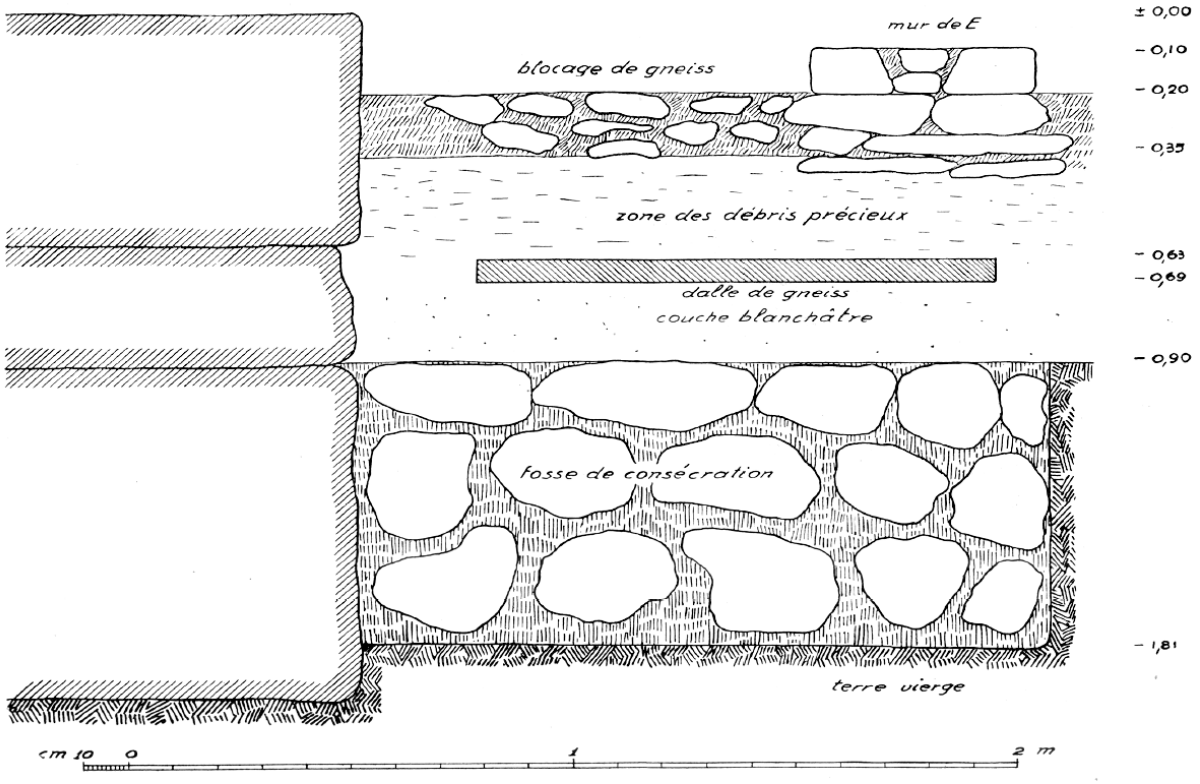

Figure 1: Theoretical section drawing of Artemision deposits (Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948, pl. 22)

What is at issue is whether the assemblage of precious goods is really a foundation deposit, thus perhaps representing a certain intentionality, or a merely adventitious collection of material laid down in a secondary deposit as part of the construction of the Artemision.[76] Despite Hunt's admirable dissertation, the differences, if any, between hoard deposits and consecration deposits, between foundation deposits and other votive deposits, and between ritual deposits and construction fills that happen to contain cultural material remain undertheorized, especially from a (religious-) historical perspective. The implications for the Artemision hoard are tentative, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the presence of the "fosse de consécration"

[75] See Hunt 2006: 22–38 for the bibliography and a summary of the excavation results and their subsequent discussion.

[76] As indicated above, the excavators settled on the most likely hypothesis being that the deposit was material stored in the Mycenaean Building Ac. The *Guide de Délos* casts doubt on this supposition, building on Tournavitou's argument that the deposit could have been collected from numerous different sources and that it is possible to imagine a Mycenaean ivory workshop on Delos. Her own figures and conclusions on the preceding page make it quite difficult to understand why the second suggestion would be offered (Tournavitou 1995: 526–27; Bruneau et al. 2005: 208).

could complicate the interpretation of the precious debris. The Artemision deposit is, therefore, of somewhat limited utility in analyzing religious life on Delos around 700—the era, recall, of a supposedly pan-Ionian Delia—yet it nevertheless indicates several conclusions. First, the chronological origins of most items in the deposit lie in the LBA. Geographically, its contents' origins range from mainland Greece to Crete to Cyprus and perhaps the Levant. The Geometric pottery, however, is evidently all of Cycladic manufacture.[77] In short, the Artemision hoard has no particular East Greek resonances, except perhaps in the depositional form itself. In light of the half-millennium gap between production and deposition, however, the closest comparandum, archaeologically speaking, is not at Ephesos or in Ionia, but Delphi. Numerous Mycenaean terracotta figurines were found in a deposit under the "temple en tuf" in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia, associated most likely with the remains of a seventh- or early-sixth century temple under the late Archaic one visible on site today.[78] Like the ivories and metals in the Artemision hoard, the terracottas were produced over a lengthy time span (LH IIIB—late IIIC). Neither deposit, therefore, constitutes a Bronze Age assemblage, but one produced during the EIA or Protoarchaic periods. Recently, scholars have tended to see both as a way to dispose of objects unearthed elsewhere, rather than as a sign of locative continuity of cult: "le dépôt [delphien] proviendrait de tombes, ouvertes…sans doute juste avant l'aménagement du sanctuaire d'Athéna"; "although the [Delian] objects attested were very suitable for funerary use, there are enough factors which suggest that part of it at least was originally a workshop assemblage, possibly of a provincial status, with a naturally more limited scope (not quality) than its extensive palatial counterparts…"[79] Whatever may be the truth of the objects' biographies, the primary consideration is that, in one way or another, they were deposited when the Artemision was built around 700.

There is good reason to suppose that the Artemision was the most important religious area on early Delos, even if Building Γ was really an early cult building (to Apollo?). According to the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, the Ionians on Delos were so taken by Homer's performance of the *Hymn* that they made him a joint citizen, and the Delians had the *Hymn* written down and set up in the Artemision.[80] The rather bizarre detail that a hymn to Apollo, strongly marked in the *Contest* as such, would be dedicated in the shrine of Artemis has been taken as an indication that there was no formal cult building to Apollo at this date. It is worth looking past the numerous uncertainties here—multiplied by bringing together the murky early history of the sanctuary on Delos, the contentious date of the Artemision and the question of anterior religious activity on its site, and a much later tradition reporting on the outcome of a Homeric performance in the

77 Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947–1948: 245.

78 *FD* IIb: 5–36; Bommelaer 1991: 48; Müller 1992, esp. 481–86; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 217–43; Morgan 2003: 120–21; Van Damme 2012: 54–55. For the earlier temple, see *FD* IIa: 26–41.

79 Müller 1992: 484; Tournavitou 1995: 527.

80 *Certamen* 315–22: ἐνδιατρίψας δὲ τῆι πόλει χρόνον τινὰ διέπλευσεν εἰς Δῆλον εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν. καὶ σταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν κεράτινον βωμὸν λέγει ὕμνον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα οὗ ἡ ἀρχή

μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο.

ῥηθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕμνου οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες πολίτην αὐτὸν κοινὸν ἐποιήσαντο, Δήλιοι δὲ γράψαντες τὰ ἔπη εἰς λεύκωμα ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῶι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῶι. As Nagy has argued, this episode represents Homer as intensely Ionian, and is part of the Athenocentric concept of Homer (2010, chs. 2 and 7.)

deep past—to see the basic conjunction of Ionian religious activity, Homeric performance, and the Artemision. Such a conjunction suggests that the Artemision's foundation deposit ought to be legible in terms of the identity of the worshipping group that created it: those present for the festival at which the *Homeric Hymn* was performed. The resonances of its constituent elements, though, are all with the Bronze Age past and with the international world of the LBA. In this, it is of a piece with many other cases in Protoarchaic Greece of such reference to, and use, of the past; while the more prosaic components—sherds—of the assemblage all suggest a community restricted to the Cyclades. As Georges Roux put it, on Delos "the Ionia of Asia Minor is absent."[81]

Theories, such as those of Thucydides, Smarczyk, and Nagy, of an earlier, fully Panionian Delia which gradually or suddenly lost its Panionian status—one that was in competition with the Panionion at Mykale—are therefore to be discarded. The consensus explanation that Delos was selected as the headquarters of the Delian League because it was the locus of an age-old gathering of all Ionians, and that this status allowed Athens to exploit Ionian migration stories for her own advantage, falls along with it. The upshot of the textual and archaeological analysis is that Archaic Delos united Greek islanders of all kinds, not unlike the way larger Panhellenic sanctuaries drew in Greeks of many stripes and provided them a venue for display and competition. In fact, the evidence shows that Delos in the long Archaic period was a premiere venue for interstate competition and agonistic display, rather than unilateral exploitation. This is indicated by the elevated significance of non-Delian investment and the assertive claims made by, for example, Peisistratos in purifying the island. Yet most scholars persist in reconstructing a succession of "dominations" in Delian history, wherein control of the island passes from Naxos to Peisistratid Athens to Polycrates of Samos and back to Athens. In reality, Delos, and especially the island's religious festivals, served as venues for display, and this is reflected in the literary sources dating back well into the Archaic period and in the archaeological evidence for competitive dedicatory practices.

The idea of Peisistratid hegemony over Delos is based on his purification of the island, reported by both Herodotus and Thucydides (Hdt. 1.64; Thuc. 3.104). Likewise, Polycrates is sometimes assigned a period of domination over Delos based on the story of his conquest of and dedication of Rheneia to Apollo Delios (Thuc. 1.13, 3.104). Earlier periods of external control over Delos have been posited (especially in somewhat older scholarship) for Naxos and Paros based on the prevalence of dedications and construction projects assigned to them, especially the Colossus and Oikos of the Naxians, the Terrace of the Lions, the Letoon, and the Monument of the Hexagons.[82] These latter cases not only rely on outmoded convictions that political control must be reflected by cultural diffusion, but are better understood in the light of the tyrants' activities. They are all examples of the same phenomenon. Elites used Delos in the Archaic period as a way to demonstrate their status: influence, prestige, and wealth combined to allow tyrants and other elites to make magnificent gestures that resounded over time.[83] Claims at control or power over Delos–successful for a time or not—they have may have been, but they

[81] Roux 1984b: 99.

[82] On the Lions, see now Barlou 2014. On the general argument, especially for a Naxian hegemony, see Gallet de Santerre 1958: 289–96, D'Acunto 2008: 137–46, Prost 2014, and Morais Angliker 2017.

[83] See Anderson 2005 for the underlying similarity between tyrannical and other elite displays.

are the bright flashes of power being asserted, not the dull reflection of its ongoing operation. Instead of a succession of dominations, this evidence reveals Delos as a premiere venue for staking out a special relationship with the island's cultic network.[84]

Since Delos is a venue for contestation, its choice as the center of the Delian League suggests a sort of universalism, rather than narrowly Ionian parochialism. Open to the whole Aegean world, Delos was a nodal point for Greeks coming from beyond Ionia proper; it functioned as an open space within which Athenian hegemony over an Aegean empire developed, and not as the headquarters of a sectarian Ionian union. This is not to deny that her Ionian metropolitan status was an important feature of Athenian imperialism, nor to discount the fact that Delos and the Delia were implicated in the Ionian ethnic sphere. In Pindar's Fifth *Paean*, for example, a probably Athenian chorus sang about the Ionian settlement of Euboea and the Cyclades, ending on Delos.[85] At the level of reality, however, Delos was an "open text," and the way in which Delos was a central place for the Delian League is very different from the forms of centrality in either earlier league to which it could be compared, the Peloponnesian and the Ionian. To this comparison we now turn.

3. Centrality and Ethnicity in Earlier Greek Leagues

Two earlier leagues, the Peloponnesian and Ionian, are reasonably well known and offer different forms of contrast to the Delian League which are worth briefly taking up here in terms of their central places and relations to ethnic identity.[86] The Ionian League as we learn of it in Herodotus was "an essentially religious and ethnic union," whose primary purpose was evidently running the cult of Poseidon Helikonios at the Panionion.[87] The Peloponnesian League, by contrast, was a military alliance that apparently possessed no routinized common gatherings

[84] As Barlou puts it, "our very idea about Naxian 'hegemony' on Delos should be corrected. . . Quite contrarily to the somewhat 'black and white' image of clear successions of power on Archaic Delos often entertained, Naxos apparently remained a central player in the sanctuary until the early 5th c. BC" (2014: 149). For an Athenocentric survey of the importance of Delos to Athenian imperial mentalities over time, see Tuplin 2006.

[85] See Rutherford 2001: 293–98 and Kowalzig 2007: 83–96.

[86] I here follow the mainstream view which holds that a Peloponnesian League structure not unlike that seen in Thucydides existed by 506 B.C. But for a convincing, contrary argument—and perspicacious review of the evidence—see Cawkwell 1993. Readers who prefer Cawkwell's vision of the Peloponnesian league taking on a more definite form only in response to the Delian league will want to reverse the genealogical relationship between the two; but the analysis presented in this section is ultimately morphological, not historical, and so its conclusions are not reliant upon the causality posited in either case.

[87] Roebuck 1955: 31. Roebuck's summary answers to the evidence in Herodotus. Offering a different view, Caspari follows Wilamowitz in reasoning that the relative unimportance of the cult of Poseidon Helikonios proves that "to all intents and purposes, the League created the cult; the cult certainly did not create the League" (1915: 176), and that therefore the Ionian League was a political rather than sacred union. Although Caspari and Roebuck generally agree that the League was not politically effective, the latter offers a more concretely persuasive portrayal of the League on the basis of Herodotus. He takes a rather modern line on invented tradition (without using the phrase) in regards the stories around Melia and an early struggle between Ionians and Aeolians; but his belief in a kingly Ionian ur-state founded at the end of the Bronze Age, which developed and fragmented as its towns grew into πόλεις—the memory of its royal origins surviving to be revived in the Roman-era κοινόν's office of βασιλεύς—is obviously now rather dated.

at a shared sanctuary.[88] The one was based on jealously guarded Ionian identity, the other on geography, and though both can be termed "leagues" for convenience, they are extraordinarily different in their institutional structures. In fact, one of the few ways in which the three are similar, beyond simply being multi-state organizations, is in their having central places: Delos, the Panionion at Mykale, and Sparta. Nevertheless, their differences are perhaps nowhere more apparent than in their relationships to these central places.

Such central places are very important. They were scenes of group identity formation and reproduction, a fraught matter in particular for the organizations at issue, which functioned thanks to the cooperation of independent political systems. As such, they were the primary venues wherein the leagues' political authority was formed and displayed. It is hard to say what the Delian League meant to an Athenian, let alone to a Naxian or an Eretrian or a Chian, but one answer for a few of those people is that it was an assembly meeting on Delos, a gathering of delegations bringing and counting and protecting φόρος: it was the experiences of the activities carried out in a specific landscape. From a constructivist perspective, essential to understanding political formations as the fluid products of historical processes rather than unproblematically stable entities, an international organization such as these three leagues was especially fraught because of their scattered and poorly integrated membership. Their central places were the main scenes where their "discontinuous and heterogeneous practices operating across a host of contiguous and noncontiguous places" came closest to achieving "a pretension to coherence" in the collective forms of activity embedded in the landscapes of those places.[89] The Peloponnesian and Ionian leagues implicated their representatives in very different forms of activity at Sparta and Mykale, respectively.

The Peloponnesian league can be defined as a bundle of bilateral military alliances between Sparta and numerous other poleis of the Peloponnese.[90] At the same time, however, the allies formed a discrete unit of their own, and the league was bound by decisions reached in common assemblies. The exact nature of this assembly, and the "bicameralism" of the league, is not clear, but Herodotus reports the first known meeting of envoys from Sparta's allied states in the very late sixth century (Hdt. 5.91).[91] Sparta summoned the envoys to Sparta and proposed, to allied dismay, to restore Hippias as tyrant in Athens. But, at least by 440, the allies could convene assemblies as well: Corinth "immediately called the allies to Lacedaimon" when the siege of Potidaea began (Thuc. 1.67.1).[92] Since Sparta was the hegemon of the alliance, these meetings naturally occurred at Sparta, the hub through which the spokes of the league ran. Existing alongside or before the formal institutional structure of the league—the bundle of alliances—however, was an informal decision-making process visible in Herodotus' narrative

[88] The bibliography on the Peloponnesian league is large, but see the still-important studies by Larsen (1932, 1933, and 1934) and de Ste. Croix (1972: 101–24), and more recently, Cawkwell (1993) and Lendon (1994).

[89] A.T. Smith 2003: 79.

[90] For this understanding, see most importantly Wüst 1954.

[91] Larsen 1932: 137–38.

[92] An apparently fuller assembly to decide on war occurred not long afterward: Thuc. 1.119–25. Some have argued that only Sparta had the right to call together an "official" assembly of the allies—see for example de Ste. Croix 1972: 111, 201 and Lendon 1994—but my view is that, to the contrary, Thucydides is clear on the point.

of the aborted invasion of Attica in 507/6 B.C. The historian claims that Cleomenes assembled an army from the whole Peloponnese without explaining his purpose: Κλεομένης δὲ ... συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατόν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει (Hdt. 5.74.1).[93] But eventually the Corinthians decided to withdraw from the expedition on the grounds that it was unjust: Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ὡς οὐ ποιέοιεν δίκαια μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο (Hdt. 5.75.1). There is no suggestion that Sparta contemplated any punishment of Corinth, nor any attempt to compel their compliance with the alliance.[94]

Despite this hint that Sparta could tolerate a limited form of decentralized decision-making within the league, it is clear that assemblies at Sparta were the privileged locus for deciding upon coordinated league action. Policy decisions on campaign were very much the exception. The collocation of Sparta (and, in particular, the Spartan assemblies that seem often to precede allied assemblies) as hegemon of the league and Sparta as venue for league meetings is extremely suggestive of the proprietary relationship between Sparta and her allies. The Peloponnesian League is a vertical, hierarchical organization, one where policy is determined at Sparta and primarily by the Spartans.[95] The apparent absence of communal cultic practices or other occasions for the creation and reproduction of a common identity (as "Peloponnesians" or otherwise) in the Peloponnesian League is an extremely significant point of contrast with the other two under discussion.[96]

Quite different is the Ionian league.[97] Although the Ionian league served a coordinating function in military undertakings and probably also played an informal role in the resolution of disputes between citizens of its members, its primary recurring business was tending to the cult of Poseidon Helikonios at the Panionion on Cape Mykale.[98] This common sanctuary and deity were central to the identity of the Ionians, being a linchpin of Ionian identity according to the myths of migration and the belief that the cult was brought from Helike in Achaia.[99]

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93 On this passage, see Cawkwell 1993: 367–68.

94 This episode is central to debates over the reconstructed constitutional history of the early Peloponnesian League. I would prefer to point out that the Corinthian option is always available within any institutional structure for coordinating action. Ultimately, no one can be compelled to perform any action if they are willing to pay the penalties of non-compliance. Military alliances are an obvious form of self-enforcing agreement, which remain "in force as long as each party believes himself to be better off by continuing the agreement than he would be by ending it," with the caveat that "ending it" could include military reprisals in the case of international politics (Telser 1980: 27).

95 For a thorough discussion of Sparta's supremacy within the league, see de Ste. Croix 1972: 108–13.

96 Of course, the member states were united by certain shared identities, especially as Dorians. What is significant, however, is the lack of communal practices or rituals deploying or operationalizing these commonalities within the context of the League.

97 For the Ionian league, particularly its origins and characteristics in the Archaic period, see Frame 2009 ch. 10 and references above, n. 87.

98 The archaeological evidence is not really relevant to the present discussion, but readers should be aware that the site long identified as the Panionion (on a hill called Otomatiktepe rising above the village of Güzelçamlı) contains little or no material of Archaic date. As a result, there is a controversy over whether it is the site of the Archaic Panionion, or merely the Hellenistic one; and, in the latter case, whether a different site recently discovered higher up in the mountains to the south is the Archaic Panionion. For the debate, see Lohmann 2011 and Herda 2006a, with further bibliography (also Herda 2016); the basic publication of the later site is Kleiner et al. 1967.

99 See, e.g., Caspari 1915, Hall 1997: 51–54, Smarczyk 2000, Mac Sweeney 2013, and Mackil 2013: 194–99.

Ionian identity and membership in the Ionian League were heavily contested, as every reader of Herodotus knows.[100] And this identity was fiercely guarded by the cities concerned, and remained so for a long time.[101] For Herodotus, this attitude of artificial exclusivity was among the most salient characteristics of the Archaic Ionian league:

> αἱ δὲ δυώδεκα πόλιες αὗται τῶι τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῶι οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων ... ὡς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγόνασι, μωρίη πολλὴ λέγειν (Hdt. 1.143–46).
>
> …but these twelve cities rejoiced in the name [of Ionian] and founded a sanctuary amongst themselves, and gave it the name 'All-Ionians-place', but were unwilling to share it with any of the other Ionians whatsoever … but to say that these men were somehow more Ionian than the other Ionians, or in any respect better born, is very foolish.

Some have argued, without denying its federal character, that the Archaic Panionion was controlled or at least administered by Priene, on the other side of the Mykale, or even by Miletos. While this is possible, such theories have little to do with any specific evidence. Rather, the right to share in the federal sanctuary was, as Herodotus indicates, a chief index of membership in the category "Ionian" as defined by the Dodecapolis. Not only was the sanctuary—and its associated festival, the Panionia—perhaps the crucial site of this Anatolian version of Ionian identity, but the Panionion was a place for communal decision-making. While the league itself was by no means a federal state, even an inchoate one, it did provide bundled channels of interaction through which the Panionion was able repeatedly to figure as a site for joint action. Thus, on multiple occasions around the time of the Ionian Revolt, representatives of the cities convened at the Panionion to determine policy in an emergency.

> Ἴωνες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἔπεμπον προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοισι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον καὶ βουλευομένοισι ἔδοξε... (Hdt. 6.7)
>
> When they learned about these developments, the Ionians sent their delegates to the Panionion. After they arrived in that place and deliberated, they decided…

Earlier, after the fall of Croesus, it was to the Panionion that the Ionians (except for the Milesians) had repaired more than once to decide on their response to Cyrus (Hdt. 1.141, 1.170). In none of these meetings, however, is there any suggestion that one of the Ionian cities predominated over the rest *de jure* or even *de facto*, nor is there any real need to posit a "central authority…to issue the summons," since on matters of such obviously grave common interest it would be easy enough for spontaneous self-organization to occur.[102] The Panionion was, then, the locus for a horizontal and heterarchical league of Ionian cities, where shared identity was more important than discrepancies of power. And the Ionian league centered around the Panionion was primilarily a religious union, rather than a military alliance.

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[100] For a thorough review of the Ionian migration myths, the mythistory of the early League, and the development of the canonical dodecapolis, see Frame 2009, ch. 10; cf. Roebuck 1955.

[101] Mac Sweeney 2013: 158.

[102] *Contra* Roebuck 1955: 27.

A point-by-point comparison shows that the Peloponnesian and Ionian leagues are nearly polar opposites in the relationship between their central places and their institutional essence. While the Panionion was at times used as a venue for deliberation, the Ionian league was not primarily directed toward joint action, but, rather, toward the articulation of the boundaries of their shared identity at the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios. For the Peloponnesian league, the symbolic significance of Sparta, its central place, was subordinated to its practical role as a place for making decisions. The Ionian league was horizontally organized, with no hegemonic leader; the Peloponnesian league was vertical, with Sparta's position at the head of the alliance challenged only in limited ways, even by other large member states.

In one crucially important sense, however, Sparta and the Panionion are much like one another: they are sites of deliberation and debate, but not sites of contestation. Each venue expresses a specific, stable ordering of the entities that they implicate. The apparently egalitarian nature of cult and the heterarchical nature of decision-making at the Panionion reproduced the recognition that the twelve cities equally shared in Ionian identity—even though they contested the definition of that identity in other venues and in other ways.[103] Ionian identity, that is, was not at all straightforward, but its contestation was simply not part of the scene at the Mykale. Not located conceptually within the sphere of any one polis, the Panionion was also never used, it seems, by one member to stake a claim to supremacy over the others. For the Peloponnesian league, by contrast, the physical centrality of Sparta in allied decision-making reinforced the supremacy of Sparta over her allies, just as the requirement to present φόρος at the Panathenaia was later to do, more dramatically, within the Athenian empire. Although allies were clearly free to disagree with Sparta while debating joint policy, the underlying arrangement of subordination was not contested.

These conclusions are obvious in the sense that the Peloponnesian league was an imperial arrangement used as an instrument of Spartan power, while the Ionian league was a collaborative religious union. If, however, as argued above, it is basically wrong to see Delos and the Panionion as rival sites of Ionian identity formation and display, and if it is wrong to see Delos as a quintessentially Ionian cult center, then the choice of Delos as meeting place for allied assemblies sharply differentiates the Delian from the Peloponnesian and Ionian leagues. Stated thus, this is a familiar point, but it acquires new significance in light of the rejection of the Ionian-sanctuary paradigm and the attention to Delos as a space—as landscape. Even though the evidence shows that Athens was more than merely a benevolent hegemon from the beginning, the decision initially to center the alliance around Delos rather than Athens signals a comparatively open structure, one that is neither exclusive nor proprietary. That is, while the Delian League instantiated a version of the center-periphery model in its institutional structure as a military hegemony, the political landscape of the league as manifest in the physical world was significantly more diffuse, even heterarchical.

Unlike Sparta as center of the Peloponnesian league, Delos was not a space integral to the Athenian state; and, unlike Mykale, it had functioned not as the focus of a unitary identity that was

[103] See Frame 2009 ch. 10 and Mac Sweeney 2013 for discussions of the way in which, for example, Codrid origins were used to claim primacy and articulate differences within the Dodecapolis; and see Hdt. 1.142.3–4 for cultural difference internal to Ionia.

enacted and recreated through performance and ritual, but as a locus of fierce contestation. A sequence of Archaic thalassocracies and grandees used Delos as a venue for display and competition because it was an important Panhellenic—or at least Pan-pelagic—sanctuary located at the center of the Aegean world. The idea of a series of dominations is a misleading mirage created by overreading the evidence and reifying assertive claims into actual structures of control, but it does get at an essential truth about how important it could be to claim power over the island. And Delos remained an open, contestatory space into the fifth century, and it surely was for this reason, rather than its rather limited importance as a locus of Ionian identity, that it became headquarters of the new League. In fact, the second quarter of the fifth century saw an amplification in the use of Delos for the articulation of relationships between Aegean poleis, with the League providing a new context and field—and Athens becoming a reference point, if you like—that brought up new matters of concern.[104] Indeed, even the nature of the League itself was at stake.

4. Tribute

For those familiar with the fiscality of many other empires, it can seem surprising that the Athenian league or empire never minted a coordinated, league-wide coinage. Although a large number of member cities besides Athens issued their own coinages at times during the fifth century, the closest approach to a coordinated coinage system took the form of the Athenian standards decree imposing Athens' own coinage (or at least weight standards) on all the allies.[105] In this respect, the league differed from numerous other international political organizations in the late Archaic and Classical periods—most notably Boiotia, but also those cities of Ionia that (perhaps) minted a joint coinage during their revolt against Persia.[106] Instead of a common coinage, it seems Athens preferred to control a common treasury. Before *ca.* 454, that treasury was kept on the island of Delos; afterward, in Athens.[107]

The fact that the league maintained a joint treasury under Athenian control from the beginning is of signal importance for understanding how the empire worked by comparison with other polities characterized by imperialistic hegemony. In particular, it is one of many good reasons to call the league an empire, and to reject Morris's argument that it be viewed as a case of derailed unitary state formation.[108] Relevant at present is what the tribute meant at a discursive level for the constituent states of the Delian league. Some scholars have long recognized

[104] Kowalzig 2007, ch. 2.

[105] See Hatzopoulos 2013–2014, Kroll 2009, and Figueira 2006—with much earlier bibliography.

[106] On cooperative coinages, see Mackil and van Alfen 2006, with references; for the Ionian revolt staters, see Gardner 1911 and Kraay 1976: 30.

[107] This move is, of course, commonly taken to be the moment when Athens unjustly appropriated total control of the league, transforming a still semi-voluntary military alliance into an "empire." Although I find the arguments of Pritchett 1969 reasonably convincing—he is obviously correct in disaggregating the relocation of the treasury itself from the decision to dedicate ἀπαρχαί to Athena beginning in 454/3—I follow nearly all other scholars since the nineteenth century in assuming that the Athenian Tribute Lists begin shortly after the relocation of the treasury, rather than many years later. Noel Robertson (1980) has made the strongest case so far for an earlier relocation (in 462/1), but see Samons 2000: 101–2 for a rebuttal.

[108] See above, pp. 25–26.

and discussed the symbolism of the φόρος in the period after 454, when the allies paraded their tribute at the Dionysia.[109] As much as anything else, this display (involving imagery that can be compared to imperial Persian reliefs depicting tributary processions) made manifest Athens' successful institutional capture of the alliance.[110] What has been overlooked, however, is the nature of the league treasury and the semiotics of its finances during the period *before* 454. Virtually all attention concerning this period has been paid to the tribute's volume and apportionment. The focus is most commonly on alleged contradictions in Thucydides' report of the initial assessment as 460 talents with the other information he directly or indirectly provides about the φόρος as well as with the Athenian Tribute Lists.[111] The system of the φόρος itself—its institutional structure, implications, and meanings—is, however, far more important than such details.

The fact that a tithe, ἀπαρχή, of (at least part of) imperial revenues was offered to the poliadic goddess of Athens from 454 establishes a connection between the allies' political obligation to pay tribute to Athens, and a religious obligation to the divinity.[112] A number of scholars have suggested that Athena merely took over for Apollo in 454, assuming that the latter god had received a tithe of the tribute during the period of the Delian League.[113] Although ingenious,

[109] See, e.g., Raubitschek 1941 and Goldhill 1990 (with further bibliography).

[110] In an unpublished paper about the Persian resonances of Athenian imperial architecture, Emily Wilson (of the University of Chicago) evocatively writes that the allies, "who carried their tribute into the theatre, mimicked in living flesh the stone sculptures of the Apadana" in Persepolis (Wilson 2010: 3; cf. Briant 2002: 199 and Raaflaub 2009: 107). There is a firm consensus that the Athenians never contributed to the league via the mechanism of φόρος; likewise, Persians did not themselves pay tribute to the King.

[111] See, for example, Samons 2000: 84–91 for a lengthy evaluation of different perspectives on this initial assessment; on these issues, I largely agree with French 1972, a superb discussion of the early tribute system. Even Christopher Tuplin's lengthy and useful article on the place of Delos within Athenian imperialism mentions the treasury merely to discuss its removal (Tuplin 2006: 18).

[112] Jim 2014: 204–6.

[113] There is no positive evidence for the tithe to Apollo. If there was one, it may well be connected to the construction and abandonment of the temple of Apollo (*GD* 13) assumed to have been caused by the relocation of the treasury, but such an argument rests on a tissue of circular assumptions. A reading of the prescript of the first quota list is the strongest argument in favor of the tithe to Apollo. In *IG* I³ 259, 1-4, the passage is restored as follows: [ἀπαρχαὶ hαίδε χορὶς χ]σύμ[πασαι παρ]ὰ τὸν hελλ[ενοτ]αμιὸν h[οῖς . . . 7 . . .]|[. . . 7 . . . ἐγραμμάτευ]ε πρ[ὸ]τ[αι τοῖσι] τριάκο[ντα ἀπ]εφάνθεσαν [τêι θεôι]|[τô χσυμμαχικô φόρο ἐ]πὶ Ἀρίσ[τονος] ἄρχοντος Ἀ[θεν]αίοις μνᾶ ἀ[πὸ τô ταλ]|[άντο], or "these individual *aparchai* all together were declared, for the first time, to the Thirty by the Hellenotamiai, when … was their secretary, to the goddess from the allied tribute, when Ariston was archon in Athens, one mina per talent." After publishing this restoration, Meritt writes: "The naming of the quotas as the first to be given to the goddess implies that there had been quotas earlier and that they had not been given to the goddess. The beneficiary had doubtless been Apollo at Delos" (Meritt 1972: 416). This is perhaps the strongest assertion of the idea, but Meritt's logic is unconvincing: the recorded tithes are the "first" with respect to the second, third, fourth, and every subsequent, future tithe; these are envisaged by both the language of the prescript and the enormous stone chosen for the lists (on the *lapis primus*, see Miles 2011). In reality, the prescript is equally compatible with a new tithe, an old tithe now being inscribed for the first time because of a procedural change (declaration to the Thirty), or a preexisting tithe "redirected" from Apollo to Athena. Meiggs makes a more moderate claim (1972: 237): "The simplest explanation [for the *aparchai*] is that Athens was translating into Athenian terms the procedure that had been followed on Delos" (cf. Smarczyk 1990: 31 n. 2). But this simply pushes the origin back to 478 instead of 454, explaining nothing. Hammond (1967: 42), Meiggs and Lewis (tentatively: *ML* 39, p. 84), Rhodes (*CAH*² V: 38), Chankowski (2008: 40), and Bonnin 2015: 102 all affirm the idea. The old general histories—by Busolt, Beloch, Glotz, and Bury, for example—do

there is no evidence for this contention.[114] It does, however, highlight the religious character of the φόρος and the bundling of religious with political obligations—these being ultimately merely discrepantly focalized characterizations of the same structure of control, as the preceding chapter showed—inherited from the practices of the Archaic period when religion broadly understood functioned more fully as the discourse within which politics occurred. That is to say that the tribute is itself a religious dimension of the empire.

Before this religious dimension can be brought to the fore, however, the innovatory nature of the φόρος must be emphasized. Scholars have tended to try to write *histoire événementielle* out of the tribute lists, but the φόρος's primary importance is probably as a structure for expressing the relationships between member states. As Finley remarked, "the 'tribute lists' are not a synonym for the empire"; indeed, the attempt to use the lists as a source for narrative history is fundamentally misguided with the result that scholarship in that vein is equally fundamentally unreliable.[115] We simply do not know enough about the different factors that combined to produce the recorded tithes; and so speculative scenarios designed to explain apparent absences, temporary diminutions, and so on may seem locally plausible but are as a class globally unfounded. The tribute cannot safely be used as a proxy for the narrative history of the empire.[116] Nevertheless, as a fact of life, and as an element in the structuring of the ἀρχή, the tribute was vital.

Most obviously, the institution of φόρος as a recurring payment of a fixed and substantial quantity of money, assessed by the alliance's leader, is not a feature of Greek alliances before the Delian league, nor in fact of any enduring earlier interstate polity in the Greek world.[117] In Greek alliances, it was normal for the individual states to meet their own campaign expenses (canonically or theoretically borne by the soldiers themselves), with contributions directly to

not seem to discuss the question. Laidlaw's (1933: 65) history of Delos offers the earliest example of the claim I have located (Smarczyk 1990: 39 n. 23, with further bibliography), but it is also possible that the idea originated slightly earlier in the specialized literature on the tribute-list fragments, going at that time through a flowering.

[114] A new institution of the tithe fits so well with the Athenian habit of imposing religious obligations on the allies that there is no trouble dating it to 454.

[115] Finley 1978: 111.

[116] Along with Finley, this conclusion is drawn from—and is the logical endpoint of—French 1972, though I put it more baldly than anything to be found there; for further rehearsals of these points, see Unz 1985 and Constantakopoulou 2013: 26–28.

[117] On the novelty of the tribute, see especially Murray 1966 and Whitehead 1998, where the suggestion is entertained that the very use of the term φόρος for tribute was itself an invention of the Delian League; also see Kallet-Marx 1993: 44–47. Note, however, apropos Whitehead, Chankowski's point that the distinction between φόρος and δάσμος is actual as well as euphemistic (2007: 324–325); and more seriously that Kallet's citation of Plut. *Arist.* 24.1, where he states that the Greeks had made contributions to the so-called Hellenic league, ἐτέλουν... ἀποφοράν, is somewhat misleading. *Contra* Kallet, that this could and, if Plutarch is taken seriously as historical evidence, should count as a meaningful predecessor to the Athenian φόρος itself is indicated by the continuation: "but they [the Greeks], wishing to be assessed what was in fair proportion to each [ἑκάστοις τὸ μέτριον], city by city, asked for Aristeides…" This seems to imply that their contribution—at Hdt. 2.109, ἀποφορή is an annual property tax on land—was imposed in an unfair fashion, and the desire to rectify the situation implies its foreseen continuance into the future. Nothing else is known about this common fund. Probably similar is the case of late-sixth century financial contributions to "the Boiotians," ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν (Hdt. 6.108.5). For the fiscal meaning of this phrase, see Mackil 2014: 47–48.

the overarching collective effort being of an *ad hoc* quality. Whatever scenarios for the assessment, collection, and accumulation of the treasury be selected, it remains certain that the Delian league as an entity could draw on far greater fiscal resources than other alliances of the time. The classic comparison is to the so-called Spartan war fund of the mid-420s: *IG* V.1 1 + *SEG* XXXIX 370. The uniqueness, small sums of money (and contributions in kind), and lack of coverage of the Peloponnesian League members in this inscription offer a striking contrast to the Athenian tribute lists.[118] This is normally taken—see, of course, Thuc. 1.19—to be a sign of the very different characters of the two leagues; the Peloponnesians conducted war along the traditional alliance lines. In the Athenian empire, by contrast, money is evidently a central concern from the very beginning.[119] This cashes out *inter alia* in the novel coupling of treasury to alliance—of ταμιεῖον to συμμαχία.

The φόρος stands out in the ecology of Greek taxation for three additional reasons.[120] The first is that it is a direct tax: a specific amount, directly requisitioned from the polities constitutive of the league, rather than a fee charged or percentage assessed on economic activity. Direct taxation, such as the Athenian εἰσφορά, though by no means unknown, was irregular in the fifth century; most tax revenue was derived from indirect taxation on the movement of persons and goods.[121] By contrast, the tribute was directly assessed on the land of the allies, as well as on their own internal tax revenues, public resources, and/or mercantile capacity.[122] Although member cities presumably raised the funds for the tribute primarily through indirect taxes, at the *arche*'s level of abstraction it turns out to be a direct tax.[123]

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[118] In reality, the cases are virtually incommensurate. More recent scholarship has demonstrated that the contributions in the Spartan list are not even contemporaneous (see especially Matthaiou 2011: 35–43, with the latest and best text; cf. *ML* 67). The same entities recur, and if Matthaiou is right the list opens with a group of Ephesians friendly to the Spartans; then the Ephesians as a state appear at the end (ll. 1-2, 23-24 respectively), more or less proving temporal extension. So a better comparison to the Spartan war-fund inscription would in fact be lists of voluntary subscriptions and contributions, such as the dossiers of those contributing to the Thebans in the Third Sacred War (*IG* VII 2418, *GHI* 57) or to the rebuilding of Thebes in the early third century (Holleaux 1895).

[119] To cite Kallet once more, her recent reconsideration of the economic aspect of the early league actions demonstrates that Athens deployed the alliance for her own economic advantage from the very beginning: "we should regard the development of the *arche* not in terms of a change of collective attitude or aim but of the accretion of power necessary to secure economic goals" (Kallet 2013: 57).

[120] For overviews of Greek public finance in the relevant period, drawn on throughout this section, see Andreades 1933, Purcell 2005, and Mackil 2015.

[121] See, e.g., Thomsen 1964: 105–46. For a useful guide to the evidence and bibliography on Athenian taxation, highlighting the great diversity of indirect taxes, see Fawcett 2016.

[122] According to the same Plutarch passage quoted above, Aristeides based the cities' tribute level on the ability of their χώρα τε καὶ προσόδοι to bear it (*Arist.* 24.1). The exact nature of the assessment is of course contentious, not least because of doubts about Plutarch's reliability. Bjørn Paarmann's dissertation offers a useful historiographical survey (2007: 64–73). I subscribe to the view that the Athenian assessment was not taken over from the Persian tribute (also see Murray 1966); and that it was based not only on agricultural land but general ability to pay. This is not to suggest a mechanistic relationship between ability and assessment, only a loose correlation as a baseline from which many modifications were made for different reasons.

[123] Samons 2000: 182 collects what he takes to be evidence that "most cities or *synteleis* collected their tribute payments through local *eisphorai*, or property taxes." He cites, for example, the Thoudippos decree: τ[ὸ]ν δὲ φόρο[ν ὀλέζ]ο μὲ π[όλει νῦν ταχσάντ]ον μ[ε]δεμιᾶι ἢ ho[πόσον πρὸ τô ἐτύγχανον ἀπάγ]οντ[ες] ἐὰμ μέ τ[ις φαίν]ετα[ι ἀπορία hόστε ὅσ]ες τ[ῆ]ς χόρας ἀδυ[νάτο μὲ πλείο ἀπάγεν], or "and let them assess the tribute for no city at a lesser value

Second, when direct taxes were levied [before the later fourth century], they could often be figured as gifts. This is paradigmatically true of, for example, the Athenian liturgy system. Schematically speaking, the payment of liturgies occupied a transitional space between elite display (characteristic of the Archaic period) and taxation in the normal sense. Liturgies interestingly fused obligation and volunteerism, aristocratic flamboyance and bureacratic fiscality. As Murray notes, however, the idea of "gift" is not part of the semantic domain of φόρος (or in general Greek taxation *sensu stricto*), a striking divergence from cross-cultural parallels.[124] This raises the point that different revenue streams for the polis could be represented discrepantly; they did not have a unitary, stable meaning. Consider the question of who gave the league's *aparchai* to Athena. Some have dogmatically asserted that the φόρος was Athenian property, and that, therefore, it was Athens who gave the tithe.[125] Since the tribute lists record these payments by city, however, the situation was at the very least somewhat more ambiguous than that dogma—perhaps productively so. The word φόρος is always translated as tribute, and the system is not generally or canonically considered as a tax except in the broadest sense. In English usage—here we must bear in mind both the lack of correspondence between English and Greek concepts, and perhaps more importantly the evident lack of consistent systematicity in the latter—tribute always implies a hierarchy of power (or, metaphorically, value), one that is often personalized. Emperors receive tribute. Taxation is a far more neutral term. One man's tax, though, could be another's tribute. It is worth considering, then, that the φόρος was later figured unambiguously as not-a-gift, while also spectacularly failing to be assimilated to less

than whatever they paid before, unless some difficulty comes to light, so that it is impossible to pay more with the land being as it is" (*IG* I^3 71, ll. 20-22, epigraphical sigla omitted). Leaving aside the problems of restoration—see Paarmann 2007: 79 and 142 for a more conservative text and a useful *app. crit.* with light commentary—the text of *IG* indicates that the φόρος depended (in part) on the city's ability to pay. Samons's logic seems to be that the decree's provision for agricultural failure implies that the φόρος was raised as a direct property tax, εἰσφορά, calculated against property in land, but this conclusion is in no way warranted. The civic revenues of the Greek city derived in large part from targeting the diverse range of productive activities that occur in the Mediterranean ecology, and an ἀπορία τῆς γῆς would be equally devastating to a city's ability to pay the tribute whether it did so via εἰσφοραί or indirect taxes. A fragment of Antiphon's lost speech Περὶ τοῦ Σαμοθραικῶν φόρου, presumably appealing one of Athens' assessments, hints at what kind of arguments might prevail in an Athenian court: ἡ <μὲν> γὰρ νῆσος, ἣν ἔχομεν, δήλη μὲν καὶ πόρρωθεν <ὅτι> ἐστὶν ὑψηλὴ καὶ τραχεῖα· καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήσιμα καὶ ἐργάσιμα μικρὰ αὐτῆς ἐστι, τὰ δ' ἀργὰ πολλά, μικρᾶς αὐτῆς οὔσης, "for our island, which we occupy, is clear even from far off in being mountainous and rugged; and its useful and fruitful parts are few, but the uncultivated parts are many, small though it is" (fr. 50 Thalheim—Blass). Samons cites this as another sign that agricultural productivity in connection with the φόρος entails direct taxation, to which the same objection applies. More interestingly, in another fragment of the same speech, Antiphon says that the Samothracians selected as ἐκλογεῖς, tax-collectors, the richest citizens (fr. 52). Samons does not mention this fragment, but it would appear to imply that tax collection was farmed out to the most prominent citizens (not unlike the complex business dealings implicit in the fourth-century grain-tax law; see Stroud 1998: 67, 70–71, 114), rather than simply assessed on them (*contra* Constantakopoulou's offhand assessment of this passage as showing that "the burden of the tribute fell on the rich citizens of each community" [2013: 34]).

[124] Murray 1966: 153.

[125] "There is no suggestion in the wording [of the first list's prescript] that it was paid by the allies or on the recommendation of the allies. It was paid, it seems, by the Athenians and the decision was theirs" (Meiggs 1972: 236–37). More moderate is the view of Samons, who suggests that "the decision to pay quotas to Athena arguably suggest[s] that . . . the Athenians had already begun to view the tribute as more or less their own" (2000: 73). Conversely, others have argued that even the tribute itself was purely the property of the allies, not the allies and Athens, let alone Athens: Hammond 1967: 53.

marked revenue sources, such as harborage fees. These issues—the semiotics of the representation of the φόρος—will recur.

And finally—to expand on this last point, and add one pertaining only to the post-Delos period—the recording of the tribute payments beginning in 454 publicizes the payment of this contribution to the *arche* in a way not well paralleled within the world of Classical Greek public finance.[126] This kind of record keeping is notoriously more common in religious contexts—the sanctuary records from Delos are perhaps the best *corpus*, but just one of many examples—than in the realm of public finance *per se*.

All four of these features, departures from the Greek norm—of alliance finance and of taxation generally—bring the φόρος closer to the concept of imperial tribute or taxation as practiced outside the Greek world than to any known contemporary Greek parallels. Indeed, several scholars have treated the φόρος as an inheritance from the Persian empire—a tantalizing conjecture.[127] If so, it is best understood as part of the wholesale adaptation of Persian techniques of imperial control by the Athenians in the 470s and afterward, as discussed above in the first chapter.[128]

The φόρος was, in short, a very novel institution; it is no exaggeration to single it out as the central feature of the Delian League, not because it funded the League's activities but by virtue of its very existence and structure. In fact, it looks from the textual evidence surrounding the relocation of the treasury that very little of the φόρος was ever actually spent before 454—a bizarre fact that has led many scholars to explain away the evidence.[129]

As indicated above, I would like to draw special attention to the φόρος as a religious dimension of the empire. The strangeness of the φόρος lies not only in the factors just adumbrated, but also in its connection to sacred treasuries and the divine generally. This material is all well known, but is normally treated in a hardnosed *Realpolitik*, accounting way; though undeniably valid and valuable, such an approach underestimates the way φόρος was shot through with the religious. It is worth recalling the marked separation between φόρος and the other sources of revenue mentioned in the famous catalogue of *prosodoi* in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (656-59). This could have several explanations, but one might be that the φόρος was viewed as categorically distinct from regular taxes.[130]

At first sight, however, the bulk of the φόρος might seem to be exactly *not* religious. The one-sixtieth tithe paid to Athena after 454 was, of course, sacred in its having become the goddess's property, but the remaining fifty-nine sixtieths, by that very act of discriminating between the

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[126] Of course, as thers have scrupulously insisted, the Athenian tribute lists are not in fact lists of the tribute paid to the imperial treasury (Giovannini 1997: 146). Paarmann's term Athenian Tribute Quotas is useful, but doesn't really solve the problem. Nevertheless, the lists ostentatiously publicized the wide compass of Athenian control and the depth of imperial resources. Column after column, row upon row, proclaimed the loyal contributions of the allied cities.

[127] See especially Murray 1966; also Meiggs 1972: 61–61, Samons 2000: 90–91, Briant 2002: 953, Paarmann 2007: 64, and Raaflaub 2009 (with additional bibliography in last three). According to Paarmann (2007: 64), the idea goes back at least to Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte* (ch. 25).

[128] Raaflaub 2009.

[129] Samons 2000: 92–100, with earlier bibliography.

[130] Indeed, Véronique Chankowski makes this point in distinguishing between τέλη and φόροι (2007: 306).

two sets, would seem to be, accordingly, rendered non-sacred. This distinction is indeed crucial, and turns up in connection with still-raging controversies such as the relationship between the φόρος and the so-called Periclean building program. As has long been noted, emic Greek distinctions between the sacred and profane may have first been fully developed in the domain of public finance.[131] Neither an exploration of the reasons behind this fact nor a discussion of the theoretical issues involved in the sacred-profane distinction, however, need be undertaken here; the argument is not that the entire φόρος is sacred in the sense of being ἱερὰ χρήματα *sensu stricto*, but that its overall association with cult means that a more culturally sensitive approach is no less germane than one which treats it as an element of fiscal history *qua* "the skeleton of the state."[132] Past attempts to argue that the φόρος was sacred have been justly criticized for making that stronger and more technical claim, which has been deployed as an aetiology for the tithe to Athena.[133]

Whether or not a tithe was paid to Apollo out of the early φόρος, Thucydides' language about the origin of the league suggests not that the funds were sacralized but only that there existed a very close connection between the god's sanctuary on Delos and the institutions of the league.

> καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή, οἳ ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον· οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς τετρακόσια τάλαντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα. ταμιεῖόν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αἱ ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίγνοντο. (Thuc. 1.96.2)
>
> And at that time the office of Hellenotamiai was first established by the Athenians, as those who received the φόρος; for thus the carrying of the funds was named. And the first φόρος was arranged at four hundred and sixty talents. And Delos was their treasury, and their gatherings occurred in the sanctuary.

Whether the league funds were actually stored in the temple of Apollo is a thorny question. It is normally believed that construction of the Grand Temple (*GD* 13) was begun under Athenian sponsorship during the 470s or 460s and abandoned in 454. Which building or buildings, if any, were used as Apollo's temple before that date is controversial.[134] Meiggs glossed Thucydides 1.96.2 by claiming that the tribute was stored "in the temple at Delos, presumably Apollo's temple."[135] There is, however, no mention of a temple in what Thucydides writes, and since not even a fragment of the records or inventories of the Hellenotamiai survive, it is not possible to speculate in an informed way on the *realia* of their practices. What is clear is that its physical location was directly associated, at least by Thucydides, with the sanctuary on Delos. The tribute not only went largely unspent before 454, but also was, therefore, being stockpiled for more than two decades in the sanctuary of Apollo; this fact alone would have given it a significant

[131] Connor 1988: 164–66.

[132] In Schumpeter's translation of Rudolf Goldscheid's definition of a state's budget as "the skeleton of the state stripped of all misleading ideologies" (*apud* Kaye 2012: 1). The sacred-profane distinction has been much discussed. See especially Connor 1988, but also Migeotte 1998, Scullion 2005, Blok 2010, Papazarkadas 2011: 1–13.

[133] Samons 2000: 74–75, with bibliography.

[134] For example, Roux argued that the sixth-century *porinos naos* (*GD* 11) was never used as a temple of Apollo, while most other scholars would suggest it was; similarly, the possible use of the oikos of the Naxians as a temple is sometimes accepted.

[135] Meiggs 1972: 234.

religious charge, without its being strictly consecrated after the fashion of the later tithe.[136]

The religious dimensions of the φόρος are balanced by and justify its predatory elements. In effect, the φόρος can be seen—though this is hardly the whole picture—as a religiously sanctioned transformation of ἀργυρολογία, or the forceful exaction of money, into a standing institution. Consider the story Herodotus tells about Themistocles' expedition to punish and extract wealth from Medizing islanders after the battle of Salamis.[137] The besieged Andrians retorted, in Herodotus' story, that they could not pay Themistocles because their island was poor.[138]

> The Greeks, since they had decided against pursuing the barbarians' ships further and also against sailing to break the bridges over the Hellespont, beleaguered Andros with the purpose of taking it. For the Andrians, the first of the islanders to be asked for money by Themistocles, had refused him… [exchange between Themistocles and the Andrians] Such was the answer of the Andrians, and they gave no money and were now besieged. Themistocles, whose greed for money was insatiable, kept sending threatening messages to the other islands, asking for money through the same emissaries he had used with the King. He said that if they did not pay up he would lead the host of the Greeks upon them and destroy them by siege. By such arguments he collected great sums from the Carystians and the Parians when these people learned that Andros was besieged because it had taken the King's side and that Themistocles was the most highly regarded of the generals; and so they were afraid and sent money. Whether there were other islands who paid I cannot exactly say, though I believe that there were others, and not these alone [εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μούνους], although the Carystians got no respite from misfortune by the payment. But the Parians did escape the assault of the Greek army by propitiating Themistocles with money. So Themistocles, making Andros his base, got money from the rest of the islanders, unknown to the other generals. (Hdt. 8.111-12, Grene trans.)

