

**Material Mythologies: An Examination of the
Relationship between Greek Mythology, Identity and
Material Culture in the Hellenistic Period**

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Abstract

Several communities across the Hellenistic Period Mediterranean provide evidence of a fascinating interplay between identity, mythology and material culture. Despite an acknowledgment that identity continually develops, researchers fail to tackle how material culture contributes to this over time, and exactly how the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture functioned in practice. These questions are tackled in this thesis through employment of case studies across Arcadia, Crete, and the Levantine region. This thesis examines the sanctuary of Lykosoura and how it used its monumental material culture to develop associations between itself and wider Arcadian mythology in the memory of its visitors; the island of Crete, and how contextual issues on the island led to pastoral elements being attached to once ‘un-pastoral’ gods and goddesses – this was facilitated with material culture that grounded these variations within communities and, through physicality, offered authority to them; and the city of Tyre in Phoenicia, where material culture aided in the synoecism of Heracles-Melqart (and through them, intercultural contact) through allowing the material culture to be ‘read in two ways’. These case studies will be framed, interrogated, and unpacked through theory, specifically that of memory and space (alongside material theory). Through this, the case studies reveal how myth, identity, and material culture interconnect; mythology was fluid yet retained core concepts deeply embedded in community consciousness. Lykosoura and Crete adapted local myths to fit their landscapes, while Tyre found parallels between Heracles and Melqart to support synoecism. Within this, physical representations of myths transform abstract concepts into tangible realities, reinforcing new mythic variants and communal identities, whilst space and built environments anchor myths in specific locations, providing stability and authenticity. Overall, material culture serves as a conduit for mythological transformation, enabling interpretation and grounding narratives within communal consciousness, thus facilitating the evolution and adaptation of Greek belief systems.

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	16
1.1: Framing the Concepts	21
1.1.1: Identity	21
1.1.2: Myth	26
1.1.3: Material Culture	33
1.2: Methodological Issues	42
1.2.1 The Hellenistic Period, Broadly	42
1.2.2: Why Case Studies?	50
1.2.3: Space and Memory: A Byline for Discussion	53
1.2.3.1: Space: Localisation, the Built Environment, and Anchoring	54
1.2.3.2: Memory: Intentional History, Playing with Memory, and Subjectivity (‘Reading Things Two Ways’)	60
1.2.4: Coinage and Sculpture: Operating Parameters	65
Chapter 2: Lykosoura: Material Mythology	71
2.1: Introduction	71
2.2: The Expansion of Megalopolis	77
2.2.1: The Synoecism of Megalopolis	77
2.2.2: Megalopolis and Lykosoura	79
2.3: The Sanctuary of Lykosoura	85
2.3.1: Dating the Sanctuary	88
2.3.2: The Cult Group	90
2.4: Arcadian Mythology: Continuity and Context	96
2.4.1: A Collective Arcadian Mythic Identity?	96
2.4.2: A Continuity of Myth in Arcadia	99
2.4.3: The 8 th -6 th Centuries BC	99
2.4.3.1: Zeus	100
2.4.3.2: Poseidon <i>Hippios</i>	101
2.4.3.3: Artemis	103
2.4.3.4: Pan and Theriomorphic Figures	103
2.4.4: The 5 th -4 th Century BC	108
2.4.4.1: Zeus	108
2.4.4.2: Poseidon and Artemis	109

2.4.4.3: Pan and Theriomorphic Figures.....	110
2.4.5: The Hellenistic Period	111
2.5: Lykosoura's Collation of Arcadian Mythology.....	113
2.5.1: The Collation of Mythology at Lykosoura	113
2.5.2: Lykosoura's Motives and Popularity	120
2.6: Lykosoura's Use of Material Culture to Influence Myth and Identity	124
2.6.1: Intentional History: The Attachment of Myths to the Sanctuary.....	124
2.6.2: Location as Authority	126
2.6.3: The Religious Experience within the Sanctuary	130
2.6.4: Expanding Locality.....	139
2.7: Conclusions.....	142
Chapter 3: Crete: Transitory Mythologies.....	144
3.1: Introduction.....	144
3.2: The Cretans and their Landscape	145
3.2.1: The Cretans	145
3.2.2: The Cretan Connection to their Landscape.....	147
3.3: The Expansion of Cretan Cities and their Impact on the Political Landscape	151
3.3.1: The Expansion of Cretan Cities	151
3.3.2: The Impact of Expansion on Smaller Cretan Communities	156
3.3.2.1: The Nucleation of Cretan Communities	156
3.3.2.2: The Destruction of Cults.....	157
3.3.2.3: The Control of Religious Autonomy	159
3.4: Pastoral Mythologies in the 7 th -4 th Centuries	164
3.4.1: Aphrodite	165
3.4.2: Hermes	168
3.4.3: Apollo	170
3.4.4: Pan	172
3.4.5: Pastoralism in Hellenistic Crete.....	174
3.5: Material Culture as Authority: Pastoral Myths.....	178
3.5.1: A Focus on Pastoral Gods.....	178
3.5.2: The Gods that Became Pastoral	187
3.6: Conclusions.....	192
Chapter 4: Heracles-Melqart: Institutionalising Identity within Tyre.....	193

4.1: Introduction.....	193
4.2: Contextualising the Phoenicians	195
4.2.1: The ‘Problems’ with Phoenician Identity	197
4.2.2: Unpacking the Problems.....	202
4.3: Ideas, Influence, and Intention.....	205
4.3.1: Contextual Influence: Audience and Trade	206
4.3.2: Intention, and Adopted Ideas	210
4.3.3: Ideas and Orientalizing	214
4.3.4: Finalising the Approach.....	216
4.4: Heracles and Melqart: Conversations Across the Mediterranean.....	218
4.4.1: Melqart.....	218
4.4.2: The Continuity of Heracles-Melqart.....	220
4.4.2.1: 9 th -7 th Centuries BC	221
4.4.2.2: 8 th -5 th Centuries BC	225
4.4.2.3: 5 th -4 th Centuries BC	231
4.5: The Hellenistic Period in Phoenicia.....	237
4.5.1: The Advent of the Hellenistic Period	237
4.5.2: Phoenicia in the Hellenistic Period.....	239
4.5.3: The History of Phoenician Coinage.....	241
4.5.3.1: Did the Phoenician Cities Have Control of their Numismatic Identity?	243
4.6: Heracles-Melqart in Tyre: Material Culture in the City	249
4.6.1: The City of Tyre	250
4.6.1.1: An Overview.....	251
4.6.1.2: Difficulties of the Archaeology	252
4.6.1.3: The Layout of the City.....	253
4.6.1.4: The Harbours and the Necropolis	254
4.6.1.5: The Temple of Melqart	255
4.6.2: Images and Identity.....	258
4.6.2.1: Fostering Networks.....	260
4.6.2.2: Maintaining Identity	266
4.7: Conclusion	277
Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks.....	278
5.1: Fluid Material Myths, Fluid Material Contexts	278

5.2: The Relationship Between Myth, Identity, and Material Culture.....	279
5.3: Informing Understandings	283
5.4: Stepping Forwards	286
Bibliography	288

List of Figures

- Figure 1. c. 333/2 BC silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great (Thonemann 2015: 13, fig. 1.11, ANS 1965.77.80). p. 68
- Figure 2. c. 361-333 BC silver stater of Persian satrap Mazaeus, both from Tarsus in Cilicia (Thonemann 2015: 13, fig. 1.12, ANS 1967.152.502). p. 68
- Figure 3. Map of Southwestern Peloponnese (Shipley 2018: xvii, map F). p. 71
- Figure 4. Map of the area surrounding Lykosoura (Mentzer et al. 2017: 1021, fig. 1). p. 85
- Figure 5. Map of the Lykosoura Sanctuary (created by D. Coslett, in Averett 2019: 167, fig. 10.2). p. 86
- Figure 6. The Despoina Cult Group (Averett 2019: 169, fig. 10.4). p. 90
- Figure 7. The Despoina Cult Group, as depicted from the Severian Era (Stais 1912). p. 91
- Figure 8. The Veil of Despoina (Dickins 1906/7, PL. XIV). p. 91
- Figure 9. Theriomorphic votives from the megaron at Lykosoura. (K. A. P. Iselin, featured in Averett 2019: 168, fig. 10.3). p. 117
- Figure 10. Map of the Lykosoura Sanctuary (Socratis Tsacos and Lloyd Bosworth in Boutsikas 2020: 173, fig. 55). p. 132
- Figure 11. The Temple of Despoina (Stewart 1990, fig. 788). p. 133
- Figure 12. Lykosoura's megaron (Jost 2005, fig. 6.3). p. 134
- Figure 13. The Steps outside the Temple of Despoina (Wikimedia Commons). p. 137
- Figure 14. The Steps outside the Temple of Despoina (Socratis Tsacos, Lloyd Bosworth, and Efrosyni Boutsikas in Boutsikas 2020: 175, fig. 59). p. 137
- Figure 15. The Island of Crete (c. 5th-2nd Century BC) (by K. Harding in Whitley 2023: 329, fig. 1). p. 145

Figure 16. The expansion of Cretan cities in the Hellenistic Period (Chaniotis 2005c: 131, map 3). p. 151

Figure 17. The Itanos survey zones through the various periods (Coutsinas 2023: 85, fig. 7.4). p. 155

Figure 18. The Erotic Goddess (Lebessi 2009: 530, fig. 8, HM 20037). p. 166

Figure 19. Aphrodite tying her sandal (Sporn 2018: 130, fig. 5, MH 31415). p. 167

Figure 20. Hermes on a bronze plaque (Lebessi 2009: 535, fig. 15, Syme excavation archive). p. 169

Figure 21. Hermes on a bronze plaque (Lebessi 2009: 536, fig. 16, Syme excavation archive). p. 169

Figure 22. Terracotta figure of Hermes (Sporn 2018: 127, fig. 1, MH 20874). p. 170

Figure 23. Pan, on an object from Phaistos (Cuccuza 2009: 303, fig. 1). p. 173

Figure 24. 3rd Century BC Diktyнна from Polyrrenia (BMC 1-2). p. 181

Figure 25. 2nd century BC Pan and the nymphs from Vasiliki (Sporn 2004: 1106, fig. 1). p. 183

Figure 26. Image of a goat from Gortyn (Herakleion Archaeological Museum, image author's own). p. 184

Figure 27. A satyr design on an *oinochoe* from Kissamos (Kissamos Archaeological Museum, image author's own). p. 184

Figure 28. Satyr figurine from Lyttos (Herakleion Archaeological Museum, image author's own). p. 184

Figure 29. Hermes, with a possible boar's jaw on the reverse (Svoronos 1890: 10, pl. XXX, 22). p. 184

Figure 30. Pan, on a Kommos relief (Sporn 2004: 1106, fig. 3). p. 185

Figure 31. Aphrodite and Pan, from the Eleutherna Bathhouse, c. 2nd Century BC (Sporn 2018: 275, fig. 4, Eleutherna, Museum Inv. 3776+3777). p. 189

Figure 32. Apollo Karneios, from Knossoian coinage (Svoronos 104). p. 190

- Figure 33. Map of Phoenicia (Nitschke 2011: 88, fig. 3). p. 195
- Figure 34. Phoenician trading networks (Manning 2018: 45, map 1). p. 196
- Figure 35. A silver bowl from Palestrina (Vella 2014: 33, fig. 2.3). p. 199
- Figure 36. A bronze bowl from Nimrud, featuring a pantheon (Gubel 2019: 357, fig. 23.3). p. 206
- Figure 37. 8th-6th century BC Horse rider terracotta, perhaps Amrit (based on headwear). Providence uncertain (Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History. Inv.no. A 1323). p. 207
- Figure 38. 8th century BC furniture panel from Nimrud (Gubel 2019: 361, fig. 23.4). p. 208
- Figure 39. 5th century BC coin from Tyre featuring an owl (British Museum, CM 1919-05-16-16). p. 209
- Figure 40. 5th 4th century BC coin from Sidon featuring a ship and a chariot (British Museum, 1918,0204.157). p. 209
- Figure 41. Plan of the temple of Milkashtart (Nitschke 2011: 91, fig. 4). p. 210
- Figure 42. Plan of Kharayeb (Oggiano 2015: 508, fig. 1). p. 211
- Figure 43. Fragments of ‘Greek’ style statues (Nitschke 2011: 98, fig. 11). p. 211
- Figure 44. Terracottas of Hermes, Apollo, Dioynsus and Heracles Fragments of ‘Greek’ style statues (Oggiano 2015: 511, fig. 4). p. 212
- Figure 45. Aniconic Thrones. Astarte throne from Umm El-Amed and Sidon (Nitschke 2011: 94, fig. 8). p. 213
- Figure 46. Aniconic Thrones. Astarte throne from Umm El-Amed and Sidon (Stucky 2015: 198, fig. 9). p. 213
- Figure 47. 8th century BC seal (Peckham 2010: 129, fig. 1.8, A.O. 3175). p. 221
- Figure 48. A coin from Tyre featuring the Ambrosian Rocks, Elagabal, 218-222 AD (Cointalks.com, <https://www.cointalk.com/threads/tyre-and-the-ambrosial-rocks.335180/>). p. 222

Figure 49. 8th century BC silver hook from Cyprus, featuring Heracles and Bes (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 204, fig. 4, diameter 17cm). p. 222

Figure 50. 7th century BC Bronze votive breastplate from the Heraion on Samos, depicting Heracles battle with Geyron (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 207, fig. 6, after Brize 1985). p. 223

Figure 51. 9th century BC Aleppo stele (Bonnet 1988, fig. 6). p. 224

Figure 52. 8th-5th century BC Stele of Amrit (Louvre Museum, no. AO 22247). p. 225

Figure 53. 8th-6th century BC ring finger from Carthage (illustrative of those coming from Sardina and Cyprus) (Culican 1968a: 102, pl. A). p. 226

Figure 54. Diety on a sphinx throne (Ibiza no. 67, Barcelona 9346). p. 227

Figure 55. ‘Melqart’ with an axe beside an incense burner (Ibiza no. 64, Ibiza 4380). p. 227

Figure 56. The 6th-5th century BC Master of Lions from Cyprus (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 200, fig. 2). p. 228

Figure 57. The 6th-5th century BC Master of Lions from Cyprus (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 200, fig. 2). p. 228

Figure 58. 4th century BC Master of Lion from Golgoi-Ayios Photios, Cyprus (Daniels 2021: 471, Metropolitan Museum of Art Cesnola Collection 74.51.2660). p. 229

Figure 59. Heracles wrestling lion from Capua (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 218, fig. 9). p. 230

Figure 60. Astarte on horse from Capua (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 218, fig. 8). p. 230

Figure 61. c. 5th century BC Cyprus. Face of Bes (Scarab: 22/11 Paris, BN, Pauvert no. 39 (Castagnini Coll.) p. 231

Figure 62. c. 5th century BC face of Melqart (possibly) from Cyprus (The Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Cesnola Collection), 1874–76. 74.51.1439; 22/18). p. 231

Figure 63. c. 5th century BC Bes fighting a lion on a scarab (Ibiza no. 90 (Ibiza 3854)). p. 231

Figure 64. 475-450 BC, silver siglos of King Baalmilk I, Kition, Cyprus (Fourrier 2021: 129, fig. 2). p. 232

Figure 65. 479 BC Cypriot coinage after King Baalmelek took control (Demetriou 2001: Plate XXIIb). p. 233

Figure 66. 479 BC Cypriot coinage after King Baalmelek took control (Demetriou 2001: Plate XXIIc). p. 233

Figure 67. c. 425-333/2 BC silver daric issued from Tyre (British Museum, CM 1919-05-16-16). p. 233

Figure 68. The Vase of Sidon (Lima 2019: 191). p. 234

Figure 69. Late 4th century BC coin from Rosh Melqart (British Museum, 1874, 0714.99). p. 235

Figure 70. Coin of Alexander III, minted at Tyre, featuring club and bow (National Numismatic Museum, Athens, no. 63, image author's own). p. 242

Figure 71. Coin of Ptolemy II (266-265 BC) featuring an eagle holding a lightning-bolt (ANS 1997.45). p. 242

Figure 72. Coin of Antiochus III (198-197 BC) with the prow of a ship (ANS 1944.100.77354). p. 242

Figure 73. 90/89 BC, silver tetradrachm of autonomous Tyre (Lorber 2015: 88, fig. 43). p. 246

Figure 74. The City of Tyre (author's own, drawn from Aubet, Núñez and Trellisó 2016: 4, 11; Aubet 2020: 14; Marriner et al. 2008: 1285). p. 250

Figure 75. A modern recreation of Tyre (to be viewed as a visual support, not a definitive point on what the city looked like) (Comes Orientis 2023, X.com). p. 250

Figure 76. The remains of the 12th century AD Crusader Church (livius.org, <https://www.livius.org/pictures/lebanon/sur-tyre/tyre-city-temple-of-melqart/tyre-city-crusader-church/>). p. 256

Figure 77. A recreation of a Bas-relief found at the early 7th century Assyrian palace of Sennacherib at Ninevah and recorded by Layard – Melqart's temple is on the top right (Jensen 2003: 106). p. 256

Figure 78. The temple site (Badre 2015: 63, fig. 3). p. 257

Figure 79. View of the southern part of Unit 15 (linked to fig. 73), underneath the remains of the Hellenistic outer wall of sanctuary (Boschloos 2016: 5, fig. 4). p. 258

Figure 80. Head of (assumed) Heracles-Melqart from Kition on Cyprus (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2023: 12, fig. 4). p. 261

Figure 81. 316/315 BC coin from Tyre, with Alexander III and Zeus on the reverse (Price 1991, no. 3281). p. 261

Figure 82. 3rd century BC coin from Tyre, with eagle, palm-tree/club and nautical symbols (Hill 1911: 233, no. 111). p. 261

Figure 83. 3rd century BC razor from Carthage featuring Heracles with his lion-skin and club (Dussaud 1946: 214, fig. 2). p. 263

Figure 84. An inscribed sling bullet, Side A (νίκη) (Ustinova et al. 2022: 192, fig. 4). p. 266

Figure 85. An inscribed sling bullet, Side B (Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἀνῶνα) (Ustinova et al. 2022: 192, fig. 5). p. 266

Figure 86. Weary Heracles (2nd-1st century BC) found at Ḥorbat Ṭarbenet (Mazor and Atrash 2021: 168). p. 266

Figure 87. 1st century BC Palmyre Relief (National Museum of Damascus, museum no. Damascus 4242/10050). p. 266

Figure 88. c. 3rd century BC Kharayeb figurines of children (Oggiano 2015: 513, fig. 6). p. 269

Figure 89. 305-283 BC posthumous tetradrachm of Ptolemy I with an eagle clutching a thunderbolt on the reverse, minted at Tyre (Hirsch Auction 348, 474). p. 271

Figure 90. 80/79 BC silver half shekel featuring the laureate head of Melqart with a lion skin tied around his neck and an eagle standing on a ship's prow (and letters, ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ), minted at Tyre (Rouvier 2031). p. 271

Figure 91. 4th-2nd century BC limestone head of a bearded male (Lichtenberger 2022: 5, fig. 4). p. 271

Figure 92. 30-31 BC, silver shekel, Head of Melqart, laureate, right, with eagle standing on the prow of a ship; palm branch over right shoulder with a club. Minted in Tyre (BMC. 1923.1160). p. 273

Figure 93. 2nd century AD, Tyrian theatre token featuring Heracles in a lion skin (diameter 3.15cm; thickness: 0.45cm) (Gubel 1986: 239, fig. 277). p. 276

Abbreviations in the footnotes and bibliography are in line the Oxford Classical Dictionary.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Oftentimes concepts are taken for granted. When myth (for example), embodied through material culture in sculpture and coinage, is examined it is often through the lens of what this tells us about Greek¹ thought, or religious practice, or inter-cultural interactions. This remains true, in its own way, when identity is examined, either in a vacuum or in relation to other concepts. In contrast to these works centered around the question of why something has happened, or the concepts of influence, intention, or reception, there is a distinct lack of study into *how* these concepts, identity, myth, and material culture, functioned.² To avoid disregarding past scholarly work on these topics, and the excellent contributions from them, it is prudent to impress there is a difference between *how* and a more developed *how*. As will be seen, scholars across these topics have worked to understand function (the ‘how’) (e.g., as W. Burkert did for Greek religion).³ But these examinations often took place at the foundational level using the building blocks of the concept, e.g., myth for religion, to understand process (myth is made interactable by ritual-) and function (-to help promote collective identity within a community). Thus, scholarship does examine how these concepts worked but with limited depth, and thus, whilst these studies remain fundamental to our understanding of ancient world, we have a chance to go further. To do so, to reach a more developed ‘how’, we shall employ targeted theory⁴ to frame, interrogate, and unpack this thesis’ focus: the relationship between identity, myth, and material culture. Knowing the fundamentals of each concept, we can suggest exactly *how* each worked in tandem to

¹ There is a recognition here of how ‘Greek’ can be argued as an ethnically reductive term for a group of peoples who very much transcended a broad-brush name. And whilst we endeavour to overcome this by being specific about who we refer to (e.g., Lykosourians), we also want to recognise, especially in examples of intercultural communication, that the ‘Greeks’ (and the Phoenicians in chapter 4, for that matter) would have recognised themselves as a group distinct from another (see Hdt. 8.144.1-3). As such, for the broad (and complex) framing of methodological issues we will use the term ‘Greek’ (with a stipulation that this is a broad umbrella and not a homogenous reduction of a peoples who would have seen themselves first and foremost as ‘Athenians’ and ‘Corinthians’ etc). Note, this is also the reason why for its use in the title. The Relationship between Myth, Identity, and Material Culture derived from the cultural peoples who lived on the landmass we now call Greece, is not a very punchy title. Otherwise, we shall be specific in who we address (e.g., Tyrians). The term ‘Ancient Greece’ shall be employed in this chapter with similar stipulation – here we use it as a shorthand to refer to a collection of city states, largely linked through mythology and language. We are not attempting to imply the existence of some form of political landmass, comparable to how we would understand countries today.

² But not entirely. Nevett 2017, and collected authors, try to apply theory to case studies to study the ‘how’ of various ancient processes.

³ Burkert 1985.

⁴ This includes the fair question of ‘how does theory necessarily create a more developed ‘how’ next to a pure reliance on historical evidence?’

influence and manipulate the other within the Hellenistic Period.⁵

In examining how these mythic material identities functioned, we will inadvertently touch upon a few additional questions. This is a significant element of this study – the general conclusions can be applied quite broadly. Here, some questions include: how identity developed in relation to cultural stimuli⁶ in the Hellenistic Period;⁷ how different cultural groups (in our case, Greco-Macedonians and Tyrians) co-existed and thrived off one and other; how myth remained fluid, especially since the Hellenistic Period saw a greater attention paid to the creation of works about myth (discussed later);⁸ how religious belief was sustained; and what was the importance of material objects within culture⁹ around the Mediterranean? These are not questions that are always directly addressed, but the conclusions made across this thesis can help us to further understand, and complicate, all of them. To address both the point of this research, and by association these additional questions, we will use theory as a tool to interrogate and unpack the primary evidence from a selection of case studies – these include the Arcadian sanctuary of Lykosoura, the island of Crete, and the Phoenician city of Tyre. The rationale behind this will be discussed in further detail below, but in short, they represent a disparity of scale (sanctuary/regional, island, and city levels), and a variety of locations, communities, cultures (Greek and Phoenician),¹⁰ and examples of myth, identity, and material culture working together – through them, we can not only provide some specific historical conclusions on what is happening at each site, but through consistent application of our theoretical tools, we can pull out some general, recurring elements in how myth, identity, and material culture worked within them. Which in turn can be used to provide general conclusions as to the relationship between the three. Within these case studies, we shall examine a selection of evidence, which includes inscriptions and a variety of material culture. By and large, the artefacts examined consist mainly of coinage for simple reasons of necessity – they are often the only pieces remaining with mythic iconography present, but additionally they do allow us to track clear, deliberate

⁵ A short note on ‘Hellenistic’ – this is used as a helpful, arbitrary (Shipley 2000: 1-5), shorthand to frame the chronology of our discussion. In using it we do not, however, subscribe to issues it represents; namely, as a time of ‘Greek and non-Greek contact’ (see Quinn 2017: 4 for discussion of this). This carries unnecessary baggage, as it is often rooted in ideas of ‘Hellenization’ (see chapter 4 for a discussion of this).

⁶ Meaning, cultural elements that prompt thought and response. For example, the changing iconography of Heracles-Melqart on Tyre and Cyprus, and Apollo Karneios on Crete. Though these examples are reflexive (identity impacts material culture and vice versa), as with most of the work here, we shall still draw a link between material culture, this cultural stimuli, provoking changes of identity.

⁷ Mairs 2014: 115.

⁸ Note, writing about myth existed before – see Hecataeus of Miletus.

⁹ Defined here as the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society.

¹⁰ i.e, we are not examining the myth, identity, material relationship within a (Greek) vacuum.

changes in identity (discussed shortly). Other items studied include statuettes, monumental sculpture, and buildings, all of which are analysed through the angle of impression – i.e., how they influenced and conferred identity upon the viewer (and vice versa).¹¹

Hopefully, it is clear why the current approach (an examination of three intertwined concepts through a theoretical perspective to determine how they functioned) has been chosen. It builds upon past work, develops our understanding of ancient culture within the Mediterranean, re-frames the importance of combining myth, identity, and material culture, provides the beginnings of a model (in truth, more a collection of recurring elements) we can later test against other cultures and communities, and suggests answers for the additional ideas mentioned earlier.

Why is an examination of myth, identity, and material culture within the Hellenistic Period important to our understanding of Ancient Greece? To answer this, we must briefly illustrate the wider field.

Myth and identity within studies of the Ancient Greeks have often been examined in tandem – whilst the two shall be examined separately in greater depth, for now, to present a broad picture of previous scholarship, this is a convention we shall subscribe to. Myth is often conflated with identity in Ancient Greece, for good reason – mythology provided the names for their towns, the roots of their communal practice, the iconography that appeared on the material culture, and acted as a device through which the communities in mainland Greece (and beyond) could establish, and reject, kinship with others. It hardly needs to be said that mythological identity (and any variation of) is not an understudied area.¹² Despite this, there is still a preoccupation with examining mythic identities in relation to the *polis* (city) (and sanctuaries) – part of this likely derives from Sourvinou-Inwood's *polis religion* model which has firmly cemented itself within the backbone of current scholarship, but another cause is certainly compulsion due to circumstance. Most of our evidence comes from *polies* and sanctuaries, and besides, they act as prime grounds through which to study mythic identity. This has led to studies which discuss how cities distinguished themselves through claims to illustrious myths, which imparted a sense of importance and conferred a prestigious identity upon the holder.¹³ Throughout, the *polis* is often approached as a homogenous unit –

¹¹ Though, it should be noted that we adopt the perspective that the relationship between identity, myth, and material culture was reflexive. It was not a 'one-way street' of influence.

¹² It appears, as the focus or otherwise, in Henrichs and Yunis 2019, Constantinou 2019, Shipley 2018, Thonemann 2015, Milbank 2018, Alexiou 2018, Foster 2017, Thomas 2019, and Skinner et al. 2025. And these are only a selection of recent examples.

¹³ Osborne 1998: 117, Blok 2014: 14; Unwin 2017: 64, Higbie 2012, Malkin 2011: 133; Parker 2007.

in so far as the individual experience is ignored.¹⁴ Now it must be impressed that there is not always a choice in this – spying the individual in ancient times is difficult, however the way in which we approach it can mitigate this (though, without evidence, it can never solve it). Take, for example, Mac Sweeney’s 2015 collected volume on foundation myths; within this she speaks about the emotional value of these myths¹⁵ - by inference this must include some instance of the individual, as a community/town/city is made up of them, but this avenue is never developed. This does not have to be the case – through the approach practiced in this thesis¹⁶ we can suggest some idea of individual reception to myth (an idea we will return to later).

Beyond the loss of the individual (if one could ever be spied), the focus surrounding the *polis* and its continued drive to promote its own sense of mythic identity has led to work that revolves around status and position.¹⁷ J. Hall, in his discussion of Greek identity, and the use of common fathers to unite groups,¹⁸ addressed the idea of ‘unwanted identities’,¹⁹ incidentally implying a sense of hierarchy to self-definition within the ancient world.²⁰ This approach becomes supercharged as we reach the Hellenistic Period – much of the work revolves around how myth fuels the presentation of kingship and power.²¹ This is unsurprising, considering the context of Alexander the Great’s legacy and his successors’ vying for power within this period. Of course, this is not to say the sole preoccupation of studies into mythic identity have been framed through status and position – many have examined other uses for mythology, including for lessons on how to approach the world.²² Additionally, it is not to be avoided – in this work we study Lykosoura in relation to status and position. However, it does emerge as a preoccupation, and one that flattened how we examine mythological identity. The impetus is not on how the process worked, but on what the results of such a process were. As such, the work of foundational scholars such as Burkert

¹⁴ See, as examples, Thomas 2019 and Wallace 1994.

¹⁵ Mac Sweeney 2015: 13.

¹⁶ And in other works, such as Scott 2017 and Hirt 2015, as examples.

¹⁷ See the works cited above.

¹⁸ Hall 2002.

¹⁹ Hall 2002: 9

²⁰ We can also see this idea present in e.g., Bremmer 1997, who discusses how Greek myth was used to manufacture cultural identity, with the implicit sense that there is the right type of identity one could possess, and Unwin 2017, who examined how the stories of Cretan kings could be used to establish links between Caria (that wanted an association with these prestigious kings) and Crete, that wanted to bolster their trading activity (broadly summarised).

²¹ Kosmin 2014: 45; any of Bosworth’s work.

²² Burkert 1985; Bremmer 1997; Blok 2017; Breitenberger 2007; Deacy 1997; Dillon and Garland 2010, Dowden 1992; Dover 1974; Evans 2010; Higbie 2012; Hopman 2012; Kousser 2005; Kerenyi 1975, Mac Sweeney 2013.

(1985) on myth and religion are deeply embedded within the discipline, and there are only a few attempts to develop them.²³

Perhaps because of these preoccupations or due to the history of western scholarship (i.e., heavily influenced by colonialism) our approach to material culture within the sphere of the ancient world is likewise influenced heavily by ideas of status, with arguably more significant consequences. Work from Belarte (2009: 107) and Arruda (2009: 126) have examined inter-cultural material exchange in Iberia, and oftentimes the results impress how material culture is used to delineate rank (the former examines how specific food-ware was used to separate the colonizing Phoenician from the local Iberians).²⁴ These examples are illustrative of a wider trend.²⁵ And because of this, inter-cultural contact (and the material items attached) is often seen through the lens of opposition or conciliation. As a result, we are left with ideas such as the ‘Middle Ground’²⁶ - identities are often essentialized, even unconsciously, and cultures are pitted against each other. Hellenic identity becomes a seductive model.²⁷ Material culture and artwork are often equated to essentialized styles and framed through a cultural push-and-pull, even in works that seek to avoid doing so.²⁸

It could be argued that the way forward past embedded ideas, preoccupations surrounding the *polis*,²⁹ and position and status that has framed how we view myth, identity, and material culture is to adopt a bottom up approach, one that moves past the result³⁰ and tries to discuss how the process worked to reach this result. This is in no way to dismiss previous works and their contributions, or to reprimand a focus on e.g., status – it is often unavoidable, as the society attached to the numerous Greek city-states was built around it, in part. However, focusing on the process, on how it works, can offer us more than just a new perspective on current historical case studies. It can also lead to generalised conclusions that help us reframe

²³ This can be seen in several works: Hopman 2012 and Johnston 2018 are good examples of trying to do so in relation to myth. Scott 2017 uses network theory to suggest how myth works (through the cult of Pan in Athens), and Pirenne-Delforge 2009 on authority and landscape.

²⁴ One can also see Hirt 2015 on how Tyre used its coinage to navigate issues of status within the Roman Period.

²⁵ Even Malkin 2011, who is examining issues of network theory in relation to Heracles in Sicily frames the discussion through the push and pull of power.

²⁶ White 1991.

²⁷ Kousser 2005.

²⁸ Broekema 2023. See also, Nitschke 2015 and Martin 2017 as good examples of this. Despite being fantastic case studies in how to look beyond essentialised identities and to try and spy influence and intention in material works, there is still a preoccupation on status and position. Nonetheless, they do provide good conclusions on process in addition to result. Feldman 2014 is a good case of avoiding this.

²⁹ For a comprehensive study of this topic, see Vlassopoulos 2007.

³⁰ Childs 2018 and Stewart 2014 are examples of this – the latter (p. 125) suggests the statue of a Hellenistic athlete holds his head high, implying a new relationship between the gods and man. But why? How exactly does this work, especially in relation to the viewer? In opposition to this, Lorenz 2016 is a good example of an approach focused around as discussion of ‘how’ material iconography worked.

the concepts of myth, identity, and material culture. Additionally, it highlights the significance of their interconnected functions.

1.1: Framing the Concepts

1.1.1: Identity

Identity³¹ is a complex subject, and equally complex to define, a result of the wide range of subjects it can appear across.³² This issue is not helped by the various ways in which identity has been categorised; our study of the past is necessarily framed by the present, and with this has come modern terminologies. Gender identity, cultural identity, political identity – these ideas certainly existed within the Ancient Greek city-states (and beyond), in some form or another, but the way they have been defined, and are then applied, are modern constructs. Therefore, we intend to approach identity holistically, understanding that gender, ethnicity, and cultural identity (among others) intersect. Though the rationale for this will be discussed further shortly, for now we can say that categorisation, as will be seen, has remained a stubborn part of how identity has been approached in the ancient world and choosing to buy into this would be restricting a more thorough, emic-ally³³ informed understanding of identity in Ancient Greece.

Even in previous scholarship, identity (often defined in these examples as ‘social identity’) has been agreed upon as a conscious and overt process, one of positioning; that is, identity is often defined in relation to something (for example, another group). Within this, identity can also be assigned to the individual or group by another.³⁴ Within these studies, S. Hall suggested ‘culture’ was a collection of ‘norms’, one which contributed to the creation of a (cultural) identity.³⁵ Developing this, these ‘norms’ could be anything, from specific social behaviour to language; throughout though, the identity created from these must be appealing to the group, or risk the leaving of members (which is perhaps more appropriate to a local

³¹ Very loosely defined, to support framing, as a set of qualities that characterise an individual/group.

³² See Gooch and Ruddick 2025.

³³ The terms emic and etic were originally coined by Pike 1954, a linguistic anthropologist, and were subsequently taken up by cultural anthropologists, in particular. The papers in Malkin 2001 are most useful in discussing how the etic and emic points of view pertain to studies of ancient identity.

³⁴ Frey and Hausser 1987: 4; Turner 1999: 8; Wodak 1992: 22; Lakoff 2006: 142; Edwards 2009: 25; Bassiouny 2014: 38, 48-9, 55, 356; Bamberg and Andrews 2004; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Cook et al. 2003.

³⁵ Hall 1980: 4, 50-1, 56.

group than a national one – i.e., a country).³⁶ Through these initial perspectives, we can see there was a drive to categorise identity – either under umbrella terms (i.e., cultural identity), or as a concept made from a series of recurring factors, in a search for the ‘root’ of the issue. Even when there was not an attempt to ‘define’ the concept, it was essentialised through the way in which it acted – as a tool either for opposition or reconciliation, whether within or outside of the group.³⁷ Even when developed further, for example, examining how memory is a selective process in the creation of identity, the ultimate point of it as a means to collect or reject remains present.³⁸ The requirement of the ‘appeal’ of an identity continues to remain a present idea, though it is developed with the idea that there must be an anchoring force (usually a monument of some kind).³⁹ This accompanies the suggestion from Barthel that ‘kinship’ is a constitutional element in constructing identity (yet one that defies definition).⁴⁰

What are we seeing here then? Sewell would argue that (due to the rise of cultural history), identity has moved away from a set of symbols and meanings (i.e., constitutive ‘norms’) towards an understanding the concept is one built from practical activity shaped by power dynamics, contradiction, and change,⁴¹ which we agree with, in part. Even in 1980s scholarship we see a preoccupation over identity as a means to collect or reject (and one surely driven by some authority); certainly, as will be seen in relation to the ancient Greek city-states at least, a focus on boundaries, perception, and impression certainly take prominence in our studies. It could be argued that this focus on process, essentially, has led to the more recent perspective that identity is a way through which we can understand something, rather than a category to assign.⁴² We can use it to untangle hidden changes in context (i.e., an obvious change in identity is likely the result of some historical change, whether we have the direct evidence of this or not) and a way through which we can better understand group behaviour (for instance, the idea of re-galvanisation).⁴³ Ultimately, there has been a move towards how identity can be shaped and manipulated by cultural practice.

³⁶ Newcomb et al. 1967; Hogg and Abrams 1988: 162-5, 182-3; Schlesinger 1994: 139-152, 173; LaPierre 1984:196; 203-4; Melucci 1982: 68, 72; Mackenzie 1978: 132.

³⁷ Hogg and Abrams 1988: 136-8, 141-2, 146, 153-6; Le Bon 1908: 23-4; Tarde 1901; Jung 1946: 561; Fromm 1941; Maslach 1974: 234.

³⁸ Newcomb et al. 1967; Hogg and Abrams 1988: 162-5, 182-3; Schlesinger 1994: 139-152, 173; LaPierre 1984:196; 203-4; Melucci 1982: 68, 72; Mackenzie 1978: 132.

³⁹ Goddard 1996: 70; O’Brien 1996: 192; Cole 1984: 98; Howell and Matson 2009; Shore and Black 1996: 280, 276, 291.

⁴⁰ Barthel 1996: 2, 152-4.

⁴¹ Spiegel on Sewell 2005: 76-7; Sewell 2005: 79-82, 85-92; Geertz 1993a: 87-125, 193-233; 1993b: 73-93, 94-120; Schneider 1968; 1976: 197-220.

⁴² Maldonado and Russell 2016: 9; Grosz 1993: 69.

⁴³ Rohlinger et al. 2015: 177-83, 200-2; Velasco 2016: 70, 193; Maldonado and Russell 2016: 2.

Within this, there is a fixation of scholarship on the push-pull dynamic of this concept (one we shall further evidence shortly), just as we saw when we briefly discussed mythic identity and material culture above. This is a problem, not because this approach is not valid - oftentimes identity is centered around inclusion and exclusion - but because this perspective necessarily bleeds down into our study of the ancient world and limits what we can discover. Our approach towards identity in the ancient world is one informed by modern ideas, both generally, and more specifically in relation to colonialism and 'Greek exceptionalism'.⁴⁴ Recent turns towards interaction have led to theories such as 'hybridity' emerging in relation to Ancient Greece,⁴⁵ but these do not address the issues of structuration and essentialism that hinders our understanding of identity, at least within the past.

Myth and material culture are often entangled in how identity is viewed within the ancient world, for reasons that will be discussed shortly.⁴⁶ In earlier scholarship however, they are often framed in a 'forceful' light, as a means to create a collective or oppositional identity,⁴⁷ an idea that perhaps comes to a head in J. Hall's foundational work, where he claimed ethnic identity could rarely be achieved without placing it in opposition to something.⁴⁸ Within this, it appears much of which identity hinges upon was what the groups within the ancient Greek city-states considered important. This could be through boundaries, (i.e., opposition, the Greek vs. Barbarian mentality) but also through aspects that unified (mythic kinship).⁴⁹ The latter allowed for large, communal events to take place, such as the Olympics, which competitors could adapt their identity towards to ensure participation (a good example being Alexandros I of Macedon).⁵⁰ Thus, from our limited evidence (oftentimes we see only the perspective of the elite),⁵¹ scholarship has framed identity around the idea of self-presentation - one that is hoped to be accepted by the audience.⁵² With this, we continue to see an approach that is geared around a game of integration and exclusion. Whilst it is easier, and perhaps accurate, to discuss identity as such in relation to Ancient Greece, it also forces a categorization of the

⁴⁴ Snodgrass 2002: 1; Nevett 2017: 1-2, 4, 6; J. Hall 1997: 18-9; 2002: 23-4; Ruby 2006: 33-4; Demetriou 2012: 9-13.

⁴⁵ Bourdieu 1977 for *habitus*; hybridity clearly formulated by Bhabha 1994 and then taken forward, and critically discussed in works such as Nitschke 2007, 2013, 2015.

⁴⁶ For now, we would agree with Bremmer 1997: 16 that myth was a form of cultural identity for the Ancient Greeks.

⁴⁷ Osborne 1998: 210; Boardman 1985: 184.

⁴⁸ Osborne 1998: 238; Hall 2000: 2, 41-2, 44-8.

⁴⁹ Eisenstadt and Schluchter 2001: 14-7; Gehrke 2001; Roymans 2004: 235.

⁵⁰ Hdt. 5.22; Kaldellis 2009: 15-9; Roymans 2004: 2-5.

⁵¹ By elite, we mean those with wealth, power, influence, who are often reported on by writers of the period. We will rarely engage with class, however.

⁵² Schmitz and Wiater 2011: 20-4; Borg 2011: 234.

concept; specifically, we either view it as trying to produce collective or oppositional identity. Whilst we shall soon see following scholarship that has worked to overcome this, it remains a view that is embedded in how we approach the subject. Practicing this causes the term identity to be stripped of some of its fluidity. Whilst we do see deliberate examples of exclusion in our historical examinations, it is nonetheless better to frame identity through the contextual intentions of the groups practicing it rather than a term such as ‘oppositional identity’, for example. Simply put, we should conclude upon what we are seeing, with less attempt to then place this into some modern categorisation. What we suggest then is not a refutation of current or past scholarship, but a pivot in how we position ourselves in relation to our evidence. It is appropriate to mention this is not intended to be seen as some groundbreaking idea – Skinner (2012) has already suggested approaching identity as such - but this is the path we shall take.

Identity is often reformed and done so in relation to others. Less so now, but certainly in the recent past, identity in relation to the Ancient Greeks was related to structural thought (us vs them) – a stronger approach would be one that focuses on reception over structure or categorisation.⁵³ On a focus that addresses how identity was continuously negotiated, one that was often dependent on who is discussing it, what they hope to prove, and how they have aligned themselves.⁵⁴ This might sound similar to J. Hall’s work on ethnic and cultural identity⁵⁵ in Ancient Greece – after all, he discusses how identity is negotiated throughout his research. However, his arguments on a turn from ethnic to cultural identity⁵⁶ frame the concepts in an essentialist manner. And herein lies the distinction we wish to avoid. Instead, in line with what we have already discussed, we would do better to adopt an approach akin to Siapkias’: identity (specifically ethnicity in his example) is a ‘socio-cultural vehicle, i.e., instrumentalist, and receptive to adaptation within various contexts,⁵⁷ of which both material

⁵³ Skinner 2012: 19-23, 141, 156, 252-254; (see Siapkias 2003 for a good overview of the topic); an exception of this, as mentioned, is Gruen’s 2011 *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*; S. Hall 1990: 222; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 140; Lomas 2004, Malkin 2001; Fearn 2011.

⁵⁴ Knapp 2016: 241; Russell 2016: 170-171.

⁵⁵ Exact definitions of ethnicity are problematic (see Hall 1997 and Jones 1997). The modern terminology derives from the ancient Greek word *ethnos*, which had various meanings: for instance, in Homer (*Il.* 2.87, 4.59–69, 12.330), it denotes “swarms” or “flocks of animals”; in Sophocles (*Antigone* 344), it denotes “wild animals,” whereas Herodotus (*Histories* 1.101) uses it to denote “nation” or “people.” Perhaps because of this, the terms ethnic and cultural identity are often conflated. In line with our approach not to categorise identity where it can be avoided, we will not tackle ethnic and cultural identity as concepts. For associated literature on them, however, see: Clarke 1978: 263-266; Whitley 2008: 237, 241; Hodder 1982: 1-86; Abramson 2011: 7-8, 111, 156, 158-9, 177.

⁵⁶ Hall 2002: xvii, 6-7, and convincingly disproven by Skinner 2012.

⁵⁷ A specific set of choices for a specific reason - Versluys 2017: 157.

culture and religion are active agents in supporting.⁵⁸ This is a thought not-identical to, but more in line with, Malkin's ideas: interactions across Greece were a series of conversations with influence being shared about,⁵⁹ rather than some grand cultural change.⁶⁰

Therefore, in line with recent scholarship, we shall approach identity as something always in motion, as a social vehicle for interaction, one that can be seized and constructed,⁶¹ and oftentimes needs to be 'bought into' – it must be appealing for the group. Because of this, it is consciously negotiated with some elements being purposefully 'forgotten' (selective memory) to create the most appropriate version for the current circumstances.⁶² Throughout, myth (and the associated festivals, as an example) remain important in helping to promote kinship.⁶³ This, of course, can also lead into issues of 'overcompensating'; a certain identity is displayed to support the individual or group's goals at the time.⁶⁴ Within this, material culture, monuments, and landscape can be used to help impress the identity, as the holder or holders desire.⁶⁵ Thus, the focus is upon reception – how will others view your identity.⁶⁶ Note, we do not wish to provide a definition for identity – this can be easily refuted, along with other traps.⁶⁷ Moreover, it limits the concept unnecessarily; a collection of indicators to form an approach feels more in line (and more fruitful) with the fluidity identity possesses. In short, we are not suggesting an overhaul in how we view identity. However, we are arguing that identity should be examined through some recurring elements to help guide our examination, not to define it. The focus remains on an emic perspective, one centered around reception and contextual influence.

The question may arise: will this approach be too broad? Without establishing conceptual parameters for identity (i.e., cultural identity, ethnic identity), how can we identify it? Will it not be too nebulous? Our counter is twofold. Identity does not need a definition to identify –

⁵⁸ For material culture, and the main focus of this part, see: Siapkias 2014: 66-74. For religion, see: Drury 2017: 51; Unwin 2017: 63-4.

⁵⁹ Malkin 2011: 122, 172, 179.

⁶⁰ For similar discussions of these perspectives see Ruby 2006: 33-4; J. Hall 1997: 18-9; 2002; 2003: 23-4; Demetriou 2012: 9-13; Malkin 2001: 1-23, 2003 and 2007.

⁶¹ Skinner 2019: 3, 26; Guast 2023: 92-118.

⁶² Borbonus 2014: 136-42, 154; Roymans 2004: 259; Eliav 2023: 1, 9, 253; see the volume generally; Mazurek 2022: 4, 13, 14-7, 186-91.

⁶³ Knoppers and Ristau 2009: 2; Patterson 2010: 1-9, 12, 16; Hall 1997: 25; 2002: 14-5; Erskine 2002: 104; Shear 2021: 252-4, 312-3.

⁶⁴ Pierce 2016: 138, 144-9; Robb 2001: 191; Brather 2002: 171.

⁶⁵ Forbes 2007: 6-8.

⁶⁶ Strazdins 2023: 19, 22, 23.

⁶⁷ Smith 1986; Nongbri 2013; Nutzman 2022: 3, 7. Trying to fight against our colonial past, ironically, causes us to play into it by avoiding certain terms or championing other cultural groups (perhaps fairly) - Paganini 2021: 221-4, 245; Jenkins 2008.

it falls firmly under the banner of ‘you know it when you see it’.⁶⁸ How it functions is the point of interest. Second, the Greeks did not subscribe to our modern constructs of gender, cultural, or ethnic identity (though they might have recognised ideas similar to them, and shaped how we conceived them in turn). Thus, it feels more appropriate in a study already applying a good amount of modern theory to historical evidence (justified later)⁶⁹ to try and view identity as the people of Greece did. This approach is reminiscent of the ‘thought-world’ employed by Skinner in *The Invention of Ethnography* – though of course the two subjects here are different. In this, it was proposed that (ethnography) was not just confined to texts but instead existed in the allusions made in public speeches, and in the offhand quips one might make in the marketplace.⁷⁰ It existed within the environment quite naturally. This is how identity will be approached. As present, and impactful, but not as a constantly, theoretically discussed idea. Certainly, the people of Greece would have been aware of it, but at other times it would have been an unconscious element of their common social practice.

1.1.2: Myth

As with identity earlier, myth is another widely studied subject. However, scholarship, by and large, has agreed upon a set of characteristics in relation to this concept, ones echoed in this thesis. As such, the approach here will largely marry with our contemporaries, with one or two specificities emphasised.

First, we must address the difference between myth and religion. Oftentimes, the two are discussed interchangeably – this might be because they are, in some way. Myth, as will be seen, is often defined as traditional tales of collective importance.⁷¹ It provides the framework for religion – after all, you undertake a ritual to worship Zeus, a mythological figure. Ritual is an activity within the banner of religion. It is how you practice religion. Therefore, religion is our tent, and myth and ritual exist within it. This is not a hierarchical order. Myth, specifically, has been chosen as one of our three concepts because it is the fluid, transitory feature that is intrinsic to Ancient Greek cultural identity. If we were to examine religion, we would find ourselves limited – for example, a statue of a god can be a representation of myth (with all the connotations that implies as regards engagement, impressions, identity etc.) but

⁶⁸ That applies to both ancient, contemporary audiences, modern scholarship examining them now, and modern instances of identity.

⁶⁹ Used not to categorise, but to prompt thought.

⁷⁰ Skinner 2012: 17.

⁷¹ Bremmer 1994: 57; Burkert 1979: 14-23, Fowler 2017.

does it also represent religion? Perhaps, but this is a complicated question for subsequent research. Myth is easier to identify and easily linked as a foundational tool of Greek identity. On this note, we must also address the nebulous nature of identity and myth – oftentimes when we discuss myth and identity in this thesis, they are partially conflated, with focus being placed on how material culture impacts/is impacted by them. This blurring between myth and identity is a common one within the current scholarship, for justifiable reasons - as will be seen now.

19th century thought into Greek myth and religion was as you would expect of a period marked with colonialism and western exceptionalism; Greek myth and religion was thought as primitive, resulting from a lack of understanding, produced by savage, uncivilized peoples. yet simultaneously tied to some grandiose idea of human evolution – within this, there was a drive to find the ‘Greek church’.⁷² This line soon turned to the Durkheim’s views that myths must have had an important role in society, and the Cambridge Ritualists, who believed that myth came from ritual.⁷³ These ideas have not survived the passage of time. Greek myth was soon marked by its plasticity, which allowed for its fluid adaptation, an idea that was only the first step in a scholarly trend focused upon how myth functioned.⁷⁴ By the 1970s, Kirk had identified three key developments in studies of myth: recognition of ‘primitive’ myths’ relevance, Freud’s subconscious-myth link, and Levi-Strauss’s use of structuralism viewed myths as language-based communication with meaning derived from fundamental structure.⁷⁵ On the latter, Kirk concluded that structuralism, while significant, overlooked myth content and evolution.⁷⁶ It was reductive, a thought that has been mirrored in subsequent scholarship up to the present (seen shortly).⁷⁷ In addition to a critique, Kirk espoused certain ideas on myth that have survived (in large part) to the modern day. These include the suggestion that myths have important social connotations, which explains their survival, and more significantly, the point that myth is not definable – instead, we should be looking to identify and frame them through a set of recurring markers.⁷⁸ These thoughts were carried forward in

⁷² Phillips 2000: 346-52, citing debates between Creuzer and Welcker; Macdonell 2020 [1987]: 1.

⁷³ Durkheim 1975 cited by Phillips 2000: 352; Jane Harrison (1900; 1912); Hooke 1935, 1958; Burkert 1966, 1972, 1983; Frazer 2003 [1890].

