

5 A Tale of Many Cities

Amazons in the Mythical Past of Greek Cities in Asia Minor

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The ancient Greek *polis* was a heterogeneous entity. It consisted of the people enjoying its citizenship, the soil the inhabitants worked to earn their living, the cults by which they established their contacts with the gods, and finally the sites that defined the city centre (acropolis, agora, central sanctuaries).¹ The identity of the *polis* as a whole was created in stories about its origin and name.² These foundation-myths moulded the citizens' experience of belonging to the *polis* in accordance with religious practices, political and historical realities, and other myths. One variety of city tales is particularly interesting: those that feature the Amazons as the eponymous heroines of Greek cities in Asia Minor.³

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¹The literature on the Greek *polis* is vast. For recent discussions on the relationship between the elements which defined it, see e.g. O. Murray and S. Price, eds., *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford, 1990); D. Whitehead, ed., *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*, Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Center, vol. 1, *Historia Einzelschriften*, vol. 87 (Wiesbaden, 1994); on the role of cult, N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: the Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Festivals* (Toronto, 1992); N. Marinatos and R. Hägg, eds., *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (London and New York, 1993); and see below, notes 19 and 20.

²On this kind of stories, P. B. Schmid, *Studien zu griechischen Ktisissagen* (Freiburg/Schweiz, 1947); H. H. Rohrbach, 'Kolonie und Orakel: Untersuchungen zur sakralen Begründung der griechischen Kolonisation', (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg, 1960); L. Gierth, *Griechische Gründungsgeschichten als Zeugnisse des historischen Denkens* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld, 1971); F. Prinz, *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie*, *Zetemata*, vol. 72 (Munich, 1979); W. Leschhorn, 'Gründer der Stadt': *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1984); P. Weiss, 'Lebendiger Mythos: Gründerheroen und städtische Gründungstraditionen im griechisch-römischen Osten', *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, n.s. 10 (1984), pp. 179-208; J. H. M. Strubbe, 'Gründer kleinasiatischer Städte: Fiktion und Realität', *Ancient Society* 14-17 (1984-86), pp. 253-304; I. Malkin, 'What's in a Name? The Eponymous Founders of Greek Colonies', *Athenaeum* 63 (1985), pp. 114-30; I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion, no. 3 (Leiden and New York, 1987); C. Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece*, (New York and Oxford, 1993); R. Lindner, *Mythos und Identität: Studien zur Selbstdarstellung kleinasiatischer Städte in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart, 1994); I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge, 1994); T. S. Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter: Zur Bedeutung griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte* (Munich, 1993).

³No systematic study of the Amazonian eponymous tales has been offered since O. (A.) Klügmann, 'Ueber die Amazonen in den Sagen der kleinasiatischen Städte', *Philologus* 30 (1870), pp. 524-56, who traced all pre-Hellenistic eponymous stories featuring Amazons back to the case of Myrine and saw them as an expression of Aeolian nationalism. P. Devambez, 'Les Amazones et l'Orient', *Revue Archéologique* (1976), pp. 265-80, connected the Asia Minor tales to the Amazonomachies on Attic black-figure vases and interpreted the Amazons in Asia Minor as 'génies de mort'. On these interpretations, see J. H. Blok, *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*, *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, no. 120 (Leiden and New York, 1995), chap. 1.

The fame of the Amazons rested firstly on traditional epic, which recounted the appearance of these female warriors on the battlefield to oppose the Greek heroes.⁴ Created within the structures of this formulaic poetry, the Amazons played a complicated role in the world of epic heroism, for they represented the most acute anxieties inherent in the identity of male warriors. On the one hand the Amazons represented equal, suitable opponents to be faced in epic battle: their masculinity was a condition of the fame that was at stake. Yet masculinity was never certain; femininity might suddenly be revealed, notably by the warrior's succumbing to the fear of failing to prove his valor. This awareness of a hero's weaker self, projected onto the indispensable other sex, was reversely reflected in the image of the Amazons. Provided with a masculine mind in a female body, the Amazons were both 'self' and 'other' from the perspective of Greek men. While the terms of 'self' and 'other' refer to social and psychological ambiguities in the definition of the Greek heroes, preceding the transformation of ethnographical alterity in the sixth and fifth centuries, the epic Amazons were clearly held to be non-Greeks in the same way as were the Trojans. But they were even more markedly so by virtue of their non-Greek name, *Amazones*, and their original habitat. In terms of mythical time and space, the existence of the Amazons was initially projected onto the era before the Trojan War and in the area bordering the region around Troy. In the whole world of Homeric epic, no other people represented the same symbiosis of Greek and non-Greek, male and female, as did the Amazons. In sum, though far from being the mere antithesis of Greekness,⁵ the Amazons, famed as enemies of the Greeks, seem most unlikely as eponymous heroines of Greek cities.

Within the context of city tales in general, female heroes were highly exceptional. Firstly, founding a city was considered a masculine activity, as male citizens held themselves to be representative of the city as a whole, and in the case of the founding of colonies may have actually been the active party. Accordingly, cities usually adopted the names of men. Though nearly all city names are feminine (like the word *polis* itself), as a rule the name of a male figure was changed into its feminine counterpart to create a city's name. Only a small group of cities connected their origins to females, all of them exalted over normal women, including, from the dim beginnings down to the classical era, goddesses and nymphs, and in Hellenistic times, queens.⁶ The eponymous Amazons should be classified as heroines, a similar group of more than life-size figures. But the differences are nevertheless noteworthy. In Asia

⁴*Iliad* III, 189; VI, 186; *Aithiopsis*, traditionally attributed to Arktinos of Miletos and extant in a prose summary by Proklos, *Khrest.* II (ed. Davies), on Akhilles and Penthesileia. For the interpretation of the Amazons offered in the text, see Blok, *The Early Amazons*, esp. chaps. 2 and 3.

⁵For the view of the Amazons as an antithesis to Greek, in particular Athenian values, cf. P. DuBois, *Centaurs and Amazons: Women and the Prehistory of the Great Chain of Being* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982) and W. B. Tyrrell, *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore, 1984). Their interpretation of the Amazon motif by relying on binary oppositions has induced both authors to omit the city stories. For the persistence of the idea of Amazons as antithesis, see e.g. J. Henderson, 'Timeo Danaos: Amazons in Early Greek Art and Pottery', in *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*, ed. S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 85-137.

⁶The relation between male and female city founders from the eighth to the third centuries B.C., according to a survey by Leschhorn, 'Gründer der Stadt': historical figures: males 100 percent; gods and deified heroes: 75 percent males, 25 percent females; eponymous heroes: 99.9 percent males. This survey provides only a general picture and has no claims to comprehensiveness.

Minor, between the eighth and the fourth century B.C., names derived from mortal Amazons outnumbered those derived from immortal females, and even in the Hellenistic era, the Amazons' popularity rivalled that of the omnipresent queens.