This story will turn out to have further significance later; for present purposes, it illustrates how foundational was fundraising to the Delian League. Themistocles' extortionary expedition partly seems like a repetition of Miltiades' attack on Paros after Marathon, which Herodotus presents more straightforwardly as aimed purely at plunder—although the whole episode is rather less clear—but from an only very slightly rationalizing perspective they are both also examples or premonitions of ἀργυρολογία, the forceful collection of tribute money owed to Athens common in Thucydides' narrative.[139] What is even more revealing is that Herodotus explic-

[136] It is even possible that this is the real aetiology for the tithe to Athena. Although Samons seems to be understandably skeptical of the stockpiling of the φόρος, the evidence he examines suggests that most had gone unspent up to 454 (2000: 92–100).

[137] A story that has been much discussed in recent decades by historical geographers for its connections to tropes of island poverty; see, e.g., Constantakopoulou 2007: 99–106, with further bibliography. Also see Constantakopoulou 2007: 76–88 for the idea of "islanders" as the natural allies of Athens, and Bonnin 2015: 113–15 for a different treatment of the Herodotean episode.

[138] Compare the fragment from Antiphon's Περὶ τοῦ Σαμοθραικῶν φόρου, cited above at n. 123.

[139] E.g., Thuc 2.69; 3.19, 4.50. On Miltiades' expedition, see Develin 1977 and Neer 2004.

itly figures Themistocles' actions as a substitute for pressing on against the Persians: military aggression toward the retreating enemy is displaced into a punitive expedition against Medizers (διότι ἐμήδισε). In the structure of the account, suppling funds to Athens (as the advocate of Greek interests after Salamis) is equivalent to carrying on the war against the Persians. This is, of course, the exact logic of the Delian League φόρος system developed slightly later: contributions may be either financial or military. Although the contributions here are entirely involuntary, the lineaments of the system are essentially the same. Thucydides' explanation of the name φόρος acquires, in the present connection, a sinister valence: οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά (1.96.2) reflects an Athenian (re)naming of a preexisting (or precedented) social fact, as the system of requiring contributions became institutionalized.[140]

The states that joined together to create the Delian League agreed to fund a common treasury, into which they paid dues that seem to have been much higher than actually needed for their joint military activities.[141] These payments were a meritorious obligation, one that the founding members were initially happy to pay, even if they sought at times to lower their contributions using the rhetoric of ability and equity. The stockpiling of the φόρος on Delos makes more sense when it is viewed as a positive expression of loyalty to the Greek cause, the exact inverse of the money forcefully extracted from Medizing islanders, rather than solely as the bank account of a military alliance. Tribute, in short, was *inter alia* a language in which political positions could be articulated.

Moreover, the language was not limited solely to the binary of loyal/medizing, but could with greater suppleness express a range of positions. In particular, from within the framework of cultural history adopted here for the discussion of the tribute, the choice of Delos as headquarters cannot be seen simply as a curious detail quickly remedied by its more logical and legibly imperialist relocation to Athens. Instead, it must be connected to the respective affordances of Delos and Athens, and more pressingly to the prehistory of the φόρος as a punishment for Medizing island poleis and as intimately bound up with the creation of a unified Greek resistance to the Persians after 479/8, centered around Delos. Delos turned out to be a place where states other than Athens could speak in the language of tribute.

5. Treasuries

> "Divergent interpretations vie for supremacy, each the pragmatic realization of specific interests in a conflict that twists and turns but never goes away…" (Herzfeld 1991: 34–36)

The multivocality of Delos, explored above, finds specific expression in the fact that several cities built treasuries in the sanctuary in the second quarter of the fifth century. The constructions must be understood as inextricably enmeshed not simply in Delian religion, but in the Delian League with whose origins they are contemporaneous. Moreover, some of them are also

[140] The power to name a thing is a form of power in respect of the thing, as many have recognized: Bourdieu once wrote that "…the specifically symbolic power to impose the principles of the construction of reality… is a major dimension of political power" (1977: 165). Also see Goldschläger 1982.

[141] Which were presumably largely funded with booty.

responses, it seems, to Cycladic Medism during the Persian invasions.

To take a step back, Greek sanctuaries had many practical requirements. These included spaces for the assembly of people and the storage of dedications and cult items. Beyond the canonical peripteral temple, sanctuaries were therefore full of a wide variety of smaller buildings, such as *hestiatoria*, nonperipteral temples, *leschai*, and treasuries. In many cases, the identification of a given structure as one of those types (an act of functional classification) has been highly contentious in the literature, and a recognition of the instability of the categories themselves in earlier Greece is becoming a more attractive proposition. In one case, though, there is a relatively clear architectural type associated with the functional descriptor: the treasury. Treasuries have been widely studied both individually, especially in the form of the publication of those associated with the Panhellenic sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia, and as a class. Their architectural characteristics can be quickly summarized as follows: they essentially look like small nonperipteral temples, with a cella and pronaos, normally built for security rather than ease of access.[142] In many cases, they were lavishly decorated and built to make a strong visual impression.[143]

The defining feature of treasuries as a modern class, however, is their extraterritoriality. Built in Delphi and Olympia by cities spread across the Greek world, they retained a unique bond with the *polis* that built them.[144] This distinguishes treasuries as a scholarly category from architecturally identical, and functionally similar, storerooms: thus, for example, the smaller of two adjacent cult buildings in the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous may have been the original temple later "demoted" to storeroom, or it may have been a temple of Themis, or it may have been a storeroom all along—but it was certainly not a treasury in the same sense as those at Delphi and Olympia, for it was an Attic construction in Attica.

Lastly, there is the question of what treasuries were for. In literary and epigraphical sources, the buildings we call treasuries are variously referred to as θησαυροί, ναοί, or οἶκοι, a useful reminder that ancient usage does not correspond in any consistent way to modern taxonomies in this as in other domains. The latter two terms indicate a lack of fixed terminological distinction between treasuries and temples, while the former more straightforwardly indicates their function as holders of valuable objects. This seems to be their main function: in literary narrative as well as inscribed accounts, treasuries hold dedications and cultic paraphernalia. The special link between the treasuries and the cities that built them cashes out in their having been used primarily, though by no means only, to house not just any dedications and cultic paraphernalia but specifically those dedicated by citizens of the city in question, or by the *polis* itself. In short, treasuries in the strict sense are, in Richard Neer's words, "strong houses for storing dedications and goods and sacred things, typically distyle-in-antis and difficult of access, dedicated by a community outside its own territory, and specially associated with that community and

[142] Neer 2001: 275–77 with earlier bibliography.

[143] In addition to the more widely discussed cases of the Athenian and Siphnian treasuries, consider, for example, the Aeolian treasury in the Marmaria at Delphi, normally identified as that of the Massaliotes, which was built of Parian marble atop a lower band of rose limestone and bore friezes superbly carved in high relief: *FD* IV, 2: 25–55; Daux 1958: 358–67; Bommelaer 1991: 62–65; Amandry and Chamoux 1991: 49–51; Langlotz 1975: 45–58; Garsson 2012.

[144] Neer 2001.

its citizens."[145] Neer's definition is an elaboration of Rups' earlier description: "a building set up to contain votives, most specifically, the votives of its dedicators."[146]

Since Rups, this view of a storage function, and the idea of "framing the gift" that goes along with it, has prevailed, but in one of the few synthetic interpretations of treasuries as a phenomenon, Louis Dyer long ago argued in favor of viewing them as centers of cultic activity carried out in the Panhellenic sanctuaries by the citizens of the *poleis* that built the treasuries.[147] Dyer's argument revolves around the use of the term οἶκος for treasuries and relies on unhelpfully collapsing several other types of small sanctuary buildings (such as the *lesche* of the Knidians at Delphi) into the general category of treasury, which he then emphasizes is a sort of quasi-temple. They are, that is, religious structures just as much as are temples—though their function may differ—rather than wholly prosaic storage buildings.[148] Although several parts of his argument are shaky, Dyer's vision presages a more contemporary willingness to see neither ancient terminology nor modern architectural categories as static and absolute.[149] It is possible to imagine a treasury being described by Herodotus as a *hestiatorion*, for example, because it is possible that these structures were used for ritual dining. On the other hand, the architectural form of the treasury—as a naos-like structure that is or can be made difficult to access—must be insisted upon.[150] Dyer broadens the range of activities that can be seen as taking place in treasuries without altering their structural definition arrived at in later scholarship. In Hellenistic textual sources, mainly the inventories from Delos cited below, treasuries do often seem to be used simply as a storage rooms under the control of the religious authorities of the sanctuary (without, however, losing their association to the dedicating city), but that is not the full story of how they functioned several centuries earlier. In the Archaic and Classical periods, treasuries' links with their cities had stronger practical effect, and they mediated on a symbolic register between poliadic and international communities.[151]

Arrayed in an arc to the north of the temples of Apollo on Delos are the foundations for five treasuries (*GD* 16–20; fig. 2).[152] They are unfortunately quite poorly preserved, although various *membra disjecta* have been located and identified; evidence for remodeling also shows that

[145] Neer 2001: 279, italics removed.

[146] Rups 1986: 236, italics removed. For the literary evidence on which this is based, see Dyer 1905: 301–19 and Rups 1986: 6–10, 232–36, and *passim*.

[147] Dyer 1905. "Framing the Gift": Neer 2001.

[148] E.g., quoting Strabo's definition of treasuries (θησαυροὶ... εἰς οὓς καὶ χρήματα ἀνετίθεντο καθιερωμένα καὶ ἔργα τῶν ἀρίστων δημιουργῶν) Dyer writes that "in this definition the word καθιερωμένα requires great emphasis….[all treasuries] are built for the worship of a god" (Dyer 1905: 301).

[149] See Rups 1986: 239–48 for the most direct criticism of Dyer's article.

[150] Cf. Benchimol and Sagnier 2008: 42–43.

[151] As, for example, the Athenian treasury at Delphi has often been giving the role of "introducing" Theseus as an Attic hero to a Panhellenic audience (Neer 2004: 74–77, with the earlier bibliography).

[152] To date, the only archaeological publication of these treasuries remains their brief and very incomplete presentation to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Holleaux 1908: 171–77), although they were subsequently restudied by René Vallois, who describes them and their *membra* in great technical detail (1944–1978, I.24–25, 27; II.*passim*), and others (for a summary, see Bruneau et al. 2005: 188–89 and Benchimol and Sagnier 2008: 4–7). The treasuries are often referred to as Treasury 1, Treasury 2, and so on; but some authors number from the east and others from the west, so only the *GD* system is used here.

they continued to be used as more than warehouses for a time.[153] Several capitals have also been found, providing some of the most solid evidence for dating the treasuries' construction as opposed to use.[154] The oldest of the treasuries is *GD* 16, located at the western end of the arc; *GD* 17 is located a few meters to the east on nearly the same axis. *GD* 18 and 19 are more tightly spaced and begin to rotate so as to face the temples to their south (fig. 2). The remaining treasury, *GD* 20, is separated by several meters from *GD* 19 and is oriented north-south. Its naos opens toward *GD* 21 (the Bouleterion?) instead of the temples of Apollo. In the Marmaria at Delphi, the Doric treasury slotted in the narrow space available between the Aeolian treasury and the "temple en tuf" postdates those structures, and by the same principle it might be suggested that *GD* 18 is the latest of the five on Delos. This is no more than speculation, particularly since many of the relevant architectural fragments can only tentatively be assigned to a specific treasury. On the other hand, *GD* 17 might be the latest, inasmuch as it exhibits double-T clamps on its marble plinth blocks, while the orthostates of *GD* 19 and 20 are unclamped.[155] It is puzzling that *GD* 20 seems detached from the group, but its identification as a treasury is reasonably secure. *GD* 18–20 are all distyle in antis, typical for treasuries, while *GD* 16 is tetrastyle in antis and *GD* 17 probably is as well.[156] These two are also significantly larger than the other three; indeed, they are actually slightly larger in plan than the *Porinos naos* (*GD* 11).

A full architectural study of the treasuries is well beyond the scope of this dissertation, and would in any case be most unlikely to make relevant advances beyond Vallois' work.[157] Nevertheless, it is important to present the basics of the structures as well as some of the *membra* most relevant for establishing their chronology. The treasuries fall into two groups in size: ca. 170–185 m² (*GD* 16–17) and ca. 96–107 m² (*GD* 18–20).[158] By comparison, the *Porinos naos* is

[153] According to Benchimol and Sagnier's archival research (2008: 8–9), the initial uncovering of the treasuries went completely unrecorded in the excavation notebooks, and no unexcavated areas were left for future researchers, so it would appear that any potential stratigraphic evidence beyond a pebble pavement in *GD* 19 has been completely lost.

[154] Vallois 1944–1978, I.24–25, 27, 128–29; II.*passim*; Bruneau et al. 2005: 188; also see Rups 1986: 204–9 for a useful if partial and occasionally inaccurate collection of references to Vallois' work.

[155] Vallois 1944–1978 II.538.

[156] The facade of *GD* 17 contains enough space for either four or five columns (Vallois 1944–1978 I.128).

[157] Indeed, commenting on a recent EfA *mémoire de troisième année* devoted to *GD* 16, François Chamoux wondered (Laronde 2003: 1390, quoting Chamoux's report on Benchimol 2003), "valait-il la peine qu'un bon esprit consacrât tant de temps et d'efforts à scruter les vestiges d'un monument aussi complètement détruit et déjà étudié soigneusement par René Vallois?" The thesis has now been published: Benchimol and Sagnier 2008. In many ways, Benchimol and Sagnier's work shows that Chamoux was too pessimistic; the other treasuries still demand a proper publication. (This may be forthcoming in Roland Étienne's edited volumes, for *EAD*, revisiting the monuments, topography, and history of the sanctuary of Apollo.) It will be obvious that my presentation of the plans and architectural elements of the treasuries is almost entirely derived from Vallois (1944–1978), without whose careful study of the remains and *membra* the treasuries' chronology would remain totally uncertain, and which should be consulted for a full technical discussion of the many architectural elements not mentioned here. My illustrations are primarily drawn from the excellent companion volume published in 1995 as *EAD* XXXVI.

[158] *GD* 19 and 20 are nearly the same size, 12.10 x 7.94 m and ca. 12.50 x 7.70 m respectively (ca. 96 m² in both cases). *GD* 18 is larger, at 13.40 x ca. 8 m (107 m²), and *GD* 16 and 17 are ca. 17 x 10 m and 17.04 x 10.88 m (ca. 170 and 185 m²). All figures per Vallois 1944–1978: 128–29; Holleaux 1908 offered somewhat divergent

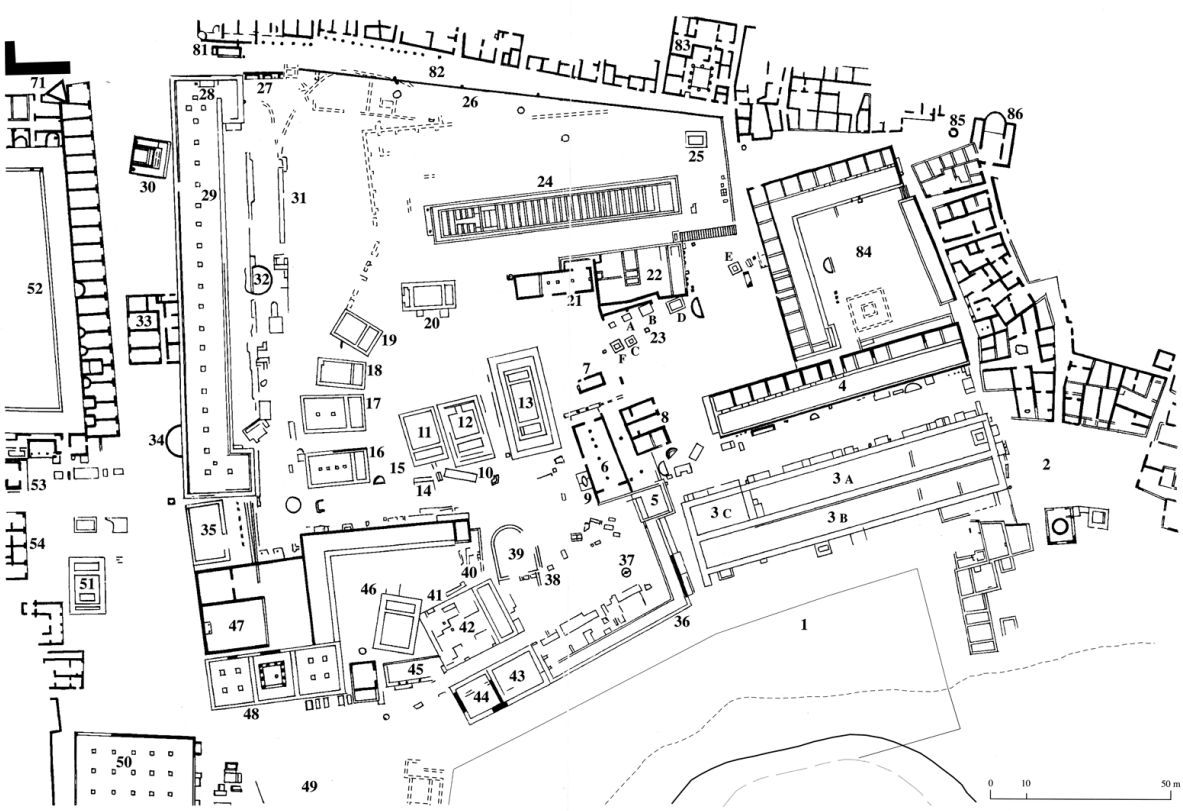

Figure 2: Sanctuary of Apollo, Delos (*GD* Foldout 1)

15.70 x 9.98 m (157 m²), and the Grand Temple (the only peripteral temple on Delos) is 28.53 x 12.27 m (350 m²) at the stylobate level.[159] The treasuries are therefore slightly-to-somewhat larger than average for the treasuries at Delphi and Olympia; the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi is 9.75 m 6.68 m (65 m²), that of the Siphnians 8.55 x 6.13 m (52 m²), about the same size as the Aeolian treasury in the Marmaria. At Olympia, however, three sixth-century treasuries display a broader range of size: the Geloan treasury is 13.18 x 10.98 m (145 m²), the Megarian is 13.2 x 6.2 m (82 m²), and the Sikyonian 11.78 x 6.4 m (75 m²).

The two largest treasuries are different from the rest in plan. Not only were they tetrastyle rather than distyle, but they possessed interior colonnades, variously restored with three to six columns. Both were also remodeled, the former after 425.[160] No obvious indications of significant remodeling pertain to the other three treasuries, except that *GD* 19 partially preserves a simple pebble paving, under which the excavators found Athenian red-figure sherds (fig. 3). Holleaux used this fact in combination with the treasury's use of swallowtail clamps to set a *terminus ante quem*, suggesting that the treasury could be no earlier than the third century B.C., but the inference is unsound.[161]

Although *GD* 16 and 17 are similar in size and plan, *GD* 16 is the clear outlier chronologically. The other four are Early Classical, while *GD* 16's mixed gneiss and granite foundations are "clearly archaic," and its irregularly jointed euthynteria blocks differentiate it from the construction style of the mainly gneiss substructures of the other treasuries.[162] A "parastade" capital has been assigned to this treasury, but is not helpful for indicating its construction date (fig. 4).[163] Vallois dates its construction to the second half of the sixth century, while Hellmann and Fraisse specifically locate it in the period from the 530s to 500.[164]

For the remaining treasuries, the two most important chronological indices are again the general construction technique of the foundations, and three column capitals that "can only come from the four treasuries" (*GD* 17–20).[165] Their foundations and lower wall courses are mainly built of gneiss, and are very similar to those of the Grand Temple, which is also assigned to the second quarter of the fifth century. The blocks used are "generally well dressed" though

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measurements (*GD* 16: 17 x 9.80 m; *GD* 17: 17.15 x 11 m; *GD* 18: 13.45 8.05; *GD* 19: 12.15 x 8 m; *GD* 20: 12.60 x 7.92 m).

159 Its naos is 20.55 x 7.20 m (148 m²); Vallois 1944–1978, I.130; 111, n. 4.

160 Vallois 1944–1978 I.128–29; II.538; Benchimol and Sagnier 2008. Holleaux also commented on the "profonds remaniements" he supposed to be visible in the contrast between the wall and foundation in *GD* 16 (1908: 175).

161 Holleaux 1908: 174. On the use of swallowtail clamps at Delos, see Vallois 1944–1978: 550–62 ("les queues d'aronde sont dans l'usage général de la période archaïque"). Vallois does not discuss any of *GD* 19's clamps, so it is not clear to me what Holleaux referred to. I have been unable to locate a publication of the sherds, so it is not possible to evaluate whether they might provide a tentative *ad quem* date for the treasury; or, conversely, might indicate that the pebble paving was a later remodeling.

162 Vallois 1944–1978 I.27; II. 14–15, 17; Benchimol and Sagnier 2008 esp. 12–16.

163 Vallois 1944–1978 II.87; illustrated at *EAD* XXXVI fig. 128. Vallois reconstructs this treasury without antae, so the capital must belong to what he calls a parastade, on which see Vallois 1944–1978, II.78–80. Probably associated with this interior decoration is an entablature block with Doric kymation (Vallois 1944–1978, II.236, *EAD* XXXVI fig. 445).

164 Vallois 1944–1978 II.585–86; *EAD* XXXII: 78.

165 Vallois 1944–1978 I.27.

Figure 3: *GD* 19, gneiss wall and pebble paving (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 96)

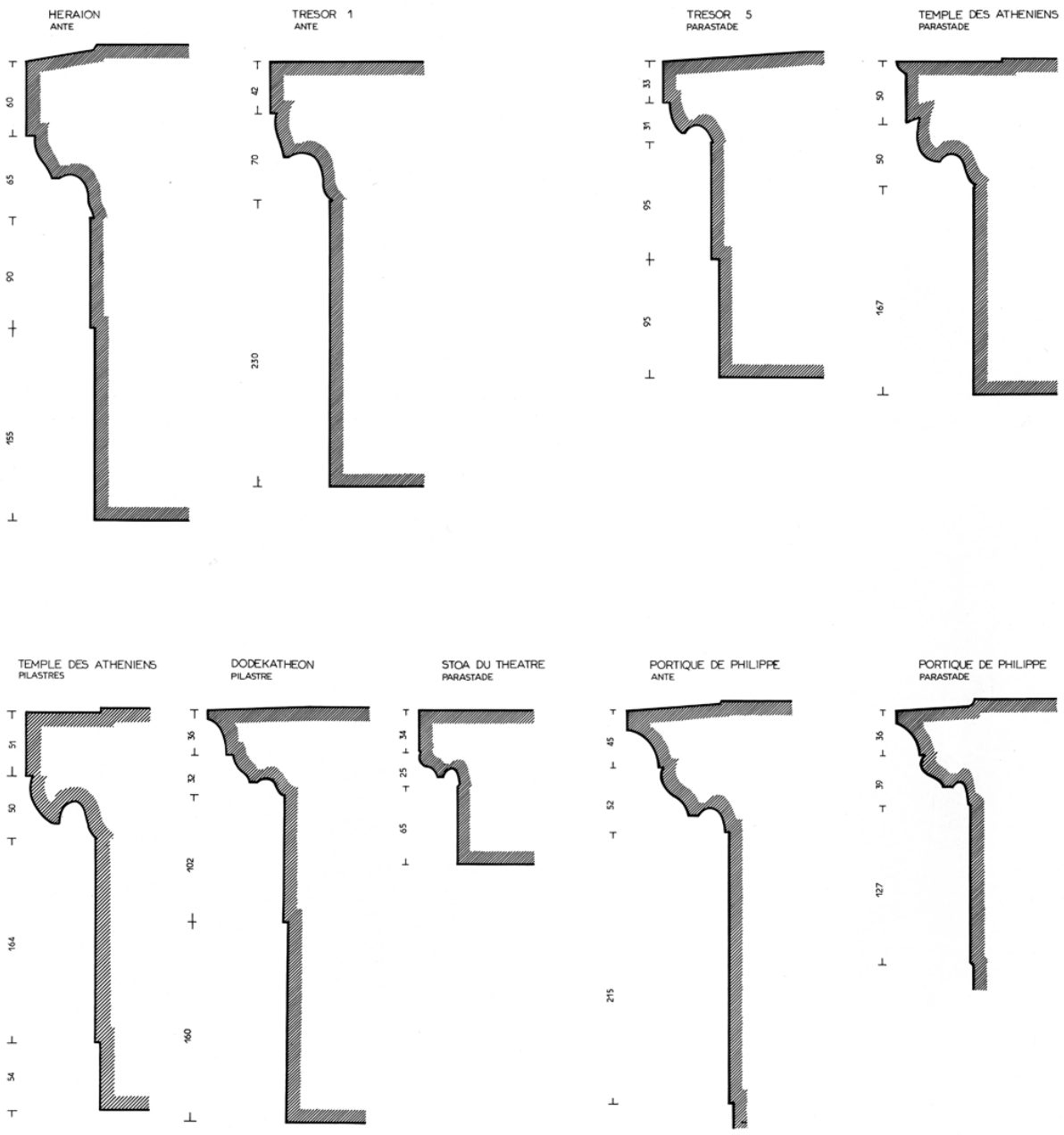

Figure 4: Anta capitals compared (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 186)

not strictly isodomic, and a similar technique was used for the Propylaia and several altars constructed in the fifth and fourth centuries. This gneiss masonry technique represents a Cycladic, or perhaps specifically Parian, elaboration of the "usual Cycladic Geometric masonry" style, while the use of poros for (only) the euthynteria of the Grand Temple might be cited as an Attic influence.[166]

Vallois attributes three marble Doric column capitals to the Early Classical treasuries (figs. 5–7).[167] A fourth capital apparently found around the treasuries is in poros (fig. 8), and Vallois makes no attempt to attribute it to the treasuries or to any other structure.[168] The poros capital is smaller than the other three, but all are roughly contemporaneous with each other and with the capitals of the Grand Temple, to whose exterior capitals they are especially similar in profile (though at a smaller scale). Their differences from Archaic Doric capitals, on the one hand, and Late Classical–Hellenistic ones, on the other, are obvious from a glance at the profile drawings (figs. 9–11).[169] The three capitals are numbered as 1, 2 α, and 2 β by Vallois. Their attributions are insecure, and it is even unclear whether they derive from two or three of the four treasuries.[170]

Among the more significant other treasury *membra*, though less chronologically suggestive than the capitals, are a number of sima fragments (deriving probably from *GD* 18 and 19 (fig. 12), the complete Doric frieze of (probably) *GD* 18 and two epistyle blocks probably from the same treasury (figs. 13–14), and finally two more fragmentary frieze and epistyle pieces attributed to *GD* 20 (fig. 15).[171] Although useful for assisting in the reconstruction of the structures and establishing that all four treasuries were in the Doric order, these and other blocks are less helpful for their chronology.

Thus, it is the similarity in technique between the masonry styles and the capitals of the four treasuries and the Grand Temple, and the places of these details of style within the overall development of Delian architecture, that most refine their chronological placement. In line with the consensus view that the Grand Temple was under construction within the period from 478 to 454, when it was abandoned, the treasuries should also be assigned to that period. The simple fact, then, is that the dates of the treasuries and that of the Grand Temple hang together and are assigned to the second quarter of the fifth century largely for historical reasons.[172] It is not strictly possible to exclude an earlier date in the 480s or 490s on stylistic or technical grounds. Accordingly, it is circular then to use their remains to mount a historical argument, as this chapter does. The circularity must be admitted and accepted, but it need not give us too much pause: the chronology is what the evidence indicates, and is no more shaky than many of the allegedly fixed points that ground architectural-stylistic chronology in the first place.[173] That

[166] Vallois 1944–1978 II.17–19 and above, n. 52.
[167] Vallois 1944–1978 II.133–62, esp. 133–34.
[168] Vallois 1944–1978 II.134.
[169] For Archaic capitals, see, e.g., Barletta 2001: figs. 23–26.
[170] Vallois 1944–1978 II.133.
[171] Vallois 1944–1978 II. 353–55 (simas); 216 (frieze); 223–25 (epistyle blocks).
[172] See, however, Appendix V (by Llinas) in *EAD* XXXVI for a vigorous defense and analysis of the Grand Temple's construction phasing.
[173] Finally, even if one or more of the four Early Classical treasuries were built before the foundation of the Delian

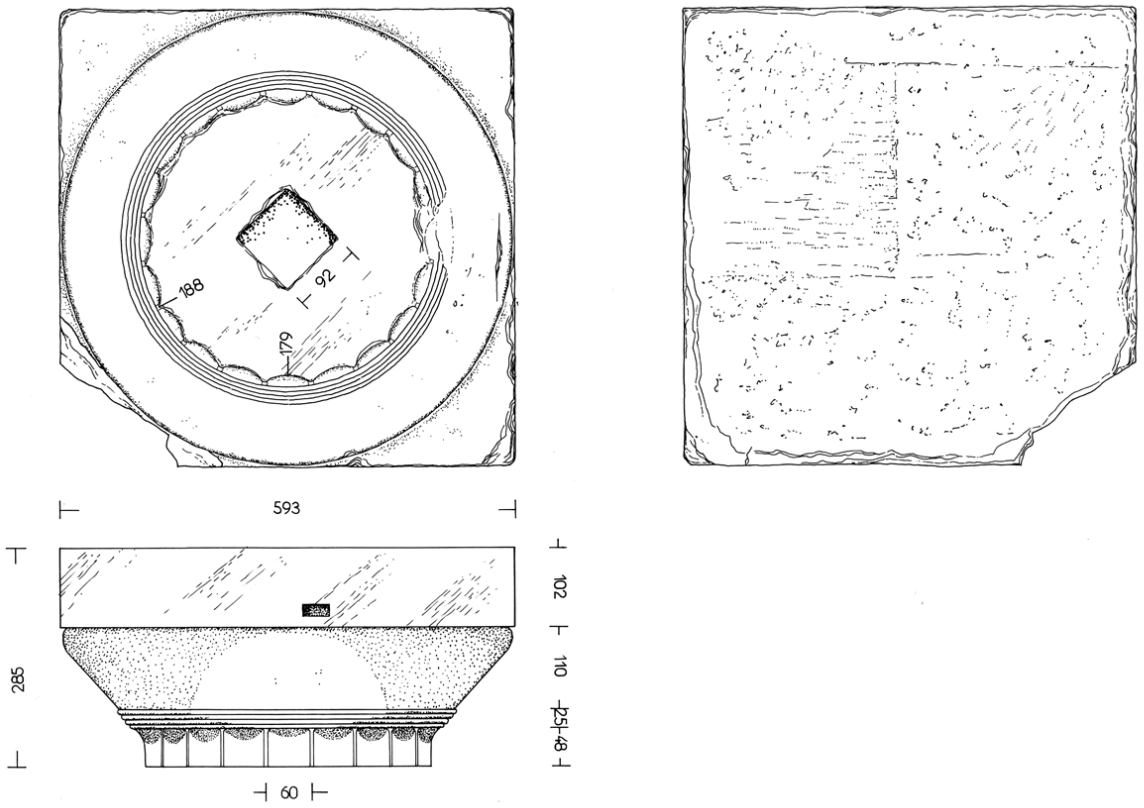

Figure 5: Vallois' Doric capital 1 ("Chapiteau du musée"): (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 319)

Figure 6: Vallois' Doric capital 1 ("Chapiteau du musée"): (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 318)

Figure 7: Vallois' Doric capital **2 β**: (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 320)

Figure 8: Vallois' Doric capital 3 (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 321)

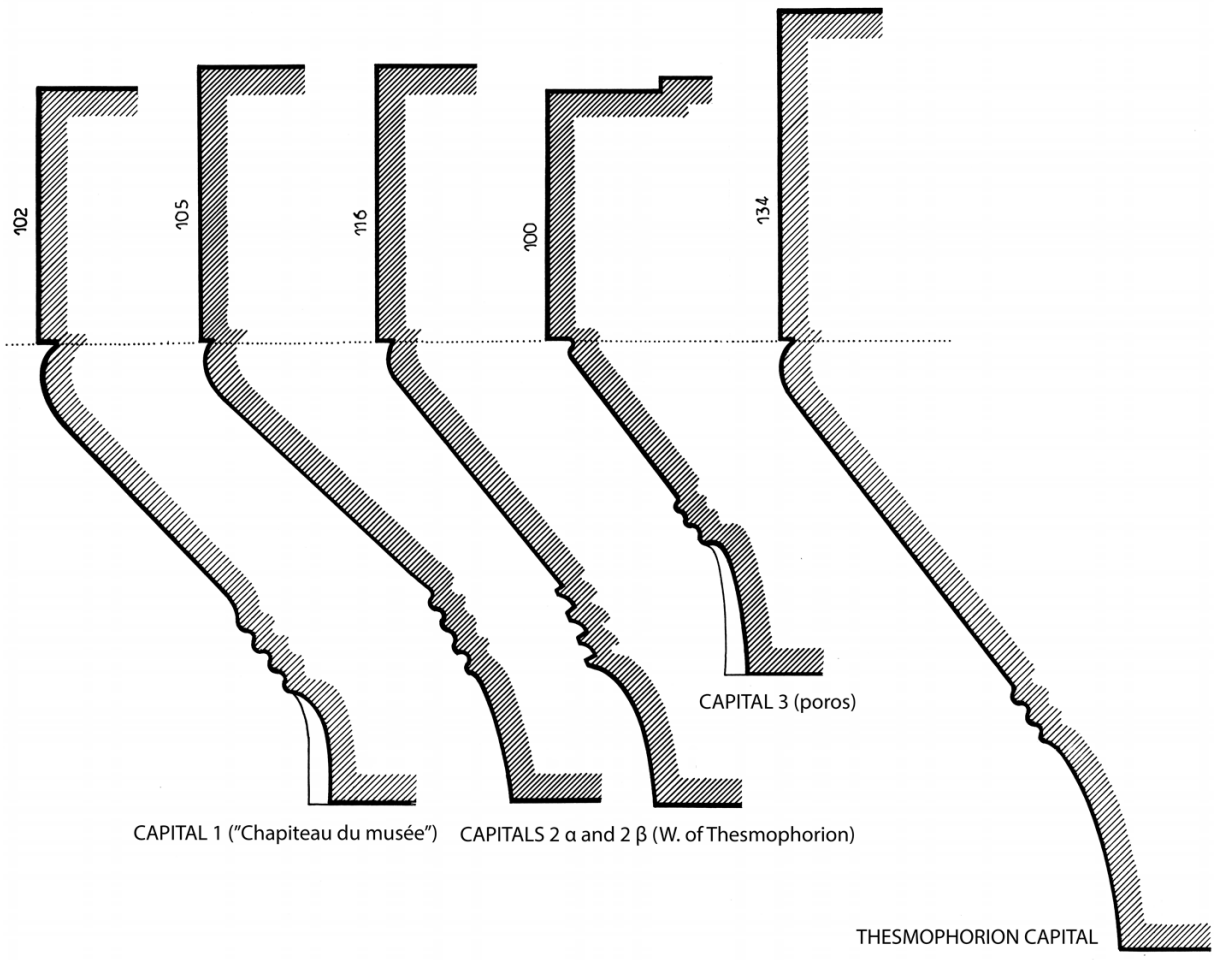

Figure 9: Treasury and other capitals (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 335)

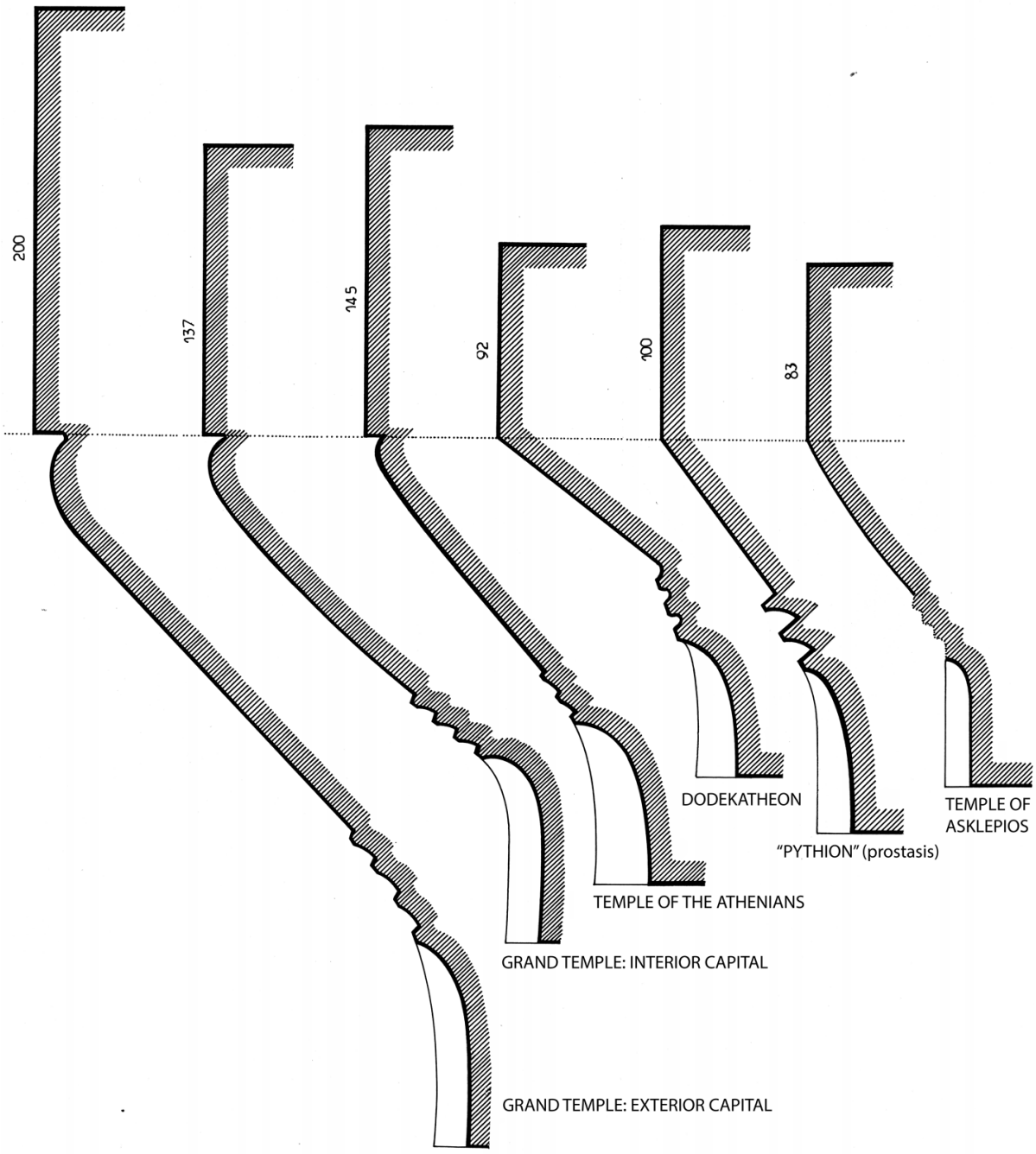

Figure 10: Other Early Classical Doric capitals on Delos (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 336)

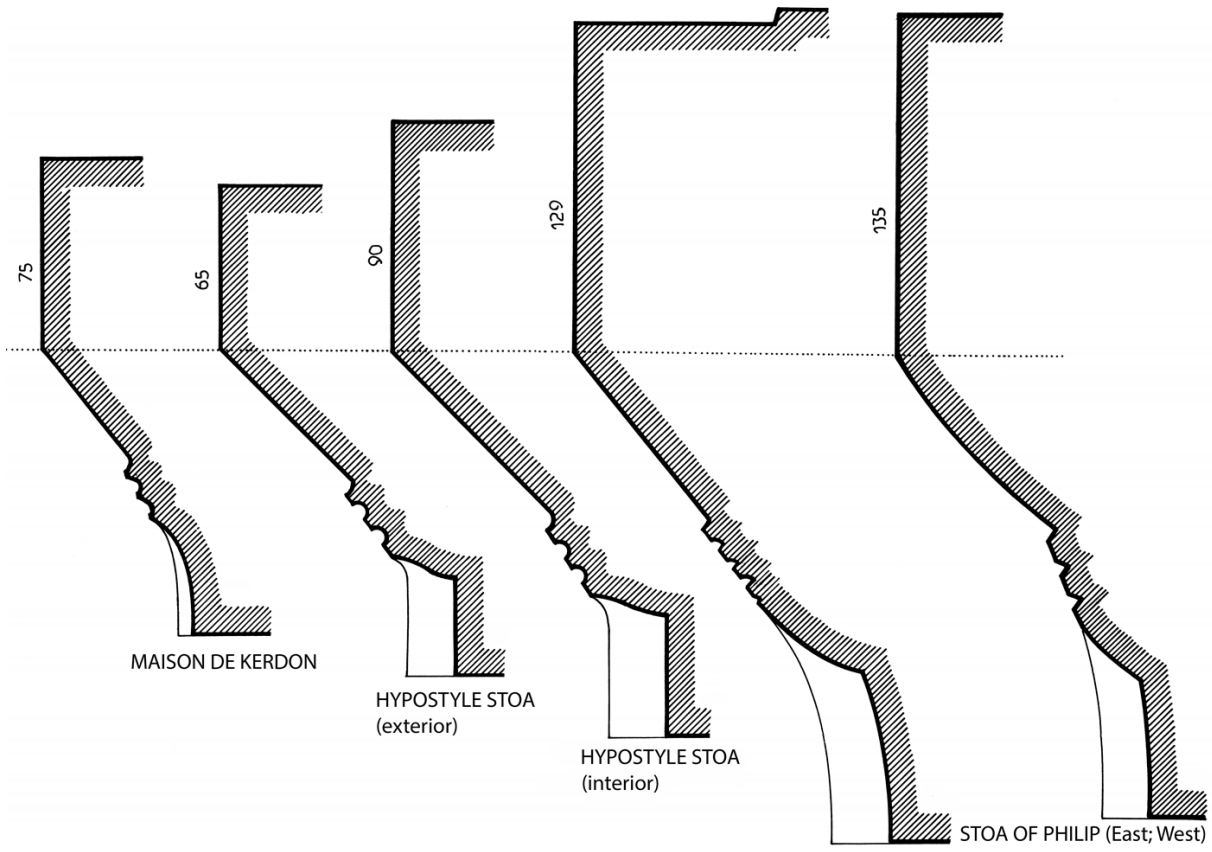

Figure 11: Hellenistic Doric capitals on Delos (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 338)

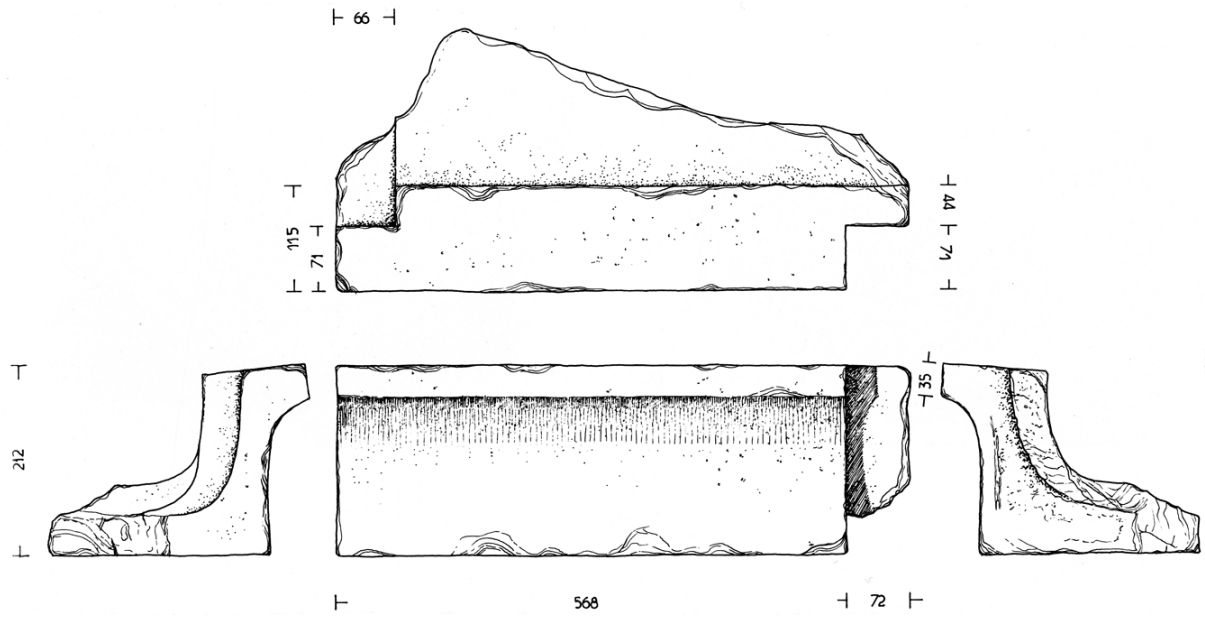

Figure 12: Sima, *GD* 18 or 19 (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 628)

Figure 13: Doric frieze , *GD* 18 (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 415–16)

Figure 14: Epistyle blocks, *GD* 18 (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 424–25)

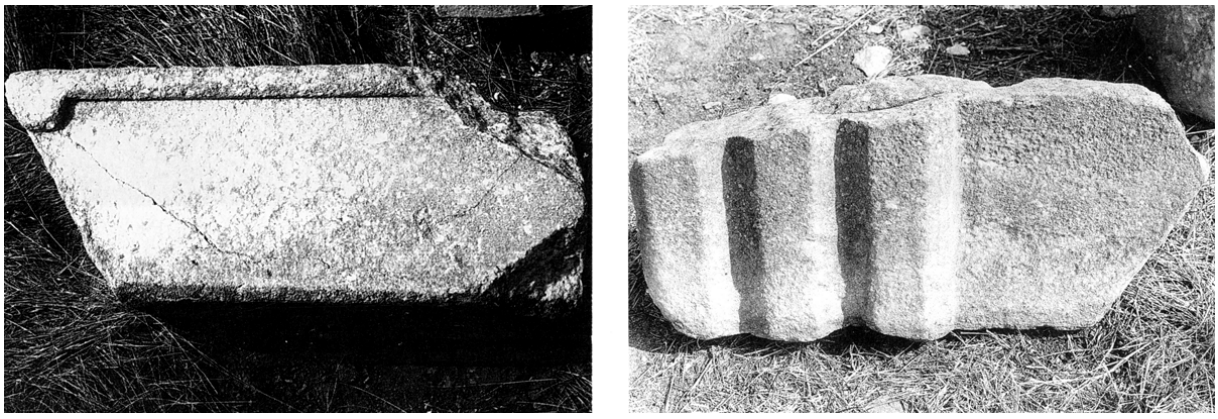

Figure 15: Epistyle blocks, *GD* 20 (*EAD* XXXVI fig. 428–29)

is, the treasuries' dates might be disputed, but only if one is willing to demand a reevaluation of Greek architectural style *ab initio* and *in toto*.

Rather less certain than their general chronology is the identification of any specific treasury foundation. In the case of Delphi and Olympia, Pausanias' *Periegesis* has been most useful for identifying the many treasuries in these sanctuaries; Herodotus and other contemporary authors also refer to them for various purposes. Best of all, a number of the treasuries at Delphi and Olympia bore inscriptions naming the dedicatory community. If the five structures just introduced on Delos carried inscriptions, no trace of them now remains; Pausanias did not write about a visit to Delos; and the sanctuary is much less often described in ancient literature than those of Delphi and Olympia.[174] The inscribed accounts of the sanctuary, however, and more particularly those deriving from the period of Delian independence (314–167 B.C.), refer by name to numerous structures spread across the island. For present purposes, relevant are several buildings named as οἶκος + *polis* demotic in the accounts, such as the Καρυστίων οἶκος (e.g., *ID* 1401 *e*, l. 10; *IG* XI 144 A, l. 87; 145, ll. 9-10) or the Ἀνδρίων οἶκος. For example, the Ἀνδρίων οἶκος first appears in the inventory preserved from 270/69 B.C.: it held bronze chains and spits, pitch, iron keys, some wooden beams and boards, a quantity of ivory, and more (*IG* XI 203 B, ll. 94–99). Little in the text suggests either any particular connection with Andros or any hint that the treasury may once have played an important role in the expression of that polis's identity, and not much of the contents are of an evidently religious, let alone votive, nature.[175] The banality of most objects stored in the early third-century Andrian treasury can be brought out by a comparison to Herodotus' lists of Croesus' dedications in the Corinthian treasury at Delphi, for example: stacks of gold and silver bricks, the ten-talent lion of pure gold, enormous kraters of silver and gold, silver jars, his wife's belts and necklaces, and a golden εἴδωλον of a woman.[176] Herodotus explicitly states that the Delphians used the silver krater for mixing up wine at the Theophania, an annual festival (Hdt. 1.51). The difference is, of course, that Herodotus lists only the impressive dedications of one dynast while the inscription lists the entire contents of a single treasury, but it is instructive to contemplate the unlikeliness of Delian priests enthusiastically showing off the Andrian οἶκος to a third-century Herodotus. Evidently, these late inventories are not revelatory of the potential significance of the treasuries in an earlier age.

Matters are thus unclear when it comes to actually identifying the foundations with the οἶκοι named in the inscriptions. Nevertheless, although there is so little to go on that all proposals have been hedged heavily about, several scholars have attempted to make some identifications. This game is further complicated by the fact that the term οἶκος in the accounts need not refer to a treasury. Think only of the Oikos of the Naxians (*ID* 104/25, l. 5; 104/26, l. 11; 104/28 B b,

League, the crucial point is that buildings continue to be used after their construction and, accordingly, much of the analysis presented below would still hold, although their construction could obviously no longer be considered a response to the second Persian invasion.

[174] See Jacquemin 2000 for a clever attempt to gather together as much as possible of the material Pausanias would have discussed.

[175] Rups 1986, 181–83. It must be noted that phialai—ritual implements—are common in some of the other Andrian inventories.

[176] Parke and Wormell 1956: 130–31, but also see Parke 1984 for a folkloric deconstruction of the Croesus gift stories.

l. 5; etc.), a name that was immediately attached to *GD* 6 mainly on the basis of the propinquity of the Colossos of the Naxians (*GD* 9).[177] Few scholars would place the Oikos of the Naxians in the same category as the treasury foundations to its north. Furthermore, several οἶκοι in the accounts have names completely unrelated to cities, such as ὁ οἶκος ὁ πλίνθινος (*ID* 290, l. 100) and another structure variously called αἱ γραφαί, ὁ οἶκος ἐν ὧι αἱ γραφαί, and ὁ οἶκος οὗ αἱ γραφαί (e.g., *ID* 298 A, l. 122; 1426, l. 21; and 290, l. 100; note much restoration in some cases). Finally, the temple inventories are *not* systematic registries of structures in the sanctuary. Not every building in the temenos is listed, only those holding items being inventoried; and it cannot be assumed *a priori* that the labels used to describe buildings always remained the same across the centuries. In short, it is not legitimate to draw up a list of οἶκοι from the Delian inventories, on the one hand, and a list of available structures on the other and then to assume that they can, even in principle, be fully reconciled.

For these reasons, although Vallois makes several perfectly reasonable guesses, it is better to consider the implications of the existence of the two lists and of the underlying systems of which they are the results, without trying to specifically link individual foundations with individual cities. The general concept of the treasury has been explored above; what about the specific cities that built those on Delos? Andros, Karystos, Naxos, possibly the Keians, Mykonos, and Delos itself are the poleis thought, mainly on the basis of the inventories, to have sponsored οἶκοι on Delos.[178] The cases for οἶκοι of the Keians and Mykonians are dubious: the former is based on the idea that Herodotus' *hestiatorion* of the Keians (Hdt. 4.35.4) is really a treasury; the latter on the assumption that, since the Karystian treasury was under the charge of a νεωκόρος (*IG* XI 287, l. A 78), the mention of a νεωκόρος of the Mykonians (*IG* XI 145, l. 27) implies that there was also a Mykonian treasury.[179] Mykonos and Keos should for the moment be set aside, therefore, as should Naxos, whose οἶκος might not be a treasury, and Delos, which is anomolous and not to be considered, for obvious reasons, a sponsor of an extraterritorial treasury.

The list, then, contains two poleis, one a Cycladic island–Andros–and the other–Karystos–a polis whose deep bay, at the southern tip of the island Euboea, faces out directly onto Kea and which is only a short distance from Andros. While no single cause explains the composition of this list (which, furthermore, is certainly incomplete), its elements, skimpy though they are, are suggestive in their relationship to the Delian League and, specifically, to the collection of the φόρος. Recall the states involved in the Herodotean narrative of Themistocles' expedition after Salamis, quoted above (Hdt. 8.111–12): he forcibly extorted money from Karystos and Andros, the two states that certainly built treasuries on Delos, while apparently sparing from the fleet another island, Paros, which did not. This fact is of course suggestive, but could be simple coincidence. What is even more important is the insistent notice given by Herodotus to the island nature of Andros, Paros, and even Karystos: he repeatedly specifies that they are island poleis.

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[177] "…l'édifice est construit en marbre de Naxos, ainsi que les monuments votifs qui en sont les plus voisins. Il est dès lors possible qu'il faille l'identifier avec l'οἶκος Ναξίων, plusieurs fois mentionné dans les archives des hiéropes, d'autant que la base du Colosse des Naxiens lui est contiguë," per Holleaux 1909: 411. On the oikos, see *EAD* XXXIII.

[178] Rups 1986: 172–204.

[179] Rups 1986: 201–202; Roux 1973 and Bruneau et al. 2005: 211 on the *hestiatorion*.