⁷⁴ Nilsson 1925: 75, 264-278, 298.

⁷⁵ Kirk 1974: 39-44.

⁷⁶ Kirk 1974: 39-44.

⁷⁷ Though scholars such as Vernant 1982: 188, 236, agreed with Levi-Strauss in part: he suggested we need structural thought to engage with the ‘logic’ behind the story (though the context must also be considered in this). Within this, speech, *logos*, the way in which these stories are structured, emerges as a means of logic that works against myth. As we believe myth is a form of reason, of logic, see shortly, we find ourselves diametrically opposed to this stance.

⁷⁸ Kirk 1974: esp. 20-1 and 28, but most of the book is relevant.

Burkert's work, who continued the opposition against Levi-Strauss,⁷⁹ and built upon Kirk's arguments, suggesting that character of the myth was important - this is why simple, traditional tales, open to change and adapted to the community's needs, continue to survive.⁸⁰ They were tales based on basic biological or cultural programs of action.⁸¹ This particular idea is not one followed in this thesis, but we do agree with the ultimate point: myth was intrinsic to social community among the Greeks. Within these works, the issue of ritual was addressed – far from one stemming from the other, the two were seen as reflexive, supporting one and other to communicate and create a collective identity within a group.⁸² It is this which is a key point; both ritual and cult were means through which to engage with myth via, for example, communicating with the gods (which could be used to play into the chaos of the divine world, as a form of social subversion).⁸³ Religion, comprised of this, was about bolstering participation and creating community bonds.⁸⁴ From this, the scholarly focus of the 1980s was upon untangling how to define myth (or advocating for otherwise), arguing for its lack of centralisation and its flexibility in relation to the concept of belief (even if it was to reject the very idea of this within Ancient Greece).⁸⁵ Thus, early on we have an entrenched belief of the importance of responsive myth towards cultural identity among the Greeks; ritual acts within this process to help articulate and allow engagement with the myths. These are ideas that are carried forward in how we approach myth within this thesis.

This vein of thought continued into the 90s, where myth continued to be seen as a means to bond the community, both as a tool of self-validation (they offer 'truths' to the community) and as a history, an origin, of the group.⁸⁶ Within this, cult sites and iconography (on coinage or sculpture) acted as markers of authority to the veracity of myth, whilst ritual continued to be seen as a means to engage with myth and implement meaning and rationale within a

⁷⁹ Burkert 1979: 12-4.

⁸⁰ Burkert 1979: 14-23; Warden 1982: xii.

⁸¹ Morford et al. 2015: 15

⁸² Kirk 1974: 253; Burkert 1979: 58. The idea that myth came from ritual was based, in Kirk's mind, upon evidence drawn from Babylonian culture and was not applicable to Ancient Greece (Kirk 1970: 15-30).

⁸³ For the last idea, see: Gould 1985: 8-9, 21-4. For general points, see: Burkert 1985: 217, 255. Cult continues to be linked as a means through which to engage with myth: Larson 2007: 197; Evans 2010: 55-65; Parker 2011: 38, 264; Malkin 2011: 133.

⁸⁴ Burkert 1985: 255

⁸⁵ Muir 1985: 193-5; Burkert 1985: 217, 249; Richardson 1985: 61-4; Gould 1985: 8-9, 21-4; Morford et al. 2015: 15; Price 1985: 141-153 discusses a 'loss' of belief in 5th century B.C Athens - Muir does note there might have been a change in how religion was approached, likely as a result of the youth looking for a new identity around the time of Socrates (1985: 192-214).

⁸⁶ McNeill 1986: 3-9; Graf 1993: 7, 141. For a more thorough discussion of this, see Bremmer 1994, whose discussion includes how myth preserves and influences memory (p.55), how it makes up a community's history, landscape, and social action, and generally how intrinsically linked Greek myth was to the world of Ancient Greece.

community.⁸⁷ This work, and subsequent ones following it,⁸⁸ often fail to address exactly *how* these objects are capable of doing this (marking it as a prime question for this thesis to tackle). In short, however, myth is framed as intrinsically important to Ancient Greek society, a thought further impressed with the debates around myth and *logos* (story, history); the conclusions, broadly were that history and myth should no longer be considered as separate, with the former being the rational counterpart to the latter. Instead, they were both modes of reason.⁸⁹ This is a significant thought; by accepting this, we conclude that the Ancient Greeks thought differently as we do. Thus, to understand anything about their culture we must necessarily attempt to adopt emic perspectives, or any variation of. We must not fear subjectivity in approaching the evidence, as long it is one drawn from how the Greeks thought (though this is not always possible). This point on reason also informs why we have chosen to tackle identity, myth, and material culture as it has (without a specific theory or categorisation) – to avoid bringing in modern perspectives, with the associated baggage, as much as possible.⁹⁰ This is not a new approach; this was likely an influence for Sourvinou-Inwood's *polis religion* theory (in which the *polis* anchored, legitimised and mediated all religious activity), which intended to examine the evidence *in situ* and provide evidence on how the Ancient Greek's themselves approached their religion.⁹¹

Early ideas remain present in recent scholarship, even if certain discrepancies have been discussed. *Polis religion*, for example, whilst accepted, has faced criticism for its simplification of the manifold ways in which religious symbols shape and are shaped by society - the model relies on an implicit conception of religion as simply mapping on to the

⁸⁷ Dowden 1992: 68-9, 75; Graf 1993: 120; Bremmer 1994: 61 (the latter continues to refute myth came from ritual, instead stating the former can exist without the latter).

⁸⁸ See the following bibliography.

⁸⁹ Von Reden 1999: 51-3, 70; Henrichs 1999: 223-4; Buxton 1994: 196; Most 1999: 25-42 (in this work he also cites a variety of sources to show the cultural shift - Scholars have tried to tackle mythos in many different ways: Otto looked for ontological explanations, Muller tried to find it as a error in the name of Logos, making myths a childhood illness of language and Jane Harrison claimed they were rituals misunderstood (Otto 1929; 1955; 1963, Muller 1856; 1869; 1873; 1897 and Harrison 1890; 1903; 1912; 1921 collected in Most 1999: 36); Gould 1999: 107; Calame 1999: 121, 140-1.

⁹⁰ Phillips 2000: 354-6; Buxton 2000: 6-8. With this said, we do employ theory to untangle the historical evidence – this contradiction will be addressed but, in short, because we are trying to determine an ancient relationship between our three concepts, it feels best to approach them as bareboned as possible and have the primary evidence speak to us. The use of memory and space are tools to suggest the significance of the conclusions we reach – in a sense, they are the layering on the cake once it has been baked. No approach is perfect, and this one is not either.

⁹¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 2000: 15, 17-9, 37; the general perspective is carried forward in following research. Parker 2007: 9 (who believed the Greeks did not think in terms of 'household gods'. Probably true, though Hestia had an eternal seat within the house (*Hymn. Hom.* 5.29–32); Eidinow 2011: 23-24; Chairetakis 2018: 141, examines how a ritual bowl found in a house at Salamis shows how interwoven state and household religion were.

structures of Ancient Greek city-states.⁹² Therefore, whilst it should be used, it must not be the only approach discussed in attempting to understand Greek religion.⁹³ It could be argued that approaches akin to this have led us towards a structural perspective, instead of one focused on how the Greeks themselves thought. The warning is warranted, but with that said, this is clearly not entirely the case – many contemporary works to Knidt have focused on Greek thought, largely through the topic of belief where the conclusions usually end on stating we should accept what the Greeks thought, instead of putting words into their mouths.⁹⁴ Notably, we must remember the Ancient Greeks, even the philosophers, do not question the existence of the gods, only their nature.⁹⁵ Thus we will not follow ideas from scholars such as Walbank who claim, in the Hellenistic Period, that the Greeks began to become more agnostic.⁹⁶

Where do we find Greek myth now? Structuralism is rejected and myth is accepted as being a fluid concept that changes based on the situation it finds itself within. It is deeply important to Greek identity, both at *polis* levels, local levels, and on the level of kingship.⁹⁷ Notably, it can be hard to identify the religious belief of the non-elite, due to the lack of archaeological and textual evidence.⁹⁸ Within this, we should note that Henrichs, in an examination of how we ignore the Greeks gods,⁹⁹ critiques the emic-etic approach. He argues it has made modern students of Greek religion study the culture as objective outsiders.¹⁰⁰ However, by our very nature we are already outsiders. An emic approach, i.e, trying to approach our subject through the Greek perspective, through a controlled form of

⁹² Knidt 2012: 13

⁹³ Knidt 2012: 34

⁹⁴ Harrison 2015: 21-27; Needham 1972, Versnel 2011: 548-51; Eidinow 2011: 9 cited by Harrison 2015: 26; Petrovic and Petrovic 2016: 1-5, 39, 264; Kindt 2016: 12-3, 32-3; Valavanis 2018: 167. This includes works that discusses how the Greeks tried to rationalise their myths. Herodotus is a good example of this. Hist. 1.2, 1.4; Hopman 2012: 177-8; Herodotus objects to a certain myth about Heracles, arguing it is incompatible with Egyptian culture and customs (Hdt. 2.45.1-2); Baragwanath and de Bakker 2012: 13.

⁹⁵ This includes questions on their form and their power: Plat. Euth. 14b-15b; Hippocrates, Sacred Dis. 1.27-32; Hdt. 1.131, Prodikos of Keos DK 84 B30, and Euripides Bacchae 274-85; Sisyphos fr. 1, TrGF 1.43 fr.19; Plato, Timaeus 40d-41a; on the purity of the gods compared to mortals: Heraclitus DK 22 B 5; Kleidemos. Exegetikon, FGh 323 F 14 and Aeschylus Persians 607-22; Hippocrates, Sacred Dis. 1.39-45; Kearns 2010: 149 mentions atheistic thought but this thesis does not subscribe to that.

⁹⁶ Walbank 1992: 209.

⁹⁷ This includes comparative approaches between the Greeks and Hittites – Greek deities seem to be ‘stubbornly unique (Rutherford 2020: 72-3); Wood 2020: 103-9, 347; Thomas argues that the Greek historian Dionysios (Dion. Thuc. 7) looked down on mythical tales in histories and yet his work suggests that these local myths were well loved and carefully preserved traditions that people wanted to see published. Polybius (16.12) was also annoyed at mythical tales, calling them ‘fit to amuse children’. Thomas says despite this they were included and thus must have been popular (2019: 35).

⁹⁸ Alexiou 2018: 153-9, 165-8, 171; Childs 2018: 249-55; Whittaker 2018: 55-9; Braund 2018: 9, 14.

⁹⁹ Henrichs 2019: 376

¹⁰⁰ Henrichs 2019: 368-9

subjectivity, is (arguably) our best way.

Significantly to our approach, current work has begun to question how we define myth. Not on a foundational level – the thoughts of Burkert and co. remain used, but in the level of specificity, with some scholars such as Baragwanath and de Bakker and Fowler discussing how we run the risk of deconstructing ‘myth’ too heavily, to the point it obtains a ‘definition’ as vague as just ‘speech’ which then renders the concept useless for study.¹⁰¹ In this thesis, as with identity, the concept shall be approached as a set of recurring markers rather than a strict definition¹⁰² (beyond the one currently held; i.e., traditional tales of collective importance; comprised of fantastical creatures and events, e.g., gods, heroes etc.) To this end, it feels prudent to discuss some more specific ideas and approaches that have informed our own.

One idea of particular interest to our own approach has been developed by Larson: ‘little gods’, heroes attached to the daily activities of their local neighbourhood and presiding over small areas (such as a saltmarsh).¹⁰³ This is indicative of the personal relationship the Greeks shared with their gods, an idea evidenced in Parker’s work, with one example Timotheus asking of Aphrodite on whether she would prefer her temple within the boundaries of Apollo Asgelines or Asclepius temples – notably, the god is being asked.¹⁰⁴ This can be further seen in Blok’s *heira kai hosia*; a community bond between gods and men, upon which *polis* identity was built from.¹⁰⁵ Myth acted as an expression of the community’s needs and desires.¹⁰⁶ This specific idea, of ‘little gods’, of the bond between man the divine, will not appear in this thesis but the implications of it, that the Greeks possessed a close, involved relationship with their gods, further provides both the rationale for the myth as a choice of study and offers some suggestions on why mythology was chosen as a tool of influence, and of autonomy in the following case studies. Emotion was attached to the gods – they were not throwaway concepts but linked to the Greeks beyond societal structure. Little wonder that they feature so heavily when we try to examine identity and material culture in Ancient Greece (beyond the other reasons for their use, e.g., to establish kinship).

¹⁰¹ Baragwanath and de Bakker 2012: 14-5, 38-9; Fowler 2017: 1-3. The general points on how myth is viewed, informed by earlier scholarship and present in my earlier discussion, remain: Osborne 2015: 13-8; Mattingly 2014: 226; Morford et al. 2015: 3, 24. For the issues of trying to define myth next to folklore, further evidence in the argument about how far we should define myth, see Day 1984: 17-20, Bremmer 1987: 1-9, Dowden 1992: 6-7; Buxton 1994: 13; Kirk 1974: 28-9; Burkert 1979: 1-5; and Buxton (1994: 15-16).

¹⁰² In line with Morford et al. 2015: 24 who feels, as Kirk did, that definitions are unnecessarily restrictive.

¹⁰³ Larson 2007: 197

¹⁰⁴ Parker 2011: 42; seen earlier in Dillon and Garland 2010: 112-6. On the importance of religion, note also that, at least in Athens, private altars could be in homes and citizens could cite participation in civic sacrifices to prove identity (Evans 2010: 55-65; Parker 2011: 38, 264).

¹⁰⁵ Blok 2017: 49; 75

¹⁰⁶ Drury 2017: 36-9; Nagy 2018: 3-9.

Another key element that has informed our approach to myth comes from Unwin's work on relations between Crete and Caria. Here we find theory deployed, not to define myth, but to help untangle the evidence and historical examples associated with it. In this, the utility, not the veracity, of myth is impressed as being important, helping to form the 'social memory' of the group.¹⁰⁷ Myth can be changed to reflect what the group wanted in a demonstration of 'intentional history'.¹⁰⁸ Within this, memory is often reconstructed (invented traditions), and can act as a form of mapping; the version of the past that is transmitted in the group has a legitimating function in fostering a sense of communal identity of the group.¹⁰⁹

Lastly, Johnston's ideas are worth noting. She argues not for a structural view, but one that looks at the concept of markers and the daily environment – in other words, material culture (carrying markers, i.e., prompts, such as images, that promote remembrance of, e.g., a specific myth) is incorporated into the environment and thus they physically surround the people of the community and, though these material markers, impress mythic culture upon them.¹¹⁰ The stories of myth created networks between groups (as each group likely shared an associated figure, or could adapt their local stories to the wider network), with myths in particular working because, due to their format (episodic stories about interesting characters) and importance to the community, bonds could be created through them.. They were reflective of what was valued, and thus easily attached to.¹¹¹ In relation to this, Johnston has discussed how issues of explanation were shunted to other places; belief was supported through the plurality of material objects and the authority of the storyteller (which can sometimes be a monument).¹¹² Notably, material culture, and its impact upon mythically informed identity, is not fully considered within any of the literature stated thus far – this, and the ideas of Johnston, are developed within this thesis.

As such, we approach myth in a similar manner to identity, namely, by avoiding categorisation and restrictive definition. We will accept the mainstream of scholarly thought on the subject: myth was intrinsic to Greek identity, for the reasons discussed above. More

¹⁰⁷ Unwin 2017: 62; Fentress and Wickham 1992.

¹⁰⁸ Discussed in more detail in 1.2.3.2; Gehrke 2001: 295-6; 2011: 47; Fentress and Wickham 1992: 82; Unwin 2017: 62

¹⁰⁹ Unwin 2017: 64-5; Connerton 1989: 37; Thomas 2011: 84; Fentress and Wickham 1992: 46; Calame 2003: 15-7; Halbwachs 1992: 182; Assmann 2011: 2-3; Rojas 2013: 182-4; Chaniotis 2009b: 253; Scheer 2009: 217; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005: 394; Hobsbawm 1983: 12; Gehrke 2001: 286-7.

¹¹⁰ Drawn from Noyes 2016: 141-8; discussed further in Johnston 2018.

¹¹¹ Johnston 2018: 2-9, 21, 98-100, 119, 146, 282-4; with ideas drawn from Burkert 1979: 23-4; Braund 2018: 257; Noyes 2016: 141-8; Wooffitt 1992: 114-152; Bennett 1999:16 cited by Johnston 2018: 99.

¹¹² Fowler 2017: 1-13; Burkert 1985: 15; Johnston 2018.

specifically, the approach in this thesis is framed through the ideas of ‘little gods’ (a close bond between man and immortal); the use of myth to create ‘intentional histories’; and the idea that mythic stories (and the material culture they appeared on) impressed their significance upon their viewers, whilst in turn reflecting what was valued by the community. The issue of material items helping to support belief, and mythic location as a marker of authority, are both ideas that will be present throughout the following discussions. In short, this section has discussed the importance of myth to the Greeks, therefore, to understand them, as we seek to through our study of myth, identity, and material culture in tandem, we have no choice but to include mythology.

1.1.3: Material Culture

In the early 1970s, archaeologists in Tucson, Arizona, started the Garbage Project, using archaeological techniques to analyse modern household refuse. This provided a more accurate picture of people's behaviour than questionnaires, revealing discrepancies between what people said and what their rubbish showed. This project highlighted an important lesson for studying literate ancient societies: while texts are vital, they can be biased or misleading, and objects can help to correct and enhance the written record.¹¹³ Thus, we are reminded of the importance of material culture (defined here, simply, as physical objects, e.g., coins, statues),¹¹⁴ whatever form it comes in (this thesis examines a variety of it, from coinage to monumental sculpture). Unlike identity and myth, the framing of this will be less rooted in Ancient Greece; a more effective path would be to note key advancements and the agreed upon features of this medium (such as active agency), which are often drawn upon and reflected in studies of the ancient world. Similar to myth and identity though, we will not hitch our wagon to a particular theoretical approach (e.g., materiality, or extended life approach).¹¹⁵ As with the concepts before, this is to avoid reductive parameters – the approach we take already relies upon speculation and thus there is additional effort to focus on what the evidence is telling us, with theory then used to tease out ideas, rather than

¹¹³ Rotroff 2006: 154-5.

¹¹⁴ The term can be used broadly, and often it is (Dant 2005; Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008; Joyce 2015; Harris 2016; Morgan 2016; Waddell 2018). Though the importance of this medium alone should be enough to validate its use (it is one of the few sources of evidence we have for Ancient Greece), there is certainly a current interest in material culture that further validates the study of mythology and identity in conjunction to it (Gell 1998a; Osborne and Tanner 2007; Hodder 2011; Hainge 2016; Gaifman et al. 2018).

¹¹⁵ Though key elements of each might occur within the thesis.

approach it with a type of ‘material culture’ already defined.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, it will be evident (along with space and memory) that this approach is the most theoretically informed when we examine our case studies. Of course, we are applying a particular idea of material culture to our studies – this is unavoidable when dealing with theory – but it is one created both in relation to accepted literature and, significantly, in response to how the primary evidence has appeared to act. Material theory is used to understand the evidence we are confronted with, but the choices of work are more akin to a scattergun approach, picked in each specific instance to help formulate some explanation for what the primary evidence is telling us. In this thesis we often discuss the importance of material culture’s physicality in establishing identity and mythic variants – this was not an idea pre-established and then grafted onto the evidence. Instead, it was one that emerged from an examination of how the primary material was (apparently) functioning and an application of theoretical ideas to try and frame our thoughts. This method stands in contrast to framing our speculation through a categorised theoretical approach, which might then inadvertently control the conclusions we make upon the evidence. Thus, whilst the use of theory will come through in our main analysis more so than with identity and myth, and we will be approaching ‘material culture’ with a particular set of parameters in mind (e.g., the medium is ‘active’), we have endeavoured to approach the concept (as with our other two concepts) as a series of markers, of recurring features, rather than as a strict, categorised theoretical approach. This will allow us to examine the evidence for what it was, rather than what we might force it to be.

In the 20th century, structuralism, led by figures like Claude Lévi-Strauss and Colin Renfrew,¹¹⁷ dominated material culture studies. They interpreted artifacts as texts, believing that underlying rules, akin to language, governed culture. In association with this, Vere Gordon Childe’s work suggested specific artifacts represented particular socio-cultural groups.¹¹⁸ Despite critique, elements of structuralism, especially semiotics from Ferdinand de Saussure and C.S. Peirce, endure in recent approaches towards material culture, which views artifacts as communicative devices that reflect identity.¹¹⁹ Processual archaeology followed in the 1950s and 60s, which linked material items to social change but viewed these artefacts as

¹¹⁶ Of course, certain scholars, such as Fowler, would argue terms such as ‘materiality’ are not restrictive, and are the path forward (2010: 375). This is the approach adopted in Gooch and Ruddick 2025 – here I have taken a different tack, based on the purpose of the work (to examine, at a root level, the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture).

¹¹⁷ Renfrew 1984; Renfrew and Bahn 1991.

¹¹⁸ Childe 1929.

¹¹⁹ Preucel and Meskell 2004: 3; Watts 2013: 11.

little more than reflection of culture.¹²⁰ Before long, however, post-structuralism and post-processualism emerged, which developed methods for understanding material culture as a constantly changing medium that actively constructed and transformed identities.¹²¹ Following theories, such as Phenomenology and Actor Network Theory differed fundamentally. The former impressed how human knowledge arises through bodily engagement with the world (downplaying the active potential of material culture as it does so by focusing on human experience),¹²² whilst the latter treated objects as actants¹²³ within networks of human and non-human interactions. Within the latter, objects can be intermediaries or mediators, influencing but not having intentionality – this is an approach which decentralises humans, creating a symmetry between them and objects.¹²⁴ From this we have reached what has been dubbed the ‘material turn’,¹²⁵ which argues that material culture is active and influential in constructing and/or changing identity.¹²⁶ This approach tries to place human and objects on the same level as equal participants in the change within the world, and recognises that a consciousness is not needed for participation in social interactions – the significance of this being that objects were active in the past and influenced the settings they existed within..¹²⁷ Notably, approaches in line with this, such as ‘personhood’, have tried to blur the dichotomy between human-thing, with such ideas including networks of association which ensures human and object work equally within their setting.¹²⁸ It is from these developments that draw our approach towards material culture.

Griswold et al. describe material culture as ‘what objects do to people’.¹²⁹ This statement feels apt when discussing, what we view as, a reflexive relationship between human and

¹²⁰ See discussions of Binford and Saxe in Shanks and Tilley 1987; Maran and Stockhammer 2012.

¹²¹ The theories attached to this approach included objectification (Miller 2005; Tilley 2004) consumption studies (Miller 2012; Buchli 2013), assemblage theory (Deleuze and Guattari 2004) and behavioral archaeology (Skibo and Schiffer 2009). For more general thoughts, see: Tilley 2000: esp. 420-1, 2004, 2007; Ingold 2007; Hodder 1982, 1985 1991, 2011; Shanks 1998. There are differences in how scholars view the level of interactivity, from one end thinking objects as people (Kopytoff 1986; Appadurai 1986; Tringham 1994; 1995; Gosden and Marshall 1999) and another seeing them as impacting social interaction (Griswold et al. 2013: 345; Joy 2009: 542; Lemonnier 1996).

¹²² Tilley 2004: 29; Merleau-Ponty 1962.

¹²³ Sources of action.

¹²⁴ Latour 2005; 2009; Dant 2005; Knappett 2005: 133-66; Morgan 2016: 277.

¹²⁵ DeLanda 2015.

¹²⁶ Knapp 2016: 244.

¹²⁷ For objects active in the past see: Overholtzer and Robin 2015. For more general comments on these ideas, see: Hicks and Beaudry 2010; Morgan 2016; Crease et al. 2003; Cerulo 2009; Harris 2016, following Robb and Harris 2013; Ingold 2000; Heidegger 1962; 1971; Overholtzer and Robin 2015. This approach can be criticized for focusing too much on social relations, rather than the physicality of the objects.

¹²⁸ Maldonado and Russell 2016: 4; Webmoor and Witmore 2008: 61, 65; Harris 2016; Tilley 2002: 27.

¹²⁹ Griswold et al. 2013: 345.

material objects that exists as a production of various entanglements, a cultural nexus which takes place at a magnitude of levels (i.e., at different scales, local, regional etc.)¹³⁰ Alongside this, it has been commonly agreed upon¹³¹ that material culture had an active role¹³² in fostering relationships, influencing identity, and expressing social status.¹³³ The objects themselves may be physically inanimate, but that does not mean they were socially so; by this, we mean that material culture could play an active role shaping identity, in mediating relations, and acting as physical expressions of attitude and beliefs.¹³⁴ For example, coinage, stamped with a local myth, not only reflects what was valued by the community, but expresses this both within and outside of the group (perhaps helping to establish kinship with a neighbour who recognises their own local myths through it). With time, this image can become emblematic of this group's identity. With this said, when we discuss 'active' we are not attempting to misrepresent the material culture as a conscious thing.¹³⁵ Simply, we are trying to avoid an approach which entirely negates the importance of material culture within human activities, and instead to impress that objects had the ability to inform and influence through their own materiality (even if this is bestowed by humans, in the initial sense).¹³⁶ To shape as much as they were shaped. A good example of this is propaganda posters – created by humans with intention, but capable afterwards of galvanising its viewers, perhaps even in ways not originally intended by the creator/s. Therefore, whilst we must be carefully with falling too deeply into a theoretical rabbit hole (an example of which might be claiming objects have an influential power from within)¹³⁷ and thus assigning elements to our concept that require contortion to find in reality, promoting the ability of material culture to influence identity is essential to accept for this thesis.

¹³⁰ Wilkström af Edholm 2019; Salminen 2017; Waddell 2018; Taylor 2009: 299; Overholtzer and Robin 2015; Fletcher 2010; Toren 1999; Buchli 2004; Tilley 2004; Miller 2005; Keane 2014; Hebdige 1979; Knapp 2016: 243.

¹³¹ See the footnote above.

¹³² That is, it had a notable effect. This can be seen across this thesis' case studies.

¹³³ The theory of object agency is outlined clearly in Gell 1998b. Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* provided the groundwork for earlier studies that emphasised the active role that objects play in the creation of culture. See: Bell 1992; Bourdieu 1990; S. Jones 1997; Gruen 2011, 2013a, 2013b; Antonaccio 2003: 59-61, 2005: 97-101; 2011 [2003].

¹³⁴ Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008: 4; Whitley 2017: 84; Fletcher 2010: 460; Antonaccio 2010: 34; Holmes 2024: 2-3; DeMarrais et al. 2004: 2.

¹³⁵ With intentionality and social relationships attached to them – the idea of 'facilitation' has been suggested instead of 'active' (Tilley 2007: 19), but by and large it is understood 'active/agency' only implies they can have influence (Knappett and Malafouris 2008; Olsen et al. 2012; Bennett 2010; Joyce 2012; McDonnell 2023; Gosden 2012; Knappett 2005: 22; 2011: 173; Antonaccio 2010: 38). Note also, 'object agency' has been critiqued as a 'non-statement' (Russell 2007). However, it is a tagline that clearly indicates the ability of objects to shape in addition to be shaped themselves.

¹³⁶ They 'act back', as per Knappett 2012.

¹³⁷ Knappett 2007: 22.

This agency meant that material culture could actively construct identity through the cultural power they held (presenting an important foundation myth could be seen as the latter).¹³⁸ With this in mind, we accept McDonnell's view that we should approach material culture as 'what objects do with or for people'.¹³⁹ This prompts us to include Harris's earlier question where he asked how we square the material turn in archaeology with human agency, i.e., how do we ensure we study both human and material equally? He does so through assemblage theory, or 'becoming'; an ongoing relationship that constitutes everything from things to minerals to people and places.¹⁴⁰ He uses the example of an archer to show that identities do not just represent identity but confer it; the arrowheads in the burial gave the man the ability to act as a warrior.¹⁴¹ We are inclined to broadly agree with the idea of an ongoing 'becoming' (and perhaps 'unbecoming' as identities shift and change), whilst impressing we must be aware of how objects reflect the needs of people, just as myth did in Ancient Greece. To this end, we can close by turning to the idea of Morgan's Enchantment, an idea that appears towards the end of this thesis. Simply put, Enhancement involves attributing the capacity to act to objects, either by anthropomorphising them or integrating them into a network of forces or relations (e.g., when you blame a TV remote for breaking).¹⁴² This point can be related to the Ancient Greek sense that the statues of their gods hosted the deities themselves, but more specifically it illustrates the complex interactions between humans and their material world and the issues of causation and agency that arise with it.¹⁴³ Enchantment makes objects active within an ecology of relations, not just as visual codes but as experiential triggers that connect people to their cultural and historical context.¹⁴⁴ We can apply this to Harris's 'becoming' – the conferring and representing of identity happened/happens within an intricate world of human psychology. Now this very last part is not something we can likely spy (reliably at least) within Ancient Greece. But if we keep in mind that a.) objects had agency b.) they could impact, and be impacted by, the identities they existed beside c.) they could confer identity d.) they were subject to a network of influences and human psychological responses, from which they gained their value;¹⁴⁵ then

¹³⁸ McDonnell 2010: 1804-05; 2023: 210; Salminen 2017: 274; Griswold et al. 2013: 345.

¹³⁹ McDonnell 2023: 199, though it must be noted he was discussing 'materiality' when he said this; Creese 2016.

¹⁴⁰ Harris 2016

¹⁴¹ Harris 2016: 29-30

¹⁴² Morgan 2020: 257.

¹⁴³ Morgan 2020: 260.

¹⁴⁴ Morgan 2020: 272.

¹⁴⁵ An object thought to represent the foundation myths of the community, and kinship links and prestige along with it, had value precisely because of that. Precisely because that was what was deemed important by the community.

we have a set of markers that can not only inform us of the importance of material culture as a topic of study in this thesis, but an approach towards how we can frame the concept in our following case studies.

Throughout this approach we must remain aware of how essentialised study of Greek history can become;¹⁴⁶ material culture was used to externalise and negotiate identities in Ancient Greece, and thus it remains as physical indicators of those identities today.¹⁴⁷ However, without attempts to take into account the lived experience of this time, the changing context and motivations of these people, we can easily see these items as monolithic, homogenous statements of identity at the time. This is an issue especially prevalent among the Phoenicians, where material culture was read in the way which scholars (at least until recently) wanted to read it.¹⁴⁸ We must remember that a lack of material objects can be significant also; immateriality leaves traces, often imprinting itself within memory and then gaining significance over time because of this.¹⁴⁹ Additionally, material culture can be subject to objectification, where they gain specific values in response to the context and their audience, which in turn can help the latter to adapt and situate themselves within their situation – this includes understanding how the material functions of the object (e.g., size) aid in its use.¹⁵⁰

Regardless of our caution, there will also be issues present in the examination of material culture. This can include objections to how material culture functions,¹⁵¹ the ignoring of consumption (and how significant this was to society),¹⁵² and assigning an imagined significance to objects.¹⁵³ Additionally, at times theory can be extensively framed with little impact upon the actual historical study itself.¹⁵⁴ Cultural issues an ‘get in the way of’ our theories.¹⁵⁵ We cannot hope to address every concern (in this thesis we do not focus on consumption, for example). Our approach will necessarily be limited; there are numerous ways to approach material culture (and identity, and myth). However, we can remain aware

¹⁴⁶ See 1.1.1.

¹⁴⁷ Fowler 2010; McDonnell 2023; Overholtzer and Robin 2015; Preston 2000

¹⁴⁸ See chapter 4.

¹⁴⁹ Holmes 2024: 37. A theory revisited in chapter 4 when we look at the apparent ‘absence’ of Melqart.

¹⁵⁰ Mason 2018: 1; Homes 2024: 8; Malafouris and Gosden 2020: 105-7; Robb 2020: 124; Ingold 2007.

¹⁵¹ Ingold 2007: 11 is critical of the idea that objects can be active. This has been refuted by Bennett 2010; Coole and Frost 2010; Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012 as examples.

¹⁵² Hahn 2012: 8.

¹⁵³ Hahn 2012: 7-10; Richardson 2009; Desrosiers 1991; Dobres 2010.

¹⁵⁴ This is a mild criticism that could be levelled at Knappett – he creates an extensive theoretical approach, but it does not entirely shine through in his study of Cretan drinking ware, where the key takeaway is that design could impart prestige and function (Knappett 2005: 164-5).

¹⁵⁵ Knappett 2005: 83.

of the context and we can practice an emic approach that tries to view the material culture as the Ancient Greeks would have. Our approach, framing the material culture as something that had an impact upon those viewing it, allows us to suggest what might have been happening in the minds of individual viewers, based on how the material culture was likely received (in line with how we also view identity – i.e., how it was received). This, of course, is driven by speculation but this is unavoidable in historical study.

We have discussed how material culture has a form of agency and an impact upon viewers, but this means nothing if there was not audience engagement with it. However, it is quite clear that visual culture¹⁵⁶ (in some form, at least) was present in the ancient world and indeed the people of this time actively engaged with their objects. Philosophers were aware of visual culture and often framed it in regard to truth within art.¹⁵⁷ Separate from this, scholarship has addressed issues between the place of gods within art, with one side arguing the gods straddled the line between material reality and religious imagination, and another that they provided information on the nature of the divinities, as the Greeks saw them.¹⁵⁸ This particular discussion spills down to encompass questions on statues and gods – it appears evident these sculptures acted as focal points of worship (thus showing engagement with their perceived significance).¹⁵⁹ However, this idea is complicated by the presence of the Amsterdam Krater, where gods appear alongside material statues of them, which suggests nuanced theological positions¹⁶⁰ – nonetheless, we cannot claim the statues were dismissed as vessels of the gods; after all Helen is thought to have prayed to a statue of Athena for protection on a red figure *oinochoe*.¹⁶¹ As an example beyond the gods, in 200 B.C, Epicteta, a wealthy widow on Thera, had a sanctuary of the Muses built to honour her dead son Cratesiloches; the ensuing monumental structure would then only house family members - Jones argued this structure imposed the rank of hero upon the boy.¹⁶² True or otherwise, it certainly demonstrates a belief that material design had significance and would engaged with. Another example of material engagement emerges from Gortyn in the form of coins stamped with the word *AINAON*; these items were minted by rebels of the Gortyn civil war to co-opt

¹⁵⁶ Defined here as a combination of aesthetics and cultural values.

¹⁵⁷ Plat. *Rep.* 10:27; Warry 2013: 84.

¹⁵⁸ An argument drawn from Gordan and Platt's work (Richard Gordon's seminal article: 'The Real and the Imaginary: Production and Religion in the Graeco-Roman World' with Verity Platt's chapter titled: 'Greek Votive Reliefs: An Exercise in Visual Theologies) discussed in Gaifman 2016: 250.

¹⁵⁹ i.e, being a vessel/means of communication of the god.

¹⁶⁰ Gaifman 2016: 250-61.

¹⁶¹ Helen at the statue of Athena. Red-figured *oinochoe* related to the Heimarmene Painter, ca. 430 BCE. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco no. 16535; Gaifman 2016: 274-7.

¹⁶² Jones 2010: 50; Whittaker 2018: 60.

local narratives, which demonstrates engagement and response through material culture to support the construction of civic identity.¹⁶³ Removed from this, we can see changes in votive offerings on Crete, such as the shift from personal dedications to clay bulls in 5th century B.C Praisos – this might have been indicative of later worshipers being ‘members of a more egalitarian community’,¹⁶⁴ and thus material items being adapted to meet contemporary needs.¹⁶⁵ Of course, we cannot get too ahead of ourselves; in the past we often ascribed special significance to Greek pottery when in historical reality it would have been seen as quite commonplace.¹⁶⁶ Thus, we must be careful not to see every material item as having had a defining amount of impact to its contemporary viewers. The ideologies and identities that the objects of the past impressed were received and reacted to within their own time – this is in addition to the artefacts being actively constructed to fulfil this exact purpose (in a reflexive process). Because of this, we can proceed in using the material culture examined throughout this thesis to gain a window into the minds of the Ancient Greeks (and the Phoenicians).¹⁶⁷

However, a current shortcoming in the material analysis of Ancient Greece has been an avoidance of theory. In recent years, only a few work such as Lorenz 2016 and Nevett 2017 have focused on applying theoretical approaches (such as iconology,¹⁶⁸ and semiotics) to our historical evidence, which has hindered the extent to which we can understand the integral functioning of the social processes within this period. And thus, with this in mind, this is why

¹⁶³ De Souza 1998: 114; Unwin 2017: 61; “[The rebels] minted from the only coins they had, Gortyn ones, and replaced the name Gortynion with AINAON as the inscription. Ainaones was the only ethnic link they had to Gortyn after losing Gortynian citizenship. This is why they also show the Minion symbol of the bull and the god Apollo and this may be indicative of the nature of Gortyn rebels as less privileged natives or mixed tribes and would further support the participation of the non-Doric Ainaoves in this” - Spyridakis 1992: 167; Stefanakis and Konstantinidi 2020: 758-72 on this engagement with civic imagery on coinage more generally.

¹⁶⁴ Erickson 2009: 386; Shaw 2000: 175.

¹⁶⁵ There is a shift on Crete in the 7th century – there is an increase of terracotta items and a decline in large bronzes (Haysom 2011: 98). For whatever reason, this shows an adaptation of material item, and thus engagement with the medium for whatever purpose.

¹⁶⁶ Vickers and Gill 1994: 4, 11, 32.

¹⁶⁷ Schleimer 2008.

¹⁶⁸ This thesis will touch upon this lightly during the second half of chapter 3, and thus a short analysis is in order. Iconology differs from iconography by focusing on ideological connections between images and their social and cultural contexts. Iconology considers the evolving meanings of art and its role in shaping ideological positions, a concept influenced by Panofsky's idea of a 'will to culture'. (Panofsky 2008 [1972]: 65-6; Morgan 2009: 9; Howells and Negreiros 2019: 36). Panofsky identified three strata in iconology: pre-iconographical (simple outward meaning), conventional (requiring social understanding), and intrinsic (unconscious meanings related to personality and cultural background) (Panofsky 2008 [1972]: 65-6; Lorenz 2016: 26; Howells and Negreiros 2019: 37). Thompson's variation on iconology is more suited to ancient studies, emphasizing historical context and the broader reception of objects to avoid interpretational fallacies (Thompson 1990: 7). However, iconology has its critics. Panofsky criticized Reigel's iconographical model for forcing discrepancies into predetermined analogies but faced similar criticism from Didi-Huberman (Didi-Huberman 2005: 192-4). Lorenz suggests that incorporating the viewer's perspective into iconology can create a cohesive yet diverse analytic narrative (Lorenz 2016: 35-6).

we have chosen to go beyond current approaches towards material culture and examine the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture with the overt application of theory. It is good to conclude ancient material culture could work as an active agent in impressing identity, but how exactly did it do this? And to what, specific, end (beyond changing identity)? This is a point we shall revisit in our discussion of space and memory as the theories of choice within our study. Before doing so, however, we shall turn to an overview of the Hellenistic Period, to draw out key elements happening within this time and (broadly) situate our case studies within these historical trends. Following this, we shall dial down into the rationale for our case studies and subsequently the choice of theory and material object applied to and examined within them.

1.2: Methodological Issues

1.2.1 The Hellenistic Period, Broadly

The Hellenistic Period (323-31 B.C) saw changes develop across the Mediterranean, from increased intercultural contact in the Asia Minor (and beyond) to the emergence of Hellenistic kings. As such, it provides a prime backdrop, as myth, identity, and material culture were developed in new ways to confront the new contextual circumstances. Here we shall situate our discussion within some of these, with the acknowledgement that we cannot possibly cover every innovation and change happening within this period. As such, certain (significant) issues such as, e.g., kings and cities, will not be focused upon unless relevant to the immediate discussion (e.g., when we discuss Tyre and how it was influenced by Ptolemaic and Seleucid control). This is because our focus is upon the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture and to examine this successfully, we have to be specific.¹⁶⁹

After Alexander's death, three major Hellenistic monarchies eventually established themselves (though after 276 BC this number increased); the Antigonids who controlled Macedonia, the Ptolemies in Egypt (but who held territory beyond that, e.g., parts of Phoenicia, as we will see), and the Seleucids in Asia Minor and Central Asia (whose vast and exposed territories stretched their resources thin).¹⁷⁰ The relationship between the kings and the cities under their control was complex; it existed within a multipolar world, where the *polities* (and the factions within them) carefully aligned themselves with the competing monarchies to the aim of developing reciprocal and mutually dependent relationships.¹⁷¹ Nonetheless, self-governing Greek cities continued to exist, and flourish, within and between the new kingdoms, seizing opportunities to exercise political agency both within their own borders and in their relations with kings and Romans.¹⁷² Therefore, the extent to which these cities were affected by the Hellenistic kings could be dictated by particular circumstance, both regional and local. In Asia Minor, the cities, despite often being entangled with the successors' wars (see chapter 4, and Tyre) retained a degree of continuity, one that could be attributed to specific cultural features that endured. These included gymnasium culture, which reaffirmed cultural identity and impressed a communal civic attitude within the

¹⁶⁹ See 1.2.2.

¹⁷⁰ Lindsay Adams 2006: 48; Ma 2005.

¹⁷¹ In short, they must be examined individually if possible and thus avoid overgeneralisation (Mann and Scholz 2011).

¹⁷² Gauthier 1985; Ma 2002; Grieb 2008; Hamon 2009: 347-82; Mann and Scholz 2012.

polis.¹⁷³ Of course, other *poleis* within the region were clearly used to anchor territory and thus reinvented themselves in line with situational needs.¹⁷⁴ In other cases, such as in the region of Ionia, they were clearer give-and-take dynamics between the cities and their ruler. Under the Lysimachus (from 294 B.C), the cities received royal favours (such as tax exemptions),¹⁷⁵ but these were offset by the economic strains of having to support and fund such things as a garrison and royal building projects.¹⁷⁶ The cities within this region responded to their precarious situation, and the increased warfare that came with warring kingdoms, by building defensive structures like circuit walls, forts, and watchtowers.¹⁷⁷ Despite the overarching control of the kings, Ionian *poleis* retained a degree of autonomy and continued regional competitions and military activities, reflecting a blend of continuity and change during this period.¹⁷⁸ Away from this, on the island of Crete, traditions persisted despite Ptolemaic interference in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC.¹⁷⁹

We can perhaps see the greatest change in the *polis* in peninsular Greece, though even this comes with caveats. Shipley and Hansen have argued that whilst many small Greek *poleis* appeared unchanged, in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC they had become more dependent on centralised powers, and less able to formulate individual military and diplomatic goals.¹⁸⁰ They became less exclusive in their membership, and more cosmopolitan. More power fell into the hands of the elite.¹⁸¹ Whilst this can be further evidenced in Esu's 2024 study of Athens and Megalopolis in the Hellenistic Period, which showed a greater collection of power in the hands of the wealthy, and a move away from democratic institutions,¹⁸² it is an argument that can be complicated. Wiemer argues traditional political institutions and events, such as festivals, were usurped to advertise aristocratic notions of civic service; whilst the manner of dedications placed the elite as representative of the communal body, activities such

¹⁷³ Hamon 2011: 68.

¹⁷⁴ Which Williamson 2021: 2 ties to the transitions of rural sanctuaries; Gauthier 1989; Savalli-Lestrade 2005; van Nijf 2008; Mileta 2009b.

¹⁷⁵ Longer term impact was from Seleucid rule, however.

¹⁷⁶ Nudell 2023: 158-9, 174; Billows 2007: 33-44. For the issue of economic strain from Hellenistic kings upon their subsumed communities more generally, see Lund 1992: 128-52; Burstein 1980: 73-5; Kosmin 2014: 61-7.

¹⁷⁷ Ma 2000: 340-1; Lund 1992: 128-29; for a study of Hellenistic walls, see McNicoll 1997: 46-8, with table 7; Konecny and Ruggendorfer 2014: 739; Ruppe 2007: 271-322. Private citizens often paid for these. For the estimated amount paid by citizens for Erythrae, see Migeotte 1992: 336.

¹⁷⁸ Nudel 2023: 179-81.

¹⁷⁹ See 3.2.

¹⁸⁰ Though Thonemann 2015: 45, derived from Ma 2000, claims they had more freedom of autonomy than they had in the 4th-5th centuries. They still engaged with inter-wars and personal politics as they liked.

¹⁸¹ Shipley and Hansen 2006; Osborne 1998: 225; see also Esu 2024: 94.

¹⁸² Roman influence and gradual conquest further altered political participation, with reforms imposing property qualifications for federal council appointments and official elections in regions like Thessaly (194 BC) and Macedonia (167 BC) (Polyb. 31.2.12). See also Gauthier 1985; Hamon 2005: 130-1; Esu 2024: 112-3.

as banquets were reserved for office-holders (and thus separated the civic body), allowing us to suggest these dedications were ultimately used to advertise the individual.¹⁸³ Nonetheless, cities within the peninsular of Greece continued to frame decisions as those made by the people, and citizens were still elected to offices – however, whilst this demonstrates the form of democracy, we cannot know if it worked as such in actual practice.¹⁸⁴ Gray has offered an interesting argument; whilst elite interference certainly grew, he would argue that the features of that Hellenistic public sphere perpetuated and adapted features of the classical *polis*.¹⁸⁵ Individual, elite recognition still worked within a service to the community (e.g., by funding events)¹⁸⁶ and thus civic responsibility and a public good remained present, if mutated (this is not to say social inequalities did not widen, however).¹⁸⁷ Therefore, the state of the Greek *polis* is difficult to confirm upon conclusively (at least here). It feels best to confront each example within its own specific context.

In addition to this we see some fundamental changes in the Mediterranean economy. Whilst what shall be outlined is quite generalised (no single kingdom, region, or city exhibited only one economic behaviour), the studies cited certainly indicate a broad trend. Coinage became more widespread as an increased number of troops (a response to the constant warring) required pay.¹⁸⁸ Within the evidence concerning the Mediterranean cities we can find many concerns; the dependence on royal goodwill, the hand-to-mouth state of civic finances, the linkage between private benevolence and public gratitude, and the multiple roles that a wealthy citizen might be called on to play.¹⁸⁹ Most significantly, with Alexander and his successors conquests (especially of Egypt and Asia) came the need for greater scales of trade and exchange,¹⁹⁰ which were complimented by waves of urbanism and migration. Those from mainland Greece sought status and land in Egypt and the Seleucid Empire; this led to cultural change and economic growth across these cities.¹⁹¹ In turn, there were

¹⁸³ Wiemer 2013: 67.

¹⁸⁴ Grieb 2008.

¹⁸⁵ Gray 2018: 92.

¹⁸⁶ With this said, the extent to which elites truly supported their cities is another debate, one we cannot cover here.

¹⁸⁷ Gray 2018: 93.

¹⁸⁸ “From 332 B.C. to the end of the century, around 1,200 obverse dies were required to strike the gold staters in his name, 3,000 for the silver tetradrachms and 3,300 for the drachms. If we accept an average productivity of 20,000 coins per die (which means around 350 kg of monetized silver per obverse die), no less than 131,000 Attic talents were thereby monetized (80,000 + 40,000 + 11,000)” - de Callatay 2012: 179; see also Davies 2006: 80; Von Reden 2022: 69-70.

¹⁸⁹ Davies 2006: 88; General sketch in Veyne 1990: 101–200.

¹⁹⁰ Von Reden 2022: 73.

¹⁹¹ Cohen 1995 counted 150 poleis in Asia Minor that were founded, or refounded, in the Hellenistic period (not all of these have been located); also Fraser 1996; Mileta 2009a and 2009b.

voluntary migrations of Syrians, Jews, and Egyptians to Greek regions. These shifts resulted in more ethnically mixed and larger cities like Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and possibly Seleucia, impacting public order, construction, and food supply.¹⁹² These processes of migration have often been framed in scholarship as part of ‘Globalization’; the movement of people and the exchange of ideas.

The urban network in the Hellenistic world, bolstered by Alexander and his successors’ founding of new city states across the Aegean and Asia, was an fruitful avenue for the exchange of ideas, ensuring the spread of knowledge across the Mediterranean.¹⁹³ Within this, the movement of people between civic communities strained traditional membership criteria within the *oikos* and *polis*; this created opportunities to join, or be removed, from social groups, a process that can evidenced through Cretan mercenaries - their identity changed during their travels, resulting in a social isolation.¹⁹⁴ They did not integrate within foreign communities, nor were they welcomed back into Crete.¹⁹⁵ Examples of Globalization have been explored through network theory, which helps us to imagine how nodes across the Mediterranean were played to as modified aspects of identity flittered back and forth between them.¹⁹⁶ Though the process of Globalization could be limited (our study of Crete shows the society remained quite conservative), it is an important concept to remember in relation to our studies (Tyre, for instance, is heavily impacted by it). Nonetheless, we the way in this thesis approaches it as at a local level – through this we can see that even when it was present, it rearranged and reinterpreted by the local community. Thus, whilst we agree with the general thrust of modern thought regarding this, we will be reminded that processes of interaction were often framed in the best light for each community and their specific needs and motives. And though ‘Globalization’ is not the focus of our research, we can, through the variation of case studies chosen – a landlocked site, an island site, and a sea-situated site –

¹⁹² Davies 2006: 83-4; von Reden 2022: 64.

¹⁹³ Stevens 2019: 370-4; Sperber 1996; Ober 2008. For the ‘globalization’ of Hellenistic culture, Ma 2003; van Nijf 2012; Pitts and Versluys 2015; Williamson 2021: 6, and chapter 2 of her volume; Nantet 2020 – the entire volume approaches the issue of communication through ships; Thomas 2019: 395-6. Beyond myths, this also included agrarian practice (see the naturalisation of alfalfa in Greece attributed to Darius [Pliny, N.H. 18.144], and Davies 2006: 86 more generally).

¹⁹⁴ Cretan, Egyptian and Roman troops worshipped Isis at Itanos, likely a compromise between their different figures (*IC*. III. IV. 14 for worship of Isis; *IG*. XII 3 466). However, these foreign myths were not adopted by the Cretan community at large (see 3.2.1), which could suggest that the Cretans practicing these foreign myths would have faced social isolation as a result of their new worship not matching the island’s communities. See 3.2.1 for further discussion.

¹⁹⁵ Ager and Faber 2013: 223; Baker 2013.

¹⁹⁶ Reger 2013: 148.

suggest ideas on the extent and impact of this idea across different contexts.¹⁹⁷

To summarise thus far, the control of the Hellenistic Kingdoms upon cities, and the rapid changes to the economic and cultural environment of the Hellenistic Mediterranean, resulted in a context where identities were blurred, adapted, and heavily reinforced within a more cosmopolitan Mediterranean. From all this, there appeared a greater drive to impress the recognition of your own local identity. Kinship diplomacy becomes more important than ever. In the Hellenistic era, locations invoked their past to bolster their positions, with cultural life thriving despite hardship and external control; communities, even those far apart, forged ties through shared heroic ancestry.¹⁹⁸ Despite the overarching power of Hellenistic rulers, a 'peer polity network' allowed smaller communities to interact horizontally with larger ones and even rulers. Throughout this, there was an obvious need to assert identity – especially in the face of social disruption (autonomy being stripped, war, etc.).¹⁹⁹ Extensive epigraphic evidence from less central places shows their efforts to gain recognition within the wider Hellenic culture – in short, they often impressed their centrality precisely because they did *not* possess that, a process reflective of a shared culture of emulation and imitation.²⁰⁰ Thus, through this we can see the singular importance of myth in relation to identity (and material culture, as the obvious means to express mythic identities).