The eponymous Amazon stories of Asia Minor, then, are clearly a specific case, differing from the two main narrative traditions — the epic Amazon pattern and the city tales — to which they were related. In order to understand why and how this group of tales came into existence, and what the Amazons meant to the cities which attributed their names to these women, we must engage the larger problem of the meaning of such city tales in general. What message did they convey, how, and to whom? Though there is a distinction to be made between foundation-stories and eponymous stories, as each type referred to a different stage in the creation of the city, both types will be discussed here also in close connection. As systems of representation they were predicated on the same beliefs and traditions, and they gained credibility in comparable cult practices. In many cities the mythical founders and eponymous heroes were or later became interchangeable, and foundation and eponymy played corresponding, albeit not identical, roles in the articulation of a city's identity. Before considering these comprehensive questions, though, let us first take a look at a sample of the Amazon stories.⁷

Amazon Stories

The word 'stories' is actually somewhat too generous, at least where the earliest accounts are concerned. Many ancient testimonies of Amazon eponymy simply mention the fact that a city derived its name from an Amazon. Only occasionally did authors add a concise account of the Amazon's relationship to the city. This briefness may have to do with the kind of texts where the eponymy is reported. For instance, a reference drawn from Hekataios (fl. c. 500 B.C.), who had described the ancient world within a geographical framework, is preserved only as a brief quotation in a Byzantine encyclopedia:

Amazoneion; a place in Attika, where Theseus overcame the Amazons. Kyme, too, was called thus, where the Amazons used to live. Hekataios writes the name in book nine of his *Aiolika*.⁸

If the last sentences represent a longer story current in Kyme, we do not know if Hekataios was familiar with the details. But it is not impossible either that initially the eponymy entailed little more than simply the belief that Kyme was named after an Amazon. At any rate, the stories grew remarkably over time, both in the elaboration of the tales themselves and in the multiplication of the number of cities claiming an Amazon as an influential figure in their past.

⁷Within the limits of this article, it is impossible to discuss all testimonia or to offer my arguments on the chronological order of the stories. Moreover, archaeological evidence like Amazons on coins and the Amazon statues at Ephesos is barely mentioned since it postdates the stories and does not supply autonomous information on them.

⁸Hekataios (*FGH* 1 F. 226); Steph. Byz. s.v. Amazoneion. For other testimonies on Kyme: Strabo XIII, 3, 6; Pomp. Mela I, 18; H. Engelmann, ed., *Die Inschriften von Kyme*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Klein-Asien, vol. 5 (Bonn, 1976), no. 37 (hereafter *IKyme*); Steph. Byz., s.v. Kyme.

This elaboration is exemplified by Andron of Teos, who in the fourth century B.C. offered more particulars on the eponymy of Sinope:

Sinope is a city on the Pontos [another eponymy, after a nymph, is described]. Andron of Teos says that one of the Amazons had fled from the Pontos and married the king of those regions. When she had drunk a lot of wine, she was called Sanape (because that is how they call a woman who drinks a lot). And since drunken people are called *sanapai* in Thrakian, a dialect that the Amazons use as well, the city was called <Sanape> and afterwards by frequent use Sinope. The drunken Amazon then went to Lytidas, as Hekataios tells us.⁹

This story illuminates the tendency to account for a city's name or even to create eponymy by means of etymologies and other linguistic ingenuities. In foundation-stories divine or human acts played a decisive role.

In the course of time the tales as told by the citizens tended to expand, and increasing literacy stimulated elaboration and intertwining of stories. Learned authors used their libraries to compare different accounts and forged relationships between divergent tales. In the second century A.D., for instance, the scholar-traveller Pausanias questioned a poem by Pindaros (fifth century B.C.) in his comments on the city of Ephesos:

The sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma and his oracle are of an earlier time than the immigration of the Ionians, while the cult of Ephesian Artemis is even more ancient than their arrival. Pindaros, it seems to me, was not informed about everything concerning the goddess, since he says that the sanctuary was founded by the Amazons on their campaign against Theseus and the Athenians. It is true that the women of the Thermodon, because they had known the sanctuary for a long time, sacrificed to this Ephesian goddess both on this occasion and when they tried to escape from Herakles; some of them, though, did so even earlier, when they had fled Dionysos, for they had come to the sanctuary as suppliants. The sanctuary was not founded by the Amazons, however, but by Koresos, an autochthon, and by Ephesos who is said to have been a son of the river Kayster; the city got its name from Ephesos. The inhabitants of the lands were partly Leleges, a branch of the Karians, but the greater number were Lydians. There were others who lived around the sanctuary because of its asylum, among whom were some women of the Amazon race. Androklos the son of Kodros, however — for he was the one appointed to be the leader of the Ionians who sailed to Ephesos — expelled from the land the Leleges and Lydians who possessed the upper city. Yet those who lived around the sanctuary had nothing to fear, but giving their oath to the Ionians and getting the same in return, they stayed free from war. [Androklos takes also Samos and assists the people of Priene against

⁹Hekataios (*FGH* 1 F. 34); Andron of Teos (*FGH* 802 F. 2-3); Schol. Apoll. Rh. II, 946ff.; *Et. Gen.*, s.v. Sinope. Lytidas is unknown. Other testimonies on Sinope: Ps.-Skymnos *Per. Nic. Reg.* (ed. Diller) 986-95, Just. *Epit.* II, iv; Schol. Apoll. Rh. II, 955-61. On language: M. Tichit, 'Le Nom des Amazons: Etymologie, éponymie et mythologie', *Revue de philologie* 65 (1991), pp. 229-42. On the Thrakian character of the Amazons and the topos of excessive use of wine, see Blok, *The Early Amazons*, 259ff.

the Karians. Priene, likewise an Ionian city, and Kolophon dispossess the Karians].¹⁰

The case of Ephesos and its sanctuary exemplifies how competing accounts of the foundation or eponymy of a single city could come into circulation.

Alongside of the expansion of the stories, other elements made their way into the eponymous claims. In several cities of Asia Minor, tombs were identified where Amazons had found their final resting place. Some cities even came to assert that they had been founded by Amazons. Strabo, a geographer writing in Augustus' time, summarised the many rumours he had heard or read: 'All the same, the founding of cities and the giving of names to them are ascribed to the Amazons, like for instance Ephesos and Smyrna and Kyme and Myrine; and so are tombs and other monuments. . . . But as to where the Amazons are now, only a few writers try to make assertions, though they do so without proof and beyond belief.'¹¹ As usual, Strabo was sceptical about this credulity, but in this respect he was exceptional in his day. The citizen population of the Greek cities clearly both believed and valued stories about their Amazonian pasts.

Among the increasing number of cities claiming an Amazon eponymy or foundation, Aeolian Kyme had by far the most solid and continuous tradition on record. The brief remark by Hekataios showed that already by his time the city called itself 'Amazoneion', meaning a place dedicated or belonging to the Amazon(s). No founder is recorded in early sources, though in later ones the Aeolian settlements, and Kyme among them, were said to have been founded by Tantalos, Pelops, and descendants of Agamemnon.¹² The role of the Amazon Kyme was highly important to the city: as the eponymous heroine she enjoyed a major city cult.¹³ Next Sinope, Ephesos, Smyrna and Myrina followed in claiming an Amazonian past, and finally Amazon eponymy began to spread like wildfire. Some cities changed a previous eponymy after a male hero into one after an Amazon or changed their name altogether to acquire an Amazonian past.¹⁴

A glimpse of the cities' motivation to adopt new names in the era of Roman rule appears in Tacitus' *Annales*. In A.D. 26, eleven cities of Asia Minor pleaded for the

¹⁰Paus. VII, 2, 6-9 (Akhaia). Other testimonies on Ephesos: Her. Pont. (*FGH* II, p. 222); Strabo XIV, 1, 4; Plinius *NH* V, xxxi, 115; Tac. *Ann.* III, lx-lxii; Paus. IV, xxxi, 8; *Et. Mag.* s.v. Ephesos.

¹¹Strabo XI, 5, 3-4 (trans. Loeb, modified). Other testimonies on widespread eponymy after Amazons in Asia Minor: Strabo XII, 3, 20; Diod. S. III, 52-55, a novella-like story Diodoros derived from the Hellenistic writer Dionysios Skythobrachion.

¹²Strabo XIII, 1, 3 on Aeolis and Kyme; cf. Tac. *Ann.* IV, lv (Smyrna).

¹³*L.Kyme* no. 37. For comparable sanctuaries in the northern part of Asia Minor, see F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte: Religionsgeschichtliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Kulturen von Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai und Phokaia*, Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana, vol. 21 (Rome, 1985).