Andros and Paros are, in particular, Cycladic islands, which eventually came to be understood as quintessentially part of the Athenian sphere of influence.[180] Given its *longue durée* affinities, Karystos is for all practical purposes a Cycladic polis itself, although traditionally of course Euboea is not considered one of the Cyclades. The Cyclades—or, perhaps more neutrally, the central Aegean islands—were the sphere that, as seen above, Archaic Delos drew most heavily upon for participants in its religious festivals. In Constantakopoulou's words, "Athenian imperialism in the Aegean … was successful exactly because it was based on the networks of interaction already existing in the area…the Delian league at first and the Athenian empire later can be seen as the political expression of interaction which at a previous stage existed as a cult network around Delos."[181]

Themistocles' expedition, then, is doubly revelatory, for its logic relies on and thereby highlights the two most salient and important features of the later Athenian empire, namely—as seen above—its predication on the φόρος and its centralization on the islands. It is these same island poleis that certainly or possibly built treasuries on Delos; although only Andros and Karystos are certain, there are two others contemporaneous with the Temple of Apollo typically associated with Athenian sponsorship during the Delian League (the "Grand temple" *GD* 13).[182] There is, to reiterate, no way to assign the foundations to the cities with confidence. Equally, there is no way to supplement the short list of Andros and Karystos, except with the doubtful additions of Naxos, Delos, Mykonos, or Keos. However, it is virtually certain that the remaining treasuries were constructed by islanders, and quite likely by Cycladic islanders.

What must be borne foremost in mind is that many of the Cyclades Medized during the Persian wars: at the battle of Artemision, four ships from Keos were the region's sole contribution to the Greek cause, while at Salamis the Keians were joined by only Kynthos, Siphnos, Seriphos, and Melos: οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῶι βαρβάρωι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ (Hdt. 8.46).[183] As the Persian fleet swept across the Aegean, most of the islands in their path found it necessary to go along (Hdt. 8.66).

In light of these fractures in the allegiance of the Cycladic core of the states that were shortly to form the Delian League, what must be queried is the exact nature of the "because" in Constantakopoulou's claim quoted just above. She offers a refigured version of the Ionian account challenged in the second section of this chapter, displacing the explanatory work from Delos's Ionian identity *per se* to the network at whose center the island sat. Although this is an improvement, it simply raises the question of how and why these particular "networks of interaction" became politicized how and when they did. After all, people in the Early Classical Aegean engaged in many forms of interaction that did not develop into the Delian League. Despite Peisistratos's purification of the island, it is far from obvious that Delos would have seemed in 479/8 B.C. to be a uniquely important site for the Athenians, one they would select to exploit for imperialistic purposes. This is all a roundabout way of observing that the specific actions taken by the specific states involved in the creation and early development of the Delian

[180] Bonnin 2015, Constantakopoulou 2007.
[181] Constantakopoulou 2007: 62.
[182] Discussion above; also see Chankowski 2008: 71, 72–74.
[183] Bonnin 2015: 109–12. A few ships also deserted to the Greek side from Tinos and Lemnos (Hdt. 8.82).

League need to be privileged over abstract structures of interaction or identity. Such structures are important; several at issue on Delos were discussed earlier. But they serve only as the frames for the specific historical actions that amounted to the processes we study.[184]

From 478 until ca. 454, the φόρος was stored in the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos, brought there by Andros, Paros, Karystos, and many more cities. The fact that a small subset of these member states chose to build treasuries in that same sanctuary, looking directly onto the temple of Apollo, both demands and suggests an interpretation that goes beyond interaction or cultic participation. It suggests a specifically political interpretation. The most salient fact about these states is that they were Medizing islanders, exactly the sort of state that found itself under redoubling Athenian pressure: for being part of the Cycladic sphere of Athenian influence compellingly sketched out by Bonnin, Constantakopoulou, and others; and for being the target of accusations of Medism.

The salience of this latter concern can be pretty clearly traced out. Karystos, for example, Medized—yet also made a dedication of Persian booty at Delphi. As Roger Brock suggests, the "independent Karystian dedication of a bronze bull ἀπὸ ἔργου τοῦ Μηδικοῦ at Delphi (Paus. 10.16.6) was presumably intended to assert their contribution to the defence of Greek liberty."[185] Broadly speaking, most of the Medizing Greek poleis could claim to have done so unwillingly or under compulsion, and Karystos was no different. Their construction of a treasury could be, in part, the fossil of such a response.[186] The problem is that most scholars have supposed that Karystos was uniquely devastated in punishment of her submission to the Persians and must therefore have built her treasury in the late sixth century. Despite this conviction, however, the fact that Herodotus records the Greek ravaging of Karystos–τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον δηιώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην (Hdt. 8.121.1)–does not imply that Karystos could not have afforded to construct a treasury in the 470s or 460s.[187] Athens and Attica were also "ravaged" in the Persian wars (e.g., Hdt. 7.133) yet managed to perform the normal activities of a Greek polis afterward.[188] Indeed, all that is really known of Karystian history immediately after 480 is that there was a war between Athens and Karystos at some point between the capture of Eion and the Naxian revolt, according to Thucydides (1.98.3; cf. Hdt. 9.105).[189] Karystos is recorded

[184] Cf. Pauketat 2007.

[185] Brock 1996: 359

[186] For this idea of interpreting monuments as fossils rather than encoded messages, see chapter three (below) and Neer 2002: 23–26, 2010: 188, and especially 2004. For the dynamics of Medism in the 480 invasion, see Gillis 1979: 59–71.

[187] Vallois had argued that Karystos would have been unable to afford a treasury, despite noting that the Karystians dedicated a bronze bull at Delphi out of their Persian war spoils (Paus. 10.16.6), probably not in 490 when Karystos was sacked by the Persians (Vallois 1944–1978, I.24). Recent scholars continue to accept the reasoning (e.g., Constantakopoulou 2007: 52). Treasuries, however, were not terribly expensive public projects, especially when not decorated with architectural sculpture (of which there is no evidence in the present cases).

[188] Moreover, Brock has argued that Karystos was more important and wealthier than its literary obscurity when compared to Eretria and Chalkis might suggest (1996, esp. 361 and 364–65).

[189] It does not even necessarily follow (although it seems extremely likely) that the settlement of this war (κατ' ὁμολογίαν, per Thucydides) brought Karystos into the Delian League at that time. Meiggs, assuming that it did, supposes that Karystos entered the league in the late 470s. Intriguingly, an Athenian named Καρυστόνικος is recorded on a casualty list traditionally dated to 447; the name must reflect the conflict in question (*Persons of Ancient Athens* 565245; *IG* I^3 1162, l. 27; *ML* no. 48).

in the earliest tribute list (*IG* I³ 259.II, l. 16) as paying 12 talents, a sum significantly greater than the expense of building a treasury.[190] It is, in short, clearly possible for Karystos to have constructed a treasury on Delos in the second quarter of the century. It could be a response to the Persian war, parallel to their bronze bull at Delphi.

The Medism of Paros has been discussed extensively in the literature.[191] That of Andros is less well known, but Herodotus explicitly includes Andrians among those joining the Persian side before the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8.66). They are also included in the set of "the islanders" repeatedly stated to have Medized (e.g. Hdt. 6.49). The inclusion of Mykonos (and Naxos) would only strengthen the present line of analysis: like most of the Cyclades, they were compelled to side with the Persians during the invasion of 480.[192] It seems possible, therefore, that the treasuries on Delos are not only deeply implicated in the cultic network around Delos, but could be (in as many as four of the five cases) responses specifically to the anxiety of having Medized during the Persian wars. These treasuries are not mere curiosities or indices of investment or involvement in the religious life of Delos; they are eminently political statements of participation in the Greek cause, as manifest in the Delian League. And they can only be interpreted within that same context of the Delian League, as indicated by their chronology. As discussed above, four of the treasuries can be assigned to the second quarter of the fifth century, the exact period of Delos' centrality within the league's constitutional structure. The fact that none seem to have been built after 454 is an indication that they responded specifically to that political arrangement; it is an index of the sanctuary's loss of importance for the Delian League after the transfer of the treasury. With the passing of a generation, the relevance of Medism may have dimmed somewhat, but its persistence as a topos in persuasive rhetoric all the way through the fourth century suggests that this factor should not be overestimated. Instead, then, the chronology of the treasuries' construction implies that—in addition to being statements about Medism—they were also operative specifically within the narrower sphere of the Delian League *per se* (rather than Athenian imperialism *per se*). The implication is that they should be connected to the main league-wide activities in this period: paying the φόρος and assembling on Delos.

Whether the treasuries in question ever held any part of the φόρος itself is not of determining import, though it is certainly possible. Like treasuries at other Panhellenic sanctuaries, their main role was to hold civic and individual dedications from the cities that built them and those willing and able to associate themselves with those cities. Moreover, the spatial, architectural, and chronological relationships and correspondences between the treasuries and the temples of Apollo (fig. 2) clearly inscribe the treasuries and their contents in the very center of the sanctuary of Apollo that, when their constructions were undertaken, had but recently become the Delian League's ταμιεῖον.

The conclusion imposes itself that the treasuries are unambiguously direct responses to the emerging institutions and evolving history of the Delian League. They were erected by states

[190] See Brock 1996 for a discussion of Karystos' lofty tribute and entrance into the League, as well as an interesting survey of her possible sources of wealth.

[191] Neer 2004: 69, Bonnin 2015: 109–15 and 122–23, both with further bibliography.

[192] In truth, it is perfectly possible that the association of *GD* 6 with the inscriptional tag οἶκος of the Naxians is incorrect and that one of the five treasuries *per se* was also built by Naxians.

with a strong incentive to emphasize their loyalty to the Greek side in the hostilities after 478—states which also, moreover, had an interest in challenging Athenian attempts to exploit their past Medism. That is, they might at once respond to an accusation and contest the right to make the accusation: a fraught and ambiguous situation. This ambiguous status leaves the treasuries open to different interpretations. On one hand, they relied on Delos' multivocal, contestatory nature to challenge Athenian control of the Delian League on a symbolic level. Whether used to hold tribute, host rituals associated with their poleis' delegations to league meetings, both, or neither, they certainly assert in some way a special status for their builders within the Delian League. The strongest version of such a reading might be that the treasuries held their own cities' contributions to the φόρος, and even thereby asserted continued ownership or control over it, challenging the very idea of the Delian League as a coordinating political formation. Though many other, weaker or simply different, views are also possible, the point is that the treasuries intervened in the symbolic economy of the Early Classical Aegean world to claim a special status of some sort. Conversely, from a less agonistic perspective, the reading that they are simple declarations of loyalty is also always available. As so often, the very indeterminacy of what "statements" were "intended" by the treasuries—to speak in a deliberately misleading fashion—is part of what made them work. The logic of who built them, however, strongly suggests that the more assertive interpretations are worth entertaining: by responding to accusations of Medism in the place and manner that they did, the treasuries also contested the very terrain on which the accusation was made.

6. Conclusion

This chapter reframed the question of the φόρος in the early period of Athenian imperialism. Instead of pursuing a scholastic and now-exhausted line of questioning in an attempt to determine or to debate the exact volume of tribute requisitioned in the first assessment, it placed the whole system in the context of island and Ionian patronage of Delos and redefined the tribute as one way in which the ownership of the alliance could be contested. Athens was unquestionably the hegemon of the Delian League, but it did not possess a monopoly on the symbolic discourse surrounding resistance to the Persians, and several member states made assertive claims about their own status by building treasuries on Delos during the second quarter of the century. This perspective also explains the otherwise enigmatic choice of Delos as the headquarters of the alliance; it had for generations been one of the primary venues where claims were staked by those aiming at preeminence within the Aegean world.

I also put forward the contestatory nature of Delian religious space as an alternative to the consensus understanding of the island as a Panionian religious venue. Though I am not the first to challenge the latter view, it remains widespread. A close reading of the archaeological, architectural, and textual evidence, helps put it to rest. A comparison between the kinds of activity characteristic of Sparta, Mykale, and Delos gives texture to the way the island worked as the central place of the early Delian League, and shows that Delos (and the league with it) paradoxically combined openness and universalism with a hegemonic military alliance structure.

The two-sidedness of the Delian solution can be illustrated by the four treasuries built during

the second quarter of the fifth century. By setting up these strongboxes for their dedications, and perhaps their tribute and communal rituals, several allies of Athens laid claim to the sanctuary space of Delos as something to which they, too, had special ties. The Grand Temple may have been going up under primarily Athenian sponsorship, but the treasuries assert the multivocality of the sanctuary space itself. The specific cities that built them, we saw, may also have been responding specifically to accusations of Medism. There are many connections between the φόρος, such accusations, and the origins of the tribute as plunder justified by claims of medism; these form a complicated tangle that allows the treasuries to be interpreted in many ways.

The implications cannot be fully discussed here, but it is possible to say more. The multivocality of Delos abruptly lost its relevance in 454 when the league treasury was relocated to Athens. The replacement of Delos by Athens amounted to a transformative shift in the relation between the League as an entity and its central place. It may seem far-fetched to suggest any direct connection between this relocation and the construction of treasuries in the sanctuary, but the two actions make sense as part of a larger pattern in which Athenian power gradually facilitated both their increasing monopolization of symbolic discourse within the league and their ability to control its military and financial undertakings. The φόρος was a novel institution and, if the association between it and the treasuries is sound, was *bon à penser* with respect to expressing different positions on the Greek political questions that were in the air after the battles of Salamis, Plataia, and Mykale. The treasuries therefore seem to imply, in turn, that the early Delian League was less Athens-controlled than recent scholarship has been moving to argue, while also illuminating the underplayed discursive side of that hegemony.[193] The Delian League was not simply an economic structure any more than it was simply a military alliance.

[193] It might be productive to situate Athenian discourse concerning Delos against Cliff Ando's provocative notion of an "essentially solipsistic conception of sovereignty" at operation in democratic empires such as Athens' (2011: 65), and the allied response as an attempt to shatter such solipsism.

Chapter Three: Resistance and Accommodation within the Delian League

1. Introduction

The success of imperial projects depends almost entirely on their ability to secure acquiescence in the territories they seek to rule. Whether it be achieving Gramscian hegemony, coopting pre-existing power structures, simply ruling by proxy, or dumping out the remainder of the imperial toolkit, something beyond military conquest is always needed.[1] An interest in imperialism or imperial states should therefore always entail an interest in forms of local collaboration or resistance. The present chapter attempts to meet this challenge by considering the play of contestation along the interface between imperialism and religion in the Athenian empire.

Traditionally considered virtually impossible to discuss because of the lack of evidence, local attitudes toward the empire are indeed difficult to recover. There have been attempts to study patterns of actual revolt, but the evidence exploited in these studies does not allow them to consider the motivations or dispositions underlying the revolts, which remain in many cases posited on the basis of lacunae in the Athenian Tribute Lists.[2] Using two rather different bodies of evidence—Pindar and sarcophagi—I attempt to begin remedying this situation by developing two major case studies in elite responses to Athenian imperial pressure.[3] In brief, at Klazomenai and elsewhere around the Karaburun (or Erythraian) peninsula, elite mortuary display underwent a process of change structurally similar to that in Athens itself, a sign of elite acquiescence to the indirect, ideological pressures of empire. Conversely, at Tenedos, a certain aristocrat deployed myth and ritual in a failed attempt to define the fabric of Tenedian society as linked by ties of descent to Boiotia and Sparta, hence as un-Athenian at its very origin These forms of conduct should be understood not so much as "local" responses, but as instances of how one particular segment of the local community responded to Athenian imperialism.

Moses Finley objected long ago to treating the subject cities as monolithic entities, a move that incorrectly bestows personhood upon corporate bodies that in fact were composed of discrete subunits with discrepant interests.[4] On the other hand, a methodological individualism is not only unattainable on the basis of available evidence but also undesirable for reasons of theory. What is needed is a perspective that can understand patterns of behavior as meaningful in sociological terms. Even though the Athenian empire had a light footprint in terms of its presence in the subject cities—where inhabitants probably felt its direct touch only when in-

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1 Sheldon Pollock writes that "empire makers . . . made a very varied selection from the imperial toolbox first assembled by the Achaemenids" 2006: 180.

2 Perhaps the most thorough and thoughtful of this literature is Balcer 1974, but even he considers only rebellions from the empire rather than local responses *per se*.

3 The different theoretical or analytical axes and the diversity of evidence considered in this chapter entail some significant methodological problems, to which I devote considerable attention. In later versions of this work, I hope to develop additional case studies that would redress the imbalance, such as the case of the *diskobouloi* of Kos (Barron 1968; Figueira 1998: 80–83).

4 Finley 1978.

teracting with Athenian garrisons or when fearing to be hauled by an Athenian citizen into an Athenian court—it certainly had significant indirect consequences. Alongside its other effects, the empire served as a structure for the allocation of both material and symbolic goods. It possessed as well a certain power to impact and even directly to conduct the behavior of its allied subjects, in areas that are not directly or obviously political in a strict sense. Indeed, beyond manifestations of direct state power—taxation, military conscription, the extraction of corvee labor, and the operation of a justice system, to give the most characteristic examples—political formations always impinge on the lives of people in indirect ways.

Once the cultural ramifications of political developments are acknowledged, however, the converse too demands recognition: cultural behavior has political consequences. Marshall Sahlins characterized the Athenian empire as "domination without administration," as "an empire of signs."[5] Such a perspective necessarily moves analysis away from specific events and concrete facts to broader patterns of behavior. In doing so, of course, there are greater dangers than when making more modest claims that stick more closely to simple facts. Hence a more rigorous attention to theory is useful as a preliminary step. The political, sociopolitical, or ideological, significance of culture—or, better, cultural choices—has been investigated, of course, from an enormous range of disciplinary perspectives and theoretical positions. In the study of material culture, perhaps the most widespread interpretive paradigm at present consists in viewing individual artifacts as bearers of a specific message. Seminal texts such as Richard Brilliant's *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (1963) and Tonio Hölscher's *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System* (1987) demonstrated, in their different ways, the necessity of "reading" images, and features within them, as a form of language, but in scholarly practice this notion of the language of images too often loses its semiotic underpinnings and degenerates overreadily into a hermeneutics of the (symbolic) code. On this semantic approach, for example, the sculptural decoration of the temple of Zeus at Olympia is read as a deliberately encoded message of political propaganda.[6] Such readings, indeed, have long been a staple of iconological research in art history more broadly; the approach is routinely criticized for positing a (single) "meaning" lying behind artworks that are then treated as exhausted once the text or message lying behind them has been identified or recovered.[7] While these readings are at times persuasive in some cases of (for lack of a better term) public art, it is less likely that the personal acts generating other parts of the archaeological record were deliberately conceived to be decoded in this fashion. Elements of material culture, just like works of literature, are most commonly ambiguous and polysemous rather than bearers of simplistic "messages."[8] Moreover, if culture is patterned behavior, the patterns themselves rather than individual manifestations of them are what is at issue, particularly in the case of (for lack of a better term) mass culture. Thus, concepts such as *habitus* developed by Bourdieu represent a more helpful approach to sociopolitically positioning the majority of (material) cultural behavior, at least insofar as it can be so positioned.[9]

In a Bourdieusian sociological conception of taste, the cultural choices individuals make in

5 Sahlins 2002: 78–79.
6 Kyrieleis 2012–2013.
7 Neer 2002: 7–8.
8 Cf. Dietler and Herbich 1998: 242–44.
9 See mainly Bourdieu 1977 and 1984; cf. Rouse 2006.

such arenas as the arts, sport, dress, diction, and so on are seen as the outcome of individual dispositions, or *habitus* ("structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures," in Bourdieu's famous definition).[10] But these dispositions are created in patterned ways across the social world, and collections of such dispositions are therefore symptomatic of specific locations within social space.[11] Despite the fact that individual tastes vary and are not strictly determined by social positioning, *habitus* is not an easily changed or a merely communicative feature of social existence: on the contrary, people do most commonly make the choices that seem natural or appropriate to them. In this conception, everything one does, from techniques of bodily comportment to the most purely symbolic expressions in art, is part of the unending social drama of placing and re-placing oneself in social space. And although a poem and a sarcophagus may seem very different, they are both permanent traces of such social performances. Musical performance and burial are obviously very different genres, but they are both amenable to a sociological reading, hence to political interpretation. Moreover, the bodies of evidence I examine in this chapter are also religious, not merely cultural, and political interpretations of religious practices in the Athenian empire are widespread.

The base concepts that underpin the remainder of this chapter derive from practice theory; more narrowly I use Foucault's ideas of "conduct" and "counter-conduct."[12] In a pivotal lecture at the Collège de France, within the series published as *Sécurité, territoire, population*, Foucault developed the ideas of conduct and counter-conduct as a way to discuss the dynamics of authority and indirect forms of disobedience in the Early Modern period, especially within the religious sphere.[13] Instances of counter-conduct, or "revolts of conduct," disrupt the attempts of those in power to "conduct" the "conduct" of others.[14] Two of late Foucault's most characteristic ideas are that power resides in relations or networks of power between people—*rapports de pouvoir* or *rapports de force*, *réseaux de pouvoir*—and that power and resistance are therefore co-constitutive: as he puts it in *La volonté de savoir*, "…que là où il y a pouvoir, il y a résistance et que pourtant, ou plutôt par là même, celle-ci n'est jamais en position d'extériorité par rapport au pouvoir."[15] In the sphere of conduct, it is specifically individual (or group) behavior outside the realm of political sovereignty that is at issue. For example, asceticism and religious mysticism are, for Foucault, forms of counter-conduct because they represent a fundamental

[10] "The conditions associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor" (Bourdieu 1990: 53).

[11] Cf. Garner 2003, s.v. "Class Distinctions" (150–52).

[12] The bibliography on practice theory (to say nothing of works within its penumbra) is enormous. For a superb review of many of the major works and philosophical issues, please see Rouse 2006.

[13] Foucault 2004 (English translation: Foucault 2009), lecture of March 1, 1978. Arnold Davidson's editorial work in the translation of Foucault's Collège lectures and in a 2011 essay usefully situates Foucault's ideas about the politics of ethics relative to the *History of Sexuality*.

[14] Foucault 2004: 196–97; Foucault 2009: 192–93, including a lengthy, elegant passage on the various forms of *conduire*, explaining why he chose this lexical space.

[15] Foucault 1976: 125–26; Foucault 1978: 95. See Davidson 2011: 27.

commitment respectively to anti-obedience and to the "privileged status of an experience that by definition" eludes political control.[16] They are revolts of conduct against the conduction of the church hierarchy: "…et tout comme il y a eu des formes de résistance au pouvoir en tant qu'il exerce une souveraineté politique, de même qu'il y a eu d'autres formes de résistance, également voulues, ou de refus qui s'addressent au pouvoir en tant qu'il exploite économiquement, est-ce qu'il n'y a pas eu des formes de résistance au pouvoir en tant qu'il conduite?"[17]

For Foucault, the idea of counter-conduct is useful because it gets one away from the notion of ideology and in particular from ideology critique as the goal of history-writing.[18] Similarly, for present purposes it is helpful for suggesting how to understand the fact that "the analysis of governmentality … implies that 'everything is political'."[19] Rather than seeing religious behavior, such as bringing a cow to the Panathenaia, as a simple homology for a political state of affairs, such as submission to the state hosting the Panathenaia, it would bring both under the umbrella of "force relations" at a different level of abstraction. My argument then would be that the cow-and-panoply requirement apparently instituted in 425/4 by Thoudippos is not best understood as a gratuitous gesture of Athenian power, but an intensification of the already political resonances of religious conduct.

Moving somewhat beyond or away from Foucault, the idea of conduct and counter-conduct also disaggregates virtual collectivities along fault lines different from those on which formal, political power had assembled them. The states within the Athenian empire are not unitary entities, but ones that respond at different levels and in different ways to Athenian conduction. Counter-conduct aims to create interpretive communities of behavior. Indeed, behavior can be usefully understood as a language: this conception provides the necessary link between actions and mental states. Evidently, if the Athenians could compel a pride of lions or a spaceship full of visiting Martians to bring a cow and panoply to the Panathenaia, the result would make no contribution to their project of state formation. It is the shared "form of life" or community obtaining between Athenians and other Greeks that grounds the efficacy of shared ritual. This is a somewhat more general, or abstract, instance of the logic of the Großraum developed in Chapter One. The behavior studied in this chapter, that is, pertains to the history of Athenian imperialism just insofar as it touches on force relations that are political (or can be taken as such) within the context of shared political ideas. The sociological arguments I referenced earlier, therefore, need not strictly be reductive in linking politics and behavior within religious spheres.

Difference is inscribed in the allied participation at the Panathenaia, just as is belonging. When the allies brought their cows and panoplies every four years to partake in the great Athenian festival, they were doing a small part to create a community composed of the members of the Athenian empire. And their unequal participation did articulate a relationship of subordination as well.[20] These two figures of association can be seen to be in concord, in for example

16 Foucault 2009: 204–16 (quotation at 212).
17 Foucault 2004: 198.
18 Foucault 2009: 215–16.
19 Unpublished manuscript quoted at Foucault 2009: 217, n. 5.
20 Perhaps the single most salient fact about the requirement has so far gone without emphasis: in fifth-century

Smarczyk's analysis of the *Reichsfest*, but they were also in tension: the hierarchy created by difference disrupted the inchoate community. As a result, the cow-and-panoply requirement neither significantly furthered any "greater Athenian state" project nor played a significant role in reinforcing Athenian imperialism. Instead, it shows how multifaceted and productive for the construction of meaning religious conduct could be.

2. Tenedos

> Of all grammatical forms, I know of none more subtle and problematic in their sociopolitical implications than pronouns of the first person plural that, when skillfully employed, permit speakers to construct groups in which they join with unnamed others and stand apart from others still: others who fall outside this "we." (Lincoln 2014: 75)

From preceding sections, we might derive the lesson that religious behavior is a powerful mode for articulating belonging: worshipping communities are wholes, which, however, are also articulated (in)conveniently by hierarchies. But this is not all: when one makes offerings at extrapolis sanctuaries, even on behalf of a state, one is not necessarily asserting membership or confessing inferiority (*I.Priene* 5). Nor can simple serial repetition be seen to undergird the incorporation of one polity into another. Nevertheless, both voluntary and compulsory religious conduct were a part of the creation of unity within the empire. At the same time, these forms of conduct were also languages capable of expressing contrary positions, and so they thereby raise the question of the empire's popularity.

Two responses have traditionally been offered to the question of the popularity of the Athenian empire. The first is to turn it into a question about constitutional forms and the solidarity among democracies, so that Athenian imperialism and subject democracy are seen as mutually reinforcing. Although this perspective is actually quite helpful in that it acknowledges how crucial local responses are to the outcome of imperial projects, the reductive assumption that Athens fostered democracies that were in turn necessarily attached to the empire is only partly true.[21] The second response has been to lament that there is almost no evidence for discussing allied reactions to the empire. As the theoretical introduction to this chapter made clear, this last conviction results in part from the narrow rules of evidence normally followed by historians of the empire: cultural production has largely been ignored. It has been ignored, that is, as a source of *evidence*: historical or historicizing readings of Athenian drama and vase-painting, etc. have of course always been common, but the goal has normally been to establish a relationship of responsion between the cultural object and some historical event or social fact. Even as, in recent decades, the causal relationship has been flipped so that (for example) works of literature are increasingly seen as efficaciously intervening in the "real world" of politics—rather

Attic public language, the verb ἀπάγειν, and its substantival derivatives, applies to just two situations: bringing in the φορός and making ritual offerings. This may be the true way in which the imperial assimilation worked: by bringing the *phoros* into relation with religious offerings.

[21] On the last point, see Brock 2009. The importance of local acquiescence to imperialism is most clearly articulated on the theoretical level by Ronald Robinson's "sketch for a theory of collaboration," immensely influential within the historiography of the British Empire (Robinson 1972; also see Mantena 2010 for a wonderful intellectual history of "indirect rule").

than responding to or reflecting their context—this approach still has much to offer historians of the empire.

A good counterexample is the best riposte. It is the local conditions in conquered or subject territories, rather than metropolitan developments, that are likely to determine local responses and ultimately the fate of a given imperial project, and into which we seek insight. This section consists of a detailed reading of Pindar's *Nemean* 11, which was performed at the inauguration to public office of a certain aristocrat named Aristagoras on Tenedos.[22] My reading is strongly informed by recent developments in Pindaric criticism, while seeking to situate the ode in the specific historical context of the Delian League, rather than Greek politics in the abstract. The lack of evidence of which scholars so regularly complain is indeed real and regrettable, but it is not difficult to see behind the paratactic revolts in Thucydides—of Mytilene, Naxos, Samos, Thasos, and so on—a grammar of opposition to Athenian rule. As a structure for the allocation of both material and symbolic goods, as well as social prestige and political power, the empire engendered various forms of resentment among those who perceived themselves to be on the losing sides of those allocations. Conversely, various factors urged loyalty, all these vectors competing and combining in various ways and at various levels. In brief, there was a vast and roiling sea of complexity underlying the history of the Aegean world in the fifth century, which is now largely irrecoverable—but not therefore impossible to envisage or discuss.

Nemean 11 illuminates one such collision between competing forms of authority. It instantiates in song a latent sense of ethnic solidarity between Aiolians, Boiotians, and Spartans, which aristocrats in the Aiolis appear to have felt and/or manipulated from (at least) the middle part of the fifth century on, as Athenian hegemony—both mythological and practical—over Boiotia and the rest of the Greek world became undeniable. Although it was included in the corpus of Pindar's epinicia by his Hellenistic editors (presumably because it so strongly resembles an epinician ode), *Nemean* 11 was evidently composed for performance at the inauguration as *prytanis* on Tenedos of its honorand, Aristagoras.[23] It makes use of this highly specific and charged performance context to advance an aitological argument that Tenedos belongs properly to Aristagoras, and the house of Aristagoras to an anti-Athenian constellation of ethnic groups. Beginning with an invocation of and prayer to Hestia, the ode was performed within the *prytaneion* itself (l. 7, with scholion on l. 1):

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[22] *Nemean* 11 lacks a full-dress commentary like those readily available for Pindar's more widely taught odes. The best is perhaps Verdenius 1988: 96–118 (originally published as Verdenius 1982), though Bury (1890, esp. 216–19) and Farnell (1932: 325–29) are most useful as well.

[23] In the original textual tradition, the *Nemean* odes came last—they were the least prestigious of the four games—and the final three odes (9–11) were simply appended for convenience; 9 and 10 are for winners in local Peloponnesian games (Harvey 1955: 160; on Pindar's textual history, see Irigoin 1952). See the introductory scholia to *Nemean* 11 (inscr. a-c, pp. 184-5 Drachmann) for its non-epinician status. In reality, the matter is more complicated, since the very definition of "epinician" as a genre is itself a product of codification that mainly took place after Pindar's lifetime (for a brief introduction to Pindaric genre, see the introduction to van Groningen 1960; more generally, Harvey 1955 remains fundamental, while Maslov (2015) has recently reevaluated whether epinician can even be called a genre itself). This is not the place to discuss the question beyond indicating that this is one reason (among many) that it is helpful to focus on performance rather than genre. In this respect, the discussion of the practicalities of epinician performance contexts in Currie 2011 could be a useful starting point for reconsidering the genre.

παῖ Ῥέας, ἅ τε πρυτανεῖα λέλογχας, Ἑστία,
Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου κασιγνήτα καὶ ὁμοθρόνου Ἥρας,
εὖ μὲν Ἀρισταγόραν δέξαι τεὸν ἐς θάλαμον,
εὖ δ᾽ ἑταίρους ἀγλαῷ σκάπτῳ πέλας. . .

Daughter of Rhea, you who hold as your lot the town halls, Hestia, sister of highest Zeus and same-seated Hera, receive Aristagoras well into your chamber, and receive well his companions, close by the gleaming scepter. . .

As it begins, then, the poem fully responds to its occasion, linking Aristagoras with the *prytaneion* and its patron deity, Hestia. In the Greek city, the *prytaneion* was the building that housed the public hearth of the city (the *hestia koine*), serving, as Louis Gernet and others long ago explained, as a polis' symbolic heart and, therefore, as one locus for its identity.[24] As the home of the public hearth, *prytaneia* were the places where cities received visiting ambassadors, symbolizing the polis as a whole welcoming foreigners to its table (hence also the Zeus Xenios and "everflowing tables" of ll. 8-9). At the same time, the *prytanis* or college of *prytaneis* in various cities held great political responsibility and power.[25] Thus, the collocation of hearth and prytany in an actual performance in the prytaneion powerfully associates Aristagoras with the communal identity of Tenedos and the exercise of its political offices, while also emphasizing its place in a wider international network.[26] Yet the real hammering-home of the logic here comes in the following line: οἵ σε γεραίροντες ὀρθὰν φυλάσσοισιν Τένεδον (l. 5), "who, by honoring you, guard Tenedos aright." This completes the reciprocal circuit implicit in the divine guidance of political and symbolic power: Hestia is to welcome Aristagoras and his *hetairoi* into her chamber because it is by means of celebrating (or rewarding) her that they conduct their, and her, business.

The central lines of the first triad continue to expand on the significance of the actual occasion of Aristagoras' inauguration:

πολλὰ μὲν λοιβαῖσιν ἀγαζόμενοι πρώταν θεῶν,
πολλὰ δὲ κνίσᾳ· λύρα δέ σφι βρέμεται καὶ ἀοιδά·
καὶ ξενίου Διὸς ἀσκεῖται θέμις αἰενάοις
ἐν τραπέζαις· ἀλλὰ σὺν δόξᾳ τέλος
δωδεκάμηνον περᾶσαί νιν ἀτρώτῳ κραδίᾳ·

. . . exalting you as first of the gods with frequent libations, with frequent burnt sacrifice; and the lyre roars for them, and song; and the justice of Zeus Xenios is honored on everflowing tables; but come, may [Aristagoras] accomplish with good reputation the twelve-

[24] Gernet 1981 (first published 1968); cf. Vernant 1963 and Malkin 1987: 124–25. On *prytaneia* as buildings, see Miller 1978.

[25] In Classical Athens, the prytany was the presidency of the boule, rotating through the tribes. But in other cities, the college of *prytaneis* may have been more independent, while in others still an individual *prytanis* was the chief magistrate. No evidence is available for Tenedos itself to indicate which sort of *prytanis* Aristagoras is to be, but it was probably mainly a religious office.

[26] David Fearn (2009: 31–32) also mentions the networking aspects of the poem, but (proceeding from his general misunderstanding of an exclusively aristocratic context for *Nem.* 11, as discussed below) sees them in terms of aristocratic guest friendship, not relations between polities.

month office, with unscathed heart. . .

The references to sacrifice may or may not refer to part of the same ceremony of inauguration as the ode celebrates; we are insufficiently well-informed to tell. More to the point, they reinforce the representation in song of the ideological logic at work in the performance: Aristagoras and his *hetairoi* are located at the pivot-point of the relationship between Hestia (or *hestia koine*) and community; they guide Tenedos by honoring Hestia, which they do by performing sacrificial rites; but also, they act as the representatives of the community by ensuring that the obligations of hospitality, the *xenia* Zeus upholds, are fulfilled appropriately. It is to this task of mediation between the community and the realms of the gods and religious duty that Aristagoras is called. Furthermore, within the worldview of aristocratic Greek culture, with its focus on heritable excellence displayed outwardly on the surface of the body, Aristagoras is aptly suited for the exercise of this office: ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ μακαρίζω μὲν πατέρ' Ἀρκεσίλαν, | καὶ τὸ θαητὸν δέμας ἀτρεμίαν τε σύγγονον (ll. 11-12), "but I declare the man blessed for his father Arkesilas, and for his wondrous body, and innate calm." Beginning here with the epode of the first triad, *Nemean* 11 starts to turn from the self-referential elaboration of its own performance context to commentary on Aristagoras' body and its excellences and to athletic praise in the second triad. Yet this declaration first leads straightaway into the initial appearance of a theme that has always impressed commentators on *Nemean* 11, namely a rather gloomy sense of human limitation and mortality:[27]

εἰ δέ τις ὄλβον ἔχων μορφᾷ παραμεύσεται ἄλλους,
ἔν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν,
θνατὰ μεμνάσθω περιστέλλων μέλη,
καὶ τελευτὰν ἁπάντων γᾶν ἐπιεσσόμενος·

. . . but if anyone has prosperity and surpasses others for shapeliness, and has displayed his force as the best in contests, let him recall that he is clothed in mortal limbs, and will be clothed in earth, as the last of all. . .

Earlier commentators often focused on how these lines connote Pindar's melancholy and took them as evidence for a date of composition late in the poet's life.[28] An alternative, more plausible, interpretation of this theme would place it in relation to the social context of a Pindaric ode—that is, consider it as an aspect of the ode's burden of mediating between a successful aristocrat and his demos. In a recent article, David Fearn sees that this theme is important, and terms the rise-and-fall pattern a symbol of "Aristagoras' deference to the political structures of his *polis*."[29] This submission takes the form of recognizing the limits of temporality, both in human life and political life: a few lines earlier, the ode prays for Aristagoras to complete his twelve-month period in office successfully: an obvious sign that he sees his prytany as a constituent element of a broader political system, rather than as a stepping-stone to tyranny or the like.[30] Comparably, these final lines of the triad notionally remind Aristagoras that he is

[27] See Bury 1890: 217–19 and *passim*; Farnell 1932: 325 ("melancholy tone"); Lefkowitz 1979: 52 ("warnings about mortal limitations regularly follow statements of human success").

[28] See previous note; and cf. Verdenius 1988: 96. The poem's date is discussed below.

[29] Fearn 2009: 33.

[30] Disclaiming any aspiration to tyranny is not an uncommon feature of Pindaric epinician: see Kurke 1991,

mortal, not a god, as a counterpoint to the praise of him in preceding and following lines and to the general tenor of *Nemean* 11 as a poem of praise claiming for Aristagoras a unique place in his polis by virtue of office, lineage, and excellence.[31]

It is necessary to be more specific about these "political structures" to which Aristagoras is showing deference. It has been argued that the Tenedos of *Nemean* 11 is an oligarchic polis, which would have significant ramifications for understanding the relationship between the ode, Tenedos as a state, and the Delian League. These ramifications will be explored further below, but it is possible at this stage to begin by rebutting one assumption, that Tenedos had an oligarchy.[32] He examines two odes from the margins of the epinician corpus, Pindar's *Nemean* 11 and Bacchylides 14B, both of which prominently invoke Hestia and deal with aristocratic practices such as horse-raising and athletics. This conjunction seems to be the grounds for his suggestion that Hestia is inherently oligarchic, although the argument is never explicitly laid out. The difference, however, is that the latter ode celebrates a hipparch in Larisa, a Thessalian polis known to be oligarchic.[33] By contrast, we have no evidence that Tenedos had an oligarchic form of government; Fearn simply moves in consecutive sentences from noting an "affirmation of aristocratic aesthetics" in *Nemean* 11 to assuming "the oligarchic regimes of both Larisa and Tenedos."[34] But the *hestia koine* as a concept refers to the entire community of citizens, and if the ode's performance in the *prytaneion* does embrace that entire community, it follows that Aristagoras' inauguration ode is notionally addressed to the community, not merely a subset of it. There is nothing constitutionally oligarchic about Hestia as a goddess, although it may be true that the concept of the public hearth is uniquely suited to exploitation by aristocrats (exploitation of precisely the type under discussion).

In brief, Fearn's argumentative move rests on a misapprehension about how (self-)representation works. The underlying logic—the warrant of the argument—would have to be something like: whenever an early Classical Greek aristocrat celebrates doing aristocratic things, his polis must be oligarchic.[35] Stated in such terms, the logic is clearly untenable; it is, moreover, precisely what the aristocratic ideology at stake wants us to believe. What is needed here is a more nuanced understanding of the delicate relationship between the political and social forces obtaining in any given polis and the ways in which elites are able symbolically to affirm their status therein. Though it is certainly debatable what significance follows from the geographical distribution of poetic forms, it is well known that Athens was not fertile territory for the performance of epinician. Yet there are epinicia for Athenians (*Nemean* 2 and *Pythian* 7), which in different ways finesse their honorands' situations vis-à-vis the democratic city. *Nemean* 2, for example, is a short composition for Timodemos of Acharnai, in which

ch. 8.

31 Cf. Most 1985.

32 Fearn 2009.

33 Fearn 2009: 24–29.

34 Fearn 2009: 32.

35 Note the confusion evident in Fearn's discussion of the relationship between representation and reality: e.g., "the concern with connecting personal aristocratic achievement to civic administration that is a signature of oligarchy" (Fearn 2009: 32). Of course that is a signature of oligarchy, because Greek oligarchy has reference to an aristocratic ideology in which that connection exists, but ideologies can also exist without being fully operationalized in political structures ().

the most extravagant boast is perhaps that his prowess "exalts" Timodemos (ὦ Τιμόδημε, σὲ δ' ἀλκά / παγκρατίου τλάθυμος ἀέξει, ll. 14-15), a typically vague epinician term. *Nemean* 2 focuses heavily throughout on Timodemos' athletic successes and those of his family, and ends with a paradoxical instruction: πολῖται, κωμάξατε (l. 24)—assimilating the broader civic body to the aristocratic practice of the komos within a democratic context. Yet despite noting that "both athletic competitiveness and administrative ambition are toned down" in *Nemean* 11 (both by comparison with Bacch. 14B and in an absolute sense), Fearn never appears to consider that Tenedos could have been democratic.[36]

A democratic Tenedos, however, would make far better sense of this theme of restraint. Furthermore, it fits the historical data–such as they are—better than assuming oligarchy. Although in the most recent treatment of the issue, Roger Brock questions and partly disproves the once-universal belief that Athens had a deliberate policy of favoring democratic constitutions among the allies, the evidence suggests that democracies were more reliable as members of the League.[37] Most proximately, Tenedos's Aiolian island neighbor, Lesbos, was home to several oligarchic poleis along with one that may have been democratic; the oligarchies all revolted just after the Peloponnesian war began, while the (possibly) democratic city, along with Tenedos, betrayed the other Lesbian cities' plans to the Athenians (Thuc. 3.2).[38] Staying within the eastern Aegean, in 441, Samos's oligarchy was replaced by a democratic system after its quarrel with Athens (Thuc. 1.115), only to return after the final victory of the Spartans (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3). Thus, while Athens never had a consistently or systematically implemented preference for democratic constitutions among its allies, there is a clear sense that oligarchic governments could be less loyal. Thus, Tenedian solidarity with both the fifth– and fourth-century Athenian leagues is best explained by the assumption that it was democratic.[39]

An even more compelling parallel, exemplary for the historical situation I imagine for *Nemean* 11 on Tenedos, is furnished by Barbara Kowalzig's study of Rhodes and Pindar's seventh *Olympian*.[40] This ode was composed in honor of Diagoras of Rhodes, in or after 464 BC, roughly the same period of the mid-fifth century as Nemean 11.[41] Kowalzig shows how *Olympian 7* prefigures later Rhodian synoikism; it presents the island as a single entity united by reason of descent and origin. But at just this time, Rhodes (like Lesbos) was home to several discrete poleis, which (unlike Lesbos, but like Tenedos) were probably democratic. Diagoras, however, was a member of an extremely wealthy and prestigious aristocratic family. When

36 Fearn 2009: 33.

37 Brock 2009.

38 This historical episode is discussed below.

39 See Rutishauser 2001 for the loyalty of Tenedos.

40 Kowalzig 2007, ch. 5.

41 The date of *Nemean* 11 is discussed below; the date for *Oympian 7* is set by the scholia at 464, but in reality, the ode does not seem to be in celebration of any particular victory: as Currie suggests, it is more a summation of Diagoras' victories, and (following Kowalzig) a vision of a unified Rhodes, and might therefore not have followed immediately upon the victory of 464 (Currie 2011: 287, n. 75; Nicholson suggests a date in the early or middle 450s [Nicholson 2018: 43]). Although the scholiastic dates for Pindar's *Olympians* are usually sound because they were based on the victor lists, if the ode in question were not actually performed immediately after a panhellenic victory their method would only mislead (cf. Most 1985: 62). Thus, *Olympian 7* might postdate 464 (the year of Diagoras's last victory) by an unknown amount of time.

Rhodes synoikized at the end of the fifth century, his descendants were important players in the resultant oligarchy.[42] Thus, *Olympian* 7 is a very illustrative parallel for *Nemean* 11 in the respect that both performances were directed from elites to a broader, democratic polis community. Both attempt to advance a particular conception of that community; for Diagoras, what was important was setting out the "building blocks of this unified Rhodes," a process that shook "the carefully constructed edifice of Athenian imperial ideology."[43] The crucial difference, however, would be that Diagoras's attempt eventually succeeded, while Aristagoras's left no discernible ripples in its historical wake.[44]

Returning to the text itself, this discussion also exposes just how important the performance context is to the interpretation of an epinician; the sense of restraint evident in *Nemean* 11 is obvious but not explicable on formal grounds. Instead, it requires a careful consideration of how those formal features are in dialogue with the broader social context relevant to their performance, and here, particularly, the island's political system. An extremely typical aristocratic Greek ideology is instantiated in *Nemean* 11, which collapses excellence (primarily defined by the ideology in terms of the virtues of the body and its lineage) with a naturalized right to a unique place within the community.[45] Indeed, this focus on the body continues into the second triad's epinician language and imagery. It begins:

ἐν λόγοις δ' ἀστῶν ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐπαινεῖσθαι χρεών,
καὶ μελιγδούποισι δαιδαλθέντα μελίζεν ἀοιδαῖς.
ἐκ δὲ περικτιόνων ἑκκαίδεκ' Ἀρισταγόραν
ἀγλααὶ νῖκαι πάτραν τ' εὐώνυμον
ἐστεφάνωσαν πάλᾳ καὶ μεγαυχεῖ παγκρατίῳ.

But he must be praised by the good words of his townsmen, and we must celebrate him as embellished by honey-sounding songs. And from neighbor[ing contests] sixteen glorious victories have crowned Aristagoras and his well-named clan, in wrestling and in strong-necked pankration. . .

As epode flows into strophe, the mood swings sharply back upwards, reverting from an imagined future death to present celebration. The language is now highly conventional epinician stuff; the triad begins with a metapoetic injunction referring to the ode's own function, praise, moves to mention Aristagoras' victories; and so on. Indeed, it seems that *Nemean* 11—though not, recall, a true epinician—is simply going to rely for the remainder of the triad on the tropes that accomplish its generic brief.[46] That generic brief is to present the honorand and his community to one another in performance, structuring a mutually beneficial relationship between athletic success (and other aristocratic virtues) and polis community, a relationship according

[42] Bresson 1979: 140–42 and 149–57; Kowalzig 2007: 250–53.

[43] Kowalzig 2007: 265.

[44] In fact, the oligarchic government of the newly synoikized Rhodes was short-lived: in 395, there was a democratic revolution in the course of which the descendants of Diagoras were murdered (see most recently Simonton 2015).

[45] *Nemean* 11 is a veritable treatise on the aristocratic Greek ideology of noble descent: this is the point of the imagery in the closing sections of the poem (a theme well discussed by Bury 1890 and Verdenius 1988; also see Henry 2005: 131).

[46] For the concept of a brief, see Baxandall 1985.

to which the victor's excellences and his fellow citizens' esteem intertwine reciprocally instead of leading to envy or tyranny.[47] It turns out, however, that Aristagoras has no panhellenic victories of which to boast; the sixteen local crowns are substantial, evidently, but in place of an actual panhellenic boast, Pindar claims that Aristagoras *would* have won, had he only competed–a kind kind of boast that is highly unusual in the corpus.[48]

ἐλπίδες δ' ὀκνηρότεραι γονέων παιδὸς βίαν
ἔσχον ἐν Πυθῶνι πειρᾶσθαι καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀέθλων.
24 ναὶ μὰ γὰρ ὅρκον, ἐμὰν δόξαν παρὰ Κασταλίᾳ
καὶ παρ' εὐδένδρῳ μολὼν ὄχθῳ Κρόνου
κάλλιον ἄν δηριώντων ἐνόστησ' ἀντιπάλων,
πενταετηρίδ' ἑορτὰν Ἡρακλέος τέθμιον
28 κωμάσαις ἀνδησάμενός τε κόμαν ἐν πορφυρέοις
ἔρνεσιν. ἀλλὰ βροτῶν τὸν μὲν κενεόφρονες αὖχαι
ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἔβαλον· τὸν δ' αὖ καταμεμφθέντ' ἄγαν
ἰσχὺν οἰκείων παρέσφαλεν καλῶν
32 χειρὸς ἕλκων ὀπίσσω θυμὸς ἄτολμος ἐών.

. . .but the too–diffident hopes of his parents held back the boy's power from attempting the contests at Delphi and Olympia. But by my oath, according to my judgment, he would, after coming to the Kastalian spring and the wooded hill of Kronos, have gone home more happily than his fighting opponents, after celebrating the quadrennial established festival of Herakles, and bound up around the hair with purple garlands. But of mortals, empty-witted boasts cast a man away from good things; and another man, too much scorned in his own strength, is thwarted of the fine things proper to him when his spirit, being undaring, draws him back by the hand.

Again, the striking sense of restraint here thematizes the measuredness of Aristagoras' claims to uniqueness based on his athletic success: he aspires to follow a middle path between excellence-destroying timidity (he did win sixteen local contests) and haughtiness (it was filial duty that kept him from courting pride abroad) detrimental to his polis. As the ode's penultimate line would have it, "one must seek after a measure of gain" (l. 47, κερδέων δὲ χρὴ μέτρον θηρευέμεν). All of this tends toward moderating the claims already made, as well as the big one about to come, concerning Aristagoras' place within the polis. For the third triad begins:

συμβαλεῖν μὰν εὐμαρὲς ἦν τό τε Πεισάνδρου πάλαι
αἶμ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτας — Ἀμύκλαθεν γὰρ ἔβα σὺν Ὀρέστᾳ,
Αἰολέων στρατιὰν χαλκεντέα δεῦρ' ἀνάγων —
36 καὶ παρ' Ἰσμηνοῦ ῥοᾶν κεκραμένον
ἐκ Μελανίπποιο μάτρως. . .

Indeed, it was easy to recognize that [Aristagoras's] blood was from Sparta, of Peisandros long ago—for he came from Amyklai with Orestes, leading here the bronze-armed band of Aiolians—and that it was mixed by the streams of the Ismenos with that from Melanippos on his mother's side. . .

47 Cf. Kurke 1991 ch. 8.
48 Compare, however, *Nemean* 6, ll. 61–63 (with Henry 2005: 67).

This passage is the crux of the ode's argument for how the audience should (mis)recognize the relationships between Aristagoras, Tenedos, the Aiolis, and the Athenian League.[49] These lines form a highly compact cluster of symbolically charged proper names, jumbled together in a way that makes it somewhat unclear what Pindar is saying, even on a literal level. The lineage of Aristagoras originates "long ago" with Peisandros (who is otherwise unknown), but is also "from Sparta."[50] Peisandros came to Tenedos (δεῦρ', l. 35.) in company with Orestes, passing from Amyklai through Boiotia (the Aiolian homeland), where by the Ismenos (the Boiotian river) he produced offspring with a descendant of Melanippos (the Theban hero). The strength of the reference to Sparta demands attention (ἀπὸ Σπάρτας – Ἀμύκλαθεν γὰρ, l. 34), especially since Amyklai is a symbolic heart of Spartan identity specifically as well as of Dorian identity more generally.[51] It was the focal point of the Hyakinthia, the festival celebrated by most Dorians and above all by the Spartans.[52] But immediately upon Ὀρέστᾳ follows the fact that it was an Aiolian warband being led to Tenedos. The effect here is a marked blurring of distinctions between Spartans, Boiotians, and Aiolians.

To understand what is going on here, it is essential to adopt the perspective that "ethnic identity in Greek antiquity" is a discursive construct.[53] Greeks believed that they were divided into several different ethnic groups constituted by their "belief in shared descent" and putative "association with a primordial homeland."[54] Whether these groups' beliefs were founded in reality or not is beside the point.[55] What mattered was that people believed in them. But this also means that expressions of ethnic identity, such as we have here in Pindar's *Nemean* 11, are not merely unproblematic reflections of actual patterns of descent, but are themselves the constitutive elements of that identity, and can become sites of contestation. Thus, it is no surprise that Pindar's version of how Aiolians arrived in the Aiolis—when Peisandros and Orestes led them there, to Tenedos—differs from versions preserved elsewhere—in fact from all other sources.

According to Strabo (13.1.3), for example, Orestes did lead the Aiolian colonization at first, but died in Arcadia; his son, Penthilos, made it to Thrace; the latter's son Archelaos advanced further along; and finally Lesbos was colonized in yet another generation by Archelaos's son, Gras. Elsewhere, Strabo also records that the Aiolian colonization was a sort of joint venture with the Boiotians (9.2.5). Pausanias (3.2.1) gives a similar story, but in his version it was Penthilos who colonized Lesbos, while Gras (grandson of Penthilos and son of, in Pausanias, Echelas) founded what came to be the Aiolis. According to the scholia to *Nemean* 11, Hellanikos discussed "Orestes's foundation-expedition into the Aiolis," but it is unclear what version he knew.[56] Likewise, Herodotos and Thucydides share the evidently ubiquitous belief

[49] For broader context on Aiolians and the Athenian empire, see Fragoulaki 2013: 102–110.