The contextual outlines above suggest a supercharged environment for the expression of mythic identity, where communities would have been seeking to use myth, identity, and material culture to situate themselves within their new world.²⁰¹ And whilst we do not focus on specifically on kinship in this piece, it underlies every case study, integral as it was to social communication at this time. Whilst we do not focus on the workings of kinship, which has been heavily examined not only in the works cited above, we shall focus on how the relationship between our core concepts (myth, identity, material culture) supported it. Additionally, accepting the explosion of migration during the Hellenistic Period allows us to study, at least within Crete and Tyre, how identities co-existed and adapted in response to intercultural contact. Now, this is not to say these interactions did not exist before, but it is

¹⁹⁷ Simply put, it seems more significant in sites situated right on the cultural divide – Lykosoura seems little affected by it and Crete remains stubborn in maintaining their traditional identity. Only Tyre played into it, and even then, for their own purposes.

¹⁹⁸ On how Hellenistic communities manipulated their mythological past, see Alcock 1997; Kaczmarek 2015: 187-95; Aston 2024: 346-416; Ma 2003; Renfrew 1986.

¹⁹⁹ Aston 2024: 343-416

²⁰⁰ Thomas 2019: 390-1; Dillery 2011: 210.

²⁰¹ Thomas 2019: 392; Gauthier 1993; Ma 2003.

²⁰¹ To 'make known' themselves (Thomas 2019: 73).

clear the Hellenistic Period saw more rapid reformations of identity – because of this, we can better track the development of myths, identities, and material artefacts over a relatively short period of time (largely through coinage, which becomes more widespread during this period). As such, the Hellenistic Period is a prime era through which to examine how exactly myth, identity, and material worked in tandem.

As a result of the factors above (the centralisation of cities, surge of coinage, explosion of migration, increased use of kinship) does myth change? Walbank would claim it has, arguing the line between man and god blurred (due to ruler cults) and the Greeks were become ‘agnostic’²⁰² and, because of the reduced power of the city-state, there was less confidence in traditional cults.²⁰³ This does appear to be the case from the evidence (both in that discussed i.e., kinship, and that forthcoming). In fact, Greek myth remained of the utmost importance, a point discussed in 1.1.2, and evidenced throughout this research’s case studies. With this said, myth does not remain static; there are changes driven by the context of the Hellenistic era. Many of the changes to Greek religion stemmed from the multiculturalism within Alexanderia and the globalization happening across the Mediterranean, though of course we should not assume this was homogenously practiced.²⁰⁴ Within the former, contact with non-Greek religious traditions led to gods such as Isis gaining popularity,²⁰⁵ and in Delos the increased ‘Globalization’ sparked the appearance of composite gods – for example, Isis Soteira Astarte Aphrodite Euploia Epekoos. These gods are best seen as products of individuals who lived within these multicultural environments and deliberately drew upon multiple traditions to translate between the variety of cultural groups present.²⁰⁶ Because of the increase in migration, both from Greek and non-Greek, and subsequently, multicultural cities, it became a process of ensuring religious practices worked for all – in other cases, it became a choice of who you wanted to worship (see Ai Khanoum – they chose figures like Dionysus because he was ‘unattached’ to any civic institutions, unlike, e.g., Athena).²⁰⁷ Bobou argues that smaller sanctuaries in Hellenistic Greece became more important to communities – panhellenic ones took on additional functions as art galleries.²⁰⁸ This

²⁰² Walbank 1992: 209.

²⁰³ Walbank 1992: 218-9. A view carried forward by Stewart 2014: 154.

²⁰⁴ Mikalson 2006: 208.

²⁰⁵ *SEG*. viii. 548

²⁰⁶ Wallensten 2014; Hammer and Rothstein 2023: 4; Walbank 1992: 210.

²⁰⁷ See Mairs 2014 and 2015 and Burstein 2008. Hammer and Rothstein 2023: 1; Podemann Sørensen 2011: 146; Worthington 2014.

²⁰⁸ Bobou 2016: 204

particular idea feels reductive when we consider Williamson's recent work;²⁰⁹ rural sanctuaries did see an increase in significance to forge the identity of developing *poleis*,²¹⁰ but sanctuaries of types continued to hold a sacred importance to communities. This is not a particular avenue reconciled in this thesis; however, the growing importance of rural sanctuaries is one that will be developed through our study of Lykosoura – thus, we accept and position chapter 2 within the general thrust of Bobou and Williamson's work.

In addition to this, the 4th century B.C saw the Greeks develop an interest in collecting, documenting, and interpreting the important literary works of their past (bolstered by the advent of the Library of Alexandria). The works resulting from this were numerous, but it is Pseudo-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* which provides us an interesting insight into Greek thought towards their myths – despite collecting and recording the etymology for rivers, towns, and regions, and often citing sources,²¹¹ the writer held little interest in trying to reconcile the various different versions of a myth that appeared.²¹² Though this is a point (the reconciliation of different versions of a myth) explored towards the end of this thesis, at least how we can explain it through material culture, this does indicate an attitude in line with common Greek thought – they were not terribly concerned with the duplicity of their myths. The textualization of myth does not seem to have a great impact towards how it was engaged with (it was still readily and rapidly adapted), at least when evidenced with the case studies in this piece.

Ultimately, Greek religion maintained the core values it had held before the Hellenistic Period; it was deeply important to the city, tightly woven into the topography, and embedded within the religious festivals that a community used to impress their status and identity.²¹³ Thus, we agree with Mikalson – there were changes to religion in the Hellenistic Period (including the introduction of foreign cults, ruler cults, and philosophical systems); however, fundamentally traditional religious practices continued within Greek cities; any suggestions otherwise are likely assumed from developments within the Hellenistic that eventually resulted in major change during the Roman Period – however, before then, they were only inklings.²¹⁴ The stance within this thesis, in line with the scholarship above, is that Greek

²⁰⁹ Though based in Asia Minor, there are general points made near the beginning which pertain to sanctuaries on the Greek mainland.

²¹⁰ Williamson 2021.

²¹¹ The references are brief and generally unspecific, as these sentences from his discussion of the family of Io reveal (2.1.3).

²¹² Higbie 2008: 244-5.

²¹³ Sourvinou-Inwood 2000; Kindt 2009; Strootman 2014; van Nijf and Williamson 2016; van Nijf 2012; Williamson 2021: 7.

²¹⁴ Mikalson 2006: 218-21.

religion did not really change in the Hellenistic Period; a point that can be proven by the consistent manner in which myth acted between our geographically and culturally varied case studies. Whilst certain mediums certainly appear more important during the Hellenistic era (for example, foundation stories become a key part in how Alexander's successors frame themselves),²¹⁵ the context was a far more important factor towards how myth was engaged with, as will be seen. Where this thesis seeks to go beyond the current literature is in assessing exactly *how* myth functioned during this time, both in relation to the context (e.g., drives to establish kinship) and in its ability to retain authority and believability even when its details, at a local scale (e.g., even within the same city it originated from), were rapidly changed.

The factors discussed above (royal control, globalization, differences in religious practice) would certainly have contributed to how Greek identity manifested itself within the Hellenistic Period. Here we turn to Burstein, who has perhaps summarised it best. The context was key; within mainland Greece, Greek identity remained traditional, so much so that there was a new drive to separate 'Greek' from 'Macedonian'.²¹⁶ In the Near East, remnants of Greek identity remain but these are pared down and simplified – after all, the Greek identity was one within a foreign sea. It was naturally going to adapt and settle within its new home.²¹⁷ Whereas in Egypt, due to diminishing Greek immigration, 'Greek' became more akin to a legal status (though of course it was more complicated).²¹⁸ Greek identity, because of the wide, disparate area and cultural settings it existed within, soon became more akin to a thought, to a cultural way of thinking, rather than a strict set of markers (though of course identifiable elements did not just disappear).²¹⁹ As Isocrates put it, it became an issue of those who share our culture, not our blood.²²⁰ One could be Greek without being Greek.²²¹

²¹⁵ Ogden 2015 on Ptolemy, for example.

²¹⁶ Archaic Greek writers made Makedon, the eponymous ancestor of the Macedonians, the son of Zeus and Thyia, the daughter of Deucalion, or, alternately, of Aeolus, the brother of Doros and Xuthos (Son of Zeus and Thyia: Hesiod. *Catalogue*. F 7; Son of Aeolus: Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4 F 74). However, Hellenistic historians favored genealogies that distanced the Macedonians from the Greeks, making Makedon the son of Lycaon, the king of Emathia, that is, a Pelasgian (Aelian. *N.A.* 10.48; Apollo, *Library*. 3.81). This genealogy marks the conclusion of a process of ethnic differentiation between Greeks and Macedonians that is attested as early as the fifth century B.C (Badian 1982; Borza 1994).

²¹⁷ Downey 1988: 88–130; Burstein 2008: 69; this can be seen clearly at Ai Khanoum, which Mairs has discussed extensively (Mairs 2014 and 2015).

²¹⁸ Karttunen 1997: 295–6. Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 95; Meleze-Modrzejewski 1983: 248–52; Burstein 2008: 72; see Ogden 2015 for how the Ptolemaic dynasty tried to retain links to Alexander through foundation stories.

²¹⁹ Burstein 2008; Hörschele 2013: 29; for further discussion of this type of phenomenon, see Coşkun 2013 on the Galatians and Scholten 2013 on the Aitolians.

²²⁰ Isoc. *Panegyricus*. 50.

²²¹ Hörschele 2013: 29.

Though we accept this general trend, we will focus far more on localisation in relation to identity, both to avoid generalising conclusions artificially and because it appears, through our study, that this was an integral element in the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture. Lykosoura, Crete, and Tyre, all defined themselves in relation to their local traditions – even when engaging with wider traditions (see chapter 4) it is largely through the adoption and adaptation of attributes related to their own motives and self-promotion.

Finally, we hope to have situated this work within the wider trends of the Hellenistic Period. The increased globalisation of the period and the impact of royal control and centralisation further increased the importance of mythic identity. This exists in the background of our case studies, as they battle to achieve recognition and retain their local identities within the Hellenistic Period. Whilst we have largely agreed with the general thrust of scholarly thought related to this time, we do seek to develop it. Through this research we can support current ideas within the field, both via consensus and through informed disputation (for example, complicating the impact of migration across the Mediterranean, when discussed in relation to conservative Crete). We can offer further examinations, suggestions, and interpretations towards a variety of historical locations and cultures through our case studies (for example, we can better understand how Lykosoura employed its monumental mythic sculpture effectively to bolster its significance). And lastly, our ultimate conclusions on the relationship between myth, identity and material culture will be important. As mentioned before, our findings will not be offering a model through which every community in the Mediterranean can be examined – we need far more work for that. But we are offering a collection of recurring markers and processes that can be used to support the future direction of work examining myth, identity, and material culture (together or apart).

1.2.2: Why Case Studies?

This thesis is designed around examining three case studies across the Mediterranean, to build our understanding of the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture.

The first is Lykosoura, a sanctuary situated in Arcadia, Greece. In this, we shall demonstrate how material culture, specifically the monumental cult group of Despoina, was used to help collate local mythic traditions from across Arcadia within the sanctuary. These associations were then implanted in the memories of visitors, who ‘expanded’ the territory of the sanctuary by subsequently linking these associations to their own local communities. The

second focuses on the island of Crete. In this, we shall see how the expansion of dominant cities on the island caused a surge of mythic traditions focused on pastoralism. In this, material culture was used to change perception and support the integration of new, pastoral myths. The third study examines the city of Tyre and Heracles-Melqart. It is common thought that the god, as he existed in the Hellenistic Period, is a combination of elements from Greece and Phoenicia, but here we will focus on how this cultural blurring was supported by material culture. Ultimately, the latter allowed for dual interpretation through the careful application of iconographic elements (e.g., beardless Heracles) – in this way, the people of Tyre could both retain traditional elements of their identity and play into the wider myths of the Mediterranean network. Throughout these case studies, it will ultimately be seen that it was the physicality²²² of the material culture that supported its adaptation and impression of mythical identities, in addition to its ability to act as a source of authority for myth, in much the same way landmarks (such as Mt. Lykaion) would have.

This thesis' focus (the relationship) is broad and cannot be concluded upon with any certainty without reference to a set of geographically and culturally broad case studies. This approach allows us to address different mediums of material culture (does monumental sculpture act differently than coinage, for example?), examine local symbols and attitudes (ensuring our ideas hold within different contextual settings), and establish broader patterns and recurring markers to answer our ultimate question. The location of each case study has been specifically chosen so we can model our points in different situations: a mainland sanctuary study (monumental material culture), an island study (transitory myths), and a city mired in issues of war, submission, and cultural networks (intercultural interaction). This disparity of scale allows us to move past the ideas that what this thesis concludes was limited to a specific size of community. Moreover, by studying the Phoenicians, we avoid essentialising the Greeks by inferring that our conclusions are limited only to their culture, that they exist in a vacuum – in reality, a similar relationship between myth, identity, and material culture was discovered in both cultures. Whilst this does not allow us to suggest that the conclusions in this thesis are representative of ancient society, it does provide evidence for recurring processes across cultures, a point that could be developed further in future research.

Throughout all of this is the spine of our choice: the local. This concept has received greater interest in recent studies, and it is from one of these that we can draw our rationale.

²²² Literally its physical qualities.

Kindt has argued that the issue of location was fundamental to Ancient Greek religion, which lacked centralised authorities and instead featured multiple centres and peripheries. This complexity is reflected in how the Greeks viewed their gods, who manifested in various ways rather than embodying a singular divine persona. As such, the local has been viewed as a realisation of the general, as the place at which variation occurs, and as part of a set of dynamic forces that variously intersect in different locations at which ancient Greek religion manifested itself. Without disregarding the city-state, the conception of the local has opened up to include a variety of ways in which ancient Greek religious beliefs and practices are grounded in local landscapes, local histories, and local communities.²²³ Alongside this, the local is the place in which we have a chance of spying the individual; specific, localised traditions on a smaller scale are an easier way in which to spot this, detached as they often are with some larger, ruling authority.²²⁴

This thesis is long and employs many footnotes; this to ensure a comprehensive understanding surrounding the context and scholarly issues associated with each case study. The structure of each is quite different; some can be more immediately discussed (Lykosoura) whilst others require us to tackle affecting issues such as ‘Hellenization’ (Tyre). It is hoped one will agree that sufficient depth is achieved in each study. Another issue that might be levelled at this research is a lack of articulation between case studies – what is the general thread? First, the fundamental difference between these case studies is a requirement; without it, we could not confidently conclude on such a wide statement as ‘the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture’. Second, the three are united by our focus – upon *how* material culture facilitated the function of myth and identity. This will lead to a set of similar conclusions between each one. Lastly, our use of space and memory theory create a framework of recurring voices and ideas which act as a byline between these geographically and culturally disparate examples.

²²³ Kindt 2023; discussed further in Beck 2023. The entire volume *The Local Horizon of Ancient Greek Religion* is full of fascinating insights into the concept of ‘local’ and its importance.

²²⁴ However, one could argue the leaders of the community will drown out any individual intention. We argue otherwise; especially in smaller communities, a wider variety of voices will be heard, and will, have influence upon their leaders.

1.2.3: Space and Memory: A Byline for Discussion

The study of identity, particularly in the context of ancient Greece, is inherently influenced by the time and theories applied. Theory provides a framework to take an abstract concept like identity and make it more applicable and comprehensible. Historically, investigations of ancient Greece, especially during the Iron Age, archaic, classical, and Hellenistic periods, have been predominantly empirical rather than theoretical. Lisa Nevett, in her introduction to a recent edited volume on the use of theory in the archaeology of ancient Greece, observes this trend. She suggests that the reluctance to engage with theory might stem from a preference to let the evidence ‘speak for itself’ and a reliance on classical literature over socio-philosophical theory.²²⁵ However, there is now a growing recognition that approaching evidence without any theoretical framework is impossible, and even if the theory is not explicitly discussed, it still underpins the analysis.

Space and memory have been chosen as central theories because they consistently emerge as significant elements in studies of ancient Greece. This choice aligns with our methodology, which aims to adopt an emic approach and avoid imposing external constructs on the evidence. Although the ancient Greeks might not have conceptualised memory and space in the same terms we do today, they clearly recognised the importance of memory in relation to kinship and status, and space in relation to their mythic landscape. Our initial analysis revealed that space and memory are the most suitable theories for unpacking the material. While other theoretical approaches could yield different insights, a comparative study would be needed to explore those possibilities.

Throughout this thesis, our use of each theory varies between case studies. We adapted our approach based on what the evidence suggested, ensuring that our methodology was responsive to the specifics of each context. Theories of space and memory provide a unifying thread to connect our three disparate case studies—Arcadia, Crete, and the Levantine coast. They offer a cohesive framework for understanding how identity and myth are constructed and manifested in material culture across different regions.

We have engaged with various ideas related to material culture, space, and memory. Addressing every single theoretical perspective would be exhaustive and impractical. Instead, we have outlined our general approach to material culture and will do the same for the main

²²⁵ Nevett 2017: 1-2.

ideas related to space and memory that recur across our case studies. This focused engagement allows us to maintain clarity and coherence in our analysis.

1.2.3.1: Space: Localisation, the Built Environment, and Anchoring

The concept of space has been widely discussed; as such, we will focus on a few specific elements relevant to our use of this within this thesis. This includes localization, the concept of a built environment, and the use of space to anchor tradition and ideas – all of these are recurring themes across this research.

The spatial turn brought out the idea that historical events could be determined by space, affording it a new level of significance.²²⁶ Within this, there has been debate over the difference between ‘place’ and ‘space’, with the former seemingly being the latter, only with meaning ascribed through individual, group, or community processes.²²⁷ The debate has run into itself; for example, space has been seen as being abstract, whereas place is named, built, and lived in.²²⁸ However, within this same work (Assmann 2012) space has a degree of ‘concreteness’, unlike place where things can be forgotten, or discarded – i.e., it is more fluid.²²⁹ This feels as if it might be a contradiction, and this is indicative of our rationale – defining these concepts as space or place is rooted in structuralist thought, an approach we seek to avoid. Instead, we might do better to avoid the strict definitions (which can cause reductionism and confusion) and focus on a more contextualised approach.²³⁰ Especially in relation to Ancient Greece, in which these concepts are already alien, thus it feels best to approach them more loosely. Thus, we shall employ both (space for conceptual discussion, and place for more specific location) and we shall build upon what we mean by both through our following discussion.

Locality (in relation to local identities and myths) is an important feature of this thesis’ approach. In light of this, we accept the ‘human need for locality’.²³¹ Belonging can involve attachment to local, material/physical places (e.g., temples or mountains); these forms of attachment are necessarily mediated and shaped by individual and collective memory (e.g.,

²²⁶ Assmann 2012: 74; Tuan 1977.

²²⁷ Carter et al. 1993: xii; Low and Altman 1992.

²²⁸ Assmann 2012: 74; Tuan 1977. These complicated theoretical contradictions recur – for example, de Certeau claims memories cannot be localised, all whilst alluding to how memories are attached to spaces or triggered by them anyway (de Certeau 1985: 143).

²²⁹ Assmann 2012: 75.

²³⁰ Eigler and Kugele 2012: 5.

²³¹ Eigler and Kugele 2012: 1.

from local myths and foundation stories)²³² Appadurai speaks of ‘The Production of Locality’ (derived from Lefèvbre’s ‘The Production of Space’). i.e., locality is a social process that is constructed, though it is best to see it not as spatial, but as relational and contextual – a complex phenomenological quality where emotional response is central (significance is attached to locality, e.g., via naming locations or attaching stories to them).²³³ Locality is important towards constructing collective identity,²³⁴ and can be used to retain local identity, thus offering resistance to centralisation (especially important in light of the Hellenistic Period context).²³⁵ Though we are in agreement with the concept, certain issues arise – Appadurai argues that creating materiality, building houses (for example), is a result of having produced locality, otherwise the concept is ephemeral.²³⁶ This appears true, but surely this is also a means of producing materiality, as Appadurai alludes to himself when he mentions the ‘intentional production’ of locality.²³⁷ This is a refutation of his work, but a caution; we should accept the broad ideas to support the framing of our evidence, but acknowledge that contradictions appear to arise within this complicated theoretical field. The concept of locality works if we accept that people have an attachment to place, or ‘topophilia’ as Tuan has dubbed it – ‘bonding that occurs between individuals and their meaningful environments’.²³⁸ This concept can center around individual memories and group practice (i.e, ritual and cult for Greece); through these, networks and bonds can be created and fostered through localised attachment (in our case, local myths) to create places of remembrance.²³⁹ Thus, myth is woven into the observable landscape to strengthen people’s bond to place.²⁴⁰ This is not an uncommon idea in Ancient Greek scholarship; only recently Scott addressed the use of myth and place through network theory, to determine how the cult of Pan was introduced to Athens through articulating his attachment to the cultic space within the city.²⁴¹

If importance can be attached to place, and its associated space, then it stands to reason that both can be manipulated. This is what we call a ‘built environment’; a repository of conscious

²³² Eigler and Kugele 2012: 1; Harmans *ah* 2014.

²³³ Eigler and Kugele 2012: 4; Tuan 1974, 1975; Low and Altman 1992.

²³⁴ Pred 1984; Dallago et al. 2009; Harmans *ah* 2014.

²³⁵ Tuan 1974: 102-9.

²³⁶ Appadurai 1996: 180-1.

²³⁷ Appadurai 1996: 180.

²³⁸ Tuan 1997; otherwise known as ‘realm of memories’ (Nora 1989).

²³⁹ Dallago et al. 2009; Hoffman 2022: 166-7; Scannell and Gifford 2010; Halbwach 1980; Kallio-Seppä et al. 2022: 9; Rowlands and Tilley 2006: 502.

²⁴⁰ Tuan 1974: 99; Tuan 1991: 686; Hoffman 2022: 160. This awareness can be frt

²⁴¹ Scott 2017: 226.

and unconscious collective memories, that can be challenged and strengthened through actions, practices, and performances. Through these processes, emotional attachments are created between communities and their environments.²⁴² This idea has been carried forward perhaps most famously by Foucault, who argued that space should not be treated as ‘dead, fixed, un-dialectical, and immobile’;²⁴³ this has been widely accepted and subsequent studies have discussed how space is produced and re-organised by powerful actors to dominate, discipline, and control the less powerful.²⁴⁴ From this, the social can be spatially constructed, which in turn shapes and is shaped by political networks.²⁴⁵ Of course, this control can lead to counter-cultures seeking to usurp it.²⁴⁶ In this thesis, we will focus less on the issue of ‘control’ and ‘powerful actors’, but the point that space can be manipulated for purpose (unconsciously or otherwise) will find traction here, especially in relation to myth and material culture. A criticism levelled at Foucault has been his ignoring of the collective subject²⁴⁷ and his ‘othering’ of ‘Other Spaces’ from ‘ordinary space’ (thus causing a myriad of issues related to presence, i.e., ‘Other Spaces’ are now no longer present).²⁴⁸ Lefèbvre sought to correct this, and in doing so provided us with further information on the built environment. He believes that space is an active part in the action as instrument and goal, means and end (thought of course we must also recognise the human agency in affecting this process).²⁴⁹ From this, he proposed firstspace (the material form of social spatiality,²⁵⁰ secondspace (order is created through use of spatial knowledge)²⁵¹ and thirdspace (spaces of representation, a result of power and control, but where the thinkers live and counter-culture can be formed).²⁵² These ideas have been picked up by scholars such as Bhabha, who said these ‘in-between’ spaces provide the ground to articulate new strategies of selfhood, and from them, new identities and collaborations.²⁵³ This begins to become more

²⁴² Halbwachs 1980: 140.

²⁴³ Foucault 1980: 70.

²⁴⁴ Sawalha 2010: 10; Foucault 1977: 144-5, 167; Foucault 1986: 252; Mitchell 1988; Wilson 1991; Wright 1991; Yiftachel 1995; Giddens 1987; Gustafson 2001; Healey 2004; Miles 1997; Pred 1984; Soja 1989; Cameron and Coafee 2005; Escobar 2001; Massey 1994.

²⁴⁵ Cameron and Coafee 2005; Sawalha 2010: 11; Keller 2022: 53-4.

²⁴⁶ Yiftachel 1995: 220.

²⁴⁷ Soja 1996: 146.

²⁴⁸ Genocchio 1995: 39; there are issues also about separately space and time – they are both important towards affecting the other (Assmann 2012: 72-3; Foucault 1992: 34), a point we agree with. Put simply, space can change over time, as a result of changes happening over this same time.

²⁴⁹ Lefèbvre 1991: 410; Soja 1989: 11.

²⁵⁰ Lefèbvre 1991; see Soja 1996: 66 (here and in following footnotes, for analysis). He claims (rightly in our mind) that Lefebvre's work is non-linear and repetitive, making it challenging to follow.

²⁵¹ Soja 1996: 32.

²⁵² Soja 1996: 68.

²⁵³ Bhabha 1994: 1-2.

complex, and so we will not rely heavily on the specific concepts of thirdspace etc.; it is enough to frame space as an area in which material and spatial forms can be used to articulate and reinforce identity (by a whole variety of actors). It is essential for enabling social action.²⁵⁴

Thus far, we can see the built environment as an active and engaged agent, one that can generate, maintain, and manipulate interpretation and meaning. Within this, representations within that environment, such as architecture, possesses an ability to shape human experience variously, by directing our attention to particular elements, therefore structuring our interactions with others, or restricting our ability to act in certain ways.²⁵⁵ Moreover, political and social motivations can be embedded within the space, likely through the objects within it (sculpture, coinage, temples etc.), all of which interact with their immediate surroundings (e.g., a temple gains prestige because it is linked to a mythically significant mountain); this allows us, in turn, to spy the social interactions and motives happening within these spaces.²⁵⁶ Across this, the landscape remains subjective, dependent on historical social relations and politics of the time.²⁵⁷ Through routine and *habitus*, people experience and understand their place.²⁵⁸ For example, when walking through their environment, locals may use familiar paths and routes, thus engaging with their local memories (stocktaking) which can lead to the creation of new traditions, identities etc.²⁵⁹ This is an idea we will link later to ‘distanciation’ in relation to Lykosoura – i.e., memories were carried beyond the sanctuary and so were rooted in places beyond its traditional borders.

The last point on this, and one that will be developed further in our discussion of memory, is the subjectivity in approaching space – not only can it be interpreted in many ways (perhaps beyond what the creator wanted), but space can result in representations (e.g.,

²⁵⁴ Soja 1996: esp. 32, 45-6, 58-9, 67-8.

²⁵⁵ Harvey 1996: 212; Harvey and Haraway 1995; Bender 2013: 307; Massey 1995.

We can see this concept applied to Ancient Greece. Paga 2017: 190 - The Old Bouleuterion in ancient Athens embodied the principles of the new democracy, serving as a functional space designed to facilitate democratic practices. Key elements of this system, such as accountability and deliberative decision-making, were promoted through the architecture itself. The perforated facade and interior openness encouraged participation and communication, while the building's location in the Agora emphasized its accessibility to citizens. The structure's inward focus and visual axes reinforced the accountability of the bouleutai to each other and to the Athenian people. The buildings in the new Agora reflected the priorities of the democracy, showcasing how abstract political reforms were realized and addressing the key elements of the new regime. The functionality of the nascent democracy, evident in its military victories, financial prosperity, and international reputation, was enabled by the democratic institutions and ideals embodied in structures like the Old Bouleuterion. Rather than a passive observer, this building actively shaped democratic practices in Late Archaic Athens (Paga 2017: 207-8).

²⁵⁶ Kaul 2010: 255; Strang 2022: 341, 346.

²⁵⁷ Bender 2013: 303.

²⁵⁸ Bourdieu 1990: 52; Tilley 1994: 16; Giddens 1981.

²⁵⁹ Bender 2013: 306; Ingold 1997, 2000.

monumental religious sculpture within temple space) that can influence how one views the world – in a sense, they can take the place of reality, changing perceptions and approaches towards that same space (e.g., because of a particular sculpture, you may not associate the site with a popular myth).²⁶⁰ This idea is similar to Soja's discussion about how the imagined geography (manufactured by space) can become the 'real geography', as an image or representation comes to define and order reality. Actual material forms 'recede into the distance'.²⁶¹ This is an idea drawn from Giddens idea of 'distanciation'; the stretching of social systems over time-space to create more encompassing, elastic collectiveness, and system integrations.²⁶² This is an idea subscribed to in this thesis, and will be developed in chapter 2 to argue that mythic associations could be implanted in minds, and then 'stretched' via the travel of these individuals and their subsequent association between their local homes and the location they now also associate with those same myths.²⁶³

Following from localisation and built environments, it seems safe to presume that space can anchor memory and work with material culture to institutionalise thoughts, traditions, and memories within space. Spatial awareness can extend beyond the immediate environment, unconsciously or otherwise, with humans often recognizing links beyond their current vicinity (e.g., the recognition they are near a mountain of great mythic significance, even if they are not directly interacting with it).²⁶⁴ In line with this, it is generally understood that cognition²⁶⁵ is embedded in its surroundings; it is embodied,²⁶⁶ encultured, extended,²⁶⁷ and

²⁶⁰ This is a very simplified way of explaining it. See chapter 2 for further discussion in relation to Lykosoura. For this idea generally, see Soja 1996: esp. 32, 45-6, 58-9, 67-8 and Tuan 1974: 60-1. The latter discusses the Ojibwa culture and how, within it, they have convinced themselves of the *wendigo*'s occupation of their space through spatial processes and attachments.

²⁶¹ Soja 1996: 79.

²⁶² Soja 1989: 152; Giddens 1984. This is an idea Giddens links to structuration, as it allows the social systems to stretch and still be recognised 'on the basis of definite mechanisms of societal integration' (Giddens 1984: 182). An early version of this idea can even be found in Halbwachs (a collective memory will endure over the course of centuries because it has... been divided up; because it can *travel back and forth between places*, conveyed by separate elements of tradition. This circulation and competition constitutes the collective life of memory (Halbwachs 1941: 148-50).

²⁶³ We can see a similar idea in Hamilakis 2014: 10, where it is suggested that human experience of places generates a memory bank, which becomes the extension of a place in human cognition and thus an integral part of the group's or individual's sense of self.

²⁶⁴ Knoblauch and Steets 2022: 26; Tuan 1977: 75.

²⁶⁵ The mental action or process of acquiring knowledge and understanding through thought, experience, and the senses.

²⁶⁶ The terms 'embodied' and 'embodiment' are used here as umbrella terms. In so doing, it is acknowledged that the terms can represent various aspects of the field, but to engage in a detailed discussion of their explanatory and/ or methodological differences is beyond the scope of this work.

²⁶⁷ In short, extended cognition means creating tools capable of enhancing actions and interaction, such as symbols, objects linked to certain actions which thus carry a certain meaning, props, etc. Examples may include the red carpet in Aeschylus' Agamemnon, or the meaning of the wheat in the Eleusinian Mysteries, or the

distributed;²⁶⁸ it should be understood as existing through an interplay of the whole complex of brain, body systems, and environment.²⁶⁹ In other words, humans can attach themselves to the environment through an affective bond (a space one loves), which can hold meanings and memories, both individual and collective.²⁷⁰ This is exemplified in ancient Greek religious spaces and festivals - the sense of a place was inextricably bound with the land.²⁷¹ Of course, this are still often attached to social relationships and positions of power;²⁷² through this ‘ordinary practitioners’ rely on their past experiences and memories to articulate themselves with their spaces.²⁷³ This can go beyond the individual; communities can experience the issue of articulation. Tuan has argued for the human drive to fix ourselves as the center of any scenario; when this is disrupted (perhaps through a more powerful location subsuming the community) there is a drive to reestablish it in whichever way possible.²⁷⁴ We can see this through Greek kinship and foundation stories; there was a drive to distinguish oneself within an increasingly centralised world (at least in mainland Greece).²⁷⁵

Significantly, material culture can support this process,²⁷⁶ allowing for a form of social constructivism; meaning that symbolic representations can create subjective realities. Put simply, material culture can present the identity a community might have wished to hold, and it can embed and institutionalise this both within the community, and in the minds of those (including outsiders) who engage with it.²⁷⁷ Of course, this does not mean every viewer will interpret the symbolic representations in the same way – subjectivity remains based on the individual’s own experiences and knowledge.²⁷⁸ Nonetheless, material culture can attempt to play into this, to achieve the holder’s desired effect. This medium can mediate between mental activity (invention) and social activity (realisation)²⁷⁹ as it works to produce space

magnetised ring and purple belt of the Samothracian Mysteries. For a brief discussion on the meaning of extended cognition in general, see Kundtová Klocová and Geertz 2019: 78–9.

²⁶⁸ Geertz 2010: 306.

²⁶⁹ Van Gelder and Port 1995: ix; Kundtová Klocová and Geertz 2019: 78.

²⁷⁰ Boutsikas 2020: 28; Tuan 1977: 75, 93, 178; Lyndon 2009; Feld and Basso 1996; Jones 2007: 63. In the Aristotelian sense, which has the ability to contain (περιέχων) meaning (*Physics*. 4.210b; Boutsikas 2020: 28).²⁷⁰

²⁷¹ Boutsikas 2020: 28; see Alonso 1994; Berliner 2005; Boyarin 1994 for more general thoughts on this.

²⁷² Tilley 1994.

²⁷³ Sawalha 2010: 13; Bowman 1993: 81.

²⁷⁴ Tuan 1974: 31-2, discussing Britain and its loss as the world’s ‘hub’, among other countries and towns. Taunton, Massachusetts, describes itself as ‘the largest city for its size’.

²⁷⁵ Something Bowman 1993: 87-8 would call a ‘fetishized’ link, which can often be articulated through material culture.

²⁷⁶ Tuan 1974: 122; Hoffman 2022: 166.

²⁷⁷ Keller 2022: 38-9; Christmann 2022: 97-8; for some general points, see Ingold 1993; Tuan 1974, 1991; Hoffman 2022: 166.

²⁷⁸ Christmann 2022: 96.

²⁷⁹ Lefebvre 1991: 27-8.

(whether this be perceived, conceived, or live)²⁸⁰ that combined the imagined (i.e., a greater position for a community) with reality.²⁸¹ In this way, communities can distinguish themselves even when ruled over. The ‘imagined geography’ can become the ‘real geography’ (as discussed earlier); thinking can take form.²⁸² Within this form of constructivism, human and environment work in a reflexive process, with one affecting the other in turn.²⁸³ Monuments and other pieces of material culture (mythically emblazoned coinage, for example), can be important in impressing the permanence of an established identity, acting as (in theory) permanent markers of identity and history.²⁸⁴ They do so both iconically (iconography often possessed by these is significant in facilitating the formation of cultural and religious identity)²⁸⁵ and indexically i.e., they evoke feelings through materiality and form as well as symbolise social narratives of events and sacrifices retold in public rituals.²⁸⁶ Phenomenological perspective has linked human experience of space and monument to human memory and emotion (see forced to crawl on hands and knees in burials to invoke liminal feelings, or monumental steps to express authority).²⁸⁷ Beyond maintaining identity, material culture can also be used to rework social traditions,²⁸⁸ often through appealing to shared instincts and experiences (as ritual, for example, does).²⁸⁹

In short, space is significant for impressing locality, creating built environments, and anchoring memories, all of which contribute to identity, and all of which are supported by the use of material culture. This theory, as framed here, will recur throughout our case studies.

1.2.3.2: Memory: Intentional History, Playing with Memory, and Subjectivity (‘Reading Things Two Ways’)

Memory is a topic led by the work of Halbwachs, whose ideas have led to the concept being rejected as tangible, singular, or homogenous, and instead accepted as being temporal, transcultural, and entangled.²⁹⁰ Memory was important within Ancient Greece, whether it was

²⁸⁰ Lefebvre 1991: 38-9; Soja 1996: 65.

²⁸¹ Lefebvre 1991: 411.

²⁸² Something Low calls *synthesis* (2001, drawn from Giddens 1984); Soja 1996: 79; Knoblauch and Steets 2022: 23.

²⁸³ Knoblauch and Steets 2022: 24.

²⁸⁴ Rowlands and Tilley 2013: 500; Knoblauch and Steets 2022: 27-8.

²⁸⁵ Wescoat and Ousterhout 2012: 372. A point explored throughout this thesis.

²⁸⁶ Rowlands and Tilley 2013: 500-2.

²⁸⁷ Rowlands and Tilley 2013: 507; Hollinshead 2012: 56.

²⁸⁸ Rowlands and Tilley 2013: 511.

²⁸⁹ Wescoat and Ousterhout 2012: 369-70; Wescoat 2012.

²⁹⁰ Halbwachs 1980. For a critical assessment of Halbwachs see Counsell 2009: 4-5; For a discussion refuting the unity and homogeneity of memory and a detailed analysis of why the study of the singular memory of a (religious) group offers only a simplistic understanding of a culture as comprised of static entities, see Feindt et al. 2014. See also Erll 2011; Jordheim 2012.

recognised as such or not; after all, their mythic tales, often not written down, were heavily informed by memory.²⁹¹ Without our study, we shall focus (indirectly at points) on inscribed memory, which involves monuments, texts, and representations along with activities which are repetitive, prescriptive, formulaic, and materially visible,²⁹² and embodied memory, which relates to how we recollect information on performances, behaviour, and activities through somatic²⁹³ markers.²⁹⁴ Ritual performance, as an example, which conveys and sustains memories and knowledge of the past, is embodied memory.²⁹⁵ We can attempt to access embodied memory through inscribed memory (specifically those related to narratives, representations, and places).²⁹⁶

Halbwachs believed that memory was unique, and tied to individual experiences; however, it could be accessed through historical memory, which was the collective remembrance of those who had lived through the same time; oftentimes this is broader and at the whim of what was recorded (either through text, or material items).²⁹⁷ From this foundational work we have ‘intentional history’, which has been formulated in relation to Ancient Greece, unsurprisingly. Traditions were reinforced, created, and/or changed that pushed the ‘official’ narrative of the community (an obvious example being the promotion of a heroic ancestor), which beyond distinguishing the group, could also be used to support or restrict access to outsiders.²⁹⁸ Halbwachs argued that collective memory²⁹⁹ was shaped by a continued development; at all times groups were capable of reconstructing their past,³⁰⁰ which they produced authority for by pushing newly created and/or impressed elements into the past; they convince themselves they have foundations in the past (often commemorated through

²⁹¹ Vernant 1983: 116–19; Boutsikas 2020: 22.

²⁹² Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 4.

²⁹³ Relating to the body, especially as distinct from the mind

²⁹⁴ Connerton 1989, 2008. See 2.1 for more info on this.

²⁹⁵ Connerton 1989.

²⁹⁶ Boutsikas 2020: 24–5; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 4. We should remain skeptical though; iconography can offer us a window of insight, but our conclusions are ultimately speculative.

²⁹⁷ Halbwachs 1992. He has been evaluated by Brian 2021: 6, who discussed the Durkheimian roots of Halbwachs work (Durkheim, 1898, or Mauss and Durkheim, 1903). For the stages of this conceptual enterprise see Jaisson 2008; and for its terminology, Brian 2008 (Brian 2021: 6).

²⁹⁸ Bowman 1993: 95 (though they also say this does not impose restrictive obligations on the group – perhaps, but clearly not always the case. Look at conscription in any ancient state and how it helped to develop national pride); Thomas 1989: 197–8; Vansina 1985: 153. Cf. Csapo 2005: 134. On the relationship of personal memory to collective memory, see Ricouer 2004: 93; Unwin 2017: 62; Fentress and Wickham 1992.

²⁹⁹ The term ‘collective memory’ has become loaded. Recent studies have warned against the dangers of overemphasising the polarities of individual and collective memory (e.g., Feindt et al. 2014: 30). When referring to collective memory and remembering in this study, I do so not in order to differentiate collective remembering from individual consciousness, but in order to denote a process which involves the participation of a group, as opposed to remembering in the context of a solitary individual (Boutsikas 2020: 23–4).

³⁰⁰ Halbwachs 1992: 182.

cult).³⁰¹ Hobsbawm dubbed this process ‘invented traditions’ (as communities stressed fictitious events to impress their antiquity),³⁰² and Gehrke soon proposed the term ‘intentional history’ (which shall be used in this thesis) to describe this process of negotiation and ‘conscious forgetting/remembering’.³⁰³ These intentional histories were dependent on repetition and permanence to become accepted (which could be done through material culture, as discussed above), but once accepted could foster a sense of kinship, both internally and externally to the community.³⁰⁴ This process works only for those who do not confront their past. Luckily, the Greeks did not, at least not without any real force.³⁰⁵ This was especially important in Hellenistic Greece, where the ‘mythological’ past was not clearly distinguished from the ‘historical’ past,³⁰⁶ and there was a heightened awareness of myth and history, for the means of establishing networks of kinship.³⁰⁷ Importantly, however, as Coser argues, there are certain constraints to social memory that do not permit a free rein for invention.³⁰⁸ This ‘limit to reinvention’ is one we shall discuss further in chapter 3.

Halbwachs described social memory as a ‘waterway on the sluggish current of which the hardened memories of social groups floated like rafts of timber’.³⁰⁹ Simply put, memories valued by the community³¹⁰ existed within a collective group consciousness from which they could be retrieved.³¹¹ In Ancient Greece, these might take the form as mythical genealogies – if they were capped by an unknown (i.e., not someone of importance) they were useless. And thus, mythical tradition becomes mythical construct.³¹² Helpful ancestors were plucked from the ‘waterway’ of memory, and often expressed through cult (hero cults in this place, which

³⁰¹ Halbwachs 1992: 86-8.

³⁰² Hobsbawm 1983: 12 cited by Unwin 2017: 88

³⁰³ Gehrke 2001: 286–287; the term is still in use – Roymans 2004: 235 and Unwin 2017: 89 stand as examples.

³⁰⁴ Connerton 1989: 37; Assmann 2011: 2-3; Unwin 2017: 64; Rojas 2013: 182-4.

³⁰⁵ Halbwachs 1992: 86.

³⁰⁶ Gehrke 2001: 295–296; 2011: 47. Cf. Fentress and Wickham 1992: 82; Unwin 2017: 62. The performance of the Kytenian envoys in the assembly at Xanthos reminds us that in the Hellenistic period (and beyond) the transmission of ‘memory’ was primarily oral (Chaniotis 2009b: 253). In fact, Spyridakis argues the lack of doctrine and text related to myth led to the high religious tolerance for contradictory ideas across Greek myth. And though some received criticism for this (Euhemerios of Messene – Frag. Jacoby, no. 63 – Callimachus was one of his most outspoken critics. He shows this in an *iambic* verse quoted by Aetius and Sextus Empiricus (FGrH. 63. T4a, b.), other Greek writers simply accepted the discrepancies (FGrH 1 F1a: ‘Εκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὥδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσὶν cited by Unwin 2017: 63). For further points on this discussion, see Thomas 2011: 84; Fentress and Wickham 1992: 46; Calame 2003: 15-7 and Unwin 2017: 63.

³⁰⁷ See 1.2.2. See also Schepens 2001: 14 who links this to the loss of *polis* autonomy and Scheer 2003: 218 who links this to ‘globalization’; Cameron 1995: 43; Chaniotis 2009b: 267; Ma 2003: 20.

³⁰⁸ Coser 1983: 26. Cf. Finkelberg 2005: 14 cited by Unwin 2017: 89

³⁰⁹ Halbwachs 1925: 289.

³¹⁰ For whatever reason, be that simple enjoyment or political gain.

³¹¹ Brian 2021: 8-9; Halbwachs 1925: 289.

³¹² Scheer 2009: 217

reaffirmed the community's figure's close connection with the gods).³¹³ And this is important, as Royman (arguing against traditionalism) warns us; a cult would only gain favour if it had value to everyone within the community, including the oft-ignored lower classes.³¹⁴ Thus, it is best to view memory, and the identity it produces, as a process of remembrance and forgetting to formulate what was needed, oftentimes in relation to contextual factors.³¹⁵ This does not automatically give us insight into those invisible peoples, but it does suggest a more collaborative process. To any extent, memory was retrieved and discarded as needed.

Halbwachs stated that collective memory was produced through a 'reworking of the material structure [the systems of representation] of society' (which space, reflexively, could also manipulate).³¹⁶ This reworking can happen through a reinvestment in the past or a symbolic recognition of places – a reworking of tradition.³¹⁷ What makes this entire process hang together is because the memories reworked are significant to the group – there is investment and interest in their success.³¹⁸ This reinvestment and reworking can happen in a single location (which consolidates memory) and within the minds of the members even spread farther.³¹⁹ The constant change of mythic tradition and identity examined in this thesis supports this idea; whilst memory is consolidated at Lykosoura alone, across Crete pastoral tradition appears to emerge across a broad geographical stretch.

Within this process of reworking and awakening, ritual and material culture can act as important keys – specific information and memories are sometimes only activated within specific contexts, which ritual and material can create the conditions for (through action, iconography, the arrangement of space, etc).³²⁰ This idea is one drawn from the combination of Material Engagement Theory and Extended Mind Theory,³²¹ which have highlighted the links between cognition and material culture.³²² Material culture can act as a stimulant for the

³¹³ Sourvinou-Inwood 2005: 373

³¹⁴ Roymans 2004: 259.

³¹⁵ Roymans 2004: 259.

³¹⁶ Halbwachs 1938a: 181; for the reflexive element, see Hoffman 2022: 168; Jones and Russell 2012: 271.

³¹⁷ Bloch 1941: 134-7. We will ignore the following part about transactions – reinvestments are not free – because this is perhaps stepping too deeply into unrelated theory (Brian 2021: 12).

³¹⁸ Put another way, they are the 'totality of thoughts common to a group' (Halbwachs 1992: 52).

³¹⁹ Halbwachs 1941: 129-30, 145.

³²⁰ Boutsikas 2020: 26-7; Arlow 1961; Anastasopoulos et al. 2010: 126; on this and the function of Social Network Theory in ancient Greek religion see Eidinow 2011.

³²¹ Internally defined experiences.

³²² Malafouris and Renfrew 2010: 2; Eidinow et al. 2022 for recent approaches across a variety of case studies. There have been criticisms of phenomenological approaches. This include the sense, created through this approach, of a viewer who is solitary in experiencing the landscape with no consideration of aspects which may influence experience (such as social status, age, background, etc.), and also phenomenology's tendency to view

brain to support its retrieval of memory; this is similar to how individuals can help recall memories lost to the other (e.g., a couple, remembering their honeymoon).³²³ This is interactive cross-cueing, allowing for the awakening of one ‘lost’ memories.³²⁴ This is especially significant in relation to Ancient Greece; their religious spaces had a long history of entanglement with myth, which itself was integral to how Greek communities functioned – thus, this association lent them an additional significance as silent representations of history. Within these spaces, ritual, architecture and other examples of material culture helped viewers to remember these mythic association with the space, and conveyed religious messages, both verbally and visually through these mediums; they served as cognitive anchors.³²⁵ The interweaving of festival timing, rituals, and myths creates a cosmological narrative that shaped cultural memory and identity. In Athens, similar mechanisms operated. The Panathenaic festival, through its specific locations, architecture, and sculptures, invoked sentiments of identity, particularly through references to serpentine creatures associated with Athena. These references, encountered during the festival route on the Acropolis, helped reshape Athenian identity by reconnecting participants with their mythical past. This process is linked to the context-dependent reconstruction of place, which, through iconography and performance, activated social memory to reinforce Athenian identity.³²⁶

In discussing how memory can be activated and discarded, made intentional, and supporting by material culture, we must remember the subjectivity of it. Not only of those within the community, but those outside of it who would not have, when confronted with a trigger, seen what those within did. This is not something to be discarded and ignored; in fact, it is a vital aspect in what we will discuss throughout our case studies. Not understanding or knowing something was not the end either; outsiders to the group would have perceived it within their own frame of reference (which myth, specifically the different myths around a singular story and/or figure can help us to determine, especially in relation to the archaeological record).³²⁷

landscapes as if through an observer lacking a routine or physical relationship with them (For a more detailed discussion on recent advances and criticisms of phenomenological approaches, see for instance Hamilakis 2014: 97-104). What must be remembered is that the human experience is inseparable from memory – especially in the context of Ancient Greece, memories are often produced through collective interaction (Boutsikas 2020: 29).³²³ Thus, rendering remembrance as much a cognitive process interacting with the surroundings as a bodily one (Jones 2007: 31-2).

³²⁴ Boutsikas 2020: 26.

³²⁵ Barsalou et al. 2005: 14; more broadly, these ideas can be found in Halbwachs 1980: 134; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 4; Bourdieu 1977; Foucault 1977; Giddens 1984; Harvey 1989; Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996.

³²⁶ For further analysis, see Boutsikas 2020: 116, 150-1; see Trigg 2009: 210-11 for ideas on the body within this.

³²⁷ Silva 2015: 159, 169-70; Jones and Russell 2012: 271; Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 2005: 5, 13.

Halbwachs posits that individual memories can only be understood within the context of the group to which the individual belongs.³²⁸ Memory is a dynamic process involving mental images that distinguish between present and past and is influenced by factors like gender, age, identity, and social status; these factors result in multiple versions of the same memory.³²⁹ These are often formulated under social pressure – individuals and families may adopt certain behaviours (engaging in local ritual, for example) to help them integrate into the community - thus helping to perpetuate a shared sense of identity.³³⁰ This conceptualisation is crucial for understanding Ancient Greek culture, as it involves selecting, reducing, and adding stimuli to make sense of the world and form communal identities.³³¹

In other scholarship, this phenomenon of subjective memory has been examined in relation to material culture to throw up a variety of conclusions. Ultimately, however, the main point is that landscape, space, and material culture (whether that be architecture, roads, city plans, of household artifacts etc.) are used to direct memory, and with it, identity – this can be used to impress ideology, integrate or rebuff outsiders, and foster relevant strands of memory for the context.³³² Within all of these, memory is necessarily subjective – recognizable elements are employed to cultivate thought, but if one is not possessed of the contextual knowledge to translate this, they will interpret within the frame of their own reference. With this, we hope to have outlined the way in which we view the theory deployed in this thesis, with specific focus on the elements that will recur across our case studies.

1.2.4: Coinage and Sculpture: Operating Parameters

Stewart has argued that the Hellenistic Period saw artwork and material culture that harkened to the past, invoking past traditions and identities.³³³ Alongside this, Alexander and his successors cemented an iconography of power, which included royal scenarios (battle, hunts, rituals) with divine imagery (Apelles has Alexander holding Zeus' lightning bolt).³³⁴ More broadly, these attitudes networked across the 'globalizing' Mediterranean and, at least on

³²⁸ Halbwachs 1992: 53.

³²⁹ Boutsikas 2020: 23.

³³⁰ Halbwachs 1992: 47, 51, 83.

³³¹ Geertz 2016: 128.

³³² Williamson 2021: 7; Turner 1973; Gaddis 2022: 471, 487; Halbwachs 1992.

³³³ Stewart 2006: 175-6.