¹⁴A few examples must suffice: Steph. Byz. s.v. Smyrna: 'Smyrna, a city in Ionia, first founded and inhabited by Tantalos. Then it was called Naulokhos but later on Smyrna, after an Amazon Smyrna, who had been living in Ephesos.' Alkiphron Maiandrios (*FGH* 491 F. 9), third century B.C.; Athenaios *Deipn.* I, 31 d: 'Alkiphron Maiandrios says there is a mountain village near Ephesos that was first called "Leto's village", but now Latoreia after an Amazon Latoreia.' Steph. Byz. s.v. Kynna: 'Kynna, a small settlement near Herakleia, named after one of the Amazons or after Kynnos the brother of Koios.' *Ibid.*, s.v. Myrleia: 'Myrleia, a city in Bithynia, now called Apameia. (Named) after the leader of the colonists, from Kolophon, Myrlos . . . or after the Amazon Myrleia.'

Senate to be honoured with the privilege of erecting a temple to the Emperor Tiberius. The two final candidates were Sardis and Smyrna:

The deputies of Smyrna . . . after tracing the antiquity of their town — whether founded by Tantalos, the seed of Jove; by Theseus, also of celestial stock; or by one of the Amazons — passed on to the arguments in which they rested most confidence: their good offices towards the Roman people. [There follow many amazing proofs of Smyrna's longstanding allegiance to Rome; Smyrna won the day].¹⁵

Thus the repute of heroic descent, proven by elements like an Amazon eponymy or foundation, was meant to influence those who held the power to grant privileges or to withhold them.

Tacitus' account illustrates how in Hellenistic-Roman times such tales were expected to serve the interests of Greek cities in a powerful empire whose centre was far away and yet sensitive to the claims conveyed by Greek myths. Since the political conditions of the Greek cities in the archaic and classical eras were quite different, the aims of Amazon eponymy at that time were probably different as well. To understand the earlier Amazonian city tales we must analyse the concerns of archaic cities about their political identity and the role of myth in the enhancement of these claims. Next, to clarify the meaning of the Amazons in this context we will investigate how the cities which inaugurated this eponymy, notably Kyme and other cities in the northeastern part of Asia Minor, differed from other Greek cities and why the latter were induced later on to follow their example.

Cities and Myths

If a modern historian and an ancient Greek could discuss the emergence and dispersion of Greek *poleis* in the Mediterranean, they would only agree on the fact that the process was due to a variety of developments. As to the classification of events as either myth or history, however, the categories used by each party would appear to be very much at odds with those of the other. As a rule, the origins of the city and its citizen body were situated in an era in which a Greek would not appreciate the distinctions we draw between 'myth' and 'history'.

In some Greek cities, in particular those claiming continuous habitation of the area since Mycenaean times, the inhabitants claimed full autochthony; they had sprung from the earth where the city itself came to be founded as a result of divine intervention (e.g. Athens). Others said they were descended from heroes, who in their turn were the offspring of the gods (e.g. Thebes). The cities founded in the Ionian migration around the first millennium B.C. accounted for their existence in terms of their move from mainland Greece to Asia Minor, but particulars of the cities' origins tended to be rather vague. The cities founded in the extensive wave of colonisation in the archaic period usually had quite clear accounts of how the citizens came to leave the old city and found the new one, often including discussions of the role of Delphic Apollo and the ways in which his oracle had guided the act of colonisation. The large number of cities founded in the Hellenistic era by the new royalty had no viable con-

¹⁵Tac. *Ann.* IV, lv (trans. Loeb). For another example, *ibid.*, III, lx-lxii.

nection with the heroic past. Yet Alexander the Great, Hellenistic rulers, and Roman emperors made up for this lack by explicitly identifying their travels and city-founding activities with the wanderings of Dionysos and Herakles.

This brief survey indicates that foundation stories do not merely display the human fascination with what came first. They offer a specific account of where and how *civic* existence began, grounding the origins of the city in a realm of immortality which was nevertheless chronologically distinct from general cosmogony. Even the undoubtedly human city-founders of the period of archaic colonisation and subsequent centuries acquired heroic status and were granted the same kinds of worship and honour as the mythical founders.¹⁶ Various stories about the 'original founder' might circulate within one city, and not only in those cities where no 'historical' founder was known. The same kind of props were important in all stories: tombs of heroes, divine tokens and other manifestations of supra-human life, which indicated the spot where the city was to be and divine consent to its existence.¹⁷ Cause and effect even changed places in the course of time. Since the founder or eponymous hero was honoured by the entire city, a figure honoured by the city might come to be called its founder, or the city might change its name to underscore its rebirth. In the Hellenistic era, the affluent elites who lavished their wealth on their cities were repaid with all kinds of honours, among which was the title 'he/she who gave the city its (renewed) life'.¹⁸ In sum, whatever the claims of a city to its origins in historical time, eventually all cities were connected to immortality by the city cults of the gods and heroes who were of particular significance to city life, and by the myths that accounted for these connections.

The crucial role of cult in the actual formation of cities becomes clear in the earliest development of the Greek *poleis*. In the eighth century B.C. a cult of heroes, which had started even earlier on a small scale, spread quite suddenly all over Greece.¹⁹ Votive offerings were deposited in old tombs of the Mycenaean age scattered over the central area of mainland Greece, and new cult sites were established within city areas and their border regions. 'Tombs of heroes' were identified every-

¹⁶On this phenomenon cf. Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte*, Zetemata, vol. 14 (Munich, 1956); Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*; and references in note 2.

¹⁷An extensive survey is provided in F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, vol. 1.: *Das Objekt des Reliquienkultes* (Giessen, 1909); vol. 2.: *Die Reliquien als Kultobjekt: Geschichte des Reliquienkultes* (Giessen, 1912).

¹⁸The best monograph on euergetism is P. Veyne, *Le Pain et le cirque* (Paris, 1986); trans. as *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism* (Harmondsworth, 1990). Lists (but of course not exhaustive) of benefactors honoured as founders in Leschorn, 'Gründer der Stadt'; Strubbe, 'Gründer kleinasiatischen Städte'; Weiss, 'Lebendiger Mythos'; an extensive case study is G. M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (London and New York, 1991).

¹⁹For the main currents of the discussion see J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1977); A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980); R. Hägg, ed., *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation* (Stockholm, 1983); F. de Polignac, *La Naissance de la cité grecque: Cultes, espaces et société VIII^e-VII^e siècles avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1984), trans. as *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek State* (Chicago, 1995); J. Whitley, 'Early States and Hero-Cult: a Re-Appraisal', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108 (1988), pp. 173-82; F. de Polignac, 'Mediation, Competition, and Sovereignty: The Evolution of Rural Sanctuaries in Geometric Greece', in *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, ed. S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne (Oxford, 1994), pp. 3-18.

where, and these ancestors of the present population were duly honoured. Though the local aristocracies might claim special ties with the heroic forebears,²⁰ undoubtedly something grander in scale was going on: the sheer number of sites and offerings, and new types of offerings in bronze and pottery, suggest the involvement of larger sections of the population. This development coincided with the establishment of large sanctuaries for the gods in the countryside, and both granted a new meaning to the soil. It was taken into possession, allotted and divided into religious and non-religious areas, and endowed in this way with an identity in terms of the civic and religious community of the *polis*.