[50] On Peisandros, see Henry 2005: 130.

[51] *Pace* Verdenius's "doubt" that Pindar is alluding to the capture of Amyklai (1988: 110).

[52] Hall 1997: 39.

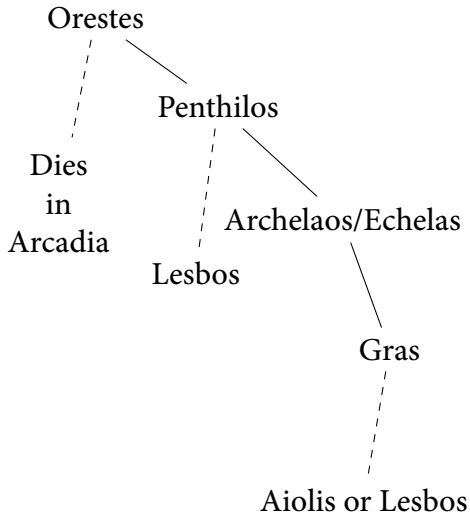
[53] See Hall 1997 and 2002.

[54] Hall 1997: 36.

[55] Indeed, many scholars believe in the essential historicity of the migration stories and ethnic differentiation derived from them; those who do, however, can still concede that the reproduction and transformation of these memories through the EIA and Archaic periods means that Greek ethnicity is primarily discursive. For a recent attempt to sift out the truth in Aiolian migration stories, see Rose 2008 and Parker 2008.

[56] Specifically, this could simply be a loose reference on the part of the scholiast, so that "Orestes's coloniza-

in a Boiotian homeland for the Aiolians, but give no specific colonization narrative.[57] A significant commonality, however, is clear in these non-Pindaric stories: Lesbos or the mainland is accorded primacy for the mythological migration of Aiolians to the region. Indeed, Strabo refers to Lesbos as "almost the metropolis, as it were, of the Aiolian cities" (13.2.1, σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ μητρόπολις ἡ Λέσβος ὑπάρχει τῶν Αἰολικῶν πόλεων).



Composite mainstream version: Orestes and the Aiolian migration (with selected geographical associations)

On the other hand, no ancient source clearly refers to Tenedos as a colony of Lesbos.[58] Instead, there is a further set of colonization stories about Tenedos which relate it to other areas in the Aiolis, rather than to Lesbos (or to central Greece). Diodoros and Pausanias report a story of Tenedos's foundation by Tennes (Strabo, too, mentions this story without recounting in detail). In Pausanias (10.14.1–4), Kyknos was a son of Poseidon and the ruler of Kolonai, a mainland city opposite Tenedos (and important in the myth of the period of the Trojan War). Following some family intrigue, Kyknos's son Tennes washes ashore in a chest onto the island Tenedos, then called Leukophrus. Tennes founds a city there, gives his name to the island, and then goes off to get killed by Achilles at Troy. Diodoros' version (5.83.1-5) is less colorful, but basically the same.[59]

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tion" could just be one of the versions where he is loosely responsible but Penthilos actually completes the foundation. The scholion in question is on l. 43 (p. 189 Drachmann; also see *FGrH* 4 F 32).

57 Hall 2002: 71–72 gives a useful synopsis of Aiolian colonization stories (although Thucydides does not in fact tell of Penthilos going to Lesbos). Also see Rose 2008 and, for a more philological account, *EMG* ii.597–602.

58 According to the *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* and other modern works of reference, Tenedos was such a colony, but the sources cited to that effect (Strabo 13.1.46 and Hdt. 1.151) say no such thing. Rather, they, like the other passages referenced above, discuss the Aiolian population zone as a whole. A line in the scholia (p. 189 Drachmann) may be the only direct statement that Tenedos was a colony of Lesbos. Commenting on ll. 33ff, one scholiast notes τὸ δὲ δεῦρο ὡς πρὸς τὴν Τένεδον τὴν τῆς Λέσβου. One could imagine supplying "colony" with the final τήν.

59 Tenedos also has other mythological connections with the Troad, including a religious connection with the native Mysian population (thanks to the worship of [Apollo] Smintheos—see Strabo 13.1.46, Hom. *Il.* 1.48). Kolonai itself, says Strabo (13.1.62) citing the fourth-century epichoric historian Daës, was also Aiolian,

Table 1: Foundation stories relating to the Aiolis, illustrating doubly unique prominence assigned to Tenedos in *Nemean* 11

	Pindar	Hellanikos	Hdt. and Thuc.
Leader of expedition	Orestes and Peisandros	Orestes	-
Role of Orestes	leads expedition to Tenedos	founds Aiolis?	-
Role of Peisandros	leads expedition to Tenedos	?	-
Relationship of Tenedos to Aiolis as whole	epicenter of migration	?	-
Spartan involvement	Peis. and Or. come from Sparta	?	-
Theban/Boiotian involvement	travel via Ismenos; Melanippos is Peis.' ancestor	?	Aiolian homeland

Table 2: Above, cont'd

	Diodoros	Strabo	Pausanias
Leader of expedition	Tennes founds Tenedos (Aiolian mig. complete)	Gras completes col. of Lesbos	Penthilos colonizes Lesbos; Gras rest of Aiolis
Role of Orestes	n/a	dies in Arcadia	ancestor only
Role of Peisandros	n/a	none	none
Relationship of Tenedos to Aiolis as whole	subsequent foundation	none	none
Spartan involvement	none	join in	join in
Theban/Boiotian involvement	none	joint venture	-

Thus, *Nemean* 11's claim that Orestes led the Aiolian migration to Tenedos stands in double contradiction of the other traditions. First, it puts forward for Tenedos a mythological pedigree of much higher prestige than the historical traditions otherwise attested. Second, it flies in the face of the consensus that Lesbos or the Aiolian mainland of Asia Minor was the epicenter of the migration by, again, displacing that role to Tenedos. In other words, there is no other trace of Tenedos claiming primacy for itself within the Aiolis, still less of that claim being accepted elsewhere: *Nemean* 11 is unique.[60] Aristagoras is attempting to disrupt the dominant mythological narrative of Aiolian origins in a rather blatant and straightforward way. Despite the privileged, authoritative status of ritual discourse, however, his attempt lacked rhetorical power and was not successful, as we shall see below.[61]

though founded when and by whom he does not say.

60 At the same time, the δεῦρο of l. 35 leaves room for other interpretations: perhaps it is not specifically Tenedos, but the Aiolis generally. The scholiastic tradition in both antiquity and early modern scholarship so attempts to construe the novel version on offer here, assimliating it to the more familiar migration stories. For the former, consider the scholion quoted above (n. 56); for the early modern tradition, consider that the important early Oxford edition of Pindar translates the line in question as *Æolensium exercitum ære-armatorum huc adducens*, but in its exegetical paraphrase follows the scholion quoted above and expands the translation to *coloniam Æolensium in Lesbum, Tenedumque proinde Insulam deduxit* (Welsted and West 1697: 425). The deictic-in-performance usage of the ode, however, would urge a more immediate understanding, even if part of the point is to allow for a multiplicity of construals. As ever, some ambiguity can be productive.

61 See Bloch 1974, Bell 1992 and 1997, and Lincoln 1994, ch. 1 and Lincoln 2014.

It is not, however, at all unique in disclosing a view that Aiolians, Boiotians, and Spartans are naturally to be aligned. And this view was not created by Pindar or Aristagoras, nor did it always fail to persuade. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides tells us, Mytilene and all but one of the other cities of Lesbos planned to revolt from the Athenian league (Thuc. 3.2).[62] Whether democratic or oligarchic, Methymne betrayed the other Lesbians' plans to revolt, in company with the Tenedians, "with whom [the Mytilenians] were at enmity," and certain Mytilenian proxenoi of Athens (Thuc. 3.2.3).[63]

The Lesbian revolt was effected in concert with "the Lakedaimonians and Boiotians, since they were their kinsmen" (Thuc. 3.2.3, μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν ὄντων). Similarly, later in the war, Thucydides evinces surprise, pity, or perhaps simply disdain at the sham of it all, at the fact that Tenedians and Methymnians were compelled to fight, Aiolian colonists against their Aiolian-Boiotian founders in the Syracusan army (Thuc. 7.57.5, οὗτοι δὲ Αἰολῆς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κτίσασι Βοιωτοῖς μετὰ Συρακοσίων κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμάχοντο). These brief examples from Thucydides show that the widely-attested sense of solidarity between Aiolians, Boiotians, and Spartans could in fact cash out in practice, with political ramifications and military results.

Furthermore, given the discursive construction of ethnic identity, it would not be surprising to find the Aiolian belief that their primordial homeland was in Boiotia and that they shared ties of blood with Sparta and Thebes coming into prominence at just a time when the constellation of power on the ground might encourage it. This is not to say, of course, that the Greeks simply invented ethnic identity as a mask for affinities grounded elsewhere, but that, anthropologically and transhistorically speaking, ethnic identity usually becomes especially relevant politically only in fairly extreme situations.[64] Many different ways to classify and organize social ties exist in any society, and few are hegemonic at any given moment.[65] In this case, anti-Athenian Aiolians such as the Lesbian and Methymnian oligarchs, in and out of power, felt a tendency to consider themselves natural allies of Thebes and Sparta. Aristagoras can be added to their number: he would not have been among the Tenedians who betrayed Mytilene's plans.

It is clear that Aristagoras did not speak for all Tenedians, then, as shown by the subsequent course of history: Tenedos remained staunchly loyal to Athens through the Peloponnesian War even when its co-Aiolian kinsmen of Lesbos rebelled. And still in the fourth century, Tenedos was, to all appearances, a happy member of the Second Athenian League. Unlike *Olympian* 7, the eleventh *Nemean* did not go on to play an active role in the later history of its island community.[66] In this light, the conclusion of the ode acquires new poignancy, for it deals with the twists and turns of human history and the unknowability of fate:

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62 Fragoulaki 2013: 110–18.

63 As hinted above, the cities of Lesbos were all oligarchic, with the possible exception of Methymne. One argument that Methymne was democratic, at least at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, is plausible. Thuc. 8.100 tells us that a party of (elite) exiles from Methymne attempted to retake it with Theban troops (and leader). For this argument, see the *Inventory* s.v. Methymne. Given the turmoil of the war, this is hardly proof for Methymne's constitutional situation earlier in the fifth century: when it became a democracy is unknown.

64 Hall 1997.

65 Lincoln 2014.

66 Second League: Rutishauser 2001. *Olympian* 7 and Rhodes: Kowalzig 2007 ch. 5.

. . .ἀρχαῖαι δ᾽ ἀρεταί
ἀμφέροντ᾽ ἀλλασσόμεναι γενεαῖς ἀνδρῶν σθένος·
ἐν σχερῷ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ὢν μέλαιναι καρπὸν ἔδωκαν ἄρουραι,
δένδρεά τ᾽ οὐκ ἐθέλει πάσαις ἐτέων περόδοις
ἄνθος εὐῶδες φέρειν πλούτῳ ἴσον,
ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἀμείβοντι. καὶ θνατὸν οὕτως ἔθνος ἄγει
μοῖρα. τὸ δ᾽ ἐκ Διὸς ἀνθρώποις σαφὲς οὐχ ἕπεται
τέκμαρ· ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπαν μεγαλανορίαις ἐμβαίνομεν,
ἔργα τε πολλὰ μενοινῶντες· δέδεται γὰρ ἀναιδεῖ
ἐλπίδι γυῖα, προμαθείας δ᾽ ἀπόκεινται ῥοαί.
κερδέων δὲ χρὴ μέτρον θηρευέμεν·
ἀπροσίκτων δ᾽ ἐρώτων ὀξύτεραι μανίαι.

> . . . but ancient excellences yield their strength to the generations of men in alternation; for the dark earth does not without interruption give fruit, and the trees are not wont to bear fragrant blossom equal in wealth with every turning of the years, but they do in alternation; and thus is the mortal race led by fate. And from Zeus to mortals comes no clear evidence; but, nevertheless, we step forward confidently, and eagerly desire many deeds; for our limbs are bound by shameless expectation, and the streams of foreknowledge lie elsewhere. But it is necessary to seek after a measure of gain; and the passions of unattainable desires are too sharp.

By way of recapitulation and expansion, *Nemean* 11 testifies to an attempted reconfiguration of Tenedian loyalties during the era of the Delian League. The song and dance accompanying Aristagoras's inauguration as *prytanis* were used to put forward a claim about the mythological ancestry of Aristagoras and the Aiolians as a whole, and to claim pride of place for Aristagoras within Tenedos and for Tenedos within the Aiolis. Moreover, the Pindaric genealogical myth closely ties Aiolians to Boiotians and Spartans.

In three other epinician odes, the Boiotian–Spartan aspect of this ethnic affiliation appears and is more explicitly anti-Athenian.[67] In two other epinicia (*Isthmian* 1 and 7), Pindar seems to be relying on the idea that Thebes and Sparta have a special connection, and in a third (*Pythian* 11) he contests the mythological expression in tragedy of Athenian extensions of sovereignty over Boiotia and specifically Thebes.[68] These three poems can all be dated, if tentatively, to the 450s—the period of the so-called First Peloponnesian War—a chronological clustering to which *Nemean* 11 can also be assigned on grounds of plausibility. The date of *Nemean* 11 is unknown, the "446?" of recent editions being based on the largely specious biographical readings of older scholars, such as Wilamowitz, who saw its gloomy tone as a sign that Pindar was near death.[69] It is quite likely to date at the very earliest from 476, putting it at least in the era of the

[67] This section has been especially informed by discussion with Leslie Kurke; also see Kurke 2013: 101.

[68] On the last ode, see Kurke 2013.

[69] Fearn 2009: 30; and above, n. 27. Pindar's death is traditionally dated to not long after 446, the year of *Pythian* 8, his latest securely dated composition. As David Young showed, the accepted dating of *Isthmian* 7, at least, is just as unreliable (Young 1971) but the other two have more reliable dates. On biographical readings of Pindar, see recently Maslov 2015: 123–24.

Delian League if not the First Peloponnesian War.[70] One possible datum for dating *Nemean* 11 derives from the only other Pindaric composition for a Tenedian: a fragmentary encomium, erotic song, or skolion for Theoxenos of Tenedos (fr. 123).[71] Its relevance is dubious and fr. 123 is itself also, of course, undated. No plausible argument for its chronology exists.[72] As a result, *Nemean* 11 is difficult to date on factual grounds with any confidence at all, but, as comparison to *Isthmian* 1 and 7 shows, it simply extends similar arguments to new territory—the Aiolis—which understandably does not feature in the mainland odes, and so probably dates to the 450s along with them.

In *Isthmian* 1, Pindar praises Herodotos, a Theban victor in the chariot race of probably 458. In the proem, Pindar and the chorus of Thebans address their home city: "my mother, golden-shielded Thebes, I shall place your affairs beyond even [my] lack of time. . ." (ll. 1-3, Μᾶτερ ἐμά, τὸ τεόν, χρύσασπι Θήβα, / πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτερον / θῆσομαι). The praise of Thebes continues, and an interesting moment occurs early on:

> ἀλλ' ἐγὼ Ἡροδότῳ τεύχων τὸ μὲν ἅρματι τεθρίππῳ γέρας,
> ἀνία τ' ἀλλοτρίαις οὐ χερσί νωμάσαντ' ἐθέλω
> ἢ Καστορείῳ ἢ Ἰολάοι' ἐναρμόξαι νιν ὕμνῳ.
> κεῖνοι γὰρ ἡρώων διφρηλάται Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Θήβαις ἐτέκνωθεν κράτιστοι...
>
> (*Isthmian* 1)
>
> But I, preparing for Herodotos the reward proper to the four-horsed chariot, since he ruled the reins without the hands of another, wish to make him harmonize with the song of Kastor or Iolaos. For they were born, the mightiest charioteers among heroes, in Lakedaimon and in Thebes. . .

Given the strongly Theban focus of the ode, the prominence given to Kastor's having been born in Sparta, and, specifically, the fact that Herodotos is to be "made to harmonize with" his deeds, is rather striking. The parallelism between Herodotos, Kastor, and Iolaos suggests, however tentatively or subtly, that Thebes and Sparta, too, should be fitted together. The leadership (νωμάσαντ', l. 15) Herodotos displayed in athletics is assimilable to deeds in war: ὅς δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις ἢ πολεμίζων ἄρηται κῦδος ἁβρόν, εὐαγορηθεὶς κέρδος ὕψιστον δέκεται, πολιατᾶν καὶ ξένων γλώσσας ἄωτον (ll. 50-51; cf. *Nemean* 11, ll. 17-18).

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[70] Henry (2005: 128) points out that the two earliest *Olympians* are from 488 and 476, and that if Pindar's claim for Aristagoras's Panhellenic potential (ll. 24–29, discussed above p.) is not to seem ridiculous, Pindar must have been established as a poet; thus, 476–ca. 446 might be regarded as a nearly certain window for the poem's composition.

[71] Space does not permit me to discuss the generic issues at stake here. The final line of the fragment calls Theoxenos υἱὸν Ἀγησίλα (l. 15). One of the two manuscripts to contain *Nemean* 11 (Vat. gr. 1312) gives Aristagoras' father's name as Ἀγησίλας (the smooth breathing could be an error), and the other (Laur. 32, 52) as Ἀρκεσίλας; it is accordingly possible that Theoxenos and Aristagoras were brothers. Both manuscripts transmit Ἀρκεσίλας in their scholia, however, which is also metrically preferable, so it is not very likely. On all this, see Farnell 1932: 441–43 and van Groningen 1960: 11–18 and 51–83 (esp. 74–75) and Maehler's *app. crit. ad loc.*

[72] Once more, the unreliable ancient tradition (in this case Val. Max. 9.12.7) was once used for its dating, because Theoxenos appeared to some commentators to be Pindar's real-world eromenos from late in his life—on all this, see van Groningen 1960: 76–79. As with using *kalos* names on vases to make assumptions about their painters' dates, the fundamental error here is in seeing the creator's utterance as an expression of their own interior life rather than as social performance or ventriloquism.

This theme is even more strongly marked in the seventh *Isthmian*. That ode, too—celebrating the Theban Strepsiades' victory in the pankration—is from the period of the First Peloponnesian War, dating perhaps to 454, and, like *Isthmian* 1, begins with an apostrophe of Theba, founding nymph of Thebes:

1 τίνι τῶν πάρος, ὦ μάκαιρα Θήβα,
καλῶν ἐπιχωρίων μάλιστα θυμὸν τεόν
εὔφρανας;

(*Isthmian* 7)

In which, blessed Theba, of the fine things of local history did you most delight your spirit?

There then follows a list of possible answers to this question, with:

12 ἢ Δωρίδ' ἀποικίαν οὕνεκεν ὀρθῷ
ἔστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῷ
Λακεδαιμονίων, ἕλον δ' Ἀμύκλας
Αἰγεῖδαι σέθεν ἔκγονοι, μαντεύμασι Πυθίοις;

(*Isthmian* 7)

Or was it because you set up the Dorian colony of Lakedaimonians on upright ankle and your descendants, the Aigeidai, captured Amyklai, pursuant to Apollo's oracles?

This is a reference to the mythological history of the Dorian arrival in southern Greece: the (future) Spartans received assistance from Thebans in capturing Amyklai (the last to be incorporated, and the most symbolically important, of historical Sparta's five villages).[73] Where the first *Isthmian* merely alludes to the possibility of a collapse between Theban mortal and Spartan divine exploits, the seventh quite programmatically thematizes the two populations' cooperation: Sparta is called, remarkably, a "colony" of Thebes.[74] The ode later (ll. 27–51) goes on to glorify exploits in war to a degree unusual in epinicia, celebrating, according to one traditional interpretation of the poem, Theban resistance to Athens in the First Peloponnesian War at the battle of Oenophyta.[75]

But we do not need to believe that Pindar is alluding to a specific battle, let alone that we know which one it is; it is enough that both these *Isthmians* likely date from the 450s when Athens appears to have been attempting to incorporate Boiotia into her empire.[76] If the suggestions of David Lewis are correct, at least two Boiotian cities became official, tributary members of the league.[77] While historical narrative of the First Peloponnesian War is infamously unclear, both

[73] See Malkin 1994: 100–103 and 111–13 for Amyklai and the Sparta-Thebes connection.

[74] In the Brea decree, *IG* I³ 46 (l. 12), καταστῆσαι is the verb used for establishing a colony; here we have the simple ἔστασας. In other texts, one might find forms of ἄγω, στέλλω or ἄρχω (with στόλον, for example, in Strabo 13.1). The periphrastic diction here in Pindar leaves it unclear whether he is literally asserting Sparta to be a Theban colony or merely vividly referring to their mythological collaboration. Either reading amounts to an extraordinary claim for interweaving Sparta and Thebes.

[75] But see Young 1971 for a review and forceful critique of this interpretive position on the poem's date, as well as extensive discussion of its martial aspects.

[76] See also van Groningen 1960: 78–79.

[77] Lewis 1992: 116, n. 72.

Sparta and Thebes fought against Athens. These two *Isthmians* seem actively to suggest that those very two cities ought to collaborate by reason of their mythological links, while *Pythian* 11 contests the Athenians' habit of appropriating the myths of other localities as part of their discursive strategy of empire.[78]

It is exactly and precisely at the time of—and, more importantly, because of—this Athenian encroachment that the Boiotian–Spartan[–Aiolian] ties of ethnicity and mythology acquired heightened significance. If Lewis and others are right that there was widespread revolt in the late 450s (and the case is very plausible), this period makes even better sense as the time when resistance to Athenian imperial ambitions became salient throughout much of the Greek world.[79] Lesbian oligarchs had been desirous of revolting from Athens for some time by the time of the Peloponnesian War, while the democratic Tenedians and other loyal members of the league resisted the move (Thuc. 3.2). But the Mytilenian rebellion is not the kind of development that could have simply arisen overnight; rather, as Bresson showed for fifth-century Rhodes, the kind of wealthy aristocracy represented by honorands of Pindaric epinicia was innately ill-disposed toward the Athenian challenge to their maritime power and wealth.[80] The Aiolian aristocrats who were likely to mobilize their ties with central and southern Greeks were not necessarily always in tune with their own populations: ethnic identity need not be equally vibrant for all members of a putative descent group, and it is telling that Aristagoras claims to be descended from a *leader* of the expedition (ἀνάγων, l. 35).

On a theoretical level, Tenedos is revealing precisely because nothing came of Aristagoras' deployment of authoritative mythological and ritual discourse. The virtual community he attempted to evoke or call into being did not, at least locally on his own island, materialize; this is a helpful reminder that symbolic resistance to or contestation of imperial power may most commonly have no effect whatsoever. Though the ode survived to be recorded along with Pindar's epinicia, an early transmission that remains somewhat mysterious, any traces of its performance in the *prytaneion* faded like aulos-piping in the wind.

4. Klazomenai

The bulk of the previous section was dedicated to a close reading of Pindar's eleventh *Nemean* ode, with related excursions into supporting terrain. At some point after 476 and before Pindar's death in the mid-to-late 440s, Aristagoras of Tenedos did something perfectly normal for a man from "a family of aristocrats used to playing an important role in the public life of the city": commissioning Pindar, he put on an elaborate show to celebrate and aggrandize himself by manipulating existing legends about the Aiolian migration to foreground his own lineage.[81]

[78] Kurke 2013: 130–49 (and on the "Athenianization" of properly non-Athenian mythological figures, also see Kowalzig 2006); cf. Nicole Loraux's remark that "myth has a role to play in the polis, whether the city is confronting itself or other poleis. It is a key element in the ideological warfare that pits cities against one another, or it is a foundation for symbolic representations of collective unity" (1993: 37).

[79] Lewis 1994.

[80] Bresson 1979.

[81] The quotation is of van Groningen 1960: 75.

Perhaps more unusually for a prominent person in a city within the Athenian empire, Aristagoras also affirmed his ties, and by extension those of Tenedos and the Aiolis itself, to Boiotia and to Sparta. Although the evidence for dating these events is circumstantial at best, such a genealogical argument would have been most forceful, and most topical, during the period of aggressive Athenian expansion in the 450s as she sought to acquire a land empire.

Aristagoras' ode was a unique historical event, readily legible as a straightforward deployment of religious discourse in furtherance of a political aim by conscious agents.[82] Earlier in the century at Klazomenai, and elsewhere in Ionia, a less concrete response to Athenian imperialism is visible in patterns of mortuary behavior. While Aristagoras dissented in at least one clear way from Athenian power, Ionian elites seem to have been conducted by twinned imperial and democratic forces to moderate their funerary displays.

As noted in the chapter's introduction, the sociology of mortuary conduct has been a major theme of research in classical archaeology. For example, in the Early Iron Age at Lefkandi, a cemetery expanded over about a century, fanning outward from the destruction mound of the so-called Heroon, its graves crammed full of jewelry of precious metals, fancy ceramic cups, and costly goods imported from the wealthy and prestigious lands of the Near East, an assemblage without peer in early Greece. While many mysteries remain, what is minimally clear is that the cemetery played a vital role in the social fabric of Lefkandi, serving as a venue for the articulation of individual and group status. When, centuries later, an Athenian named Kroisos died, his kinsmen elected to set above his tomb a handsomely-carved statue of a naked youth (a "kouros") mounted on a base that was also inscribed with a funerary epigram, celebrating Kroisos' martial *arete*.[83] By implication, they made an "elitist" claim on behalf of Kroisos (and, by extension, themselves). Other (similarly elite) clans chose differing modalities of commemoration, more in line with the communitarian values of polis ideology, such as setting sculpted stelai above their tombs.

Indeed, one of the most well-known and revealing illustrations of the potential relationship between modes of commemoration and politics is that of fifth-century Attic grave markers. In the late Archaic period, carved stelai were one of those slightly-less-elite options available to those families that eschewed the kouros. But between ca. 480 and the late 430s, grave reliefs disappear entirely from Attica.[84] The reason is clear: in the wake of its success in the Persian wars, the Athenian demos was in the ascendant.[85] As the city rushed ever more quickly toward the so-called radical democracy of Ephialtes' reforms, it was no longer possible for Athenian elites to assert their difference from the demos in the way they had earlier.[86] Yet just as the

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[82] Of course, Aristagoras and Pindar did not conceive of their activities in the terms used here; Pébarthe's *aporia* once more.

[83] *CEG* i.27 (see Neer 2010: 24–25, with earlier bibliography, for the possibility of associating this base with the Anavysos kouros).

[84] See Neer 2010: 187–90.

[85] Compare Herodotos' remarks on the impact of the incipient democracy's successes over the Boiotians in 506 B.C.: Hdt.5.77. See also *IG* I^3 501 (for a recent lemma, with earlier bibliography, see Mackil 2013: 411–12).

[86] Although this is part of a Greece-wide trend in the fifth century toward restraint in funerary sculpture, "nowhere was this shift more pronounced than in Attica" (Neer 2010: 187). Many scholars believe that the disappearance of funerary sculpture was the result of sumptuary legislation, but the evidence for this specific

Peloponnesian War began, funerary relief returned to Athens. As Richard Neer puts it, "it is hard to see how the revival of tomb sculptures could be anything other than a rejection of the leveling tendency of popular rule. . . Athenian tomb sculptures of the late fifth century are, in short, fossils of political dissent."[87]

4.1 Approaching the Sarcophagi I: Imagery and Aesthetics

The starting point for the claims advanced here is that fancily decorated Klazomenian sarcophagi were used by the local elites at Klazomenai itself as well as at a few poleis on the Karaburun peninsula and nearby islands (fig. 16).[88] This is not intrinsically an obvious result. After all, the sarcophagi are cheap painted terracotta, not marble, nor are they found with lavish grave goods.[89] Within the koine of eastern Greek funerary ritual, however, some sarcophagi stand out for their elaborate painted decoration, even as they may have been less costly than simple undecorated stone sarcophagi. Close examination of these sarcophagi reveals that their decorative schemata are not mish-mashes of unproblematic "ornamental motifs" and uninteresting stock scenes, a common assumption in earlier scholarship, but in fact set up complicated resonances between Greek identity, sources of elite legitimacy, and connections with the East.[90]

The most significant figure in the study of the sarcophagi is Robert Cook, whose work on them occupied many decades and culminated in a catalogue, chronology, and classification that has substantially stood up to later developments.[91] Cook systematized the basic terms of discussion, such as the anatomical terminology (headpiece, footpiece, etc.) now used for the sacrophagi. His classification assumed that less elaborately decorated examples, forming what Cook calls the Monastirakia class, predated those with figural scenes, which he attempted to assign to specific painters or workshops. In what follows, I focus on those more developed sarcophagi, decorated with figural imagery, rather than the very earliest examples belonging to the Monastirakia class, which are painted only with sinuous curves and other patterns along the sidepieces.

Consider, for example, a sarcophagus in London which Cook dates to the 470s (fig. 17).[92] In

provision—Cic. *Leg.* 2.65—is not merely late but also rather difficult to trust, being plainly enmeshed in the invented traditions related to Solon's law code. There is substantial earlier evidence for funerary legislation, to be sure, but the *post aliquanto* provision Cicero mentions is, in my view, much more likely to be a mirage resulting from early Hellenistic Athenian laws. The change in question arose from changing social conventions rather than from the law. For partially different views, please see Seaford 1994: 74–86 and Engels 1998; see for a useful introduction Alexiou 2002: 14–23. For speculation about a "sumptuary convention (but not law. . .)," related to the Klazomenian sarcophagi specifically, see Cook 1981: 154.

87 Neer 2010: 188.

88 For their distribution, see Cook 1981: 143–45.

89 In fact, few have been found with any grave goods at all. Their archaeological contexts are discussed in connection with their chronology below.

90 For some remarks generally dismissive of the interpretive interest of the sarcophagi decoration, see Cook and Dupont 2003: 128, Cook 1981: 130, 133 ("generally decorative . . . arbitrary juxtaposition"), Friis Johansen 1942: 2.

91 Cook 1981.

92 London, BM 1902.10-12.1; Cook 1981: cat. J7 (p. 66 and pl. 100). He earlier published it in *CVA* BM VIII

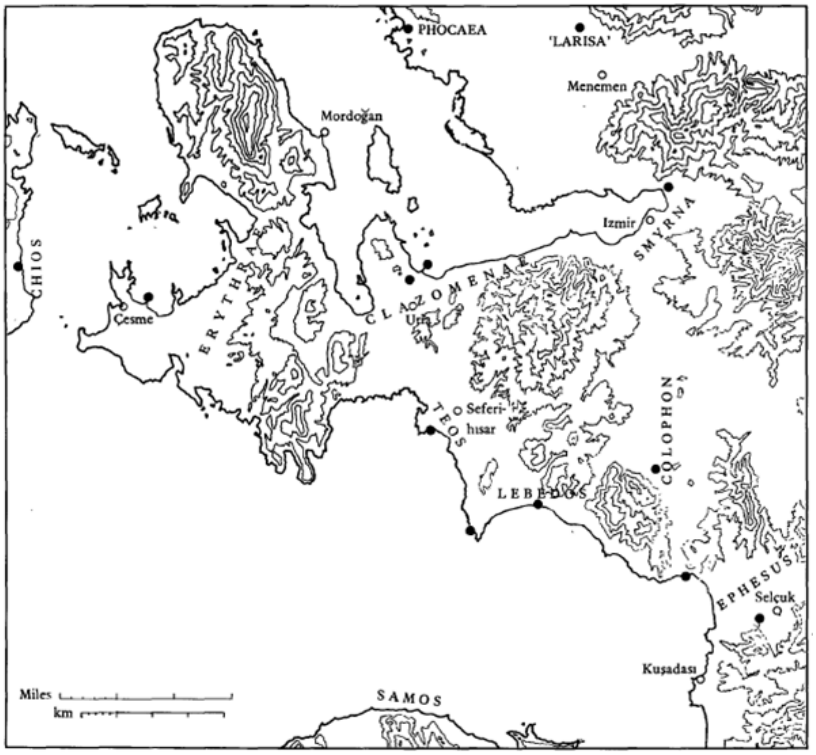

Figure 16: Karaburun peninsula and environs (Cook 1981)

the register above each sidepiece's decoration—a cable and palmettes—but below the headpiece proper, the artist placed two male, helmeted heads, depicted in profile, facing one another across the empty space of the sarcophagus' interior.[93] These heads dramatize the viewer's visual address to the corpse within the sarcophagus, their eyes at once staring at each other, at the viewer, and at the deceased's head (and eyes) between them (fig. 18). Many, though certainly not most, Klazomenian sarcophagi are decorated with heads like these (often female and bare instead of male and helmeted). Above and below each head, three registers of ornament divide the heads from the adjacent painted panels; the central band of the three is a cable with interstitial dots, an echo at reduced scale of the cables running along the sides of the sarcophagus. This scheme establishes the heads as separated from the exterior world just as is the body within; they might, therefore, be intended to represent the dead man (?) within, just as a kouros "represents"—that is, signifies the fictive presence of—the object of its reference. And like a kouros, the heads possess long, braided hair in the style of the semata of the Archaic elite.

By depicting the very viewing relationship called for by the sarcophagus' decoration, the heads function visually to make clear how that decoration is to be approached. This self-referentiality creates a specific structure of beholding, a bridge by which the spectator is invited to cross over into the imagery and to relate it to those carrying out the death ritual, on the one hand, and, on

(p. 52, pl. 611), dating it "first half of fifth century, but probably not early." On the BM website the piece is dated ca. 525–500, but no further bibliography is given and this seems to be an error.

93 For a diagram of Cook's terminology for Klazomenian sarcophagi, see Cook 1981: 1.

Figure 17: Klazomenian sarcophagus, ca. 470s (BM 1902.10-12.1; museum photo)

Figure 18: Detail of above fig. (museum photo)

the other, the deceased. In short, the sarcophagi with these heads are especially lucid guides to how to "read" the genre *in toto*, illustrating the seriousness of their decoration.

Above, the headpiece follows the principle of symmetry across the sarcophagus' long axis, pairing two sphinxes facing—again—across an intermediary space, now occupied not by emptiness or the dead man's head but by a pair of palmettes rising from paired spiral tendrils which are themselves connected to another, more horizontally compressed, palmette which marks the vertical axis itself. For many German scholars, the sphinxes on Klazomenian sarcophagi are to be interpreted as a kind of "demonic entity" or "tomb-guardian."[94] Cook, by contrast, argues against this way of reading the significance of the sphinx, suggesting that they are "essentially decorative" and that they were "chosen for grave statuary because [they] looked handsome and powerful and so [were] appropriate on the monument of an aristocrat. . . a more or less whimsical description of sphinx or lion as a guardian is an easy consequence of the use of their statues on graves," and that, finally, "Klazomenian sarcophagi add nothing particular to the general argument that sphinxes. . . were more than decorative."[95]

The problem here can be dissolved by conceding that, at a minimum, the sphinxes might be both decorative and meaningful.[96] More concretely, however, I would suggest that there is no reason to deploy the concept of decoration in this connection at all, and that avoiding it would open up space for more productive, contextual readings of the iconography. Even—if not especially—those elements that are repeated many times in the corpus, and which for that reason begin to seem merely decorative, are culturally and socially significant. Why are sphinxes (and not, for example, scorpions, palm trees, chairs, or donkeys) so commonly used in sepulchral contexts? In order to sustain a categorical difference between the decorative and the signifying, one must reply in answer that they just happen to be so used, that they developed in some kind of free market ecology within Greek artisanal production, where competing workshops chose motifs at random and the sphinx just happened to win out for reasons strictly unrelated to anything but artistic convenience. Such a response is not satisfying.

This all leaves a clearly established possibility for the sphinxes to be meaningful; it does not, of course, guarantee any specific interpretation of them. In support of the notion that the sphinxes are, represent, allude to, or somehow act as guardians of the tomb, Kirchner adduced three distinct sets of evidence.[97] First, in tomb sculpture, sphinxes seem to have some kind of apotropaic function, most visible—Kirchner says—in contemporary monuments from Xanthos. She cites

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94 Cook 1981: 107–9; Kirchner 1987: 148. She attributes the former view to Luschey, the latter to F. Hölscher.

95 Cook 1981: 108–9.

96 The division is not tenable at the level of theory. First, the label "decoration" is itself an evasion of interpretive responsibility. Procedurally speaking, it enables one to assert that the figures in question mean nothing and that others' attempts to read their significance are misguided. But the label "decoration" is itself basically meaningless, functioning only as a rhetorical token within the game played by archaeologists and art historians. As James Elkins put it in a different context: "if a critic objects [to an interpretive claim of the sort Cook rejects], and suggests that the artefact is 'obviously' just decoration, [the] implicit answer can be, 'and what exactly is decoration?' The resulting critiques have a kind of fascinating insistence, throwing back unanswerable rejoinders at 'self-evident' conclusions" (Elkins 1993: 647).

97 Kirchner 1987: 148–49.

two examples in the British Museum.[98] Each is the gable end of a built tomb, depicting a false door into the burial space within, flanked on either side by sphinxes; above the doorway are two lions, at a smaller scale; all face inwards and clearly watch (but, over?) the approach to the tomb. Xanthos, however, is not a Greek site, although its sculpture is in Greek style.[99] In more standard Greek mortuary art, sphinxes do also perform an essentially similar function—watching over the approach to the tomb—even if it is less expressly thematized.[100] Second, Kirchner observes the simple fact that sphinxes are common adornments for the headpieces on Klazomenian sarcophagi, arranged as "matching pairs" on either side of the deceased's head.[101] Finally, and most convincingly, Kirchner refers to a late Archaic or early Classical inscribed base from Thessaly, which bore (presumably) a column topped by a sphinx in the Archaic fashion:

> 'σφιξ, hαιδ̣[α]ο κυον, τ̣ι̣ν ε[χοσα · · ·] | οπι̣δ̣[· · φυ]λασεις :
> hεμεν[α εν φ]|ρο[ραι κα]δο[ς] α̣π̣οφθιμ[ενος;'] | 'ξε[νε, —-'
>
> (*LSAG* pl. 11 no. 8)

> 'Sphinx, dog of Hades, whom do you hold… and watch over,
> sitting on guard, a care for the dead?' 'Foreigner, . . .'

Most curiously, Cook does discuss this epigram, which others had adduced in this context before.[102] Although the text is heavily restored and of uncertain date, scholars have always agreed that it is sepulchral in character. And, because it clearly shows that sphinxes could be explicitly referenced as guards of the tomb, Cook is forced into a corner. He writes that the inscription "does not prove [sphinxes] were believed to be effective guardians, and the epithet Αἰδάο κύων may be less an indication of chthonic significance than a literary allusion: in *Theogony* 311, a few lines before the listing of Phix (Sphinx), we find her half-brother Cerberus described as Αἰδέω κύνα. The relevant epigrams on lion monuments too seem to rank as conceits."[103]

Again, I would suggest that it is more productive to avoid bracketing off meaning from poetic convention in this way by segregating merely traditional allusions and topoi, on the one hand, from significant (because unique) verse on the other. Cook's argument, moreover, fails even more straightforwardly; his narrow focus on whether κύων is an allusion leads him to ignore the fact that the rest of the epigram addresses the sphinx using not one, not two, but four different expressions suggesting that its role is to watch over the dead man, whom she "holds," "guards," "sits on guard" for, and, finally, has "care" for. In short, the inscription is incontrovertible evidence that at least some Greeks, of roughly the same period as the Klazomenian

98 They are Pryce 1928: nos. B 290 and 291, pp. 132–34.

99 Pryce 1928: 117–18.

100 Sphinxes, for example, frequently topped column semata (as in the case of the following epigram).

101 Kirchner 1987: 149.

102 The base was found in Demetrias and is now in the Volos museum (inv. 650). Like Cook, I follow the text and restorations given by Jeffery; for a different take, see Friedländer and Hoffleit 1948: 129–30, no. 139A. Their restoration of the final line on the stone (Ξε[νοκράτους σῆμα εἶμι...])is plausible, although Jeffery's text is otherwise plainly better. At *CEG* i.120, Hansen provides yet another version, with rather different readings, a different metrical scheme, and fewer restorations, while also including two dotted latters from a fifth line (just visible on the plate in *LSAG*). The exact text is not crucial here. Hansen and Jeffery date it to around 450, while Friedländer is open to a sixth century date.

103 Cook 1981: 108.

sarcophagi, believed in the sphinx as proper to guarding tombs.

In this situation, it would clearly be productive to pursue a study of the sarcophagi iconography without denying the reality of a Greek conception of the sphinx as possessed of this tomb-guarding force. Various sorts of evidence converge from different contexts and places, but broadly agreeing chronologically, for that interpretation. Yet before moving on, it is important to note one further perceptive objection made by Cook, speaking to issues of semantics and method. He writes that the "generally decorative principles of composition. . . do not suggest any esoteric significance. If there was such significance, at least regularly, the system by which it was conveyed must have been a subtle and complex one; and from what we know of the Greeks, this assumes an improbable erudition for the craftsmen who painted the sarcophagi and for their customers."[104] Indeed, any interpretation which views the imagery on the sarcophagi as a kind of subtle and erudite code, which contemporary archaeologists' task is to decipher, is to be rejected.[105] Rather, the task is to understand the language of the imagery and its interrelations with the lifeworlds of its makers and consumers; the choice, in other words, between code and meaninglessness is a false one.

The iconography of the figural sarcophagi is coherent and thematically consistent.[106] They contain a large repertoire of animals and Mischwesen, deployed singly, in groups, and in friezes; battle scenes between hoplites; fighters mounted on horses and chariots; and, as discussed above, many sarcophagi include one or more head, normally either a helmeted male or bare female, in the upper panels. Most of these features can of course be paralleled in Orientalizing and Archaic vase painting, but what is striking about the sarcophagi is how thematically coherent the corpus turns out to be when surveyed as a whole.[107] As Pfuhl put it long ago, the sarcophagi carry (*inter alia*) "representations of an aristocratic, late Homeric present day world: war, hunting, and athletic games. . . The popularity of sphinxes and sirens should certainly be considered sepulchral, and not as mere decorative formula."[108] With this understanding, in brief, type scenes and decoration—despite being found in other contexts and on other media as well as on Klazomenian sarcophagi—resonate with the social class and status of the elites who employed them in death ritual.[109]

Moreover, there are iconographical resonances between Klazomenian sarcophagi and non-Greek Anatolian funerary art, especially with relief sculpture from all over western Turkey and with Lydian anthemion stelai (themselves indebted to Ionian art).[110] As Hanfmann notes, the "artistic problem…of a majestic stone memorial" was answered differently in mainland Greece, where aristocrats favored "the figured stele with human figures," and in eastern Greek areas, where artists instead elaborated the " 'Orientalizing' decorative effects of floral decoration" that

[104] Cook 1981: 130.

[105] Consider, however, that the modern scholar has an enormously different relationship to the iconography than did the ancient viewer. The "improbable erudition" at which Cook scoffs can simply be the detailed scholarly labor required for even the simplest understandings of ancient art.

[106] Cook 1981, *passim*; see Papalexandrou 2010 for an overview.

[107] Cook 1981; Kirchner 1987.

[108] Pfuhl 1923 i.169.

[109] On the issue of social class, see especially Kirchner 1987: 160–61.

[110] See especially Hanfmann 1976; also McLauchlin 1985 114–26.

probably drew, at least indirectly, on the "Persian ornamental tradition."[111] As elsewhere in the long Archaic period, Klazomenian elites continued to cultivate "the past and east" as a source of legitimacy and identity.[112] As will be suggested below, this feature of the Klazomenian oligarchic lifeworld has to do with their Medism. The scenes depicted on the sarcophagi are ultimately generic expressions of a class-based imaginary or idealized world situated within a post-Homeric *imaginaire*—or what Elspeth Dusinberre, connecting it to Near Eastern iconography, calls a "visual language of masculine power."[113]

4.2 Chronology and Geography

For decades one could say that the sarcophagi were, almost exclusively, found without other grave goods, which might allow a firmer chronology. Excavations from the 1980s on have begun to be published, complicating this picture somewhat. Conversely, most sarcophagi in the world's museums lack proper archaeological context; many were acquired on the market in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[114] Accordingly, they have been discussed, and, above all, dated, stylistically—that is, the various elements of their painted decoration have been matched with corresponding features in other media furnished with stronger chronologies. In this way, the sarcophagi, exclusive of the so-called Monastirakia class, have been almost entirely placed between ca. 530 and ca. 470 B.C., with only eight sarcophagi in Cook's catalogue dating to after the 460s (out of nearly two hundred total). This standard chronology was established by Robert Cook, building on earlier work, especially by Knud Friis Johansen. Cook's conclusions are not straightforward, nor is his chronology obvious. At first sight, many of the animal motifs on the sarcophagi are quite reminiscent of roughly seventh-century Orientalizing art, and only closer inspection established the later dating.

Compare—taking examples at random—the animal frieze on the footpiece of a sarcophagus "said to be from Clazomenae" with a very late North Ionian Wild Goat style oinochoe from Rhodes, now in Copenhagen, dating to the early sixth century (figs. 19–20).[115] There are many similarities, both in composition (including the *horror vacui* of the style, on display here in the proliferation of background ornamentation) and in the depiction of the animals (for example, the use of a reserved curve to model their haunches). They are sufficiently alike to say that the sarcophagus "perpetuate[s]" the style of the oinochoe.[116] But mark, too, the stylistic divergences, which are indicative of a chronological discrepancy as well as a difference of medium: the sarcophagus's animals have beards finely painted in with the brush, but lack the precise incision of details present in the lion of the oinochoe's upper register; the background ornamentation is very different (the sarcophagus's system is dominated by concentric arcs and semicircles interfacing with one another and with dots, while the oinochoe's sparser field comprises

[111] Hanfmann 1976: 38 and 43.
[112] Morris 1996; Kurke 1999: 19–32, 304–5; Morris 2000: 238; Anderson 2005: 184, esp. nn. 27–28.
[113] Dusinberre 2013: 170.
[114] Hürmüzlü 2010: 89–90.
[115] Berlin inv. no. 3352 (Cook's cat. no. G.42; p. 53, pl. 85) and Copenhagen inv. no. 5607 (*CVA* Copenhagen, 2, p. 57, pl. 77.3; also illustrated in Cook and Dupont 2003: 55, fig. 8.20).
[116] Cook and Dupont 2003: 123.

clovers, circles of dots, and rows of droplets of slip). Most important, the style of the sarcophagus changes radically above the footpiece: the upper panels and headpiece are in extremely fine red-figure. Cook, unfortunately, does not provide any thorough discussion of chronology or the stylistic analysis on which his chart is based, nor does he furnish dates for individual items in his catalogue.[117] This sarcophagus is of his Albertinum group, active 500–470 on Cook's reckoning, and might well be from later rather than earlier in that sequence. The stylistic juxtaposition of developed and finely executed red-figure in the latest and most impressive style at the headpiece with the somewhat sloppier animal frieze on the footpiece, which looks rather like the pottery produced in the area a hundred years prior, is quite striking (fig. 21).

Figure 19: Klazomenian sarcophagus, ca. 500–470, detail (Berlin 3352; photo after Cook 1981)

Importantly, however, this system of stylistic dating has been called into question in recent years. It was reported in the late 1990s that excavators had found several Klazomenian sarcophagi in conjunction with late seventh century pottery; the immediate conclusion was that the origin of the sequence is earlier, by well over half a century, than Johansen and Cook established.[118] The material in question, it has now emerged, was mainly unearthed in the Akpınar necropolis, one of six or seven known to have been used by the Klazomenians.[119] Some of this material has recently been published, clarifying the chronological situation considerably.[120] First of all, the sarcophagi in question are not of the developed, trapezoidal shape (Cook's shape 4) characteristic of the sarcophagi of the large Albertinum group and other late classes (dated 500–470 by Cook). Instead, one of them (from grave 196) is a Monastirakia sarcophagus, while

[117] Cook 1981: 146.

[118] Gates 1997: 287. Papalexandrou (2010: 18–19) responded to the brief advertisement in Gates. Rather surprisingly, he suggested that the slender evidence presented by that time would license a wholesale shift to an earlier chronology for all Klazomenian sarcophagi and, in particular, that the later ones be compressed to the window between ca. 520 and the 490s, so that they might predate the Ionian revolt. This move, however, was premature in terms of the available evidence—a brief paragraph—and pre-judges the whole issue of how the Ionian revolt and subsequent developments might appear in the archaeological record. In the event, the fuller publication (Hürmüzlü 2010) has relatively little bearing on the chronology of the later sarcophagi.

[119] Hürmüzlü 2010: 91. Akpınar is shown at no. 6, the hatched area on the shore between Nalbant Tepe and Iskele, on the map at fig. 1 in Ersoy 2007: 150.

[120] Hürmüzlü 2010.

Figure 20: Late North Ionian Wild Goat oinochoe (Copenhagen 5607; *CVA* photo)

the others are a small boxlike child's sarcophagus (from grave 5) and a house-form sarcophagus (from grave 1).

Hürmüzlü shows that the first two are associated with ceramics mainly dating from ca. 630-600 (the material was found both inside and in conjunction with the sarcophagi, in pyre debris).[121] Following the basic principle that imported ceramics (Corinthian, in this case) found in graves were probably not produced immediately before deposition, these graves should therefore be dated to ca. 600 or slightly later. Cook had dated the Monastirakia class to 550-530, so this is in fact a revisionless drastic than that claimed by Hürmüzlü.[122] The situation is similar for the other two sarcophagi in question; they are associated with ceramics dated around 600. The possibility, furthermore, that the vases in question were heirlooms cannot be ruled out, especially when it remains, as far as the archaeological record so far shows, unusual for the sarcophagi to be found with other grave goods. In that case, the new finds might even be from further into the sixth century. Other less thoroughly published results from the Turkish excavations at Klazomenai, however, all reinforce the contention that Klazomenian sarcophagi start appearing at the end of the seventh century.[123]

Archaeological investigation of Klazomenai has not just turned up a few scattered finds from one necropolis: it has advanced considerably, although there are still major gaps. Six or seven major Archaic burial grounds have been located in the area surrounding ancient Klazomenai, mostly coming into use during or at the end of the seventh century. They seem to continue down to around 500 (fig. 22).[124] Although full reports are yet to be published, a number of sarcophagi in the low hundreds has been recovered since the early 1980s, virtually all apparently of the Monastirakia-type decoration but with some exceptions (fig. 23). These excavations, alongside restudy of the brief Greek campaigns in 1921 and 1922, prove several facts about the chronology and use of Klazomenian sarcophagi beyond simply updating their origins.[125] First, it seems clear that Monastirakia-class sarcophagi vastly outnumber the figural ones on which Cook focused. Rather than a stylistic development from primitive to sophisticated, the sarcophagi disclose an economic logic: the Monastirakia-class examples were simply cheaper.

One response to the news that Klazomenian sarcophagi were earlier than previously believed was to shift the entire corpus earlier; Nassos Papalexandrou recently suggested doing so.[126] Some Turkish archaeologists have more cautiously insinuated much the same conclusion. A common refrain in their publications is that there is a major break or hiatus in occupation at the site of Archaic Klazomenai around 500.[127] In this, they are perhaps overly influenced by an expectation of finding exactly such a hiatus caused by the (failure of the) Ionian revolt. It seems clear that some of these scholars would like to date all Klazomenian sarcophagi, at least at Klazomenai itself, before the mid-490s. This is most unlikely. As their own excavations have

[121] Hürmüzlü 2010: 100–111.
[122] Hürmüzlü 2010: 91.
[123] Hürmüzlü 2005 is the best overview. Also see Kallipolitis 1972; Ersoy 2004 and 2007; Güngör 2004; and Tzannes 2004.
[124] Hürmüzlü 2005.
[125] On the Greek campaigns, see Kallipolitis 1972.
[126] Above, n. 118.
[127] Ersoy 2004 and 2007; Güngör 2004: 122.