³³⁴ Stewart 2006: 159; Thonemann 2015: 11-3.

coinage in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C, resulted in a ‘common language zone’, a *koine*³³⁵ or material expression.³³⁶ We must be careful however; in noting this, we must not let it inform our iconographic examination. This has been the case of frequent focuses of ‘hybridity’ such as the Alexander Sarcophagus at Sidon, where beliefs and motives have been attributed to the Sidonians through the medium of art and its common language. Oftentimes, these assumptions that art acted as an objective truth have been highly misleading.³³⁷ With this in mind, the main takeaway from the suggestions made above, supported by our previous discussion of the Hellenistic Period, is that material culture became even more important towards expressing identity within this time.

In this thesis, we engage with a variety of material culture – sculpture and other items around this banner (votive statuettes, for example) have been partially addressed in 1.2.3.1.3 (though these points will be revisited in summation). The most important materials, however, will be coinage (by necessity – beyond the information it offers, it is often the only surviving evidence we possess).³³⁸ To that end, this section seeks to establish the operating parameters around how this research views and uses this medium.³³⁹

Coinage is significant, in that it acted as a deliberate, often mass produced (and so widely engaged with)³⁴⁰ symbol of public identity that we can track over time. Numismatics could carry iconographic and written messages, both of which we can use to propose suggestions on the mentality and objectives of those who created and used them.³⁴¹ We know that numismatic iconography was significant to the culture of the communities – look only at how pastoral elements on Cretan coinage (e.g., Apollo with ram horns) were mirrored through the pastoral themes in the island’s poetry and in the very names of the Cretans themselves.³⁴²

³³⁵ Common expression, roughly.

³³⁶ Thonemann 2016: 25. Let us note however we must be careful at taking this at face value – it is easy to assume a common cultural expression which we then use as a frame through which to unpack iconographic

³³⁷ Martin 2017b: 159-60. This point is discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

³³⁸ Metcalf 2012: 9.

³³⁹ We shall not be focusing on the physical material of numismatics. For an overview of this, including weights, most frequent precious metals used, and how this linked to civic and royal elements, see Ashton 2012; Thonemann 2015: 16-7; Metcalf 2012 for the physicality (e.g., their weight) of coinage.

³⁴⁰ Dahmen 2007: 2; Mørkholm 1991: 15-9; Howgego 1995: 30-3; Thonemann 2015: 24-42 on a ‘big’ Hellenistic world. Note, of course, that some coins would circulate only within their local region (Dahmen 2007: 3; Jones 1963: 313-324).

³⁴¹ Dahmen 2007: 3; Ashton 2012; Yarrow notes that there was earlier dissention around this idea – coins were first and foremost vehicle for monetary exchange. She also follows up by making it clear that coinage expressing identity is now widely accepted as true (2013: 349 for discussion). This can be seen across scholarship: Dahmen 2007: 3; Millar 1993: 230, 257; Metcalf 2012; Lorber 2015; Iossif 2014; Thonemann 2015: 45 as examples.

³⁴² On poetry: Chaniotis 1995a: 71-2; on names: Chaniotis 2001: 217.

Beyond their financial elements (cities could tax outsiders to change their currency, as an example), the most important element of these materials was their flexible nature; locally significant myths could be expressed and reformulated to support communities in portraying their relevance within the wider Hellenistic networks.³⁴³ This was especially important considering the supercharged focus upon kinship during this period.³⁴⁴ For smaller Greek *poleis* coinage are sometimes the only evidence of their existence left;³⁴⁵ a further suggestion of their importance.

Coinage was often minted by royal authorities to impress political ideology and agenda (though these were impacted by the cultural traditions they existed within), with cities even being co-opted to produce them.³⁴⁶ This motive extended down to city magistrates, who, in an attempt to prove their own commitment to the city, would have contributed to the manufacture and financing of coinage for the civic body.³⁴⁷ Beyond the obvious inferences of coinage's importance to communities within the Mediterranean, we have explicit evidence: a decree from Sestos on the Thracian Chersonnese of the 120s B.C. remarks upon coinage's usefulness in advertising the city's identity and expressing its civic pride.³⁴⁸ These expressions of power and identity are ones we can track over time through coinage. The reproduction and deployment of numismatics within diverse contexts allowed for its semantic field to broaden and develop.³⁴⁹ Put simply, coinage changed over time because of the broader trends and reception that informed its production – specifically, the reformulation of common images (e.g., Heracles) based on active participation and cultural integration.³⁵⁰ This in turn can reveal elements of intention (e.g., why did Tyre present Heracles as beardless?) We can see this quite clearly in our examples from Tyre – during the Hellenistic Period the various markings featured on the coinage spelled an explicit transition from Phoenician to Greek as the language of power. The full spelling of Alexander's name contrasted with the

³⁴³ Dahmen 2007: 3; Price 1984: 80-1, 126-132; Skinner 2012: 134-5; see Thonemann 2015 for a detailed discussion of this in a variety of different contexts (an example of his analysis includes the suggestion that, for a small Hellenistic city without a major cult festival of its own, the surest route to international prestige was an athletic or musical victory at one of the four great festivals of the Greek world, the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian games, p.63).

³⁴⁴ See 1.2.1.

³⁴⁵ Metcalf 2012: 9.

³⁴⁶ Dahmen 2007: 3; Mørkholm 1991: 27-9, 32; Lorber 2006, 2015: 55, 76; Newell 1941, p. 206-207; Houghton and Lorber 2002: 410.

³⁴⁷ Dahmen 2007: 4; Ashton 2012: 202, these appear more often in the Hellenistic Period; Metcalf 2012: 4.

³⁴⁸ *OGIS*. 339, 44-45; Ashton 2012: 202.

³⁴⁹ Yarrow 2013: 348; On dissemination of images, see Derrida 1988; Bearn 1995: 9. For striking, mass production, and broad engagement with coinage, see Benjamin 1969: 218; Goux 1990; Shell 1982: 348, 1994 for theoretical approaches to numismatics.

³⁵⁰ Yarrow 348, 366.



Figure 1 and 2 (left to right). c. 333/2 BC silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great and c. 361-333 BC silver stater of Persian satrap Mazaeus, both from Tarsus in Cilicia (Thonemann 2015: 13, fig. 1.11, ANS 1965.77.80 and 1.12, ANS 1967.152.502).

abbreviations used for the Phoenician names, thus communicating the supremacy of the Macedonian king.³⁵¹ However, we can track the change of power over time – beyond what we discuss in chapter 4, Hirt has shown how Tyre slowly developed elements on its own coinage as it moved from the Hellenistic Period to the Roman that pushed away Greco-Macedonian elements of influence and instead focused on local, traditional stories and elements that impressed the Phoenician contribution to Mediterranean innovations.³⁵² Thus, coinage did not operate in isolation; instead the widespread circulation of this medium contributed to connection and common identity arrived at by confronting differences.³⁵³ Figs. 1 and 2 solidifies this point; the seated figure appears to be Zeus but

Thonemann has identified it as the Semitic god Ba'al of Tarsus, seen on Persian coins minted by the satrap Mazaeus in Cilicia. Alexander appears to have had chosen this image with intention, to unite his Persian aspirations, whilst reassuring his Greco-Macedonian troops (which touches upon an aspect of this thesis – reading items in two ways).³⁵⁴ This example did not act in Macedonian isolation – instead, it is a veritable symbol of intercultural influence, reception, and the demonstrations of power, all of which we can track via the changes that followed in this coin type.

Sculpture, whether this be monumental cult groups or smaller votives statues, is as equally significant as coinage, though slightly different. In this research, sculpture is considered largely through the factors already outlined in our theoretical discussions. They can contribute to the built environment, to the expression and influencing of identity and ideology. They can act as symbols of permanence. Within Ancient Greece itself statues were

³⁵¹ Lorber 2015: 57.

³⁵² Hirt 2015.

³⁵³ Skinner 2012: 139. See chapter 4; beyond the Heracles-Melqart examples, we can also see Sidonian coin adapting the Athenian owl during the period of Athens' dominance (Nitschke 2015).

³⁵⁴ Thonemann 2015: 13.

informed by the Hellenistic context; the presentation of private citizens, who were awarded statues because of their benefaction to the city, were discouraged by Macedonia.³⁵⁵

Nonetheless, sculpture was often still chosen by the community itself – a good thing too, because they were costly to create, which alone evidences how carefully they would have been chosen, and how significant they might have been expected to be.³⁵⁶ As such, it is unsurprisingly sculptures were used to help enforce political parameters and civic identities; in fact, even watching their creation could be an event in of itself and one that helped to bond the community.³⁵⁷ Ultimately, sculpture became a significant means through which to not only reinforce civic identity but echo local traditions and practices (see chapter 2), which could then be deployed to better support a communal identity built around (often mythic) traditions.³⁵⁸ This last point is especially significant if we recall material culture's active role (1.1.3) not only in reflecting identity, but in adapting, impressing, and influencing it.

Likewise, votive objects in Ancient Greece (which could be statues, weapons, small artefacts etc.) could be used for multiple purposes. Carving a small animal sculpture could act as a stand-in for a sacrifice you could not afford; affording the gods a gift might act as a means of exchange, with the hope being that they will grant your desire. Throughout these various uses is the core element; engagement with the gods.³⁵⁹ If we accept this, we can use these objects (both votive and monumental), with sufficient contextual knowledge, to determine what those of the past valued and what they hoped to achieve. Both votive and larger, sculptural objects were often placed in ritual centers, such as temples or cultic sites (in groves, or mountains etc.) and this brings forth another element we must remember. The gods existed within these spaces and as such they would have developed a spatial and symbolic relationship with the identities that visitors brought into them.³⁶⁰ This is not a point overtly addressed in this thesis, but it is one we must keep in mind when considering the importance of how identity was often framed in relation to religious spaces, whether these be large sanctuaries or small, rural cults. In short, we will conduct our analysis around the objects within the case studies as they have been framed above.

³⁵⁵ Osborne 1998: 225.

³⁵⁶ Kousser 2005: 228; Ma 2013: 243-8 (they could cost 2000-3000 drachma).

³⁵⁷ Ma 2013: 249, 260; Martin 2017: 72

³⁵⁸ Massegliia 2015: 5; Sweeney 2013: 40; Stewart 2014: 164-5 speaks about this specifically in relation to Lykosoura.

³⁵⁹ Kindt 2012: 123–54.

³⁶⁰ Kindt 2012: 123–54; Gaifman 2016: 255, 261.

Having framed our concepts, established the context within which this work sits, outlined our theories, and discussed the importance of the key material mediums used as evidence in this piece, it is time to begin our journey. We shall begin with Lykosoura, which provides the first piece of the puzzle – the conclusions in this thesis roll onto one and other across the chapters, with links and recurring features marked as they appear. As such, beyond the final conclusions made in chapter 5, we can see the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture playing out before us as we move across the Mediterranean.

Chapter 2: Lykosoura: Material Mythology

2.1: Introduction



Figure 3. Map of Southwestern Peloponnese (Shipley 2018: xvii, map F). Note Lykosoura and Megalopolis at the top of the figure.

The sanctuary of Lykosoura¹ sat on the western edge of the Arcadian region, around 7km from the dominating city of Megalopolis. Despite its (relatively) small size, it appears to have had a great deal of importance, being one of the few sites to survive the synoecism carried out by Megalopolis in 368 BC.² Having established our theory in the previous chapter, we shall now work to deploy it in relation to Lykosoura and its community's³ use of the site's material culture to help influence the sanctuary's associated myths and identity. We will find that material culture (alongside ritual) was used by Lykosoura's community to influence the memory of visitors and ritual participants, specifically in creating associations between the site of Lykosoura itself and myths belonging to wider Arcadia. Thus, visitors would not only link their local myths to the sanctuary (which were represented across the space through material culture) but they would remember the sanctuary upon encountering similar myths within Arcadia. Therefore, Lykosoura cultivated walking memories in its visitors. They carried these memories beyond the site and thus Lykosoura, in an abstract sense, expanded its borders. Material culture was integral to this process by supporting the association of Arcadian traditions with Lykosoura and offering an authority, which impacted acceptance, to these connections.

This line of argument implies a great deal of intention in how the community of Lykosoura presented the sanctuary, a point that will be addressed. To do so, we shall begin by outlining the site of Lykosoura, with especial focus on the Despoina cult group that was located in the sanctuary's temple. From here, we will examine Arcadian mythology, with the intention of identifying a series of traditional elements (such as theomorphic figures) which the community of Lykosoura played into (via collation) in the creation of the site's material culture (including the cult group). As a result of this, the sanctuary of Lykosoura was seemingly attached to regional traditions, thus promoting its antiquity and pan-Arcadian position. The rationale for these actions was likely rooted in the expansion of Megalopolis, either as an attempt to maintain autonomy in the face of assimilation, or as a result of Megalopolis trying to better control the region through the sanctuary. Neither can be conclusively determined (though in this thesis we choose the former explanation, for reasons

¹ It is also called the sanctuary of Despoina, interchangeably.

² See 2.2 for discussion of this event.

³ Community here is used to cover the autonomous parties at Lykosoura. It is not clear whether there was a governing body, or whether the local priests held control, or if there was a wider citizen body belonging to the sanctuary's town (presumed, an issue we return to), or even if they were controlled by the city of Megalopolis. As such, the less specific 'community' is how we will refer to whoever made the decisions at Lykosoura. Likewise, oftentimes the use of 'Lykosoura' is used in relation to actions. This is not to imply the city had a mind of its own but is instead an attempt to avoid assuming there was a community or a governing body, when in reality we cannot prove that there was either.

shown later). Nonetheless, it shall be seen that the popularity of the sanctuary seemingly increased from the 4th century BC, therefore attracting more visitors and investment. We will tie this to its collation of Arcadian mythology. Having established the context, we shall develop the focus of this chapter, looking at how exactly the community of Lykosoura used its material culture to promote an association between the sanctuary and wider Arcadian traditions, and consequently expand its (abstract) borders and importance within the region. As with our other case studies, this analysis will be framed through the theories of space and memory.⁴ However, due to the inclusion of ritual in this specific chapter, we must also turn to another theory: somatic markers, defined here as feelings in the body that are associated with emotion, e.g., a rapid heartbeat and anxiety.⁵ They have been discussed as revelatory states of the body;⁶ simply put, this refers to how your body's responses develop in relation to the association of the mind with triggering events (e.g., seeing myth represented, or engaging with ritual activity). Perception is not a passive process, but one that engages senses (somatic markers) and from them builds reactions (and associations).⁷ The sanctuary of Lykosoura used ritual and monumental material culture to provoke somatic markers and thus prime the visitors to develop associations between their local myths and Lykosoura itself.

Beyond this, there are a couple of additional points to address. Though we have discussed space, we must be clear on what we mean by 'landscape'. On this, we shall follow Shipley: he has discussed how some have categorised the landscape into two parts (the natural and cultural) whilst others view it as an entity which exists by virtue of being perceived, experienced, and contextualised.⁸ Shipley, however, argues we should unite material setting and human activity through discourse, i.e., how it was described, approached, and interacted with.⁹ We shall subscribe to this view, which matches our previous discussion on space in 1.2.3 – it is a concept that identities can be attached to and developed through.

Pausanias, specifically his *Geography of Greece*, as a source is another issue to address. Our evidence is often filtered through Pausanias' views and interests.¹⁰ Nonetheless, we are utterly dependent on him as one of our primary sources on Arcadian myth and cult. We cannot conduct a conclusive study on his reliability, and indeed it would be slightly

⁴ Framed in 1.2.3.

⁵ Connerton 1989, 2008; Protevi 2009: xii; Fraleigh 2015: xxi.

⁶ Damasio 2003: 6.

⁷ Fraleigh 2015: xxii.

⁸ Shipley 2006: 31 on Ashmore and Knapp 1999: 1; van Dommelen 1999: 277-8.

⁹ Shipley 2006: 32. These ideas are later attached to Tuan, who has been discussed in chapter 1. Specifically, the idea of emotional attachment and investment to a specific locality, to which identity is attached and developed through (Tuan 1975: 241-5).

¹⁰ Dan et al. 2014: 22; Hawes 2021: 8.

disingenuous of us to do so – whatever the case, we must use his writings to understand Lykosoura. However, we can outline an understanding of him, and through doing so, hope to avoid any obvious pitfalls. Hawes and Elsner have argued that attempts to define or create a running thread in Pausanias’ work have been unsuccessful – every reading has been a selection of passages, mirroring Pausanias’ own style in which he wrote about that he was interested in.¹¹ As such, it is impossible to approach the text holistically.¹² And though we can subscribe greater significance to it than simply as a travel guide¹³ (though in truth we are not sure what the original use for the work was),¹⁴ we should avoid approaching it as a certain genre; this provokes categorisation and takes away from what Pausanias seemed to be doing – acting as an investigative storyteller.¹⁵ This does not necessarily confer reliability, but it does make the motive to present more accurate recounts of the places he visited more viable.

However, Pausanias could not step outside of his culture¹⁶ and as such his own interests in Classical Greece and its religion led him to focus on that and largely disregard the ‘modern’ Roman monuments he encountered.¹⁷ Not only this, but it has been argued he actively worked to promote the wonders of Greek monuments,¹⁸ and, by his own admission, he only included details he thought were ‘worthy’ of attention.¹⁹ Throughout he worked to bolster his reader’s understanding of the materiality he was discussing,²⁰ and in doing so reminds us that his description of Lykosoura, whilst accurate when placed beside the archaeological evidence, is one written to appeal and bring in his readers, which in turn had shaped how we

¹¹ Hawes 2021: 1-2; Elsner 2001: 19.

¹² Hawes 2021: 1-2.

¹³ On Pausanias’ fusion of an art-historical and religious approach, see Elsner 2007: 12-9. On Pausanias’ literary landscape, see Hutton 2005: 111; Elsner 2007: 15-6. See also *IG*. 2005: 158-204, on Pausanias and Olympic victor statues. Hutton 2017: 363-4. On Pausanias’ avoidance of breaking religious taboos, see Foccardi 1987; Thomas 2007: 177; Platt 2011: 218: Pausanias’ tales ‘imbue physical topography with sacred presence’.

¹⁴ Habicht 1985: 21-2; Bowie 2001: 32, stresses we cannot know his intentions for audience. stressing that we cannot know where the text was read, points out that both readerships imagined by Habicht consist of the same educated elites. Hutton 2005: 242-7 believes labelling it a travel guide is misplaced. Its use as an on-site guide has been disputed – one issue is that the text would have been too unwieldy (Casson 1974: 263-4; Habicht 1985: 22; Arafat 1996: 33; Bowie 2001: 32; Elsner 2001: 16; Pretzler 2007: 40-1).

¹⁵ Dan et al. 2014: 22; Hawes 2021: 8. For points on genre, see Hutton 2005: 247-63; Akujärvi 2012: 42-5 for discussion of ancient texts; and for that of Pausanias and politicised space, see Whitmarsh 2015.

¹⁶ Hawes 2021: 10.

¹⁷ Balériaux 2017: 143-4; Pirenne-Delforge 2008: 351.

¹⁸ Paus. 9.36.5; Strazdins 2023: 18

¹⁹ Paus 3.11.1: τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἄζια μνήμης. For discussion related to this, see Swain 1996: 330-56, and for his inclusion of Roman elements, see Thomas 2007: 203. For associated debate to the points here, see Madsen 2014, 32; Bowie 1996; Hutton 2005: 14-6; Beard 1998: 81-8.

²⁰ Strazdins 2023: 114; Martindale 1993, 3-4. See, however, pages 1-10 for a detailed discussion of the nuances of textual agency and reception. See also Martindale 2006. Compare also Elsner’s (1994) argument that discourse shapes and defines monumental meanings in the guise of history. See Olivier 2011 for the application of this idea to archaeology and material culture.

see it. This particular issue is summarised well by Whitmarsh, who claims the mythical locations Pausanias discusses are ‘cites’ not ‘sites’, as their real importance to those of Pausanias’ time are their names and the associated histories that came with them.²¹ This has led Strazdins to note that Pausanias’ interest is in the ‘hill rather than the monument or the detailed nature of the man it represents’.²² For example, Pausanias’ reduction of Philopappos from an individual with impeccable aristocratic Greek and Roman credentials - from Archon, King, and Consul - to an anonymous Syrian²³ speaks to how reception is portrayed by the successive viewers.²⁴ At times, Pausanias’ presents myth without any critical thought (though his voice a mythical sceptic shines through, until book 8 where that attitude changes);²⁵ This is perhaps why he makes certain errors. Appropriately for our focus on Lykosoura, Frazer (on 8.37.3) made note of one regarding the statement that the Despoina cult group was made from one single stone; in truth it was made from a number of pieces fitted together. Frazer thinks Pausanias was misled by the local priests or guides who wanted to magnify the image in the eyes of visitors.²⁶ In addition to this, we can note a line found significant:

*And I, for my part, believe this story: it has been told among the Arcadians from old times and, in addition, it is likely. καὶ ἐμέ γε ὁ λόγος οὗτος πείθει, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ τὸ εἶκός αὐτῷ πρόσσεστιν.*²⁷

“This passage represents Pausanias’ take on Arcadia as a whole: in his work, the land is a conservatory of old myths, where old cults are still alive”,²⁸ regardless of the fact Arcadia had changed by his time. This is not a fact always represented throughout Pausanias’ work. It means it can be harder to chart a continuity of Arcadian mythology, considering all our information is either dependent on topographical storytelling or the stories of denizens who naturally convey their stories as if they are historical reality. Regardless of whether they are or not.²⁹ As such, we must be careful not to allow Pausanias’ acceptances to colour our own analysis – the archaeological evidence consulted here can help with this. Despite these issues,

²¹ Whitmarsh 2010: 12; an idea echoed in Delattre 2017: 272.

²² Strazdins 2023: 23.

²³ Paus. 1.25.8.

²⁴ Strazdins 2023: 23; Miles 2000: 34-6.

²⁵ Veyne 1988: 13. For discussion of his work, see Hutton 2005: 303–11; Pirenne-Delforge 2009; Hawes 2014: 178–85.

²⁶ Frazer 1898: 379; Cavvadias 1889: 13 made this clear. For discussion of 8.37.3, in which Pausanias erroneously describes a pair of acrolithic statues by Damophon at Lykosoura as made from a single block of stone in order to conform with their more miraculous creation story, see Platt 2011: 220-1.

²⁷ Paus. 8.2.4-7.

²⁸ Balériaux 2017: 144.

²⁹ Hawes 2021: 159-160; Moir 2022: 16.

Pausanias' work thrives as contextualised recount of dense mythical associations we otherwise would be unaware of.³⁰ The nature of its text invites open interpretation of the places he discusses, and as such, remains valuable to us.³¹

³⁰ Tuan 1977: 182; Alcock et al. 2001: 35; Shipley 2006: 34.

³¹ Alcock et al. 2001: 35; Shipley 2006: 34.

2.2: The Expansion of Megalopolis

Before we can discuss the site of Lykosoura, and the community's attempts to improve its position within Arcadia, we need to address the most significant contextual issue – Megalopolis' synoecism of the region. This event provides a rationale to explain why Lykosoura's community invested so heavily in the site during the Hellenistic Period – simply put, Lykosoura's community wanted to survive.³² Here we shall also address whether Lykosoura was a Megalopolitan creation; framing these discussions are important before turning to the site itself, so we fully understand the context surrounding Lykosoura's creation of monumental material culture, hiring of Damophon, and collation of Arcadian myths.

2.2.1: The Synoecism of Megalopolis

The early settlement pattern of Arcadia was largely scattered: people lived pastoral lifestyles in the region's mountains, organised around shared sanctuaries.³³ The expansion of Megalopolis in c. 368, which collated four Arcadian tribes (which each held their own settlements),³⁴ was a result of political interplay between Arcadian communities,³⁵ whose destruction of sanctuaries and displacement of populations³⁶ led to a partial remodelling of the religious landscape.³⁷ Though Megalopolis allowed old sanctuaries to remain (whilst creating urban cult centres adapted to the transplanted population),³⁸ few places remained with the status of *komai* (villages) of Megalopolis. In response to this, certain cities tried to prove their *eugeneia* (such as Gortys and Theisoa) and thus keep their own sanctuaries;³⁹ they

³² There is also the idea that Megalopolis took over the site and invested in it. This will be discussed in 2.4.2.2.

³³ Snodgrass 1980: 42–3; Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999: 182–3, based on the extensive survey conducted in the Asea Valley; Voyatzis 1999: 140–53; Nielsen 2002.

³⁴ Roy 1983: 157; Jost 1985: 168; 1994: 225–6; Meyer 1968; Xenophon, *Ana.* I.1.2; IV.1.27; VI.5.2; Diod. 15.72.4; Paus. 8.27.4.

³⁵ “The synoikism was managed by a board of ten oikists appointed by the Arkadian Confederacy and was clearly a matter of federal policy. One major purpose of the synoikism must have been to unite what became the Megalopolis basin under the control of a single polis, thus making easier the strategic control of the several major routes through the basin.” - Roy 2005: 262.

³⁶ Classical and early Hellenistic wares appear to dominate the material record, which point to dispersed rural settlement (which fades after the Megalopolitan unification) - Roy 1983: 157.

³⁷ Jost 1985: 550; “[However], synoecism agreements between Orchomenos and Euaimon and between Mantinea and Helisson show that it was normal to respect local cults: ‘the cult ceremonies of Euaimon will be celebrated each month at Euaimon in the accustomed manner’” - Jost 1994: 225.

³⁸ Jost 1994: 225–6; Balériaux 2017: 145–6.

³⁹ Jost 1994: 226; sanctuaries still maintained even after the old towns were depopulated by synoecism, Pausanias attests this for Basilis where Demeter Eleusinia remained, there in the 2nd century AD (8. 29. 4) and Akakesion where the statue of Hermes Akakesion remained in place (8.36.10). Many fell into disrepair, probably due to the remote nature of their locations.

did this by posing as the heirs to particularly ancient and prestigious cults.⁴⁰

Nonetheless, Megalopolis acted promptly to control the religious sphere. New urban sanctuaries were created in the city to hold to the old Arcadian gods,⁴¹ and cults such as Zeus Lykaios⁴² were recreated in Megalopolis.⁴³ Jost claims this was not to ‘steal’ the cult from the countryside, but instead to ensure the city was under the protection of the god;⁴⁴ it was to create a reminder, a recognition of its importance, and maintain Arcadia collective *koine* and mythological traditions (discussed earlier).⁴⁵ Based on the evidence of processional movement from Megalopolis to original the cult locations,⁴⁶ used to regularly reactivate the ownership of the city over its territory,⁴⁷ this interpretation appears valid. With that said, changes occurred; the myths of divine birth were reshuffled to privilege certain locations: these included Mount Lykaion, to the detriment of Methydrion, for the birth of Zeus, and Acacesium, instead of the Mount Kyllini, for the birth of Hermes. Some sanctuaries, therefore, saw a clear revival in connection with the synoecism, instead of destruction.⁴⁸

Megalopolis also worked to reinvigorate festivals during this period. *IG*. 2 (2). 993 records the Athenians’ acceptance of an invitation from Megalopolis to participate in the refoundation of the Lykaion games in the year 215 BC. Pausanias also mentions there was a sanctuary to Lykaion Zeus in Megalopolis, but the date is not known of when it was created.⁴⁹ It appears, however, that the Lykaian festival was moved from Mount Lykaion and hosted at Megalopolis instead.⁵⁰ The archaeology on this is complex – ceramic evidence suggests the festival’s continued significance in the 1st century BC; an administrative building is thought to have existed (though dating to earlier than 215 BC, perhaps); and archaeological

⁴⁰ Jost 1985: 548.

⁴¹ Jost 1994: 226.

⁴² Cults in Megalopolis included (according to Pausanias): Lycaean Zeus (8.30.2), Hermes Acacesius (8.30.6), and *xoana* from Trapezus (8.31.5).

⁴³ Jost 1985: 548; 1994: 227.

⁴⁴ Jost 1994: 227-8.

⁴⁵ Jost 1985: 167, 179; 1994: 228; Paus. 8.27.6; 8.29.1; concerning the adoption by Megalopolis of a sanctuary at Trapezonte (*FGrH* 90 F 31). See also Akakesion, only a kilometre from Lykosoura. Archaeology suggests that whilst the city was depopulated during the synoecism, the gods remained on site and a copy of Hermes *Akakesios* was created in Megalopolis - Jost 1985: 171; Paus. 8.27.4; 8.30.6; 8.36.10-37; Leonardos 1896: 121.

⁴⁶ The cults established in Megalopolis come from the ancient tribes of southwestern Arcadia.

(Jost 1985: 168). See the use of periodic festival processions to unite urban and rural populations, such as that of Apollo Parrhasios at Megalopolis’ agora and the following procession to the sanctuary of Apollo Parrhasios (Paus. 8.38.8). See also the Parrasia at Bathos, known to Homer and Strabo as belonging to the most ancient Greek populations, which was incorporated into Megalopolis (Hom. *Il.* 2.5.608; Strab. 8.8.1; Paus. 8.29.1; Jost 1985: 169).

⁴⁷ Alcock 1993: 202; de Polignac 1995: 59.

⁴⁸ Jost 1985: 548

⁴⁹ Paus. 8. 30. 2; Romano et al. 2015: 258.

⁵⁰ *IG*. V, ii. 549 and 550.

dumping in the athletes corridor suggests its lack of use from 276-200 BC, further strengthening the ‘off to Megalopolis’ fate of the festival.⁵¹ Despite all these changes, the topographic associations attached to the original cults endured, perhaps due to the numinosity between the two.⁵² This is significant and shall be addressed later.

2.2.2: Megalopolis and Lykosoura

Megalopolis and Lykosoura, 40 stades (7.4 km) apart⁵³ shared an interesting relationship. The people of Lykosoura were spared from the synoecism of Megalopolis, unlike their neighbours Trapezus,⁵⁴ Lycaea, and Tricoloni, seemingly due to their sanctuary of Despoina, where they had fled - though the people were forced to move to Megalopolis.⁵⁵ Levy argues the synoecism of Megalopolis encouraged the neglect of the sanctuary of Lykosoura;⁵⁶ the evidence of monumental building (the Despoina cult group) and other evidence of popularity⁵⁷ would dispute this. In fact, it appears the Hellenistic Period saw greater investment in the sanctuary, a point discussed further in 2.5.2, with the creation of the monumental Despoina cult group happening around this time (in 190-80 BC).⁵⁸ If true, would suggest a degree of celebratory autonomy from the sanctuary’s community.

Megalopolis let Lykosoura survive – this does beg the question as to Megalopolis’ subsequent influence on the site; namely was the city behind Lykosoura’s new prominence in the Hellenistic Period?⁵⁹ Megalopolis appears to have had an especial interest in the sanctuary. Many dedicators at the sanctuary were Megalopolitans.⁶⁰ And mystery cults, such

⁵¹ Romano et al. 2015: 216, 228, and 258.

⁵² Moir 2022: 42 – a key example being the myth of Lycaeus. Note Balériaux 2017: 149, who claims some gods were more mobile, as they depended on a community, not a topographical setting. For example, Hermes Acacesius, whose place was at the core of the community which bore his name.

⁵³ Paus. 8.36.9

⁵⁴ The town of Trapezous was stripped of its xoana (cult images and iconography) as it had rebelled against the synoecism (Paus. 8.31.5).

⁵⁵ Paus. 8.27.5-6.

⁵⁶ Levy 1967: 521.

⁵⁷ See 2.5.2.

⁵⁸ Paus. 8.31.2-6 for the cult group. See Levy 1967: 521 for a discussion of this sculpture’s date, which he ties to the beginning of the Eleusinian cults in the Arcadian city (Paus. 8.31.7 - though it must be noted Jost has recently argued, to general acceptance, that Lykosoura’s Mysteries and the Eleusinian Mysteries were quite different) and the existence of a man called Sosgenes, who appeared in a c.150-100 BC Megalopolitan inscription (*IG. V. 2, 443, I. 30*).

⁵⁹ See 2.5.2.

⁶⁰ For instance, *IG. V 2 534* (by Lydiadas of Kaphyai, perhaps to be identified with the tyrant of Megalopolis Paus. 8.27.12), 535 (by Polybios son of Lykortas, the famous Megalopolitan), 536. The inscriptions from the third and second century BCE are few and often fragmentary and may therefore not be representative of the catchment area of the cult (Balériaux 2015: 134).

as those held at Lykosoura, could be linked to the foundation of cities; the Mysteries of Andania became strongly linked to the refoundation of Messene in 369 B.C.⁶¹ Balériaux suggest that the Megalopolitans and Messenians were trying to legitimise⁶² their newly created cities by rooting them in local cults with a long history behind them,⁶³ similar to what we saw with cities across Arcadia during Megalopolis' synoecism.⁶⁴ If we follow this, Megalopolis would be responsible for the hiring of Damophon⁶⁵ and the monumentalisation of the Sanctuary of Despoina. In this sense, Lykosoura could be considered as a dependent *polis* within the territory of Megalopolis,⁶⁶ or as an extra-urban sanctuary of the city. One might even go so far as to claim it became a federal sanctuary. An example of what this was in Arcadia can be seen through Achaia's use of the sanctuary of Zeus *Hamarios* near the city of Aigion. Some activities that took place within it included: the conduction of federal assemblies⁶⁷ and the display of documents, allowing it to serve as the symbolic centre of the federation.⁶⁸ Moreover, Zeus *Hamarios* served as the patron of the Achaian Federation: he was depicted on the federal coinage;⁶⁹ indemnities were paid to him;⁷⁰ and the Achaians swore official oaths by his name.⁷¹ The Hamarion, then, was the 'federal sanctuary' of the Achaian Federation, at least from the later 370s if not before.⁷² We can see similar activities

⁶¹ Deshours 2006, 236-237. Pausanias' account of the history of Messenia revolves around the Mysteries of Andania (Paus. 4.1-17 and more explicitly at 4.27.5-6 with regards to the re-foundation of Messene).

⁶² See 1.2.3.2.1 and 2.6.1 for intentional history.

⁶³ The genuinely pre-fourth century Mysteries of Andania played a central part in the Messenian national myth and the city's mythical past constructed after the re-foundation of the city, Luraghi 2008, 92-94. Lykosoura and its sanctuary undoubtedly antedated the creation of Megalopolis and Lykosoura was, according to Pausanias' source, the oldest city on earth: whether than was believed in the fourth century already is not unlikely (Balériaux 2015: 134).

⁶⁴ See 2.3.1.

⁶⁵ See 2.3.2.

⁶⁶ Note also: An inscription probably dated to the second century BC indicates that the mother of a priestess was a Megalopolitan (*IG.V* 2, 536); see also, Meyer 1927: 2431; Tsiolis 1999: 127; Nielsen 2004: 517; Jost 1985: 172; Palamidis notes there are no indications of any relationship between Lykosoura and other *poleis*, or of its membership in the Achaean League unlike many of its Arcadian counterparts (Palamidis 2018: 132); Tsiolis 2002: 22; Nielsen 2002: 433.

⁶⁷ Strab. 8.7.3; 8.7.5; In 188 BC, reform where meetings of the assembly and council were made to rotate between member cities (Liv. 38.30.1-6); Larson 1968: 235, which Nielsen notes implies that before the meetings were held in a singular location, which he believes was the Hamarion (Nielsen 2013: 227). Aymand disagrees, believing the latter became unused after 188 BC (1936: 15-21) but Walbank disagrees, arguing the Hamarion served as the federal archive after 188 BC (2000: 28).

⁶⁸ Pol. 5.93.10 implies differences between city-states being resolved at the Hamarion, beside the altar of Hestia, and I. Magnesia. 39.33-7 reports similar actions; Nielsen 2013: 228

⁶⁹ Head 1911: 416-9

⁷⁰ *IG. V. 2. 344, I. 3-4*: shall be liable to pay thirty talents to be sacred to Zeus Amarios.

⁷¹ *IG. V. 2. 344, I. 8*

⁷² Nielsen 2013: 228; though he does note this date of Zeus Hamarios' elevation to federal deity depends on if you view the records as historical in Pol. 2.39.6 (as Larsen 1968: 84 and Walbank 2000). Hall 1996: 195-7 questions Polybios and believes Zeus Hamarios replaced Poseidon Helikonios after the tidal destruction of Helike in 373 BC but Parker 1998: 31-2, rejects this idea.

in another federal sanctuary, that of Thermos (in relation to the Aitolians).⁷³ These sanctuaries stood as symbols of states and anchors to attach an identity to; sometimes as a result of external pressure.⁷⁴ We find these ‘federal sanctuaries’, and associated shared identities being created in response to social pressure, for example when the Spartans dissolved the Hellenic League⁷⁵ and in the Triphylian federal state, which feared Elis.⁷⁶ In the case of the latter, the new identity appears based on pre-existing local myths and sanctuaries, such as that of Poseidon Samios at Samikon.⁷⁷

This thesis doubts we can go as far as calling Lykosoura a federal sanctuary, though this in itself is a debate. Ideas of investment in the 3rd to 2nd century B.C spell Megalopolitan investment to some,⁷⁸ and evidence (honourary inscriptions at Megalopolis) discovered by Kourouniotis appears to express a possessive Megalopolitan element over the ‘church’ of Despoina.⁷⁹ Palamidis, in 2018, took issue with the very existence of Lykosoura before Megalopolis; this idea was roundly refuted in Jost and Palamidis 2020. It rested upon the lack of Lykosoura’s mention in sources but whilst one author, Diodorus of Sicily, does not mention Lykosoura in his list of twenty *komai* (villages) in Ménalie and Parrhasie⁸⁰, this does not imply it did not exist.⁸¹ Indeed the lack of a definite article before the mention of these twenty villages (κώμας εἴκοσι) may indicate that not all Menalian and Parrhasian communities were mentioned.⁸² In contrast, Pausanias lists thirty-nine *poleis* that participated in synoecism.⁸³ This disparity can be examined by suggesting the initial synoecism saw thirty-nine cities being included,⁸⁴ but they regained later independence, or that twenty cities were originally involved but the number increased as Megalopolis’ power

⁷³ Annual meetings and the election of magistrates happened there (Ephor. FGrH. 70. F. 122; Strab. 10.3.2 on election of magistrates; Poly. 5.8.5 on Thermios; Larsen 1952: 1-17; Walbank 1957: 546; Beck 1997: 46, 52 n. 48; Grainger 1999; Scholten 2000: 26. For the athletic games see the victory catalogue, SEG XI 338, I. 7); federal documents were also set up (IG. IX. 1.1.52-7).

⁷⁴ Nielsen 2013: 229

⁷⁵ In relation to the cities south of the Alpheios and north of the Neda (Nielsen 2013: 232; for further details on the Triphylian Federation see Nielsen 1997: 148-155; Nielsen 2002: 252, 262; Ruggeri 2009: 58-9).

⁷⁶ Siewert 1987, 1988; Nielsen 1997: 151-2

⁷⁷ Nielsen 1997: 145-7; 2013: 233; Strab. 8.3.13, though the evidence is late and small in amount, provided by a single passage in Strabo.

⁷⁸ Jost 1985: 176, in contradiction to Dickins 1905-06: 109-127, who thought both were built in tandem; See the following scholars for evidence of 3rd-2nd century construction: Billot 2008 for the temple; Guimier-Sorbets and Panagiotopoulou 2008 for its mosaic and Hellmann 2008 for the *megaron*; for more general thoughts, see Orlandos 1911: 202 and 206; Palamidis 2018: 130.

⁷⁹ Kourouniotis 1911: 17-8.

⁸⁰ Diod. 15. 72. 4.

⁸¹ Jost 1986: 146-148, 150-155.

⁸² Nielsen 2002: 415.

⁸³ Paus. 8. 27. 3-6.

⁸⁴ Roy 1968; Nielsen 2002: 429-430.

did over time and it expanded its borders.⁸⁵ Note also, the more frequent use of to the name of the "tribal" community rather than that of the individual cities.⁸⁶ This may explain why we do not see Lykosoura before this time.⁸⁷

Further to the argument Lykosoura did not exist, or did so as a very small site, were Palamidis' calculations of the territorial size Megalopolis would have had to possess, and how it would have made it the largest *poleis* in Arcadia.⁸⁸ Yet we do not see it associated with the leadership of the Arcadian Confederation.⁸⁹ Even if the absence of this can be rationalised, it is odd its size is not remarked upon in other sources. Palamidis uses this tack to argue Pausanias relied on a false decree and sources resultant of a reinvention of Megalopolitan history⁹⁰, therefore questioning the sanctuary of Despoina's importance in saving the Lykosourians⁹¹, and thus the history of the site. Questioning the history of the site leads one into contention with Pausanias. He was the first and only literary mention of the

⁸⁵ Moggi 1974; Nielsen 2002: 414–55 believes both agree with the evidence.

⁸⁶ Nielsen 2002: 297–8.

⁸⁷ Jost and Palamidis 2020: 128

⁸⁸ 'At the time imperial time, the territory of the largest city, Kleitor, would not have exceeded 625 km², those of Tegea and Mantinea 385 km² and 295 km² respectively (Nielsen 2002: 323–4). With a territory of approximately 400 km² according to the second assumption (Nielsen 2004: 521), Megalopolis would have constituted one of the largest poleis of the Arcadian Confederation at the time of synoecism. The first hypothesis implies that the territory of Megalopolis reached, at the origin, 1500 km² approximately (Roy et al. 1988: 179; Jost and Palamidis 2020: 129).

⁸⁹ Roy 2007: 291–2; Nielsen 2002: 481–5; Moggi 1974: 101–103; Jost and Palamidis 2020: 130; note, just because its territory is large, does not necessitate its status as leader of the Arcadian Confederation. Political reasons might have existed, lost to us, which explain this.

⁹⁰ "See also the case of the inhabitants of Trapezonte who, according to Pausanias (VIII, 27, 6), would have them also refused to take part in synoecism and would have taken refuge in Trapezonte of the Bridge, one of their colonies. Knowing that, according to Xénophon (An. IV, 8, 22), the city of Pontus was a colony of Sinope and not of the Arcadian city, it is probably an invented episode because of the homonymy of homonymy of the two cities (cf. Roy [2013], p. 19–20)" – Jost and Palamidis 2020: 130.

⁹¹ Jost and Palamidis 2020: 130. Palamidis also ties this into the strange lack of sources mentioning Despoina before or during the synoecism, in contrast to others. See: the goddess of Tegea, Alea or Alea Athena/Athena Alea is mentioned by Herodotus and inscriptions (Hdt. 1. 66; 9. 70; IG. V. 2. 3; 75.) and has also a sanctuary in Mantinea and in Sparta at the time of the synoecism (Mantinea: IG. V. 2. 262; 271. I. 1; Sparta: Xen. *Hell.* VI. 5. 27). Moreover, Alea appears in the recently published Archaic Arcadian tablet (l. 4: cf. Carbon and Clackson 2016: 127). The Hermes of Mount Cyllene appears in the Odyssey, the pseudo-Homeric Hymns to Hermes and Pan, the work of Alceus, Hipponax, Pindar and Sophocles (Hom. *Od.* XXIV. 1; *Hymn. Herm.*; *Hymn. Pan.* 27–31; Hipponax, fr. 3 (ed. West); Tzetzès, *Ad Alex.* 219; fr. 32, Tzetz., *Ad Alex.* 855; fr. 35; Pind. *Ol.* VI. 77–80. The god of Mount Lykaion, Zeus Lykaios, is attested by Pindar in several odes, by Euripides, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon (Pind., *Ol.* 9. 96; 13. 108; Nem. X. 48; Eur. *Elec.* 1274; Thuc. V. 16. 3; Plat. *Republic.* VIII. 565d; Xen. *An.* I. 2. 10.; Jost 2014: 24–30), as well as by an epigram whose attribution to Simonides is doubtful, but which is perhaps before the synoecism (Simonide, fr. 43 (ed. Page); Anth. *Pal.* XIII, 19. For issues of authenticity of the epigrams attributed to Simonide, see Petrovic 2007: 25–51). It is probably the same god who is depicted on a great many fifth-century coins bearing the inscription APKAAIKON, as well as on rare contemporary coins attributed to the Parrhasians, where he appears to be figured alongside Apollo and Pan (Jost and Palamidis 2020: 131; Roy 2013: 35–8). Evidence above originally cited in Palamidis and Jost 2020: 130–1. Homeric hymns or those of Alceus and of Hipponax had a Panhellenic slant and so it is not surprising to see Despoina unmentioned here (Jost and Palamidis 2020: 131).

cult of Despoina and goddess herself.⁹² However, Jost has argued this criticism feels disingenuous when most of our textual evidence for Arcadia is reliant upon Pausanias; “why should this be any different for Despoina and Lykosoura?”⁹³ Jost also notes, rightly, that assuming these earlier attestations of Despoina are a recent addition by Pausanias is speculative.⁹⁴

Lastly, though sparse, there is evidence that Lykosoura existed before the synoecism. Whilst there are no buildings from the Archaic to the Classical period⁹⁵ there are four bronze statuettes from the site⁹⁶ are likely cult offerings, implying the existence of a sanctuary prior to the synoecism.⁹⁷ Significantly, at least one Geometric pottery fragment was found at Lykosoura, and several Hellenistic and Classical and a few Archaic fragments were discovered in trial trenches. However, it is not clear if these trenches were made inside the sanctuary or in the surroundings.⁹⁸ These suggest an earlier existence of the site. Moreover, the lack of Archaic evidence is likely related to the limited nature of the excavations, which focused on clearing the monumental material, failing to excavate under the stone slabs of the *sekos* and the mosaic.⁹⁹ To find an earlier stage to the temple, excavations need to be conducted below the ground level of the temple; only a few test pits have been dug since the Greek excavations.¹⁰⁰ Jost notes that a lack of archaeological evidence, a result of limited excavations, does not validate hypotheses regarding Lykosoura as a Megalopolitan creation.¹⁰¹ She also takes issue with the idea ‘Despoina’ as a title is a literary invention,

⁹² Paus. 8.37.1-12 (Lykosoura); 35.2 (statue of the goddess at the border between Megalopolis and Messene); 25, 4-11 (Thelphousa); 42.1 (Phigalie and Messene); 25.4-11 (Thelphousa); 42.1 (Phigalie). It should be noted that the geographical distribution of these sites, limited to the southwest of Arcadia, does not confirm the pan-Arcadian character that Pausanias attributes to Despoina.

⁹³ Though it would be remiss to note Zeus Lykaïos does appear to have primacy in Arcadia (Nielsen 2013: 235-7), and Pausanias remarks about Despoina’s importance (8.37.9), could be connected to the context of the Imperial period where Mount Lykaion has declined in influence (Strab. 8.8.2 (C 388); Paus 8.38.5-7, which describes a ruined sanctuary). Recent excavations do appear to link this decline to the 1st century (Romano and Voyatzis 2014; Romano and Voyatzis 2015; Romano 2019: 234. The Lykaion festival may also have been moved to Megalopolis around this time (*IG*. V 2, 515B, l. 31; 463, l. 7; Paus. 8.30.2; Romano et al. 2015: 258).

⁹⁴ Jost and Palamidis 2020: 136.

⁹⁵ Palamidis 2018: 130-1.

⁹⁶ Dated, roughly, to the Classical Period; Athena MN 13,880 (from the building adjoining the northern portico) (Léonardos 1897: 119); the Athena MN 12736 (from the acropolis) (Kavvadias 1898: 28); a statuette of a shepherd (MN 7109) was found by a farmer in a field “north of the Hagios Nikolaos” (Léonardos 1897: 125); a small bull (2nd century) was found near the Megaron (Kourouniotis 1912: 161, fig. 41. For the figurines, see Jost 1975: 339-54).

⁹⁷ Jost and Palamidis 2020: 134.

⁹⁸ Loucas and Loucas-Durie 1991: 318.

⁹⁹ Billot 2008: 135-80; Cavvadias 1893: 8.

¹⁰⁰ Lévy 1967: 518-45; Jost and Palamidis 2020: 134.

¹⁰¹ See Tegea, which revealed a new number of temples from the 1990s belonging to the archaic and geometric periods and Mount Lykaion, where the altar of Zeus has been linked to the Mycenaean period, in contrast to earlier thought linking it to the Classical period (Jost and Palamidis 2020: 135).

accepting the latter, but arguing this does not mean the process stems from Megalopolis.¹⁰² It makes more sense, according to Jost, that Megalopolis used this established cult, as it did others,¹⁰³ to help support its control of the territory it took.¹⁰⁴ Lastly, Voyatzis notes a variety of sanctuaries built across Arcadia lack textual evidence attached to them,¹⁰⁵ which further disputes Palamidis' hypothesis on Lykosoura's invisibility meaning a lack of importance or existence.

In conclusion, the Megalopolis' synoecism of the region provided a motive as to why Lykosoura would want to mark itself as important and so avoid assimilation. The sanctuary clearly gained traction in the Hellenistic Period (where all the major building work happened). Additionally, the site possessed enough mythical significance to attract Damophon to provide a sculpture for it, and to avoid being destroyed by Megalopolis. We do not tie that to Megalopolis' control here; instead, we suggest the building work and collation of Arcadian mythology that happened at Lykosoura was a result of the community's attempts to better establish themselves within their region during the Hellenistic Period. This is what we will discuss now.

¹⁰² Jost and Palamidis 2020: 137.

¹⁰³ See 2.2.

¹⁰⁴ Jost and Palamidis 2020: 138. It must be noted though that this is the theory that Jost has espoused for her entire career (see her collected work in this thesis), and so she would be likely to defend it. With that said, it does not invalidate Palamidis' speculative shortcomings pointed out in Jost's overview of the archaeological material.

¹⁰⁵ Voyatzis 1999: 136.

2.3: The Sanctuary of Lykosoura

Here we shall outline the sanctuary itself, with special attention paid to dating it. This is significant, as through doing so we shall further refute ideas that the site was a Megalopolitan creation (this does not dismiss the idea that the city later invested in it, however) and confirm that the majority of Lykosoura's monumental projects (e.g., the temple and its cult group) came after the synoecism of Megalopolis, and thus can be argued as attempts to bolster its importance within the competitive context discussed in 2.2.1.



Figure 4. Map of the area surrounding Lykosoura (Mentzer et al. 2017: 1021, fig. 1).

Pausanias tells us that Lykosoura¹⁰⁶ had ancient roots, dating back to the time of Troy;¹⁰⁷ more specifically the mythology tells us that Lycaon, son of Pelasgus,¹⁰⁸ founded the city of Lykosoura, which Cleitor, the grandson of Arcas (hence the toponym Arcadia), then lived within.¹⁰⁹ Beyond the apparent antiquity of the site, the city also benefited from a rich set of religious landmarks within its vicinity (admittedly, as most cities in Greece did). To its north sat Mount Lykaion, where the Arcadians claim Zeus was

raised; the mountain was called 'Olympus' or 'Holy Peak' because of it, and boasted the Lykaean games.¹¹⁰ To the north-west were the mountains known as Nomian, which featured the sanctuary of Pan *Nomios*, where the god discovered the music of pipes; the pastures *nomai*, were named after a nymph, supposedly.¹¹¹ These mythically associated locations likely supported Lykosoura's claims to significance and had an impact upon visitors to the sanctuary.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ A name perhaps tied to, through 'Lykaion', to light as it was the first city to see the sun (light) (Mahoney 2016: 24).

¹⁰⁷ Paus. 8.10.10 (The Arkadians say that Arkesilaos (ca. 249 BC) lived in Lykosoura, and that he saw the sacred hind of the goddess called Despoina, worn down by old age. It had a collar round its neck and on it were the words 'As a fawn I was captured, when Agapenor went to Troy'); *BNJ* 322 F6.