Although regional differences abound and the meaning of these variations has been widely discussed, some general observations may serve here as a context for our inquiry. First, there is an interesting analogy between the developments in the 'old' parts of Greece and the new settlement of the archaic colonies. The genesis of a Greek *polis* implied the forging of new ties, both with the land to be incorporated and between the members of the new community. On the Greek mainland, the conception of the citizen body as the *polis* community would increasingly compete with the traditional conceptions of the rightful rule of the aristocracy and the latter's claims to loyalty and property. Moreover, the land itself was both a valuable and a meaningful commodity. Claims to cultivation implied claims to appropriation — either from the neighbouring Greek *polis* or from the non-Greek inhabitants abroad. Thus, being first or doing something new might be fascinating, but above all it created tension. An existence without the protection of tradition and the actual changes wrought to pre-existing relationships called for cults and stories testifying to 'ancient' inhabitation and cultivation.²¹ The alleged arrival of the foundation hero from elsewhere, testified in many stories, made him the appropriate figure to mediate the new relationships engendered by the process of the formation or reconfiguration of the *polis*.²²

In the colonies, cults and stories might not prevent actual struggles, but did help colonisers overcome anxiety about entering foreign territory and to come to terms with its original inhabitants.²³ In the city tales of the archaic colonisation era, con-

²⁰Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, p. 347. In the years following Coldstream's seminal book, however, so many more deposits over a more extensive area could be taken into account that a more fundamental change has been argued for; lists and arguments in Polignac, *La Naissance*, pp. 24ff., 127ff., and in other works listed in the previous note.

²¹On the reaction to this tension in the archaic colonies by cult, see Polignac, *La Naissance*; for the reflection in myth, see C. Calame, 'Narrating the Founding of a City: The Symbolic Birth of Cyrene', in *Approaches to Greek Myth*, ed. L. Edmunds (Baltimore and London, 1990), pp. 270-341; C. Dougherty, 'It's Murder to Found a Colony', in *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics*, ed. C. Dougherty and L. Kurke (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 178-200; Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, is more concerned with the experience of being 'first' in foreign territory than with perceptions that somehow a Greek hero had been there before.

²²Polignac, *La Naissance*, pp. 130-8.

²³On Greek integration with local inhabitants in western Greece, see Polignac, *La Naissance*, pp. 108-10ff.; on the multi-ethnicity of Kyme, see below; on that of Ephesos, see the valuable comments of Riet van Bremen in her review of Rogers, *The Sacred Identity*, in *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1993), pp. 245-6; for a comparative perspective, J. P. Descœudres, ed., *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall* (Oxford, 1990).

flicts with the indigenous populations are conspicuously rare.²⁴ Instead, ‘marriages’ — unions between Greek figures and local phenomena such as nymphs, plants, streams and ‘real’ women — entered the foundation-stories. It is very likely that groups setting out on founding a colony consisted almost exclusively of men. Sooner or later, they would seek wives among the local population, who might respond more or less willingly. Marriage as a theme denoted the actual union of Greek men and autochthonous women, while metaphorically it entailed the appropriation of the land in a relationship that in Greek culture meant collaboration and conjunction, as well as domination.²⁵ While the cults of the city centres were mainly those of Apollo and Athena, both associated with the male citizenry, in the countryside cults of goddesses like Hera, Demeter, Artemis and Aphrodite prevailed, fostering in their celebration the inclusion of local elements represented as female — the fertility of the land and the (female) indigenous inhabitants. These large sanctuaries, in some cases erected on pre-existing sites of worship,²⁶ would have imprinted Greek cult and culture on the local inhabitants, as well as helped to integrate foreign elements into the Greek world.

Taken together with the examples of eponymy quoted above, this short overview indicates how in the course of time the function of the city tales gradually expanded and even shifted toward different goals. First, the tales accounted for the birth of the city, the composition of the citizenry, the legitimacy of its claims to the land and its cultivation, and the cults establishing its relation with the gods. In the archaic colonies the relationship with the original inhabitants was an equally important factor. These concerns were of primary importance to the city itself, and were reflected in the ‘charter myth’ establishing its identity.²⁷ By the same token, the city’s identity was meant to be recognised by the world outside. Changing historical conditions would bring new elements into the stories, the accent might be placed on different items of information, and new claims could be attached to former ones.

These changes reveal that the claims often involved both the internal and external relations of the *polis* concerned. In classical Athens, for instance, a traditional current of stories on the autochthony of the (male) population propelled more stringent tales legitimating the relationship between male and female citizens on the one hand and between Athens and other peoples on the other, than had been the case

²⁴In some regions such extensive areas of land may have seemed available that actual conflict was (at first) minimal and small settlements were tolerated by the local population, e.g. in Southern Russia; A. X. Kocybala, ‘Greek Colonization on the North Shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic Period’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1978). Nevertheless, the land had belonged to someone else before the Greeks arrived and appropriated it.

²⁵Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, chap. 3. Polignac: ‘[Their] double qualité de femmes autochthones et épouses grecs, et la double protection qu’elles vont quérir auprès de Déméter peuvent faire d’elles, le cas échéant, l’intermédiaires et le lien de solidarité entre le monde urbain, grec, et le monde rural, indigène, auxquelles elles sont également rattachées et dont elles partagent également les préoccupations.’ *La Naissance*, p. 114.

²⁶For an interesting case of previous habitation and cult, integrating with a sanctuary of Athena on an acropolis outside the city, see M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, ‘Religious activities on the “Timpone della Motta”, Francavilla Marittima, and the Identification of Lagaria’, *BABesch* 68 (1993), pp. 1-47.

²⁷Malkin, in *Myth and Territory*, prefers to use the well-known term ‘charter myth’ to describe the political implications of historical myths concerning land, lordship and citizenship.

before.²⁸ In the Hellenistic-Roman period, claims directed at the world outside the *polis* became increasingly important, as Tacitus' account exemplified. The political powers with which the Greek cities had to negotiate were now of much larger size and situated in capitals far away. The rising numbers of 'founders' among the city elites deserved their honour not only because they spent their money on their city, but also because they could and did intervene on behalf of their city with the great kings or Roman emperors. It could be very useful to a city to be able to claim that it was founded in times immemorial by a major hero, that it belonged to the great heritage of Greece, or that it could partake in the great Panhellenic festivals or was entitled to the tradition of Greek freedom.²⁹ As we shall see below, in *what* the cities wished to convey in their stories, *how* they did so was part of the message.

Epic and Tombs: Proof and Persuasion in Heroic Myths

As a system of representation, myth cannot be easily classified as a form of proof or a means of persuasion. Its narrative qualities place it in the category of persuasion, while simultaneously it proves itself. Myth's complex nature can at least partly be attributed to the oral origin of its stories. 'Oral thought totalizes', as C. Lévi-Strauss has put it; elements that a literate mode of thought may separate are completely interlocked in an oral representation.³⁰ Myth gave meaning to something else and thus was apt to show something else rather than requiring an external element to prove its validity or explaining why and how it was true in terms external to the story. Yet it is possible to examine how elements of proof and persuasion were at work *within* the city tales and in the mythical and material context to which they referred.

The capacity of myth to persuade was enhanced if the narrative was tied to a more special authority. Obviously, the most compelling factor was its connection with

²⁸The most perceptive study of this myth is N. Loraux, *L'Invention d'Athènes: Histoire de l'oraison funèbre dans la 'cité classique'* (Paris, 1981), trans. as *The Invention of Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); and N. Loraux, *Les Enfants d'Athènes: Idées athéniennes sur la citoyenneté et la division des sexes* (Paris, 1981), trans. as *The Children of Athena: Athenian Ideas about Citizenship and the Division between the Sexes* (Princeton, N.J., 1993). For a different view on Athenian female citizenship, see C. Patterson, 'Hai Attikai: The Other Athenians', in *Rescuing Creusa: New Methodological Approaches to Women in Antiquity*, ed. M. Skinner, *Helios*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Austin, Tex., 1986), pp. 49-68.