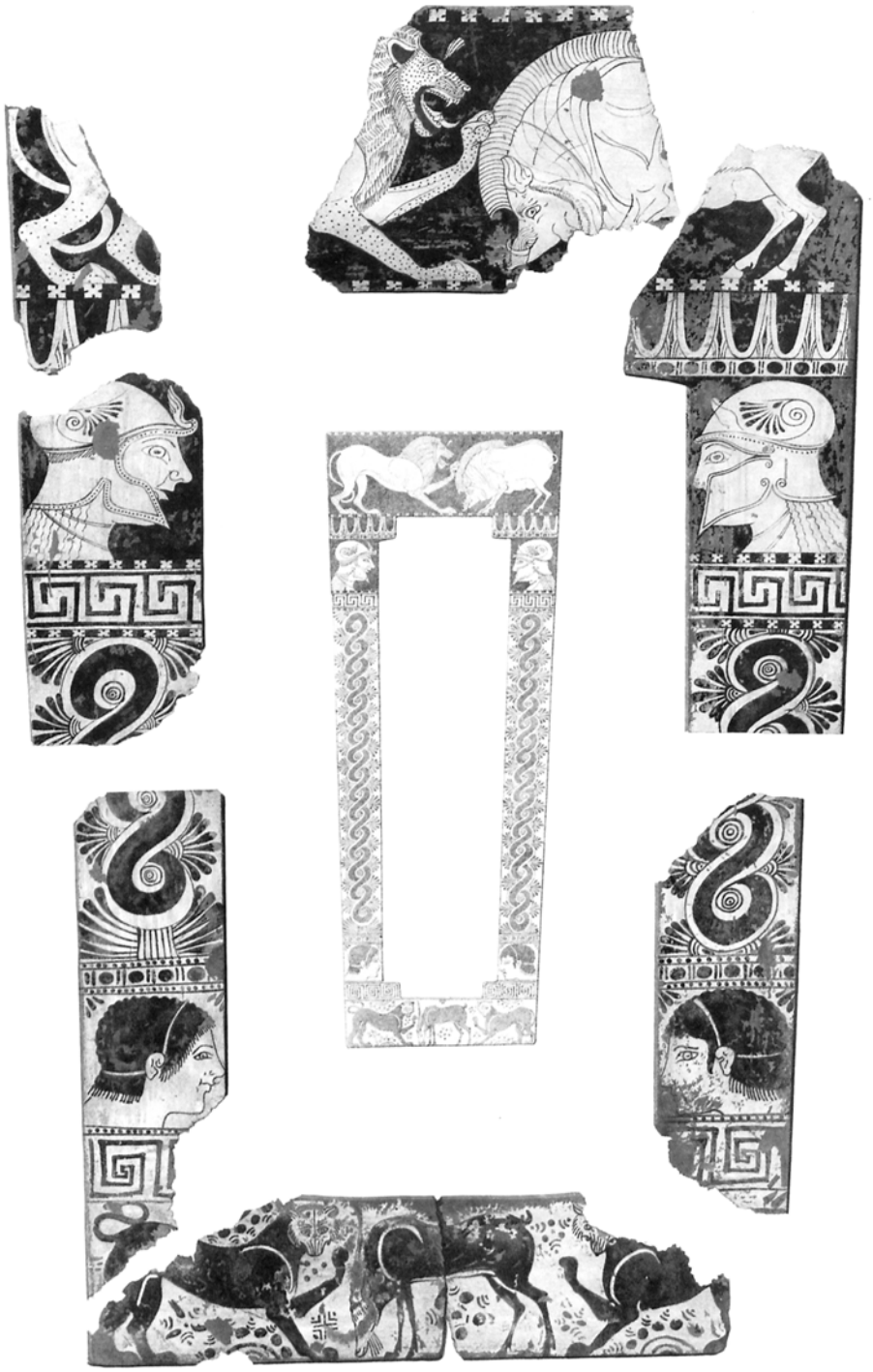

Figure 21: Klazomenian sarcophagus, as above, with reconstruction drawing (photo after Cook 1981)

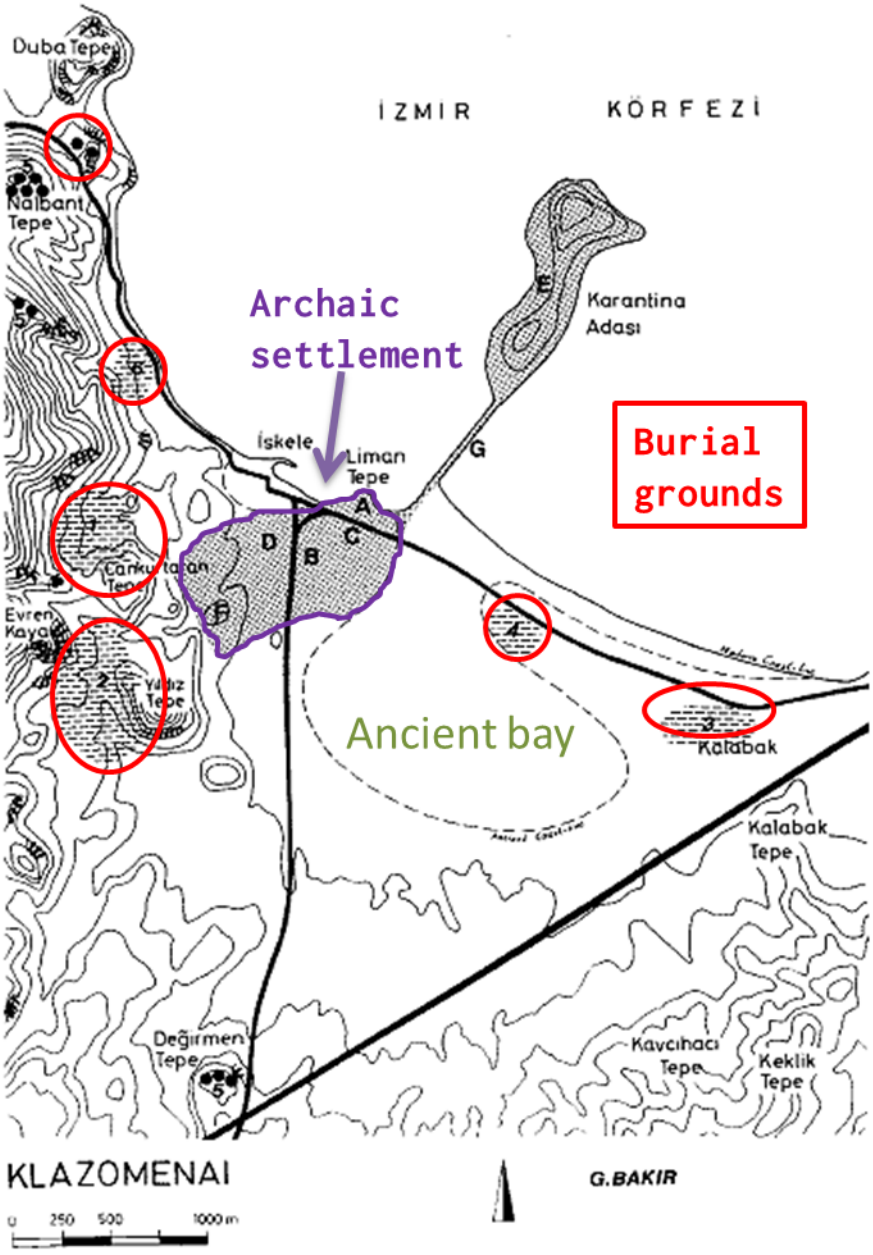

Figure 22: Area of Klazomenai (after Ersoy 2007, modified)

revealed, the population of the city apparently moved to Karantina island at the same time as the hiatus in mainland occupation (fig. 22); while the island has not been so well excavated as the mainland, both archaeological and textual evidence agree in placing the fifth-century city there.[128] Moreover, several sarcophagi found in the area contained grave goods that place them in the fifth century. Most dispositive is "an Attic black-figure shoulder lekythos decorated with dancing maenads dated to the early fifth century . . . as well as two shape 1 sarcophagi overlapping the only sarcophagus of shape 3 which is dated to the late sixth century, confirm[ing] the use of the simplest type of sarcophagus down to the beginning of the fifth century and prov[ing] that sarcophagi of shape 1 were being used for a considerably longer span than that of 550–530 originally allowed by Cook."[129] Any hypothesis that would compress the sarcophagi into the period just before the Ionian revolt has to be rejected on present evidence.

Figure 23: Recently discovered Klazomenian sarcophagus (Izmir museum, May 2016; my photo)

Indeed, two related but less proximate developments in archaeological chronology may suggest that lower, not higher, dates could be appropriate for the fifth-century sarcophagi. The first is a move in the last twenty years to lower the date of the earliest Attic red-figure, and the second is Stewart's demonstration that the Severe Style appears in Athens after rather than be-

[128] The texts are discussed below; see Kallipolitis 1972 and Güngör 2004 for the archaeology.

[129] Tzannes 2004: 110, referring to finds from the 1921–22 campaigns. The shape numbers are those of Cook's typology.

fore 480.[130] More can be said about the chronological implications of the relationship between artistic production in Athens and in Ionia, but it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the dates of Early Classical works in the latter area should also be revised downward slightly. It has, however, also been suggested that Ionia should be given priority in the development of the Severe Style, which would sever the logic for downdating.[131] In short, the parameters Cook established for the figural sarcophagi are still basically solid, while his idea of a sequential development from one painter to the next should be rejected, as should his assumption that the more simply decorated examples predate the figured ones. Fuller publication of the excavations at Klazomenai and continued stylistic analysis will, no doubt, refine the chronological implications for the dating of Klazomenian sarcophagi beyond the brief discussion I engage in here. Yet it seems sure that the fifth-century material postdating the Ionian revolt should not be moved earlier in time, and the main implication of the new data is that the Klazomenian painted terracotta sarcophagi have their temporal origin ca. 600 rather than ca. 550, while still abruptly disappearing no earlier than ca. 470.

So far, I have tended to speak somewhat loosely of Klazomenian sarcophagi as if they were all found in or around Klazomenai. The name is in fact a misnomer. Klazomenian sarcophagi have been found all over the eastern and northern Aegean, from Rhodes to Akanthos. They are, however, clearly focused on Klazomenai and other sites around the bay of Izmir.[132] In analyzing the distribution and style of the sarcophagi in his catalogue, Cook concluded that some were of local (non-Klazomenian) manufacture but, in the absence of scientific study of their clay's provenance, it seemed to him that the main industry had to be, in light of its stylistic coherence, focused on Klazomenai. Since then, a small study of sarcophagi from Abdera, Akanthos, and Klazomenai has shown that they were in fact produced locally: in the scientific analysis of the clay's chemical composition, the sarcophagi from Abdera form one group, those from Akanthos another, and Klazomenai a third.[133] As the most important center of their use, as well as the epicenter of their artistic style, Klazomenai is therefore an appropriate focus for analysis.

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[130] Richard Neer argued, *inter alia*, that the Pioneers continued working until around 480, and that the then-established chronology of early red-figure painting in Athens was in general too high (Neer 2002: 186–205); these ideas have become generally accepted, although I cannot offer a review of the literature here. For the beginnings of the Classical style, see Stewart 2008a and 2008b.

[131] Anja Slawisch presented this argument at a conference in Athens in December 2016 (I thank Sam Holzman for this information) and an abstract is available on her website at http://anja.slawisch.net/figures-in-motion-de-centring-athens-from-the-creation-of-the-severe-style/.

[132] Cook 1981: 145.

[133] Andreopoulou-Magkou 1996–1997, a supplementary report to Kaltsas 1996–1997. In the latter article, Kaltsas assigns one of the Akanthian sarcophagi to Cook's Albertinum group, even though the clay analysis suggests (presumably) local provenance. Cook entertained the hypothesis of traveling artisans, and in light of more recent work on precisely that phenomenon, it should probably be revived as the most likely way to reconcile the stylistic coherence with the widespread geographical distribution of Klazomenian sarcophagi. More clay provenance studies are needed, however, as Andreopoulou-Magkou's was very limited and involved no comparison to local ceramics or clay beds.

4.3: Approaching the Sarcophagi II: Politics

So far, two major facts have been established. First, that the non-Monastirakia Klazomenian sarcophagi were used by the local elites of Klazomenai and elsewhere in northern Ionia, and that their decoration speaks to the aristocratic "lifeworld" of Homeric epic suitable for those with oligarchic conceptions of political community. Second, that they fairly abruptly stopped being produced shortly after ca. 470; the very few examples dated after the 460s only serve to reinforce the validity of the stylistic analysis on which the chronology was predicated.[134]

To make sense of this pattern, the dynamic adduced in the section introduction—the disappearance of elite forms of funerary commemoration under "democratic" pressure—seems relevant. That is, Klazomenai, were it a democracy in the period after the Persian wars, might have become a polis unfriendly to self-aggrandizing displays of elite social status at burials, just as the Athenian polis did.[135] This is possible, although there is precious little evidence to suggest that Klazomenai was a democracy in the 460s.[136] Thucydides' narrative seems to entail, however, its being democratic in 412, when it briefly revolted from Athens along with Chios and Erythrai—and only the assumption that Klazomenai was democratic in that period makes sense of all evidence connected to the revolt.

In 412, Chalkideus and Alcibiades stirred up revolt in Chios by acting in concord with the Chian ὀλίγοι (Thuc. 8.14.2), and quickly embroiled Erythrai and Klazomenai in the affair. The Klazomenians "immediately crossed [from the island where their polis had been moved κατὰ τὸ Περσῶν δέος, according to Strabo 7.3] over onto the mainland, and began fortifying a place called Polichna, in case they might have a need for it as far as concerns withdrawal from the island on which they dwelt" (Thuc. 8.14.3). Geoffrey de Ste. Croix described this as "the work of a small party of oligarchs," as it was easily quelled (Thuc 8.23).[137] That quelling, however, is revealing: "the Athenians took Polichna, the little fortification of the Klazomenians on the mainland, and rearranged the Klazomenians themselves on their island polis, except for those responsible for the revolt, who went away to Daphnous" (Thuc. 8.23.6). When the Spartans come back through, they ordered the democrats on the island to relocate to Daphnous and to rejoin the Peloponnesian side (8.31).

Thucydides delineates two coinciding bifurcations of the Klazomenian citizen body: those responsible for the revolt (the *oligoi*, it seems clearly to be inferred) and the rest; and those who have an affinity for the mainland as against the island setting of the polis proper. Literal location of settlement is read as a sign for political and constitutional allegiance. If we take seriously Strabo's evidence that Klazomenai moved to the island out of fear of the Persians (7.3), the result is an even clearer system of binary oppositions:

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[134] Nor was Cook motivated by a desire to have the series end in 470 for external reasons; his was an autonomous stylistic analysis, carried out on traditional art historical grounds.

[135] Note that it would probably not so much be the sarcophagi themselves, but the burial rituals in which they were embedded, that become distasteful and untenable; this admittedly is an important difference from the case of funerary *semata* such as kouroi and relief stelai.

[136] The *Inventory* (no. 847) gives *IK Erythrai* 502 (*IG* II² 28 = *GHI* 18), of 387/6, as the first evidence for Klazomenai's constitution (democratic, in that instance).

[137] de Ste. Croix 2008: 238 (originally published 1953/54).

MAINLAND	—	ISLAND
OLIGARCHIC	—	DEMOCRATIC
ANTI-ATHENIAN	—	PRO-ATHENIAN
?	—	ANTI-PERSIAN

It is well beyond suggestive that "solving," so to speak, for the "?" would result in the solution "pro-Persian" (at least in the world of *l'imaginaire*). Admittedly, this all adds up to a gossamer web. Additional evidence, however, confirms the existence of a long-standing oligarchic faction within Klazomenai: the decree *IG* I³ 119, moved in 407 by none other than Alcibiades. It affirmed the agreements that the Athenian generals had reached with the oligarchs in Daphnous after the revolt narrated by Thucydides:

ἔδοξεν τῆι βολῆ[ι καὶ τῶ]ι δήμ[ωι· . . 6 . . . ἰς ἐ]-
πρυτάνευε, Κράτη[ς] ἐγραμμ[άτευε, Ἐπιγέν]-
ης ἐπεστάτε, Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶπ[ε· τὰς ξυνθήκα]-
ς, ἃς ξυνέθεντο οἱ στρατεγοὶ [τοῖς οἰκίσασ]-
ι Δαφνôντα, εἶναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ [τὰ ξυγκείμε]-
να, ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγ[αθοί, καὶ ἀνα]-
γράψαι τὸγ γραμμα[τέα τῆς βολῆς ἐν στήληι]
λιθίνηι ἐν [πόλει τάς τε ξυνθήκας καὶ τὸ ψή]-
[φισμα τόδε — — — — — — — — — — —]

(*IG* I³ 119)

> Decided by the *boule* and the *demos*: . . . –is was in the prytany, Krates was secretary, Epigenes was epistatew, Alcibiades proposed: the agreements that the generals struck with those inhabiting Daphnous are to be [i.e., valid] for them according to their texts, since they have been good men, and the secretary of the *boule* is to write up the agreements and this decree on a stone stele on the Acropolis.

The very necessity of re-affirming these agreements in 407, five years after the fact, suggests that the Klazomenian oligarchic faction at issue was not a wholly irrelevant group, *pace* de Ste. Croix. Instead, the defeated rebels are declared to be ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί and are to be reintegrated peacefully back into the political tissue of the city, which at once advertises an Athenian policy of reconciliation and demonstrates that the Klazomenian *oligoi* needed to be taken seriously.[138] Moreover, the decree designates the oligarchic, rebellious party in an important way: "those who inhabited Daphnous." Again, a specific place on the mainland is associated with the oligarchs; like the Athenian oligarchs after the end of the Peloponnesian war who went to live in Eleusis, the Klazomenian ones are identified with the specific locus of their sequestration from the democratic polis.

At the end of the fifth and through the fourth centuries, this situation became stable, explicit, and codified.[139] The democratic polis of Klazomenai continued to exist on the island, while the

[138] That is by having the fact of their reintegration acknowledged formally by Athens.

[139] See Debord 1999, ch. 5, for a superb review of relevant historical developments (although I do not agree with

oligarchic party developed a city on the mainland, at a place which became known as Χυτρόν, Χυτόν, or Χύτριον (respectively: Arist. *Pol.* 1303b7–10; *IG* II² 28 = *IK* Erythrai 502 = *GHI* 18; Strabo 14.1.36). As Aristotle states explicitly, Klazomenai was a city in *stasis*, split literally into two on account of its geographical situation: "and some cities enter into *stasis* because of their localities, when their land is not naturally disposed toward their city being one, as for example in Klazomenai those in Chytron are in *stasis* against those on the island…"[140] Archaeological finds have confirmed that both island and mainland were settled in the Classical period, although investigation of Karantina island is regrettably limited.[141] An Athenian decree of 387/6 likewise makes clear that Klazomenai as a polis was distinct from a settlement at Chyton.[142] And when the King's Peace was promulgated shortly afterward, Artaxerxes explicitly claimed as part of his territory—alone of islands—Cyprus and Klazomenai (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). Although there are several inviting interpretations of this passage, it is most relevant here for reaffirming the ambiguous status and nature of Klazomenai as a city. Torn between oligarchs and democrats, mainland and island, it had to be explicitly stated that the Persian king considered it part of his continental demesne.

In short, copious textual evidence from the Peloponnesian war and the fourth century, confirmed by archaeological findings, indicates that Klazomenai developed into a "dual settlement," with pro-Athenian, democratic islanders physically segregated from medizing oligarchs on the mainland.[143] Some details of the situation remain unclear, but it seems that the settlement at Chyton was significant and well-planned—hardly some military outpost.[144] The back-and-forth intriguing of the pro-Athenian democrats and pro-Spartan oligarchs in Thucydides' eighth book indicates that these groups were well developed before the fourth century, and the historical reality later in the fifth century would accord with the reading of the sarcophagi iconography advanced here for the period's begining. Klazomenai was a democracy in 412, yet one host to a vibrant oligarchic tradition, which staked its legitimacy on a connection with the mainland and a sense of distinction from the Athenians: in short, a basically Medizing aristocracy more well-disposed to the Persians than to the Athenians. It is only a small leap of faith to see the suppression of the expression of their identity in and through the medium of Klazomenian sarcophagi as a material correlate of the establishment of Athenian hegemony over Ionia in and after the 470s.

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his analysis of *IG* I³ 119 at p. 207, n. 41).

[140] στασιάζουσι δὲ ἐνίοτε αἱ πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τόπους, ὅταν μὴ εὐφυῶς ἔχῃ ἡ χώρα πρὸς τὸ μίαν εἶναι πόλιν, οἷον ἐν Κλαζομεναῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Χύτρῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν νήσῳ, καὶ Κολοφώνιοι καὶ Νοτιεῖς: καὶ Ἀθήνησιν οὐχ ὁμοίως εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκοῦντες τῶν τὸ ἄστυ (1303b7–12). Note, however, that his analysis here seems backward: Klazomenai is, in fact, split into two *loci* precisely because of political differences, rather than the other way around; for a perspicacious discussion of how geographical and ecological difference might undergird political hostility, see Bresson 2007: 51–57.

[141] See Kallipolitis 1972, Güngör 2004, and Özbay 2004.

[142] *IG* II² 28, ll. 6–13; see Debord 1999: 261–62.

[143] Güngör 2004: 122–23.

[144] Özbay 2004: 137–53.

5. Conclusion

Conduct and counter-conduct are about creating groups of shared commitments. Imperial projects, like all state-building projects, succeed or fall by the measure of how well they are able to generate desirable forms of conduct and to contain or misdirect the effects of counter-conduct. These efforts take place along innumerable lines of force, from the surrender of a defeated army or treaties of subordination to the manner of bodily comportment or dress of inhabitants. To rephrase in terms familiar within the history of the Athenian empire, at stake within Athenian imperialism were not simply payments of tribute or contributions of men and ships, but also the significance of ethnic identity; the politics of religious action; loyalty to Athens; and much more. These questions are often discussed at the level of the polis, as if it was only explicit political decisions taken by the democratic or oligarchic governments of this and that city that mattered, but I hope to have shown how artistic or literary material can also reveal the (political) dispositions of individuals or groups of individuals. This more or less sociological approach is not unfamiliar, but it has untapped potential for advancing the discussion of the perennial question of the Athenian empire's popularity.

Making a virtue of a necessity, the limits of the evidence actually allow us to move beyond the anthropomorphizing fallacy decried by Finley, yet without encouraging a specious methodological individualism. Focusing on the personal policies or rational choices of individuals is not the only or best way to study fifth-century history.[145] Rather, the cases studied in this chapter, and that of *Olympian 7* explored by Bresson and Kowalzig, point toward a rapprochement between older and newer concepts of the empire. Recent work, especially by Kallett, underscores the economic exploitation endemic to the empire, while older work tended to emphasize its constitutional politics. But the conduct of Aristagoras of Tenedos and other Aiolian aristocrats, of Diagoras of Rhodes, and of Klazomenai's medizing elite, does much to reconcile these antitheses. To draw in the broadest but clearest strokes, the wealthy elite of the Aegean islands objected to Athenian imperialism, while those of mainland Ionia went along with it. And this is true despite the old conundrum of "the problem of Classical Ionia," the apparent impoverishment of the region during the fifth century.[146] Additional case studies and a fuller analysis of the situation in Ionia are required, but I would suggest—as Bresson did decades ago—that the discrepant economic basis of the elites in question did much to determine their attitudes toward the Athenian empire.[147] However that may be, their conduct in non-political, non-economic spheres—particularly those of religion—is itself a significantly understudied domain of Athenian imperial history.

[145] See Simonton 2018 for an appraisal of the current rash of political biographies of Pericles.

[146] Cook 1961 (cf. Osborne 1999); Anja Slawisch's forthcoming monograph on Classical Ionia is sure to be crucial for this line of analysis.

[147] Bresson 1979.

Chapter Four: Exchanges and Contributions: Athenian Power's Enduring Impact

1. Introduction

Previous chapters have supplied new answers to old questions within the history and theory of Athenian imperialism, particularly over the first generation after the Persian Wars. They have also tried to open up a space for historians of the empire to ask new questions with underused bodies of evidence. More specifically, the first and second chapters interrogated the nature of Athenian imperialism itself and explored its connections to preexisting ideas of thalassocracy, Ionian solidarity, and ideologies of rule and command. I examined the hermeneutic or epistemological significance of the tribute—an examination that attempted to advance contemporary theorization of the empire beyond the lexical model of authority, slavery, and autonomy. The last chapter investigated two indirect traces of imperial power as it impinged on the lives of elites, shaping their funerary topographies and ritual landscapes, and evoked elite responses to Athenian imperialism. But in both cases, Athenian imperialism was presented as a natural force out there in the world, and the agency to respond to it remained with the elites under study. Moreover, no momentous events or developments issued from the elite responses in the previous chapter. In this chapter, by contrast, in a more straightforward way I take back up the central concern of empire studies in investigating how over the long term Athenian imperial power actually reshaped subject cities as political entities. In doing so, I broaden my focus from the interpretive force of the tribute in ancient conceptualizations of the Delian league to encompass subject contributions to and exchanges with Athens in a fuller sense.

The *phoros* was the definitional contribution made by cities to the Delian League and, later, to Athens. It was not, however, the only contribution. Especially early on, the larger poleis—most famously, Mytilene, Chios, and Samos—served in the military alliance in person rather than by paying *phoros*. The commutation of the one form of contribution to the other was identified by Thucydides as a major feature in the growth of Athenian power: "and of these [foregoing unfortunate results] the allies were themselves responsible; for the majority, in their delinquency toward compaigning, arranged to contribute money, however much it came to, instead of their ships; and naval power grew for the Athenians out of the expense that the allies contributed together, while the allies, if ever they revolted, had become unprepared for and inexperienced in war" (1.99.3).[1] Inasmuch as Thucydides is here claiming that allies could have remained independent by staying in fighting shape, the sentiment lacks plausibility, for the real problems faced by the allies implicated their willingness to revolt and capacity to coordinate doing so jointly rather than their actual experience on the battlefield. As an ideological posture, however, Thucydides' claim aligns with my discussion of the tribute in chapter two that showed how the *phoros* possessed ideological significance that long remained more important than its practical utility.

[1] ὧν αὐτοὶ αἴτιοι ἐγένοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι· διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόκνησιν ταύτην τῶν στρατειῶν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' οἴκου ὦσι, χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ηὔξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν, αὐτοὶ δέ, ὁπότε ἀποσταῖεν, ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἄπειροι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο.

So, too, other expressive forms of contribution to Athens existed in the fifth century. Among these was, it has been argued, the bringing of offerings to the Panathenaia, which Athens evidently began to require of all allies in the 420s. Although at first sight rather different from the *phoros*, this contribution was, in fact, closely related to it, being assimilated lexically and conceptually to the tribute. How this worked can best be brought out by comparison to what would appear a much closer parallel: the structurally similar requirement for allies to bring *aparchai* to the two goddesses at Eleusis. Nevertheless, however, these two requirements rested on very different bases and had different futures after the collapse of Athenian imperial rule. In the second half of this chapter, I return to the *phoros* itself and examine how it interfaced with the evolving distribution of fiscal systems across Miletos' territory. The fluctuating presence and absence of Milesians at Leros and Teichioussa in the Athenian tribute lists is a sign, I argue, not of revolt or *stasis* but rather of two more slow-moving historical processes: first, the growing (re)integration of this very large territorial state as it recovered from total destruction after the Ionian revolt and, second, the increasing fiscal capacities of the semi-formal communities that managed the commons and public resources in these far-flung Milesian outposts. The two disparate halves of this chapter are united by their concern for the "postcolonial" dimension of Athenian imperialism, that is, its impacts not so much during the fifth century as in the wake of 404—down into the early Hellenistic period. The extractive taxation demands placed by Athens on Miletos encouraged the development of more formal and capable local governance in its extraurban communities, setting the stage for their evolution into demes by around the end of the fourth century. Meanwhile, the allies (and other Greeks) seem to have been disinclined to send *aparchai* to Eleusis despite Athenian instructions to the contrary, while the structurally similar requirement to participate in the Panathenaia did endure (for some allies) through the fourth century. The differences here turn on the nature of the social systems and ideological languages deployed as forms to carry the content of Athenian imperial rule.

2. Eleusinian *Aparchai* and Panathenaic Dedications

The Eleusinian copy of the First Fruits Decree (*IG* I^3 78 = *I.Eleusis* 28a), first published in 1880, must be one of the most discussed of all Attic inscriptions, sitting as it does at the intersection of Athenian political history and the history of the perennially fascinating Eleusinian Mysteries.[2] From Foucart's outstanding 1880 edition to Clinton's 2005 corpus, neither text nor interpretation has undergone much of a sea change, despite the date's oscillation between ca. 445 and ca. 415.[3] The inscription represents an unusually complicated chain of events. A board of *syngrapheis*—evidently charged with this task in an earlier meeting of the council or assembly—

[2] Though almost entirely concerned with the text's date, Cavanaugh exhaustively recapitulates the first century of scholarship on this inscription (1996: 29–72) before offering her own analysis and proposal (73–95); more recently, see Clinton's commentary *ad I.Eleusis* 28 and Jim 2014: 207–19.

[3] I will not be concerned with the chronology. Cavanaugh's ca. 435 is eminently reasonable and has won assent, even though Rosivach (1997) seems to have kicked out the legs from under her strongest argument, the absence of the *epistatai*. Even though Tracy has now attributed both copies to the Cutter of *IG* I^3 50, the letter forms are no help as the only dated text by that hand is from 424/3—right in the middle of the most commonly suggested dates for the First Fruits Decree (Tracy 2016: 113–20).

brought forward a draft set of regulations, which the assembly approved along with an amendment by Lampon providing, *inter alia*, for the publication of the dossier.[4] A significant chronological discrepancy between the drafting of the regulations by the *syngrapheis* and the additional proposal made by Lampon, as well as the approval by the assembly of the regulations, is possible but unlikely.[5]

What is more interesting than their chronology is the content of the new regulations. In brief, the decree purports to renew the ancestral custom (ll. 4, 11, 25–26, 34) affirmed by a Delphic oracle (ll. 5, 26, 34) of dedicating *aparchai* to the two goddesses of Eleusis:

. . . τάδε οἱ χσυγγραφῆς χσυνέ–
4 [γρ]ᾳφσαν· ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖν Θεοῖν τô καρπô κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲ–
ν μᾳντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφôν Ἀθεναίος ἀπὸ τôν *h*εκατὸν μεδίμνοῑ [κ]-
ριθôν μὲ ἔλαττον ἢ *h*εκτέα, πυρôν δὲ ἀπὸ τôν *h*ἑκᾳτὸν μεδίμνοῑ μ-
ὲ ἔλαττον *h*εμιέκτεον· ἐὰν δέ τις πλείο καρπὸν ποιεῖ ἢ τοσο[ῦ]το-
8 ν ἢ ὀλείζο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπάρχεσθαι. ἐγλέγεν δὲ τὸς δεμ-
άρχος κατὰ τὸς δέμος καὶ παραδιδόναι τοῖς *h*ιεροποιοῖς τοῖς
Ἐλευσινόθεν Ἐλευσῖνάδε . . .

14 ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸς χσυμμάχος κατὰ ταὐτά. τὰς δὲ πόλες ἐγλ[ο]-
γέας *h*ελέσθαι τô καρπô, καθότι ἂν δοκεῖ αὐτêσι ἄριστα ὁ καρπὸ-
16 [ς] ἐγλεγέσεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐγλεχθêι, ἀποπεμφσάντον Ἀθέναζε·
τὸς δὲ ἀγαγόντας παραδιδόναι τοῖς *h*ιεροποιοῖς τοῖς Ἐλευσι-
νόθεν Ἐλευσῖνάδε· ἐ[ὰ]ν δὲ μὲ παραδέχσονται πέντε ἐμερôν [ν]*νν*
ἐπειδὰν ἐπαγγελêι, παραδιδόντον τôν ἐκ τῆς πόλεος *h*όθεν ἂν ἓ-
20 [ι] ὁ καρπός, εὐθυνόσθον *h*οι *h*ιερροποιοὶ χιλίαισιν *ν* δραχμêσι [*h*]-
έ[κα]στος· καὶ παρὰ τôν δεμάρχον κατὰ ταὐτὰ παραδέχεσθαι. [κ]έρυ-
[κα]ς δὲ *h*ελομένε *h*ε βολὲ πεμφσάτο ἐς τὰς πόλες ἀγγέλλοντας *ν*[*ν*]
τ[άδ'] *h*εφσεφισμένα τôι δέμοι, τὸ μὲν νῦν ἦναι *h*ος τάχιστα, τὸ δὲ λ-
24 οιπὸν *h*όταν δοκêι αὐτêι· κελευέτο δὲ καὶ *h*ο *h*ιεροφάντες καὶ [ὁ]
δαιδôχος μυστερίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς *h*έλλενας τô καρπô κατὰ
τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφôν· ἀναγράφσαντες δὲ ἐμ
πινακίοι τὸ μέτρον τô καρπô τô τε παρὰ τôν δεμάρχον κατὰ τὸ[ν δ]-
28 [ῆ]μον *h*έκαστον καὶ τô παρὰ τôν πόλεον κατὰ τὲν πόλιν *h*κάστε[ν]
[κ]αταθέντον ἔν τε τôι Ἐλευσινίοι Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ ἐν τôι βολε[τ]ε-
ρίοι· ἐπαγγέλλεν δὲ τὲν βολὲν καὶ τêσι ἄλλεσι πόλεσιν τê[σι *h*ε]-

4 Foucart already gives an excellent account of *syngrapheis* in Athenian legislative practice (1880: 248–53); more recently see Koch 1999 and Carusi 2006. On Lampon, see Meiggs 1972: 303–5.

5 A lengthy gap was suggested by the eminent historian Édouard Will (1948). Cavanaugh, following the Roberts, dismisses the possibility quite violently (1996: 60–61, with *BullÉp* 1949 no. 41). But it could be that the regulations were commissioned in an earlier year without being brought to the demos for approval; or, more likely, they could have been approved but not inscribed until Lampon moved to do so (ll. 48–51). The absence of an embedded dating formula renders those scenarios less likely than the more straightforward possibility—that the commission made their report and it was approved with Lampon's amendment, all at the same meeting—but clearly not impossible.

[λ]λενικῆσιν ἁπάσεσι, *h*όποι ἂν δοκῆι αὐτῆι δυνατὸν ἦναι, λέγον-
τας μὲν κατὰ *h*ὰ Ἀθεναῖοι ἀπάρχονται καὶ οἱ χσύμμαχοι, ἐκέ[ν]ο[ι]-
[ς] δὲ μὲ ἐπιτάττοντας, κελεύοντας δὲ ἀπάρχεσθαι, ἐὰν βόλονταί,
κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφῶν. παραδέχεσθαι δ-
ὲ καὶ παρὰ τούτον τῶν πόλεον ἐάν τις ἀπάγει τὸς *h*ιεροποιὸς [κα]-
τ[ὰ] τ̣α̣ὐτά. . . .

. . . τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀπ-
οδομένος τὸς *h*ιεροποιὸς μετὰ τῆς βολῆς ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέν-
αι τοῖν Θεοῖν, ποιεσαμένος *h*άττ' ἂν τῶι δέμοι τῶι Ἀθεναίον δοκῆ-
ι, καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τοῖς ἀναθέμασιν, *h*ότι ἀπὸ τῶ καρπῶ τῆς ἀπαρχῆ-
ς ἀνεθέθε, καὶ *h*ελλένον τὸν ἀπαρχόμενον· τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα ποιῶσι
πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ἦναι καὶ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ πολυκαρπίαν̣, *h*ο̣ίτινες ἂν
μὲ ἀδικῶσι Ἀθεναίος μεδὲ τὲν πόλιν τὲν Ἀθεναίον μεδὲ τὸ Θεό. [*v*]

(*I.Eleusis* 28a, ll. 3–10, 14–36, 40–46)

The *syngrapheis* wrote up these proposals: that Athenians offer *aparchai* from the produce to the two Goddesses, according to ancestral custom and the oracle from Delphi, not less than a *hekteus* from each hundred medimnoi of barley, but from wheat not less than half a *hekteus* from each hundred medimnoi; and if someone produces more or less than this, that he offer *aparchai* at the same ratio; and that the demarchs collect it deme by deme and transfer it to the hieropoioi from Eleusis at Eleusis . . .

and that the allies make *aparchai* on the same terms; and that the cities choose collectors of the produce, however it should seem best to them that the produce be collected; and when it has been collected, let them send it to Athens; and the conveyers are to transfer it to the hieropoioi from Eleusis at Eleusis; and if they do not receive it within five days when it has been announced, with those from whatever city the grain is from having transferred it, let the hieropoioi be liable for one thousand drachmas each; and let it be received from the demarchs in the same way; and let the *boule* choose heralds and send them to the cities to announce these decisions of the people, as quickly as possible now but in the future whenever it seems good to the *boule*; and let the hierophant and the daidochos for the mysteries bid the Greeks to offer *aparchai* of the produce according to ancestral custom and the oracle from Delphi; and write up on a board the amount of produce from the demarchs, credited to each deme, and from the cities, credited to each city, and let them place it in the Eleusinion at Eleusis and in the bouleterion; and that the *boule* announce to the other cities, all the Greek cities, however should seem possible to it, saying how Athenians and their allies make *aparchai*, not commanding them but bidding them to make *aparchai*, if they want, according to ancestral custom and the oracle from Delphi; and that the hieropoioi receive it in the same way from these cities, if anyone contributes . . .

and that the hieropoioi along with the *boule* sell the remaining barley and wheat

> and make dedications to the two Goddesses, after doing whatever the Athenian people decide, and inscribe upon the dedications that they are dedications from the produce of the *aparche*, and that the Greeks made the *aparche*; and that there be many good things for those doing these things, and fertile crops and good harvest, whoever does not wrong the Athenians nor the city of the Athenians nor the god.

Three sets of dedicators are distinguished: Athenians, living in demes, had the *aparchai* collected by their demarchs (ll. 8–10). The allies were to make offerings in the same way, except that "the cities are to choose collectors of the grain however should seem best to them" (ll. 14–16). The Greeks present at the next mysteries were invited to make *aparchai*, and the Athenian boule was to "announce to the other cities, all the Greek cities, . . . how the Athenians and their allies make the offerings, and not to command them, but to encourage them, to make *aparchai*, if they want. . ." (ll. 24–34). From the perspective of the "authoritarian" model of Athenian imperialism, what may be the most significant feature of the text is the way it peremptorily decrees that the allies shall make the offerings, without any apparent consideration for whether Athens had the legal authority to do so in an area evidently unrelated to the treaty of military alliance that provided the empire's legal skeleton. Such a presumption of state power is certainly noteworthy, but perhaps even more surprising is the decree's formal extension of the right to participate to all the other Greek *poleis* as *poleis*. While careful to avoid "commanding" the Greeks to send *aparchai*, the commission chose a verb (κελεύω, ll. 24, 33) that is still strongly hortatory.[6] Of course, internationalism was the calling card, later on at least, of the Eleusinian Mysteries, but "the Hellenes" (l. 25) and "all the Greek cities" (ll. 30–31) are still striking as categories of invitees to an Athenian state cult.

The decree has always been studied against what could be called the Athenian (or Athenocentric) ideology of Panhellenism, which appeared in the brief discussion of Demosthenes and Isocrates in Chapter One.[7] As Foucart wrote in summarizing his interpretation of the decree, "Athènes devait avoir sa part dans l'hommage rendu aux déesses d'Éleusis, imposé aux alliés, demandé à tous les Grecs au nom du dieu de Delphes. En obéissant à l'oracle et en consacrant dans un sanctuaire athénien les prémices de leurs récoltes, les Grecs reconnaissaient Athènes comme la bienfaitrice du monde hellénique et saluaient dans cette cité que le dieu de Delphes désignait à leur reconnaissance comme la μητρόπολις τῶν καρπῶν."[8] The final three words are a

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6 However, the overall phrasing of the invitation is also tentative, even hesitant, in some ways (Meiggs 1972: 304).

7 To this long-established vision of the First Fruits Decree as a step toward Athenian Panhellenism, Theodora Suk Fong Jim has recently proposed an intriguing, economic supplement (2014: 207–19). Building on a suggestion made by Jameson, she argues that the effect of the decree would have been to create a supply of grain under public management, similar in many ways to the grain-tax law of 374/3 BC. 1/600th of the barley crop (ll. 5–6)—or just 1/50th of the rate imposed by the *dodekate* in the grain-tax law—and 1/1200th of the wheat (ll. 6–7), however, was not a large obligation, and so in my view it is the fact of its being required rather than the expense incurred in its performance that is most interesting. Although Jim's interpretation is novel and sound—and certainly if all the allies contributed every year, even at the low rates specified, the aggregate dedication would have been significant—I continue to focus on the traditional question of what the decree tells us about Athenian ideology and imperialism rather than its economic dimension.

8 Foucart 1880: 256.

quotation from the Second Sophistic orator Aelius Aristides,[9] and represent a distillation of Foucart's lengthier analysis of the decree in conjunction with Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, an important document of Athenian Panhellenism written around 380. In the section always juxtaposed to the First Fruits Decree, the orator claims that "for so many of the cities send to us, each and every year, the first fruits of their grain, a recollection of our ancestral benefaction, and those who fail have often been commanded by the Pythia to bring the portions of their crops and to perform the ancestral rites toward our city. Moreover, what should we believe in more than that which the god raises up and which seems good to so many of the Greeks; and to which not only do things spoken long ago still bear witness through our present actions but things happening now, too, accord with what was said by them?"[10] The Athenian "ancestral benefaction," just one of the πλεῖστα ἀγαθά we saw Isocrates claiming for Athens (*Paneg.* 22), is that agriculture was given first of all by Demeter to Athens: "For when Demeter came to our land, when she was wandering after Kore's rape, and was well-disposed toward our ancestors because of their benefactions . . . she gave two gifts, which are truly the greatest there are, namely the crops which are responsible for our not living like wild animals, and the [Eleusinian] ritual . . ."[11]

Here, Isocrates' inflection of Panhellenism combines the standard binary of Greeks and barbarians (as those who may and may not partake of the ritual) with Athenian primacy as the city toward which the Delphic oracle has repeatedly obligated the other Greeks "to perform the ancestral rites." Commentators have noted how the decree itself repeatedly deploys the same legitimating devices of ancestral custom and the oracle (ll. 4–5, 11, 25–26, 34), but perhaps the most striking of the ways in which Athens inserts itself into the relationship between the two goddesses and the Greeks is the sometimes overlooked prayer clause with which the *syngrapheis* closed their draft: "and for those who do all this, may there be many good things, good harvests and much to harvest—whichever ones do no wrong to the Athenians or the city of the Athenians or the god" (ll. 44–46).[12] Not only is Athens the originary site of agriculture, and not only are the other Greeks therefore indebted to the Mysteries *qua* Athenian cult, but continued agricultural fecundity is conditional upon good behavior toward the city and people of Athens even outside this religious space. "The politicians," writes Meiggs, "were thinking more of the Athenians than of the goddesses."[13]

The obvious question raised by this ideology—by the decree's invitation to the other Greeks and by Isocrates' claim that "most" or "very many" (πλεῖσται) of the Greek cities actually do send *aparchai* to Eleusis—is, then, did they buy it? did the cities actually do so? and, if so, how did the

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9 *Panath.* 35 and 273 (Oliver [= p. 105 and 196 Jebb]); cf. *Eleus.* p. 257 (Jebb). On Aelius Aristides and Isocrates, see Oliver 1968: 12–13 and *passim*.

10 αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσιν, ταῖς δ' ἐκλειπούσαις πολλάκις ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποφέρειν τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πάτρια. Καίτοι περὶ τίνων χρὴ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἢ περὶ ὧν ὅ τε θεὸς ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνδοκεῖ καὶ τά τε πάλαι ῥηθέντα τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔργοις συμμαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ νῦν γιγνόμενα τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖ; (31).

11 Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὅτ' ἐπλανήθη τῆς Κόρης ἁρπασθείσης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν . . . καὶ δούσης δωρεὰς διττάς, αἵπερ μέγισται τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, τούς τε καρποὺς, οἳ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἴτιοι γεγόνασιν, καὶ τὴν τελετὴν . . . (28).

12 τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα ποιοῦσι | πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ἓναι καὶ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ πολυκαρπίαν, *h*οἵτινες ἂν | μὲ ἀδικῶσι Ἀθεναίος μεδὲ τὲν πόλιν τὲν Ἀθεναίον μεδὲ τὸ Θεό.

13 Meiggs 1972: 304.

the allies and the other Greeks conceptualize their performance of this obligation? The cases studied in the previous chapter illuminated two types of elite response to Athenian imperialism. In the case of Klazomenai, we saw, elite funerary customs underwent a wholesale change after entrance into the Delian league; this was most unlikely a response to any specific alteration in legal regime, but rather issued from an evolution in norms. Here we have the opportunity to consider how cities as wholes responded to an explicit command to conduct themselves in a particular way, to engage in particular behavior outside the ideological space of politics and the allied military.

The evidence required definitively to substantiate or to disprove Isocrates' claim for the early fourth century is absent, as is, unsurprisingly, evidence for the fifth century. Nevertheless, Clinton essentially agrees with Foucart that there is a good chance many Greek cities did actually send *aparchai* to Eleusis in the late fifth and early fourth century.[14] He adduces *IG* I^3 6 (*I.Eleusis* 19), an unfortunately damaged but nevertheless substantial collection of Eleusinian cult regulations still given a high date around the 460s, along with much artistic evidence, as a sign that Eleusis had already attained significant international or Panhellenic appeal before the time of the Athenian empire.[15] Among the provisions of the fascinating *IG* I^3 6 are several that seem to involve foreign participation in the Mysteries. Thus, A.5 makes mention of "the cities"; below, there is a provision that barred certain kinds of debtors from using the sanctuary (ll. A.30–32) with further details on international legal disputes (ll. A.32–43). The regulations also called for a sacred truce to benefit those traveling for the Mysteries (B.8–47). As Clinton concludes, in the second quarter of the fifth century "foreigners were desirous of access to the Mysteries . . . [and] access to the Mysteries was now a useful tool in Athens' dealings with foreign states."[16]

But it is crucial to avoid eliding the difference between individual participation in the Mysteries and the offering of *aparchai*. They are not the same thing, particularly when the agent of the offering is understood as an independent polis. Evidence that such offerings occurred is nonexistent outside the panegyric oratory of Isocrates. As Clinton himself points out, for example, in a well-preserved financial account of 329/8 *aparchai* contributions came "only from Attica and Athenian cleruchies" (*I.Eleusis* 177, ll. 392–408).[17] Note that in the one year in the late fifth century for which we have evidence, 408/7, there was apparently no *aparche* dedicated at all (*I.Eleusis* 52).[18] The Spartan occupation of Dekeleia has been credited with preventing the Athenians from dedicating first fruits in 408/7. And there is general agreement that the Greek world was seized by food shortages in 330 and the early 320s.[19] These circumstances could likewise explain why only areas subject to direct Athenian control made offerings in 329/8. In a decree of 353/2 amending a law concerning the *aparche* (*I.Eleusis* 142), the *boule* is again given the duty of seeing that the first fruits be collected, but there is no mention of all the Greek cities (nor, naturally, of the allies). Again, this text merely contains a fairly modest amendment

[14] Foucart 1880: 236–37, 241; *I.Eleusis* ii.5–7.

[15] Clinton 1994 and *I.Eleusis* ii.38–40.

[16] *I.Eleusis* ii.39.

[17] *I.Eleusis*, ii.5–7 and 228–33; Clinton 1994. He supposes that before the First Fruits Decree, too, contributions from outside Attica were rare despite the Mysteries' Panhellenic appeal.

[18] See Cavanaugh 1996: 121–25; cf. Clinton's comments on wartime *aparchai* at *I.Eleusis* ii.65.

[19] Bresson 2011 with the further bibliography.

to a different (unpreserved) law, and certainly does not show that the Athenians no longer welcomed foreign *aparchai* to the two goddesses. At some point, however, our ability to craft explanations for absence must give way before the relentless pull of the absence itself.

What is most likely is that few cities outside Athenian control ever routinely sent *aparchai* to Eleusis.[20] Attempts to claim otherwise under the comforting shelter of τὰ πάτρια are a familiar species of mythmaking. Isocrates' assertion, quoted above, must be set in its rhetorical context of justifying fifth-century Athenian rule as part of an economy of benefaction, displayed in a history running from the gift of grain to the battle of Marathon and beyond.[21] It may well be true that some cities did sometimes heed the Delphic oracle's endorsement of Athens' call for *aparchai*, but the inescapable impression of the sources is that not even Athenians were religious, so to speak, in their obedience to the requirement. Moreover, the Decree itself is suspiciously insistent in harping on the traditional nature of the international *aparche*.

Indeed, one might even wonder if many allies complied with the decree. What has generally been taken as yet another example of Athenian high-handedness, the simple fiat of ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸς χσυμμάχος κατὰ ταὐτά (l. 14), is rather undercut by the permissiveness of the provisions that follow. When Athens took measures concerning the tribute, precise duties (and penalties for dereliction) were laid out for collecting it and bringing it to Athens.[22] But in the First Fruits Decree, the *boule* is simply instructed to send heralds to the allied cities to inform them of what Athens has decreed, including that the allies are to "choose collectors of the grain however seems best to them" (ll. 14–16, 21–23). No penalty is established or implied for allied failure to do so, except for relegation from the honorific economy concretized in the (impermanent!) records of the *aparchai* (ll. 26–30) and putatively actualized through the goddesses' benevolence (ll. 44–46). Only for cases of the Athenian officials' failing to perform their core functions, like receiving the *aparchai*, does the decree set down penalties.

This all leaves unanswered, perhaps even more than before, the questions of how non-Athenians, and particularly the allies, understood the Decree's command to make *aparchai*. Did they see it as a welcome chance to participate in a foundational fertility rite? Did they see it as an unwanted obligation that tactlessly traced out their subordination to Athens? While generally not answerable in that we have no access to the propositional attitudes of individual Athenian subjects and allies, their collective response in neglecting to continue making the offerings after the end of the fifth century would seem to place them closer to the latter end of the continuum. More significant illumination of this point and progess in understanding the meaning of the First Fruits Decree's conscription of allies and other Greeks can be achieved by comparing it to another form of required contributions to Athens and Athenian divinities. For along with the *aparche*—and the *aparche* of the tribute, also a religious offering for which the allies were "credited" in official Athenian records—the Athenian state also required allies to dedicate a cow and a panoply to Athena at the Greater Panathenaia held every four years. Evidence of their performance of this obligation in the fifth century is even scarcer than for

[20] As Meiggs says, "the other Greeks are to be approached very delicately and the wording suggests that no very widespread response is expected" (1972: 303).

[21] On the *Panegyricus*, also see Hamilton 1980.

[22] See, for example, *IG* I^3 71 and the discussion below.

the Eleusinian offerings, but, unlike that case, its lasting effects can be traced through the fourth century. The reasons for this discrepancy, as well as for other differences between the two requirements, turn out to reveal how important the ideological incorporation of Athenian supremacy within other, preexisting conceptual schemes was for the acquisition of hegemony in both Gramscian and Greek senses.

In 425/4, the Athenian assembly voted to alter the tribute assessment, to send heralds throughout the empire summoning ambassadors to Athens, and to institute assorted changes in the *phoros* system. This decree (*IG* I³ 71) was inscribed on a tall stele, ca. 2.7 m in height, together with a much shorter second decree and a list of how much each city was to pay in tribute. It is the second of the two decrees (both proposed by Thoudippos) that is of interest here. In the text printed in *IG*, it reads:

. . . ν ἔδοχσ[εν] τêι βολêι καὶ τôι δέμοι· A-
[ἰγεὶς ἐ]πρυτάνευ[ε, Φίλ]ιπ[πος ἐγραμμάτευε, . . . 7 . . .]ορος ἐπεσ[τάτε], Θόδιππος εἶπε· hοπόσ-
[εσι πό]λεσι φόρος [ἐτάχ]θ̣[ε ἐπὶ τ]ês [βολês *h*êι Πλειστί]ας πρôτος [ἐγρα]μμάτευε ἐπὶ
56 Στρατοκ-
[λέος] ἄ̣ρχοντος βô[ν καὶ πανhοπ]λ[ίαν ἀπάγεν ἐς Παναθ]έναια τὰ μ̣ε̣[γάλα] *h*απάσας· πεμπόντον
δ[ὲ ἐν] τ̣êι πομπêι [καθάπερ ἄποι]κ[οι νν κατὰ τάδε ἔτα]χσεν τὸμ φό[ρον τê]σι πόλεσιν *h*ε βολ[ὲ] . . .

(*IG* I³ 71, ll. 54–58)

Resolved by the *boule* and *demos*; Aigeis held the prytany, Philippos was secretary, . . . –oros was *epistates*, Thoudippos proposed: all those cities that had tribute assessed during the boule for which Pleistias was the first secretary, when Stratokles was archon, shall render, all of them, at the Greater Panathenaia a cow and a panoply; and let them join in the procession like colonists. The *boule* assessed the tribute as follows for the cities . . .

The decree has a simple core of two provisions. All tributary allies are to send a cow and panoply to the Panathenaia, and they are to participate in it just like colonists. The Panathenaia is the festival at which Athens represented itself in idealized perfection, as in the Parthenon's Ionic frieze depicting the citizenry in procession as the *jeunesse dorée*.[23] Fundamentally about celebrating Athena as a specifically Athenian divinity, the Panathenaia might be thought to have no real place for the allies, and the evident implication that Athenian colonies participated is perhaps no less unexpected. In this respect, the cow-and-panoply requirement is already strikingly different from the Eleusinian *aparchai*, in which there was no mention of colonists and the obligation was understood as an unrepayable debt to Demeter, a debt routed through Athens. Its distinction between allied participation and that of all the other Greeks was a consequence of Athenian political control, rather than a reflex of some underlying taxonomy. But in the

[23] For this family of interpretation, see for example Osborne 1994; Harrison's (198–214, esp. 208–11) and Shapiro's chapters (215–28) in Neils 1996; Hurwit 1999: 181–86 and 222–28. Three more recent works with different views and much discussion of the bibliography are Fehr 2011, Connelly 2014, and Osada 2016.

Thoudippos decree, there is certainly no extension of either the obligation or the right to participate in the Panathenaic *pompe* beyond the set of allies, and in the *IG* text there seems to be an explicit assimilation of those allies to (Athenian) colonies. Participation in the two rituals is, then, constructed atop two distinct theologies of community.