¹⁰⁸ Paus. 8.2.1

¹⁰⁹ Paus. 8.4.1-5

¹¹⁰ Paus. 8.38.2-3; 8.2.1.

¹¹¹ Paus. 8.38.11.

¹¹² Discussed in 2.5.3.

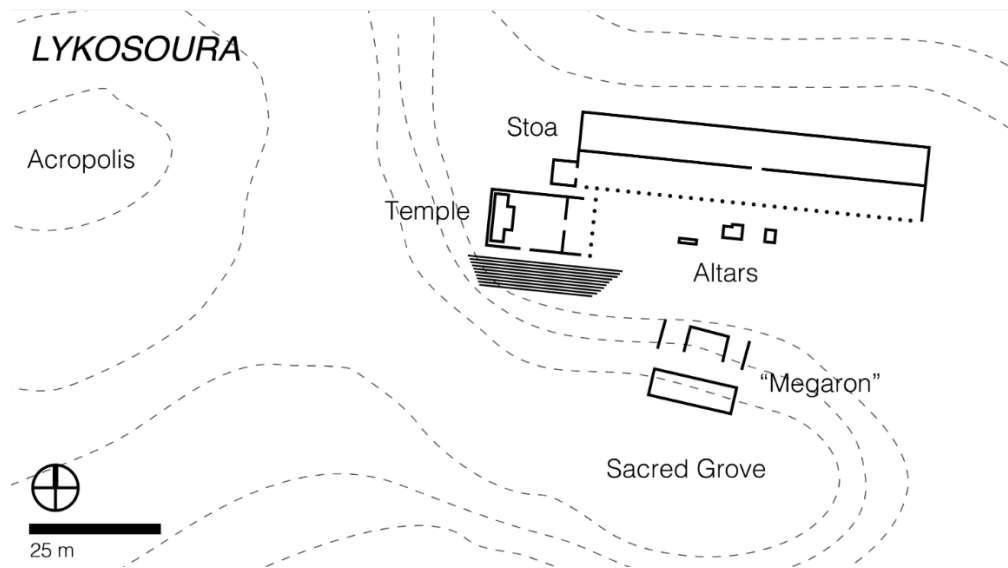


Figure 5. Map of the Lykosoura Sanctuary (created by D. Coslett, in Averett 2019: 167, fig. 10.2).

The ancient traveller, who came from Megalopolis through the valley of the Plalaniston, would first reach the lower terrace.¹¹³ The *temenos* of Despoina was enclosed by a wall of which we see some vestiges in place to the North and to the East.¹¹⁴ Entering at the East means the foundations of the *portico* are found on the right.¹¹⁵ A Doric building, it was 64 m long and originally 5.82 m wide; it was later enlarged, thanks to two transverse walls that connected it to the wall of the *temenos*.¹¹⁶

On Terzi hill exists a set of gradually widening artificial steps that have been built on the northern slope, facing the south wall of the temple, where one could imagine a door exiting the room with the sculpture of Despoina; a priest might stand here, addressing the faithful.¹¹⁷ The *megaron* on the northern slope of Terzi hill, featured a rectangular enclosure bordered of *orthostates* and framed by two staircases bordered by a wall. Above it was a *portico*, 9.50m

¹¹³ Jost 1985: 173.

¹¹⁴ Kourouniotis 1906: 121, pl. 46, 13.

¹¹⁵ For the portico, see Léonardos 1896: 116-119 and pl. 1.

¹¹⁶ The chronology of the building remains to be established. Leonardos 1896: 118, indicates that the first period of construction seems to have preceded the most recent state of the base of the temple. It would then be necessary to consider the BC (see below, p. 174-175) (Jost 1985: 173).

¹¹⁷ The steps could be a type of support (numerous examples of supports of this type: Amandry 1952: 261-270, no. 83.); others think it has religious significance, Ginouvès 1972: 68; Jost 1985: 176. Orlandini believes the steps may be attached to the Megaron, in association with the sacrifices and other ceremonies (Orlandini 1969-1970: 343-57) though Jost disputes this on a number of reasons, including the points that sacrifices happening at different points (near the steps and in the Megaron) do not match Pausanias' text and the steps do not offer the privacy needed for mystery cults (Mystery cults will be discussed in 2.6.3 in association with memory and space, to address the primary question of his chapter (see 2.1 and 2.7); Orlandini 1969-1970: 354-357; Kourouniotis 1912: 142-161; Jost 1985: 177). Becker argues them as *theatrons*, but Billot disputes it and as of now there is still arguments on the purpose of the steps (Billot 2008: 136; Becker 2003: 234-235).

long, its façade made up of half-columns with stone slabs between.¹¹⁸ Inside was found ashes, burnt debris and small terracotta ex-votos (some dating to 8th-4th centuries BC, most to later dates). The latter are a series of figurines with the heads of rams or cattle¹¹⁹ and tablets adorned with a caduceus.¹²⁰ The monument appears contemporary with the temple of Despoina, reminiscent of the 2nd century Thesmophorion of Thasos.¹²¹ To any extent, the Megaron appears significant, close to the temple, with a wall to shield eyes from viewing the potential Mysteries conducted;¹²² the series of terracottas with zoomorphic heads are additional proof; see their counterparts on the Veil of Despoina itself.¹²³ There are questions whether the ancient cult was constrained by the architectural dimensions,¹²⁴ developed later. Beyond the Megaron, there appears to be an Acropolis, and a fountain,¹²⁵ with associated terracotta figures now held in the Lykosoura Museum. Kantirea notes that *IG. V 2 515*, on Roman buildings at Lykosoura, does not match up with Pausanias account of the site (the source mentions three temples, whilst Pausanias mentions one)¹²⁶, but Jost has earlier explained this, suggesting Pausanias failed to mention this as he was focused on the ‘glorious Greek past’,¹²⁷ and so paid little attention to the contemporary buildings. The use of space at this site will follow in sections 2.5.2 and 3.

Lykosoura’s sanctuary depicted an eclectic mix of gods. The site (apparently) featured a temple to Artemis *Hegemoné* (Leader), with a bronze statue carrying torches.¹²⁸ Past the *peribola* dedicated to Despoina were various marble reliefs depicting Herakles and Apollo, Zeus *Moiragetes* (Guide of Fate) and the Moires,¹²⁹ a tablet with the mysteries¹³⁰ between the two, nymphs and Pan, and Polybios, son of Lykortas. Outside, in front of the temple and

¹¹⁸ Kourouniotis 1912: 155-61, 332.

¹¹⁹ Kourouniotis 1912: 155-61, 332, pl. 45, figs. 3-4.

¹²⁰ Kourouniotis 1911: 68-70.

¹²¹ Kourouniotis 1912: 153-4.

¹²² Noted here in detail, because the specificities will be of importance: “Sacrifice to the Mistress many victims in generous fashion. Every man of them sacrifices what he possesses. But he does not cut the throats of the victims, as is done in other sacrifices; each man chops off a limb of the sacrifice, just that which happens to come to hand” (Paus.8.37.8).

¹²³ Jost 1985: 177

¹²⁴ Billot 2008: 136

¹²⁵ Jost 1985: 178-9 (pl. 42, fig. 4 for the fountain).

¹²⁶ Kantirea 2016: 30-9.

¹²⁷ Jost 1985: 541

¹²⁸ *IG. 5.2.514*, 515b and c, 516, 546; Paus. 8.37.1; though Kourouniotis 1896: 121 had difficulty locating it in the archaeological excavations. An unpublished coin from Megalopolis bearing the effigy of Julia Domna holds Artemis in short chiton on the reverse, two torches in held in her hand, similar to Pausanias description (coll. BCD) [pl. 64, fig. 6] (Jost 1985: 173).

¹²⁹ Paus. 8.37.1.

¹³⁰ The concept of Mysteries is one we will revisit.

parallel to the *portico*, stood three altars to Demeter, the Mistress and Great Mother.¹³¹ Beyond the *megaron* were woods with a stone wall, dedicated to Despoina, and altars to Poseidon *Hippios* (Horse) and a sanctuary to Pan beyond, with links to Erato. There were altars to Area and Aphrodite, and Apollo and Athena.¹³² Pirenne-Delforge has questioned Pausanias' account, noting the grouping of these four gods¹³³ and remarking on the rarity of seeing Aphrodite and Pan jointly honoured (though they are often represented together).¹³⁴ Jost notes we may add Sarapis to this eclectic collection, based on epigraphy found on a cylindrical altar in the sanctuary.¹³⁵ All this could be taken to speculate that Lykosoura's community was playing to a wide audience.

2.3.1: Dating the Sanctuary

From the 19th century there has been interest in Arcadia, but beginning from 1889, with Cavvadias and Leonardos, dedicated archaeological investigation began into the site of Lykosoura.¹³⁶ Of specific focus has been the Temple of Despoina; it appears Doric, with a hexastyle prostyle, and measures c. 21.35 m by 11.13 m. Oriented to east-west, it has a *pronaos* and a *cella*, the latter which featured a mosaic and was mostly taken up by the cult group. Despite what we know about the building, dating has remained complicated, fuelled by examination of the architecture, inscriptions pointing to the Imperial Period, and materials used; all this had then been complicated by the discovery of further archaeological evidence.¹³⁷ To illustrate this, we can focus on the issues caused by the links to Hadrian in the archaeological stratigraphy.¹³⁸ A marble toe was found in the Hadrianic layer, which was

¹³¹ Paus. 8.37.2

¹³² Paus. 8.37.10-12.

¹³³ Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 267

¹³⁴ Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 274; Borgeaud 1975: 115-135.

¹³⁵ *IG*. 5.2.531; as for Sôteira, named in *IG*. 5.2.524. It may be Artemis (Jost 1970: 147; 1985: 172-3).

¹³⁶ For an outlined history, see Billot 2008. See also: Becker 2003: 235; Felten 1987: 69-71, fig. 106; Lambrinoudakis 1999: 14-21, 65-70; Billot 1997: 278-280; Dodwell 1819: 379, 394-6; Pouqueville 1827: 497-505; Müller 1824: 447; Leake 1830: 308-310, 312; Bory de Saint-Vincent 1836: 397-400; Le Puillon de Boblaye 1835: 162-163; Ross 1841: 85-88. Curtius 1851: 295-298; Bursian 1872: 237-240; Welcker 1865: 264-265; Normand 1895: 6-7, 14-15; Leonardos 1896: 97.

¹³⁷ Cavvadias 1893; Léonardos 1896: 101-115; *IG*. V. 2, b, 1. 9-10; *IG*. V. 2, 533; Daniel 1904: 41-57; Thallon 1906: 302-29; Dickins 1905-06: 112-20; Kourouniotis 1911: 10-18; Dörpfeld 1890: 230, 1893: 219-21; Lévy 1967: 518-45. Specifically, it is thought the repair concerned the southern door and Dickins and Jost agree on the overall style of the building, similar to that of Zeus *Soter* at Megalopolis, built c. late 4th/early 3rd century B.C, place the Temple of Despoina within the late 4th early 3rd centuries (Jost 1985: 176; Lehmann 1964; Robertson 1969: 235 no. 3.; Michiud 1977).

¹³⁸ Lévy 1967: 530 found Hadrianic coinage in layer 3 under the northern wall of the temple; Lévy and Marcadé 1972: 967-1004.

revealed to have belonged to the effigy of Demeter on the Despoina cult group;¹³⁹ this of course points to a Roman date for the site. However, Billot has recently reconciled this by proposing the statues were removed, the base of the temple was repaired, and then they were reinstated during this period.¹⁴⁰ Though it could be argued Demeter lost the toe during an initial instalment in 2nd century AD, Lévy and Marcadé note the cult group appears to have undergone several repairs¹⁴¹, which lends credence to Billot's argument. This is further supported by Kourouniotis' observations that the *cella* walls and the foundations of the temple do not appear connected, in a such a way that proposes two stages to the site: a Greek and a Roman one,¹⁴² and emphasised by the distinction of lime building material in certain area, significant because the Greeks did not use lime in their construction.¹⁴³ Moreover, Felten goes further and interprets the similarities in plan and interior design (pared-down exterior architecture and more modern design) between the temple of Lykosoura and those of the Asclepion B at Cos (early 3rd century BC)¹⁴⁴ and the Temple of Zeus Sôsipolis at Magnesia (shortly after 197 BC) as expressions of a new religious and aesthetic spirit.¹⁴⁵ Lykosoura might have been adapting itself to a new trend. As of now, led by Billot's recent, exhaustive analysis,¹⁴⁶ the design of the *sekos*, the prostyle façade, the date assigned to the mosaic, and the technique of the *acroteria*, close to that of the base of the Phillipéion, have led scholarship to accept a dating around the late 4th century to the beginning of the 3rd century BC.¹⁴⁷ This is complicated by other elements – including the extent of the Augustan

¹³⁹ Lévy and Marcadé 1972: 986, fig. 25 b.

¹⁴⁰ Billot 2008: 148.

¹⁴¹ Lévy 1967: 538; Lévy and Marcadé 1972: 986, 1003.

¹⁴² Kourouniotis 1911: 11-6.

¹⁴³ Normand 1892: 161-2; 1895: 17 in response to Léonardos 1896: 121-125; Kavvadias 1890, pp. 99-100 and 113; Kourouniotis in 1906 and 1907; Billot 2008: 140.

¹⁴⁴ Schazmann 1932: 34-9, pl. 16-17.

¹⁴⁵ Felten 1996: 152-158, figs. 9, 10 and 12. It should be noted that though Billot 2008 takes issue with this as evidence of dating the Lykosoura Sanctuary, she does not appear to dispute Felten's ideas on space in relation to the sacred (161); Humann 1904: 141-155, figs. 165, 168 and 174; Gruben 2001: 424-6; Not the first time this would have happened. At Pallantion, Temple C greatly resembles the second temple at Vigla, near Asea, which could be a result of a building competition (Archaic/Classical period) (Voyatzis 1999: 135).

¹⁴⁶ Billot 2008: 172-3; her conclusions are, justifiably, very cautious but it seems safe to accept the temple as having a dating within the Hellenistic Period.

¹⁴⁷ Jost 1985: 175, 1994: 127 n. 48. For discussion and debate see these sources. Billot 2008 has collected them, also, and provides exhaustive discussion: Billot 2008: 142. Some of the sources included are: Jost 1985: 175, 1994: 127 n. 48; Thémélis 1993a: 34-39, 1993b: 103-107; Hellmann 2006: 101; Kourouniotis 1911: 12-13, 7-8, 18. Id. 1912: 153-154; Lévy 1967: 524-538, figs. 1-25, 538-542, figs. 26-34, 538, fig. 27, 534, 530. Lévy and Marcadé 1972: 986, fig. 25 b, 1003; Robertson 1943-45: 235 n. 3.; Lawrence 1957: 212; Lawrence and Tomlinson 1996: 159. Roux 1961: 182, 391. Williams-Lehmann 1964: 190; Felten 1996: 154; Billot 1997: 237-239, 277-280; Becker 2003: 235; Leonardos 1896: no. 27 col. 235-237 and no. 17-24; 1899: col. 43-47, pl. 3. (25); Dickins 1906: 110-20; Thallon 1906: 310-311; Kourouniotis 1906, 1907, 1911: 6-7; Normand 1892: 156; Normand 1895: 4 and 7; Billot 1997: 238, 277, fig. 1a.

period repairs (the temple could be entirely restored)¹⁴⁸ – however, we believe it is safe to assign the temple to c.330-275 BC.¹⁴⁹

2.3.2: The Cult Group



Figure 6. The Despoina Cult Group (Averett 2019: 169, fig. 10.4).

Likely dating to 190-180 BC,¹⁵⁰ the sculpture's focal figure is the goddess Despoina, the 'Great Mother'.¹⁵¹ She is considered to be the daughter of Poseidon *Hippios* and Demeter, rather than of Zeus and Demeter as was Kore/Persephone.¹⁵² Nonetheless, she retained some 'classical' elements of her associated persona of Kore;¹⁵³ pomegranates were not allowed in

¹⁴⁸ *IG. V 2*, 520

¹⁴⁹ Dickins 1905-1906; 1906-1907; 1910-1911; Wace 1934; Lévy 1967; Jost 1985: 327-329, pl. 44, fig. 2; Pollitt 1986: 165-7; Stewart 1990: 94-6, 788; Themelis 1996; Ridgway 2000: 235.

¹⁵⁰ National Archaeological Museum, Athens; Kourouniotis 1911: 8; Themelis 1993a: 35-7 and Sève 2008: 123. The stylistic dating of his work has provided mixed results. Marcadé 2008 and Cavvadias 1893: 13 dated it to the late fourth or the first half of the third century, but Morizot 2008, who studies Despoina's drapery, prefers a dating in the third or the early second century, which is more consistent with the epigraphical evidence about the sculptor. Additionally, Levy believes the statues to be dated to around 120-60 BC (Levy 1967: 522). This is an opinion drawn from Studniczka 1911 14, n. 41; Amelung 1913: 331-333; Meyer 1927: 2417-2432; Horn 1931: 76; Dinsmoor 1941: 399-427; Bieber 1941: 94-95; Lippold 1950), p. 350-1; Mustilli 1959: 999-1000; Charbonneaux 1959: 11; Berger 1965: 687; Rumpf 1964: 1377; Levy 1967: 521-2; Voyatzis 1999: 139.

¹⁵¹ Henrichs 2019; Kourouniotis 1911: 60.

¹⁵² Paus. 8.37.8-10.

¹⁵³ Apollo. *Lib.* 1.5.1-3 relates the famous story of Persephone eating pomegranate seeds in Hades' realm.

the temple.¹⁵⁴

The sculpture itself, created by Damophon, consists of the goddesses, Demeter (with torch in left hand) and Despoina (holding a sceptre), seated on a shared throne;¹⁵⁵ both are flanked by Artemis (as Demeter's daughter, an Egyptian account),¹⁵⁶ accompanied by a hunting dog



Figure 7. The Despoina Cult Group, as depicted from the Severian Era (Stais 1912).



Figure 8. The Veil of Despoina (Dickins 1906/7, PL. XIV).

and dressed in a fawn-skin, with torch in hand, and Anytos standing,¹⁵⁷ the latter connected via his rearing of Despoina.¹⁵⁸ Figures of Tritonesses¹⁵⁹ are carved into the backrest and arms of the throne, and represented under the main group are Curetes and carved into the base's relief are Corybantes.¹⁶⁰ Together with the pedestal, the Lykosoura group was about 6 m. high, and was made of Doliana marble. Near this group exists a mirror, where the sculptures

¹⁵⁴ Paus. 8.37.7.

¹⁵⁵ National Archaeological Museum, Athens

¹⁵⁶ Paus. 8.37.3-6.

¹⁵⁷ Paus. 8.37.3-6; Cavvadias 1893: 10.

¹⁵⁸ Paus. 8.37.5-6.

¹⁵⁹ Note that Tritonese no. 2175 is a copy made in the 1st century BC to replace an older, damaged figure (National Archaeological Museum, Athens), which shows there was continued support offered to the sculpture.

¹⁶⁰ Paus. 8.37.6; the National Museum houses the heads of Demeter (inv. no. 1734), Artemis (inv. no. 1735) and Anytos (inv. no. 1736), part of Despoina's himation (inv. no. 1737) and four statues of Tritonesses (inv. nos. 2171, 2172, 2174, 2175) that adorned the goddesses' throne. Parts of the torsoes and arms of the figures and parts of the throne are kept in the Lykosoura Museum.

are seen but the viewer is not.¹⁶¹ The form and composition of the group is verified by a depiction on a coin

issued by Megalopolis in the Roman Imperial period.¹⁶² The foremost element of the cult group is the Veil of Despoina. Among the figures on the garments are a group of eleven, with head, hands, and feet of animals, some dancing, others playing music, and some walking. The animals are mixed, from horse and rams, to bears and tigers. The lower section is composed of marine beings, including Neroids, Triton, and dolphins,¹⁶³ surely related to the Arcadian tradition where Despoina is a daughter of Poseidon.¹⁶⁴ In the upper row, a winged thunderbolt and an eagle alternate all around.¹⁶⁵ Dickens was not complimentary of Damophon's work; he argued that the "only in one direction does the artist show any skill, and that is in the great embroidered veil worn by Despoina".¹⁶⁶ He goes so far as to suggest the rest of the cult group (excepting the drapery of Despoina and the other heads) were left to journeymen, or possibly Damophon's (potential) sons, Xenophilos and Straton, the Argive sculptors.¹⁶⁷ If true (big 'if') it might suggest a targeted focus on what the Veil represented, but without further evidence this is speculation and unable to be sustained.

Lastly, a broad point. Jost argues, based on archaeological observation, that the only buildings to possess monumental character were those associated with the cult of Despoina.¹⁶⁸ This would support the care and focus (see 2.3.2 and 2.4.2.1) that Lykosoura placed upon the goddess and her representation.

Having examined the Despoina cult group itself, it feels only natural that we should discuss its creator, Damophon next. In studying him, we can understand not only why he was chosen, but what his reputation and attitude can tell us about Lykosoura.

Damophon of Messene was a prominent and rich artist of his time; Schultz and Melfi claim he was the most famous artist in Southern Peloponnese¹⁶⁹, though he appears known

¹⁶¹ Paus. 8.37.7.

¹⁶² Stais 1912.

¹⁶³ Cavvadias 1893: 11-2.

¹⁶⁴ Paus. 8.37.9, 8.42. 2; even in his horse form, he still retains strong links to his traditional spheres (earthquakes, the sea, and water – see 2.4.3.2).

¹⁶⁵ Cavvadias 1893: 12; Kouroumiotis 1911: 31; Wace 1934.

¹⁶⁶ Dickens 1920: 61-2.

¹⁶⁷ Dickens 1920: 61-2.

¹⁶⁸ Jost 1985: 179; Lévy 1967.

¹⁶⁹ Schultz 2013: 1922-4; Melfi 2016: 82.

only to Pausanias who described works of the sculptor in Messene,¹⁷⁰ Aigion,¹⁷¹ Megalopolis¹⁷² and Lykosoura,¹⁷³ and mentioned his repair of the Zeus of Olympia.¹⁷⁴ Despite this, an interpretation by Seve gives evidence towards his prestige, via citing a source on how Damophon travelled;¹⁷⁵ he concluded the method was via official boat, a warship, which was an honourable method of travel and evidences the respect paid to him.¹⁷⁶ As Levy argues, Damophon may have lived during three periods: “the fourth century, after the foundation of Megalopolis and the restoration of Messene; the first half of the second century, at the apogee of the Achaean line; finally, the reign of Hadrian”.¹⁷⁷ He notes the disparity in dating stems from a reliance on stylistic analysis to date the artist.¹⁷⁸ It is Séve however, who provides the most interesting interpretation. Citing the use of the payment tetradrachms in the decree of Lykosoura, referred to as τέτραχμον, he argues the latter term did not appear until 275 BC and likely fell out of use in the 1st century BC.¹⁷⁹ Themelis noted the use of tetradrachms implies a date of 190 BC, before they were replaced by triobols as the coinage of the Achaean confederation.¹⁸⁰ This means the contract between Lykosoura and Damophon dates, at the latest, to the beginning of the 2nd century BC,¹⁸¹ leaving us with an uncertain conclusion of the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd century as Damophon’s period of work.¹⁸² This matches with the proposed date of the cult group (c. 190 B.C). Damophon specialised in public images of heroes and gods.¹⁸³ This might be because, as Melfi argues, Damophon’s style, as a Neoclassical sculptor, was “perfectly suited for the conservatism of religious establishments under pressure in an age of change and

¹⁷⁰ Paus. 4.31.6-10.

¹⁷¹ Paus. 7.23.6, 7.

¹⁷² Paus. 8.31.2, 6.

¹⁷³ Paus. 8.37.3-5.

¹⁷⁴ Paus. 4.31.6.

¹⁷⁵ *IG*. IX².1.4 1475 (*SEG* 51, no. 466): παρασῦναι δὲ αὐ[τ]ῷ καὶ πλοῖον καὶ ἐρέτας τοὺς διακο[μίσοντας] αὐτὸν εἰς Κυπαρισσίαν μετ’ ἀσφα[λείας] (To have a boat and oarsmen prepared for him to bring him back in safety to Kyparissia) (Séve 2008: 123).

¹⁷⁶ Séve 2008: 123.

¹⁷⁷ Levy 1967: 519

¹⁷⁸ Gardner 1889: 713, 1890: 783; Waldstein 1890: 377; Cavvadias 1893: 13; Reinach 1894: 229-33; Daniel 1904: 41-57; Levy 1967: 520.

¹⁷⁹ Knoepfler 1987: 233-53, 1997: 35; Séve 2008: 123.

¹⁸⁰ Themelis 1993: 103; Grandjean 2003: 129; the reason for the use of the term "tetradrachma" may be due to differences in the practical arrangements for public payments between Lykosoura and Messene, and it does not seem possible to me to conclude on this point solely from the information known for Messene (Séve 2008: 123).

¹⁸¹ Séve 2008: 123.

¹⁸² Séve 2008: 123; this time is generally supported by the archaeological evidence attached to the sculpture of Despoina and shall be cautiously accepted.

¹⁸³ Schultz 2013: 1922-4.

transition”,¹⁸⁴ as was happening in 2nd century BC Greece.¹⁸⁵ Working from his repair of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus, Heyne¹⁸⁶ and Meyer¹⁸⁷ recognised Damophon as a disciple of Phidias, though this was later contradicted by Sillig, who believed Damophon was working later, between the second foundation of Messene and the Synoecism of Megalopolis.¹⁸⁸ Our study does not require us to reconcile this issue of dating.

We must ask why Damophon chose to create a sculpture for Lykosoura, however. Certain sites, such as Butrint and the sanctuary of Asklepios, appear to validate the idea that to obtain a political identity one must have the patronage of a god.¹⁸⁹ Lykosoura, possessed already of Despoina, might have wanted to impress this divine connection within the Hellenistic Period. Helpfully, this era was one of great mobility for artists¹⁹⁰ and we could suggest that Damophon, a mobile artist familiar with creating well received sculptures of gods,¹⁹¹ was employed by Lykosoura to create the cult group that linked Despoina, and other Arcadian myths, to the sanctuary in a monumental fashion. This point finds further significance when we consider Damophon’s piety. His artistic style drew cohesion between Greeks maintaining their past and Romans empathising ancestral connections with the Greeks, leading to his popularity.¹⁹² Alongside this, he worked both to fulfil his clients’ desires and to honour the gods he sculpted,¹⁹³ the latter of which held a reverence from him.¹⁹⁴ This idea of personal piety does find support in the fact that Damophon refused payment,¹⁹⁵ used the materials provided sparsely, and even offered his own money to cover advance payments.¹⁹⁶ Whilst this tells us much about Damophon, it tells us more about Lykosoura and its intentions. Not only did they possess the religious identity significant enough to have Damophon take on the

¹⁸⁴ Melfi 2015: 103; on Damophon’s style see: Becatti 1940 36-48; Stewart 1979: 39-41; Smith 1991 240-1.

¹⁸⁵ Schultz 2013: 1922-4.

¹⁸⁶ Heyne 1802: 373.

¹⁸⁷ Ernst Meyer, ad Winckelm. Opp. T. VI P. II, p. 16 cited by Levy 1967: 518; Cavvadias 1893: 13 meanwhile saw Athenian inspirations in it, citing the Temple of Athena Alea, and the styles of Scopas; he declared Damophon’s style Attic but did go so far as to name him a student of Phidias.

¹⁸⁸ Sillig. 1827: 182-184.

¹⁸⁹ Melfi 2016: 89

¹⁹⁰ National Archaeological Museum, Athens; see ‘Globalization’ in 1.2.1.

¹⁹¹ Paus. 4.31.10.

¹⁹² Melfi 2016: 104; Cavvadias 1893: 14 is very complimentary of Damophon and believes his work significant.

¹⁹³ SEG. 41. 32, l. 16; SEG. 49.234, l. 104; SEG 49.234, l. 103; Melfi 2015: 83.

¹⁹⁴ Kythnos honorary decree: SEG 49.423.

¹⁹⁵ See Themelis’ ‘Ο Δαμοφών και η δραστηριότητά του στην Αρκαδία’, in Palagia and Coulson, 1993: 99-109 (SEG 41, 1991, 332); Sève and Bull 1995: 88; Muller-Dufeu 2002: 820-821: L. 20-21; IG. IX, 12, 4, 1475. L. 41; Muller-Dufeu. L. 41-44: “he dedicated it to the goddess free of charge”. See also: Degree of Leucade, IG. IX, 12, 4, 1475 (SEG. 51, no. 466) and Decree Kythnos, (SEG. 49, 1999, no. 423).

¹⁹⁶ SEG 41.332, l. 20; SEG 51.466 = IG. ix².1.4 1475, l. 58; λαβόντα τὸ ἱκανόν: SEG 41.332, l. 19; SEG 51.466 = IG. ix².1.4 1475, l. 57. προεδεδαπάνηκε: SEG 41.332, l. 14. An action allowed by his high social status (Sève 2008: 121).

work *pro bono*, but it is likely that the community knew of the artist's illustrious reputation¹⁹⁷ and hired him as the ideal figure to materialise their mythology. Moreover, the framing of the cult group's creation (Damophon claimed to have dug up a divine stone he saw in a dream)¹⁹⁸ is highly significant, whether it was an invention of the artist or Lykosoura. It clearly attaches the creation of the sculpture to the will of the gods, and thus lends divine support to Lykosoura's sanctuary. Finally, clearly Lykosoura (or Megalopolis) hired Damophon with the intent to capitalise on his reputation, and to further associate Despoina and other Arcadian myths to the site through monumental material culture.

Having established the motive for Lykosoura's monumentalisation of their sanctuary (the synoecism of Megalopolis), the dating to verify these activities happened after Megalopolis's control prompted reactions from the Arcadia sanctuaries, and the choices behind Lykosoura's hiring of Damophon, we shall now provide evidence to argue that Lykosoura deliberately collated local Arcadian myths, and to suggest the positive impact that had for the sanctuary.

¹⁹⁷ There are multiple examples to this point. In Leukas Damophon was called to restore the cult statue of one of the most important sanctuaries of the city, and at the same time to mediate the divine form of a goddess which could appeal to both locals and Romans. Is it possible that he accomplished a similar task also in [Lyko]? (Melfi 2016: 100). Additionally, Damophon worked in Lykosoura and the immediate region (On a trident attached to a headless Hermes, dedicated to Poseidon in Megalopolis from the first half of the 2nd century (Paus. 7.31.5–6; *IG*. v.2 454.); on an inscription from Messene dated to the end of the 2nd century (*IG*. V. 1, 1443; *infra*, fig. 28 et 29.); an inscription from Lykosoura, dated to around the same time (*IG*. V. 2, 539; *infra*, fig. 32.) At Messene, there are honorary inscriptions set up for Damophon, including from Lykosoura, on a column in the sanctuary of Asclepius. Themelis believes they could relate to a statue in the area (Themelis 2000: 88-95; 1993: 100; Séve 2008: 118.) In Messene, there were seven decrees issued in honour of Damophon by the cities of Lykosoura, Leukas, Kranioi, Melos, Kythnos, Oiantheia, and Gerenia (Melfi 2016: 83).

¹⁹⁸ Paus. 8.37.3; on the 'epiphanic' ability of Damophon at Lykosoura, Platt 2011: 220-3.

2.4: Arcadian Mythology: Continuity and Context

We will argue here that Lykosoura collated local mythology and centred it within their sanctuary. However, this implies there was a common collection of Arcadian mythology to draw upon. In this section, we will establish whether Arcadia possessed a sense of collective identity, and by charting the continuity of a few select myths (specifically the ones we find in Lykosoura's sanctuary), we can demonstrate that they were traditional to the region and generally subscribed to. By proving this, we can justify the Lykosoura community's intention to use their material culture to influence perceptions of their sanctuary, which the ultimate point of this chapter.

2.4.1: A Collective Arcadian Mythic Identity?

It is apparent from our sources that the Arcadians possessed a distinct ethnic identity (especially from the 4th century with the creation of the Arcadian Federation), as seen in Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Hesiod¹⁹⁹ (though not because of some form of regional isolation).²⁰⁰ But can we say the same of a shared Arcadian mythic identity? Jost, in reference to a shared religious system would say no; the cities were independent, and their religions was based on their local pantheons.²⁰¹ Nonetheless, distinctive Arcadian gods existed (Pan, Zeus Lykaion, and Despoina, all discussed later) who were widely worshipped throughout Arcadia. This was supported by the festivals that took place across Arcadia, which helped to circulate information informally and integrate individual cities into the Pan-Arcadian religious network, whilst allowing each to express their own specificity.²⁰² They

¹⁹⁹ Hom. *Il.* 2.494-759; Herod. 8.73; Thuc. 1.9, 5.29.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2-6. According to Pausanias, and implied less explicitly by Akousilaos, the Arcadians thought of themselves as a distinct ethnic group, descended from Pelasgos (Paus. 8.1.4; Akousilaos, fr. 11). Pelasgos' son, Lykaon, would go on to create Lykosoura and instigate the cult of Zeus Lykaion and the Lykaian games (Buckert 1983: 86-88) (see Moir 2022: 11 for a more in-depth summary). For scholarship on Arcadian identity, see Roy 1972; Nielsen 2002: 45-88; Pretzler 2009; Jost 2002b, 2007: 264. For the Arcadian League, created in 370 BC, see Nielsen 2002: 366-71, 475-7; Thuc. 5.81.1; Funke 2004, 2009: 9-11; Nielsen 2002: 390-1; Larsen 1968: 183; Dušanić 1970: 285; Nielsen 2002: 475-77; Pretzler 2009: 87; Jost 2007: 264.

²⁰⁰ See Balériaux 2015: 137-9 and Carter 2019: 80 for more detail; the main points include transhumance, trading, and armies leading to internal contact, and economic reasons, athletic festivals, war, and religion leading to external communication. There is also a discussion of the myth of Lykaion and how its presentation illustrates external communication and Arcadian sensibilities, the latter of which supports an ethnic identity. Moreover, the fact Voyatzis evidenced Corinthian influence upon Arcadian pottery in the 8-7th centuries B.C is an effective example to this point (2005: 468).

²⁰¹ Jost 2007: 264.

²⁰² Festivals, even Panhellenic, were never independent from *poleis* (Parker 2011: 252); Balériaux 2015: 139.

acted as a backdrop for telling and adapting myths from the 8th century BC onwards.²⁰³

Despite the presence of pan-Arcadian gods (Zeus, Pan, and potentially Despoina), there is no basis to speak of a unique Arcadian pantheon.²⁰⁴ Moreover, as with the rest of Greece, the gods are not uniform across a region but change based on their location and the role required of them. For example, Zeus *Keraunos* ('Thunderbolt'),²⁰⁵ attested in the 5th century BC at Mantinea, is unique.²⁰⁶ At Tegea, Athena *Poliatis*, its protector, had a personalised story attached to her (associated with a lock of Medusa's hair which acted as a protective talisman).²⁰⁷ And lastly, Artemis *Apanchomene* ('Hanged') was unique to Kaphyai;²⁰⁸ children would tie thin cords around the goddess' neck and claim she had been 'hanged' (the motive of which has a variety of proposed explanations).²⁰⁹ Moreover, the gods could find new names through historical events. Zeus became Zeus *Philios* ('of friendship') to express the solidarity needed to create Megalopolis, and his statue, sculpted by the younger Polyclitus,²¹⁰ featured elements of Dionysus, god of symposium, to reinforce this fact.²¹¹ Therefore, at least on the level of specific detail, there was not a uniform, collective Arcadian mythic system. This would have been something the Arcadians, and outsiders, were aware of, as demonstrated in Mahoney's discussion of Homer and Hesiod, the multiple versions of Aphrodite's origin, and the way in which southwestern Arcadians incorporated different traditions into their myths.²¹² These differences between similar Arcadian myths do not mean, however, that there were not broad myths and gods (e.g., Zeus and Pan) which could be viewed as part of a communal Arcadian identity.²¹³ In fact, Mahoney would suggest the emphasis on strange religious customs, such as sacrificing children on Mount Lykaion (true or otherwise),²¹⁴ contributed to strengthening an Arcadian identity that eventually culminated with the political unification of the southwestern region, at least, into a *koine* (common

²⁰³ Mahoney 2016: 11.

²⁰⁴ Jost 2007: 269.

²⁰⁵ *IG*. v. 2 288; Jost claims he appears as a manifestation of the thunderbolt, not simply having it attached as an attribute (Jost 2007: 271).

²⁰⁶ Paus. 8.48.6 – for more examples from across Arcadia, demonstrating the utility of the gods, see Jost 2007: 269.

²⁰⁷ Paus. 8.47.5; Jost 2007: 269.

²⁰⁸ Paus. 8.23.7; Jost 2007: 271.

²⁰⁹ Jost 2007: 272.

²¹⁰ Paus. 8.31.4.

²¹¹ Jost 2007: 272.

²¹² Mahoney 2016: 13, 49.

²¹³ See Jost 2007: 271 for a more comprehensive set of examples of unique Arcadian personifications of gods.

²¹⁴ For instance, Plat. *Rep.* 565d-e and *Minos* 315c. In fact, the myths that imagined brutal rites on Mount Lykaion found an association with the Lykaia: the Parrhasian Demainetos/Damarchos had supposedly been turned into a werewolf after tasting human flesh during the sacrifice before winning boxing contests at Olympia upon retrieving his human shape. Damarchos: *Olympionikai* 359 (400 BCE); Paus. 6.2.8, 8.2.6. Demainetos: Pliny *NH* 8.34; Aug. *Civ.* 18.17.

identity/enterprise).²¹⁵ This does not prove a common religious identity but, if true, does indicate an awareness from Arcadian communities of elements specific to their own sense of identity.

This process was aided by what Jost calls this a “distinctive ‘religious imagination’”.²¹⁶ Arcadia blended both common myths, such as the story of Demeter and Persephone, with distinct Arcadian myths, such as the theriomorphic myths of Lykaon’s transformation into a wolf or Poseidon and Demeter’s transformations into horses; the former was likely to acclimatise the myths to the region.²¹⁷ Throughout variations in Arcadian myths, Arcadia itself remained an important element.²¹⁸ Despite the differences in mythic figures and/or stories across Arcadia specific traits remained consistent (and certain gods were broadly worshipped, such as Pan and Zeus Lykaios).²¹⁹ These included epithets which were closely attached to the local environment (both geographical and contextually); a focus on Arcadian preoccupations (e.g., pastoral activities); and an affinity for the animal world (via stories of transformation).²²⁰ Therefore, whilst it may not be possible to conclude on a collective ‘Arcadian mythic identity’ there is a unity within Arcadian thought because of the recurring, foundational elements present in the region’s mythology. This conclusion will be developed in the following analysis of specific Arcadian mythical figures and the idea of continuity.

Before we turn to a focused examination of the Arcadian myths present at Lykosoura, we should make some general points on the religious environment of Arcadia. From at least the 8th century BC, Arcadian sanctuaries were situated around key locations, specifically at the bottom of mountains closer to communities and along trade routes.²²¹ Ultimately, these sites were placed where the gods were needed. Physical geography contributed to this; as examples, Poseidon and Artemis, both associated with water in Arcadia myth, were located in areas liable to flooding;²²² near Orchomenos, a great hollow cedar was chosen, as it sheltered the *xoanon* of Artemis Kedreatis;²²³ and Demeter’s cults, which required privacy and having

²¹⁵ Pretzler 2009: 95; Balériaux 2015: 121.

²¹⁶ Jost 2007: 273.

²¹⁷ Jost 2007: 273.

²¹⁸ Zeus, for example, is specifically raised not in Crete, but on Mt. Lykaion in the Arcadian telling (Paus. 8.8.2).

²¹⁹ Jost 2007: 278 also proposes Despoina. On this, I would be cautious. Whilst she certainly seems to have had sway in the Hellenistic period around Southwestern Arcadia, I cannot find evidence to verify a regional significance. On Pan and Zeus Lykaios, however, I would agree with Jost.

²²⁰ Jost 2007: 278.

²²¹ Osborne, 1996: 74-77; Balériaux 2015: 106; Moir 2022: 25.

²²² Jost 1994: 219-220.

²²³ Paus. 8. 13. 2; Jost 1994: 217.

water available nearby for purifications, were placed in locations that facilitated these.²²⁴ Throughout, common Arcadian practices, such as transhumance, allowed the region's people not only to connect to their landscape but to visit remote locations because of this seasonal movement. As such, the Arcadians most certainly possessed an affection for their landscape (as other Greek-speaking peoples did also).²²⁵

2.4.2: A Continuity of Myth in Arcadia

Thus far in our discussion of Arcadian myth, we have alluded to the difficulties in tracking a common religious identity, but we have concluded that, despite variations, the continued presence of specific Arcadian traits was significant. Now, we shall examine the continuity of the mythic figures that appeared in Lykosoura's sanctuary, the purpose of which is to prove their continued existence and therefore the idea that Lykosoura could have drawn from a set of traditional, long running myths to frame itself as antique. This would then situate the sanctuary as having deep roots in the past, an important element of bringing prestige to an area. Moreover, whilst Arcadia mythic uniformity did not exist,²²⁶ we shall find that the myths covered here were widely subscribed to, and thus a good choice for Lykosoura to co-opt in trying to attract a wider audience (thus increasing its popularity).²²⁷

2.4.3: The 8th-6th Centuries BC

The Arcadian cults discussed here go back into the Archaic Period (at least),²²⁸ as will be evidenced. This is unsurprising – Mahoney has demonstrated that, at least around Mount Lykaion (the birthplace of Zeus, and holder of many rituals, see fig. 3), there was a preoccupation with the past and a continuation of tradition. He did so by using comparative literary and linguistic data, which indicated the nomenclature of the cult traced back to (what we define as) Indo-European roots, and thus the fact that Arcadia preserved its archaisms.²²⁹

²²⁴ Balériaux 2015: 20. For discussion of sanctuaries as marking borders, see IPArk 14 – c.369-361 BC? Cited by Forsén 2008: 255; Moir 2022: 25.

²²⁵ For their connection with their landscape, see Jost 1994: 222; Larson 2007: 57; Forsén 2008: 256; Moir 2022: 9.

²²⁶ Mahoney 2016: 14; McInerney 2013 194-5.

²²⁷ See 2.5.2.

²²⁸ Winter 2005: 483.

²²⁹ Mahoney 2016: 32.

We shall see this idea further validated in relation to the specific mythic figures we later find at Lykosoura.

2.4.3.1: Zeus

Unsurprisingly, Zeus was a key figure in Arcadia. He would later be presented on coins of the Arcadian League,²³⁰ cementing his status as a national god in Arcadia.²³¹ This is expected, considering the attachment the Arcadians demonstrated in ensuring Zeus was born in Arcadia. This is what Pausanias was told, and it is significant that the story of Zeus weaves deeply into the landscape of Arcadia: the protection of Zeus was carried out by Rhea on Mount Thaumasion through enlisting Hoplodamos and his giants against Kronos;²³² it is also where Kronos was given the stone in place of Zeus. Zeus himself was born on Mount Lykaion, in a place called Kretea (an Arcadian attempted to predict the Crete discrepancy in Zeus birth origin);²³³ Zeus was also washed in local Arcadian rivers, including the river Lymax and the Lousios.²³⁴ In short, Zeus was deeply connected to Arcadia itself, through its landscape.²³⁵ These stories can be easily dated to the Archaic period (or earlier) through Homer and Hesiod; both grapple with the multiple variations present and make clear to their readers that other versions were available.²³⁶

Despite his influence across the Greek world (attested by the list of victors at the games on Mount Lykaion²³⁷ and by the sanctuaries that Zeus Lykaios was given at Cyrene and in Triphylia),²³⁸ Zeus of Arcadia has a distinctive regional character. Within the area he had great significance as a ‘bringer of rain’; Pausanias provides a description of the rite celebrated at the spring of Hagno.²³⁹ In this, a priest of Mount Lykaion dips an oak branch onto the

²³⁰ Jost 1985: plate 63, figure 4.

²³¹ Jost 2007: 267.

²³² Paus. 8.36.2-3.

²³³ Paus. 8.38.2-3.

²³⁴ Paus. 8.28.2.

²³⁵ Robertson 1996: 254.

²³⁶ See Mahoney 2016: 62-3 for sources and thorough analysis. Both points rely on allusion from the two authors. On Hesiod. *Theo.* 453-491 - his mention of Lyktos might have been an allusion with Lykaion, which can be coupled with a failure to specify exactly where Zeus was born. On Homer, drawn from *Il.* 2.603-614, he claims the Parrhasia, alongside Kyllene, are included because they had great mythical connotations, ones the listener would know. For Kyllene this was the birth of Hermes, and for Parrhasia, which likely referred to Arcadia, this might be birth of Zeus (Mahoney 2016: 45-8). In support of these, and perhaps as an easier way to verify Zeus’ existence since the Archaic Period, is the evidence from Romano 2019 - a large festival on Mount Lykaion (always associated with Zeus) has been proven to take place from before the assumed date of the Trojan War.

²³⁷ Nilsson 1998: 6.

²³⁸ Jost 1985:268-9.

²³⁹ Paus. 8.38.4; Nilsson 1998: 7.

surface of the spring, from which clouds are formed. His role as assembler of clouds is reflected by the many epithets attached to him of this sort (*Hyetios*, ‘Rainy’; *Ombrios*, ‘Producing rain from a storm’);²⁴⁰ the ritual itself to create rain is surprisingly unique in Greece.²⁴¹ Lastly, Zeus sacred enclosure was off limits to every living being: violating it would cause the loss of your shadow, and a later death, or, more plausibly, stoning.²⁴² There are also the allusions to traditions of human sacrifice,²⁴³ though these are difficult to prove. Nonetheless, Zeus had a distinctive Arcadian character, and acted as a figure of unification.²⁴⁴ We shall return to him in the 5th-4th centuries BC shortly.

2.4.3.2: Poseidon *Hippios*

Poseidon *Hippios* was an important god of the Peloponnese (though he was also worshipped in other locations), and well attested across the region from the 7th-6th centuries BC; his most important cult was at Mantinea.²⁴⁵ His epithet, *Hippios*, was credited to his siring (with Demeter) of the horse Arion.²⁴⁶ Thus, the epithet is linked to the god’s theriomorphism; Poseidon *Hippios* held a variety of functions beyond his association with horses, however.²⁴⁷ On that note, it has been widely discredited that Poseidon was once a horse god. The argument for rested on structuralist theories on primitive religion, and links between water and fertility (from a ‘peasant’ perspective).²⁴⁸ Balériaux notes the logic of animal to anthropomorphic god is circular, and that links between water and horses likely exist because both existed under the same god (Poseidon).²⁴⁹ Despite initial support,²⁵⁰ Jost also presents evidence against the idea of a horse god, citing the story of a foal being presented to Kronos by Rhea, which Poseidon was then born from, only indicates a close link between horse and god.²⁵¹

²⁴⁰ Jost 2007: 267.

²⁴¹ Jost 1985:251-2.

²⁴² Paus. 8.38.6 and Theopompus (FGrH 115 fr. 343) for shadows; Plut.*Ques.* 39 for stoning.

²⁴³ Plat. *Rep.* 8.565d; a fragment of Theophrastus preserved by Porphyry (*On Abstinence* 2.27.2); Paus. 8.38.7.

²⁴⁴ Jost 2007: 267.

²⁴⁵ Jost 1985:290-2; Mylonopoulos 2003: 107-111 and 109, n. 62 for excavations of Mantinea and the discovery of inscriptions naming Poseidon Hippios, undated; Paus. 8.10.2, 8.14.5, 8.25.4-11; *IG.* V 2, 276; Fougères 1898: 103-6; Konstantaki 2000: 95; a 4th century coin, potentially related to Poseidon through horse iconography (Babelon 1914: 639); *IG.* V 2, 271; Dubois 1988: 122; Bakchyl. *Frg. Epin.* 1 (ed. Les Belles Lettres) apud Schol. Pind. O. 10, 83a.

²⁴⁶ Paus. 8.25.7.

²⁴⁷ Jost 2007: 270.

²⁴⁸ Farnell 1896–1909: 4-15; Schachermeyr 1950.

²⁴⁹ Balériaux 2019: 8.

²⁵⁰ Jost 1985:283-4.

²⁵¹ Jost 2007: 277.

As alluded to above, Poseidon was celebrated with fervour in Arcadia, evidenced by the various sites he appears at (via altars, statues, and inscriptions).²⁵² These included Pheneos (which had a statue that stood on the Acropolis),²⁵³ Kaphyia, south of Pheneos (only a sanctuary is mentioned), and Orchomenos (southeast of Kaphyia), which had a temple dated to the 6th century BC, though the attribution, to Poseidon or to Aphrodite, is not clear.²⁵⁴ Mantinea featured the greatest presence of Poseidon *Hippios*, where a wealth of evidence has been found,²⁵⁵ from 8th century BC horse headed bronzes offerings,²⁵⁶ to coins with tridents on them.²⁵⁷ Lastly, a small temple excavated at Petrovouni, near ancient Methydrion, has been identified as the temple of Poseidon *Hippios* mentioned by Pausanias.²⁵⁸ An early 6th century BC temple was found under the foundations of a Hellenistic temple built in limestone.²⁵⁹ A votive offering of a group of bronze horse-headed dancers found west of the temple provide links to Poseidon *Hippios*²⁶⁰, and recall those found at Mantinea and the dancing animal-headed figures on Despoina's Veil at Lykosoura (see 2.3.2 and 2.5.1).²⁶¹ Many of these sites are usually associated with flooding and earthquakes.²⁶² He appeared to possess a wide reaching adoption across Arcadia; other key examples for our study include Thelpusa and at Phigalia, where Poseidon raped Demeter, both as horses, but its impact extended beyond this region and spread across the whole of Arcadia.²⁶³ It must be noted that Poseidon's worship at sites did not always correlate with a local mythical story; it appears he was more valued for his topographical help, i.e., preventing flooding in areas prone to it.²⁶⁴ Of course, he also appeared in locations where flooding was unlikely (due to height), such as Onkeion, Phigalia and Lykosoura.²⁶⁵ What does seem clear, however, is that from the 7th century BC onwards, Poseidon was a widely worshipped throughout Arcadia.²⁶⁶

²⁵² Jost 1985: 280; Mylonopoulos 2003: 98-133, 271; Balériaux 2019: 1.

²⁵³ Pausanias, 8.14.5.

²⁵⁴ Balériaux 2019: 4; Voyatzis 1999: 135; Polybius, 9.8; 11.14.

²⁵⁵ Polybius, 9.8; 11.14. 24. Polybius, 11.12. 25. Pausanias, 8.2.3f. Jost 1999:207; Jost 1985: 132; Pritchett 1969: 50–51. 28. Voyatzis 1992: 278. 29. *IG. V. 2*, 323; *IG. V. 2*, 271. 31; a 4th century coin depicting a horse might allude to Poseidon Hippios (Babelon 1914: 639; Bacchylides, fr. Epin. 1 apud schol. Pind. O. 10, 83a.

²⁵⁶ Voyatzis (1992), p. 278.

²⁵⁷ Babelon 1914: 639; Balériaux 2019: 5.

²⁵⁸ Paus. 8.36.2.

²⁵⁹ See Voyatzis 1999: 140; Mylonopoulos 2003: 116-8.

²⁶⁰ Voyatzis 1992: 276-8.

²⁶¹ Jost 2003: 157–162; Balériaux 2019: 5.

²⁶² Balériaux 2019: 2.