²⁹Lists of claims of this kind in Strubbe, 'Gründer kleinasiatischer Städte'; some discussion in Weiss, 'Lebendiger Mythos'; on freedom as a collective claim of the cities of Asia Minor from the fourth century B.C. on, see R. J. Seager and Chr. Tuplin, 'The Freedom of the Greeks of Asia: On the Origins of a Concept and the Creation of a Slogan', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100 (1980), pp. 141-54.

³⁰C. Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago, 1996), p. 245; 'savage' is interpreted as 'oral' in this observation by W. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982), p. 39. Obviously, the elements discussed here did not remain oral in a practical sense, otherwise we would not have known them. Yet they remained traditional/oral in the terms of their world-view and representational priorities. Writing made a difference for the city tales in only a few ways. The stories were recorded in writing; this led to the comparing, sorting and interconnecting of various stories in attempts to straighten out their confused references and chronologies. A second effect is visible on the level of eponymy. While 'popular' etymology tended to isolate complete Greek names or words in puzzling place names (e.g. Kyme, after Kyme; Kynna after Kynna or Kynninos), literate etymology would also isolate smaller units within words and derivations of regular forms which drew on reading rather than sound (e.g. Ephesos, after *ephainai* (pass on to, concede) Her. Pont. (*FHG* II, p. 222); *Et. Mag.* s.v. Ephesos). I am grateful to S. L. Radt for discussing this latter feature with me.

religious life, and insofar as myth presupposed the divine, one cannot even separate myth from religion. But if religious authority was important, it was also rather diffuse when it came to its influence on relations between cities. In the early archaic period only a few religious centres like Delphi and Olympia could claim a truly Panhellenic significance. Religious life was predominantly based on local cults, rites and sanctuaries. Within a *polis* priests did not form a distinct professional group,³¹ even if they usually belonged to a distinct social group — first the traditional aristocracy, later the city elite. Likewise the message of most myths was primarily of local importance, even if exclusive usage of certain stories was exceptional.³² The connection with stories current elsewhere depended on the divine background common to all myths. On the level of narrative proper, to relate a tale of one city to another would entail reliance on stories of wandering heroes, of protagonists obliged to seek purification through an influential figure elsewhere,³³ and other such motifs. In brief, while the commonality of myths guaranteed their comprehensibility to other Greeks, an additional persuasive element would be helpful in conveying the importance of a story to another city, particularly in cases of competing stories or contested claims. One such element in mythical narratives was the invocation of traditional epic.

Epic storytelling in the formulaic hexameter was an art form immediately recognisable as a special type of oral poetry, since its language consisted of an amalgam of various Greek dialects suited to a metre that probably was not Greek in origin.³⁴ This epic diction was used in various kinds of oral poetry, with slight differences in vocabulary. One form, connected most prominently with the name of Homer, specialised in stories dealing with the siege of Troy, the siege of Thebes and very likely the voyage of the Argonauts. The fact that most Greek dialects had left their traces in epic language, although Ionian Greek was its main constituent, enhanced the Panhellenic significance and suitability of this kind of poetry. This feature set all narratives in epic language off from many other myths, which, being mainly of local significance, were told in the regional dialect.

Moreover, the hexameter seems to have connoted a specific relationship with immortality, since the poet always served as the mouthpiece of the divine Muse.³⁵ In epic stories this quality was implied in the very contents of the story, giving voice to the undying renown of the heroes and recounting the deeds on which this renown

³¹Exceptions were, e.g., the priests connected to the Delphic oracle. Prophets (seers) too are often described as professionals of a sort, since their knowledge of the divine set them off from individuals who did not enjoy their special qualities. They did not possess an exclusive right over creed or rituals, however; their expertise consisted of a divine inspiration to know the will of the gods and to elucidate the problems of a particular time and place.

³²One exception would be the myths and rituals of the Eleusinian mysteries, which were successfully conveyed only to an exclusive audience.

³³On this narrative device, see R. C. T. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 375-92.

³⁴For a specific view on the non-Greek background of Greek hexameter epic, see C. J. Ruijgh, 'Le Mycénien et Homère', in *Linear B: A 1984 Survey*, ed. A. Morpurgo Davies and Y. Duhoux, *BCILL* 26, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988), pp. 143-90.

³⁵Delphi's oracle responses, not communicated by poets but by priests, were also phrased in the epic hexameter, see H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, vol. 1: *The History*; vol. 2: *The Oracular Responses* (Oxford, 1956). The linguistic correlation with extant epic is of course slight, given the difference between the particular moment of an oracle and the timeless quality of epic tales.

was based.³⁶ Indeed, these stories *were* that fame, connecting 'them' (gods, heroes) with 'us' (tellers, listeners) and representing the nature of what was being told in the art-language used to that end. In sum, the epic hexameter conveyed the beliefs and values of all Greeks, subsuming the concerns of individuals and distinct groups.³⁷ To connect one's existence with Homeric epic, then, would contribute greatly to one's status and to the persuasive effectiveness of one's stories. The ruling aristocracies of archaic Greece had their genealogies created in the epic hexameter, tracing their descent from a hero featuring in epic, if not from a god. Homeric epic offered a wealth of figures and places which could be claimed as the ultimate origin of families and cities, and with these names came already established connections to the gods and renown throughout the Greek world.

The archaic city stories, which share several concerns with the aristocratic genealogies but convey the identity of the citizenry as a whole, have not been preserved in hexameter epic.³⁸ The extant texts offer instead short prose stories and elegiac poetry, with alternating hexameter lines, drawn from epic episodes. Thus, taking advantage of the epic's capacity to absorb themes from other currents of storytelling and to serve as a wellspring of new ones, the city tales retained the glamour and the invocation of the heroic past that came with the epic source. Indeed, though such a view is inevitably speculative, it seems that these city tales managed to get the best of two worlds. They drew on the immortal fame inherent in epic in their choices of names and figures, and they competed with aristocratic, epic discourse by employing a vocabulary of their own.

The competition for heroic connections obviously merged with the cult of heroes mentioned above.³⁹ Though in principle it was the body of a hero fallen in battle that was elevated to divine status,⁴⁰ the presence of the body became a more important factor than the way the hero had died.⁴¹ From the perspective of myth, the 'tombs of the heroes' operated as a kind of proof. Where a story, notably derived from epic, was already current, the identification of a hero's tomb could connect his fame more

³⁶On the crucial role of 'undying fame' in the development of epic, see M. L. West, 'The Rise of Greek Epic', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108 (1988), pp. 151-72; a recent discussion of the contents of Homeric epic is F. Graf, 'Religion und Mythologie in Zusammenhang mit Homer', in *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung*, ed. J. Latacz (Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1991) pp. 331-62. Later on, many forms of poetry invoked the inspiration of the Muse.

³⁷On the role of the Homeric singer of tales as spokesman of the community, see S. R. Slings, 'Poet's Call and Poet's Status in Archaic Greece and Other Cultures', *Listy Filologické* 112 (1989), pp. 72-80.

³⁸A misleading perspective due to the written recording of these tales can never be ruled out. For a comparative analysis of aristocratic genealogy and historical city tales, see Josine Blok, 'Myth, Memory and the Present', in *Mythos and Interpretation*, ed. R. Schlesier (forthcoming, 1997).

³⁹G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore and London, 1979) has even argued that epic as such was based on the cult of heroes; this idea has been generally rejected as making too much of a good point. Polignac, *La Naissance*, pp. 130-1, offers various arguments against an immediate connection between the heroic cults and Homeric epic.