Like the Eleusinian case as well as those examined in the previous chapter, this decree powerfully conjoins two domains that seem separate at first sight, being preeminently "religious" and "political": offerings to a divinity—the *sine qua non* of Greek religion—and structural relationships between Athens and other cities (or more simply the latter's membership within a political organization defined by military and financial contributions to the former). A question so obvious as to go all but unasked explicitly is why Athens would even want allies to participate in these cults at all—to make contributions to Athena Polias and to the goddesses at Eleusis. The implicit answer offered by some past scholarship, especially on the Panathenaic requirement, is simple. It was a display of dominance or sovereignty: Athens' ability to compel a certain behavior, simply for the sake of displaying the hierarchy thereby uncovered. Or, opening the black box somewhat, we can see the Panathanaia as a specifically imperial venue precisely insofar as it did include colonies and, building on the equally religious and political ramifications of the metropolis-colony relationship, did assimilate allies to that status. On either account, the religious logic of participation at the Panathenaia is calqued by a political logic.

Indeed, such a sociological explanation, though reductive, seems most obviously germane. Communal ritual at shared sanctuaries is often one of the most vital forces behind Greek state formation. Shared cult can precede the development of shared or federal political institutions—as was the case in Archaic koina, such as that of the Boiotians—but it can also be both a technique to attain and a consequence of state formation—as in the Hellenistic Thessalian koinon—or it might simply be severed from formal political institutions altogether—at Panhellenic sanctuaries, for example, centuries of communal ritual never led to the creation of a unified Greek state.[24] But was allied and colonial participation in the Panathenaia truly part of the formation of a "greater Athenian state"—of the solidification of Athenian control over the alliance, of its transformation into an empire?[25] And if so, how did this work?

Two questions of fact must preface any discussion of these interpretive issues, although they turn out to be inseparable. The first is whether there was, in fact, a requirement for the allies to bring a cow and panoply to the Panathenaia; the second is the date at which the cow-and-panoply requirement was introduced. Also at issue are two additional questions: what is the relationship between allied and colonial participation at the Panathenaia; and in what other ways did non-Athenians participate over time? These interlinked questions can all be initially addressed from the text of *IG* I^3 71 quoted above; note the extent to which it has been restored.

To begin with the first question: the supplement in line 57, βô[ν καὶ πανhοπ]λ[ίαν ἀπάγεν], is far from obvious. In fact, this phrase occurs in a total of three fifth-century Athenian decrees, the other two also heavily restored:

. . . [καὶ ἐ]άν τις περὶ τὲν ἀπᾳ[γογὲ-]

[24] Mackil 2013, Graninger 2011, and, e.g., Morgan 1990: 191–234.
[25] Morris 2009.

ν τῆς βοὸς ἢ [τῆς πανhοπλία]ς ἀδικῆι. . .
(*IG* I³ 34, ll. 41–42)

and

. . . βοῦν δὲ καὶ π̣[ανhοπλ-]
[ίαν ἀπά]γεν ἐς Παναθέναια τὰ μεγάλ[α]. . .
(*IG* I³ 46, ll. 15–16)

These texts, and their dates, will be more fully discussed below. Mark though, for now, that in no case is more than a single letter of πανhοπλίαν preserved; the final passage is the best evidence of the three for the accepted reconstruction, partially preserving the initial π and, since it is stoichedon and the restoration of [ἀπά]γεν is certain, giving the total number of letters in the lacuna. Πανhοπλίαν is hardly the only possibility, however. In the first edition of *IG*, the phrase was printed as βοῦν δὲ καὶ [πρόβατα | δύο ἀπά]γεν.[26]

The restoration giving us the cow-and-panoply requirement is based not on solid fifth-century evidence but on three later inscriptions and an ancient scholion to Aristophanes' *Clouds*.[27] The latter text reads ἐπεί οὖν ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις πᾶσαι αἱ ἀπὸ [or ὑπὸ] τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις βοῦν τυθησόμενον ἔπεμπον ("all the cities founded by the Athenians used to send a cow to be sacrificed at the Panathenaia").[28] The inscriptions date from the fourth century. In a heavily restored section of an Athenian decree of 307/6 BC, *IG* II² 456, Kolophon is described as a colony of Athens; later in the inscription it is decided that a herald will announce at the Panathenaia the fact that the Kolophonian demos has dedicated a "crown and panoply as *aristeion* to Athena on behalf of the Athenian and Kolophonian people."[29] There is no intrinsic reason to construe this decree as evidence for a regular dedication of a panoply to Athena at the Panathenaia by Athenian colonies—indeed there is no overlap between the inscription and the scholiastic evidence—or any other class of *polis*, but it does insert the word πανοπλία or πανhοπλία into the restoration conversation for the fifth-century texts.[30] A slightly earlier inscription, *I.Priene* 5, assigned to just before 326/5 BC by its editors, records Priene's decision to dispatch a "procession and panoply" to the greater Panathenaia "as a visible record of our [Prienian] kinship and friendship toward them [the Athenians] since the beginning."[31] In the same decree, Priene bestows numerous privileges on the Athenians, decides to announce them "just like benefactors" at games, and provides for sending a copy of the decree to Athens "so that they may know the *eunoia* of the Prienians toward the *demos* of the Athenians" (ll. 15–17).

Interestingly, then, these two texts fall within a broad, honorific genre: the Athenians vote to

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[26] Meritt and Wade-Gery 1962: 69.

[27] Meritt and Wade-Gery 1962 gathers all of this evidence.

[28] Scholion on *Clouds*, l. 386 (p. 95 Holwerda).

[29] ... [ἐπειδὴ ἄποι]κοι ὄντες τοῦ δή[μου] | [τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Κολοφώνιοι διατ]ηροῦσιν τήν τε φ[ιλί]|[αν καὶ οἰκειότητα τὴν εἰς τὸν δ]ῆμ[ον] τὸν Ἀθηναί[ων]... (ll. a. 7–9); … τὸν δὲ κή[ρυκα ἀνειπε]|ῖν Παναθηναίων τῶι γυμνικῶι ἀγῶνι ἐν τ[ῶι σταδίωι] | ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Κολοφωνίων ἀνατίθησι [τόνδε τὸν στέφ]|ανον καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν ἀριστεῖον τεῖ Ἀθ[ηνᾶι ὑπὲρ] | τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ [Κολοφωνί]|ων (ll. b. 3–8).

[30] On the ἀριστεῖον, see Shear 2001: 190–92, 195–99.

[31] τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Πολιάδι καθ' ἑ[κ]άσ̣τ̣ηγ̣ | πεντετηρίδα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις | πομπὴν καὶ πανοπλίαν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποστέλλε[ιν] | μνημεῖον τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς συγγενείας καὶ φιλίας | ἡμῖν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς αὐτούς (ll. 2–6, text of *IK Priene* 5).

praise the Kolophonian demos, while the Prienians both express their thanks to the Athenians (providing for the conveyance of their honorific sentiments there) and heap praise on the Athenian general Diphilos for his conduct toward Priene, described as befitting "those who have been kinsmen and allies perpetually since the beginning" (ll. 20–22).[32] The Kolophonian and Prienian offerings to Athena, whether one-offs or a (newly renewed?) promise in perpetuity, are thereby entered into the honorific economy of relations between sovereign communities, rather than the world of religio-political obligation posited for the fifth-century instances. At the same time, the "kinships and alliances" do reprise what might be called the official ideology of imperial Athens vis-à-vis its Ionian allies.[33] Furthermore, these fourth-century documents, by casting the gifts given to Athena as part of the long-term reciprocity between those cities and Athens, recall the theorization (especially in the orators) of the Eleusinian *aparchai* as participating in a similar honorific economy of benefactions. However, note how different is the relationship between the debt, Athens, and the Athenian divinity. In the Eleusinian instance, Athens obtruded into an obligation notionally owed by the Greeks to Demeter as repayment for the gift of grain, but in the Panathenaic cases it is Athena who receives a gift conceived as a more freely given token of the strong ties between the cities. That is, rather than redirecting an obligation from the goddesses to the city, the latter case redirects it from city to goddess.

We still lack, however, solid grounds for reading this fourth-century custom back into the fifth-century. The best evidence for the restorations in the fifth-century texts is *SEG* XXXI 67. This block preserves parts of the sole surviving resolution of the Synedrion of the Second Athenian League as well as a purely Athenian decree pertaining to Paros. It is also the earliest of the three fourth-century texts, dating to 372 BC. In the latest edition, it opens as follows:

[— — 23 — —] ΧΗ
[— – 18 – —]ηρηι κ̣α̣τ̣ὰ τὰ πά–
[τρια καὶ εἰς Παναθήν]α̣ια βῶν καὶ πανο-
[πλίαν καὶ εἰς Διονύ]σια βῶν καὶ φαλλὸ-
[ν ἀπάγ— 10 —-]ν, ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνοσ-
[ι] ἄποικο̣ι ὄ̣ν̣τ̣[ες] τ̣οῦ δήμο τῶ Ἀθηναίων·

(Crowther and Matthaiou 2004–09: 32, ll. 1–6)

> –erei according to ancestral custom, and to bring a cow and panoply to the Panathenaia and a cow and phallos to the Dionysia, since they are really colonists of the *demos* of the Athenians.

Here at last is a clear indication for the orthodox view that the cow and panoply was some kind of standard for Athenian colonies to offer at the Panathenaia.[34] Athens decrees that the Parians are "to send a cow and panoply to the Panathenaia and a cow and phallos to the Dionysia as a visible record, since they are truly colonists from the people of Athens."[35] Unfortunately (even

[32] [καθὼ]ς προσῆκόν ἐστιν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆ[ς συγ]|[γενῶν καὶ συμμάχων] γεγενημένων παρὰ πάν[τα τὸν] | [χρόνον].

[33] Cf. above, ch. 2.2.

[34] It is clear from the broader context of the decrees that the Parians are the subject of ἀπάγεν. On this text in general, see Dreher 1995: 109–54 and *GHI* no. 29. In l. 5, the lacuna no doubt held either ἀπάγειν μνημεῖον or ἀπάγεν ἀριστεῖον; see Crowther and Matthaiou 2004–2009: 33–34.

[35] The phallos, but not the cow, at the Dionysia also appears in the Brea inscription, *IG* I^3 46, as the immediate

if κατὰ τὰ πάτρια applies to the preserved text and not to the preceding, lacunose, provision), there is no way to establish certain continuity with the fifth-century requirements. Moreover, while this text does seem to associate the Parian offerings with their colonial status, which could serve to motivate the crucial link for the fifth century restored in *IG* I^3 71 itself, that restoration is almost certainly incorrect.

The vital step in the orthodox interpretations is the reading πεμπόντον δ[ὲ ἐν] τ̣ῆι πομπῆι [καθάπερ ἄποι]κ[οι ⁽ⁿᵛ⁾ κατὰ τάδε . . .] in line 58 of the Thoudippos decree.[36] The restoration of three vacats, however, is possible but methodologically suspect.[37] This supplement was first printed in 1934, with no meaningful commentary or discussion, by Meritt and West.[38] Subsequent editions of the text, including that of *IG* I^3, likewise printed the restoration with no evident misgivings or concerns. It is, however, an obvious case of over-restoration.[39] Καθάπερ ἄποικοι is not a set phrase of Athenian epigraphy—this is its only attestation—and the intransitive or absolute use of πέμπω is comparatively uncommon, especially in contemporary Athenian inscriptions (an admittedly small sample). Most importantly, the use of ἄποικοι as a generic class is not otherwise attested in Attic epigraphy.[40] The orthodox supplement is not based on textual parallels or argument but only on its seeming to make sense since we have other evidence for the colonial associations of the cow-and-panoply dedication.[41] But the supplement is most unlikely to be correct, and has played a harmful role in buttressing a questionable theory of the way allied participation in the Panathenaia evolved.

The question of whether fifth-century Athenian allies were in general assimilated to Athenian colonies is therefore very murky. Perhaps more distant comparanda can clarify the issue? To

continuation of the passage quoted above.

36 I refer to the essentially similar views of Meiggs, Meritt, Wade-Gery, and West as "orthodox" because they have long since made their way into the specialist literature as well as the textbook accounts with hardly a qualm.

37 The only other (single-space) vacat in the main text occurs in line 54, separating the first and second decrees. Restoring irregularities is methodologically problematic because, while lost fragments of inscriptions are obviously just as likely to contain mistakes as those which survive—and mason mistakes assuredly there are—all the same restoring them is dangerous because they are more likely to reflect an epigraphic *idée fixe* than reality. Thus in an edition of the Logistai inscription, *IG* I^3 369, Meritt and Lang insisted that "damage to the stone or some blemish in the marble which prevented the writing of letters in available letter-spaces must be assumed near the ends of lines 45 and 51 . . . It is highly probable that similar difficulties with the marble led to the irregularities at the ends of lines 37-42 and 47-50" (Lang and Meritt 1968: 89). Subsequent texts have not followed this suggestion, which reflected the editors' preconceived interpretation rather than the reality of the stone.

38 Meritt and West 1934 (though their new text was also printed slightly earlier, in 1933, by Tod). In more than fifty pages of commentary on the establishment of their text, Meritt and West write all of four sentences on the second decree (pp. 51, 63), and no justification of καθάπερ ἄποικοι is offered.

39 In his 2009 dissertation, Angelos Matthaiou removes the supplement from his text, but offers no discussion. Rhodes and Osborne, in *OR* no. 153, likewise remove the restoration from their Greek text—while still translating as if it were there. On over-restoration in Attic imperial epigraphy, see Matthaiou 2010.

40 These claims are based on searches in the Packard Humanities Institute's Searchable Greek Inscriptions database (epigraphy.packhum.org, accessed May–June 2017). In *IG* I^3 46, 47, 101, 263, 264, and 265, for example, ἄποικοι are mentioned but they are always associated with a specific location (usually given as a limiting genitive): only the restored text of the Thoudippos decree deploys a generic concept of "colonists."

41 Meritt and Wade-Gery 1962: 70.

this cluster of inscriptions related to the bringing of cows and/or panoplies to the Panathenaia one can juxtapose the opening instruction in the Erythrai decree (*IG* I³ 14) as it was preserved in the late 18th or early 19th century:[42]

> [. . .]ος ἀπάγεν σ[ῖ]το[ν ἐ]ς Παναθέναια τὰ μεγάλα ἄ[χσιον μὲ ὀλέ]-
> [ζον]ος ἒ τριôν μνôν καὶ νέμε[ν] Ἐρυθραίον [τ]ο[ῖ]ς παρôσι|[. . 4 . .]
>
> (Malouchou 2014: 84, ll. 2–3, underdotting omitted)

The Erythrai decree is frustratingly enigmatic not least because the actual stone has been lost. The text is known only through Louis Fauvel's transcription, now joined by a second copy made by Kyriakos Pittakis, the 19th-century archaeologist who once studied with Fauvel, apparently after the French diplomat's transcription.[43] Even a cursory inspection of the transcriptions reveals the epigraphic problems faced by editors; instead of the clearly correct ἀπάγεν, for example, both read ΑΠΑΝΕΜ; instead of νέμεν, one transcription reads NOMON, the other NOMO·. Leaving these problems to the side, it seems clear that the Regulations for Erythrai require them "to render at the great Panathenaia grain, worth no less than three minas, and to distribute it to those Erythraians present."[44]

This requirement can be treated as related in some way, as it obviously is, to the dedication of cows and panoplies: like them, it relates to non-Athenians supplying specified objects at the Panathenaia, an Athenian religious festival. Thus Meiggs and Lewis, for example, write that "the Erythraian regulations are less simple [than in the Kleinias decree, *IG* I³ 34, ll. 41–43] and represent an early stage in the conversion of an Athenian into an Empire festival"; Meiggs himself slightly later concluded that "when Athens made these provisions for Erythrae there was no standard obligation on all the allies."[45] Likewise, Smarczyk sees the Erythrai requirement as a preliminary hint of the wholesale transformation of the Panathenaia into an imperial festival, which he dates to 425/4 with Thoudippos' Reassessment decree (*IG* I³ 71).[46]

Seemingly lost in these discussions is that the grain brought to the Panathenaia may not even be an offering to Athena.[47] The cows were sacrificed, the panoplies presumably dedicated on the Acropolis.[48] Perhaps the meat from each cow was shared among the *theoroi* of the city in question, but there is no evidence for such a practice. Grain at the Panathenaia is a *hapax*.[49] And the specification that it is for distribution to Erythraians suggests that what is at issue in *IG* I³ 14 is not the same as in either the Thoudippos decree or the decree concering Brea requiring cow and panoply dedications.

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42 See Malouchou 2014 for a new text and epigraphical commentary based on a recently rediscovered transcription of this stone, lost long ago.

43 Malouchou 2014.

44 Strictly speaking, it is not certain on the basis of the text that the Erythraians are the subject of ἀπάγεν, but this seems clear. Some editors simply restore [Ἐρ|υθραί]ος ἀπάγεν in ll. 1–2.

45 ML: 91; Meiggs 1972: 293. What Meiggs and Lewis seem to mean by "less simple" is that the requirement is not yet a standard, one-size-fits-all rule but instead represent more tailored decision-making.

46 Smarczyk 1990: 549–91, esp. 549–62 and 569.

47 Cf. Shear 2001: 203.

48 The destiny of the panoplies is uncertain. Conceivably, they were put into military use, whether as a loan from the goddess or without ever going to Athena despite the festival context.

49 Brulé 1996: 59.

Finally, the chronology of both the Erythrai decree and of the cow-and-panoply requirement itself is unclear and quite contentious. Most scholars still date the Erythrai regulations early, in the 450s, even as parallels have fallen into the Peloponnesian war era.[50] The Thoudippos decree (*IG* I^3 71) is securely dated to 425/4, but the other two fail to preserve an archon date. The Brea decree (*IG* I^3 46) has been variously assigned to ca. 445 or to ca. 440 through the 430s based on some historical guesswork; Mattingly once mooted a 426/5 date, but later withdrew the suggestion as a "heresy."[51] The Kleinias decree (*IG* I^3 34) has been dated to the 420s for various historical reasons, but for a long time it was more commonly assigned to the 440s. The higher date was based on a relatively new fragment, published in 1944, that contained the name of the proposer: the "best-known Kleinias (not a common name) was the father of Alcibiades, who died at the battle of Koroneia in 447 or 446."[52] The historical arguments are too sprawling to discuss here, but one of the firmest points pertains directly. Mattingly and others argued that since the Kleinias decree simpy mentions "the cow and panoply" without further explanation, it must follow hot on the heels of the Thoudippos decree establishing that requirement.[53] To my knowledge, no one has ever dated the decree concerning Brea to 425 or later, however, and since it, too, requires "a cow and panoply," Mattingly's argument about the language of the Kleinias decree holds no more water than the assertion that its Kleinias must be the one who died in 447/6. Both cases are wholly vitiated by their reliance on assuming the completeness of the available evidence. Thoudippos' instruction cannot be entirely novel if the Brea requirements predate 425, so even if he is engaging in substantial innovation—as for example by extending a requirement from "real" colonies of Athens to all the allies—there is no necessary relationship between *IG* I^3 34 and 71.

In short, not only is the Erythrai decree a poor parallel for the cow-and-panoply requirement, but even the cluster of other texts cited in this section cannot be used to reconstruct a developmental trajectory for the modalities of non-Athenian participation in the Panathenia, still less to map such a trajectory onto the transition from Delian League to Athenian Empire. The lack of agreement amongst the fourth-century texts over what the offerings were, and what their status was, is a further impediment to these reconstructive efforts. Without enough evidence to be sure when the requirement was instituted or how it was changed (and its applicability extended) over time, it is difficult to draw any diachronic conclusions from the cows and panoplies (Table 3).

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[50] Moroo 2014, however, makes the case for downdating the Erythrai decree as well.

[51] Mattingly 1996: 384. Shear 2001: 141–42 helpfully gathers the bibliography to that date. Rhodes assumes that the colony was founded before 431 (2008: 5), but makes no further attempt at precision. Tracy, though often in favor of lowering dates, has no problem with putting the Brea inscription in 445 (Tracy 2016: 31). The site of Brea is in the Thrace district but otherwise unknown (Isaac 1986: 51–52; Mattingly 1996: 382).

[52] *ML* p. 120. In fact, with improved research tools, it is now easier to observe that Kleinias is not at all uncommon: the *LGPN* yields 23 hits for Attica, and *PAA* lists as many as 28 individuals, including several alive in the fifth and early fourth centuries. The association between the decree and Alcibiades' father cannot stand, *pace* Shear 2001: 140–41 (with the bibliograpy).

[53] Shear 2001: 140–41 again helpfully gathers the references; see also Rhodes 2008: 503, 506.

Table 4: Religious instructions for non-Athenian participation at the Panathenaia, illustrating their lack of concord or clear development over time

IG I³ 14 (Erythrai) 450s/410s?	*IG* I³ 46 (Brea) 445-431?	*IG* I³ 34 (Kleinias) 420s?	*IG* I³ 71 (Thoudippos) 425/4	*SEG* XXXI 67 (Paros) 372	*I.Priene* 5 (Priene) ca. 326	*IG* II² 456 (Kolophon) 307/6	Scholion on *Wasps* l. 386
	co[w] [panoply]	cow [panoply]	cow [panoply]	cow pano[ply]	panoply	panoply (*aristeion*)	cow
grain							
					procession		
ἀπάγεν	ἀπάγεν	ἀπαγωγή	ἀπάγεν	ἀπάγε(ι)ν	ἀποστέλλειν	ἀνατίθησι	ἔπεμπον

The point of this lengthy survey of the evidence behind the cow-and-panoply requirement is not primarily to destabilize other scholars' reconstructions, but to foreground the flexibility and situationality in our visions of how religion and politics intersect. In the forbidding, imperial world of the fifth century, it is all too easy to hastily decode an allied state bringing offerings to Athena as a simple unveiling of the political hierarchy *Athens* > *allies*. But in the apparently friendlier fourth century, it is read as a more authentically religious response to colonial affiliation. Indeed, at least one scholar has recently misdescribed the Athenian decree that Paros shall bring offerings to the Panathenaia and Dionysia as a voluntary Parian offer.[54] It is clear that to simplistically equate religious conduct, even when it is coerced by an imperial power, with the expression of political domination deprives that conduct of its full meaning.[55] The conduct itself—its content as well as its formal or structural relationship to power—is crucial. In this respect, it is Smarczyk who has most fully appreciated the potential colonial implications of the cow-and-panoply requirement, in giving a highly textured analysis of the Panathenaia as a "Reichsfest" and of the resonances of the panoply as votive.[56] But if the restoration καθάπερ ἄποικοι is rejected, the colonial resonances of this mode of participation in the Panathenaia become significantly weaker, since the explicit assimilation of allies to colonists disappears.

Even despite all these difficulties the interpretive questions raised above stand, insistently. If Athenian colonies had in fact offered cows at the Panathenaia since time immemorial, or been thought to, the new requirement in the Thoudippos decree would pretty clearly assimilate allies to colonists even without the καθάπερ ἄποικοι clause. Though the evidence isn't quite there, a connection between colonial participation in metropolitan cult and the cow-and-panoply requirement was clearly at least possible. Let us suppose the proposition be granted. What, then, would be its significance? Put another way, is the sequence of religious acts entailed by the Thoudippos decree meant to be a temporally extended symbol of Athenian power, or is it homologous to political action in the sense that participation at the Panathenaia furthers the

54 Jim 2014: 221, n. 61.

55 Cf. Pébarthe 2012: 546.

56 Smarczyk 1990: 549–91. Indeed, in such a light, the requirement becomes just one part of the well-known Athenian colonial ideology much discussed especially in connection to certain tragedies.

development of a specific political project, the formation of an Athenian imperial state, or is it essentially not political at all?

A telling answer emerges from close attention to the lexical choices made in these decrees. The verb ἀπάγειν seems to be the *mot juste* for the cow-and-panoply requirement until the Hellenistic inscriptions and scholiasts display a wider lexical range. And ἀπάγειν is also the verb used for bringing in the tribute in the Kleinias decree (*IG* I^3 34 ll. 10, 13, and elsewhere), and for bringing money to Athens in line 25 of the Kleonymos decree (*IG* I^3 68) as well as in the first Thoudippos decree reorganizing the tribute (*IG* I^3 71). So ἀπαγή might be seen as a technical term for the act of bringing obligatory contributions to Athens, whether *phoros* for the city's war-chest or processional paraphernalia for its goddess. Moreover, the vast majority of both *IG* I^3 71 and 34 deals with the tribute. They are almost entirely about collecting the tribute and ensuring that it be brought in properly. Conceptually and structurally, then, the bringing-in of the cow and panoply can be understood as part of that same process—as if it were part of the tribute even in a fairly strict sense. In the First Fruits Decree, however, ἀπάρχεσθαι is the main verb used for the actions under consideration, with only one appearance of ἀπάγειν (l. 35). Even though the two sets of requirements seem structurally identical in many ways, the texts instituting them suggest a significantly different meaning in each case. While the Panhellenism of the Eleusinian *aparchai* posits a superlative status for Athens as the eternal creditor of the Greek world, a status recuperated in the fourth century by what Mantena terms "retroactive alibis for imperial rule," perhaps that very transcendence of the political sphere rendered the obligation illegible as part of Athenian domination.[57] The cows and panoplies were construed as part of the tribute, but the *aparchai* were not.

A second point may, however, be even more illuminating. The questions above are really questions within the philosophy of action: what is the relationship between mental states and actions? That is, what forms of emic and etic accounts of action count as explanations for the behavior of the, say, Siphnian official who collects grain from his fellow citizens to transport to Attica? There is no single answer nor one true path for discussing the issues raised in this section. To mention philosophy of action, however, raises the specter of methodological individualism once more and suggests that we should beware reductive analyses that view conduct as a straightforward reflex of politics or political structures. The "meaning" of the actions demanded by the texts in this section is not a single, fixed quantity awaiting our discovery. A practice-oriented approach would carry with it the realization that meaning is constructed contingently and in a way that is always contested. What may be most helpful, therefore, for present purposes is to adopt the perspective that sees religious acts such as the dedication of a cow and panoply to Athena as a behavioral language in which virtual collectivities can be assembled and brought into relation with one another. The implicit theological taxonomies of the Eleusinian and Panathenaic requirements rest on very different collectivities, the one Panhellenic in orientation and the other restricted to Athenian allies and/or colonies. As the reliance on fourth-century evidence shows, whatever the fifth-century decrees accomplished proved to have a lasting impact on some cities in the case of the cow and panoply, but not so much for the Eleusinian *aparchai*.

[57] Mantena 2010: 180.

Apart from the intentions and interpretations attached by fifth-century communities to allied participation in the Panathenaia or Eleusinian cult, then, these texts and the contours of the power traced through them had enduring but discrepant impact on Aegean interactions. Athenian Panhellenism was always a potent ideology at Athens itself, but its naked articulation of a preeminent status for Athens vis-à-vis the Greeks understandably did little to shape conduct in the long term outside Attica. Even within the set of allies required to participate, the First Fruits Decree yielded no enduring disposition to send *aparchai*. By contrast, the evidence from Paros, Priene, and Kolophon shows that after the collapse of Athenian imperial rule one relic of their *commandement* lived on. The participation of these cities in the Panathenaia probably endured precisely because it had been articulated and theorized already in the fifth century within a preexisting system or conceptual scheme, namely that of kinship. The virtual collectivity assembled by the second Thoudippos decree was not like that sketched out by Isocrates' *Panegyricus* in leveling the entire Greek world outside Athens, but rather picked out as belonging just those states that could be redescribed as particularly bound to Athens. That his decree attempted so to bind *all* the allies is remarkable. What degree the ideas of Ionian kinship or Athenian metropolitan status played in the relative success of this project is hard now to say, but it is clear that it took firmest root in cities like Priene and Kolophon that, unlike Paros, voluntarily participated in the Panathenaia well after the end of Athenian imperial rule. It is probably not a coincidence that these cities engaged in cult at the Panionion, materially reproducing the Ionian identity within which their required Panathenaic participation was inscribed.

3. *Un ensemble à géométrie variable*: Territory and Fiscality at Miletos

> "Postcolonial African regimes have not invented what they know of government from scratch." (Mbembe 2001: 24)

In the previous section, different interpretations of the cow-and-panoply requirement turned in part on how to understand the fourth-century afterlife of dedicatory practice. But another perspective would be to bracket off the coercion-or-consent interpretive question and note instead the simple endurance of the requirement. It reconfigured cult practice in several cities, reproducing the idea of Athenian metropolitan status over Ionians. In that respect, then, Athenian imperial power had an enduring effect on the subject cities, regardless of the intentions of anyone involved, by transforming "the forms of social organization that existed prior to its arrival."[58] Moreover, a basic division in the literature on the cow-and-panoply is between those who, put simply, see colonial or allied participation in the Panathenaia as an "honorable privilege" and those who instead construe it as a "bitter symbol." Is the way the requirement assimilates allies to colonies a deceptive trick to justify the naked assertion of control, or is it an opportunity for them to display their piety to the gods? One way to think about this might be to deny that there is a simple answer—the act itself can be read in multiple ways, a potential for ambiguity and misrecognition that is often constitutive of the relationship between religion and politics.[59] In that case, the fourth-century evidence again becomes quite significant, for it

[58] Mbembe 2001: 26.

[59] On misrecognition, see Bourdieu 1977 and Bell 1992: 81–85, 114–17.

suggests, as Figueira points out, that the requirement "was not so unremittingly resented that some Ionian communities did not agree to adhere to this principle after Athens had ceased to be their main military protector."[60] And in those fourth-century texts, what we see is an honorific economy of mutual praise between the Athenians and the Prienians or the Kolophonians, rather than the imperial command-and-control that scholars have detected in or projected onto the fifth-century cases. Unlike the Eleusinian *aparchai*, this requirement endured precisely because it was articulated within those systems.

In this section, the enduring effects of a more prosaic form of compulsory contribution to Athens, the tribute, are studied at one particular *polis*, Miletos. Possessing a large and varied hinterland and well established among the leading Greek cities of Asia Minor, Milesians faced organizational problems unusual for a Greek polis as a simple result of the size of their territory: the Milesian *chora* may have been nearly as large as Attica, at around 2000 km² (as against ca. 2550 km² for Attica).[61] This size and complexity inform the history of Miletos within the Athenian empire. The relationship between *phoros* and civic resources is a complex one, but most historians share, I think, a sense that the *phoros* was a major outlay for the allies, without for most of them imposing a burden that impoverished or radically affected the civic body.[62] As tribute, Miletos paid as much as 10 talents annually, a considerable sum that corresponds to the terrestrial and maritime resources of this large polis.

The necessity of transmuting civic *prosodoi* into imperial *phoros* impacted communities within the empire differently. In some cases, we can trace—though rarely understand deeply—responses to the tribute in the form of *apotaxis* and *synteleia*, the breaking-apart and paying-together of corporate groups of communities.[63] For example, in 448/7, the odd formula "Erythraians | themselves contributed on behalf of | Polichnaians : and on their own behalf | Sidosians : Boutheians : Elaiosians | Pteleosioi" is collectively credited with (as restored) paying 9 talent in tribute.[64] In the following year, a similar though more enigmatic entry occurs in which much the same formula is used but with a separate sum on each line rather than one for the group collectively.[65] Later in the list, the Erythraians appear again alone, credited with one-third of a talent (bringing the total close to 9T).[66] But in 444/3, the next preserved attestation of the Erythraian communities, the Erythraians appear separately on their own credited with seven talents, and elsewhere in the list the entries "Polichnaians Eruth" and "Elaiosioi Erythrai" appear with their own contributions.[67] Changes of this kind arose from negotiation between Athens and the tribute payers, and, though important, they

[60] Figueira 1998: 561.

[61] These figures are taken from the *Inventory*, pp. 624 and 1082. The definition of the Milesian *chora*, however, is uncertain in its eastern and southern boundaries, in addition to all the usual caveats about defining the extent of a territory without reference to change over time.

[62] See literature cited below; cf. ch. 2.4 above.

[63] Jensen 2010 (with the earlier bibliography) and 2012; Constantakopoulou 2013. See below for more detailed discussion.

[64] Ἐ[ρυθραῖ]οι | [*ho*]ῦτο[ι ἀπέγαγον] *h*υπὲρ | [Π]ολιχναίον : κα[ὶ *h*υ]πὲρ *h*αυτῶν | [Σ]ιδόσιοι : Βουθ[ειῆς : Ἐ]λαιόσιοι | Πτελεόσιοι (*IG* I³ 264, col. III, ll. 28–31).

[65] *IG* I³ 265, col. I, ll. 58–62.

[66] *IG* I³ 265, col. II, l. 110.

[67] *IG* I³ 268, col. I, ll. 27–28 and col. II, l. 27. On Erythrai, see Jensen 2012.

mean no one thing. It is certain that many dependent communities were indirectly assessed and paid as part of the patrimony of the cities to which they belonged without ever appearing in the Athenian tribute lists. But when such communities—such as the Diakrioi of Rhodes and Euboia—do appear, they have not necessarily become independent.[68] They are simply being recorded as responsible for such-and-such an amount dedicated to Athena. Miletos offers a case in point, with Milesians variously appearing in the lists not only from the *polis* itself but also holding the island of Leros and a spot on the mainland called Teichioussa (fig. 24). This peculiarity has been used an evidence for a Milesian revolt from Athens; for Milesian *stasis*; and as simply one more case of *apotaxis*. I propose to analyse it, instead, from the perspective of political economy and the territorial organization of public resources and their extraction. For these "dependent communities"—if that is what they are, or the right language for them—were functioning as tax-processing outposts of the Milesian state, participating in its transmutation of *prosodoi* into *phoros*. Not only parts of the broader Milesian state, Leros and Teichioussa were distant outposts, too far from the city's walls for daily interaction with it. Their role within the collection of tribute therefore raises questions about the distribution of fiscal functions across that broader Milesian territory, and how that role or distribution changed over time under pressure from Athenian imperialism.

3.1: Midlevel governmental systems and structures

Fiscality and territory intertwine, especially as the scale of the latter varies. I argue that the increasing demands placed upon these communities by Athens in the form of tribute accelerated their constitutional development, a process that ended in their configuration as formal demes of Miletos in the late fourth century after passing through an earlier phase of unofficial governmental organization.

The distribution of a state's functions, understood as sub-systems, over its territory may offer limited scope for complexity in the case of a small *polis*.[69] Situated, say, directly on the sea and with but a small hinterland, government in such a *polis* is geographically compact. Its harbor, markets, archives and treasuries, and other scenes of state action are all located close together in the urban center. In the case of a *polis* with a large *chora*, however, such as Attica, state functions become tiered and dispersed across the territory. Some examples: market supervision and the collection of various taxes occured in Piraeus as well as Athens itself, and elsewhere at times; large demes, such as Thorikos or Rhamnous, duplicated many governmental functions on offer in the city; even small demes had fiscal structures to manage revenue and expenditure, and coordinated public activities especially in the realm of ritual; at forts on the border no less than in the harbors of Piraeus entrance into Attica was controlled and exploited. The point generalizes, but for present purposes what is of particular interest are the fiscal systems. "Levying on

[68] Despite a persistent conviction to the contrary on the part of more nominalist scholars such as some of those associated with the Copenhagen Polis Center (see especially the *Inventory*, pp. 111–13 and *passim* wherever the Athenian tribute lists are used as evidence), it is clearly not the case that being recorded in the lists is necessarily equivalent to possessing something called "*polis* status" or full autonomy. See, for example, Schuller 1995 and Jensen 2012; cf. Ma 2009.

[69] For the systems approach, see Flannery 1972.

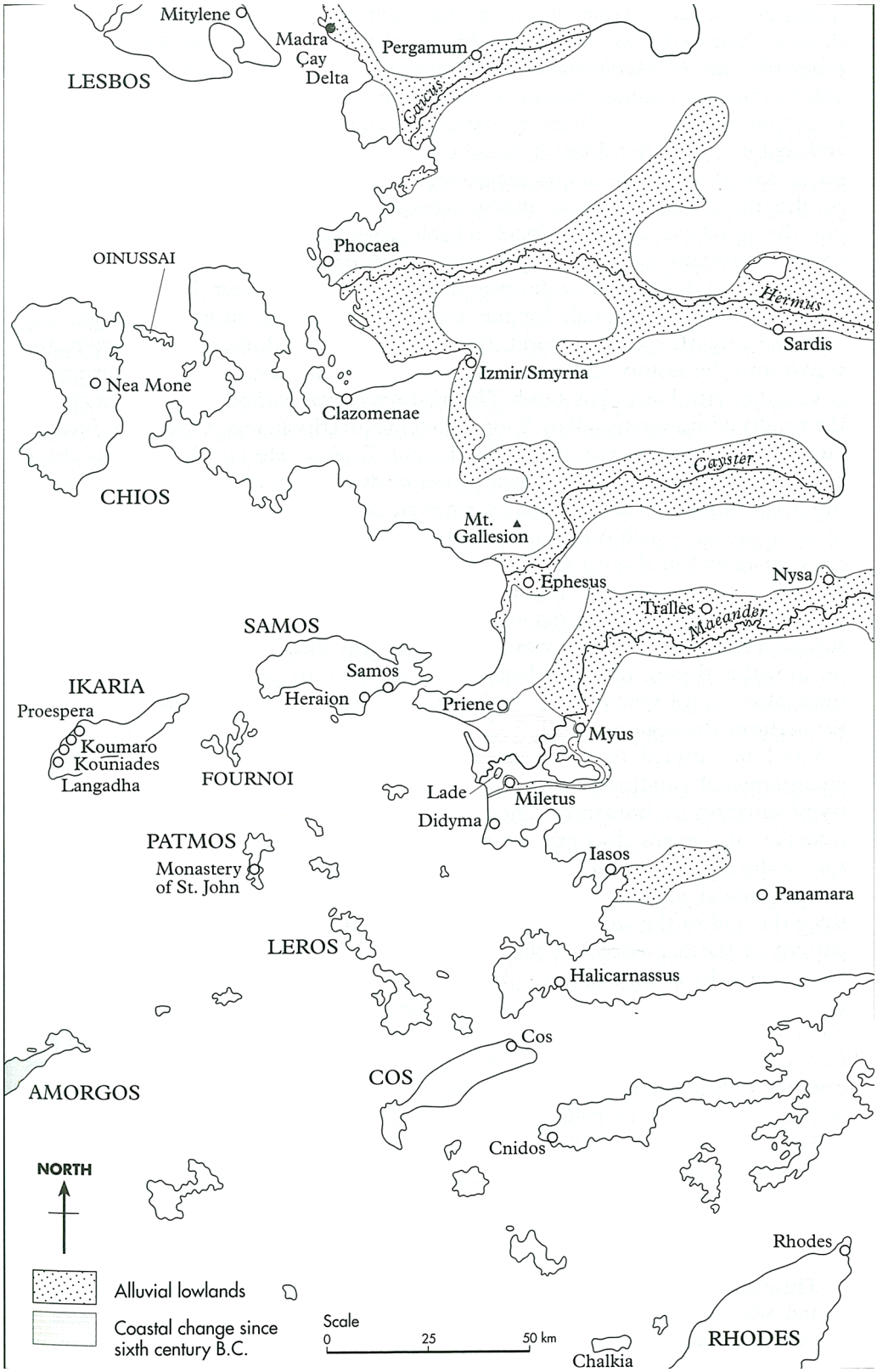

Figure 24: "The river Maeander and its region": Horden and Purcell, Map 19

interdependence" as the characteristic source of income for the Greek state means that their controlling and profiting from exchange, like a whale filtering dinner out of a plankton bloom as it streams by, is an ecological necessity.[70] When a state controls a territory with one hub through which all traffic flows, whether because it is the sole harbor or the population is too small to support more than one node of any size, collecting taxes and fees can be modeled as one bundle of institutions fixed in place.

By contrast, the geographical separation between Miletos and its outflung areas—such as Teichioussa and, more radically still, Leros and the other islands—was considerable. In the case of Miletos, then, these fiscal subsystems must have been geographically segregated. The islands' harbors welcomed coastwise caboteurs who never put in at Miletos but nevertheless had to pay harbor dues as well as any applicable customs duties and other taxes or fees. In whatever periods Leros, for example, had an organized community capable of regulating its harbor in the accustomed manner, then, it must likewise have had an already significant array of fiscal and governmental institutions. The questions are how were these institutions organized and how did Leros relate to Miletos? A review of the islands' economic life and history will provide some answers to this question in a later section; first, a discussion of some forms of government outside the polis–chora dichotomy, so unhelpful to the Milesian multiplicity of centers, will provide essential background on the possible configurations of these relationships.

One ready model for understanding how Leros, say, functioned within the Milesian state is the Athenian concept of a deme, generally understood by scholars as a microcosm of the polis. Yet there is little evidence that Leros was a deme before the Hellenistic period, and so alternative taxonomies such as "overseas possession" or "cleruchy" have also been put forward for the island. But before jumping to import a label from the set of Athenian constitutional concepts, let us consider other forms of communal existence. Indeed, although the ancient Greek world is most conventionally thought of as one of the city-state—the *polis*—its landscape of production and distribution also relied on dispersed settlement throughout the countryside, with small and often ephemeral nucleations existing on or beyond the margins of our texts, and cooperating or competing in ways scarcely captured by our terminology. In Classical Attica, we may know quite a lot about the demes as a system and in many cases as particular demes; yet specific, smaller or more isolated, structures, such as the Vari farmhouse, often continue to generate debate as to their use for residence, security, food processing, and/or control of slaves; and komai, villages, hamlets, and other "small communities" remain largely unknown in any textual detail.[71] Yet they certainly existed. My purpose in reviewing a sample of this evidence is to establish some parameters for thinking about different levels and scales of community at Miletos and how they related over time to the broader fiscal structures of the state.

One possible structure is that of simple hierarchy stretching from the city down to individual farms. In the Oinoanda festival inscription from imperial Roman Anatolia, for example, to one

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[70] Purcell 2005: 203–206.

[71] There is an extremely large bibliography on ancient agriculture and on the interpretation of surviving buildings as part of an "archaeology of exploitation" or production, which it would not be useful to cite here; but see Pettegrew 2001, Jones 2004: 17–47, Papadopoulos and Morris 2005, and (for the Vari farmhouse) Jones et al. 1973. On komai, see below.

cluster of named villages (κῶμαι, l. 72) is appended the phrase σὺν ταῖς ἀκολουθούσαις μοναγρίαις (l. 73), "along with their dependent farmsteads."[72] Together this set of rural holdings and farms (one set among many in the text) is to provide two bulls to the festival enacted by the inscription. By enunciating a nested hierarchy of association and control, whereby the central urban polity, Oinoanda, arches over a variety of villages, which in turn control unnamed dependent farmsteads, the inscription helpfully demonstrates the reality that urban elites in antiquity were always interested in reproducing the hegemony of the city.[73] This is true even when the villagers are full citizens of such-and-such a polis—or of Rome.[74] Similar associations of villages are known from other Roman Anatolian texts, sometimes explicitly naming them as δικωμίαι, πεντακωμίαι, and so on.[75] These groupings or associations are indices of the fluidity of settlement, but should not be confused with synoikisms.[76]

A different form of vertically nested communal organization has recently attracted much attention in Hellenistic Caria, where the persistence of non-polis communities is quite striking.[77] At the end of his lengthy study of the Hellenistic Carian *koina*, Pierre Debord emphasizes the polysemy and nested character of these elusive communal forms of life. The settlement structure of Carian polities was "un ensemble à géométrie variable."[78] Ultimately concluding that the city–village binary is too simplistic, he writes that "the term *koinon* . . . covers realities of a kind and of a scale that range widely, from the village community, basic but possessing an organization that, we can show, was already elaborated . . . all the way up to leagues operating at a regional level."[79] Indeed, southwestern Anatolia beyond Caria as well is dotted with settlements, and unions of settlements, of different statuses, variously termed κοινά, κῶμαι, δῆμοι, and περιπόλια.[80] The geographical extent and chronological persistence of such parapolitical village associations has been very well highlighted by Christof Schuler.[81] Not unlike the village associations attested in Roman Lycia, these communities possessed some political offices without being *poleis*, but were, rather, dependent communities.

Such nested levels of cooperation or association between settlements are a persistent feature of the Greek world beyond the urban *polis* framework. Importantly, the village associations briefly adduced here are not some primitive Anatolian survival, but, rather, are part of the mainstream of the Greek landscape of settlement.[82] Many of them were imposed or developed

[72] The text is in Wörrle 1988; also see Mitchell 1993 I.178, Horden and Purcell 2000: 95, and Ando 2017: 125–27.

[73] Ando 2017; for the village structure, see Wörrle 1988: 138–40.

[74] Cf. Mitchell 1993 I.179. For the tiering of δῆμος (of habitation) and πόλις (of citizenship), also see, e.g., Schuler 2010: 396–97.

[75] Citations in Wörrle 1988: 138 and Mitchell 1993: 185.

[76] Cf. Horden and Purcell 2000: 94.

[77] Recent work has highlighted these submerged or superimposed, low-level *koina* as dependent villages or communities; for some of the recently published texts that have spurred much of the interest, see, for example, *HTC* nos. 1 (with discussion on p. 101), 5, 31, and 36–38, as well as the republished nos. 4, 6, and more, with the literature cited below.

[78] Debord 2003: 174.

[79] Debord 2003: 171; cf. 115–121, 171–74.

[80] *HTC*, Debord 2003, van Bremen 2004, Wiemer 2010, Schuler 2010.

[81] Schuler 2010, esp. 395.

[82] Schuler points out that the Lycians "did not themselves devise, but rather imported," from Kos and Rhodes, the political concepts he brings together in his study (2010: 406).

under impetus from larger imperial political systems, whether Rome, the Hellenistic kings, or expansionist cities like Rhodes.[83] In fact, many of the Carian towns described as κοινά in the later Hellenistic period were previously πόλεις, having apparently lost, in piecemeal and slow-motion fashion, their earlier status under Rhodian domination, whether as a deliberate policy or in recognition of changing realities—or concepts—on the ground.[84]

This regression or withering away, in Caria, of full *polis* institutions under external domination would, then, be just the reverse of the effect recently suggested for the collection of the Athenian tribute: the elevation of ephemeral or very small-scale communities to the status of polities capable of and responsible for collecting taxes on Athens' behalf.[85] Indeed, the question of the relationship between such small communities and the landscape of taxation is thrown into particularly clear relief by the tribute lists, which reveal shifting constellations of entities associated for the purposes of collective tribute payment, seeming repeatedly to break up and re-form. Such fluctuation in status, creation of semi-formal, contingent, or incompletely "federal" collectivities, and nested associations of rural settlements is not unlike the hierarchies adduced above. In the fifth century, the clearest cases are probably those of the *peraiai* of Thasos, Rhodes, and Samothrace, three islands with significant mainland resources that fluctuated under pressure of Athenian naval power. Indeed, the history of the Rhodian "subject *peraia*" in the Hellenistic period as well would provide a set of intriguing and surely instructive parallels for Athenian domination in the fifth century, but unfortunately I cannot explore them here.[86]

In discussing these forms of sub-polis organization, my purpose cannot be to provide a thorough study of the subject but only to offer the rudiments of a sketch of the infinitely variable possibilities which could obtain in the large territory of Miletos. Such a sketch is an alternative to immediately reaching for the one-sided and Athenocentric model of polis–chora–deme, in which the rural countryside is seen as punctuated by microcosmic reduplications of the polis itself. Instead, even in Attica itself, many different lines and ways of social organization existed without copying the institutional structures of the polis or partaking of its (imagined) fixity. As Martha Taylor has argued, "it is extremely limiting to use the Kleisthenic *demos* (particularly when viewed as a tightly-knit nucleated settlement) as our only social and residential model for all of Attica."[87] Accordingly, recent scholarship has begun to recover the village, kome, as an effective agent in the Athenian countryside.[88] The material realities of settlement, activity, and interaction often elude the constitutional or juridical perspective, and it is precisely the disjuncture between the two that has rendered the village so opaque through lack of textual evidence.[89] Functional differentiation between the kome and deme would mean, however, that the former was almost certainly not very significant for the kinds of communal action in which we are currently interested, namely fiscal issues.

My assumption is that such differentiation between deme and kome obtained, although it is

[83] Schuler 2010: 393.
[84] Debord 2003: 162–63; Wiemer 2010: 425–27.
[85] Jensen 2010 and 2012 and especially Constantakopoulou 2013.
[86] van Bremen 2007: 113–17.
[87] Taylor 1997: 260.
[88] Lambert 1997: 190–92, 220–21, 239; Taylor 1997: 260–62; Ismard 2010: 90–95.
[89] Ismard 2010: 92.

true that evidence is very limited. Lambert writes, for example, that komai "seem to have been groups of pre-Cleisthenic origin, analogous to demes in that they were communities with a single local base . . . we may probably assume that . . . *komai* had hereditary membership."[90] Since some of them, however, actually overlap terminologically with demes, but do not overlap administratively, it seems far more likely that membership in the villages was fluid and contingent by comparison with an individual's juridically fixed identities, the tribe, phratry, and deme.[91] Moreover, it is not the case that all Attic komai, associations of komai, or similar non-deme organizations are structurally interchangeable or alike: that is, some komai (evident in the Lykourgan land sales) are surely simply a kind of assocation corresponding to actual rural settlement and production, something like a hamlet with a headman (komarch), that functioned as a representative of that community in certain contexts. Others, like the so-called Tetrakomoi of the coast around Phaleron, were apparently religious "regional associations."[92] The tetrapolis of Marathon, likewise, widely known for its fourth-century sacrificial calendar, represents something like the assumption by the four Kleisthenic demes of a preexisting "amphiktyonic" village association or at any rate the transmutation of an imagined village past through some unrecoverable process into an enduring religious association linked with those demes.[93]

The point is not that any of these are exact comparanda for the situation at Miletos; but rather that they illustrate the importance over the *longue durée* of non-urban, yet ordered and nucleated, communal existence in the Mediterranean world.[94] Such potentially fluid institutions, less formally elaborated than the Cleisthenic tribe–trittys–deme system in Athens, with its hereditary and fixed juridical status attached to notional domicile, all subsumed within the overarching *polis* and the category οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, were normal features of the Greek landscape. And, as the gradual erosion of polis status among the Carian towns of the Rhodian peraia shows, it is possible to outline a history of these patterns and their interfaces with components of a broader and more mainstream political history. One such case is offered by Miletos and the evolution of its territorial organization and citizen groupings. The relevant history is not especially clear, given that documents only become available in much quantity in the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, we can glimpse a certain trajectory from loosely organized possession to something more like an Attic kome—organizing social life, economic activity, and basic management of the commons, but lacking the necessity or desire to publish inscribed acts—to a regular Milesian deme by the Hellenistic period.

3.2: Milesian Islands?

There is some reason to believe that Leros, the other Milesian islands, and particularly Teichioussa were basically autonomous or more fundamentally not even Milesian before the fifth

[90] Lambert 1997: 220.
[91] There were for example both komai and demes of Phaleron and Piraeus (Lambert 1997: 191–92).
[92] Lambert 1997: 190–92; Ismard 2010: 211–13.
[93] Humphreys 2004: 165–77 (165 for the "amphiktyonic association"); Ismard 2010: 239–51.
[94] Horden and Purcell 2000, etc.

century.[95] A famous statue of a seated male found at Didyma, dated around 560–530, was inscribed along the front and side edges of one leg of his chair or throne: Χαρῆς εἰμὶ ὁ Κλέσιος Τειχιόσης ἀρχός·| ἄγαλμα τô Ἀπόλλωνος, "I am Khares the son of Klesios, of Teichioussa the *archos*; the *agalma* is Apollo's" (fig. 25; London, British Museum B 278; inscription: *Didyma* II, 6). It has been suggested that Khares' description of himself as ἀρχός means that Teichioussa was an independent polity at this period, perhaps a Carian settlement (despite the name) with Khares as its "dynast."[96] The dedication of an enthroned figure certainly seems to bespeak a strong elitist attitude rather than inviting the alternative explanations that Khares was an annual magistrate or even that ἀρχός is the equivalent of φρούραρχος.[97] As this is the only textual evidence for Teichioussa before the tribute lists, if ἀρχός does mean "ruler" rather than "governor," it is difficult to give reasons for disagreeing with the conclusion that Teichioussa was independent, except that the sculpture is part of a larger genre of similar seated figures, including the so-called Branchidai found along the Sacred Way, that were presumably otherwise Milesian dedications.[98] At a minimum, therefore, Khares' dedication evinces a strong interest in participating in the cultic world of Miletos/Didyma, and at a maximum is a sign of the town's incorporation into the political world of Miletos as well.

As for the islands, what seems safe to assert is that, to begin with the beginning of Miletos' extramural activity, by the late seventh century, at the very latest, Miletos was a significant sea power in the eastern Aegean, able to secure lines of communication and transport to its colonies—famously numerous—in the Propontis and along the shore of the Black Sea.[99] In this period, Miletos could rely on market forces and seaborne exchange to supply the city with food. Herodotus relates that the Lydians waged many wars against Ionian cities in the seventh and sixth centuries, meeting with some success and some failure (1.6, 14–22, 25–27). Revealingly, their war with Miletos, waged by Sadyattes and Alyattes, was quite unusual. It took the form of a long-term game of attrition:

> Just when the crops out in the country were ripe, he [Alyattes] would send in the

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[95] Below, I do not discuss the evidence for Teichioussa in quite as much detail as the "Milesian islands" because the testimonia are less revealing and the epigraphical evidence is all even later, whereas we have some intriguing clues about the functioning of Leros as a deme, discussed below. The main controversy is over Teichioussa's location, with the German tradition continuing to insist on a spot on the Gulf of Akbük east of Didyma, and other scholars tending to follow Bean and Cook and Louis Robert in identifying it with a Classical fortification at Doğanbeleni near the village of Kazıklı at the base of the next inlet down the coast toward Iasos.