²⁶³ The people of Thelpusa were the first of the Arcadians by whom Poseidon was surnamed Hippios (Paus. 8.25.7); Jost 2007: 275.

²⁶⁴ Balériaux 2019: 5.

²⁶⁵ Balériaux 2019: 6.

²⁶⁶ Balériaux 2019: 10-11.

2.4.3.3: Artemis

Artemis is a figure who, unlike Zeus and Poseidon, changes greatly from the Late Bronze Age down to the Archaic Period and beyond. Around the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age, Artemis began to be identified as a goddess of nature, and then later as a Great Mother, responsible for childbirth and plant growth.²⁶⁷ In the 6th-7th centuries BC, we find evidence showing the continuation of these elements. In Kaphyae, Artemis' image, hung on branches in a sacred grove, was used to stimulate the growth of trees.²⁶⁸ At the Acropolis of Stymphalos, Artemis was associated with Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth; fragments of a young female with a male child suggest the nature of the cult practiced there.²⁶⁹ Moreover, fragments of a statue of a child were also found in the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi.²⁷⁰ This changes as the Olympian pantheon develops in the 7th-6th centuries BC; Artemis' aspects are reserved for other goddesses and as such, she develops links to youth, virginity, and purity. With possible exceptions (e.g., the Arcadian cult of Artemis Knakalesia) she develops into the classical image of Artemis known to us.²⁷¹ Note, however; she may not retain uniformity in her image through time, but she does possess a long continuity in Arcadia's mythic history. This is the important part. She was part of Arcadian tradition, as Zeus and Poseidon were.

2.4.3.4: Pan and Theriomorphic Figures

Pan is clearly recognised as an Arcadian god, and was worshipped in temples.²⁷² He was eventually seen as the most ancient god of Arcadia²⁷³ and became a symbol, with Zeus, of regional unity.²⁷⁴ Despite this, it is hard to reconstruct who Pan was prior to the 5th century BC;²⁷⁵ our earliest evidence comes from two inscriptions²⁷⁶ at the sanctuary of Pan at Berkela

²⁶⁷ Zolotnikova 2017: 18.

²⁶⁸ Paus. 8.23.6-7

²⁶⁹ Schaus 2014: 48-49, 405-413, 414-416.

²⁷⁰ Schaus 2014: 46.

²⁷¹ Zolotnikova 2017: 18.

²⁷² Nielsen. 2002: 76; Paus. 8.26.2; Moir 2022: 11; Borgeaud 1988: 48.

²⁷³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.32.3; Paus. 8.26.2, 8.31.3; Pindar saw him as the 'ruler of Arcadia' (fr. 95 Snell-Maehler in Jost 2007: 264. See also Luc. *Dialogues of the Gods* 22.3; Carter 2019: 100.

²⁷⁴ Jost 1985:184; Larson 2007: 63; Epimenides (Cretan sage Epimenides was quoted by Callimachus in his account of Zeus' birth) is the first to call Pan the son of Zeus and twin brother of Arkas. Zeus as the father of Pan calls the Lykaion sanctuary to mind, as this was the site in Arcadia where the two gods were most closely associated (BNJ 457 F 9; Mahoney 2016: 65).

²⁷⁵ Borgeaud 1988: 52.

²⁷⁶ IG. V 2 556, 557.

in the Neda Valley near Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia. Both are dated to the late 6th century B.C.²⁷⁷ Additionally, there exist Archaic goatlike figures called *panes*, likely related to Pan.²⁷⁸ Eventually, Pan's diffusion from Arcadia led to 5th-4th century BC readjustments to his image in an effort to fit him into an iconographic canon; this is when he became recognisable with a recurring appearance.²⁷⁹

The stories that surround Pan, at least before the Hellenistic Period (when stories of his affairs, and others, emerge),²⁸⁰ are vague; we have only his birth story from the 5th century through the *Hymn of Pan*.²⁸¹ Nonetheless, his connection to Arcadia remains clear.²⁸² He was reflective of the landscape beyond locality; he represented themes across the region.²⁸³ He was tightly bound to elements of transhumance (many sources note his knowledge of the land and movement of herds)²⁸⁴ and it is he who gives Artemis her hounds, tying him to hunting in the countryside.²⁸⁵ Pan acts as a source of fertility (he couples with goats in 5th century iconography²⁸⁶ and he is referred to as *aigibates* (who mounts the goats).²⁸⁷ All this suggests Pan is intimately wrapped up in all aspects of the Arcadian landscape.

Pan's hybrid nature was not explained,²⁸⁸ unlike Poseidon, Demeter, and Artemis' (when they appeared in hybrid forms), suggesting it was considered natural to the god.²⁸⁹ It was not a result of punishment either (as Kallisto's change into a bear, after her seduction by Zeus). This can be taken further: Jost argues that Pan symbolised the symbiosis between man and beast; he protects the wild whilst possessing an appearance, half human, and half animal, that would be considered wild.²⁹⁰ Moreover, Pan appeared across Arcadian mountain, which were

²⁷⁷ Cardete 2018: 53; Borgeaud 1979: 107; Kourouniotis 1902. Pan may be older than extant evidence suggests. There is an analog in Indic (Sanskrit), Pusan, which should point towards an Indo-European heritage. Also, there is the term *ai-ki-pa-ta* /*Aigipastas*/ (goat-feeder) in Linear B. (Beekes 2010: 1149). This is, of course, difficult to prove (Carter 2019: 39); He appears on a votive statue (*IG. V* 2566; *MDAI(A)* (1905): 66; Borgeaud 1988: 181), dated to the 6th century BC and found on Mt. Lyk, inscribed is a dedication showing the uncontracted name of Pan: it is derived from, at least *Paoni* and derived from the root *ra* meaning guardian of flocks.

²⁷⁸ Nilsson 1998: 13.

²⁷⁹ Borgeaud 1988: 53.

²⁸⁰ Borgeaud 1988: 55.

²⁸¹ Hdt. 2.146. Hm. *Hymn. Pan*. 35-9.

²⁸² Borgeaud 1988: 59-67.

²⁸³ Borgeaud 1988: 59; on the general importance of Pan, see Aston 2014: 378.

²⁸⁴ Euripides. *El.* 703; H. hom. *Pan.* 8-14; *Palatine Anthology* 6.109 line 9; 'conductor of flocks'; (*IG.V.* 2, 93); Borgeaud 1988: 61-2.

²⁸⁵ Call. *Diane.* 87-97.

²⁸⁶ Herbig, 34. Figs. 6 and 7; *AGS I.* no. 285 (late 5th century).

²⁸⁷ Theoc. *Ep.* 5.5; *AP.* 6.31; see Borgeaud 1988 for further evidence.

²⁸⁸ Unlike later authors like Lucian *Dialogues of the Gods* 22.2, who felt the need to.

²⁸⁹ Jost 2005: 95.

²⁹⁰ Jost 2005: 93.

sacred to him. These included Mount Lampeia²⁹¹ and Mount Maenalus,²⁹² where locals reputedly heard him playing his *syrinx*, and the Nomian mountains,²⁹³ who derived their name “from the pasturages [*nomoi*] of Pan.”²⁹⁴ Notably, Epimenides linkage of Pan to Zeus²⁹⁵ demonstrates he knew and subscribed to the myth that made Pan the son of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion; therefore, it is likely these myths from southwestern Arcadia were widely known.²⁹⁶ In short, Pan was an Arcadian god, rooted in the region’s mythical history from at least the Archaic period. His sanctuaries were located at prominent cities or at boundaries.²⁹⁷ He was deeply tied to the landscape, and acted as a liminal god, a bridge between the civic and pastoral elements of Arcadia.²⁹⁸

The Arcadian interest in figures as Pan is further evidenced through production networks, at least within southwestern Arcadia. Material from Tegea demonstrates both the popularity of the site within the Archaic Period and an interest in pastoral elements; a collection of animal figures, mainly oxen, mixed in with the other archaeological artefacts shows this.²⁹⁹ This perhaps better seen at Pan’s sanctuary at Berekla towards the late 6th-early 5th centuries BC.³⁰⁰ Figurines, apparently of shepherds with heavy coats, were offered to Pan near his altar;³⁰¹ they were also found at Apollo *Parrhasios*’ sanctuary.³⁰² The importance of these figurines is seen in their origin; they were made in a 6th-5th century BC regional workshop and thus were likely made in quantity for a variety of clientele in southwestern Arcadia,³⁰³ including Lykosoura (where we have found two statuettes depicting shepherds or hunters).³⁰⁴ As we move into the 5th century BC, Lamb notes each bronze figurine denoted its Arcadian origin through distinctive features³⁰⁵; for example, Arcadia kept up the production of bronze

²⁹¹ Paus. 8.24.4.

²⁹² Paus. 8.36.8.

²⁹³ Paus. 8.38.11.

²⁹⁴ Paus. 8.38.11.

²⁹⁵ Epimenid. fr. 16 Diels-Kranz (schol. Theoc. 1.3 a; cf. schol. E. Rh. 36; schol. 121) = 457 F 9 Jacoby; Borgeaud 1988: 42 and Schaus 2014: 46 on this.

²⁹⁶ Mahoney 2016: 65.

²⁹⁷ Cardete 2016: 51.

²⁹⁸ Carter 2019: 100, 108; Cardete 2016: 51.

²⁹⁹ Moir 2022: 24.

³⁰⁰ *IG*. 5. 2. 557.

³⁰¹ Kourouniotis 1902: 74

³⁰² Kourouniotis 1902: 74. The provenance of the archaic dedication to Kore engraved on a cymbal (*IG*. V. 2. 554) is not known: Hiller von Gaertringen links it to the sanctuary of Berekla – Curtius says it would have been found in the region of Dimitsana (*SEG*, XI. 1161).

³⁰³ Jost 1985: 187.

³⁰⁴ Jost 1975: 339-45 for the statuettes from Lykosoura; Hübinger 1992 and Roy 2010 for the sanctuary of Berekla and its finds.

³⁰⁵ Lamb 1925-1926: 143.

votives after they had declined in other areas - imported bronzes at this time are few.³⁰⁶ 75% of these bronzes come from a small district in southwest Arcadia, around Mt. Lykaios,³⁰⁷ with three of the bronzes coming from Lykosoura itself (this is in addition to.³⁰⁸ The fact that all of the known pilgrim shepherds originate from the Lykaion region suggests that the production of this original type³⁰⁹ may have had its centre³¹⁰ in this region where Pan, the god of shepherds, was particularly present.³¹¹ Nonetheless, after the 5th century BC, the sanctuary was abandoned, likely because of its remote location - it was sacrificed in favour of important and better located places of worship,³¹² especially in the context of Megalopolis' synoecism.³¹³

In short, there is a longstanding fixation on Pan in Arcadia, at least within southwestern Arcadia.

This interest in theriomorphism did not end at Pan. In fact, Arcadia was a hotbed for hybrid (man-animal) figures,³¹⁴ likely as a result of the importance of traditional pastoralism, which included a close bond with animals and acted as a vital aspect of the regional economy.³¹⁵ Thus, we can find plenty of evidence of theriomorphic figures across Arcadia. We have 20 possible cult sites mentioned (and some confirmed), dated across the 6th-4th centuries BC,

³⁰⁶ Lamb 1925-1926: 146, see p.143 and before for a survey of the Arcadian bronzes, including distinctive elements of 6th century models that evidenced importation and specific elements (such as stance and facial features) which tie the 5th century bronzes to Arcadian production. See Jost 1975 for agreement. I am inclined to agree with them.

³⁰⁷ *Praktika* 1902: 22, 72; 1909: 64, 185, 300; *ArchEph* 1903: 151, 1904: 153, 1910: 271; Lamb 1925-1926: 147-8.

³⁰⁸ Lamb 1925-1926: 147; Neugebauer 1921: 137, no. 2.

³⁰⁹ This type of shepherd pilgrim is rarely found outside Arcadia, though we do see it in the small Hermes of Boeotian terracotta (Higgins 1954: 222 and pi. 114 nos. 833 and 834). More widely used in Archaic Greece were shepherds or Hermes *criophores* (Peloponnese: Lamb 1925-6; Kunze 1963: 50-58; for Attica, see Hill 1949: 19-24; statues with no providence: Chittenden and Seltman 1947: 33 n. 128 and pi. 32. Finally, the type of the naked Arcadian shepherd, is rare argues Jost, citing statuette in the Louvre Br. 4249 (Jost 1975: 344).

³¹⁰ Perhaps not an Arcadian school, but they do seem to be works of Arcadian manufacture: see Niemeyer 1960: 60 no. 226.

³¹¹ Paus. 8.37.11 (Lykosoura), 8.38.5 (Mount Lykaion), 8.38.11 (Nomian mountains).

³¹² Jost 1985: 187.

³¹³ See 2.2.1.

³¹⁴ They were a proven iconographic trait, hybrid gods: Demeter Melaina (Mare-headed anthropomorph), Eurynome (Mermaid), and Pan (human-goat), among others (Aston 2014: 366). Moreover, we have Black Demeter (goat headed Demeter) and Lykosoura's hybrid figures (McInerney 2020: 18).

³¹⁵ Parker 2008: 133; Roy 1999: 349-356. Votives from the Archaic sanctuary at Berkela were dedicated by relatively wealthy pastoralists, from Arcadia and northern Messenia (Carter 2019: 81).

related to: Demeter Melaina (1);³¹⁶ Pan (16);³¹⁷ and Apollo Kereatas (2).³¹⁸ Additionally, we have the continuous religious activity at the open-air altar to Zeus Lykaion at Mt. Lykaion from the Mycenaean period, especially the sacrifice of ovicaprids (which supports connections between pastoralism, religion, and identity)³¹⁹ and an Archaic bronze group found near Methydrion which shows four dancing figures with animal heads.³²⁰ This evidence complicates Aston's arguments, who tries to downplay the importance of theriomorphism in Arcadia.³²¹ Instead, it appears clear that theriomorphism was widely practiced in Arcadia, and possessed of traditional roots. This will become important when we consider why Lykosoura ensured this element was included in its sanctuary.

In conclusion, whilst not always uniform in their myths and/or representations, the figures of Zeus, Poseidon, Artemis, and Pan/theriomorphic figures, had widespread appeal across Arcadia and existed from at least the Archaic Period.³²² With that said, this information does not prove there was an 'Arcadian mythical identity' in the Archaic period, only that there was a wide (not total) subscription to these religious figures. To any extent, this remains significant, as this chapter argues Lykosoura increased its importance by co-opting widely practiced, traditional cults and myths.

³¹⁶ Cave on Mt. Elaius near Phigalia Arcadia (Paus. 8.42).

³¹⁷ Mt. Cyllene (Soph. *Ajax*. 695; Anlh. *Palat.*, 6. 96 L 7; Heraia Arcadia (6th-5th century BC coins, square baldacchinio [Broucke 1990], Paus. 8.26.2; Mt. Lykaion (Paus. 8.38.5, on the lower sanctuary); Berekla (*IG. V 2* 556-7; ex-votos; Paus. 8.41.3 (Broucke 1990); Mt. Nomia (Paus. 3.38.11 - not discovered); Bassai (*IG. V 2* 429; ex-votos; Paus. 8.30.2-3; 39.3-5; 41-42.7-9); Cave of Demeter Melaina at Phigalia (Paus. 8.43.4 - not discovered); Likokhia (Ex-votos [Cardete 2016 and Jost 1985]); Megalopolis (5th century coins of a youthful Pan [Jost 1985, pl. 63, figs. 3-5, *IG. V 2* 451-452], a bronze statue in sanctuary of Zeus Lykaion; relieved table in Great Goddess sanctuary in Agora [Paus. 8.30.3, 6; 8.36.8]; Lykosoura (*IG. V 2* 2.530, Paus. 8.37.11); on Chysovitsi road from Tegea to Thurea (Paus. 8.54.11 - not discovered; Mt. Lampeia in Psophis (Arcadian Coin [Jost 1985, pl. 7, fig. 5, Paus. 8.24.4])). See Carter 2019: 153-4 for a complete list.

³¹⁸ Mantinea Arcadia (Paus. 8.32.3 - not discovered); Aigytiis (Paus. 8.34.5 - not discovered).

³¹⁹ Carter 2019: 82.

³²⁰ According to Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann 1911: 41 the figures are depicted with ram heads, while Voyatzis 1990: 45 interprets them as horses; Palamidis 2018: 136.

³²¹ Aston 2011: 250, though her primary aim (to dispute Arcadian religion was 'primitive') is agreed to here. For further discussion of this, see Carter 2019: 82 (who argues that 10 terrestrial animal-human hybrids originated from Arcadia, far more than other regions) and Jost 1985, 2007.

³²² Which also supports Mahoney's (2016: 66) arguments that Arcadia worked to promote the roots of their religion – perhaps because of this why the Lykaion cult came to represent the Arcadians as an *ethnos* in the 5th-4th centuries BC.

2.4.4: The 5th-4th Century BC

Arcadia was never isolated but from the 6th century we begin to see greater evidence of their participation in wider Greek competitions and festivals.³²³ This greater connectivity, both within and outside Arcadia led to the creation of *koina* as the Arcadians, among others, organised themselves into confederations.³²⁴ As already discussed, there were common elements, at least in a religious sense, that existed between Arcadian cities. This can be further seen through the creation of the Arcadian League in the 4th century BC. However, the Arcadians continued to refer to themselves, in most cases, by their city of origin.³²⁵ Alongside this, our religious figures, Zeus, Poseidon, Artemis, and Pan remain, by and large, similar to how they were represented in the 8th-6th centuries BC, as shall be seen.

2.4.4.1: Zeus

Zeus' mythology appears largely unchanged to how it was in the 8th-6th centuries BC. His story is still common to cities across the region, represented largely through his mother. Rhea appeared in Thaumasius, which possessed a cave to Rhea (the Couch of Rhea), in Messene she possessed a statue made by Damophon (with reference to the Curetes, guardians of baby Zeus), and of course Zeus is still worshipped at Lykaion and Ithome, as on so many mountains.³²⁶ Howling is associated with the *Kronia* (a festival that happened in Athens, among other places)³²⁷, and in Arcadia it is thought Rhea is a presiding deity at Azania in the northwest because of the associated 'Idaeon howling'.³²⁸

Zeus does gain a clearer position as a figure cities across Arcadia can create collective identities around. He is depicted on Arcadian coinage in the 5th-4th centuries BC³²⁹ and is attached to the games on Mount Lykaion that included competition with different Greek *ethnos* and *poleis*. These games were important enough that Xenophon mentioned the

³²³ The evidence included dedications at a variety of competitions: Psophis: SEG. 24. 299. Kleitor: implied in Paus. 5.23.7; Delphi: Meiggs and Lewis 1989, n. 27 coil 3 (Tegea) and coil 4 (Orchomenos). Olympia: Paus. 5.23.2; Kaphyai: Syll3 48. Gortys: Syll3 49; Hejnic 1961, 29; SEG. 11 1254a; see also: SEG. 31 558-559. 552 Polyb. 4.77.8.

³²⁴ Mackil 2013, 76-77 with references; Pretzler 2009.

³²⁵ 5th century identity: see Pretzler 2009. Dual identity: a practice already observable in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. See for instance SEG 54 472: in a 4th century B.C list of Arcadians abroad, Arcadians referred to themselves mostly by their *polis*, with or without the addition of Arkas. In a few cases they were designated simply as Arkas; Balériaux 2015: 107.

³²⁶ Case on Thaumaius: Paus 8. 36. 3 Sacred place on Lycams: Call. L. 14; Robertson 1996: 254.

³²⁷ Plut. *Mor.* 447D; 16.1098B.

³²⁸ Theb. 4.292-3.

³²⁹ Walker 2006: 1511-6.

Arcadian mercenaries, on a rampage with Cyrus in Phrygia, and marked the date of the games by taking part in an improvised competition.³³⁰ Additionally, in southwestern Arcadia, a ritual (*Hoplodmia* ('Armouring'))³³¹, centered around a young boy arming himself, is mentioned on lines 8, 10, and 16 of a bronze tablet CGRN.³³² This event possibly be related to the figure Zeus *Keraunos* (thunderer; lightning), especially when we consider the imagery of giants,³³³ who defended Rhea in the cave as she gave birth to Zeus, and the ritual re-enacting of this call to arms mentioned.³³⁴ The Sanctuary of Zeus Lykaeos gradually developed from a local sacred site of the Parrhasians into the premier Arcadian sanctuary, and was eventually adopted, by the Arcadian League, as the League as the central religious site of the *koinon* in 371/0 BC.³³⁵ The reorganisation of a sanctuary to promote a collective identity is not a new concept; this also happened at Delphi (586 BC), Isthmia (580 BC), Nemea (573 BC), and Athens (566/5 BC).³³⁶ Later, the sanctuary of Zeus the Saviour at Megalopolis was established in c.371 B.C. The three cult statues, depicting Zeus Soter, Artemis Soteira and Megalopolis, are described by Pausanias, who attributed them to the sculptors Kephisodotos and Xenophon; Zeus later appears on Megalopolitan coinage.³³⁷ As Megalopolis soon took control of southwestern Arcadia, Zeus place as their figurehead is significant.

In short, Zeus' mythology remains largely unchanged but his presence as a collective god for Arcadia grows in the Classical Period.

2.4.4.2: Poseidon and Artemis

Poseidon appears similar to his 8th-6th century BC persona. There is continued interest on the story of his violent encounter with Demeter, where he raped her as a horse, which is similar between the locations of Onkeion, Phigalia, and to some extent at Lykosoura (all within c.30km of each other).³³⁸ The story differs in details between these locations; only in Onkeion

³³⁰ Xen. An. 1.2.10.

³³¹ Perhaps "Arming" or "Armouring" (or "Taming with Arms" in the [later?] form *Hoplodamia*); Carbon and Clarkson are cautious on the translation (2016: 9).

³³² Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 8.

³³³ Paus. 8.36.2-3, Hesiod describes "the great Giants, shining in their armour, holding long spears in their hands" (Hesiod. Theo. 185-6.).

³³⁴ Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 28; see 2.5.1 for further discussion of this.

³³⁵ Mahoney 2016: 181.

³³⁶ Mahoney 2016: 182.

³³⁷ Corso 2005: 225. Examples includes BMC 12, BMC 16, BMC 166(2).

³³⁸ Paus. 8.25.4-7; Pseudo-Apollo. *Biblio*. 3. 77.

does Demeter give birth to the horse Arion, but all stories include the birth of Despoina (a significant figure to this chapter, but covered later).³³⁹ In all cases of this myth being told, each location creates a cult around Demeter and Despoina, not Poseidon.³⁴⁰ This thesis does not have an answer as to why.

Artemis, no longer associated with childbirth as she was in the Archaic Period, was widely honoured for her control over the sphere of hunting (a role that might have dated back, in Arcadian worship, to the prehistoric period).³⁴¹ Artemis is widely worshipped in Arcadia in the Classical Period. Local hunters devoted votive spears and arrowheads to her in Orchomenos (eastern Arcadia) and created a monumental temple to her.³⁴² She possessed cult places at Lousoi and Gortsouli, and was worshipped at Mt. Kotilon (western Arcadia) and in the area of Mt. Parthenion (eastern Arcadia): bronze relief plaques were found at the latter two sites, dated to the 4th century.³⁴³ There are other mythical tales associated with her, including suggestions of a sacred marriage with Poseidon³⁴⁴ but that will not be covered here. To any extent, Artemis goes through greater changes than Poseidon, but both remain widely worshipped, and thus remain prime figures for Lykosoura to co-opt in its pursuit of greater presence.

2.4.4.3: Pan and Theriomorphic Figures

Pan remains significant; indeed, towards the Hellenistic Period is when we find our most information about him, as discussed earlier. His influence does increase outside of Arcadia, where his cave sites find greater attention and his association with ecstatic celebration leads him to be attached to Dionysus and his festivals.³⁴⁵ At Lykosoura, the sanctuary of Pan was located beside that of Demeter and Despoina, boasting an eternal flame and verses delivered by the nymph Erato, which visitors were permitted to read.³⁴⁶ Notably, on the same bronze tablet (CGRN 223) that contained the information on the Armouring, might find a reference

³³⁹ Onkeion was perhaps 2 km south of Thelpousa. Some unidentified building remains found outside of Onkeion might include the temple of Demeter, based on Pausanias' indications, but it is doubtful: Hansen and Nielsen 2004: n. 300; Jost 1985: 66–7; Paus. 8.42.1.

³⁴⁰ Balériaux 2019: 4.

³⁴¹ Hom. *Il.* 5.51–53, 21.485–486; Zolotnikova 2017: 11.

³⁴² Καραπαναγιώτου 2014: 70–4; Voyatzis 1999: 147.

³⁴³ Kourouniotos 1903: 175, fig.9.6; Πορμαίος 1911; Zolotnikova 2017: 12.

³⁴⁴ Zolotnikova 2017: 18.

³⁴⁵ Larson 2007: 64.

³⁴⁶ Paus. 8.37.11.

to Pan on line 8 (the fragment τ F0 6F ι: ΠΑ[—]).³⁴⁷ If this does refer to Pan,³⁴⁸ then this might suggest his worship on a broader scale (the text suggests, based on directional language, that the festival was widely celebrated).³⁴⁹

An interest in theriomorphic figures continues. The Phigalians are supposed to have preferred Demeter as a woman with a horse head;³⁵⁰ however, in Phlionte's temple of Demeter, in the Peloponnese near Nemea, the goddess had the head of a dog.³⁵¹ Moreover, in the Berlin Museum there is a 5th century BC Arcadian statue of Pan with a goat's head.³⁵² In short, there does not appear to be a significant change in Arcadian worship and interest in Pan and Theriomorphic figures between the 8th-4th centuries BC.

2.4.5: The Hellenistic Period

There is little to say here, not due to a lack of material, but because this period will be addressed more thoroughly in the succeeding section. With that said, it must be noted that this period saw a realignment in the political and religious landscape of Arcadia. Due in large part to the expansion of Megapolis (discussed shortly), Mount Lykaion's position was altered; its lower sanctuary ceased to host the Lykaia, with the resources shifted to Lykosoura³⁵³ and its sanctuary buildings were soon used as dumping grounds for various refuse (e.g., broken pottery). With that said, extensive dining activity from the 3rd to 1st centuries B.C. shows that the sanctuary kept being used, but not necessarily for the games.³⁵⁴ Pausanias tells us that Megalopolis, fitted with a gymnasium and a stadium, soon begins

³⁴⁷ CGRN 223, line 8.

³⁴⁸ Jost 1985: 457-64, and also at the village of Melpieia.

³⁴⁹ It could also be Apollo, known by the epiklesis Παρράσιος (also Pythios), the eponym of the region of Parrhasia (southwestern Arkadia), said by Pausanias to have been the object of an annual cult in a grove on the eastern side of this same mountain - Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 10; Paus. 8.38.2 and 8; Jost 1985: 185-187.

³⁵⁰ Paus. 8.42.4-7.

³⁵¹ Perdrizet 1899 cites: Φιλοσοφούμενα. 5.3.

³⁵² Hartwig, painted vases (Hartwig, Röm. Mith., Xlft. 91 - no accession number given) in Perdrizet 1899: 635. It should be noted that Arcadia's preoccupation with theriomorphic figures have prompted scholars such as Foucart 1875: 23 and Perdrizet 1899: 637 to label the region's religion as primitive. Not only is this an outdated line of thought, but theriomorphic figures appear outside of Arcadia anyway, such as Cyprus, Ionia, and Etruria, though this might also be cities with ties to Arcadia (Aston 2011: 235-51). For Cyprus: "Many of the Iron Age Cypriot kingdoms celebrated their legendary founding by Greek heroes after the Trojan War, including Paphos, which claimed foundation by Agapenor, king of Arcadia" (Paus. 8.5.2 and 5.53.7; see also Voyatzis, 1985; Roy 1987; Iacovou 2008: 648-50). "In addition to these foundation legends, the two areas shared the Cypro-Arcadian Greek dialect" - Chadwick and Ventris 1973: 68-9, 73-5; Voyatzis 1985: 157-8; Woodard 2008; Averett 2019: 176.

³⁵³ Mahoney 2016: 204-5.

³⁵⁴ Romano and Voyatzis 2015: 263.

granting honours at the Lykaia from the late 3rd-early 2nd century.³⁵⁵ Despite the loss of a once regional sanctuary, there remains a clear awareness of a common Arcadia *koine*. The fact that I-MTL (*The Inscriptions of Mt. Lykaion*) 5 displays Arcadian victors of the Lykaian Games simply as Ἀρκάς, instead of by *polis* name as the foreign victors of I-MTL 4-5 usually are, is enough to indicate an awareness and desire to promote a common ethnicity and their local (regional) identity.³⁵⁶

In conclusion, we might not find a clear Arcadian mythical identity, but there is evidence of common religious elements across Arcadia that endured relatively unchanged from the 8th century BC down to the 3rd century BC onwards. Moreover, there are clear indications of a drive for a collective Arcadian ethnic *koine*. Both of these factors are significant in this chapter's following argument that Lykosoura used its material culture to co-opt myths and so establish itself as a focal point of Arcadian tradition.

³⁵⁵ I-MTL 43-44. I-MTL 53 (223-190 B.C), Lykosoura's decree that honoured Damophon mentioned the Lykaia in connection with the Nemea and Ithomaia – it was ordered that honours be announced at these events; Paus. 8.31.8, 32.3; Mahoney 2016: 202.

³⁵⁶ Dušanić 1970: 315-316; Nielsen 1999: 28-29; Nielsen 2002: 61-62; Pretzler 2009: 93. As noted above, the lack of polis adjective in the list of officials on I-MTL 5 similarly suppresses the local identities of the men in question. Mahoney 2016: 199-200 also links this with an active drive by Arcadian League members to propagandise the League through the simple title of 'Arcadian'.

2.5: Lykosoura's Collation of Arcadian Mythology

Thus far, we know that the synoecism of Megalopolis provided Lykosoura, already possessed of Despoina, with a motive to bring further Arcadian myths into its sanctuary, with the intention of establishing its antiquity (through the traditional nature of these myths) and to further its appeal to a wider audience (by holding a broad range of widely subscribed to myths). In short, bolstering the importance of its sanctuary, and thus ensuring its survival in the face of Megalopolis' control. We also know that it embarked on a large series of monumental building projects (perhaps paid for by Megalopolis, or by Lykosoura's community) within the Hellenistic Period. Whether these actions were driven by Lykosoura itself or a controlling Megalopolis, it will become clear, from our coming discussion, that many Arcadian myths previously examined were co-opted and collated in the material culture of Lykosoura. This, as will be seen, had a positive impact on the site's popularity, validating their actions. After this, we shall directly examine, through theory, how the material culture helped to bolster Lykosoura's influence within Arcadia.

2.5.1: The Collation of Mythology at Lykosoura

It is not a new thought that Lykosoura collated and/or co-opted Arcadian mythology, not in present scholarship or in the past. New cults were routinely created when establishing a new town.³⁵⁷ Lykosoura attempted to attach itself to cities of Azan in southwest Arcadia through its connection to Kleitor, Azan's son,³⁵⁸ and thus confer importance upon itself through the association.³⁵⁹ Likewise, scholarship, two key examples across time being Cavvadias in 1893 and Palamidis in 2018, have argued for the idea that Despoina and the other Arcadian myths throughout Lykosoura's sanctuary, were collated into Lykosoura to situate itself the focal point of southwestern Arcadia.³⁶⁰ This chapter has already discussed aspects/figures of Arcadian religion, including its/their continuity and breadth of practice;³⁶¹ with this in mind,

³⁵⁷ Jost 1985: 550 claims you see this in the use of the cult of Rome or cult of Antinous, which are installed in the cities. For the creation of villages, you have Aphrodision which took the myths of Aséa and Oresthasion, for the agricultural exploitation of the basin of Aséa.

³⁵⁸ Paus. 8.4.3-5; scholars dispute the authenticity of this account (Parke and Wormell 1956: 324; Jost 1985: 26).

³⁵⁹ Parke and Wormell 1956: 324; Jost 1985: 26.

³⁶⁰ Cavvadias 1893: 14 discusses attempts to make Despoina the 'ideal goddess'. Palamidis 2018 is exhaustive in drawing together different pieces of evidence for the purpose of proving Lykosoura is a Megalopolitan creation. This idea will be tackled later in this thesis.

³⁶¹ See 2.4.

this section will dedicate itself to briefly outlining the evidence for collation.³⁶²

Was Despoina a popular goddess in Arcadia? If she was, it makes sense Lykosoura would promote her so zealously. Pausanias believes so,³⁶³ and Jost argues, because Lykosoura's sanctuary was the only place Despoina was worshipped, then the site must have been honoured by all the Arcadians.³⁶⁴ However, that argument could also indicate a lack of popularity, rather than a Pan-Arcadian element to Lykosoura. On this, Despoina is unattested across Arcadia until a 3rd century BC mention at Lykosoura.³⁶⁵ Moreover, 5th century BC coins feature only vague iconography (a pearl necklace and a hair band) perhaps associated with her³⁶⁶ and other items offer only speculative evidence.³⁶⁷ The case for popularity finds traction from the Hellenistic Period; at the sanctuary of Artemis Lykoatis in Lykoa, tiles bear Despoina's name next to Artemis'.³⁶⁸ Pausanias describes statues of Despoina and Demeter on the border between Arcadia and Messenia.³⁶⁹ The title 'Despoina' appears in epigraphic evidence³⁷⁰ and in dedications the Peloponnese³⁷¹, though these do not necessarily refer to Lykosoura's Despoina. After all, the title Despoina (mistress) (rarely attested before the Hellenistic period) appears across textual evidence to refer to both mortal women in a variety of ruling roles,³⁷² and to goddesses.³⁷³ Perhaps Lykosoura's adoption of this title (Mistress) to

³⁶² For a more thorough explanation, do see Palamidis 2018.

³⁶³ "There is no deity that the Arcadians venerate more than this Despoina" (8.37.9).

³⁶⁴ Jost 2007: 267.

³⁶⁵ First epigraphic mention of Despoina: *IG. V 2*, 514, l. 11–12 (for the date, see Voutiras 1999: 233). Another decree of the polis Lykosoura, found in Messene and honouring the sculptor Damophon for his work in the sanctuary of Despoina, is not earlier than the late third century BC (Themelis 1993b), and an inscription from Lykosoura, in which Despoina's name can be reconstructed, probably dates to the second century (Matthaïou and Pikoulas 1986).

³⁶⁶ Heinrichs 2015: 37; Palamidis 2018: 137.

³⁶⁷ A bronze tablet from 500 BC, contains a list of sacrifices to various deities and one, named Kachila once ("she in bloom"), is thought Heinrichs (2015: 34–8) to be her, but this assumes she possesses the same functions as Persephone/Kore.

³⁶⁸ Forsén 2016: 53–5. Some stamps read Ἀρτέμιτος Λυκοάτιδος while the inscription Δέσποινας AK can be reconstructed on other stamps. It is therefore unlikely that Despoina was a cult title applied to Artemis.

³⁶⁹ Paus. 8.35.2.

³⁷⁰ In Thessalian Melitaia, it designates Ino, nurse of Dionysos (*SEG* 26, 683 (l. 7: ὧ δέσποινα), and in Cnidian curse tablets, it refers to Demeter (*SGDI* 3537b, l. 5–6: Δέσπο[ι]να Δάματερ. See also *SGDI* 3541, l. 9 and 3545, l. 16); a Lydian inscription also mentions δέσποινα κόρα πολύοπλος Ἀθάν[α] (*TAM V* 1, 468b, l. 9.).

³⁷¹ Sparta: *IG. V* 1, 230. 363, l. 13–14. Gytheion: *IG. V* 1, 1151. Epidauros: *IG. IV2* 1, 396 (dedication to Δέσποινα in the singular form). Olympia: Paus. 5.15.4.

³⁷² Hom. *Od.* 7.53 (Arete, queen of the Phaeacians) and 23.2 (Penelope).

³⁷³ Used in the genitive, we have: Artemis, 'mistress of wild beasts' (ἀγρίων δέσποινα Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν) (Anacreon, frg. 348 (Campbell, Greek Lyric II)); Aphrodite, 'the mistress of Cyprus' (Κύπρου δέσποινα) (Frg. 122 (Race, Loeb Classical Library), l. 17.); Persephone, 'mistress of fire' (πυρός δέσποινα Δήμητρος κόρη) (Eur. frg. Phaethon 268). The word can also be used alone: Euripides names Hecate as "the mistress [Medea] worships most of all" (τὴν δέσποιναν ἣν ἐγὼ σέβω μάλιστα πάντων) (Eur. *Med.* 395–396) and Aphrodite is addressed to as δέσποινα (ὧ δέσποινα) (Eur. *Med.* 632) – compiled by Palamidis 2018: 140.

refer to their goddess, new, or as reworking of Kore/Persephone,³⁷⁴ was an attempt to capitalise on the popularity of it and help with their attempts to make Despoina the ‘Mistress [of Arcadia, or Animals]’, and therefore a regional, highly popular, goddess.³⁷⁵ Other theories of Palamidis, that Despoina was a later addition to the myth of Demeter and Poseidon,³⁷⁶ or was a reworking of Artemis,³⁷⁷ will not be discussed here. It is enough to outline Despoina’s presence across evidence in the Hellenistic Period, whether she was a new creation or not. This will suggest she was, at least to a degree, popular, thus Lykosoura was wise to capitalise on her.

Beyond Despoina, Lykosoura’s sanctuary was rife with Arcadian mythology. Zeus³⁷⁸ is our first to demonstrate. On line 7 of a bronze tablet (CGRN 223, discussed in more detail later), we find the word Τίνιος; Henrichs³⁷⁹ suggests this as an epithet for ‘Zeus the Avenger’, though Carbon and Clarkson are less convinced.³⁸⁰ If true, Lykosoura might be referencing this via the thunderbolts (Zeus’ symbol of his rage and avenging qualities) across Despoina’s Veil. Admittedly, this is tenuous, and a clearer link can be suggested between this iconography and the close presence of Mount Lykaion, and thus Zeus Lykaios.³⁸¹ Zeus can also be spied in a marble relief attached to Lykosoura’s *stoa*, which depicted Zeus *Moiragetes* with the Moirai,³⁸² and could be taken to allude to the Phigaleian myth where

³⁷⁴ Loucas and Loucas 1994: 97; the influence of the sanctuary of Eleusis on that of Lykosoura has already been noticed, especially because of the presence of the sceptre and kiste held by Damophon’s cult statue of Despoina (Jost 2008: 102). Moreover, the fact that the pomegranate could not be given as an offering in the sanctuary (Paus. 8.37.7) has been understood as an allusion to the fact that Hades made Persephone join him in the underworld by giving her pomegranate seeds (Hom. *Hymn. Dem.* 372; Jost 1985: 330; Pirenne-Delforge 2008: 221).

³⁷⁵ Loucas 1987/1988: 410-2. 153. That Despoina is a δέσποινα θηρῶν has already been hypothesised by scholars (see for instance Jost 2008: 107); Paus. 8.37.9 (writing in the 1st century AD, his use of her here is illustrative of her legacy, which is still suggestive of her importance); Palamidis 2018: 141.

³⁷⁶ This is Palamidis’ argument (2018: 138), examining the Thelpousan myths (that Despoina and Artemis are clearly defined as different goddesses on coinage) (Paus. 8.25.4-11; Matthews 1996: 15-8; Grandjean 1986: 145) and arguing both sculpture and textual sources show a lack of Despoina’s presence. Jost (1985: 309) suggests that Erinys, mother of Arion, was a goddess before the name became Demeter’s *epiklesis* and that, as a result, Despoina, as Demeter’s daughter, could not have been part of the original myth but was probably added under the influence of Eleusis (a point now complicated in modern work); Parke and Wormell 1956: 323 believe Despoina replaced Arion as child of Demeter and Poseidon; Aston 2011: 102; Borgeaud 2015: 291 also supposes that the myths involving Demeter and Despoina in Thelpousa and Phigaleia as they are known by Pausanias are the result of a relatively late rewriting. In short, Palamidis provides a wealth of convincing evidence suggesting Despoina’s popularity/presence grew in the Hellenistic period (though I would stop short of decrying her lack of existence before the Hellenistic period on the basis of a lack of evidence).

³⁷⁷ A deer is Despoina’s sacred animal (Paus. 8.10.10), like Artemis, and links to Arcadia’s reliance on flocks (Roy 1999: 328-333, 349-56; Aston 2011: 235-51; Palamidis 2018: 139).

³⁷⁸ His Arcadian worship was examined in 2.4.3.1 and 2.4.4.1.

³⁷⁹ 2015: 47.

³⁸⁰ Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 9

³⁸¹ Borgeaud 1988: 23-44; Nielsen 2002: 66-72, 117

³⁸² Paus. 8.37.1

Demeter, having lost her daughter and been raped by Poseidon, retreated into a cave and was persuaded by the Moirai, sent by Zeus, to come out.³⁸³

Beyond the example above, Poseidon³⁸⁴ is also attested in Lykosoura through the sea creatures, the Tritonesses, that stand on Despoina's throne.³⁸⁵ These surely invoke Arcadian tradition, where Despoina was a daughter of Poseidon.³⁸⁶ Artemis³⁸⁷ *Hegemone* was worshipped across Greece, but only seemingly found in Arcadia in Tegea, under tyrant Aristomelidas.³⁸⁸ Other potential locations, 15km from Tegea, or at Asea, are unconfirmed.³⁸⁹ To any extent, Artemis appeared on the Despoina cult group and possessed a sacred enclosure outside Lykosoura.³⁹⁰

Pan and theriomorphic figures³⁹¹ were also represented at Lykosoura in great quantity.³⁹² Over 140 terracotta figurines (fig. 9) depicting theriomorphic creatures (humans with heads of cow or sheep heads), most of them approximately 15 cm high, were found via excavation in the *Megaron* (by a small altar) in the 19th century; they are poorly published, and many were lost during WWII.³⁹³ It could be suggested the figurines are humans wearing masks, not hybrid figures as otherwise suggested.³⁹⁴ Further uncertainty exists in relation to their dating, where a lack of stratigraphic evidence has caused them to be placed in the 4th century BC all the way to 'the Roman period' (likely 1st-2nd century AD).³⁹⁵ This thesis will agree with a late

³⁸³ Palamidis 2018: 138.

³⁸⁴ His worship in Arcadia was examined in 2.4.3.2 and 2.4.4.2.

³⁸⁵ National Archaeological Museum of Athens, inv. nos. 2171-2, 1274-5.

³⁸⁶ Paus. 8.37.9, 8.42. 2; even in his horse form, I would still argue Poseidon's sea links would have been known, and remained relevant, in Arcadian minds.

³⁸⁷ Her worship was covered in 2.4.3.3 and 2.4.4.2.

³⁸⁸ Paus. 8.47.6.

³⁸⁹ See for instance de La Genière 1986, 33–35. A statue at Asea is thought to have come from a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods situated near the springs of the Alpheius, around 3.5 km, from Asea (Pausanias (8.44.3). The exact origin of the statue is unknown (see Forsén and Forsén 2003, 27; Spyropoulos 1993: 257).

³⁹⁰ Jost and Palamidis 2020: 136.

³⁹¹ Their presence in Arcadia is covered in 2.2.3.1.4 and 2.2.3.2.3.

³⁹² Averett 2019: 166; which is unsurprising when one considers the site was closely interrelated with Phigalia and Thelpousa by their mythologies involving hybrid figures; specifically, Despoina's siring through horse Poseidon's rape of horse Demeter (see Jost 1994 and Aston 2014: 377 for the links between these sites).

³⁹³ Voyatzis 1999: 139; Perdrizet 1899; Cavvadias 1898: 28; Dickins 1906-1907: 393-4, fig. 26 and Kourouniotes 1912: 142, 155-9, figs. 23-28; Averett 2019: 167; Perdrizet 1899: 635; Jost 1985: 177; for evidence of these terracotta as offerings to the goddess Despoina, see the religious regulation of Lykosoura in Έφ. αρχ., 1898: 249: τός δέ θύοντας πρὸς θύσιν χρέεσθαι ελαίαι, μύρτοι, χηρίοι, ἀγοῖσματι.

³⁹⁴ Aston 2011: 242.

³⁹⁵ Paus. 8.37.8; Kourouniotes 1912: 156 suggest, based on the dress of the figures, that the statuettes were made in the second or first century BC but dated the origin of the type in the fourth century, but Jost argues they can be no older than the 2nd to 1st centuries (2003: 157), with some dating to the Roman period. The potter's signature, 'Aphroda' appears on the back of many and dates to the Roman period, based on the lettering (Perdrizet 1899: 635; Kourouniotes 1912: 158, figs. 31-32; discussed in Averett 2019: 167). On paleographical grounds, Perdrizet 1899 supposed that some of them, which bear the coroplast's signature, were Imperial. Only a thorough study of the series could confirm their dating (such a study was planned and never realised: see Loucas and Loucas-Durie 1991: 317). Dating has been tied to Lykosoura's mysteries (discussed in 2.4.2.1), which

4th/early 3rd century BC dating, on the basis of Arcadia's interests in theriomorphism and the sanctuary's links to the Mysteries (these figures were likely used during these).



Figure 9. Theriomorphic votives from the *megaron* at Lykosoura. (K. A. P. Iselin, featured in Averett 2019: 168, fig. 10.3).

Beyond the Sanctuary's terracotta figurines, further evidence of theriomorphic elements at Lykosoura existed on the Veil of Despoina. The object featured, on its bottom section, animal headed figures (possibly masked) playing musical instruments and dancing/marching.³⁹⁶ The disguised musicians include a fox or wolf playing a *diaulos*, a horse on a *trigonon* (?), a horse with a *zither*, and another horse on a *diaulos*.³⁹⁷ The iconography alone evidences the link between Lykosoura and Arcadia's regional myths of pastoralism and hybrid creatures. On the point of this figures, interpretation is contested. It is agreed that the theriomorphic figures were related to a Lykosourian ritual, especially when one considers the possible theatre at the

appear to have been created after the foundation of Megalopolis, in the first third of the 4th century. For the interpretation of these statuettes and their association with the mysteries of Despoina, see for instance Jost 2008: 105-7; For evidence of this trend, see: Dickins 1906-1907: 394; Boardman 2002: 127; Aston 2011: 170, 193, 202-13. While scholars agree they seem to be a continuation of earlier traditions, we have to be careful how they have come to that conclusion, as earlier scholars emphasised the primitive nature of 'hybrid' figures to date them (e.g., Perdrizet 1899: 635; Hejnic 1961: 28; Loucas 1989: 100-101; Aston 2008: 242). In this thesis, we do not subscribe to the idea that Arcadian religion and cult was in any way 'primitive' and thus we cannot use this angle to date them.

³⁹⁶ There is debate on whether the figures possess animal limbs - Jost 2008: 101 thinks so, but Aston 2011: 243 does not.

³⁹⁷ See Mahoney 2017, 45 for connections to possible wolf iconography at Lykosoura and Mt. Lykaion cited by Carter 2019: 60.

southern end of the temple next to the side door,³⁹⁸ but the nature of this event is unknown. There have been multiple interpretations of these figures; they may represent animals important to the community;³⁹⁹ they may represent maenads, and thus be linked to ‘primitive’, orgiastic rites;⁴⁰⁰ though both suggestions stem from an outdated view of Arcadia’s religious context (i.e., primitive and isolated).⁴⁰¹ Aston and Averett present more convincing interpretations of these rituals.⁴⁰² Specifically that they represent dancing as a mechanism for expressing order, and an establishment of civilisation in a chaotic world, which is apt as Arcadia saw music as a civilising force,⁴⁰³ and it has been suggested that Despoina was a deity that symbolised control over nature.⁴⁰⁴ These ideas would marry well in Jost’s earlier thoughts; namely that worshippers put on animal masks as they performed the dance rituals as a way of provoking intimacy between man, god, and animal.⁴⁰⁵ Whilst we can recognise the mirror between these rituals and wider Arcadian practice,⁴⁰⁶ we cannot confirm these Lykosourian practices as older, traditional rituals.⁴⁰⁷ They could have been created around the same time the Cult of Despoina was (c.190 BC) as a result of reinvestment in the sanctuary.⁴⁰⁸ To any extent, the Veil, dated to the 2nd century BC, showcases theriomorphic figures, so whilst the terracottas may be Roman invention, the idea of theriomorphic figures cannot be. Lastly, note the grove to Pan at Lykosoura, confirming his presence at the site.⁴⁰⁹

The last piece of evidence to demonstrate the presence of wider Arcadian myths within Lykosoura is the Armouring, and its links to Anytos who stood beside Despoina and Demeter

³⁹⁸ Jost 2008, 101; Jost 1985, 265. c.f., Aston 2011, 243 suggests that the veil cannot be used to justify an interpretation for the terracotta figurines as part of a ceremonial rite, even if it is likely that it happened.

³⁹⁹ Cook 1894: 162; Lawler 1952: 319-20; Jost 1985: 332-33; 2003: 157-9.

⁴⁰⁰ Jost 2003: 161-2; Loucas 1989: 101 suggest the worshippers identified with the wild nature of Despoina (partially supported by the sacrifice Pausanias mentions (8.37.8); Averett disagrees with the latter interpretations, arguing the static figures do not suggest orgiastic rites (2018: 169).

⁴⁰¹ Lawler 1952: 319; Jost 1985: especially 558; 2007; Loucas and Loucas 1988: 31; Nielsen, 1999: 40).

⁴⁰² Averett 2019: 171; Aston 2011: 235-51.

⁴⁰³ For music, see Borgeaud 1988: 20; on order more generally, see Langdon 1989: 200; Carter 1988; Lonsdale 1993: 44-75). In Arcadia in particular music served as a civilising force (Borgeaud, 1988: 20). Hybrid beings are often associated with domestication (Borgeaud, 1988: 57-8; Aston, 2011: 223); Averett 2019: 171.

⁴⁰⁴ Lawler 1952: 320; Jost 2005: 93.

⁴⁰⁵ An idea that links well to McNerney 2020, and his “tripod of god, human, and animal”. Jost 2005: 93-100.

⁴⁰⁶ See 2.4.

⁴⁰⁷ Averett 2019: 168, 176; though it should be noted that some see these theriomorphic traditions as a nostalgic Roman creation (Aston 2011: 168-174; Bowie 1970: 22-3), though this is complicated by Pausanias’ emphasis on past Greek traditions, which might provide evidence for an earlier use of zoomorphic elements (?) or might be evidence for Roman nostalgic creation as a result of respect for Greek culture (Aston, 2011: 171; see also Bowie 1970; Porter 2001; Platt 2011: 215–24; Hutton 2017).

⁴⁰⁸ Perhaps in relation to Megalopolis. This idea is discussed below in 2.4.2.2.