⁴⁰A. M. Snodgrass, 'Les Origines du culte des héros dans la Grèce antique', in *La Mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, ed. G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 107-19; C. Bérard, 'Récupérer la mort du prince: Héroïsation et formation de la cité', *ibid.*, pp. 89-105; J.-P. Vernant, 'A "Beautiful Death" and the Disfigured Corpse in Homeric Epic', in *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, ed. Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, N.J., 1991), pp. 50-74.

⁴¹For ritual death of heroes and heroines as an element of initiation and similar rites, see K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology* (London and New York, 1989).

closely to the people by cultic worship and could do so in a more tangible manner. The tomb was there, its inmate was beyond doubt; the offerings presented to the hero established and continued the association of story and site. Conversely, a hill (cave, hole, rock, etc.) would suggest the presence of the remains of a hero; offerings would be established, and sooner or later a story crafted to explain who was buried there and why he had been so important to the city in the past. Story and tomb were fitted together, the one implying the other. The material remains of the heroes served to embody and exemplify the stories; in the tombs of the heroes, myth materialised.

Greeks and Non-Greeks in Asia Minor

The early Greek cities of Asia Minor were certainly in want of stories to account for their origins which, unlike those of the archaic colonies, lay more or less before the remembered time. Moreover, the situation of these cities vis-à-vis the surrounding areas and their inhabitants was quite complicated. The Greek settlements on the coast lay on the fringes of a territory where ancient civilisations with influential power structures continued to impress the Greek immigrants. Even if not all indigenous cultures impressed the Greeks equally — the Karians, for example, mainly entered their accounts as a people (to be) dispossessed of their lands — some, like the Phrygians with their capital Gordion and the Lydian kingdom with its capital Sardis, were respected as cultures and powers in their own right. In particular, for the cities bordering these regions, negotiation and exchange were more suitable forms of association than condescension or downright use of force.

Many literary and archaeological testimonies show frequent contacts and trade between the Greeks, in particular those of Kyme and Smyrna, the Phrygians and the Lydians.⁴² It was said that a fugitive Lydian king had found refuge in Kyme,⁴³ and likewise that the Kymeans did not even think of levying tolls on their harbour until three hundred years after the foundation of their city. This attitude earned them the reputation of being a people who learned late that they were living in a city by the sea, as Strabo recorded.⁴⁴ In the earliest centuries of its existence, then, Kyme seems to have been more interested in what was going on in the interior regions than in commerce on the Aegean. Several stories about Kyme's exchange with the indigenous powers shade over into myth. A Kymeian woman married to the Phrygian King Midas II was said to have been a daughter of King Agamemnon of Kyme and the first in this region to mint coins.⁴⁵ As myths these stories legitimise an exchange of marriage part-

⁴²A valuable overview of artefacts, testifying to an intensive exchange and trade between the groups mentioned in early archaic times, is J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*, 2nd ed. (London, 1980), chap. 3. The stories are numerous, starting with Priamos' 'early' alliance with the Phrygians (*Iliad* III, 186-90), which I take to reflect the situation of the early seventh century B.C., Blok, *The Early Amazons*, pp. 300-1.

⁴³Nik. Dam. (*FGH* 90 F. 44).

⁴⁴Strabo XIII, 3, 6.

⁴⁵Herakleides (*FHG* II, p. 216); Arist. Fr. 611, 37 Rose; Pollux, *Onom.* IX, 83. Her name is rendered as Hermodike ('justice of the Hermos', the river close to Kyme) by Herakleides who calls her beautiful, wise and *tekhnikē*; and as Demodike ('people's justice') by Pollux, putting her on one line with Pheidon of Argos, and Erikhthonios and Lykos of Athens as the first ones to mint coins. The coins of Kyme bear out that the city was the first Aeolian settlement to take over the practices of Aigina, coining silver staters in the early sixth century B.C. (*I.Kyme* T 106). Later on, Kyme circulated smaller denominations showing the head of the Amazon Kyme.

ners — not only Greek men ‘taking’ local women, but also Greek women marrying local men. And not only stories bear evidence to a remarkable tolerance with regard to mixed marriage in Kyme. The non-Greek names of archaic tyrants of Kyme, Mennes and Ouatias, show the influx of local families into the Greek political elite.⁴⁶

In the Hellenistic era the wealthy sanctuary of the eponymous Amazon contributed largely to the acquisition of land by the cult community of the god Mandros. Originally an indigenous god connected with fire, Mandros became important to the Greeks as well and was worshipped in the border region of the city. Though a male god rather than a goddess, his cult exemplifies the process of acculturation discussed above. The members of the cult community were predominantly female while the leading priest, *arkhigallos* Menandros, was a man, and they were from all kinds of backgrounds, ranging from (Graecised) Romans through (Romanised) Greeks to people from the east and south.⁴⁷ But also in archaic times Mandros seems to have been recognised as an important deity for the Greek citizens,⁴⁸ just like the Phrygian goddess Kybele.⁴⁹

In the Ionian region further south, the situation was rather different. While in the seventh and sixth centuries the Lydian kings were at peace with Kyme, they waged endless war on Miletos, and Smyrna was razed to the ground. The accounts of the early relationship with the Lykians as told by Herodotos, who was born in Halikarnassos, suggest an initial stage of armed conflict and appropriation, followed by mutual tolerance, and later on, some sort of Graecisation of the Lykian elite.⁵⁰ Miletos was generally regarded to be the first Ionian settlement, though the Aeolians were said to have come first to the coast of Asia Minor. Its attitude towards the neighbouring Karians is borne out by Herodotos, who relates that the wives of the Milesians refused to dine with their husbands or call them by their proper names, since these women had been taken from the Karians and their male kinsfolk had all been killed. The Milesian women had bound themselves and their daughters by oath to continue this practice.⁵¹ These

⁴⁶Nikolaos of Damaskos (first century B.C.), who presumably derived many stories from Xanthos the Lydian (fifth century B.C.), relates that men of Phokis had taken captive women from a neighbouring region. The bastard sons born to them were expelled by the legitimate sons with citizen rights. Via Attika they came with the Ionian migration to Asia and arrived at the mouth of the Hermos. Mennes, tyrant of Kyme, resisted their presence, but his brother Ouatias made an alliance with the men from Phokis and the majority of the Kymeans. Thus Mennes lost his power, and the Phokaians and their wives were granted land by the Kymeans in peace (*FGH* 90 F. 51; cf. Paus. VII, 3, 10).

⁴⁷*I.Kyme* no. 37, l. 1.5: Mandros' sanctuary *pro poleoos*; l. 2: Kyme's endowment of money inferred by *prytanis* (with thanks to Fritz Graf for his helpful comments); names of ten male and twenty-nine female members of the cult community are still legible, including Faustina, Semiramis, Zoosimos, Phoibos, Corbulo. The cult of Mandros may have been a mystery cult, which allowed the participation of free and unfree alike. Another sanctuary *pro poleoos*, that is outside the city, was dedicated in Hellenistic times to Isis.

⁴⁸Engelmann points to the name of the philosopher Anaximandros (sixth century B.C.; but Anaximandros was born in Miletos) and several other names; *I.Kyme* no. 37, p. 89.

⁴⁹*I.Kyme* T 55. On the mixed feelings of the Athenians towards Kybele, who was introduced into that city presumably in the sixth century, and the connections with the cult of Dionysos, see H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion*, vol. 1: *Ter Unus: Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: Three Studies in Henotheism* (Leiden and New York, 1990), chap. 2.

⁵⁰Hdt. I, 147, 173. A more detailed discussion of the Greek contacts with the Lykians and representations of the reputed Lykian matrilinearity is in Blok, *The Early Amazons*, chap. 4.