[96] Herda 1995; cf. Talamo 2003: 159–71 and Herda 2006b: 327–50. The name Teichioussa is clearly Greek, meaning "fort."

[97] Herda 2006b: 338–42 gives an overview of the debate over the unusual or early title ἀρχός, with all the relevant evidence and references, but I am more inclined to conclude that Khares was not a Milesian functionary. Herda 2006b: 332–38 discusses the meaning of the seated pose in this case; for early seated figures in general, see Nagy 1998.

[98] On the genre of enthroned or seated statues at Didmya, and Khares in particular, see Herda 2006b: 332–38; also Tuchelt 1970, Stewart 1990: 117–18, Ridgway 1993: 185–90, and Keesling 2017: 114–17. Ridgway makes the important point that the statues, though found along the Sacred Way, were probably relocated there at a later period (186); and finally, Herda argues that Khares' dedication makes the most sense if seen as part of a "gentilizisches Apollonheiligtum," 2006b: 343–50, 440.

[99] For recent syntheses, see Gorman 2001 and Greaves 2002.

Figure 25: Statue of Khares (London, British Museum B 278; museum photo)

> army; and he made war to the sound of the pipes and *pektides*, and auloi both high-pitched and low. But when he came to the Milesian land, he neither destroyed the buildings out in the fields nor fired them nor even pulled off their doors; but let them continue to stand all through the country; and when he had laid waste the trees and the crops on the earth, he then withdrew. For the Milesians had the advantage from the sea and as a result the labor of a siege was not possible for his army [τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ]. But the Lydian did not destroy their houses for this reason: so that the Milesians would be able to set back out for the country to sow and labor in it, and that he himself might have something to destroy from their labor when he invaded (Hdt. 1.17).[100]

Herodotus only mentions two actual battles during the twelve years in which this went on (1.18.1), which serves to emphasize the performative, ritualistic cast, already marked in the passage quoted, of the Lydian invasions. But assuming that there was a real military strategy at work here, the Lydian goal can only have been to eventually exhaust the ability or willingness of the Milesians to go on supplying their city with imports. That the Lydians were unable to achieve that goal, and uninterested in laying siege to the city itself, implies that Miletos was wealthy enough to rely on seaborne resources. But this fact, in turn, probably suggests that Milesians could draw not only on foodstuffs purchased from abroad but also brought in from their own production on islands in the northern Dodecanese (figs. 24 and 26).

The importance of these offshore, insular resources and of Milesian control of its coastal sea is starkly dramatized by the several ancient Battles of Lade in 494, 334, and 200 BC, all of which ended with the sack or surrender of the city shortly after losing control of the island of Lade.[101] Lade, now a low and lumpy knoll sticking like a drumlin out of the soggy alluvial plain deposited by the Maeander, in a wholesale transformation of the landscape throughout the former Bay of Latmos, lay no more than a few kilometers offshore the city at the end of the Archaic period (fig. 26).[102] During the revolt of 412, the Athenians used Lade as their base for blockading Miletos (Thuc. 4.24.1), while Leros was similarly used as a naval harbor by various fleets (Thuc. 4.26.1, 4.27.1) and was even suggested as a place of refuge for Aristagoras, the Milesian tyrant, to regather his strength (Hdt. 5.125). However, the islands were not of merely military importance, but played a key role in the production and redistribution of goods. The smaller islands close to shore could have been cultivated or used for pasturage by people living most of the time on the mainland. Little to no evidence survives from before the Hellenistic period for these smaller islands, places like Pharmakousa, where Caesar was held for ransom by pirates (Plutarch *Caesar* 1.8), or the Tragaiai. Some of the small islets around Agathonisi were reportedly used for seasonal pasturage in "olden times," but ancient evidence is lacking.[103]

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[100] I follow West's interpretation of the different types of aulos mentioned in the passage; see West 1992: 89–90.

[101] Greaves 2000 offers a very useful survey of Miletos' relation to the sea over the long term; for the battles, see especially 53–56.

[102] Lade had already been surrounded by alluvium in the Roman imperial period: Paus. 8.24.5 (cited by Horden and Purcell 2000: 312); for Lade and the silting up of the delta, see Mackil 2004: 494–97, Thonemann 2011: 60–63 and 295–338 (*passim*), and especially Brückner et al. 2014: 59 and 86–87.

[103] Pikoulas 1999: 202.

Probably more important, however, the Dodecanese island chain was excellent territory for cabotage; and its densely packed harbors also served voyages over longer distances, across the Aegean or toward the Levant as well as northward to the Propontis.[104] For many reasons, then, the scores of small and medium-sized islands chained and scattered off the Anatolian coast were valuable resources that certainly attracted the attention of Miletos.

In particular, by or in later (Classical and especially Hellenistic) times Milesians dwelt in Patmos, Leros, and Lepsia (modern Leipsoi), and also inhabited, controlled, or exploited the other smaller islands in the vicinity such as Pharmakousa (modern Farmakonisi), Tragaiai, Tragia(i), or Hyetussa (modern Agathonisi), and what Pliny the Elder calls the Twenty Argiae (modern Marathos, Arkoi, and their surrounding islets; *NH* 5.36).[105] These islands, to which Ikaros (whose *poleis* are Oinoe and Therma; modern Ikaria) and the Korsiai (modern Fournoi) are often added, have come to be called "the Milesian islands."[106] While there is no doubt that most or all of these islands were, one way or another, part of the Milesian civic territory throughout much of the Hellenistic period, the human and physical geography of the area suggests that we should we wary of deeming them necessarily and naturally so, as the name "Milesian islands" implies. While they do lie directly off the coast of the Milesian peninsula, nearly 40 km as the crow flies separate the peninsula's tip from the island of Leros; and Patmos is nearly 60 km. Kalymna, Kos, Halikarnassos (modern Bodrum), Iasos, Priene, and most importantly Samos are all close at hand, encircling the archipelagic Milesian islands.[107]

The evidence we do have for the exploitation of the Milesian islands reveals nothing shocking within the historical geography of the Aegean: despite surficially unpromising aspect, these islands were vigorously exploited. Patmos, "aspra e vulcanica," for example, may figure as one of a number of Aegean islands to be described as a "nasty reef," a "méchant écueil," by the early French traveler Tournefort—another one, Choiseul-Gouffier, is scarcely less critical, calling it "n'est qu'un amas de rochers arides, parmi lesquels quelques vallées sont seules susceptibles

[104] A fourteenth-century Genoese vessel carrying diplomats in haste across the Mediterranean from Italy to Alexandria, for example, traversed the Aegean with stops in Velopoula and Gerakoulia (two uninhabited islands between the Saronic Gulf and the Cyclades proper), Milos, Ios, Amorgos, Levitha (a small island most of the way from Amorgos to Leros), Chalki (another small island, to the west of Rhodes), and Rhodes. Had this ship been bound for Constantinople rather than Alexandria, it would have stopped in at Leros or Patmos on its way north out of the Dodecanese (this island chain in the medieval period was of course home to heavy traffic between these megalopoleis; cf. Balard 2006: 41). See Balard 2006: 61–74 and Map 12 at Horden and Purcell 2000: 140–41. Strabo (14.1.13) describes the "shortest" route from Sounion to the Mykale as stretching essentially one island to the north of the Genoese vessel's itinerary.

[105] On Agathonisi, see Haussoullier 1902: 125 n.4 and Triantafyllidis 2010. On the Argiae, see Pikoulas 1999. In general, see bibliography cited below.

[106] For a vindication of the term—and still a compelling presentation of much crucial evidence—see Haussoullier 1902, although scholars no longer think of the Korsiai as Milesian. Manganaro 1963–1964 remains the fundamental treatment of the epigraphy for these islands; but the best analysis of the institional implications is provided by Piérart 1983a and 1985. Gorman offers a more recent discussion (2001: 48–51), as does Greaves (2002). Gary Reger's summary treatments, in the *Inventory* (732–93, *passim*), are usefully skeptical of some claims of control taken more seriously in most other literature.

[107] Not to mention Ikaros, which is sometimes casually described as "Milesian" based on the story in Strabo mentioned below, even though its two *poleis* were obviously independent and are never credibly attested as under Miletos' control.

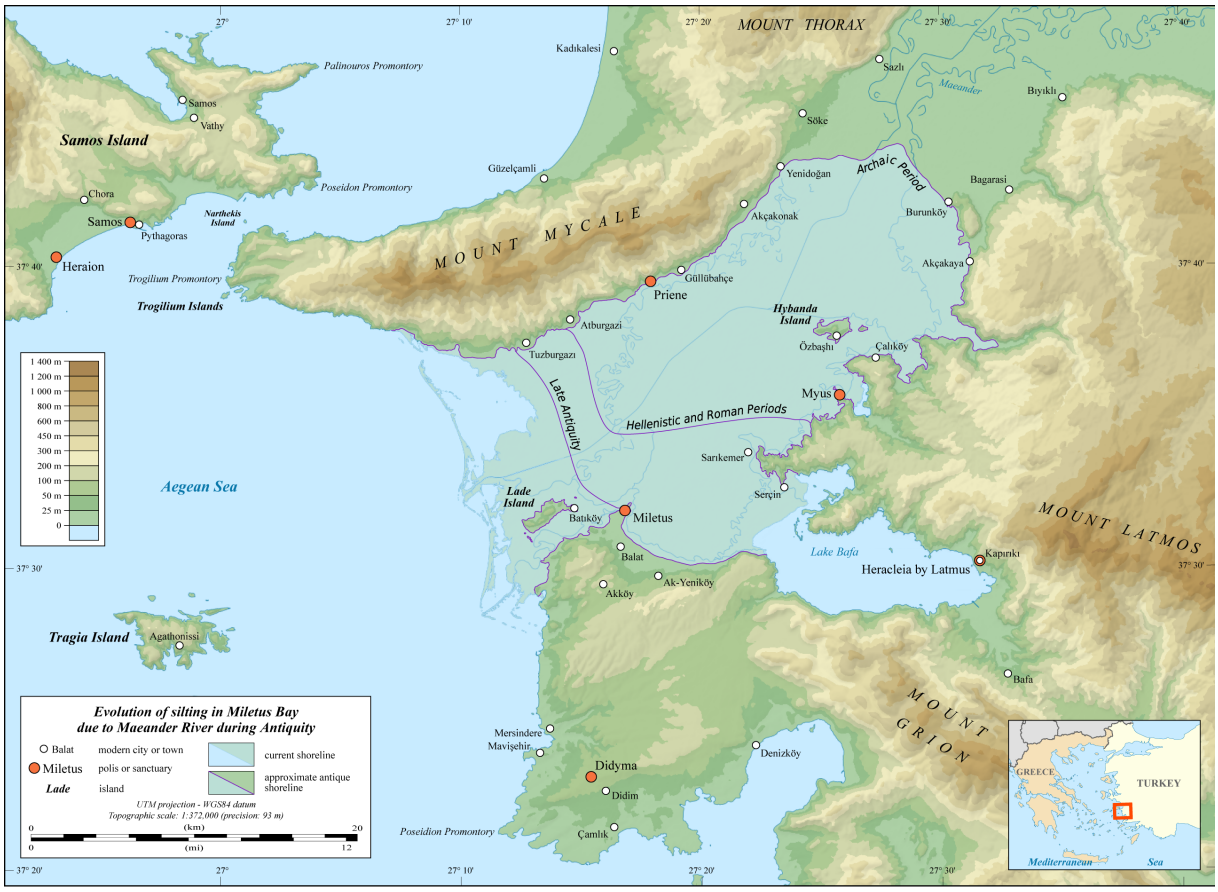

Figure 26: Environs of Miletos (map created by Eric Gaba, Wikimedia Commons user Sting)

de culture"—but the fact is that Patmos held a Hellenistic fortification, an active gymnasium and related association, agricultural production, and animal pasturage (*I. Isole Milesie* 33, l. 3: λει[μῶνα]).[108]

On Agathonisi (Tragia), intermediate in size between Leros and tiny Farmakoussa, the impressive remains an early Byzantine warehouse, comprising several large barrel-vaulted storage galleries, show that the island played a significant role in exchange during late antiquity and the early Medieval period.[109] By the early modern period, the island was largely or wholly uninhabited, and is now—as in the middle and late Byzantine periods—attached administratively to Patmos, having been resettled in the 19th century.[110] Although the island as a whole has not been systematically surveyed, recent excavations by Pavlos Triantafyllidis at the site of Kastraki give an excellent picture of the unexpectedly vibrant economic life of the island during the Hellenistic period. The site is named after the remains of a fort constructed in the early Hellenistic period, possibly in the late fourth century.[111] In the context of the fortification and integration of Miletos' "maritime *chora*," so well attested on other Milesian islands throughout the Hellenistic period, the fort is not unexpected.[112] However, the garrison stationed at the fort was not occupied simply with guarding or patrolling coastal waters. Instead, the excavations have recovered evidence for semi-industrial activities as well as basic food production and processing. Querns and other cereal-processing equipment suggest that foodstuffs were grown on the island, and not simply imported, and the excavators also found a number of lead weights for fishnets and an assortment of bronze fishhooks. Lumps of unprocessed clay and iron slag suggest pottery production and ironworking, and the former is confirmed by the apparent local manufacture of ceramic beehives.[113] Ten thousand fragments of such beehives have been recovered, including one hundred combed-ware extension rings. Triantafyllidis estimates that 800 kg of honey would have been produced annually just from the extension rings, and so presumably vastly more from the hives as a whole—a scale that can only be understood as industrial

[108] The French travelers are quoted by Saffrey, who also gives a brilliant reading of *I. Isole Milesie* 33 (Saffrey 1975: 391–93). The Italian tag is from Manganaro 1963–1964: 329. Tournefort also calls Iraklia a "méchant écueil" (quoted and discussed by Robert 1949). Other islands he dismisses as "méchants écueils" include Serifopoula, Glaronisi, Ktapodia, Makronisi, and more. Patmos, however, is, "un des *plus* méchants écueils de l'Archipel": "découverte, sans bois, et fort seiche, quoiqu'elle ne manque pas de roches ni de montagnes…" (emphasis added). The accuracy of such tropes, of course, routinely falls short of their frequency in the travelers' accounts.

[109] Triantafyllidis 2010 describes the warehouse as early Byzantine, although it is unclear how firm the date is (16, with figs. 6, 9, and 10; cf. Triantafyllidis 2006: 186–92). For the role of a fairly similar, but earlier, Roman warehouse at Tholos in eastern Crete (the Agathonisi structure is known as Tholoi), see Haggis 1996, with the bibliography on *horrea*. For the archaeology and history of Agathonisi in general, also see Triantafyllidis 2006.

[110] Triantafyllidis 2010: 12–14.

[111] Triantafyllidis 2010 and 2015.

[112] Lana Radloff argues that the fortification of these islands combined with the architectural elaboration of the Anatolian "seascape" or "coastscape" integrated the maritime space surrounded by the islands into the city's territory, establishing it as Miletos' "maritime *chora*" (Radloff). For the fortification of the Milesian islands, see Haussoullier 1902 and Manganaro 1963–1964.

[113] Triantafyllidis 2010: 40–42 and, with the earlier literature on ancient beekeeping, Karatasios et al. 2013 and Karatasios and Triantafyllidis 2015.

production for export considering the presumably low population of the island itself.[114] Finally, Kastraki also engaged in murex farming and dye production, like other Aegean islands such as Delos, as evidenced by an extensive tank system.[115]

In short, this one small site on Agathonisi—though it was probably the island's major establishment during the Hellenistic period—amply illustrates the considerable productive and redistributive capacities of the "smaller Mediterranean island."[116] From around 300 BC until after the Augustan period, Kastraki was a thriving and productive garrison community.[117] Half of the coins from Kastraki are Milesian, with the remainder mainly coming from Samos and the cities of Caria; these statistics give a reasonable if necessarily indirect impression of the island's connectivity, channeled through Miletos but suggesting links with cities in the broader region.

As so often, the question is whether and how much this later evidence can be used to demonstrate or infer activity earlier on. It is apparent that Kastraki itself was not occupied before the fort's construction; the only material predating the fourth century are sherds from foundation deposits, including Final Neolithic, Late Minoan I, and a few sherds of Late Archaic finewares.[118] The economic activities explored above were public and officially organized, carried out by those stationed at the fort as a garrison; one beehive was found with an inscription restored by the excavator as [κυ]ψάλια δη[μόσια], "public beehives."[119] As such, this configuration of production is specific to the Hellenistic *phrourion*; yet the resources of the island (or, rather, islands) must have been exploited earlier as well. This exploitation was less systematic, less patterned, and probably substantially less intense. Until the island is scientifically surveyed, any permanent or seasonal settlements, or simple focal points of activity, will remain unknown; but, similarly, Leros—which we know was certainly settled in the Archaic and Classical periods—has likewise left little real trace of that occupation.

Indeed, turning to Leros, this island was clearly more markedly "Milesian" in some sense before the Hellenistic period than Patmos or Tragia. Where Agathonisi has yielded only the scarcest evidence for occupation before the late fourth century, sherd scatters on Leros imply that people were bringing ceramics to the island from Miletos by the end of the eighth century.[120] Occupation in this period probably focused in Agia Marina in the center of the island's east coast.

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[114] On Kyra Panagia, 60-80 kg of honey per year were produced by each beehive, although of course this twentieth-century apiculture differs from that practiced in antiquity (Horden and Purcell 2000: 225). In Karatasios and Triantafyllidis 2015, the figure of extension rings is given as first one hundred and later as one hundred and twenty, which would increase the annual production to 1000 kg.

[115] Triantafyllidis 2010: 32–34; for Delos, see Bruneau 1969, Brunet 1998, and the *Guide*. At Kastraki, the reconfiguration of the tanks probably suggests an increase in the scale of processing over the Hellenistic period, which may indicate that activity in general at the site picked up in the second and first centuries BC.

[116] Horden and Purcell 2000: 224–30.

[117] The Augustan date is furnished by a coin find (Triantafyllidis 2010: 44), but the site was only definitively abandoned, according to the excavator, after an earthquake in 155 or 156 AD (38).

[118] The archaeological contexts for these finds have not yet been published beyond the statement that the Late Archaic sherds were "deep in the foundation levels of the Hellenistic fortification walls" (Triantafyllidis 2015: 96); only the prehistoric material was mentioned in earlier reports.

[119] Triantafyllidis 2015: 102–3.The restoration is clearly plausible, and κυψάλη is attested as a variant for κυψέλη in a third-century papyrus (*LSJ*, s.v.).

[120] Briefly discussed by Bean and Cook 1957: 135 and Benson 1963: 55.

Unfortunately, there have been no proper excavations on Leros, although it has been visited by a notable series of epigraphers, antiquarians, and topographers; no less unfortunately, the ancient testimonia for the island are not very informative.[121] They do confirm, however, that the Lerians were a community in the sixth and early fifth century: the Suda gives a brief biography for Pherekydes of Leros, a historian supposedly born πρὸ ὀλίγου τῆς οε′ ὀλυμπιάδος (i.e., shortly before 480 BC).[122] Slightly less shadowy is Demodokos, an Archaic poet to whom are ascribed some witty, epigrammatic verses quoted in Roman-era texts. The most relevant of them runs as follows: καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου. Λέριοι κακοί· οὐχ ὃ μέν, ὃς δ' οὔ· / πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέους — καὶ Προκλέης Λέριος, or "And this of Demodokos: Lerians are bad; not 'this man's bad, that not'; / they're all bad except Prokles — and Prokles is a Lerian." Another goes ἢν τύχηις πίνων δικάζεο τὴν Πριηνίην δίκην, "when you're drinking to drink, get Prienian justice," a joke—evidently about litigious Prienian overscrupulousness—that makes perfect sense in the mouth of someone living around the Bay of Latmos.[123] Other surviving Demodokos verses similarly insult Cappadocians, Cilicians, and even Milesians. Finally, Strabo quotes the fourth-century Anaximenes of Lampsacus as claiming that Miletos colonized Ikaros and Leros (14.1.6). This testimonium accounts for the occasional inclusion of Ikaros in "the Milesian islands," but there is no other evidence that Miletos ever controlled or incorporated either *polis* on Ikaros, unlike Leros.[124]

On their own, these testimonia would simply indicate that Leros was a small polis that produced a few exceedingly minor literary figures. But there is more.[125] The most well-known anecdote about Leros was that referenced earlier: after the Ionian revolt began to go south, Aristagoras took council with his partisans as to flight: "the opinion of Hekataios son of Hegesander, the writer, was not to set out for any of these [previously suggested places], but to build walls and bide his time [ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν] on the island of Leros, if he had to flee Miletos; setting out from there he could return to Miletos later" (5.124–25). Leros occurs in the first tribute-quota list of 454/3 BC: Μιλέσιοι | [ἐ]χς Λέρο :HHH (*IG* I^3 259 III, 19–20), and in some later lists as simply Λέρος, always in conjuction with Miletos (e.g., *IG* I^3 284, 16, year disputed). I will return to the questions raised by the lists below but note for now that Leros is clearly considered to belong to Milesians and/or Miletos. Finally, as mentioned above, Leros was indisputably a Milesian

[121] To give only the significant twentieth-century visitors: Dawkins and Wace 1905–1906: 172–74; Bean and Cook 1957: 134–35; Benson 1963; Manganaro 1963–1964: 293–302; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 52–54.

[122] *FGrH* 475. Ancient authors named Pherekydes have been very controversial, but there is no reason either to collapse the Lerian with the Athenian Pherekydes, or to deny his existence altogether. In *Brill's New Jacoby*, a passage from Clement is baselessly emended from "Pherekydes the Syrian" to "Pherekydes the Lerian" and then used to buttress an argument that the Suda's date is incorrect and that, therefore, the historian probably did not exist at all, an ontologically baffling procedure. Unfortunately, there is no ancient evidence related to the Lerian Pherekydes, making his existence or otherwise rather unimportant (Fowler 1999: 1 n.3; see this article for an introduction to the broader Pherekydes controversy).

[123] The text of the couplet is as edited by West in *IEG* (fr. 2), but I follow his F manuscript for the one-liner. For a discussion of the somewhat convoluted textual issues, also see West 1974: 171 and Piérart 1985: 296–98.

[124] *Inventory*, s.v.

[125] Leros is mentioned in several other literary sources, including Thucydides, but these testimonia are not helpful for the questions at hand, beyond confirming the obvious fact that Leros has superb harborage. Some testimonia relate to the religious life and mythological connections of the island (see Benson 1963 and Manganaro 1963–1964 for citations), and its main cult of Parthenos is attested epigraphically elsewhere (e.g., *IG* XII 3 440, from Thera).

deme by the later Hellenistic period: δῆμος Λερίων occurs in an even dozen inscriptions from Didyma.[126] On the archaeological front, there is little to go on. Ceramic sherds from the seventh century and on have been reported at various sites, as mentioned earlier. The only architecture predating the later Hellenistic period are two towers or fortresses whose remains are preserved at Partheni, in the northern part of the island, and at Palaiokastro, near Xerokambos above the tip of its southernmost inlet.[127] These could date to the fourth century, but are most unlikely to be earlier.[128] If the Palaiokastro fortification belongs to more than just a small tower, it could be profitably compared to Kastraki, which also looked down into an inlet and was constructed in the late fourth century. Other premodern structures on the island are quite late, and many are medieval.[129]

When did Leros and Teichioussa become part of the extended Milesian chora?[130] The evidence adumbrated above suggests that Leros and other islands may have been considered Milesian before Teichioussa was, but they seem to fall into the same status during the second half of the fifth century. When Miletos was razed in 494, it stands to reason that these distant territories, possibly of ambiguous juridical status and almost certainly venues for vibrant cross-border activity, grew in importance and population as Milesian refugees settled in.[131] When the city of Miletos was placed back under construction in the 470s, perhaps the outlying regions were emptied somewhat, but their presence in the list of 454/3, paying 3T in the case of Leros, indicates that if so they regained prosperity and population quickly.[132] Despite all this, however, the evidence for any kind of local government or intense settlement of Leros or Teichioussa is surprisingly absent until the fourth century.

Herodotus reports (5.28–29) that two generations before Aristagoras of Miletos secured Persian support for his strange venture against Naxos, which led directly to the Ionian revolt, Miletos had been in *stasis* and sent for Parian reconcilers. These Parian καταρτιστῆρες, "setters-straight," went around the Milesian countryside and chose a new government of those few men whose farms were in good order (τοὺς ἀγροὺς εὖ ἐξεργασμένους). Although the historicity of this episode has been doubted for good reason, it reasonably suggests, as did the ritualized Lydian invasion each year discussed above, an intriguing tension between the city's large agricultural resources and its maritime connectivity.[133] For while the implicit assumption that the energetic and organized pursuit of farmholding *oikonomia* would map onto the wise leadership of an oligarchic government is straightforwardly interested and ideological in a familiar way (οἱ ἄριστοι

[126] *I.Didyma* 215 B I, 4; 231 III, 4 etc. (see p. 342, s.v.). See Piérart 1983a and 1985 for the analysis.

[127] Dawkins and Wace 1905–1906: 172–74; Bean and Cook 1957: 134–35; Benson 1963.

[128] The Partheni evidence is less well published because there used to be a military base in northern Leros. The Palaikastro masonry is perfectly characteristic of well-built walls of the fourth century (Dawkins and Wace (1905–1906: 174) opine that "it does not seem earlier than the latter part of the fourth century"), although it is worth pointing out that such dates are very circular, depending as they do on a web of comparisons to other poorly dated walls; the Partheni tower seems sloppier and is accordingly harder to pin down.

[129] Benson 1963.

[130] Cf. Talamo 2003.

[131] Manganaro 1963–1964: 297.

[132] For the rebuilding of the city, see Gorman 2002 and Ehrhardt 2003.

[133] See most recently Guth 2017 with some earlier bibliography on the passage, to which one must add Tozzi 1978 and Balcer 1984a: 227–82.

of the Parians, says Herodotus, came to Miletos), the fact of Parians' being chosen as reconcilers draws on and highlights to the contrary the mercantile connections and far-flung ties of Miletos. In this imagined or real past, roughly around 560 BC, the Milesian chora is presented as a unity, the Μιλησίη, through which the Parian *katartisteres* travel to conduct their autopsy. The story suggests an official history in which the Milesian "heartland" is a compact unity, and possessions far afield play little role. It would obviously be an abuse of the Herodotean passage to treat it as evidence for the organization of the territory of Miletos in the sixth century, but still it is worth noting that no geographical divisions or distribution of membership in the new government across space appear. The simple binary of city and countryside governs Herodotus' Milesian stories here and elsewhere (as in 1.17 above).[134]

In the Hellenistic period, things are quite different. Most scholars agree that there were five Milesian deme units: the Ἀργασεῖς, Καταπολίτιοι, Λέριοι, Πλατεῖς, and Τειχιεσσεῖς.[135] Louis Robert intuited that the Milesian demes were large territorial districts, and it has been definitively established that they bore no relation to the tribal structure.[136] As territorial districts, a Milesian citizen apparently could change deme membership to reflect actual residence.[137] In this, the demes of Miletos are quite different from those of Athens, a fact that disrupts any assumption that the democratic constitution of Miletos was modeled on or copied directly from Athens.[138]

The origin of the demes is accordingly unclear, having nothing necessarily to do with the constitutional turmoil evidenced by the documents of Milesian constitutional history, let alone specifically with the transition to the democratic system or the new, "Attic-style," tribes attested in the later fifth century and again in the fourth. It is curious that there were five demes, for there were also five *proshetairoi* for the *aisymnetes* and, since they were named in the prescript of the Molpoi inscription (Appendix 2, no. IV), we know that on that occasion they belonged to just three of the old Ionian tribes. The Regulations for Miletos also seem to involve five men sent as *archontes* (*IG* I^3 21, ll. 4, 42, 62, 71). Robertson argued that the five-deme system goes back to the fifth century, assuming that the *proshetairoi* were chosen one from each deme.[139]

The main evidence that this is not the case comes from the islands' epigraphy, ignored by Robertson.[140] Second-century inscriptions from Lepsia, for example, were enacted with

[134] The only exception is at 6.20, describing the partition of the large countryside between the Persians and the Carians, but the division is geographical, not juridical or conceptual, in its basis.

[135] Jones 1987: 323–34, with sketchier evidence for as many as seven demes, but cf. Piérart 1983a: 9–15; also see Piérart 1985.

[136] Piérart 1983a and 1985.

[137] In *Didyma* II, p. 171, Rehm already pondered "hängt die Demenzugehörigkeit einfach von der Lage der Wohnung ab?" (Piérart 1983a: 13).

[138] Milesian constitutional change is discussed briefly below and more extensively in Appendix 2.

[139] Robertson 1987: 365–66. However, if that were the case, it might make more sense if the Molpoi inscription gave demotics rather than tribal affiliation for the *proshetairoi*; and it does not *a priori* seem likely that the aristocratic families providing the *stephanephoroi* would be distributed across the entire Milesian territory rather than concentrated in the city, although in the *basse époque hellénistique* the prophets of Didyma were chosen one per deme (Piérart 1983a and 1985). Scholars other than Robertson have also been troubled by the mismatch between the tribes and the *proshetairoi*, at times conjecturing that the five men changed midway through the year, so that the other three tribes would be represented as well.

[140] Piérart 1983a and 1985, drawing conclusions from *I. Isole Milesie*, the important corpus assembed by Manga-

phrases such as ἔδοξε Μιλησίων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν | ἐν Λ[ε]ψίαι or ἔδοξε τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς κατοικο[ῦσιν] | ἐν Λεψίαι (*I. Isole Milesie* 18, ll. 1–2, and no. 19, ll. 1–2).[141] Third- and second-century decrees from Leros offer, by contrast, the enactment formulae [δεδόχθαι Λερίοις τοῖς κατ]οικοῦσιν ἐν Λέρωι (*I. Isole Milesie* 3, l. 17) and ἔδοξε Λερίων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν | ἐν Λέρωι (*I. Isole Milesie* 2, l. 2–3). These clauses, especially the surprising "Lerians, those resident on Leros," are the main evidence that the deme of Leros officially included the other islands; hence, one could be a "Lerian" living on Patmos or Lepsia, while still participating in a local assembly delimited by the phrase "the citizens living on Lepsia" rather than "the Lepsians."[142] The earliest relevant inscription from the islands, however, refers instead to τοὺς ἐν τῆι νήσωι κατοικοῦντας τῶν [πο|λι]τῶν, δεδόχθαι τῆι ἐκκλησίαι ἐπηινῆσθ[αι] | Ἑκαταῖον ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῶν ἐλ Λέρω[ι] (*I. Isole Milesie* 1, ll. 4–6).[143] The inhabitants of the island are simply "those of the citizens living on the island" or "the *oiketores* in Leros," so Piérart argues that the deme system must postdate this inscription, for otherwise the inhabitants would have designated themselves as "the Lerians, those resident on Leros." The diversity of formulae, each text different from the next, and the similarity of this early Lerian formula to the later Lepsian ones, render his argument somewhat less than absolutely compelling. But the insistence in the Athenian tribute lists on the trio of Miletos, Leros, and Teichioussa fits ill with any inference that the five-deme system was already at that time in place, as Robertson believed; and the Herodotean stories give no reason to suspect its presence in the sixth century.[144] Thus, Piérart's insistence on the difference between the variations on the οἱ κατοικοῦντες phrase, on the one hand, and οἱ Λέριοι on the other, may indeed demonstrate that the deme system does not predate the middle of the fourth century.

3.3: Tributary extraction and local government at Leros and Teichioussa

Formally speaking, then, Leros is only attested as a part of Miletos beginning in the tribute lists, but its status (as deme, "cleruchy," or something else) is there uncertain; and yet the Herodotean

naro 1963–1964.

[141] There is apparently no difference between Μιλήσιοι and πολῖται, and the former text goes on to praise its honorand for being τῶν τε πολιτῶν | τοῖς κατοικούσι[ν] ἐν Λεψίαι καὶ κοινῆι κα[ὶ] | ἰδίαι ἀνένκλητον (ll. 10–12).

[142] However, one of the inscriptions from Lepsia also mentions the δῆμος τῶν Λεψιέων (*I. Isole Milesie* 18, l. 19), complicating the picture.

[143] This text probably dates to the middle of the fourth century or slightly later (Manganaro 1963–1964: 303).

[144] A general further caution against the Athenocentric and overly rigid scholarly model in which all of one's juridical affiliations were diachronically fixed and hence often failed to coincide with actual geographical residence is provided by the emerging case of Argive civic nomenclature, yet another less static and idealized form of civic organization than the Athenian model. With fresh clarity provided by the new archive of fourth-century bronze tablets, Kritzas and Piérart have both argued that the citizen body at Argos was classified under two separate rubrics, each furnishing an associative label to his name: each citizen belonged to a φάτρα and a πεντεκοστύς (one also belonged to a tribe, but these were sets of phatries and hence implied by naming the phatra; additionally, of course, the patronymic was used to specify literal paternity). The one was genealogical, the other evidently territorial. See Piérart 1983b (cf. Charneux 1984); Kritzas 2006; Piérart 2014. Since most of the attested pentekostys names are also the names of villages, komai, most scholars refer to the geographical label in Argive names as the "kometic" (Piérart 2014: 221). Argos, then, offers an example where we must see "la coexistence de deux systèmes d'enregistrement de la population, le premier fondé sur l'appartenance personnelle à une tribu et donc une phatra, le second déterminé par le lieu d'origine des personnes. . ." (Piérart 2014: 222).

evidence suggests that it was probably the island most important to Miletos just after 500 BC, while the other testimonia and archaeological evidence combine to suggest that it hosted a permanent settlement by the sixth century if not earlier.[145] Leros is significantly larger than the other Milesian islands and offers correspondingly more agricultural territory, while also being penetrated by several large bays that provide excellent harborage. In combination with the more general consideration that Miletos founded so many colonies and evidently fully exploited its seaborne connectivity, it therefore seems beyond reasonable doubt that Leros was settled by Milesians throughout the Archaic period.

The distinction between deme, cleruchy, and colony is particularly ill-suited to the Milesian case. At a basic level, two variables are implicated in this distinction—retention or loss of citizenship; the territorial extent of the homeland—and the Athenian solution as rigidly codified by modern historians is hardly the only one possible. If a cleruchy is "a settlement of Athenian citizens living abroad" but can also "in every way . . . be regarded as an extension of the Athenian state overseas," it is unclear what either "abroad" or "overseas" means, particularly inasmuch as inhabitants of small islands offshore were not considered overseas simply because a span of water intervened.[146] If the Athenian system did rigidly distinguish between deme (or δῆμος), cleruchy, and colony—which it in fact did not—the designation of Athenian communities as the one or the other did not follow any similarly rigid logic.[147] Very great distances from the home territory are implicated in the Athenian cleruchies on Lemnos or Imbros, for example, while Aigina is close at hand.[148] No doubt, sentiments of ancestral territoriality play a significant role in this issue, but particularly in the absence of any clear way to get at these sentiments other than by studying their inferred effects, we cannot expect other poleis or other parts of the Greek world to have employed the same institutional schemata as Athens. Moreover, Miletos' lengthy yet intermittent and perhaps contested exploitation of Leros, Patmos, and the other Milesian islands must be seen as crucial. It could and perhaps should have bestowed on the islands qualities that, in the Athenian imaginary, were intermediate between "deme" and "colony" or "cleruchy," institutional terminology that there is in any case no warrant for applying to Miletos, especially before the deme system was implemented in late Classical or Hellenistic times.[149]

As we saw above, the quasi-statelike associations more like demes, such as the Marathonian tetrapolis, are fairly visible thanks to the publicization of their cultic activities, while the hamlet–kome is considerably less well attested in Attica. Inscriptions from the Milesian islands are lacking for our period, but Attica does actually offer a case that is in fact intermediate in just the right ways to help explain what is happening on Leros. The island of Salamis offers significant illumination of the flexible ways in which territorial conceptions intersected

[145] My conclusions here differ little from those of previous scholars.

[146] Graham 1964: 167; cf. Gauthier 1980.

[147] Thus Graham, for example, points out that the cleruchy on Imbros can easily refer to itself as a δῆμος; his thorough review of the fifth-century cleruchy concept shows not only terminological flexibility in this earlier period but also conceptual instability (Graham 1964: 166–92); see in particular his conclusions on pp. 184, 189.

[148] See Graham 1964: 167–68, 191–92.

[149] And then, of course, the demes were very different from the Attic model, as affiliation was not hereditary.

with juridical ideas about citizenship.[150] For the community of Athenians living on this island, nearly plugging in the opening of the Gulf of Eleusis between Athens and Megara, apparently existed by the time of the Cleisthenic reforms, but it never held its own deme or demes. Instead, as a great volume of evidence shows, those living on Salamis continued to be juridically attached to their ancestral demes. Yet they possessed formal institutions and passed decisions as the "demos of Athenians on Salamis" or the "demos of Salaminioi" engaging in activities quite similar to those we see in the epigraphic record from Leros and other Milesian islands.[151] Taylor has evocatively described Salamis as an "unofficial demos," and it highlights the limits of a rigid distinction between deme, cleruchy, colony, etc. For Salamis was none of these: though it meets the basic definition of a cleruchy as "a settlement of Athenian citizens living abroad," Taylor successfully demonstrates that the Salaminians were not cleruchs.[152] The case thus shows how flexible these systems could be, and how easily and naturally extended. For while the deme of Salamis may have been "unofficial" in constitutional terms, there was nothing unofficial about its demos, composed as it was of citizens. At the same time, the case is no less revelatory of the limits of these rigid Athenian structures, for Salamis, unlike Leros, did not become a deme of the Attic state. The Athenians refused to adapt the inflexible Cleisthenic deme structure to the territorial realities of physical settlement, perhaps in scrupulous fidelity to a specific idea of the Athenian χώρα (or, better, γῆ).

Mutatis mutandis, Leros was probably similar. A community of Milesians existed there and exercised governmental functions *qua* Milesian citizen community, perhaps calling themselves "the Milesian citizens resident on Leros" and similar names. Unlike Salamis, however, Leros–and Teichioussa, if its history is similar–eventually became an official deme. Further unlike Salamis, its institutional development was fueled after the Persian Wars by Athenian imperial extractive requirements that preyed on the geographically conditioned revenue endowments of the Milesian islands.

A narrative of institutional development explains, better than do current accounts, the fluctuation in the Athenian tribute lists between Milesians from Leros and Teichioussa appearing separately from Miletos itself, only the city appearing, and Miletos, Leros, and Teichioussa later appearing as a collectivity. This strange pattern has been tied in to the overarching constitutional history of Miletos in the fifth century, which must accordingly be briefly reviewed here. Debate on this issue has gone on for more than a century, yet the paradigm established during the study of the Athenian tribute lists in the first half of the last century has eroded since 1970 only in a slow and halting fashion. The documents—the Athenian tribute lists, the "imperial regulations for Miletos" (*IG* I^3 21), an inscription imposing exile on certain individuals from Miletos (the Blutinschrift or Banishment Decree, *Milet* VI/I 187), the Molpoi inscription (*Milet* I/3 133), two horoi (?) with the old-style Ionic tribes (*Milet* VI/3 1380–81), two sacred laws (*Milet* VI/3 1218 and 1220) that evidence Athenian-style democratic prescripts, a newly published second Athenian decree related to Miletos (*Milet* VI/3 1020), the fourth-century Stephanephoros list (*Milet* I/3 122), and a comment in the Old Oligarch's *Athenaion Politeia*

[150] Taylor 1997.
[151] Taylor 1997; *IG* II^2 1260, 3206, etc.
[152] Definition of a cleruchy: Graham 1964: 167; Salaminians not cleruchs: Taylor 1997.

about Athenian support for oligarchic government in Miletos (3.11)—are discussed in detail in Appendix 2. These pieces have been fitted together in many ways, often differing only in which pieces are considered relevant or in the specific timelines reconstructed for alterations in the Milesian constitution.[153]

The accounts fall into two main narrative lines, however. An older view held that Miletos was in revolt in the 450s, subdued in 453, and placed under firm Athenian control by *IG* I³ 21 in 450/49 (and its now-lost antecedents), resulting in a democratic government that revolted at least once in the 440s and again in 412. Refinements of this general view add into the 450s revolt civil strife between pro-Persian and pro-Athenian parties or democrats and oligarchs in general (Glotz's idea of a Neleid aristocracy). The new narrative bows to arguments against the historical reconstruction of Miletos' being in revolt from the Athenian empire, but preserves the underlying idea that the pattern in the tribute lists is evidence for violent strife within the Milesian state. A posited *stasis* in the 450s explains the supposedly problematic partition of the overall Milesian tribute between Miletos and "the Milesians of Leros" and "of Teichioussa," appearing in two different parts of the list.[154]

The ultimate foundation of the earlier view that saw a Milesian revolt from Athenian control in 454/3—a view that seemed to confirm the placement of *IG* I³ 21 in 450/49, as its more careful readers saw it as only one of a series of Regulations for Miletos—was the absence of Miletos from the first tribute list in 454/3. Before 1972, that first list contained only

Μιλέσιοι
[ἐ]χς Λέρο :HHH
[Μι]λέσιοι
[ἐκ Τ]ειχιόσσε[ς : — —]

(*IG* I³ 259, col. VI ll. 19–22)

and made no mention of Miletos itself. As a result, following the then-fashionable hermeneutic, scholars assumed that Miletos was in revolt in that year, a suggestion that quickly became accepted as fact and was retained even after contrary evidence emerged. For in 1972 Meritt published a new fragment which he assigned to the third column of the first list.[155] The relevant section of the list thereafter read:

Αἰγάντ[.....]ΔΗΗΙΙ
Νεοπο[.....]
Μιλέ[.....]
Ἀκρ[.....]ι :HHH
Κο[.....]ιοι :HHH

(*IG* I³ 259, col. III ll. 17–21)

Meritt restored this segment as follows:

[153] See Gorman 2001: 216–41, Jensen 2010: 79–111, and Paarmann 2014 for three recent historical syntheses with discussions of the history of scholarship.

[154] Mattingly was actually the first to suggest this interpretation, to my knowledge, but it was developed into a full theory only by Noel Robertson (Mattingly 1979: 329–33 = Mattingly 1996: 170–74; Robertson 1987).

[155] Meritt 1972.

Αἰγάντ[ιοι :ΔΔ]ΔΗΗΗΙΙ
Νεοπο[λῖται ἐκ ^{vv}]
Μιλέ[το ἐν Λευκôι]
Ἀκρ[οτερίο]ι :ΗΗΗ
Κο[λοφόν]ιοι :ΗΗΗ

(*IG* I^3 259, col. III ll. 17–21)

Although the most natural restoration in line 19 was Μιλέ[σιοι — —], Meritt does not give this possibility much consideration: "One must consider these Neopolitai [in line 18] in connection with the Milesians of line 19, for Miletos in 454/3 was in revolt from Athens, and loyal Milesians paid tribute, if at all, from the places where they had taken refuge."[156] Instead, he arrived at the idea of a third group of Milesians, like those at Leros and Teichioussa, on the "White Promontory," a toponym drawn solely from the imperial Roman geographer Pomponius Mela's mention of a *litus Leuca* near Halikarnassos.[157] As Piérart immediately pointed out, this restoration is tendentious at best.[158] Instead of taking the new fragment as evidence for Milesian tribute payment in 454/3, then, Meritt managed to take it as confirmation for the opposite view.[159] But if Miletos did pay tribute in the first year of the lists, then the suggestion that it was in revolt in the 450s loses all support, particularly since *IG* I^3 21 is no longer dated to 450/49. Yet this adjustment leaves another problem in its wake, namely, why are there three distinct Milesian communities recorded in the list; and why are they separated from one another in cols. III and VI?

External revolt ruled out, internal strife is immediately evident as a possible explanation. Robertson accordingly suggested that Leros and Teichioussa's separate payments are those of "splinter groups" with the city fallen into *stasis* (to which he connects the Regulations, retaining the high date).[160] This theory has been picked up by Sean Jensen in his recent dissertation on collective payment and sub-hegemonies in the tribute lists.[161] Their idea is that these two outlying communities remained loyal to Athens and continued to insist on their identity as Milesians, while the facts on the ground—their lack of control over Miletos itself—could not fail to be reflected (by stipulation) in the list. Chinese Taipei would offer, on this theory, an analogue for Lerians claiming to represent the true Milesian state while waiting for historical reality to catch up to ideology. The problem with Robertson's theory is that Milesians, Leros, and Teichioussa recur separately named in later lists beginning perhaps in 427/6.[162] For example:

[156] Meritt 1972: 406. But the obvious conclusion was that Miletos did pay tribute and hence was not in revolt, since the absence of the former furnished the grounds for supposing the latter.

[157] Meritt 1972: 407.

[158] "La théorie de B. D. Meritt, survivance de l'hypothèse d'Adélaide Dunham est purement gratuite": Piérart 1974: 164. (Dunham was the first to suggest the Milesian revolt in 454/3.) For a concise overview of the scholarship, see now Paarmann 2014.

[159] Piérart also argued that not only is Meritt's restoration special pleading but also that it is in fact (epigraphically) impossible; I do not find this part of his argument entirely convincing, but see Paarmann 2014.

[160] Robertson 1987: 390–97.

[161] Jensen 2010.

[162] Piérart has argued that this 427/6 list should be moved down a year, so that the naming practice would then correspond to a single assessment period, as perhaps prescribed in *IG* I^3 71, col. I ll. 121–22.

	— — — —	Μιλέσιοι
16	— — — —	Λέρος
	— — — II	Τειχιδσσα

(*IG* I³ 284, ll. 15–17)

and

88	*vacat*	Μι[λέσιοι]
	X	Λέρ[ος]
		Τειχ[ιδσσα]

(*IG* I³ 285, col. I ll. 88–90)

Although the exact form differs, the naming of the three communities in these later lists seems to require basic interpretive consistency.[163] If it means *stasis* in 454/3, it should also mean *stasis* in the 420s. Accordingly, Robertson concluded that "the civic government [at Miletos] did not control the outlying territory [at Leros and Teichioussa in 454/3], though this territory was likewise subject to Athens. The same disunity prevailed in 427/6 or 426/5…."[164] Jensen, by contrast, entertains the possibility that the later recurrence of Leros and Teichioussa could be "*apotaxis* not caused by or reflective of civil unrest" in line with many other cases he examines.[165] He brilliantly suggests as well that the partial autonomy of Leros and Teichioussa reflected in the tribute list of 454/3 could result from their development and growing self-sufficiency as far-flung Milesian outposts after the obliteration of the city itself in 494. This interpretation would seem to contradict and supersede the need to posit *stasis* in that year, but would in turn raise the question of why Miletos evidently appears alone in subsequent lists until the 420s. A third possibility, not considered by Robertson or Jensen, is that the variation reflects simple realities of the tribute's collection and shipment to Athens. Piérart notes in passing that the differences between the lists "pouvent s'expliquer par le système de perception de l'impôt."[166]

I would go further and suggest that Piérart's aside offers the only seriously plausible explanation for the variation. On the *stasis* theory, we must believe not only that there was a preexisting allocation of Miletos's total tribute amount across Leros and Teichioussa, so that each "splinter group" would know how much to pay, but more problematically that these groups, engaged in a fierce struggle over the city, nevertheless took the expense and trouble to collect a large amount of *phoros*—three talents from Leros, an unknown amount from Teichioussa and Miletos itself—and send it to Athens in the midst of their *stasis*.[167] If revolt from Athens lies at one extreme of the spectrum of possibilities, at the other end the separate recording could simply reflect the temporal distance between the delivery of three installments of tribute. Perhaps the actual

[163] For more exhaustive citations of the relevant tribute lists, see Piérart 1985: 287–92 and Paarmann 2014: 122–23.

[164] His inference only applies to the first year, apparently, because he also writes that "when the three places are named as paying jointly in the assessment of 425 and in the following lists, we cannot know whether the dissension persists, or a habit of record-keeping"; see Robertson 1987: 397 and 394.

[165] Jensen 2010: 95.

[166] Piérart 1985: 291.

[167] Jensen and others argue that Leros represents all the Milesian islands, whatever that may have meant in the middle of the fifth century, and he shows how 3T is actually a reasonable sum for these islands together (2010: 94). The Hellenistic deme of Leros, as seen above, probably encompassed all the islands.

individuals who took charge of its conveyance wanted to have the participation of their localities recorded, thereby vying for recognition with their *polis* identity as Milesians. While Robertson's *stasis* theory is a reasonable midpoint between these extremes, I prefer to combine Jensen and Piérart's observations and push them further.

What I would suggest is that the fluctuation between multiple modes for recording the tribute of Miletos is neither meaningless nor necessarily a sign of political disturbances.[168] Rather, it is a sign of greater integration of Milesian territories into the state and of the city's evolving fiscality. The fact that "Milesians," Milesians from Leros," and "Milesians from Teichioussa" paid separate amounts in the first list can mean one of only three things: they paid as much as they could, they paid a predetermined rate (e.g., along the lines of the *eikoste* imposed decades later), or they had preexisting assessments as communities. Given the round figure Leros paid and the assessment-oriented nature of the *phoros*, only the last possibility is reasonable. Thus, in 454, Leros, Teichioussa, and Miletos each had a separate assessment. This crucial fact has not been recognized. In the lost decades of the Delian League's *phoros* system, did the three pay separately as well? It seems likely, and as Jensen pointed out this would be a logical result of the tenuous status of Miletos as a polity in the 470s.[169]

When, after the first list, Leros and Teichioussa are evidently recorded only as part of Miletos (paying 10T at first and 5T later), the shift is probably due to simplification and rationalization of the brand-new record-keeping system after its inaugural Athenian year, rather than the fortuitously timed end of an implausible *stasis* that had not stopped the city's three factions from sending in their tribute.[170] Exactly why Leros and Teichioussa are explicitly mentioned again in the later lists is harder to say. Jensen and Constantakopoulou have independently pursued similar interpretations of the phenomena of *apotaxis* and *synteleia*, the breaking-apart and paying-together of corporate groups of communities, in the tribute lists.[171] Both argue in different idioms that these phenomena reflect changes in local-level institutions, rather than a top-down Athenian attempt to disrupt local hegemonies or to increase tribute income. Since the change under discussion was apparently formalized in (or possibly instituted by) the Thoudippos reassessment decree of 425/4, it is unlikely to result from a *stasis*, as Robertson is compelled to assume. It can only represent a deliberate policy choice negotiated in some way by Miletos and Athens. The key may be the difference in the way the subsidiary communities are recorded,

[168] A relationship between *IG* I^3 21, and its antecedents, and the return of the split record-keeping at the same time certainly seems likely, but in the absence of better evidence for those regulations (and any *stasis* to which they could perhaps respond) little can be said. As Mattingly and more recently Papazarkadas observed, however, Thucydides' narrative of Athenian campaigning in 425 and 424 "are the first time we explicitly hear of Milesians participating in Athenian expeditions" (Papazarkadas 2009: 71; cf. Mattingly 1961: 176).

[169] Gorman has convincingly emphasized that Herodotus' account of the city's destruction must be taken seriously (Gorman 2002). Milesian *sympoliteia* agreements attested by Hellenistic inscriptions are unusually broad or generous, offering a full "right of return" which, as Gorman ingeniously argues, could have to do with the repopulation of the city after the Battle of Mykale, as it drew on its famously numerous colonies for manpower. For a different view, see Ehrhardt 2003, emphasizing institutional continuity across this period.

[170] The lists are often rather fragmentary, and caution must be attached to all such claims as "only Miletos itself appears."

[171] Jensen 2010 (general treatment with many case studies) and 2012 (on Erythrai); Constantakopoulou 2013 (on Rhodes).

no longer as "Milesians from Leros" as in the first list, but as "Milesians | Leros | Teichioussa," and no longer in separate places on the list but in one entry. Thus, Leros and Teichioussa are explicitly present in the account, receiving credit for the Milesian tithe to Athena, each line given a separate amount, but they are not to be construed as independent polities out of step with Miletos.