⁴⁰⁹ Paus. 8.37.10-11.

on the cult group. The evidence for this comes from a bronze tablet (CGRN 223)⁴¹⁰ which appears to present a ritual calendar for a three day festival which united a number of Arcadian communities.⁴¹¹ A connected offering was sent to a variety of communities or sanctuaries, perhaps over some distance (evidenced through the many instances of directional expressions, such as iv + accusative).⁴¹² One of the events mentioned on the tablet features a boy who took out weapons and armour from somewhere in a sanctuary (location unspecified) and carried them in a ritual of ceremony. Carbon and Clarkson link this tentatively to a celebration called the *Hoplodmia* (“Armouring”),⁴¹³ mentioned in lines 8, 10, and 16,⁴¹⁴ which appeared part of the wider festival.⁴¹⁵ Whilst there is no suggestion whatsoever that Lykosoura led⁴¹⁶ or even participated in this event, the sites mentioned in the tablet localise the event to central and southwestern Arcadia.⁴¹⁷ It would be strange if Lykosoura was not at least aware of the event. Especially if we accept Wheeler’s argument that a form of *Hoplodmia*, the *hoplomachia*, possessed Arcadian origins. His evidence includes Athenaeus’ (154D) preserved fragments of Hermippus and Ephorus. In these, Ephorus suggests that *hoplomachia* originated at Mantinea in the mid-6th century B.C.⁴¹⁸ Additionally, we have Pausanias’ recordings of how Hoplodamus and other giants protected Rhea against Kronos somewhere near Mt Thaumasion when she was pregnant with Zeus.⁴¹⁹ Moreover, a cult Zeus *Hoplosmios* existed at Methydrion and perhaps at Mantinea as well, where one of the five tribes was called *Hoplodmia*.⁴²⁰ Similarly Hera and Athena have the epithet *Hoplosmia* at Mantinea, and the Mantinean *oikist* in the founding of Megalopolis was named *Hopoleas*.⁴²¹ In short, Lykosoura must have been aware of this festival and, because of its close links to Arcadian myth, keen to have it represented in their sanctuary. This is where Anytos finds

⁴¹⁰ Height: 32.5 cm. Width: 46 cm. Depth: unknown thickness (Carbon et al. 2015).

⁴¹¹ It also needs to be stressed that, aside from Kleitor, places listed in the tablet whose location can be precisely established are actually confined to a relatively limited area in central and southwestern Arkadia (Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 27).

⁴¹² Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 27.

⁴¹³ Perhaps “Arming” or “Armouring” (or “Taming with Arms” in the [later?] form *Hoplodamia*); Carbon and Clarkson are cautious on the translation (2016: 9).

⁴¹⁴ Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 8.

⁴¹⁵ CGRN, line 8.

⁴¹⁶ Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 28 note the festival could have stemmed from an important Arcadian community. With our speculation hats on, this could have been Lykosoura if it held the same apparent importance on c.450 B.C as it did within the Hellenistic Period. This is entirely unconfirmed and, without further evidence, likely to remain so.

⁴¹⁷ Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 27

⁴¹⁸ Wheeler 1982: 225.

⁴¹⁹ Paus. 8.36.2-3, Hesiod’s *Theogony* describes “the great Giants, shining in their armour, holding long spears in their hands” (Hesiod. *Theo.* 185-6.), which matches the image of Anytos.

⁴²⁰ *IG.* V 2, 271, l. 10.

⁴²¹ Hera and Athena: Vian 1952: 239; Hopoleas: Paus. 8.27.3.

interest; reported as having protected Despoina in her youth as the ‘man in armour’;⁴²² he is distinctive in both his placement on the cult group, and his presentation as an armoured warrior. The link between himself, the Arcadian stories of armoured warriors mentioned above, and the *Hopladamos* has long been identified.⁴²³

Lastly, about CGRN 223, there are possible links between events mentioned in the tablet and the strange ritual sacrifice at Lykosoura where animal limbs would be hacked off. At the end of line 15, there appears to be references to the preparation of three particular portions from the sacrificial animal or, more surprisingly, a division of the carcass of the animal into three principal portions of meat and bone.⁴²⁴

To any extent, this chapter has demonstrated that wider Arcadian myths were represented at Lykosoura in a variety of forms. This cannot be a coincidence. If it was not due to Megalopolis’ direct prescription,⁴²⁵ then perhaps, in the face of political domination and cultural change, the Lykosourians looked back to an independent and idealised past, searching for long-past events and myths, to confirm and renew their identity.⁴²⁶

2.5.2: Lykosoura’s Motives and Popularity

Assuming Lykosoura collated Arcadian myth within its sanctuary (and the evidence suggests so), why would it do this? We have little evidence on named individuals, an official body, or the organisation of the sanctuary itself (on an administrative level), and so we must spy what we can from the sanctuary’s actions. Palamidis would go as far to say that Lykosoura emphasised these collected myths and foundation stories (shown to be valued across

⁴²² Paus. 8.37.5.

⁴²³ Jost 1985: 335; CGRN 223, line 8; Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 9; Palamidis 2018: 135; note of course the other figures associated with the protection of Zeus were giants, however, Palamidis argues Giants and Titans are often confused since the 5th century (2018: 135; Vian 1952: 29). It could also be confusion on Pausanias’ part, or linked to the role of Titans in the mysteries of Imbros and Lesbos (though Titans are only attested here from the Imperial period (Bremmer 2014: 37-9, 84).

⁴²⁴ CGRN 223, line 12: (τῶννυ is the Arkadian gen. plur. pronoun τῶννυ [from ὁ + νυ] — cf. *DGE* 661, line 19, with Miller 2014, p. 267 no. 9 — whose implied referent must be τὰ κρέα; cp. lines 1–2). αἷσαι is fem. plural. nom. from an early and relatively rare word for “portion” or “share”, αἷσα (cf. *LSJ* s.v. and esp. *IG.V.2* 39–41 from Tegea; cp. also an instance from Cyprus in Miller 2014, p. 282 no. 22.8). “The butchery and division of the sacrificed ram into three major portions would be striking and, to our knowledge, unparalleled in ritual norms. More simply, the instruction may indicate that three special portions of the meat were to be set aside, either for the god Alpheios himself or for another, unknown recipient” (Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 13).

⁴²⁵ See 2.2.2.

⁴²⁶ Speaking broadly on the idea (i.e. the Greeks were concerned...) but entirely relevant to Lykosoura specifically: Averett 2019: 176; Donahue 1988: 140-7; Pritchett 1998: 61 Aston 2011: 172-3.

Arcadia)⁴²⁷ at the expense of its own original ones (whatever they were).⁴²⁸ Whilst it is true that Lykosoura appears largely invisible in the archaeological record from before the 5th century BC, an issue present with Despoina also, there continues to exist the fact that Megalopolis spared Lykosoura because of its sanctuary in the early 4th century BC. Thus, it appears Lykosoura already held prestigious myths (namely, Despoina) – therefore, it seems more likely it collated local Arcadian myths (e.g., Pan) to bolster its existing mythology (Despoina and her associated characters). We could suggest the success of this – references to Despoina do increase in our evidence from the Hellenistic Period.⁴²⁹

The community of Lykosoura worked to impress the sacrality of their location;⁴³⁰ the episode from Pausanias, where the stone used for the cult statues was found through a dream,⁴³¹ is a clear indicator of this. When coupled with the effort the community of Lykosoura (or Megalopolis) placed upon Despoina (through the hiring of Damophon and the collation of Arcadian myth), then the argument that the sanctuary's community attempted to further distinguish their site become highly likely. We can find clear examples that mirror this process; the cult of Sarapis was created by combining aspects of an Egyptian god, Osiris-Apis, and of Greek deities such as Zeus, Pluto, Dionysos or Asklepios.⁴³² Mantinean history was probably rewritten by the local elite in order to claim a continuity between the Hellenistic and Imperial Antigoneia and its predecessor, the Classical Mantinea.⁴³³ Lastly, Seleukos' new capital Antioch adopted a goddess.⁴³⁴ The combining of Arcadian mythical tradition to reinvigorate and/or re-invent the cult of Despoina was surely an attempt to promote their sanctuary and attract more worshippers.⁴³⁵ Through this, they might better protect themselves against the ever-looming threat of Megalopolis,⁴³⁶ and so avoid the fate of

⁴²⁷ See 2.4.

⁴²⁸ Palamidis 2018: 143.

⁴²⁹ See 2.5.1.

⁴³⁰ Palamidis 2018: 143. Not an unknown phenomenon to have dreams and gods involved in the creation of a cult foundation (I.Priene(2) 195; Plat. *Leg.* 909e–910a. For a summary of the Classical, epigraphical evidence, see Hemingway 2008, 158–166).

⁴³¹ Paus. 8.37.3.

⁴³² Note however, this was at the will of Ptolemy I and likely a different scenario (Jost and Palamidis 2020: 137; Plut. *Isis and Osiris.* 27-8; Tacitus. *Histoires.* IV. 83-4), and would not Pausanias have noticed this if it was the case?

⁴³³ Pretzler 2005b.

⁴³⁴ Stewart 2014: 166. For scholarship on the new emphasis on kinship and local histories in the Hellenistic Period, see 1.2.1.

⁴³⁵ Nielsen 2008 echoes Jost (2007: 267) in claiming Lykosoura's sanctuary, through its connection with other sanctuaries of the region, was seemingly intended for a pan-Arcadian audience.

⁴³⁶ Though this could also be seen as an opportunity within the new, post-Megalopolis, context – Lykosoura did receive investment from Megalopolis during the Hellenistic Period. This argument (threat or opportunity) can be read both ways.

other Arcadian sanctuaries.⁴³⁷ Of course, it might have been a result of how things changed in the Achaean League after the peace of Naupaktos in 217 B.C.;⁴³⁸ Polybius claimed the Peloponnesians turned their activities to a more civilised way of life and restored their traditional cults and festivals. The idea that they turned to a ‘civilised’ way of life says more about Polybius’ views than the region, but the general idea of a period of building might align with Lykosoura Sanctuary’s commission of the Despoina cult group. Alternatively, if this whole process was prescriptive by Megalopolis, then we could be looking at reasons related to asserting the latter’s position as a leader within the region, at a time when there were perhaps two rival Arcadian Confederacies, one centered around Mantinea and one around Megalopolis.⁴³⁹ To any extent, it seems the building of a temple to unify the community (and provide employment)⁴⁴⁰ around Lykosoura is likely what happened.

These actions were effective in bolstering Lykosoura’s status and popularity. A *lex sacra* from around the 2nd century BC presents a clarification of the sacred rules regarding Lykosoura’s sanctuary.⁴⁴¹ Loucas and Loucas propose, among other suggestions, that Lykosoura decided to strengthen its sacred rules in response to the influx of believers - a result of the newer building work which included the sanctuary buildings and the Despoina cult group.⁴⁴² The focus on illustrious foundations likely led to an increase in patronage from rich Megalopolitans and other citizens across the region.⁴⁴³ Between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, monumental construction happened at Lykosoura; the creation of a temple and a *megaron*, the high fees paid by initiates to the city, and the spectacular cult group by Damophon are testament to the sanctuary’s wealth and importance to the region.⁴⁴⁴ Continuing to the Roman period, the sanctuary was venerated for its mystery cults⁴⁴⁵ and a marble *stele* from the *pronaos* of the temple of Despoina indicated the temple was eventually

⁴³⁷ See 2.2.

⁴³⁸ Loucas and Loucas 1994: 98; Polyb. 5.106.1-2

⁴³⁹ Nielsen 2002: 493-7.

⁴⁴⁰ Voyatzis 1999: 151-2; Ma 2013 on sculpture and employment in the Hellenistic Period.

⁴⁴¹ Loucas and Loucas 1994: 99, CGRN 126: (Sanctuary? Stele?) of Despoina. [...] Let it not be allowed to enter into the sanctuary of Despoina with golden objects, except as votive offerings, (5) with purple or bright-coloured, or black clothes, with shoes, or a ring. If anyone enters with one of the objects the stele forbids, let him dedicate it in the sanctuary. It is forbidden to have (10) braided hair or (to have the hair) covered. And it is forbidden to bring flowers, forbidden for a pregnant woman or one giving the breast to be initiated. Those who sacrifice should use for sacrificing olive oil, myrtle, honeycombs, (15) barley corns separated from the chaff, statues, white poppy seeds, lamps, incense to burn, myrrh, aromatic spices. Those who offer sacrifices to Despoina should sacrifice white female animals. [...]29

⁴⁴² Loucas and Loucas 1994: 99.

⁴⁴³ For dedications from citizens of Sparta or Athens, see Kantirea 2016: 37.

⁴⁴⁴ Paus. 8.37.8-9; Jost 2003: 146; Averett 2019: 166.

⁴⁴⁵ Kantirea 2016: 39.

a location for the registration of the youth.⁴⁴⁶ Therefore, it seems likely that Lykosoura was widely attended, at least within southwest Arcadia. Otherwise, beyond the evidence cited here, Pausanias might have been more specific that the sanctuary was attended only by the Lykosourians.⁴⁴⁷

In conclusion to this section, Lykosoura grew in popularity during the Hellenistic Period, likely because of the collation of Arcadian mythology into its sanctuary, which attracted a wider audience to the site. Additionally, whilst it is unclear whether Megalopolis had control over the site, it certainly appears the city invested in the sanctuary. Ultimately, it does not matter to our discussion of material culture, myth, and identity if Megalopolis adopted the cult of Despoina and promoted it, created Lykosoura, or was entirely unattached.

⁴⁴⁶ Marble Stele, L.11, excavated by Cavvadias 1893: 16.

⁴⁴⁷ Balériaux 2015: 134 - Pausanias does not refer to the Lykosourians but instead the Arcadians: the Arcadians 'bring to the sanctuary the produce of their cultivated trees' (8.37.7) and 'celebrate rites of initiation and sacrifice to Despoina' (8.37.8), and 'the legend of Anytos is Arcadian' (8.37.6).

2.6: Lykosoura's Use of Material Culture to Influence Myth and Identity

Having discussed how Lykosoura represented wider Arcadian myths (which contributed, at least in part, to a collective Arcadian identity) in its sanctuary, it now comes time to discuss their effect upon the site's attendees. It is here that we shall propose how the sanctuary's material culture influenced myth and identity in Hellenistic southwestern Arcadia. This chapter will argue that Lykosoura, having collected the myths and represented them in their material culture, created a 'built environment' through which the sanctuary influenced the memory of the site's attendees and so expanded its 'locality'. This section, by its very nature, is speculative. It will rely on the theories of Halbwachs and Lefebvre (among others) to understand what might have been happening. These approaches will be used as framing tools in relation to the evidence, not models on which to view all sites similar to this one.⁴⁴⁸

2.6.1: Intentional History: The Attachment of Myths to the Sanctuary

Lykosoura represented Arcadian mythology in its sanctuary, perhaps as a means of establishing its antiquity, and certainly to increase its prestige and presence on the Arcadian stage. The co-option of myth was especially effective because it was linked to tradition;⁴⁴⁹ the latter was used to define Arcadian identity (see the unification around the Mount Lykaion traditions of Zeus mentioned earlier). Lykosoura's presentation of Poseidon, Despoina, Demeter and etc. were all links to the local traditions that surrounded them.⁴⁵⁰ This is what Gehrke calls 'intentional history', a term that will recur throughout this thesis.⁴⁵¹ It means creating your own history, and is important for how a society, or a town, or a sanctuary, define themselves.⁴⁵² It is credible to suggest Lykosoura was doing this; after all, we see it elsewhere. Magnesia, for example, upgraded their temple of Artemis Leukophyrene.⁴⁵³ Magnesia engaged in efforts to cultivate myth and connections of kinship; poets and oracles were hired, and resolutions from other Greek states, seemingly honouring Magnesia, were

⁴⁴⁸ See chapter 1 for a thorough discussion of these theoretical tools and their application across this thesis' case studies.

⁴⁴⁹ Gehrke 2001: 296.

⁴⁵⁰ And perhaps further afield, but any impact this had on communities further than Lykosoura is hard to prove. In this thesis we are happy to confine any suggestions of Lykosoura's influence to the southwestern region of Arcadia; see Stewart 2014: 164-5 for thoughts on Lykosoura mirroring local traditions.

⁴⁵¹ See 1.2.3.2. for discussion of this.

⁴⁵² Gehrke 2001: 286.

⁴⁵³ Gehrke 2001: 289.

brought forward.⁴⁵⁴ The official foundation myth of the city was inscribed on stone and placed outside the temple.⁴⁵⁵ A historical web of connections was materialised from this. Similar to Lykosoura, this self-categorisation was pushed back into the past. This helped promote a sense of established tradition.⁴⁵⁶ This is similar to Halbwachs' ideas on collective memory,⁴⁵⁷ namely that religion is transformed, yet maintained, through pushing new elements into the past.⁴⁵⁸ These stories are commemorated as cult.⁴⁵⁹ Myth, throughout this, is particularly useful as it can preserve instances of memory as stories (which then survive through the years as they are told and retold), which, as we are seeing, can then be used to inform the production of identity and place.⁴⁶⁰

Of course, there is a limit to the reinvention of tradition.⁴⁶¹ This is why Lykosoura could not fabricate new stories⁴⁶² and instead co-opts and presents traditional, established, Arcadian tales across its sanctuary. Even a seemingly newer story, such as Damophon's finding of the sacred stone to build the cult group,⁴⁶³ was only an invention used to support already robust, established mythical stories. This process is supported by a "reworking of the material structures of society";⁴⁶⁴ simply put, space and material culture could be reorganised, recreated, and/or mobilised to reinvest in memory. Lykosoura did not change traditional stories but instead reworked them by attaching them to its sanctuary (in ways we shall see). In this sense, Lykosoura reorders its environment to fulfil its purpose of co-opting tradition.⁴⁶⁵

The idea of changing the environment to promote an identity or certain memories can be

⁴⁵⁴ For additional work on this, see Saba 2020; Mili 2015; Grainger 2002; Chaniotis 2009b.

⁴⁵⁵ *IvM* 17 (= *FGrHist* 482 F 3); Gehrke 2001: 291.

⁴⁵⁶ Gehrke 2001: 298.

⁴⁵⁷ For a discussion of Halbwachs, and indeed many of the theories employed in this analysis, see chapter 1. In this thesis we will test and address issues with applying modern theory to the ancient world. With that said, using the broad ideas to help frame our discussion helps to elucidate what is happening in our case studies. This thesis will avoid delving too deeply into ideas that soon become irrelevant to the context of the ancient world, and thus trip us up. Note, one idea, about 'religion being superseded by others' (Halbwachs 1992: 98) will not be tackled, as in Ancient Greece, different religious stories could exist interchangeably. Halbwachs appears to have been addressing modern religions, such as Christianity, in discussing this.

⁴⁵⁸ Halbwachs 1992: 86.

⁴⁵⁹ Halbwachs 1992: 88.

⁴⁶⁰ Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 2005: 5; Silva 2015: 169-70 is originally talking about folklore, which is different to myth. They function similarly though, as Johnston 2018 as discussed in depth. See Hoffman 2022: 168; Jones and Russell 2012: 271 for the mobilisation of folklore and myth.

⁴⁶¹ Gehrke 2001: 301.

⁴⁶² An idea that does depend on how old one believes Despoina to be. As discussed, in this thesis we certainly see her as possessing a degree of antiquity, even if her presence skyrocketed in the Hellenistic Period.

⁴⁶³ Paus. 8.37.3.

⁴⁶⁴ Halbwachs 1938a: 181.

⁴⁶⁵ Geertz 2016: 128; this can lead to ideas of 'conceptualisation', a mechanism which through selection, reduction, and addition of stimuli from our surroundings helps to define the world. This may be delving too deeply into a theoretical rabbit hole, however.

examined through the ideas of inscribed and embodied memory.⁴⁶⁶ Inscribed memory involves monuments and texts (e.g., the Despoina cult group) and repetitive, prescriptive action (e.g., the Mysteries at Lykosoura).⁴⁶⁷ Embodied memory, meanwhile, refers to how we recall information on ritual and performance through somatic⁴⁶⁸ markers.⁴⁶⁹ Because ritual performance conveys and sustains memories and knowledge of the past, it is part of performative embodied memory.⁴⁷⁰ At Lykosoura, we will find both inscribed and embodied memory being used to promote the attachment of tradition to the sanctuary and play upon ideas of space and locality. Inscribed memory finds especial worth as embodiments of religious messages;⁴⁷¹ the same material culture acts as a cognitive anchor for memory, and the messages attached to it.⁴⁷² This material culture (Lykosoura's cult group, its sanctuary buildings), these cognitive anchors, can all be seen as factors in creating a 'built environment', a stage where memory can be challenged and strengthened through action.⁴⁷³ Through these processes, emotional attachments are created between communities and their environments.⁴⁷⁴

2.6.2: Location as Authority

This built environment (discussed in detail in 2.5.3), and the emotional attachment it hopes to fuel was aided by Lykosoura's location beside Mount Lykaion. Despite the mountain's reduction in use during the Hellenistic Period, it remained a significant holder of myth and

⁴⁶⁶ See Wuthnow 2007. The notion of embodied cognition is particularly associated with the work of Thomas Csordas. See, for example, Csordas 2004. For an instance of this approach applied to the interpretation of a recent religious phenomenon, see Ulland 2012; more recent criticisms of phenomenological approaches have assisted greatly in improving our approach to the ancient experience of space and landscape. Such criticisms concern the phenomenological sense of a viewer who is solitary in experiencing the landscape with no consideration of aspects which may influence experience (such as social status, age, background, etc.), and also phenomenology's tendency to view landscapes as if through an observer lacking a routine or physical relationship with them. For a more detailed discussion on recent advances and criticisms of phenomenological approaches, see for instance Hamilakis 2014: 97–104.

⁴⁶⁷ Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 4.

⁴⁶⁸ Feelings in the body that are associated with emotion (e.g., a rapid heartbeat and anxiety).

⁴⁶⁹ Connerton 1989, 2008. See 1.2.3.2 and 2.1 for further information.

⁴⁷⁰ Connerton 1989; whilst relevant towards framing our analysis, we must be wary that this is a modern theory, and we cannot know how the Greeks thought. As stated earlier however, this section is by its very nature speculative and all I can offer are convincing suggestions as to what is happening at Lykosoura in the Hellenistic Period.

⁴⁷¹ Which can be as simple as the association between Despoina and Poseidon, Artemis, and Anytos, therefore linking all myths to Lykosoura's sanctuary.

⁴⁷² Barsalou et al. 2005: 14.

⁴⁷³ Halbwachs 1980: 140.

⁴⁷⁴ Halbwachs 1980: 140.

tradition within the region.⁴⁷⁵ Myth, already a foundational element of collective identity in Ancient Greece, was interwoven into the landscape (e.g., as it was with Mt. Lykaion), providing it with meaning and links to the community – thus, it strengthened the latter’s bond to a place.⁴⁷⁶ Lykosoura’s traditional myths and location all promoted a historical attachment to the illustrious Mount Lykaion (birthplace of pan-Arcadian god Zeus).⁴⁷⁷ The Arcadians likely saw both the physical and the imagined landscape as one and their viewing of it was that which unlocked the stories attached to it.⁴⁷⁸ Mount Lykaion acted as a part of this process; attendees to Lykosoura could simply view the mountain to be reminded of its traditions. As such, it acted as a cognitive anchor, resplendent with mythical stories that, as its influence waned, were soon attached to Lykosoura. In this way, the mountain helped to form and reinforce identity.⁴⁷⁹

The manipulation of space and memory can arise from a need⁴⁸⁰, and as discussed, Megalopolis provided this to Lykosoura during its synoecism and its takeover of Mount Lykaion (including moving the mountain’s Lykaion Games to its own city).⁴⁸¹ Localism, which equates to maintaining local authority and autonomy, was invoked by Lykosoura in reaction to this attempt at centralisation by Megalopolis.⁴⁸² The sanctuary’s community placed new emphasis on the stories connected to their locality; for example, the marble relief of Zeus Moiragetes on Lykosoura’s *stoa’s portico*,⁴⁸³ which alluded to (relatively) nearby Phigalia’s myth about Demeter, who, after being raped by Poseidon, was coaxed out of a cave by the Moirai, sent by Zeus.⁴⁸⁴ This emphasis on traditional, local tales created a

⁴⁷⁵ Perhaps it held something akin to what Tuan argues as ‘landscape affection’; the Arcadians held a respect for the mountain (Tuan 1974: 93; Scannell and Gifford 2010; Carter et al. 1993: xii). Moreover, as argued earlier, it is hard to separate myth from the location of its origin (see 2.2.2).

⁴⁷⁶ Tuan 1991: 686; Hoffman 2022: 160; for place as a product of human experience and natural environment, see Ingold 1993; Tuan 1974, 1991; Hoffman 2022: 166.

⁴⁷⁷ Paus. 8.38.2-3; see 2.4.4.1. for a treatment of Zeus and Mount Lykaion’s widely (outside Arcadia) attended events. This is a good time to further impress that the truth of the stories around Mount Lykaion are irrelevant; the people of Greece believed in them (Paus. 8.38.7; Plin. HN8.81; Ps. Plat. Min. 315 c; Porph. Abst. 2.27.2; Pl. Resp. 565 d).

⁴⁷⁸ See 1.2.3.1, and 2.1. For this specifically: Cardete del Olmo 2005: 52 call them existential landscapes. In this thesis, we will not adopt this term, but we do agree with her thoughts. Arguably the same idea exists today. It should also be noted that by landscape, we refer to both the physical territory and the human ‘construction’ of space, as defined by Clarke 2017: 5, 15-6. The idea of unlocking the landscape is similar to Hodder’s argument that perception is vital in building experiences, as one does the latter through viewing something alone (Hodder 1985: 2).

⁴⁷⁹ Cardete del Olmo 2005; Sawalha 2010: 11, talking about a modern context. Nonetheless, the idea that place helps construct identity is clearly seen here at Lykosoura.

⁴⁸⁰ Cardete del Olmo 2005: 51.

⁴⁸¹ Or, if Megalopolis was in charge of Lykosoura, it needed to cement its control. Either scenario does not contradict my speculation.

⁴⁸² Tuan 1974: 102-9.

⁴⁸³ Paus. 8.37.1

⁴⁸⁴ Palamidis 2018: 138.

symbolic landscape, which often involved the reconfiguration of the city's past to focus on significant myths.⁴⁸⁵ We can see this at Lykosoura, whose collation of myths, promotion of the landscape, and creation of a 'built environment' were the tools used to maintain locality.⁴⁸⁶

One might ask how Lykosoura continued to manipulate its mythic past and yet retain any form of authority as regards its traditions. We shall address this here, as the answer links (in part) to the landscape. Myths had to balance truth and plausibility.⁴⁸⁷ One way was ensuring a voice of authority supported the myths (in whatever form or variation they appeared), a fact that Pausanias recognised in Arcadia.⁴⁸⁸ Pausanias discusses his own belief in the tales⁴⁸⁹ in relation to the story of Lykaion⁴⁹⁰ and reveals, in his mind, that the quality of the period, as regards moral and religious levels, determines how believable a story can be.⁴⁹¹ Thus, we are shown the credibility certain locations hold (on the basis of their antiquity and associated myths) is significant. Therefore, it is unsurprising both that Lykosoura co-opted Mount Lykaion's (an authoritative location to the Arcadians) myths (beyond the original links to Lykaon both locations already held)⁴⁹² and that it was successful.⁴⁹³ Additionally, it is clear from Pausanias' recount of the *megaron*, and the temple to Apollo built there,⁴⁹⁴ that buildings acted as authority for myths and supported the recollection of memory.⁴⁹⁵ Among other examples, Pan is found connected to Zeus at Lykosoura, through a relief on the *stoa* which depicts Pan with nymphs,⁴⁹⁶ an indirect hint perhaps to the latter's upbringing of Zeus

⁴⁸⁵ Malkin 2005: 64.

⁴⁸⁶ See 1.2.3.1.1 for 'locality'. This is similar to how Athens attempted to strengthen links between themselves and Tegea by connecting their civic symbols with Tegea's through a meeting of Pheidippides and Pan (Herod. 6.105-6).

⁴⁸⁷ Pirenne-Delforge 2009: 40: Criticism of myths must not merely be seen as a peculiar stage of the reading of traditional tales, as has been thought for a long time. This critical posture is deeply embedded in the system and is a fundamental part of it since rivalry seems to be present as early as Hesiod's poetry. See 1.1.2 for wider scholarship on myth.

⁴⁸⁸ Pirenne-Delforge 2009: 52.

⁴⁸⁹ Paus. 8.2.4.

⁴⁹⁰ Paus. 8.2.1-3.

⁴⁹¹ Paus. 1.30.3; 1.41.9; 6.8.2 f. See 2.1 for a discussion of Pausanias. As mentioned in the scholarship, we know that Pausanias was guided by his own interests – he included stories he thought were worthy (3.11.1) and was all the while led by his own contemporary influences (i.e. the 'exceptionalism' of the Greeks) (Strazdins 2023: 18; Swain 1996: 330-56; Thomas 2007: 203). Thus, it is difficult to draw clear readings of what the ancients might have considered 'reliable', in relation to mythical stories. Pausanias' views on what constituted 'quality' might not be the same as what a Hellenistic Arcadian might have thought. See Madsen 2014, 32; Bowie 1996; Hutton 2005: 14-6; Beard 1998: 81-8 for related discussion.

⁴⁹² Mahoney 2016: 45.

⁴⁹³ See 2.5.2. on Lykosoura's popularity.

⁴⁹⁴ Paus. 1.41.5.

⁴⁹⁵ At least to Pausanias, but as already argued, this is clearly not unique to him. See Pirenne-Delforge 2009: 44-5 for the full analysis; see also Hutton 2005: 127-74 and Pirenne-Delforge 2008: 32-40.

⁴⁹⁶ Paus. 8.37.2.

on Mount Lykaion.⁴⁹⁷ Through this material culture (the relief) Lykosoura lends authority to the mythic connection between Pan and Zeus, however tenuously, and in doing so further connects itself to the nearby sanctuary of Pan *Nomios*,⁴⁹⁸ Pan's cave on Mount Lykaion,⁴⁹⁹ and the sacred grove of Pan close to Lykosoura's *megaron*.⁵⁰⁰ In short, Lykosoura manipulated its mythology, but it retained an authority in doing so through maintaining, and emphasising, its links to Mount Lykaion. Whilst the ritual activity at Mt. Lykaion might have subsided, its past did not vanish but remained embedded in the identity of it, allowing it to retain a status and appeal.⁵⁰¹ The history, which had generated an affective bond between people and place, remained.⁵⁰² Moreover, its built environment, its material culture, acted as supports for memory,⁵⁰³ which both reinforced the co-opted myths and impressed the authority of their association with Lykosoura. Belief, and thus acceptance, was achieved.⁵⁰⁴ In short, location gives authority to myths, and material culture helps to ground it.

Material culture is significant within this process; as Hawes argues, the physical landscape offers little by virtue of its existence (though caves and other sensory, liminal areas are perhaps exceptions).⁵⁰⁵ Placemaking is done by people who attach stories to places, stories that must be retold constantly in relation to the landmark.⁵⁰⁶ But storytellers do not only have to be people; they can be items of material culture. Lykosoura repeats its myths constantly to all its attendees, and to us in the present. Lykosoura reiterates the myth of Zeus and the Great Mother through an altar to her outside the temple of Despoina⁵⁰⁷ and the Korybantes (linked to Zeus' birth) on the base of Despoina's cult group.⁵⁰⁸ It refers to Despoina's birth both through the Tritonesses, associated with Poseidon, on the throne and through Anytos;⁵⁰⁹ are all examples of Arcadian stories being repeated and reinforced to every attendee who viewed

⁴⁹⁷ Paus. 8.38.3; Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 339; Jost 1985.

⁴⁹⁸ Paus. 8.38.11.

⁴⁹⁹ Jost 1985: 457-64; Paus. 8.38.5.

⁵⁰⁰ Paus. 8.37.10-11.

⁵⁰¹ Clarke 2017: 17, an idea drawn from Strabo. 2.5.17.

⁵⁰² See 1.2.3.1.3. This is an idea from Tuan 1977: 75, 93, 178 and is discussed further in Boutsikas 2020: 28; Lyndon 2009; Feld and Basso 1996; Jones 2007: 63.

⁵⁰³ Which could be unlocked by the viewer, as discussed earlier, as they travelled through the environment (Clarke 2017: 26).

⁵⁰⁴ See 1.1.2 for a discussion of myth and belief.

⁵⁰⁵ Hawes 2021: 201.

⁵⁰⁶ Hawes 2021: 143.

⁵⁰⁷ Paus. 8.37.2; the direct allusion to Zeus and his Arcadian birth, via the Great Mother altar outside the Lykosourian temple, is not a new idea (Pirenne-Delforge 2008: 339; Palamidis 2018: 135). Palamidis makes links between the multiple instances of lions (connected to the Great Mother) on the Despoina's temple's mosaic and on the stool that supported her feet (Palamidis 2018: 135; Kourouniotis 1911: 58-61; Lévy and Marcadé 1972: 1000-2).

⁵⁰⁸ Paus. 8.37.6.

⁵⁰⁹ Paus. 8.37.3-6.

them.

In conclusion thus far, inscribed memory was created through material objects. This created a built environment filled with cognitive anchors. Practice within the sanctuary (e.g., engaging with rituals), within the built environment produced embodied memories which produced memories and promoted attachment to Lykosoura's sanctuary. This entire process was fuelled by Lykosoura's location; it was attached to Mount Lykaion, a site of great importance to the Arcadians. It served as a cognitive anchor for local traditions, but also as a source of authority, as regards belief, for Lykosoura and the myths the sanctuary was attaching to itself. Lastly, material culture repeated Lykosoura's collected stories and ensured they remained associated with the site.

2.6.3: The Religious Experience within the Sanctuary

Now, we shall examine how the religious experience in Lykosoura's sanctuary imparted cognitive memories,⁵¹⁰ which were fuelled by performance and space undertaken on the site. Lykosoura's sanctuary is an example of a built environment;⁵¹¹ the latter concept, however, is one that marries well with Harris's ideas that material culture affected identity through 'becoming'. That is, material culture can confer an identity on someone or something.⁵¹² This idea is harder to apply neatly to Lykosoura; besides a sanctuary, what did Lykosoura become that does not become abstract the moment it is named (e.g., a focal point of myth)? The point of mentioning 'becoming' is to impress that Lykosoura (as other sanctuaries before and after it) was designed with a purpose to influence its attendees. and its architecture reflects this. The features of the temple of Despoina (discussed shortly) worked to concentrate the attenders' attention. The steps on Terzi hill could have acted as a viewing point for a priest who exited the temple,⁵¹³ or were perhaps associated with the Mysteries practices on-site. To any extent, these features, coupled with the representation of Arcadian myth across the site play into Lefebvre's ideas of secondspace; that is, space can be used to control behaviours and groups.⁵¹⁴ This thesis shall propose how this was undertaken at Lykosoura; the purpose

⁵¹⁰ The acquiring of memory through experience.

⁵¹¹ Halbwachs 1980: 140.

⁵¹² Harris 2016: 29-30 uses the example of arrowheads giving a man the ability to be an archer.

⁵¹³ Léonardos 1896: 115-116 (pl. 43, fig. I), 1897: 28: fragments of terracotta water pipes, one terracotta figurine, some coins, and inscribed tiles (without precision on the inscriptions); the steps could be a type of support (numerous examples of supports of this type: Amandry 1952: 261-270, no. 83.); others think it has religious significance, Ginouvès 1972: 68; Jost 1985: 176.

⁵¹⁴ Soja 1996: 67.

of doing so was to manufacture memories in attendees to the site,⁵¹⁵ and create an association between the local Arcadian myths and Lykosoura itself.⁵¹⁶ However, we do not know exactly what happened at Lykosoura – to overcome this, we shall rely on comparative examples (to propose how the activities worked) and a phenomenological approach to lead us through the likely stages of attending the sanctuary.

Action (engagement with ritual) was undertaken at the site to develop cognition and memory. However, space is also important.⁵¹⁷ Cognition⁵¹⁸ is ‘embedded in its surroundings’,⁵¹⁹ i.e., embedded in Lykosoura’s material culture, in its built environment. This material culture (the cult group, the reliefs, the altars) were all ways in which attendees could connect with the area’s local history,⁵²⁰ and with their own if Arcadian, as Lykosoura had many local myths represented throughout its space (as discussed). Despite the mythical antiquity and authority Arcadia possessed,⁵²¹ having the stories is only one step; they must be engaged with via ritual (discussed shortly)⁵²² which is exactly what happened at Lykosoura. Supporting this is the authority of the local landmarks (as discussed in 2.6.2), which takes implausible stories, roots them in performance (discussed shortly), and so makes them relevant within the contemporary setting.⁵²³

⁵¹⁵ A good number, as suggested in 2.5.2.

⁵¹⁶ Notably, we can propose this was an intentional action by those who controlled the sanctuary, because, as Unwin argues, sculpture and other items of monumental material culture are often evidence of an officially endorsed narrative (2017: 61). The prestige of Damophon as an artist, and the wealth evident in the architecture of the sanctuary, all speak to a clear purpose in how the site was designed and the way in which it presented Arcadian mythology. Of further significance is the presence of Mysteries at Lykosoura (Paus. 8.37.10); Balériaux argues that the lack of (proven) Mystery cults in Arcadia triggered religious mobility; people travelled to be initiated in the Mysteries (Balériaux 2015: 128).

⁵¹⁷ Lefèbvre 1991: 410.

⁵¹⁸ Cognition is the "mental action or process of acquiring knowledge and understanding through thought, experience, and the senses". It should be understood as existing through an interplay of the whole complex of brain, body systems, and environment (Geertz 2010: 306; Kundtová Klocová and Geertz 2019: 78–9; Van Gelder and Port 1995: ix; Kundtová Klocová and Geertz 2019: 78).

⁵¹⁹ Kundtová Klocová and Geertz 2019: 78.

⁵²⁰ Stewart 2014: 163.

⁵²¹ Veyne 1988: 99–102.

⁵²² Pirenne-Delforge 2009: 50.

⁵²³ Pirenne-Delforge 2009: 51.



Figure 10. Map of the Lykosoura Sanctuary (Socratis Tsacos and Lloyd Bosworth in Boutsikas 2020: 173, fig. 55).

The visitor to Lykosoura would enter the sanctuary from the east. There they would be confronted immediately with Lykosoura's connections to wider Arcadian myths (both locally immediate [Zeus] and further afield [Artemis]). The built environment created cognitive anchors, and triggered context-specific memories (which may be different to each, but the broad message, e.g., this myth is attached to this place, likely remained consistent).⁵²⁴ In this case, the viewer would see the altar to Poseidon *Hippios* before them, be able to spy Mt. Lykaion in the distance to the north, and be aware of the temple of Artemis *Hegemone* just behind them, to their right.⁵²⁵ They led viewers to remember the stories of these gods from their own communities in Arcadia, and then associate them with Lykosoura.⁵²⁶ Material culture assisted memory by providing the necessary physical context to awaken stories and myths,⁵²⁷ and allow attendees to connect their communities to Lykosoura.

Moving on to the temple, the visitor would be confronted with the presence of the goddess Despoina herself, rendered through material culture. An inscription from Lykosoura, found 15 minutes from the town but likely, from its message, having once sat outside the temple, details the behaviour one must take in the Temple of Despoina. It appears to act as the voice

⁵²⁴ The term 'collective memory' has become loaded. Recent studies have warned against the dangers of overemphasising the polarities of individual and collective memory (e.g., Feindt et al. 2014: 30). When referring to collective memory and remembering in this study, I do so not in order to differentiate collective remembering from individual consciousness, but in order to denote a process which involves the participation of a group, as opposed to remembering in the context of a solitary individual (Boutsikas 2020: 23-4).

⁵²⁵ Balériaux 2015: 130.

⁵²⁶ However loosely this may be.

⁵²⁷ Boutsikas 2020: 27.

of the goddess. More often regulations would refer to the presented set of rules as 'the writings' (τὰ γεγράμματα), or, occasionally, the 'laws' (νόμοι),⁵²⁸ but this piece does not. It prescribes a variety of rules and items disallowed in the presence of the goddess⁵²⁹ and an interesting observation arises. Though this source is incomplete and thus might be missing text that refutes this thought, the *stela* appears to speak with the voice of the goddess; it suggests a set of rules, similar to those one might receive before entering someone else's house. The point of this, is that Despoina appears personally, speaking through the material culture. This lends both a greater connection of the goddess to the site but also confers greater authority to the inscriptions. Just as the landscape lends weight to myth, so too does the intimate presence of Despoina. The worshipper is now in a state of heightened awareness and primed to have memories created that are attached to Lykosoura.

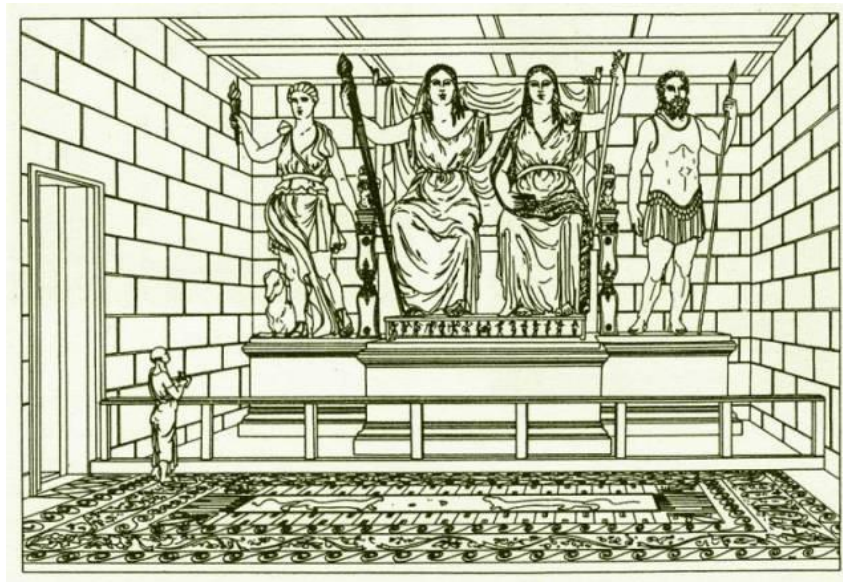


Figure 11. The Temple of Despoina (Stewart 1990, fig. 788).

They would then enter the temple, where the Despoina cult group awaited as a monument of inscribed memory⁵³⁰ to represent local mythology, which was engaged with via movement through the sanctuary space and ritual performance, both of which would impart somatic markers which could be remembered later.⁵³¹ The worshipper would be confronted with a variety of stimuli that created memories and caused them to recollect local myths and

⁵²⁸ For example: *CGRN* 189, line 6 [sacrifice as the priest says]. (Fragment [bottom left corner] of a limestone stele. H: 40cm, W: 42cm, Depth: 14cm. Built into side of Hagios Elias, 200m east of site [c. 2nd century BC]); Carbon et al. 2015.

⁵²⁹ *CGRN* 125. Stele of limestone, broken below. Height: 58 cm. Width: 48 cm. Depth: 17 cm. Found in field 15 mins from town. Now in Epigraphical Museum in Athens (inv. no.11522). End of 3rd century BC.

⁵³⁰ Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 4.

⁵³¹ Connerton 1989.

traditions they already knew.⁵³² The sanctuary itself impressed the presence of the goddess; a deep *pronaos* framed the cult group and acted as an area in which benefactors could offer dedicatory statues and honorific decrees (fig. 11).⁵³³ A low barrier separated worshippers from the Despoina cult group;⁵³⁴ the luxurious environment (a floor mosaic, red wall plaster, especially behind the cult group),⁵³⁵ and the side lighting concentrated the contemplation of the faithful who were invited, at the time of departure, to a last look in the mirror placed on the right.⁵³⁶ The sanctuary impressed authority, wealth, and power, aided both by the a long

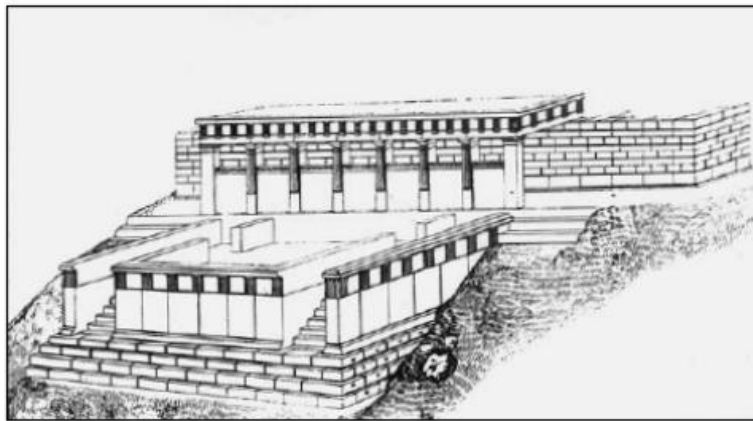


Figure 12. Lykosoura's *megaron* (Jost 2005, fig. 6.3).

stoa placed directly adjacent to the temple so that the fronts of the stoa and the temple together formed almost a joint column façade⁵³⁷ faux-presenting a greater size to the temple of Despoina. The entire space of the sanctuary, even beyond the obvious material allusions to Arcadian myth,

was designed to provoke somatic markers (though of course the Arcadians would not have defined it as such) in response to the myths and experiences held at Lykosoura. This is to ensure the creation and survival of memory. Space, and the construction of it, is vital towards constructing social identity and bonding;⁵³⁸ it can regulate how the attender acts (with respect),⁵³⁹ and it can convey overt messages (in Lykosoura's case, the sanctuary's links to local mythology).⁵⁴⁰ Of course, the construction of space (and the viewing of the material

⁵³² We have already discussed the breadth worship for the myths Lykosoura represented throughout its sanctuary. Arcadians were well aware of the myths at Lykosoura. See 2.4.

⁵³³ IG.V 2 516

⁵³⁴ Frazer 1965: viii: spotted a 'barrier, consisting of narrow quadrangular stones with sockets for the attachment of a railing or balustrade'; Billot 2008: 156: "a more or less symbolic barrier always prevented the worshipper from entering the cult statue. At Lykosoura, as at the T. of Asclepius at Epidaurus, it crosses the whole naos; at Epidaurus, it reduces the space of the cult group to a square on which the large base of the chryselephantine statue, itself square, is centred"; Rouz 1961: 118-123, pl. 38.; Gruben 2001: 160.

⁵³⁵ Which Billot 2008: 169 ties to more than just decoration; they were a way to hold a double door; Hill and Williams 1966: 26; PFAFF 2003: 163, 165-6; Shoe 1949: 341-352; Townsend 2004: 305-326.

⁵³⁶ Paus. 8.37.7

⁵³⁷ Kobusch 2020: 86-7.

⁵³⁸ See Wood 2020: 104 on the Lion's Gate at Mycenae.

⁵³⁹ Mirzoeff 1999: 10 cited by Howells and Negreiros 2019: 136

⁵⁴⁰ Howells and Negreiros 2019: 139

within it) is only one part; the action the worshipper subsequently undertook⁵⁴¹ is another core element in producing and attaching memory to a site.

The visitor to Lykosoura would likely have engaged with its Mysteries,⁵⁴² which embedded memory and assisted in its attachment through ritual performance.⁵⁴³ Lykosoura's sanctuary had Mysteries that were performed on site, a disputed fact, but one based on the architecture of the site and Pausanias' unwillingness to say Despoina's true name.⁵⁴⁴ It is clear that rituals focused on the goddess, and were therefore tightly linked to Lykosoura.⁵⁴⁵ As with much of Lykosoura, it is thought the antiquity of the mysteries was fabricated to impress Lykosoura's ancient and illustrious past.⁵⁴⁶ To any extent, mysteries in of themselves have been speculated as tools to break down identity and create collective links between members;⁵⁴⁷ myth and ritual were related to one and other in a malleable system in which meanings could be attributed and taken away from in a performative situation (this being the Mysteries, in this case).⁵⁴⁸ Throughout, though ritual tradition was rooted in tradition (past performances), from which it derived its authority, it was also enacted in the present and thus open to change; ritual being a creative handling of the past.⁵⁴⁹ Thus, we can speculate that not only did the

⁵⁴¹ Perhaps, though we are not clear on the timeline of activity at Lykosoura.

⁵⁴² Mystery cults in ancient Greece are characterized by their focus on forging an intimate relationship between initiates and a divinity through structured initiation activities (Bianchi 1979: 5; Casadio and Johnston 2009: 1-6. See Jost 2003: 144-6 for mystery cults in Arcadia). The allure of these cults lay in the initiation process, which not only established a special bond with the divine but also conferred exclusive benefits upon the initiates, integrating them into a select group (Burkert, appropriately, talked of a "change of mind through experience of the sacred" [1987: 11]; Cole 1984; 1989). Symbols like the magnetized ring and purple sash given to Samothracian initiates exemplified this relationship and were worn long after initiation (Boutsikas 2020: 154-5). Despite differences in culture, society, or language, initiates were united by a shared cosmological understanding imparted through the mysteries. The initiation experience was deeply immersive, shaped by a complex interplay of factors including calendar, spatial organization, gender, social dynamics, psychological and emotional states, power relations, the role of divinities, local customs, internal logic, and participant commentaries (Bremmer 1999: 50; Boutsikas 2020: 54-5).

⁵⁴³ Otherwise known as performative embodied memory (Connerton 1989). For general ideas on the above in ancient Greek religion see Eidinow 2011; Boutsikas 2020: 27.

⁵⁴⁴ Paus. 8.37.10. and Plut. *Quaes. Gr.* 39. for ancient sources. For a more general look at mystery cults, see Morford et al. 2015: 348-52; Arist. *Frogs.* 340. For debate on their presence, see Kourouniotes 1912: 148; Jost 2003: 148-9 for a review of past interpretations; Averett 2019: 167; ⁵⁴⁴ For this debate, see this collection of sources. Kourouniotes 1912: 148; Averett 2019: 167; Jost 1985: 329.; Jost 2008: 94, n. 8; Busine 2012: 241-4; Chaniotis 2002b: 70; Pirenne-Delforge's hypothesis that the mysteries were created in the first century AD (Pirenne-Delforge 2010) has been challenged (see for instance Gawlinski 2012: 12-6).

⁵⁴⁴ Bremmer 2014: 48-53, for mysteries of the Korybantes, who were also confused with the Kouretes, and Roller 1999, 149-151 for mysteries of the Great Mother.

⁵⁴⁵ Further linked by the presence of Korybantes/Curetes at Lykosoura (on the cult group's base). Bremmer 2014: 48-53, for mysteries of the Korybantes, who were also confused with the Kouretes, and Roller 1999, 149-151 for mysteries of the Great Mother.

⁵⁴⁶ See the sources above.

⁵⁴⁷ Gould 1985; Burkert 1987; Bremmer 1999.

⁵⁴⁸ Kowalzig 2007: 399; Burkert 1985: 217, 255; Larson 2007: 197; Evans 2010: 55-65; Parker 2011: 38, 264.

⁵⁴⁹ Kowalzig 2007: 53; an idea drawn from Chaniotis 2002a: 38-43. For ideas on performance across time, see Kowalzig 2007: 52; Alcock 2002; Revermann 2006: 66; Currie 2004; Chaniotis 2002a: 43.

ones at Lykosoura afford an opportunity for the sanctuary to impress its newer, more pan-Arcadian traditions, but to create memories and invoke strong emotions in the participants through undertaking ritual. All for the purpose of provoking somatic markers and allowing the visitor's memories of Lykosoura to be impactful, and thus more easily recalled.