⁵¹Hdt. I, 146. His story is in part confirmed by Pausanias (VII, ii, 5-6). The Milesian territory was first called Anaktoria, after the autochthonous king (*anax*). Then Miletos appeared, a man from Krete, who allied the Kretans with the Karians; the place and its inhabitants were now called after him. Finally, the Ionians entered the area. They killed all male Milesians and married their wives and daughters.

stories imply that the Ionian cities remembered the violent struggles with the local inhabitants over the possession of the land. Nevertheless, according to Herodotos, all the Ionians were in fact of mixed descent, with respect both to their Greek origins and to their mingling with the Asia Minor peoples, but unlike the Aeolians the Ionians prided themselves on being 'pure'.⁵²

Ephesos steered a middle course. After the Greek expulsion of the original inhabitants, the city had cultivated the worship of Artemis as a synthesis of Greek and Eastern deities.⁵³ The Lydian kings venerated the Ephesian Artemis, and Kroisos endowed its sanctuary with money to build a large temple. But the Lydians certainly had a motive to try to reappropriate the place where Ephesos now lay, if the story told by Pausanias was an old tradition. When Kroisos conquered the coastal area, Ephesos saved itself by tying a rope from the temple of Artemis in its countryside to the city walls and thus claiming itself to be sacred ground, according to Herodotos.⁵⁴ All the Greek cities finally entered into an agreement with Kroisos.

The Amazons in Asia Minor

In sum, the Aeolian cities and Kyme in particular stand out in their attitude towards the original population by their attempts at a more equal and mutually acceptable integration of the Greeks and the peoples of the interior than was the rule in the Greek colonies in southern Italy⁵⁵ and in the Ionian settlements in the southern part of Asia Minor. Yet Kyme was a Greek city and was acknowledged to have been one of the first, even the very first Greek settlement in Asia Minor. Its foundation- and eponymous stories presented precisely this double identity. Kyme claimed as its founders the (grand)sons of Agamemnon, and that the act of foundation had followed closely on the siege of Troy. As in other *poleis*, the citizens of Kyme identified the Greekness of their city with the founding acts of male heroes, while the local population was represented by female figures. But instead of emphasising the subjection of the territory, of its fertility and its people, by employing metaphors of femininity as we saw in other colonies, the Greeks respected the identity of the area before their own arrival. This identity was embodied in an Amazon, a heroine associated with this region and yet coming 'from elsewhere' to confirm the new bonds by conferring her name on the city. So Kyme traced both vital aspects of its identity, its founding and its name, to male heroes and a female heroine from Homeric epic and worked them into a story of the city's origins. In this civic context, the Amazons' epic epithet 'equivalent to

⁵²Hdt. I, 144-48.

⁵³On the development of the Ephesos cult, see C. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros: Recherches sur les sanctuaires et les cultes de l'Ionie du Nord*, Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 123 (Paris, 1922).

⁵⁴Hdt. I, 15-26.

⁵⁵This is also reflected in Amazonian stories, e.g. on Klete (Southern Italy): Lykophron, *Alex.* 995ff. and schol.: "The land allotted to an Amazon": because the city and the land had been allotted to the Amazon Klete, and this city was named precisely after the Amazon Klete who had founded it; "the female slave" from Klete, one of the Amazons, the nurse of Penthesileia. After Penthesileia's death, Klete sailed away in search of her mistress. She came to Italy, where she became queen of the region after having founded the city. All queens called themselves Kletai after her and the city Klete. After many generations, the Krotonians waged a war against them; they seized the last Klete, who had not founded the city, and destroyed the city.' (There are many minor variations on this pattern.)

men⁵⁶ acquired a new meaning. The men, *andres*, were not just Greek heroes, but the male citizens representing Kyme as a *polis*.

The ambiguous nature of the Amazons was crucial in the genesis of this eponymy. Though later stories tried to explain how the Amazons as an exclusively female people reproduced themselves by temporary unions with men, marriage and fertility never became an integrated part of the Amazonian image. Even the Amazon in Andron of Teos's story was only briefly married to a non-Greek king before wandering off again. Thus the feminine side of the Amazons could represent the original inhabitants of the land and their relation with the Greek *polis* as was the case in other colonies. Their masculinity, however, evoking their prowess and resistance to marriage, represented the autonomy of the indigenous people who were not to be subdued in a 'marriage' with Greek citizens. In brief, the eponymy of Kyme conveyed the Greek idea that the original population acknowledged the presence of the Greek city and that they did so not by force but on equal terms — granted that in case of emergency the Greek element would prevail. The people to whom this message was addressed must have been first of all those who created it — the Greek citizens of Kyme, and second the indigenous people living in and close by the city.

Subsequently, the claims increased. Several eponymous stories emphasized that the Amazons themselves had taken land, as for instance Pomponius Mela (c. A.D. 50) reported: 'The nearest region that came to be Aeolis. . . . The first city was called Myrina after its founder Myrinos and Pelops established the next one, when he came back from Greece after his victory over Oinomaos. Kyme, the leader of the Amazons, gave Kyme its name, after the people who had lived there were expelled [by her].'⁵⁷ This tale makes a number of statements at once. It denies the eponymy of Myrina after an Amazon Myrina, which was developed in preceding centuries but very likely after that of Kyme. It confirms the founding of Kyme by Pelops and the Amazon's conferment of her name on the city. And it admits that an original people used to live in that place before the Greeks came. This people is nameless, lacking the identity which would have legitimised its claims to descent and possession of the soil. These inhabitants were dispossessed not by the Greeks but by the Amazons, likewise an indigenous group whose leader gave her name to Kyme *voluntarily*, being the one controlling the area and in the rightful position to consent to the settlement of the Greeks.

This story recounted by Pomponius Mela is one of a group of tales indicating that the Amazons had proven themselves successful in the ongoing contests for land and power in these areas.⁵⁸ The accounts emphasize the Amazons' legitimate control of the region by conquest rather than the right of anybody else to dispossess them in their turn. As an intercessor between previous inhabitants and the Greeks, the eponymous Amazon now stood for Greek entitlement to the land, warding off anyone encroaching on the ancient rights of the Greek cities to territories granted them by the Amazons. The late date of these sources precludes an assessment as to when this external effect began and thus to whom it may have been directed. It is not impossible that among

⁵⁶*Amazones antianeirai*; *Iliad* III, 189; VI, 186.

⁵⁷Pomp. Mela I, 18.

⁵⁸Diod. S. III, 52-55; Just. *Epit.* II, iv; Strabo XIV, 1, 4.

its first addressees were the Lydian kings, who combined a high esteem for Greek culture with an eagerness to control the Greek cities on the coast. The Amazonian claims of the Greek cities may have been unsuccessful in preventing Kroisos from overpowering them, yet may have contributed to his mild treatment of them.⁵⁹ All the same, the claim of ancient rights was certainly meant to extend to other Greek cities, which explains why Amazonian eponymy expanded the way it did. The rivalry between Kyme and Myrina has a parallel in the contests between Ephesos and Smyrna as to which of them was first in being adopted by the Amazons.⁶⁰ The stories seem to account for Smyrna's abandonment of the Aeolian cities' confederation and its connection to the Ionians, passing over in silence the fact that the whole city had once been destroyed by the Lydians.⁶¹ Taken together, the eponymous tales show the ongoing competition between the Greek cities for honour and claims to land in foreign and much-contested areas. The major cities and even the smaller settlements bordering Aeolis and the region between Sinope and the Troas, and cities even as far south as Priene, all came to trace their names and even their foundation to an Amazon.