3.4. Conclusions

Returning to the general framework of sub-polis, regional settlement or community cooperation introduced above, the endpoint of the present analytical trajectory becomes clear. In the *longue durée*, I argue, Athenian imperialism (and Persian withdrawal) created both a space for the redevelopment of a large Milesian territory and state and, indirectly, encouraged the development of state institutions beyond the merely military out in these distant sites.[172] The flexible nature of communal governance in the islands indicated by the lack of regularity in their decrees' enactment formulae, surveyed above, corresponds to the varied nature of economic activity—agricultural activity, quasi-industrial production, transshipment taxation, and specialization in products like wool and textile production and goat husbandry—rapidly fluctuating over time and space in the variable environment of the small Milesian islands.[173]

A few further features of Milesian epigraphy might help support my contention. The tiny fragment bearing the inscription *Milet* VI/3 1020 (see **VII** in Appendix 2) has already made a splash among epigraphers. The begining of the decree proper is scrappy but incredibly tantalizing: [τ]άδε οἱ ϙυγ[γραφῆς συνέγραψαν· —3—4—]|[.]ιος ὑπηῤ[———].[174] In the understandable rush to connect this inscription to *IG* I^3 21 (l. 12: ὑπερετῆν [δ]ὲ τού[τοις]), it has not yet been noted that ὑπηρετεῖν does not merely have a "technical financial meaning" in Ionia, but is, more specifically, a relatively common verb in Milesian inscriptions.[175] Thus, the important sacred law *Milet* VI/3 1220, of 379/8, ends ὁ δὲ ταμίας ὑπηρετησάτω (l. 22), "let the treasurer supply the funds" for inscribing the stele (see **VI** in Appendix 2). Hellenistic inscriptions more routinely contain it, often in conjunction with ἀνήλωμα/ἀνάλωμα (a representative sample: *Milet* I/2 10, l. 39; 1/3 135, ll. 31–32 [dating before Alexander?]; VI/3 1040, l. 9; *I. Isole Milesie* 2, l. 29, and no. 3, l. 30). I do not see why this fiscal meaning should be dismissed in connection with either *Milet* VI/3 1020 or *IG* I^3 21, although it has always been assumed that in the Athenian context ὑπηρετεῖν denotes "its proper meaning" of naval service. Yet Peter Liddel has shown that in at least one comparable case the Athenians "employed locally-familiar language . . . it is possible that the proposer, or perhaps a party of documentary commissioners (*syngrapheis*), had a working knowledge of Ionian technical language. . ."[176] If ὑπηρετεῖν is one such piece of vocabulary, with enduring use in an Ionian expenditure formula, then its usage in the Regulations might likewise take on lo-

[172] Persian withdrawal, rather than continued engagement in Xerxes' project of Aegean conquest, has been highlighted as a fortuitous but necessary, and often underplayed, precondition for the development of the Delian League and its incorporation of Ionia: Balcer 1984a and 1984b.

[173] Manganaro 1963–1964.

[174] Text of Matthaiou 2008.

[175] Matthaiou 2008: 85.

[176] Matthaiou 2008: 85; Liddel 2010: 121.

cal color. The word's appearance in the new fragment could give us a limited glimpse into the interaction between Athenian power and local governmentality.

The major board of public officials in the Milesian islands was the χρυσονόμοι.[177] Decrees, we saw, were enacted variously by the ἐκκλησία, δῆμος, οἱ Λέρίοι, οἱ κατοικοῦντες, and in one case an unoffical act by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν λαμπαδιστῶν τῶν ἐν Πάτμωι καὶ με|τεχόντων τοῦ ἀλείμματος (*I. Isole Milesie* 32, ll. 1–3); and the islands' governance also included, as might be expected, the offices of γραμματεύς and φρουράρχος.[178] But each island also had its board of χρυσονόμοι who were responsible for handling public incomes and expenditures: τὸ δὲ ἐσόμενον | εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάλωμα ὑπηρετῆσα[ι] | τοὺς χρυσονόμους καὶ ἐγγράψα[σ]|θαι εἰς τὸν λόγον (*I. Isole Milesie* 2, ll. 28–31), τό δέ ψήφισμα τὸ]δε ἀναγράψαι τοὺς χρυ|[σονόμους εἰς στήλην λιθίνην κ]αὶ ἀναθεῖναι εἰ(ς) τὸ ἱερὸν | [τῆς Παρθένου] ... τὸ δ'ἐσόμενον ἀνά|[λωμα] ὑπηρετῆσαι] τοὺς χρυσονόνμους... (*I. Isole Milesie* 3, ll. 26–28 and 29–30), and so on.[179] Even the private association of λαμπαδίσται on Patmos had its own board of χρυσονόμοι mirroring the official magistracy (*I. Isole Milesie* 32, l. 11). The board handles not only fiscal matters but also, if the restoration in *I. Isole Milesie* 3 is correct, could be given the responsibility for carrying out the inscription of some decrees.

No other boards are attested in the Milesian islands. I infer that the importance of the Hellenistic χρυσονόμοι is indicative for the nature of communal governance in the islands, suggesting an intense focus on fiscality that results from the *ad hoc* and fluid landscape of production and distribution in the islands. While at Kastraki on Agathonisi in the Hellenistic period this kind of activity was focalized through the *phrourion*, the broader institutional picture traced here shows that the islands needed to develop other mechanisms for handling the commons as well as public revenue and expenses. The tribute payment system played a role in this trajectory, as did related features of Athenian imperialism and its interaction with Milesian governmentality. The landscape of production and distribution in the Milesian islands, we saw, intensified after the fourth century, but the evidence of the lists themselves as well as more circumstantial inferences show that there was also much public money to be extracted from Leros (at least) in the fifth century as well. Thus, in *Milet* VI/3 1020, it is possible that the opening clause of the decree proper involved the fiscal structures of the islands and expenditures as something like, *exempli gratia*, ὑπηρετῆσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τ|ῶν κατοικούντων τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι, ὑπηρετῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τ|ῶν κατοικούντων τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι, or ὑπηρετεῖν τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπὸ (*vel* ἐκ) τ|ῶν κατοικούντων τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι, etc.; and if no connection is made between the preserved ὑπηρ– word and κατοικούντων (if that supplement is right), innumerable further possibilities emerge. These restorations are of course imaginative, but what they help show is that the interpretation (and consequent supplementation) of the new fragment as well as *IG* I³ 21 is much less certain than supposed. If these imperial regulations do date to the 420s, as seems likely, they could suggest a reconfiguration of the modalities of tribute collection in Miletos. Such evolution is undeniably evident in the tribute lists of this period and, even if the arguments developed over the preceding paragraphs

[177] This magistracy is epigraphically unattested outside Miletos.

[178] For the inimitably Hellenistic concept of "having a share in the oil," see Curty 2009 (especially Fröhlich 2009) and Kaye 2012: 41–69, and, on this particular text, Fröhlich 2013: 86–87.

[179] See also *I. Isole Milesie* 4, ll. 9–12; 5, ll. 10–11; and, at Miletos, another dozen—very late—attestations giving the name of a χρυσονόμος in the prescript. On the phrase εἰς τόν λόγον as dealing with an accounting register, see Ogereau 2014.

are rejected, we have ample reason to understand that reconfiguration as part of the changing landscape of fiscality and the insitutional structure that accompanied it.

Apotaxis was a response to the evolving extractive demands of the Athenian empire as they interfaced with local fiscality.[180] The deme system of Hellenistic Miletos does not go back to the fifth century, but the territorial distribution underlying the demes obviously has roots in the Archaic period. Khares' dedication already showed that Teichioussa was a defined polity or community, whether Milesian or not.[181] Yet these territorial concepts were not formally developed nor did they produce material effects to rival with the city proper.[182] After the destruction of the city, preexisting foci of economic and military activity in the islands on Leros and at Teichioussia in the far southeast of the Milesian *chora* absorbed refugees and assumed new importance. When Miletos joined the Delian League in the 470s, Miletos, Leros, and Teichioussa were understood to be part of the same *polis* but were assessed separately. They apparently continued to pay separately through whatever perturbations the city underwent before 453/2, when the Athenians simplified their record keeping for the tithe of *phoros* after the first year of the new system. In this perspective, the development of Leros and Teichioussa from 500 to 300 BC, from local nodes within the variegated network of Milesian and Aegean interactions into centers of taxation and expenditure, participating in the moral and political honorific economies of the Hellenistic polis, is to a considerable degree the result of their obligation to develop extractive capabilities and fiscal governance in order to pay Athens tribute. A characteristic aftermath of the collision of imperial power and indigenous systems is the lasting imprint of the former on the latter even long after its withdrawal: "the rot remains with us, the men are gone."[183] The reappearance of Leros and Teichioussa in the lists of the 420s signals not the return of *stasis* to Miletos, but ever-strengthening Milesian control over its vast territory, slowly reintegrated over the fifty years after the Battle of Mykale, and the coordination of the civic tribute burden across its constituent subprocesses and divisions. In this way, Athenian imperial extraction left its imprint on the communities that became Milesian demes, just as Athenian imperial democracy left its traces in the Milesian constitution.

[180] Perdrizet 1909; Jensen 2010.

[181] Talamo 2003: 159–64 suggests that a (supposed) division of Milesian territory into areas each governed by an ἀρχός goes back to the sixth century; see also p. 171.

[182] The Akbük site identified as Teichioussa yields pottery from the late seventh century into the Classical period; the one further to the south at Kazıklı has a fortification that ought to be fifth-century in date (see above, n. ZZ, and Herda 2006a: 340–41). Yet the inscriptions from Kazıklı are almost all quite late and neither site has produced much in the way of evidence for an Archaic settlement.

[183] Derek Walcott, "Ruins of a Great House," l. 37; reprinted in Walcott 1986: 19–21.

Conclusion

> "To the ostent of the senses and eyes, I know, the influences which stamp the world's history are wars, uprisings or downfalls of dynasties, changeful movement of trade, important inventions, navigation, military or civil governments, advent of powerful personalities, conquerors, etc. These of course play their part; yet, it may be, a single new thought, imagination, abstract principle, even literary style, fit for the time, put in shape by some great literatus, and projected among mankind, may duly cause changes, growths, removals, greater than the longest and bloodiest war, or the most stupendous merely political, dynastic, or commercial overturn." (Walt Whitman)

The main claim of this dissertation is that Athenian imperialism functioned by appropriating other forms of practice and interaction, reshaping them to its own ends. I began by arguing that the Athenian empire is indeed an empire, the desire of some to avoid the word notwithstanding. It was distinctive not so much because of its profoundly naval character, although that clearly determined much of its history, but because of an elusive yet crucial dynamic of consent and coercion in the exercise of Athenian hegemony.

Turning to the formative era before 454, I emphasized the importance of Delos for this first quarter-century of the Athenian empire. Although we label this period the "Delian League" because the empire was headquartered there, little attention has been paid to the implications of or even the reasons for that choice. Offering a truly comprehensive account of Delos and Athenian imperialism was beyond the scope of this chapter—recent work by Tuplin and Davies has done some of this, although with a chronological focus outside the frame of the Delian League proper—but I address the most significant features, namely the tribute and the treasuries. Instead of looking at abstract ideological constructs as does the mainstream "Ionian propaganda" school, I consider the concrete or "embodied" practices in which Athenian imperialism was embedded.

The third chapter dealt with the tail end of this period, the 460s and 450s. Here I consider the smaller worlds not of the empire as a whole but two of its constituent communities, Klazomenai and Tenedos. Again the focus is on the significance of concrete practices—burial and choral performance respectively—which express rather different elite attitudes toward the bundles of political pressures that went along with membership in the empire. And finally, the fourth chapter considered the postcolonial dimensions of Athenian imperialism, as the demands that allies contribute to Athenian cult and pay tribute reshaped their attitudes toward Athens and their internal fiscal government in the long term.

All of this material bears on the underlying concern of the dissertation as a whole: what was the Athenian empire? I do not mean by that to ask whether it was an empire, or even when it became one. These questions are but oblique reflections of the larger problem of voluntary participation in the empire. That is, the Athenian empire seems to raise especially inescapable questions about what it means to be "in" an empire. Even the words most commonly used for this idea, like participation and membership, connote things rather strikingly different from

the language of other imperial histories—more commonly associated with a semantic domain of exploitation, domination, repression, conquest.

Much past scholarship exhibits Athenian *parti pris* in attempting to understand the relationship between violence, or coercion, and consent in the empire. This is why so much energy has gone into determining whether the allies, dropping lead into the sea, truly swore eternal loyalty: for if Naxos had no right to leave, then by the same token Athens was right to crush their revolt. And the Athenian bias also explains why the idea of a transition from league to empire is so insistent and alluring. The Thucydidean empire of the Peloponnesian War is clearly not what anyone had in mind just after Salamis, Plataia, and Mykale. The question of when the one became the other is really a question about after what point in the fifth century we historians must flip the switch from good to bad in our normative evaluations.

There is nothing intrinsically wrong with such questions; they preoccupied Thucydides. But it is also possible to think empire otherwise. A less moralizing and binary reading of the Athenian empire would recognize that different poleis, classes, and even individuals had their own reasons for supporting or opposing Athenian imperialism at different times; and that Athenian imperialism itself had effects that no one foresaw or intended. The very situationality of these responses and effects renders generalization difficult, but I believe that it will be possible to see certain patterns when more work has been done. One is that island elites seem to have a stronger quarrel with the empire than do those in mainland Ionia.

The nature of our evidence is such that inquiry can produce only contingent, partial pictures, like looking through fogged glass into a room lit only by sparks. But these flashing, momentary glimpses make more sense when they are seen as parts of larger cultural systems we know far more about. In the case of Tenedos, *Nemean* 11 on its own tells us little about anything historical. But as part of a broader story of Aiolian dissatisfaction that was articulated in the language of genealogy, we can see how Aristagoras' ephemeral act was an attempt to intervene against Athenian ideology. Indeed, the case of Tenedos also shows how the systems carrying Athenian power—here the deployment of genealogical myths, which was part of the Ionian ideology of the empire—could also be turned against that power. That is, the symbolic and practical resources used to construct the empire were not the sole province of Athens.

Athenian imperialism was formally experimental.[1] Neither is the empire's history the actualization of a blueprint inked out in 478 nor did it burst into existence like Athena. Rather, it emerged from a series of starts and stops with unintended consequences and discrepant impacts, and there are only a few truly consistent narrative arcs across its existence. In studying the Athenian empire, we need to be alert to the protean lines of force playing out on shifting ground and in unexpected ways. As the Athenians deployed new ways to construct and construe the empire, they (ineluctably) did so using preexisting cultural and political systems and sites. When they were able radically and successfully to innovate within these systems—perhaps most strikingly by first instituting the tribute and later relocating it to Athens—they forged powerful resources for supporting and buttressing the empire. When, however, Athenian imperialism operated in

[1] I have been inspired in some of my terminological choices in this dissertation—nowhere more so than here—by Caroline Levine's wonderful book *Forms* (2015).

ways that made less of a departure from those systems, it was often unable to overpower the logics and inertia of those systems. Thus, the choice of Delos to be headquarters activated several systems, some of which the allies were able cannily and—so it seems—successfully to use against Athens. The treasuries *worked* because they were a phenomenon characteristic of just the kind of international sanctuary that Delos provided, and that specific historical and institutional context allowed the allies to use treasuries to intervene in the making and meaning of the empire. Had Athens gotten the league headquartered in Athens from the beginning, those affordances would have been unavailable, and the corresponding interaction between Athenian narratives of membership in the league, financial contributions to it, and adherence to the Greek cause, on the one hand, and the countervailing allied claims, on the other, would not have occurred and shaped the way the league worked for its first quarter century. That Athens made no such attempt might suggest a calculation that the allies would not accept such clear hegemony right away, but is more likely a sign that, quite simply, no one was thinking of the Delian League as an Athenian empire. It did not have that meaning yet, for it is in the nature of experiments that they are performed before yielding their full sense.

The vision here is one that sees Athenian imperialism—a compound concept that combines power and volition—as something like a river, constrained here by an outcrop of competent rock, there by a man-made levee, but forcefully reshaping the landscape it courses through. Like a river cutting new channels, some Athenian imperial experiments were dead ends and others eventually took up the main stream. Different terrains possess different resistances, just as different systems yield different affordances. If Athenian imperialism is even metaphorically such a natural force, some will object, where are the historical agents—the people? Indeed, my depersonalizing language of systems, scenes, forces, and effects intentionally and substantially privileges the logic of practice over the bearers of agency. Yet experiments necessarily involve experimenters. Moreover, on one level one might claim that there is, of course, no river; there is no Athenian imperialism, only the collective choices of individuals. The trouble is that our ideas of the policies of the leading statesmen of fifth-century Athens—from Aristeides and Kimon to Kleon and Alcibiades—are so ingrained, if not in fact petrified, that at this stage it seems preferable to avoid associating specific individuals with any of the moves discussed in this book.

And a second major theme of this project was its attempt to adequately consider the allies, instead of simply focusing on Athens. Allied response to the empire did not simply consist in obedience or open rebellion, but took a wide range of forms ranging from canny acquiescence in symbolic but not terribly consequential domains, to the hermeneutically indeterminate and subtle manipulations of the meaning of architecture and space on Delos, to the articulation of grounds on which to assemble competing, anti-Athenian, collectivities. Of their nature, the systems by and in which Athens extended its imperialism afforded the allies opportunities to counteract that imperialism. This phenomenon is simply part and parcel of how it functioned to create and reproduce various forms of hegemony in different spheres. What makes other systems available to function as carriers for political power is their shared, communal nature. This returns us to Schmitt's concept of the Großraum, or the space defined by a hegemonic

power's ability to project power in part through the media of shared "political ideas."[2] When there are few cultural commonalities between an imperial power and its objects, their interaction perforce takes place along an attenuated, narrow bandwidth: in a world of pure violence and force, most commonly.[3] But when there are thick bundles of shared values, concepts, and ideologies, domination takes advantage of them to work in subtler ways. As Smarczyk argued in a very different way, the shared political ideas most crucial to Athenian success are those in the religious sphere. The political theologies studied in this dissertation show that concepts of connection and belonging, as expressed in religion, were an important language for discussing adherence to the empire, even if other motives—such as even more elusive economic ones—also subtended conduct.

Yet—to repeat myself—what I also insist on is the concrete, depersonalized aspect of these abstract ideas. Delos, for example, was important not because it was a symbol or a sign for "Ionicity" but because the material reality and the embedded practices occurring on Delos rendered it a signal site for the reproduction of group belonging and the elaboration of status distinctions, and the abrupt disappearance of Klazomenian sarcophagi did not transpire because anyone thought, "now, in order to symbolize my acquiescence to Athenian rule, I shall cease using this object," but because their use had been implicated in a configuration of social structure that, as an oblique consequence of Athenian rule, could no longer openly reproduce its *imaginaire*.

Athenian imperial power, then, did not simply have ramifications in the cultural realm—as if it were a black hole, detectable only by tracing its effects on, say, funerary ritual—but actually was constituted by the various kinds of practices studied in this dissertation. Naked coercion certainly reared its head from time to time, but the distinctive way in which Athenian imperialism flowed through preexisting and autonomous systems of practice and meaning was the precise reason for the fact that the empire was characterized by voluntary participation. The systems brought together different real and virtual collectivities, and they did so for different reasons and with different efficacy. The variegated practical and conceptual operations of Athenian imperialism flowed from this greedy, opportunistic parasitism on other kinds of interaction. And they are the Athenian empire's most distinctive historical features.

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[2] Schmitt 2011: 101.

[3] Conversely, one might think of "silent trade," whereby those who cannot linguistically communicate practice the degree zero of exchange by simple visual inspection of two sets of goods to be bartered (Hdt. 4.196). Stripped of the accoutrements of regular exchange—with its elaborate codes of haggling, symbolic and affective registers, and so on—silent trade preserves the economic core of redistribution while rendering it meaningless as a form of crosscultural contact.

Appendix 1: Thuc. 3.104

(1) Τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ χρησμόν δή τινα. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου· τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῶιδε τρόπωι. (2) θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλωι, πάσας ἀνεῖλον, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον μήτε ἐναποθνήισκειν ἐν τῆι νήσωι μήτε ἐντίκτειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Ῥήνεια τῆς Δήλου οὕτως ὀλίγον ὥστε Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος ἰσχύσας τινὰ χρόνον ναυτικῶι καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων νήσων ἄρξας καὶ τὴν Ῥήνειαν ἑλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Δηλίωι ἁλύσει δήσας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον. καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Δήλια. (3) ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν· ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικός, χορούς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις. (4) δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἐστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος·

> ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε Δήλωι, Φοῖβε, μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,
> ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
> σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν·
> ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίηι τε καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῆι
> μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.

(5) ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγὼν ἦν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐφοίτων ἐν τοῖσδε αὖ δηλοῖ, ἃ ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοιμίου· τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου ἐς τάδε τὰ ἔπη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη·

> ἀλλ᾽ ἄγεθ᾽, ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
> χαίρετε δ᾽ ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι. ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
> μνήσασθ᾽, ὁππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
> ἐνθάδ᾽ ἀνείρηται ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθών·
> ”ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ᾽ ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
> ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέωι τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;”
> ὑμεῖς δ᾽ εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως·
> ”τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίωι ἔνι παιπαλοέσσηι.”

(6) τοσαῦτα μὲν Ὅμηρος ἐτεκμηρίωσεν ὅτι ἦν καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἑορτὴ ἐν τῆι Δήλωι· ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ᾽ ἱερῶν ἔπεμπον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἱπποδρομίας, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.

Translation

(1) In the same winter, the Athenians also purified Delos, in accordance with a certain oracle. For Peisistratos the tyrant, too, purified it at an earlier date, not the whole island, but so much as could be seen of it from the sanctuary. But then the whole island was purified as follows: (2) as many as were graves of those dead on Delos, they removed them all, and for the future commanded that there be neither burial on the island nor childbirth, but that they go over to Rheneia. And Rheneia is separated from Delos by such a small distance that Polykrates, tyrant

of the Samians, when he had grown powerful for some time thanks to his navy, and acquired rule over the other islands too, siezed Rheneia and dedicated it to Apollo Delios by binding it in a chain to Delos. And then the Athenians caused the Delia, after the purification, to be penteteric for the first time. (3) But once upon a time there was a great coming-together at Delos of the Ionians and the nearby islanders; for with their wives and children they came as *theoroi*, just like Ionians do now at the Ephesia, and they had a contest of athletics and music, and the cities sent choruses. (4) Homer makes it especially clear that this is how things were in the following verses, which are from his *prooimion* to Apollo:

> But when on Delos, Apollo, you most gladdened your spirit, where Ionians, their tunics trailing behind, along with their own children and wives, gather on your street; where they give you heed and delight you with boxing and dancing and song, when they set their gathering.

(5) And that there was really a contest of music and that they used to go back and forth while competing in them, more lines from the same *prooimion* make clear; for after hymning the Delian chorus of women [Homer] finishes his praise in the following verses, in which he also mentions himself:

> But come, let Apollo be favorable, along with Artemis, and rejoice, all ye women. And be mindful of me in the future, whenever someone of earth-dwelling men says, some wretched man coming here, "O maidens, who to you is the sweetest of singers here, who delights you the most?" And you, all together, answer him in turn as one,[1] "a blind man, who dwells in rugged Chios."

(6) That's the sort of evidence Homer gives that there was once a great coming-together and festival on Delos; but later on, the islanders and the Athenians used to send choruses with the sacrifices, but the matters pertaining to the contests and most else fell into disuse, because, it seems likely, of misfortunes, until of course the Athenians then organized the contest (and horse-races, which before were none).

[1] For this translation of ἀφήμως, see Richardson *ad loc.*; Hornblower suggests "gently" (*ad loc.*, p. 530).

Appendix 2: Documents of Milesian History in the Fifth Century

The city of Miletos was destroyed by the Persians after the Ionian Revolt; joined the Delian League; changed from an oligarchy to a democracy; reformed its tribal system; and more. But the narrative of these changes has been much debated. This appendix discusses the nine major pieces of evidence that can now be brought to bear on attempts to reconstruct the (constitutional) history of Miletos in the fifth century, in much more detail than undertaken above in the fourth chapter. This history and these questions are slightly remote from that chapter's question, "how did the Athenian empire interface with civic fiscality at Miletos?" Yet this material is essential background for discussing the evidence of the Athenian tribute lists. Some things deserve to be emphasized up front: there is no evidence here that Athens "imposed a democracy" on Miletos. Rather, around 450 Miletos was an oligarchy; and around 434/3 (if not 441/0), it was using Athenian-style democratic institutions, the continuing importance of the Molpoi and other "aristocratic" features notwithstanding. It is just barely possible that the Athenian tribal system coexisted in some way with the old Ionic tribes, or that the latter were briefly revived under the oligarchy at the end of the century.[1] There was a *stasis* at some point, but attempts to conflate it with constitutional change, particularly if agency for that change is given to Athens, are difficult to sustain.

Some of the texts discussed below had been known since the beginning of modern discussion of these issues, at the dawn of the 20th century, while others were only published later, in 1970 or in 2006. Moreover, their dates range from perhaps ca. 450 to 333/2 to ca. 100 (for the (re?)inscription of the Molpoi decree), and most of those dates are fiercely disputed. Notable is the absence of any sustained literary narrative about fifth-century Miletos. And finally, the significance and interpretation of each text and of various elements in them is rarely clear. A full history of study is hardly necessary here, however, especially because only one real paradigm shift has occurred despite the diversity of opinions.

I. The Athenian tribute lists need little introduction. They have been deemed relevant for the internal constitutional history of Miletos because of the oddly fluctuating forms of presence or absence of Leros and Teichioussa vis-à-vis Miletos itself. This material is presented in the course of chapter four.

II. *IG* I^3 21 is a very fragmentary inscription, lacking a (preserved) dating formula, that begins Μιλεσίοις χσυγγραφαί, "written specifications for the Milesians," whence the more common name "Regulations for Miletos." It seems to specify Milesian military participation (and pay) in Athenian activities, enacts extensive but unfortunately mysterious jurisdictional and penal provisions, and evidently arranges for an Athenian garrison at Miletos and for five men to be sent there as ἄρχοντες (? — e.g., l. 62).[2] The date has been taken to be provided by the mention of the archon Euthynos (ll. 61, 86). Euthynus was archon in 426/5, but Mattingly aside, all scholars until recently emended the text of Diodorus to give another Euthynos as eponymous archon in

[1] Herrmann 1970, but he later abandoned the idea (per *Milet* VI/3, 1381).

[2] Balcer 1984b: 24–25, working I assume from the then-new version as edited by Bradeen and McGregor (Bradeen and McGregor 1973: 24–70 and in *IG* I^3), rather optimistically lists 20 specific provisions made by the decree.

450/49 as well. Figures as different as Peter Herrmann and John Barron agreed that the emendation was "necessary," but it has now definitively disappeared from the literature.[3] Yet, in fact, the text is not dated to his archonship anyway; his name appears in references that can only be to previous decisions or decrees for Miletos or the allies in general, which there is no reason to place in the same year as the Regulations.[4] Therefore, the inscription almost certainly dates to the year *after* Euthynos or to some subsequent year.[5] In the light of its new date after 426/5 and in conjunction with *Milet* VI/3 1218, *IG* I^3 21 loses a good deal of its significance—for it has nothing to do with the establishment of democracy, and may not even follow upon a revolt of any kind. At 86 lines of quasi-stoichedon 58, however, and as apparently one of a series of Athenian decrees for Miletos, the Regulations evince sustained and serious involvement in Milesian affairs.

III. The Banishment Decree (*Milet* VI/I 187 = *OR* 123) is either crucial evidence for Milesian constitutional history or (more likely) largely irrelevant. The date is quite uncertain, having been placed in the 470s as well as the 440s.[6] Chronology aside, what is the text? It belongs to the extensive collection of legal inscriptions and decrees meant to preserve a certain *status quo* in a polis, ranging from anti-tyranny laws to agreements for reconciliation after *stasis*. As Rhodes and Osborne correctly note, the best parallel for the Milesian text is arguably now the Dikaia reconciliation dossier (*SEG* LVII 576): that text proceeds from general principles to specific provisions for families and associates, some of whom are permitted to rejoin the civic community, others of whom must go through rigorous judicial proceedings first.[7] The Banishment Decree is inscribed on the front face of a block that originally served as base for a stele, now lost; and the text surely extends a now-lost dossier inscribed on the stele itself.[8] Given the fact that only a part of the dossier is preserved, arguments based on the number of people mentioned or their names are but poor guides to its interpretation; previous attempts to argue that the exiles were members of a "Neleid aristocracy" or, conversely, must have been tyrants,

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3 The emendation was never necessary, but it was by no means unmotivated either, for the text of Diodorus is full of mistakes in the Athenian archon names, including Euthynos of 426/5: Diodorus has his name as Euthydemos, the same name he gives for the archon of 450/49. He also gives an Euthydemos as archon in 431/30, who was apparently instead Eudemos. I owe this information to Robertson 1987: 384–85, and it is useful to be reminded that the much-derided "orthodoxy" of Meiggs, Meritt, et al., was not as arbitrary as sometimes now presented. Also see Fornara 1971 and Bloedow 1981, esp. 67.

4 The text is so fragmentary as to make mere guesswork out of any further speculation into the references, but see below on the new decree from Miletos.

5 It is frustrating that this point is more disregarded than ever now that the Euthynos 450/49 theory has been discarded. Εὔθυνος has often been restored to the prescript, including in the *IG* text, but the archon name is not necessary (Mattingly 1981: 113–14, endorsing Foucart's 1880 supplement of this odd line). And even if one stood there, there are other seven-letter possibilities: following the now-abandonded theory that an archon Euthynos should be created for 450/49 and the point just made, Pedieus (449/8) would have fit exactly; and there is also Diphilos (442/1), and several additional possibilities in the 420s and 410s.

6 Herrmann 1970 argued for the later date and his brief observations have been taken as ironclad dogma by subsequent German scholars, as well as by Rhodes and Osborne in the new *GHI*. The earlier date was favored by the excavators themselves, and more recently by Robertson (without engaging Herrmann) and Slawisch (Slawisch 2011, Herda 2011: 60; cf. Ehrhardt 2003: 13).

7 For example, there is a quasi-amendment providing that all the previously mentioned stipulations were "for all the other citizens, except Daphnon and Kephisodoros…" (ll. 61–64).

8 Whether it was added later, however—or was rather part of the same act of inscribing—cannot be determined.

are accordingly implausible.[9] Rather, the parallel with Dikaia suggests that they were among the individuals most responsible for a *stasis*, although the bitterness of their punishment ("let the *epimenioi* slaughter the exiles, if ever the city gains possession of them," ll. 7–8) comports with the penalties levied against those seen to be constitutionally dangerous.[10] Given the uncertainty of its dating, it is difficult to use the Banishment Decree in any particular historical reconstruction; since ca. 440 would appear to be a hard lower boundary, however, it can at least be informative for the first half-century after the Persian destruction of the city in 494. In this respect, it is still somewhat useful. The magistrates named in the inscription are the *epimenioi*. While a few have argued that this office is an early name for the *prytaneis* as the chief officers of the democratic council, it seems much more likely to be an oligarchic magistracy.[11] Accordingly, it is still possible to put the episode of *stasis* seemingly behind the Banishment Decree in relation to pseudo-Xenophon's reference to Athenian support for a Milesian oligarchy in such a civic disturbance.

IV. The Molpoi decree (*Milet* I/3 133) is by far the most complicated piece of evidence here; it offers manifold difficulties of interpretation as well a mind-bending chronology. For the stone itself was inscribed around 100 BC, or at any rate no earlier than the end of the third century, but presents itself as a text drawn up in 447/6, with some additions at the end apparently postdating that year; yet it also contained an embedded amendment dated to 476/5. Thus, the inscription implicitly stipulates that a written document containing the ὄργια of the Molpoi existed in 476/5 (in order to be amended and to record that amendment), yet the text itself purports to result from a decision taken to publish it in 447/7, and the stone as preserved dates more than 300 years later than that.[12] The inscription practically cries out for an analysis in terms of invented tradition and ritual conservatism, but for present purposes it is really only important because of the prescript. The *aisymnetes* and his five *proshetairoi* are named, and the latter five are identified as belonging to the Oinopes, Hoplethes, and Boreis—three of the city's old Ionic tribes.[13] Several questions result: why are these important ritual officers drawn from only three of the six tribes? Is it possible that their means of selection has nothing to do with the tribes? Could, in this archaic ritual context, the old Ionic tribal names continue to be used after the introduction of the new Attic tribes (see below)? These are all important questions to which compelling answers are difficult to come by.[14]

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9 Glotz 1906, a crucial publication, first associated the brand-new Banishment Decree with [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.11 and *IG* I^3 21, in an attempt to shed light on Milesian constitutional developments and argued that a "Neleid aristocracy" was at stake.

10 I refer in particular to anti-tyranny laws; see Teegarden 2013 for this legal genre.

11 As Robertson 1987 argues at great length.

12 For a chart of Herda's and Rehm's divergent chronological assignments of different sections of the text, see Herda 2006b: 426. A more accessible discussion can be found in Herda 2011, especially 82–86 for text, translation (adapted from Gorman's), and outline. Herda has now accepted the Cavaignac adjustment to Rehm's stephanephoros dating (Cavaignac 1924; Rhodes 2006).

13 A fourth, the Argadeis, is attested by V below; cf. Piérart 1983a: 2.

14 I cannot discuss them in great detail, but Robertson's suggestion that the five *proshetairoi* must have deme affiliations—there being five Milesian demes in the Hellenistic period, as Robert, Piérart, and others argued—would have major implications for my overarching argument about the relation between tribute and the extended Milesian *chora*, and so was discussed above (p. 167).

V. Similar questions are raised by two texts bearing the inscriptions Ἀργαδέω|ν πρώτη and Ὁπλήθων δεοτέρης (*Milet* VI/3 1380 and 1381). Although brief, both the exact meaning and use of these texts are uncertain; the numerical portion in particular has been explained discrepantly.[15] Moreover, the material support for these inscriptions has been inadequately explained. The "first of the Argadeis" text appears on a rectangular block, different in size from a typical Athenian *horos* such as those found in the Kerameikos, but essentially the same format.[16] The "of the second of the Hoplethes" inscription is on a statue (Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1632), carved into the reverse of the bench on which are seated two women, which stylistically dates to the third quarter of the sixth century (figs. 27–28).[17] Yet paleographically, the two inscriptions seem to belong very close in time despite this difference in medium. Immediately after the publication of the second inscription, Louis Robert commented that "surtout il est intérressant de constater par l'estampage que le style de la gravure et la forme des lettres … sont rigoureusement semblabes à l'inscription de 'la deuxième des Hoplèthes'."[18] Herrmann and other epigraphers concur. Like the other texts under discussion, their date is controversial, having been assigned as early as the early 5th century and as late as the Hellenistic period.[19] The main controversy now is between ca. 450 or ca. 400. The question is significant because the Argadeis and Hoplet(h)es are two of the Old Ionic tribes: their attestion here therefore bears on when that system was replaced in Miletos; evidently, if they date to ca. 450, they do not add much to what we knew from the Molpoi inscription. But if they date ca. 400, matters become much more complicated because of the next item, two sacred laws. In briefly publishing the inscription on the statue group, Dunst suggested a date around 400, while Piérart sensibly argued that the lettering could at least as easily belong ca. 450. Herrmann came around to the earlier date, although apparently primarily on historical grounds.

VI. *Milet* VI/3 1218 (= *OR* 143) and 1220 are two sacred laws bearing Athenian-style democratic prescripts. They accordingly provide crucial evidence for the diffusion of Athenian-style democratic institutions.[20] The latter dates from 379/8 and has been known since 1901, while the older one was published in 1970 and yields several possible dates, but all in the fifth century.[21] In contrast to the more archaic formularies and terminologies of the previous three texts, with their *epimenioi* and *aisymnetai* and the old Ionic tribes, these sacred laws display Attic tribal names and democratic concepts; as Herrmann remarked in first publishing the fifth-century inscription, "were not the use of Ionic dialect so easily recognizable, one could take the text as the record of an Athenian decree."[22] The earlier of the two is far more important, dating as it most likely does to 434/3. The prescript as preserved reads: [—^{9}—Ε]ὐδήμο· Λεωντ̣[ὶς ἐ]|[πρυτά]γ̣ευεν· Τήλαγ[ρ]ος ἐγρᾳ̣[μ]|[μάτευ]εν· Τήμεν[ος] ἐ[πεστ]άτε.[.]|[—^{5}—]ς εἶπεν... (ll. 2–5). Assuming that Eu-

[15] See *ad loc.* in *Milet* VI/3.
[16] See pl. 17 in *Milet* VI/3.
[17] Blümel 1964: no. 53.
[18] *BullÉp* 1964: no. 444 (pp. 220–21).
[19] Dunst, however, thought that Wiegand simply made a slip in the later date. Cf. Herrmann 1970 with commentary at *Milet* VI/3 1381. Publication: Dunst 1961; also see Piérart 1969: 382.
[20] Piérart 1983a: 5–8; Lewis 1997: 51–59.
[21] Herrmann 1970.
[22] Herrmann 1970: 168.

Figure 27: Seated female figures, three-quarters view (Blümel 1964 Fig. 145)

Figure 28: Seated female figures, rear view (Blümel 1964 Fig. 146)

demos provides the eponymous archon date, three possibilities arise from the Stephanephoros list (VIII below), where three Εὔδημοι are preserved. Herrmann and all subsequent scholars have agreed that the earliest candidate is the most likely, as giving rise to the weakest historical counterarguments.[23] The others fall in 407/6 and 401/0; but the 407/6 candidate is Ἡγέμων Εὐδήμο, and the other individuals named lack patronym, as does the *stephanephoros* in the prescript of *Milet* VI/3 1220. But it is rather begging the question to assume that the historical context in 401/0 was not suitable for the present decree, and accordingly I would place greater weight on the paleographic criteria. Herrmann emphasized—in my view, perhaps more than it merits—the similarity in lettering between the new sacred law and the Banishment Decree, which the latest treatment would now place well before 450 rather than in the 440s.[24] Compared to existing specimens of early fourth-century lettering from Miletos, it seems unlikely that this text should date to 401/0, and 434/3 can therefore be taken as reaffirmed. Also relevant here is *Milet* VI/3 1382: — —υλης | [Ἐρε]χθηίς. This fragmentary text, very roughly dated to around 400, provides more evidence for their use of Attic-style tribal names sometime around the turn of the century.

VII. (*Milet* VI/3 1020) This small fragment published for the first time in 2006 preserves part of the opening of a decree that may be an antecedent of *IG* I³ 21. It is short enough to quote in full:[25]

[Ἔ]δοξεν τ̣[ῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Ἀκα]-
μ̣αντις ἐπρ̣[υτάνευε—— c. 12–13 ——]
[ἐ]πεστάτε, Ε[— c. 8–9 — ἐγραμμάτευε]·
4 [τ]άδε οἱ σ̣υγ[γραφῆς συνέγραψαν· — c. 3–4 —]
[.]ιος ὑπηρ[———————-]
[.]ΝΚΑΤΟ[———————-]
[.]ΟΥΤΩΙ[———————-]

While I am less convinced than previous epigraphers that this must be an Athenian (rather than a Milesian) decree, it does seem preponderantly likely.[26] The possible connection with the Regulations is clear, with apparent mention of the χσυνγραφρεις and ὑπηρεσία or ὑπηρετεῖν (*IG* I³ 21, l. X and 12). It is very tempting to see this as one of the previous decrees (passed under Eythnos) implied by the Regulations; alternatively, it could be a Milesian decree from around the same time.[27] I will suggest below that ll. 5–6 could be restored as τῶν κατοικουντῶν. Alas that so little is preserved.

VIII. The Stephanephoros list (*Milet* I/3 122) contains a sequential list of more than two hundred eponymous magistrates of the city, the *aisymnetes* of the Molpoi or *stephanephoros*

[23] Herrmann 1970: 170–73; Robertson 1987: 358 is happy with the early date for its implications about the *epimenioi*; see *OR* p. 248, n. 2 for a summary.

[24] Slawisch 2011.

[25] I give here the text as independently modified by Thonemann 2007 and Matthaiou 2008: 85, slightly correcting the supplements of the *ed. pr.*

[26] The main obstacle is that in the fourth line τάδε οἱ συγ- is difficult to complete in any other way than with συγγραφῆς, for τάδε must begin the sentence and τάδε οἱ συγγενῆς *vel sim.* does not make much sense.

[27] See, however, Matthaiou 2008.

(οἵδε μολπῶν ἠισύμνησαν, col. I, l. 1).[28] Nearly all were inscribed, apparently, in one hand in the year of Alexander's stephanephorate, 333/2.[29] The names, nearly two hundred of them, above Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου (col. II, l. 81) fall into two columns, covering 522/1 on; another twenty follow before the end of the inscription. Rehm thought that Alexander was stephanephoros in 334/3 and counted back from there, arriving at 525/4 for the first name in the inscription. Two lines (col. II, ll. 11 and 22), however, contain not one but two sets of names. Cavaignac pointed out that, first, it was not likely Alexander was stephanephoros in 334/3, but, rather, in 333/2 (the higher date had followed from a hypothetical change in the Milesian calendar that Rehm thought necessary); and that the two double-name lines should each only represent one year, not two. Thus, the earliest names are shifted three years later, while an adjustment of only one year is necessary below col. II, l. 22.[30] Given that the first two centuries' worth were inscribed at once, one obvious question is therefore, in essence, can the list be reliable? A close comparison would be to the inscribed Athenian archon list (*IG* I^3 1031), which the latest scholarship suggests was inscribed around 410.[31] Pébarthe concludes that the late-sixth century archon names in that text are probably reliable, despite the lengthy chronological gap, and explains the absence from our other historical sources of the remarkable fact that Cleisthenes was apparently archon in 525/4—an absence that is shocking if true—through a sophisticated discussion of collective, social memory and amnesia.[32] In the case of the Milesian list, the problem is heightened by the total destruction of the city in 494, which seems to pass unmarked in the inscription. Norbert Ehrhardt has recently used the stephanephoros list as a significant part of his argument for institutional and urban continuity across the period of Persian destruction, and addresses the question of its reliability using an extremely important stone published in 1995 by Wolfgang Blümel (fig. 29).[33] Blümel's text contains 15 lines of names: they match the years 387/6–373/2 of *Milet* I/3 122 (col. II, ll. 27-41).[34] Moreover, Blümel is quite certain that the names in the new list were inscribed, not all in one go, but in a different hand each year. A few scrappy traces of letters, in "markedly older letter forms," to the left of the lowest part of the inscription match up exactly with the ends of the names to the left, in col. I, of the full text.[35] Although it seems too good to be true, then, the new text

[28] Other, later, lists (*Milet* I/3 123–28) exist as well.

[29] All dates are per Cavaignac's adjustment to Rehm's chronology, discussed below; see Cavaignac 1924: 311–14, esp. 311, and Rhodes 2006 for a recent introduction.

[30] It seems obvious that Cavaignac is correct at least about the two-name lines. But the adjustment also raises questions of its own—including, for example, if, as Cavaignac argued, there was such significant historical disturbance in those two years (which he connects to the revolutions following the end of the Peloponnesian war and to the battle of Knidos) as to involve a switch in eponym following strife in the city, why not in any of the fifth-century years?

[31] Out of a large bibliography, see Meritt 1939: 59–65 and Bradeen 1963 for the initial scholarship, setting it ca. 425, and Pébarthe 2005a for the latest and the argument for inscription around 410.

[32] Pébarthe 2005b.

[33] Blümel 1995: 56–58; Ehrhardt 2003. The inscription (*SEG* XLV 1620) is not widely known—Gorman's book does not cite it, for example—despite its importance, perhaps due to the anodyne title of Blümel's article. The new inscription is on a block that was cut down into a square and built into the wall of a mosque in Nalbantlar, a village well up the Maeander past Lake Bafa.

[34] Blümel discusses a few small but intriguing differences of orthography (1995: 57).

[35] Blümel 1995: 56; although there is not much to go on, compare in particular the omega of –ΕΩ, l. 14, with that of Ἰστικῶν, l. 11.

is not only a *stephanephoros* list updated annually (at least in the early fourth century), but it is probably the very source of the fuller list created in 333/2.[36] Of even greater consequence is an observation that has not, to my knowledge, yet been made. A left margin line is clearly drafted onto the stone. This forethought for arranging the year-by-year updates to be added in the future, combined with the inscription's quasi-stoichedon character and the fact that its designers knew exactly how much space to leave in col. I for its longest names, proves that it was created at some point for that specific purpose. The names scrappily preserved at the left are those of *stephanephoroi* in the early fifth century, and they are certainly in an earlier hand. But there is no need to go back that far and imagine that they, too, were updated annually, thus providing the validity and accuracy of *Milet* I/3 122 back to 490. Instead, I would submit that col. I of Blümel's text was inscribed all at once in 409 BC; col. II's left margin was chiseled out then, leaving it ready to begin filling with names, starting with Οἰήτης Ἀριστοθέμιος in 409/8.[37] Blümel's block therefore does not quite accomplish what Ehrhardt wanted, guaranteeing the accuracy of the grand list in the 490s. Yet it does indicate that the creation of Milesian civic memory, memory of continuity, was a persistent concern in the fifth century as well as the late fourth; and if the Athenian archon list is accurate more than a century before its inscription, there is not much reason to doubt the Milesian equivalent either—aside from the thorny question of the 490s.

IX. The Old Oligarch: "However often they set their hands to choosing the side of the oligarchs, it has not turned out well for them, but within a small period the *demos* was enslaved, as happened in Boiotia; and when among the Milesians they chose the oligarchs, within a small period they rose up and slaughtered the *demos*; and when they chose the Lakedaimonians instead of the Messenians, within a short period the Lakedaimonians put down the Messenians and waged war against Athens."[38] Historians of the Athenian Empire for a long time brought this passage into connection with supposed Milesian revolts in the 450s or 440s, as well as with the Banishment Decree and the Regulations for Miletos, to argue that Athens supported an oligarchy at Miletos, which then revolted *from Athens*. But the passage, as Rhodes eventually

[36] Blümel does not say so, but the reason that traces are preserved from names in just those lines is that the others in col. I are all too short: those preserved are 21, 20, and 21 letters long, and hence their final 2, 1, and 2 letters appear on Blümel's stone. None of the col. I names corresponding to our ll. 1–11 exceeds 19 letters, and accordingly all traces are gone; but were just one more line preserved above, the final two or three letters of Ἀθηναγόρης Τιμησιάνακτος (*Milet* I/3 122, col. I l. 26) would probably appear.

[37] The five letters in col. I in the new inscription are not much to go on. But the epsilon is fully rectilinear, like the fourth-century letters in col. II, and unlike the still slightly slanted crossbars on the Blutinschrift's epsilons. More revealingly, the omega—though clearly much earlier than that of Ἰστικῶν—is closer to the omegas higher in the new inscription, for example in Νέων and Θήρων (ll. 3 and 5), and is certainly more similar to them than to the omegas in the Blutinschrift, the old Ionic tribe inscriptions, or even the "new" sacred law (434/3). For these comparisons, see Fig. 1 in Slawisch 2011: 426 and Pl. 17 in *Milet* VI/3. The 409/8 date would then be closely similar to Pébarthe's 410 for the Athenian archon list—an intriguing coincidence; but the date is compelling on its own, as Miletos must have been going through contentious times in the years between the 412 revolt and the bloody oligarchic coup of 405. A document asserting civic continuity and stability makes much sense in such a context.

[38] ὁποσάκις δ' ἐπεχείρησαν αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς βελτίστους, οὐ συνήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς· ἀλλ' ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ὁ δῆμος ἐδούλευσεν ὁ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς· τοῦτο δὲ, ὅτε Μιλησίων εἵλοντο τοὺς βελτίστους, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ἀποστάντες τὸν δῆμον κατέκοψαν· τοῦτο δὲ, ὅτε εἵλοντο Λακεδαιμονίους ἀντὶ Μεσσηνίων, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταστρεψάμενοι Μεσσηνίους ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναίοις. On this passage, see Brock 2009: 152–57.

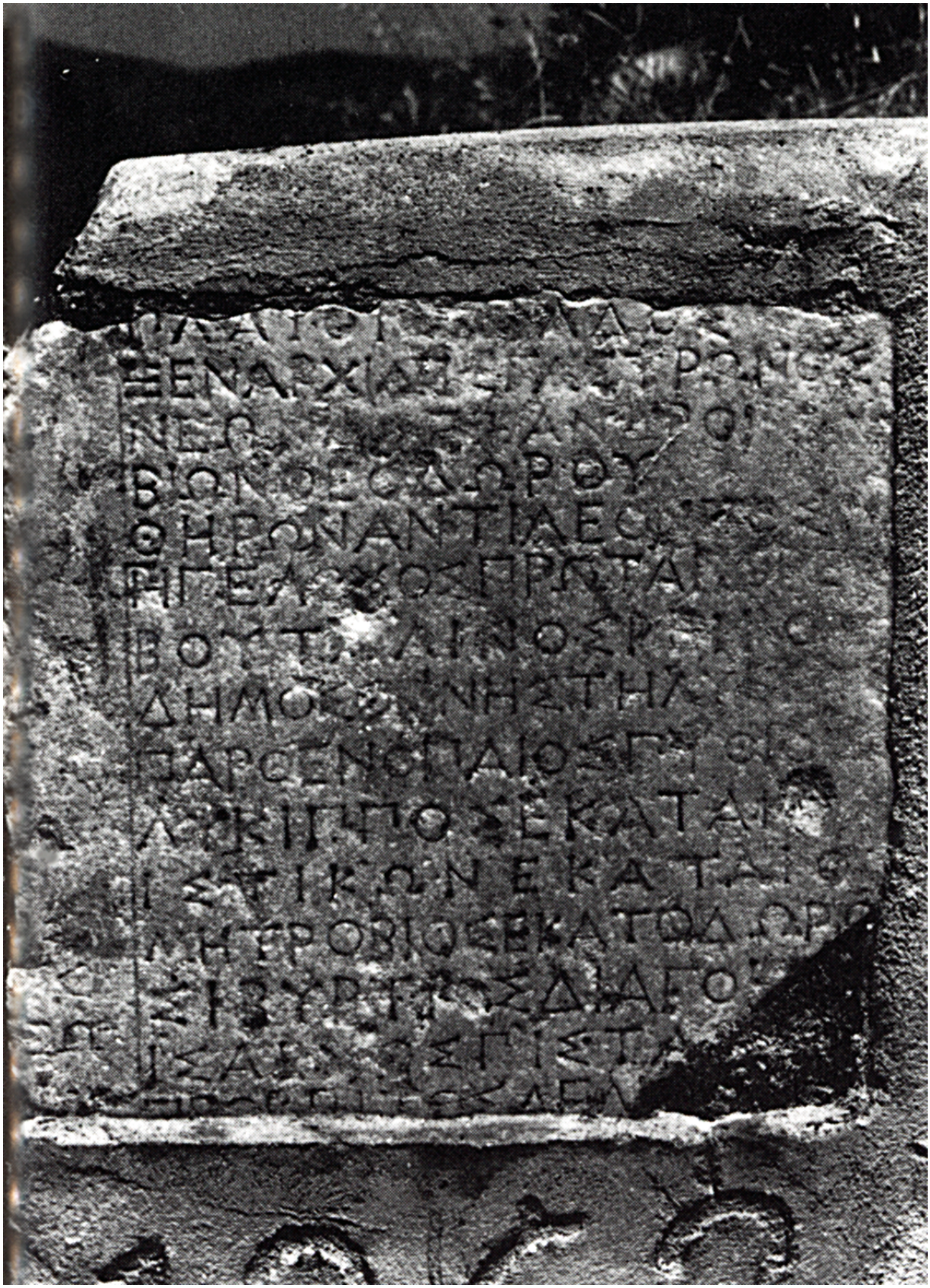

Figure 29: Fragment of Milesian *stephanephoros* list (Blümel 1995 Pl. 13)

emphasized, does not say that Milesian oligarchs revolted from Athens, but, rather indicates that there was *stasis* within Miletos itself, during which Athens supported the oligarchs, only for the oligarchs swiftly to massacre the people.[39] Pseudo-Xenophon does not indicate the further outcome, and his polemical text is not in any case meant to be a historical treatise. Rhodes' observation strengthens the passage's connection to the Banishment Decree, which, as I argued above, we are now in a position to see as part of the reconciliation process. But the *stasis* cannot be dated more closely than within the Pentekonteaetia and its significance, if any, for Milesian constitutional change is murky at best.

[39] Paarmann 2014 offers the best overview.

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Ps.Xenophon: Marr, J. L., and Rhodes, P. J., ed., trans., comm. 2008. *The 'Old Oligarch': The* Constitution of the Athenians *Attributed to Xenophon.* Oxford.

Abbreviations

ATL: Meritt, B. D., H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor. 1939–1953. *The Athenian Tribute Lists*. Four vols. Cambridge, Mass.

CEG = Hansen, P. A. 1983–1989. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca.* Two vols. Berlin and New York.

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EAD XXXIII: Courbin, P. 1980. *L'Oikos des naxiens.* Exploration archéologique de Délos XXXIII. Paris.

EAD XXXVI: Fraisse, Ph. and Chr. Llinas. 1995. *Documents d'architecture hellénique et hellénistique*. Exploration archéologique de Délos XXXVI. Paris.

EMG = Fowler, Robert L. 2000–2013. *Early Greek Mythography*. Two vols. Oxford.

FD IIa: Daux, G. and R. Demangel. 1923. *Les temples de tuf. Les deux Trésors.* Fouilles de Delphes II (Topographie et architecture), Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia (Marmaria). Paris.

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FGrH = Jacoby, F. 1923–1955. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin.

GD: Bruneau et al. 2005, below.

IK Priene = Blümel, W., Merkelbach, R., and F. Rumscheid. 2014. *Inschriften von Priene. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 69. Bonn.

Inventory = Hansen, M.H. and T.H. Nielsen, ed. 2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis.* Oxford.

I.Priene = Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1906. *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin.

LSAG = Jeffery, L. H. 1990 [1961]. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. Revised edition, with supplement by A. W. Johnston. Oxford.

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