The presence of the Amazon in the city could be demonstrated in various ways. In the earliest records of Kyme and Sinope no mention is made of a tomb, nor can the earliest date of the cult of Kyme be established. Her sanctuary as eponymous heroine may have been situated in the city centre.⁶² In Ephesos it was again not a tomb, but (the altar of) the sanctuary of Artemis itself which embodied the presence of the Amazons. The Ephesians claimed that the sanctuary had always been there and that the Amazons had renewed the sanctuary's existence by their name and/or by inaugurating the right of asylum. Thus by the second half of the sixth century, to account for the most famous and lucrative feature of Ephesos in Amazonian terms was appar-

⁵⁹A very late source calls the Amazons 'Lydian'; *Et. Mag.* s.v. Ephesos: '[A local male figure, called Ephesos]. Or [the city is named after] a Lydian Amazon Ephesos, who was the first to worship Artemis and called her Ephesian; after Artemis, then, the inhabitants and the city were named. Or because Theseus, after the campaign with Herakles for the girdle of the Amazon, drove the Amazons to Lydia; there they sought refuge at an altar of Artemis, and succeeding in that safety was granted them, it was granted to them [*epheinai autais*]. After this the place was called Ephesos, and Artemis the Ephesian.' Reminiscence of the Lydian queen Omphale, to whom Herakles was subjected, may have played a part here as well.

⁶⁰For instance: Herakleides Ponticus (*FHG* II, p. 222): 'They say that it was called Ephesos after one of the Amazons . . .' Strabo XIV, 1, 4: 'These are the twelve Ionian cities, but at a later time Smyrna was added, being induced by the Ephesians to join the Ionian League; for the Ephesians were fellow-inhabitants of the Smyrnaeans in ancient times, when Ephesos was also called Smyrna. . . . Smyrna was an Amazon who took possession of Ephesos; and hence both the name of the inhabitants and of the city, just as certain of the Ephesians were called Sisyrbidae after Sisyrbē' (trans. Loeb, modified). Plinius *NH* V, xxxi, 115: 'On the coast there is . . . Ephesos built by the Amazons . . .' *Et. Mag.* s.v. Ephesos (see above, note 59). Plinius *NH* V, xxxi, 118: 'Smyrna, founded by an Amazon and restored by Alexander.' Steph. Byz. s.v. Smyrna: "Smyrna, a city in Ionia, first founded and inhabited by Tantalos. Then it was called Naulokhos, but later on Smyrna, after an Amazon Smyrna, who had been living in Ephesos."

⁶¹Hdt. I, 50 sets this change shortly after the ascendancy of the Lydian kings over the Greek cities. Herodotos does not mention an Amazon in either Smyrna or Ephesos (nor in Kyme). But Ephesos was not regularly 'Ionian' itself, since it did not celebrate the Apatouria festival, nor did Kolophon celebrate it; Hdt. I, 147. Herodotos underscores that being 'Ionian' was in any case a somewhat doubtful claim, *vide* the descent of the Milesians.

⁶²In the agora of Kyme a colonnaded building was found bearing several honorary decrees of Roman 'city founders', but it cannot be identified as the sanctuary of Kyme. P. Knoblauch, 'Eine neue topographische Aufnahme des Stadtgebietes von Kyme in der Äolis', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1974), pp. 285-91.

ently *the* thing to do. And if we go by Herodotos' account, the accumulated devices sustaining the city's identity did help to save the city from conquest. Moreover, in the same period Attic vases with pictures of Amazonomachies were generally circulating in the area.⁶³ It is revealing that Ephesos translated the theme of (Greek) battle with the Amazons into a theme of giving sanctuary to the Amazons.⁶⁴ The message of Ephesos, though set in a different code, was the same as that of Kyme: in the sanctuary of Ephesos the original inhabitants of the region were protected on equal terms with the Greeks. Indeed, the role allotted to the Amazons reflects the fortunes of the people living immediately around the city, in marked contrast with the other original inhabitants — if we may trust the account of Pausanias (above). After Ephesos, several other north Ionian cities adopted an Amazon. But Miletos and Halikarnassos did not join the quest for a mythical Amazonian past. As their internal identity formation would not acknowledge the autochthonous inhabitants, they would not express similar claims towards the outside world.

After a while, tombs became the regular proof of Amazon presence, testifying to an Amazonian eponymy. Since Amazons were as heroic as their male counterparts in epic, tombs were precisely the place to find them.⁶⁵ The first idea of an Amazon in a tomb was probably inspired by a passage in the *Iliad*, relating that mortals may be unaware of it, but the immortal gods know that in the mound near Troy 'much-bounding Myrine' lies buried.⁶⁶ Thus, several hundred years after the creation of the epic lines, Myrine granted her name to the Aeolian city several hundred miles away from Troy. While Strabo knew that there were many Amazonian tombs, no account from Asia Minor said that an Amazon was lying there because the Greeks had killed her. On the contrary, the lines in the *Iliad* evoke a peaceful atmosphere, enhancing a contrast between the eternal quiet of the tomb and the marshalling of the troops in the plain surrounding the hill.

Violence to Amazons is limited to stories belonging to the pattern of Herakles and Theseus, heroes who were famous for having defeated the Amazons and whose mythical space was now projected onto the map of Asia Minor.⁶⁷ These stories originated

⁶³This was the main point of Devambez, 'Les Amazones'.

⁶⁴Several sources even claim that Herakles — reputedly a forebear of the Lydian kings — gave the Amazons the area or sanctuary at the temple voluntarily; Herakl. Pont. (*FHG* II, p. 222); Tac. *Ann.* III, lx-lxii. As a proper name, "Amazoon" occurs in an inscription at Ephesos, dedicated by an official whose female relatives were closely connected with the sanctuary. H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, and R. Merkelbach, eds., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1980), no. 941.

⁶⁵The list of eponymous heroes whose tombs were described in ancient accounts provided by Pfister, vol. 1, para. 13, shows the following range. Males in mainland Greece, 27; males in Asia Minor, 10; males elsewhere, 14; unidentified males, 2. Females in mainland Greece, 3; females in Asia Minor other than Amazons, 2; females elsewhere, 2. Like the Leschhorn survey (see above, note 6), this survey offers a general indication only.

⁶⁶*Iliad* II, 811-14. Thus the *name* of Myrine occurs in the earliest source of all concerned, but its interpretation as an Amazon eponymy appears much later, being firmly established by the second century B.C. An interpretation mentioned by Strabo (XII, 8, 6) relates 'much-bounding' to a chariot, probably the war chariot in which the epic heroes drove to the battlefield before doing the actual fighting on foot. However, chariots are also used by gods and goddesses when they ride triumphantly through their realms. Was Myrine — if not originally an Amazon — perhaps a nymph? The name may be derived from *myron*, perfumed oil, which has little to do with the battlefield; what was 'much-bounding' in relation to this? Dancing?

⁶⁷And a few even to Dionysos, cf. Plout. *Mor.* 303, D-E; and Pausanias, above. The role of Herakles in Asia Minor was rather ambiguous, as we saw in the text. On his role as Amazon-fighter derived from epic, see Blok, *Early Amazons*, chap. 5.

in mainland Greece, where violence was the regular feature in the tales of Amazon eponymy that became current from the fifth century B.C. onwards. Here, the tombs concealed the remains of Amazons slain in battle or who had pined away with grief for their lost power and homelands. Other places, too, referred by their name to the invasion of the Amazons and the successful efforts of the Greeks to stop them.⁶⁸ If here, too, Amazon eponymy became a fashion, the increasing number of cities with Amazon monuments competed in sharing the honour of having opposed the Amazons, as equals of the Athenians led by Theseus. The epic tradition of honour to be gained in a fight between equal opponents had been transposed into wonder, self-assurance and pride after the Greek victory over the invading Persians.

⁶⁸Aiskhylos, *Eumenides*, 685-90; Ploutarkhos, *Life of Theseus*, 27; Paus. I, xli, 7, II, xxxii, 9, III, xxv, 3: Athens, Megara, Khalkis, Corinth, Pyrrikhia in Lakonia.