The Mysteries at Lykosoura would have been highly engaging; myth was reflected throughout the sanctuary's material culture as the rituals were undertaken. This continued to impress Lykosoura's mythical narrative as worshippers' minds were open and receptive during ritual, in a process that changed and/or re-affirmed identity.⁵⁵⁰ We do not know exactly what happened at Lykosoura – even the idea of a ritual dance cannot be confirmed conclusively (though the dancing animals/masked worshippers on Despoina's Veil are suggestive of it). However, if we use a more well documented comparative example, such as Delos, we can bolster our speculations. At Lykosoura, the worshipper dedicated votive terracotta figures, found in the *megaron*, which represented cloaked figures, with ram/cow heads, carrying baskets on their heads. Jost ties this iconography to the role of sacred basket carriers in a procession;⁵⁵¹ if the worshippers at Lykosoura did process from Megalopolis (or vice versa), though we cannot be sure, they would find themselves moving through the Arcadian landscape – the same landscape that Lykosoura was co-opting various Arcadian myths from, and thus moving through the land and remembering the stories, all whilst on their way to/from Lykosoura surely helped to associate these myths with the sanctuary. This is (broadly) similar to how Delos cultivated a network of cult through sent offerings and subsequent claims to the site from other cities across the Aegean – through the constant merging of the associations of local and central worship in the performances, one's sense of how myth and ritual related geographically was also fused. Thus, place was transcended.⁵⁵²

Moreover, at Delos, the *geranos* dance, carried out by young Athenian men, was linked to the myth of Theseus through its performance being linked to physical traces of the hero's

⁵⁵⁰ Baragwanath and de Bakker 2012: 38-9; to make myth more immediate and relevant (Henrichs 1999: 237); ritual generates myth (Bremmer 1994: 61); Burkert 1979: 58.

⁵⁵¹ Jost 1985:3310-7, 2002a:158-9, figs 6.4, 6.5. It has been argued votive terracotta can be used to define cultic meaning and reinforce shared religious ideologies (Hoffmann 2023: 168). We cannot verify this here, but if true, it suggests Lykosoura's terracotta were deposited with an understanding of what they represented (whatever this was – perhaps as a marker of Lykosoura's connection to broad Arcadia?)

⁵⁵² Connelly 2007; Kowalzig 2007: 78-81. This network of cultic sites included a Delion figures on Paros (Artemis Delia: *IG.xii.5* 211 (4th cent. BC); Apollo Delios: *IG.xii.5* 214 (4th cent. BC); 211 (4th cent. BC)); at Naxos, the temple of Apollo Delios (Plut. *De Mul. Virt.* 17. 254b-7; Parthen. 9; Andriskos FHG ii p. 156; iv p. 302) was started in the 530s BC under the tyrant Lygdamis but was never finished; Poiessa *IG.xii.5* 1100 (late 5th cent. BC, Pythios); 571.5–6; 12–13; 20 (3rd cent. BC); SEG xiv 547 (no epithets). Karthaia: *IG.xii.5* 528 etc. (no epithet). Artemis certainly had a cult at Ioulis (*IG.xii.5* 617; 618) and possibly at Karthaia (Pi. Pae. 4.1). These are not exhaustive - see Kowalzig 2007.

time on the island.⁵⁵³ The whole event was overtly commemorative in nature constituting a “particularly orchestrated, physical, re-enactment of myth”.⁵⁵⁴ At Lykosoura, as the Mysteries continued, the worshipper would find themselves further confronted with iconography spelling Arcadian mythical links. We find dancing animals (likely humans wearing masks) across the Veil of Despoina; this calls to mind both theriomorphic myths, popular across Arcadia,⁵⁵⁵ and, through the equids, the story of Despoina’s birth via Poseidon and Demeter’s coupling, which itself was a myth linked to the nearby communities of Thelpusa and Phigalia.⁵⁵⁶ Moreover, it suggests an environment similar to the *geranos* dance – a orchestrated, physical activity that worked to stimulate the minds and provoke attachment between (Arcadian) tradition and the current space (Lykosoura).

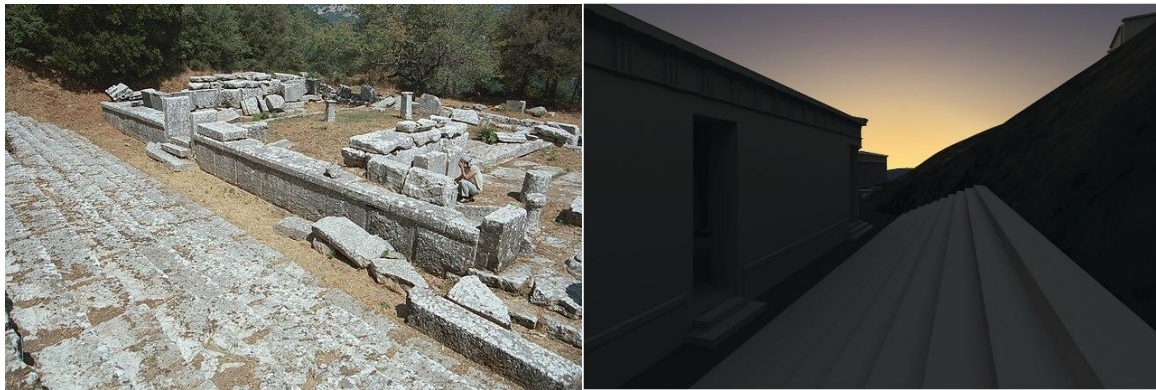


Figure 13 and 14 (left to right). The Steps outside the Temple of Despoina (Wikimedia Commons and Socratis Tsacos, Lloyd Bosworth, and Efrosyni Boutsikas in Boutsikas 2020: 175, fig. 59).

Myth would have been reinforced throughout the site; at another point, the worshipper would find themselves on the steps on Terzi hill, outside the side entrance of the temple (likely two cramped and connected to the steps to be a simple point of access – see fig. 10), could have been used for the revelation of sacred objects, as it was too small for dramatic performance.⁵⁵⁷ Of interest though, beyond the environment of receptiveness and community of these rituals, is the fact that any worshipper on the steps would continue to be bombarded with Lykosoura’s represented myths. Whilst not all could see (the temple would block their view, see fig. 15), those on the very easternmost part of the steps could likely spy the altars to the Great Mother, Demeter, and Despoina. Perhaps even the reliefs in the *stoa*, though not

⁵⁵³ This included the dedication of a statue of Aphrodite, given to Theseus by Ariadne (Plut. *Thes.* 21.1-2; Calli. *Delos.* 305-15), and the form of the dance itself taking the shape of the Labyrinth (Plut. *Thes.* 21.1 [ἐν τινὶ ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίσξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην]).

⁵⁵⁴ Kowalcz 2007: 92.

⁵⁵⁵ See 2.4.3.4.

⁵⁵⁶ Paus. 8.25.5.

⁵⁵⁷ Nielsen 2002: 106-8; Jost, 2003: 149 cited by Averett 2019: 167

clearly. Moreover, worshippers were encouraged to engage in Lykosoura's unique customs, including their sacrifice of animals, which featured cutting off limbs at random.⁵⁵⁸ Jost suggests these practices point to the cultivation of an 'enthusiastic' environment.⁵⁵⁹ The deprivation of sensory information has been argued to contribute to the susceptibility of suggested memories and narratives.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore, it is significant that Balériaux and Boutsikas have suggested that the mysteries took place in the dark (based on the presence of a lamp in the sanctuary precinct), another environmental element to provoke emotion (fear, wariness, secrecy).⁵⁶¹ As such, it appears convincing that the rituals were used to impart cognition through somatic markers (the enthusiasm, fear/secrecy, and religious respect the rituals would confer). Action was significant to create, imbed, and reinforce embodied memory, which was linked to the inscribed memory found throughout the sanctuary (the altars, the figurines, the stoa reliefs, and the cult group). All these material items acted as symbolic devices involved in producing cognitive thought in the viewers;⁵⁶² namely that of impressing Lykosoura's links to Arcadian myth and the sanctuary's antiquity.

Iconography and material culture at Lykosoura worked as active agents in presenting Lykosoura as being associated with a selection of wider Arcadian myths.⁵⁶³ Because of its presence throughout the practice of rituals at Lykosoura, when a visitor recalled their experience at Lykosoura, they would have necessarily also remembered the sanctuary itself, and the myths represented throughout it. These material objects, conveying mythological stories, imprint themselves on the viewer's memory and thus serve as cognitive anchors.⁵⁶⁴ Now these myths are tied to Lykosoura. Even when an Arcadian first visited Lykosoura, the material culture provided the necessary physical context to remind the viewer of their own local myths; if they saw the altar of Poseidon they might also recall the stories of Poseidon told at their own community.⁵⁶⁵ This allows them to relate their community to Lykosoura,⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁵⁸ Paus. 8.37.8; for a discussion of this practice and its significance, see Jost 2007: 268. For links to Bacchic ritual, see Eur. *Bacch.* 990. Bacchantes tearing Pentheos' limbs: Attic red figure *lekanis*, Louvre G445 (ca. 450-425 BC); Balériaux 2015: 133.

⁵⁵⁹ Jost 2007: 269.

⁵⁶⁰ Schjødt et al 2013: 42.

⁵⁶¹ Balériaux 2015: 132; Boutsikas 2020: 174-6. Though similar to Eleusis, Jost (2005 onwards) has suggested Lykosoura's rituals were different to Eleusis – a comparison between the two may be misleading.

⁵⁶² Kundtová Klocová and Geertz 2019: 78; Howells and Negreiros 2019: 135 tie this to the production of identity.

⁵⁶³ Creese 2016; Wescoat and Ousterhout 2012: 372; see Ma 2013: 249 for the significance of statues (like our Despoina cult group) in enforcing political positions.

⁵⁶⁴ Barsalou et al. 2005: 14.

⁵⁶⁵ Boutsikas 2020: 27.

⁵⁶⁶ Arlow 1961. See also Anastasopoulos et al. 2010: 126.

creating a link between the two.⁵⁶⁷ This process of community linkage was aided by Lykosoura's *pronaos*; this was a spot to erect statues and dedications to Despoina,⁵⁶⁸ surely both here and throughout the site visitors talked and exchanged information about their homes and local myths. Especially if prompted by the constant mythological stimuli around them.⁵⁶⁹ In this sense, Lykosoura was not usurping these myths, but representing them. However, attaching them to the sanctuary still conferred antiquity and a variety of mythological links,⁵⁷⁰ and thus importance.

In conclusion, the sanctuary was created as a space to control perceptions and impart cognition. Its space was designed to provoke somatic markers. Action, through ritual, primed the viewer to have their memory influenced through the creation of somatic markers (they had emotional experiences attached to the site). Throughout this, Lykosoura's material culture, representing Arcadian myth, was always present, tying the myths to the site. Therefore, in remembering their emotional ritual experiences at Lykosoura, attendees also remembered the site itself and all the myths attached to it. This is in addition to the links viewers would make between their own local myths, and those shown at Lykosoura, whilst at the site. Thus, Lykosoura created memories in its visitors attaching local myths to its sanctuary.

2.6.4: Expanding Locality

Attendees of Lykosoura exited the sanctuary with these memories attached, and this is how Lykosoura expanded its influence and 'edited its locality'. Locality is a concept that can be discussed in relation to Giddens' concept of 'distanciation', the stretching of social systems over time-space to create a more encompassing, elastic collectiveness and integration.⁵⁷¹ As such, locality is a complex phenomenological quality made up of the links between social immediacy, interactivity, and relativity of contexts.⁵⁷² It has been argued that travelling through the landscape provokes thoughts of mythology that become linked to the historical

⁵⁶⁷ Eidinow 2011.

⁵⁶⁸ IG. V 2 516.

⁵⁶⁹ A sort of 'oh, we also have that myth at my home', for want of a better phrase.

⁵⁷⁰ Including wider festival through Anytos and his link to the Hoplodamia (CGRN 223, line 8; Carbon and Clarkson 2016: 9; Jost 1985: 335).

⁵⁷¹ Soja 1989: 152; Giddens 1984.

⁵⁷² Appadurai 1996: 178. He is discussing issues of nation-states and destabilisation, not the production of space though he admits conclusions could be reached about that from his writing here. Sees locality as relational and contextual rather than scalar or spatial.

and the present;⁵⁷³ in this way, memory (and myth) can travel back and forth between places, carried by people with who possessed [knowledge of] it.⁵⁷⁴ In this sense, recollections are “landmarks we carry within ourselves”.⁵⁷⁵ We possess ‘travelling memories’. Lykosoura produced memories in its visitors, ones that included the links Lykosoura had to Arcadian myths, and these thoughts were then carried by attendees across the landscape and back home. Thus, the imagined geography (Lykosoura’s representation of myths not originally attached to its sanctuary [e.g., Artemis *Hegemone*]), became the ‘real geography’ (the original places and holders of these local myths), as the image or representation (linked to ‘imagined geography’) came to define and order reality.⁵⁷⁶ Actual material forms (e.g., the landmark connected to a myth) ‘receded into the distance’.⁵⁷⁷ Religious movement, i.e., worshippers moving about, ensured sacred places and mythology became embedded in various networks of influence and mobility.⁵⁷⁸ Lykosoura existed as a key spot in this network; as a focal point for these traditions (though the original holders of the stories were not erased). Whilst the landscape held myths, and derived authority from them⁵⁷⁹, it could develop; it was contestable and renegotiated.⁵⁸⁰ Material culture supported this process. It helped to ground locality, transforming it from ephemeral to material,⁵⁸¹ allowing for a medium through which the generation of culture and the expansion of the community could happen.⁵⁸² Through routine and *action*, people experience and understand place.⁵⁸³ The experience of the attendees at Lykosoura created a memory bank within each of them, fuelled by ritual action and material culture (inscribed memory).⁵⁸⁴ This memory bank was present as the visitors to Lykosoura walked across the local paths and landmarks - these then engaged their memories;⁵⁸⁵ they recollected the myths they had previously associated with the landmark and/or town, but now there was an additional element to that remembrance. Thus, when a location featured a myth they had seen at Lykosoura, they recalled the sanctuary

⁵⁷³ Clarke 2017: 31.

⁵⁷⁴ Imparted via story and ritual, as we see at Lykosoura.

⁵⁷⁵ Halbwachs 1992: 175.

⁵⁷⁶ Soja 1996: 79.

⁵⁷⁷ Soja 1996: 79.

⁵⁷⁸ Horden and Purcell 2000: 404; Balériaux 2015: 22.

⁵⁷⁹ See 2.5.2.

⁵⁸⁰ Bender 2013: 303; Clarke 2017: 18.

⁵⁸¹ Appadurai 1996: 180-1.

⁵⁸² Appadurai 1996: 182-5; he also discusses how the production of locality requires moments of colonisation, even if this is only ‘violent’ action against the landscape itself (Appadurai 1996: 185). We shall be side stepping this, as I do not believe violence is needed to produce locality. My discussion here regarding Lykosoura is hopefully evidence of this.

⁵⁸³ Bourdieu 1990: 52; Tilley 1994: 16.

⁵⁸⁴ Hamilakis 2014: 10.

⁵⁸⁵ Bender 2013: 306; Ingold 1997, 2000.

along with the original memory/association. Therefore, Lykosoura had created ‘walking memories’ in their visitors who carried the sanctuary’s presence beyond its physical borders.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁶ Culture can be so effective as to influence how one sees a landscape, even to the degree that they see illusions where none exist (Tuan 1974: 60, on culture and the Ojibwa and *wendigo*).

2.7: Conclusions

In this chapter we have examined how material culture and myth was used to adjust identity in southwestern Arcadia. We determined that Arcadia held a set of myths that, whilst adaptable to its local context, held common markers across all their iterations (e.g., the recurrence of theriomorphic elements). Whilst this does not suggest a collective mythological identity in Arcadia, it does show that some myths possessed importance across the region. During this analysis, we also charted how the myths remain relatively consistent between the 8th-3rd century BC; the purpose of which was to confirm these stories as ‘traditional’ to the region. We tackled how Megalopolis’ synoecism impacted southwestern Arcadia, and how Lykosoura demonstrated particular importance through its survival of this process. From this event, Lykosoura promoted its existing mythologies (Despoina) and worked to collate myth from across Arcadia, which it then represented it within its space. This was to Lykosoura’s benefit; its popularity increased within the Hellenistic Period. Despite this, it is not clear if this collation was an action from Lykosoura, or something dictated and/or carried out by Megalopolis. If the latter, this would situate Lykosoura as some sort of ‘extra-urban sanctuary’ of the city. To any extent, the collation of myth gave greater authority to Lykosoura. It situated it within the roots of Arcadian tradition and brought more visitors to it, affording it attention and finance (seen through the architecture it could afford to build). Ultimately, the meat of our analysis was in how Lykosoura’s community used its material culture and collated myth to manipulate the identity of the sanctuary - framed through the subjects of memory and space, Lykosoura’s community used the authority of its close connection to Mount Lykaion to further impress its importance and to assist in the veracity of the myths it had attached to itself (through the authority of telling). Within the sanctuary, Lykosoura used space and ritual to prime attendees to accept and remember the mythological narratives presented throughout the site. With memories of Lykosoura, and the myths it was now attached to, visitors would walk away, carrying these memories of myth with them. Now, when they met a trigger that awakened each local myth in their memory, they associated the story not only with what they had originally (e.g., landmark, town) but also with Lykosoura. Through this, on an abstract level, Lykosoura expanded its borders and cemented its importance in Arcadian minds.

What have we discovered in this study of Lykosoura? We have seen how material culture grounds myth within a setting. It is an effective for localising stories, for tying them to a location they may not have originally existed in. We know that material culture, especially

monumental, possessed something akin to that held by a fabled mountain (though not quite as effective, surely); a ‘strong voice’ that listeners/viewers believed. It had authority. This meant it could present new or reinvented myths and have them be accepted. In this way, communities could bring new myths to their town, if they had the means through which to do so (the creation of material culture and iconography, or a built environment). We have seen how material culture was used as an active tool to manipulate identity and memory. The Arcadians would not have described it in this way, but the process itself appears clear. The idea of material culture as an active agent in developing identity is not a new one, but this chapter further illustrates the exact ways in which it acted to do so. Lastly, material culture worked as a tool of reinforcement; like the sea lapping against a beach, it had waves ripple towards the people in contact with it. These waves featured the message, the inscribed memory, that they were designed to hold. In Lykosoura’s case, they meant to impress all the mythic links the sanctuary possessed; to Zeus, Poseidon, the Armouring, and Artemis.

We shall now turn to the island of Crete, where we shall see how material culture afforded transitory, unfixed (at least regarding location) pastoral myths a sense of physicality – through this, mythic traditions could be adapted to contextual needs. Throughout this, similar ideas to Lykosoura will be spied – specifically, how material culture can afford authority to changes in myth and how it can ground these variations within communities.

Chapter 3: Crete: Transitory Mythologies

3.1: Introduction

Crete was an island of turbulence in the Hellenistic Period; the rapid expansion of cities on the island led to wide political changes and the destruction and/or control of smaller communities. As such, it makes the island a prime candidate for how identity developed with the support of myth and material culture. In this chapter we will build upon how material culture was used to impact memory and perception in Lykosoura by examining the communities inhabiting the island of Crete, and specifically how they used material culture and pastoral mythology in relation to the expansion of certain cities (such as Hierapytna).

It will be seen that increased focus upon pastoral mythology was likely a result both of specific island conditions and a need from smaller cities to retain an autonomous religious identity in the face of the dictation of their activity by the largest cities on the island.¹ Pastoralism has been picked as a focus for a number of reasons; we can see a rapid surge of its importance during the Hellenistic Period (compared to earlier eras), which allows us to examine why this was the case. Moreover, being linked to local, rural communities, it affords us some insight into the oft overlooked peoples in history (i.e., the archaeologically invisible communities). Lastly, it links to our discussions of space, as developed in chapter one and two. Through a focus on pastoral Cretan mythology, we will advance the ideas discussed in Lykosoura's chapter; namely that material culture can be used to ground mythology within a community (specifically meaning, these pastoral myths become the focus of their votive objects, the gods are worshipped more frequently, pastoral elements [such as horns] become a part of the god's iconography), through this, influence memory and subsequently identity. As before, the flexibility of myth is supported by the physicality (a concept we will develop in this chapter, but meaning broadly, the physical quality of holding a newly adapted myth [such as Apollo with horns] in your hand) material culture, which provides authority to mythical variants, and offers tangible engagement with these mythologies.

¹ See 3.3.

3.2: The Cretans and their Landscape

As in my discussion of Lykosoura, the landscape was important to the communities of Crete. It was where their myths were housed, and where they interacted with them. It gave them a sense of identity and provided an authority to their mythology.² It is here that we shall begin to see the connections between Lykosoura and the Cretan communities' use of myth and material culture to influence identity, and thus address the overall aim of this thesis. A quick note on 'Cretan communities' – it is hard to be more specific at this stage. Beyond the larger cities (e.g., Hierapytna), much of the evidence we examine comes from cult caves, rural sites, and generally, broadly disarticulated pieces of material culture. As such, we cannot always assign a clear identification of community providence to the items we analyse. This is part and parcel of trying to gauge a broad social trend and trying to spy the activities of the 'invisible' communities. With this in mind, we shall turn to a broad discussion of the island of Crete and its communities' connection to their landscape.

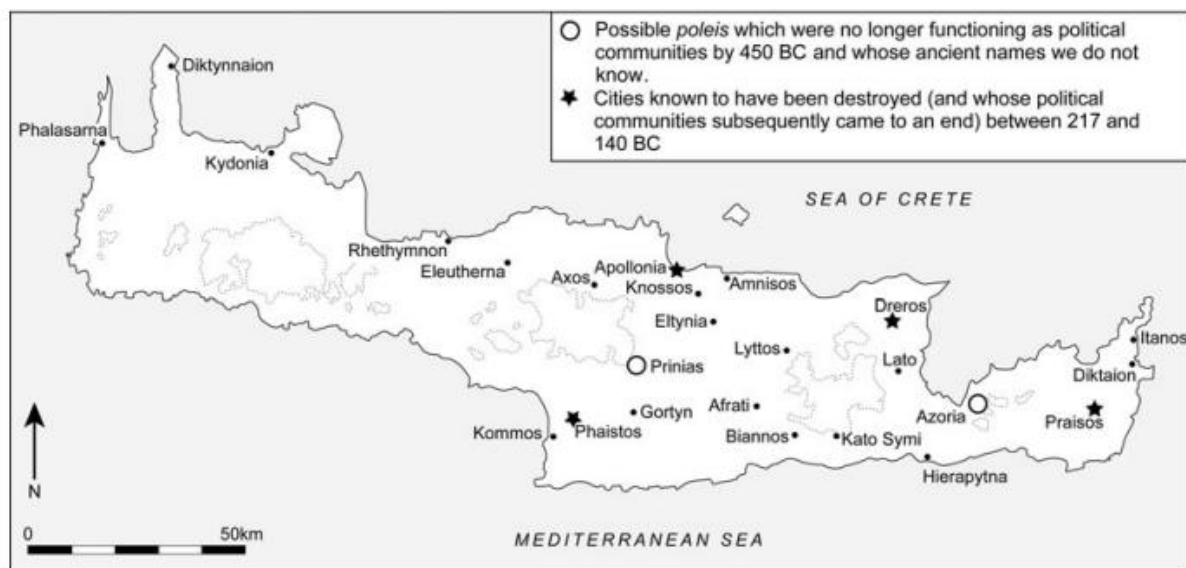


Figure 15. The Island of Crete (c. 5th-2nd Century BC) (by K. Harding in Whitley 2023: 329, fig. 1).

3.2.1: The Cretans

Crete was an island with a great number of city-states (prompting other Greeks to call the island *hekatompolis*: the island with one hundred cities), but throughout these were characterised by an insular attitude (Crete dedicated hardly any votives at Pan-Hellenic

² See 2.6.2 and 3.5.

games, there are few Cretan victors of these, and they were absent for the great wars of the 5th century), leading them to appear almost invisible in wider Mediterranean culture and politics.³ Whilst some scholars argue Crete became more democratic (or ‘socially complex’) as it approached the Hellenistic Period,⁴ it is still agreed upon that the island’s *poleis* were defined by a communal ethos, based around citizenship, military training, initiation, and communal events.⁵ The literature on the Cretans is vast – it would not be possible to cover it all here. However, we can determine that the Hellenistic Period saw the communities on Crete engage more widely with trade,⁶ export a large number of mercenaries,⁷ and featured foreign myths (such as Isis) on the island.⁸ However, these foreign myths remained collected

³ Seelentag and Pilz 2014: 2.

⁴ Gagarin and Perlman 2016; Seelentag 2015; Whitley 2016, 2018a; Cross 2011: 62.

⁵ Whitley 2016, 2018a; Talamo 1987; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 60-76; Willetts 1955, 33-36, 166-191, 249-356; Gschnitzer 1976, 75-80; van Effenterre 1982, 35-44; Wittenburg 1982; Perlman 1996, Chaniotis 1999: 182; Talamo 1987; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 60-76; Seelentag and Pilz 2014: 3.

⁶ For a general discussion of Cretan trade, see: Stefanakis 1999: 250; Curtis 2023: 104; Baldwin Bowsky 2001: 7; Chaniotis 1995a: 43, 1999: 184, 2008: 8; Perlman 1999: 144. For ceramics in association with this, see: Hadjidaki 2001: 155; Hadjidaki and Iniotakis 2000. See economic zones in a 200–189 BC treaty between Gortyn and Lappa (*IC*. IV.186; Chaniotis 1996: 265-6, no. 31, ll. 15–18; Guizzi 1999: 240). For clay vessels as signs of export/import, see Chaniotis 1999: 184, who Cummings 2014: 55 disagrees with, arguing against his idea that clay vessels appeared across the Aegean because mercenaries brought them with them (the objects were too cumbersome). See Vogeikoff-Brogan 2014; Gallimore 2015; Gilboa et al. 2017; Craven 2017: 237 for further discussion on this. Other works on the topic of Cretan trade include Francis 2020; Trainor 2019: 6; Gilboa et al. 2017; Gallimore 2015, which all suggest an increase in Cretan exportation.

⁷ Isoc. *On the Peace*, 8.44-47; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.8.9. For scholarship, see Unwin 2017: 137; Chaniotis 2009b: 265; Trundle 2013: 336, 349; Shipley 2000: 58; Demetriou 2012; McKechnie 2014 (originally published 1989); Spyridakis 1970: 100. The movement of Cretan mercenaries is perhaps evidenced by coin hoards on the island, such as at Astritsi, which included foreign issue (Le Rider 1966: 11-19; Trifiró 2001; Gallimore 2017: 96). See Chaniotis 2005a: 80; Reger 2009: 335, 348 (discussing *IC* 3 3 3 A 26-9); Gómez-Castro 2019 on this. See Russell 1942: 108; for the c. 200 BC treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna (*IC*. III iii 3), where each guaranteed mercenaries for the other. Livy records that in 172 BC some 3000 Cretans under the command of Susus of Phalasarna and Syllus of Knossos fought in the army of Perseus, King of Macedonia, in his war against Rome (Liv. 42.51). Whilst this number is likely to have been exaggerated, it serves to highlight the attractiveness and scale of fighting in foreign armies (Curtis 2023: 106).

⁸ For foreign myths, see Spyridakis 1992: 9. Oftentimes, they were linked to Alexander (*Progymnasmata* 1114 R [Teubner. 530]; Van Effenterre 1958: 15; Spyridakis 1992: 10); Roman soldiers (Spyridakis 1992: 10, one being commander Lutatius Crispus (*IC*. IV.288c) at Itanos. Much of this was a result of Ptolemaic influence upon certain parts of the island, e.g., Itanos (*IG*. XII: 3. 466; Sporn 2002: 36-7; see the cult of Cybele from the 3rd or 2nd century BC (*IC*. III. iv 15; Vermaseren 1982: 212 no. 663; a ruler cult to Ptolemy III: *IC*. III. iv 4). Other examples of foreign gods include Isis and Sarapis at Olous (*IC*. I. xi 11 (base with plinth inset, l. 0.21 m; h. 0.12 m; d. 0.16 m); Vidman 1969: 96 no. 160; Pleistonidas will have been a Cretan: The name is a hapax in Greek, but names beginning with Pleist- are well attested in Crete (see Fraser and Matthews 1987: Pleistainos, Pleistarchos); Apollo Karneios (see Nilsson 1906: 123. Cult of the god in connection with pastoralism; Chaniotis 1995a: 57 note 101; Petterson 1992: 57-60 for connections to Sparta). In Hierapytna (only), there was the worship of Dodekathemon, which might have originated from Kos, but was certainly alien to Crete in any circumstance (*IC*. III. iii 58; Willetts 1962: 291; Long 1987: 220). Gortyn, which had 2nd century B.C dedications made to Isis and Sarapis (by mercenaries) (*IC*. II, XXI. 1; I:255; I: 147; I: 99; I: 351 IV: 10; MH Inv. 259; Romeo 1998: 98, No. 15 pl. 7 a-b. Two seated statues of Serapis also come from the temple: *ibid.* 109. No. 17-18 pl. 7c, 8a-c. In the Giamalakia Collection Inv. 1503 in the MH there is also a small Sarapis protome (h. 0, 27 m), supposedly from Aghioi Deka (unpublished, see Sporn 2002). MH Inv. 260; Arslan (ed.), MH Inv. 411; *IC*. IV 249; *IC*. IV 243-244; *SEG*. XXV 1047; *SEG*. XXVII 737) and *IC*. IV 245-248 (1st century B.C). Lastly, temples to Isis and Serapis are known at Poikilassos and Amnisos; dedications at Lasea, Soulia and Phoenix; other finds from Hierapytna; a head of Serapis and a figurine of Serapis enthroned were from the Idaean Cave

around ports⁹ and Cretan cities remained controlled by the longstanding aristocratic elite.¹⁰ Throughout this, there remained an eye towards the past in Cretan society.¹¹

3.2.2: The Cretan Connection to their Landscape

Crete consisted of mountainous terrain, encompassing 4,281 km (around 52% of the island), and featuring ranges such as the White Mountains, Ida, and others, which Strabo highlighted in his discussion of the island and its people.¹² Despite its rugged landscape, Crete's diversity contributed to its renowned fertility, acknowledged in literary sources from the *Odyssey* to Byzantine historians like Leon Diakonos, who lauded it as a "blessed land"¹³ abundant in fruits, rich pastures, and numerous sheep, reinforcing Crete's agricultural prosperity.¹⁴ As such, it is unsurprisingly that Cretan activity was strongly centred around the land, with a

(see these sources, respectively: *IC*. 11. XXII. L; Sanders 1982: 144; *IC*. 1. XV. 2; *IC*. 11. XXV. 4; *IC*. 11. XX. 7; Sanders 1982: 47).

⁹ Sporn 2002: 339, 373; Sanders 1982; Spyridakis 1970: 100; Hölbl 2001: 130, 186; Fileri 2020: 91. This includes Isis: Martin 1987: 73; Moss 2017: 30; Bricault 2001: 42; Glomb 2022: 33. Isis also appears at Itanos linked to Fortuna (*IC*. III. IV. 14). Most foreign cults were worshipped only by the original dedicants (see, e.g., dedications of *phrouarchoi* and *phrouroi* at Troizen and Epidauros: *IG*. IV 769, 852, and 1352. For the *proskynemata* of soldiers in Egyptian sanctuaries: Launey 1987: 890, 979-992; Chaniotis 2002b: 108. Philotas' dedication in Itanos: *IC*.. III iv 14; his dedication at Philai: *SEG*. XXX I 1521. For the association of Tyche *Protogeneia* with Fortuna *Primigenia* and Isis see Spyridakis 1969: 44. For the introduction of this cult by mercenaries, see Chaniotis 2002b: 109.

¹⁰ The discussions evidencing this many. See these as examples: Willetts 1955: 249; Chaniotis 2004a: 97-8; This includes personal names of the elite inscribed on the Cretan coinage, see Münsterberg 1973: 124-126; Pałuchowski 2005: 36-37, n. 138. On elite's and coinage, see: Stefanaki 2023: 42, in particular makes a string case for how aristocratic names work to exert influence; Masson 1979: 74-82; Guizzi 2001: 337-9; Stefanaki 2021: 293, 306-309, 326-328, 338; Chaniotis 2015: 75; Pałuchowski 2008; Stefanaki 2023: 46. On elite's in relation to law and high ranking roles, see Baldwin Bowsky 1989: 333, 342, with sources (*IC*. 1 16.22; *IC*. 1 16.3 (Delos); *IC*. 1 16.5 (Lato); *IC*. 1 16.26 (Lato); *IC*. I 22.2 (Sta Lenika); 2. *IC*. I 16.4A (Delos) = REA 44, 1942, p. 34, Text A (Sta Lenik'a). See Baldwin Bowsky 1989: 345-7 for further detail). overseeing citizenship induction (*IC*. 1 16.5 (Lato)) and managing architectural projects (some examples include: *IC*. I 22.2 (Sta Lenika); *IC*. I 16.23 (Lato); *IC*. I 16.25 (Lato). More broadly, see: Perlman 2004; Sakellariou 1989: 146; Chaniotis 1992; Guizzi 2001: 338-9; Brulé 1986: 457-458 and Petropoulou 1985: 105. Note Hamon (2007) argues that one cannot speak of an 'aristocracy' in the Greek cities of the Aegean world during the Hellenistic period, but rather of an 'aristocratisation' of the notables or the elites.

¹¹ For discussion of Crete's focus on the past through a discussion of a variety of sites, see: Alcock et al 2009: 370; Sanders 1982: 39; D'Agata 1998; Cadogan 1981: 169-71; Alcock 1991: 563, fig. no. 12; Levi 1964: 11-2; Watrous et al. 1993: 231; Prent 2005: 162-3; Cucuzza 1997: 72-4; Watrous et al. 1993: 231-2;; Alcock et al. 2009: 369; Platon and Davaras 1960: 512; Daux 1961: 869 fig. 869; Davaras 1980: 115-126; Marinatos 1936: 260-5; Schäfer 1957: 17, No. 37-40; Bevan 1986: 260; Marinatos 1993: 157; Cook 1914: 402; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1931: 126; Willetts 1961: 150; Hood and Smyth 1981: 16, fig. 4; Coldstream 1999: 322 with note 5; Coldstream and Catling 1996; Whitelaw et al. 2008 and Dickinson 2006. The sparse scattered finds from this century also include a few law inscriptions: *IC*. I. viii 2; Tyree 1974: 150; see also Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996; Watrous 1996; we can see copious amounts of cult worship in Sporn 2002 – see 3.5 for pastoral examples of this.

¹² Strabo. 10.4.4.C 475: "the island is mountainous and treed; but it has fertile valleys as well"; Chaniotis 1999: 181; Tully and Crooks 2019: 130.

¹³ *Histories*. i. 4, p. 9, 14-16.

¹⁴ Chaniotis 1999: 182.

focus on farming,¹⁵ wool working¹⁶ and beekeeping¹⁷ coming through in our sources. Treaties between cities focus heavily on food and agriculture.¹⁸

Within this bountiful landscape, myth existed. It was shaped and articulated by the landscape,¹⁹ strengthening a person's bond to the place. There was no divide between the real and the imagined landscape;²⁰ indeed, the hills and valleys of the land lent authority to the myths they housed, helping to reconcile changes and discrepancies in mythological accounts, either between locations and/or over time.²¹ Within this process, the landscape was experienced and contextualised by the people living in it; it was a cultural production,²² one aided by ritual activity.²³ Mountains were one of the locations through which to contextualise and link oneself to the land. Scholarship on Cretan peak mountain cults is still primarily focused on the Minoan period (specifically, 2000-1500 BC),²⁴ where there was great reverence for them²⁵ and associated elite ritual practice helped to define ideology and political reality.²⁶ The latter was supported by the link between mountain and community; that is, there was visibility between the two, allowing for constant connection between the latter and the activity and ideologies practiced on the former's peak (complicated shortly).²⁷

¹⁵ Crete has 25 mountain plains where farming can be practiced, the most important being Lasithi, Omalos, Katharo, Askyfou, and Nida (Rackham and Moody 1996: 147-50). Whilst we often lack direct evidence of farming (Chaniotis 1999: 186-7) some scant evidence for farming on the mountains can be derived in the late Hellenistic period from a treaty concluded between Hierapytna and Lato in 111/10 BC (*SEG* XXVI104 9 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 59). There may be more indirect literary evidence on terracing in ancient Crete. Theophrastus describes, in a passage which has survived in Pliny's *Natural History* (xxxii 53) and Seneca's *Natural Enquiries* (iii 11,5), the disastrous results of war for agriculture.

¹⁶ Legal texts referencing wool production: *IC*. IV. 72. col. II. 50-51, III 25-26, 34-35 (Gortyn, c. 450); Willetts 1967: 20, 29, 60-62; Koerner 1993: 475; *IC*. IV 53. B 3-5 (Gortyn, early 5th century BC); Bile 1988: 98 n. 102; *IC*. IV 75 B 4-5 (Gortyn, 5th century); Koerner 1993: 424. Epigrams and grave monuments: Lebessi 1976b (Prinias, 7th century BC); Davaras 1960: 463 (Lytos, Hellenistic); *SEG*. XXVII. 633 (Milatos, Roman); Kritzas 1990: 15 no. 9 (Biannos, Hellenistic); *Antholog. Gr.* vi 289. For loom weights with names of women, see Chaniotis 1992: 320.

¹⁷ Diodorus (5.65.2) claims beekeeping was carried out in the Cretan mountains by the Kouretes. Literary sources attest beekeeping for Mt. Ida (Pliny. *Natural History*. viii. 104; xxi 79; Plutarch, *Moralia*. 967). Cretan honey is mentioned in inscriptions from Lebena (*IC*. I xvii. 17.1.15) and Gortyn (*IC*. IV 144 1 9) and is known to many authors of the Imperial period (Apollodorus. *Biblio*. 3.3.1; Pliny. *Natural History*. xxix 119; *Athenaeus*. XIV. 247 f-248 a). See Chaniotis 1999b for further sources.

¹⁸ *SEG*. XLI. 742 = Chaniotis 1996b, 278 no. 3811. 8-11; Petropoulou 1985; Chaniotis 1996b, 108-122 for a collection of sources.

¹⁹ Bremmer calls this the reconstruction of 'mythical Greece' (1994: 60). We have seen this in 2.6.

²⁰ Tuan 1991: 686; Hoffman 2022: 160; for place as a product of human experience and natural environment, see Ingold 1993; Tuan 1974, 1991; Hoffman 2022: 166; Cardete del Olmo 2005: 52.

²¹ Pirenne-Delforge 2009: 52. We have seen this in chapter 2, but here we will develop this point further.

²² Ashmore and Knapp 1999.

²³ Baragwanath and de Bakker 2012: 38-9; Molley et al. 2014: 1.

²⁴ König 2022: 10; Belis 2015: 10-13.

²⁵ Haysom 2018; working off this, Tully and Crooks 2019: 131.

²⁶ Haysom 2018: 24, 2021: 24; Peatfield 1987; 1990; 1992, 1994: 20-21; Haggis 1999: 74-6; Tully and Crooks 2019: 149; Henkel and Margaritis 2022: 81.

²⁷ König 2022: 10; Belis 2015: Vol. 1, 10-13; additionally, Minos, a Cretan king, was thought to have conversed with Zeus on Mount Ida, impressing the connection between the elite and the gods (Hom. *Odyssey*. 19.177-78,

Nonetheless, despite this earlier focus, it has been acknowledged that a few landscape cults of the Bronze Age (the Idaean Cave, the peak sanctuary of Juktas, and the sanctuary in Simi Viannou) survived into the Hellenistic Period.²⁸ Therefore, whilst specific attitudes towards mountain peaks likely changed, the association of myth and ritual with them surely survived. The topic, not focused on here, is understudied in relation to the Hellenistic Period.

Caves fare better in Hellenistic scholarship, and have been associated with a variety of meanings, from original spots of human habitation,²⁹ to use as shrines,³⁰ to liminal locations for divine births and ritual activity.³¹ A few, such as the Idaian Cave,³² the Cave of Psychro,³³ and the Agiamatsi Cave stand out as examples of sites still in use during the Hellenistic period.³⁴ For both caves and mountain peak sites it is hard to determine the extent to which the activity carried out in/on them was consistent from their earlier use into the Hellenistic Period as new deities entered the Cretan consciousness, the economy developed, and settlement patterns changed.³⁵ The differences in how these sites were used from the Hellenistic Period was likely a natural result as priorities changed, driven by societal and contextual developments. Therefore, the landscape was deeply woven into the Cretan sense of identity. It was important as a connective link between the people and their gods, and between communities. This becomes of especial importance as we turn towards the expansion of Cretan cities; they created an environment where smaller communities' activities were disrupted and, as such, might have focused upon pastoral mythology, which had the potential to be universal, unable to be rooted up and driven away from specific locations.³⁶

with Schol. ad Od. 19.179). On the impressionistic quality of these sanctuaries, see Haysom 2021: 15-6; Peatfield 1983: 273-5; 1990: 120; Rutkowski 1986: 73-5, 93-4.

²⁸ Chaniotis 1988; Sporn 2002, 86-89, 2007: 39; Prent 2005: 554-62.

²⁹ Whitley 1962: 141.

³⁰ See Mount Juktas, as an example, Whitley 1962: 142-3; Tyree 2013; Rethemiotakis 1999 for other examples.

³¹ Sabetai 2018: 145; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2013: 190-3; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996: 23, 79-80; Tyree 2013: 182; Tyree, Kanta, and Robinson 2008: 179-182; Koehl 2006, 282, 334; Van de Moortel 2006: 84; Stampolidis 2007. For land *in remotis* and the gods controlling it, see Borgeaud 1988: 60; Petridou 2015: 195-228. For general scholarship on caves, including their physical qualities, see Tyree 1974, 2001, 2006; Faure 1964; Van de Moortel 2006. Within these, for example, are details on how caves were chosen by Cretan shepherds, based on their access and what they meant for their temperature within.

³² Willetts 1962: 144; Sporn 2002: 219-220; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2013: 191-2..

³³ Willetts 1962: 145; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2013: 191-2.

³⁴ Francis et al. 2000: 452; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2013 for an overview of these.

³⁵ Willetts 1962: 146; Faure 1964: 130-139, 150, 217-220; Francis et al. 2000: 455; Prent 2005: 566; Schofield 2011: 167; Chaniotis 1988: 33 and 34. Specifically as neutral meetings places, see Prent 2005: 566 and de Polignac 1994: 5.

³⁶ See 2.6; of course, the dominating cities might have used pastoral myths as a universal medium through which to connect to their disparate new dependents.

3.3: The Expansion of Cretan Cities and their Impact on the Political Landscape

We turn now to the expansion of Cretan cities in the Hellenistic Period. The purpose of this is to demonstrate how the political landscape was changed, and the potential effect this had upon the identity of the smaller Cretan communities. The larger Cretan cities tried to ensure their control over those they had taken over, for the purpose of consolidating their power and defining their territory. As part of this expansion, the cult sites of certain cities were destroyed, and the religious autonomy (i.e. activity connected to cult worship, shrines, and festivals) of smaller, now dependent communities, was hindered. This, in turn, suggests a rationale for the turn towards pastoral myths during this period (as will be discussed).

3.3.1: The Expansion of Cretan Cities



Figure 16. The expansion of Cretan cities in the Hellenistic Period. The top image shows the cities before their expansion, and the bottom image depicts the aftermath (Chaniotis 2005c: 131, map 3).

During the Hellenistic period, Crete remained divided among numerous independent cities; although Hellenistic monarchs periodically sought alliances with one or more of these *poleis*, there is evidence that dissent between *poleis* was encouraged.³⁷

Nonetheless, it is indisputable that one of the main features of Crete in the Hellenistic Period (especially in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC) were the ongoing, often violent inter-

city conflicts and competitions. Cities expanded at expense of others; successful communities

³⁷ Namely, the Oath of Dreros (c. 220 B.C), which promises harm to the city of Lyttos (*IC*. II. 84-8. No I; *SIG* 527. 701.84, no. 1.; SVA 584 cited by Austin 2008: 35; Davies 1984: 309). This attitude is reflected appears in Aristotle ('in some oligarchies nowadays they swear 'I will be hostile to the common people and plan whatever harm I can against them') (*Arist. Pol.* 1310a8). This, hostility towards other cities, shall be revisited but there is not enough evidence to consider this a universal Cretan attitude.

included Gortyn, Hierapytna, Kydonia, Lyttos and Knossos; the vanquished included Tylissos (by Knossos), Phaistos (by Gortyn), Rhaukos (by Gortyn and Knossos), and Praisos³⁸ and Istron (by Hierapytna).³⁹ The most illustrative of this expansionary nature were Hierapytna and Gortyn; their actions, among others, led to significant changes on Crete.

Hierapytna is relatively unknown before the Hellenistic Period. There are vague traditions that suggest links with Rhodes, but our first real evidence is coinage associated with the city from around 330/320 BC⁴⁰ Once it had emerged, however, it continued to expand towards the East (Istron and Praisos) and build alliances to the west (Lato, Prainsos).⁴¹ Praisos is a good example of how this type of expansion worked. Praisos, despite being powerful and expansionist city in its own right,⁴² had its *polis* conquered and its territory absorbed in the 140s BC by Hierapytna, who then established a new frontier with Itanos.⁴³ This conquest also included control of the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios,⁴⁴ and the island Mocholos, which held a watchtower, an indication of Praisos' (previous) control of the area.⁴⁵ Coutsinas has argued that Hierapytna's conquest of Praisos entirely changed the political organisation of the region (addressed shortly);⁴⁶ it does appear clear that by the mid-century Hierapytna was a major Cretan power,⁴⁷ with control over an east-west trading route that linked it to Egypt and

³⁸ On Praisos, see Whitley et al. 1995; for other sites, see Hayden et al. 1992. This site shall be returned to, as regards ideas of religious control (see 3.3.2.2-3).

³⁹ Alcock et al. 2009: 368; Drillat analyses the extent of their territorial shift through Least-Cost Site Catchment analysis (2022: 1); for examples in relation to Lyttos see Wallace 2010; Watrous 1982; Viviers 1994 and Spyridakis. The latter found that the Dreros oath, which pitted Drerians against Lyttans, is "less diabolical" than some Athenian oaths against Thebans, which delineates specific violent means to be taken against the enemy (Spyridakis 1970: 41); Haggis 2014. For additional information on Hierapytna, see Hayden et al. 1992; Perlman 2004; Drillat 2023: 2.

⁴⁰ Sear SG 3304; Sporn 2002: 53; On the foundation: van Effenterre 1984: 397. On the alliance with Rhodes: *IC*. III. iii. 3A; Schmitt 1969: 318; Davaras 1980: 518; *SEG*. xxxll.876-890 (tomb inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C); Baldwin Bowsky 1995: 15.

⁴¹ Often conquering neighbouring territories (Guizzi 2001: 369).

⁴² It obtained territory (Setaia, which may have regained its independence at this time, Polichna, Stalai, Ampelos) by the 3rd century B.C, and destroyed Dragmos (to its south) in the process (Guizzi 2001: 320; Coutsinas 2013: 199-200; Perlman 1995: 165; Περίπλους, 47: Πραισὸς διήκει ἀμφοτέρωθεν; see Counillon 2001. as specified by Coutsinas, the location of Dragmos is not yet assured. We only know it shared a border with Itanos (*IC*. III. iv. 9, ll. 54-61).

⁴³ The subject of this treaty: *IC*. 3.4.9; on the conquest of Praisos, see Alcock et al. 2009: 368; Whitley 2023: 324; Coutsinas 2023: 90.

⁴⁴ Guizzi 2001: 320.

⁴⁵ Coutsinas 2013: 94, 331-9; Vogeikoff-Brogan 2020: 25-6 has argued that Hierapytna was interested in the harbourage fees on boats in transit for trade products coming from outside Crete but might not have yet taken possession of the better harbours of Pacheia Ammos and Tholos.

⁴⁶ Coutsinas 2023: 96.

⁴⁷ It is also gained the support of Rome; Roman commissioners were active in eastern Crete as early as 141 BC and in 113 BC to adjudicate a quarrel between Hierapytna and Itanos, in the latter's favour (*IC*. III. 3; Bowsky 1994: 6); Coutsinas 2013: 331-43.

Rome.⁴⁸ It controlled this route via forts set up on nearby islands, such as Chrysi (7.5 nautical miles off Hierapytna's harbour).⁴⁹ Control of these new lands, and their attached communities, often went into the hands of the elite.⁵⁰ Despite this aggressive expansion, diplomacy, specifically *isopolity*⁵¹ remained a necessity in relations between Hierapytna and other cities.⁵² Similar expansion could also be seen, for example, from Knossos and Gortyn, cities that came to dominate Central Crete.⁵³ Part of this process consisted of the annexation and reduction of smaller sites within the region; in Knossos' case, it included Tyliossos and Rhaucus (in the second century BC)⁵⁴ and in Gortyn's case, it was Phaistos (in 150 BC).⁵⁵ For the latter, there was give and take; at times Phaistos appeared more

⁴⁸ This also included the island of Kouphonisi, which was exploited for purple dye (found via shellfish) and as a trade route. It was once fortified by the Lagids and later claimed by both Hierapytna and Itanos because of its strategic and economic advantages (*IC*. III. iv. 9. For the Egyptian garrison specifically, *IC*. III. iv. 9B ll. 99–100; Spyridakis 1970: 79; Coutsinas 2023: 84). On the trade route in general, see Baldwin Bowsky 1994: 15. Despite Hierapytna's control, imply it was not all powerful. Disputes with Rhodes (217-16 BC) were ruled in the latter's favour, including specific military demands for Hierapytna, not so with Rhodes (*IC*. III. 31-6. 3A).

⁴⁹ The earliest and largest site (Site 4) is situated on the western summit of the island (ca 30m) and is protected by a large enclosure wall. It is connected to a harbour installation on the northern coast (Site 1). Another early site is a fort (Site 18), situated on the eastern summit of the island (ca 30m), and also connected to a harbour installation on the coast to the north (19) and probably also to the harbour of the bay just to the south (Site 17); Coutsinas 2023: 83; Chalikias 2013: 57-68. Coutsinas argues the island was too small to be exploited heavily for agriculture (2023: 84), in contrast to Chalikias 2013.

⁵⁰ See 3.2.1 on the elite; Guizza 2001: 330, 342.

⁵¹ Equality or reciprocity of rights or privileges (as of citizenship).

⁵² Many examples will be seen throughout this chapter. Saba 2020: 196.

⁵³ Hood and Smyth 1981: 28; Whitley et al. 2005–2006: 108.

⁵⁴ Sanders 1982: 11; Callaghan 1994: 138-9.

⁵⁵ Strabo. 10.4.14; Gallimore 2017: 102; Alcock et al. 2009: 369. Phaistos held a degree of autonomy in the 3rd century B.C (Pałuchowski 2023: 26. This is testified in a 3rd century (c. 250s - later than 260/259 according to the chronology established by Rehm in Milet I.3.140 - see Guarducci's commentary on *IC*. I. viii. 6 (page 61a), then *IC*. IV. 161 (page 221a/b) where the scholar favours the middle of the 3rd century BC; 252-250 - van Effenterre 1948: 250-251; between 260 and 230 - Gauthier 1972: 244 n. 101; around the middle of the 3rd century BC - Brulé 1978: 6; between 253 and 250 - Chaniotis 1996: 35 and 449 (Chaniotis 1996 chronological commentary *IC*: IV no. 79a, *IC* I. xxiii.1, which is concerned with the trading of slaves. The cities all appear on equal footing (Phaistos does not appear as other cities under Gortyn's *hegemon* do in the Milet-Gortyn i.e. the Lyttians, Arkadians, Ariaioi and Hyrtaiotai (*IC* IV. 161. 50/51).; see Perlman 2004: 1180a no. 980 for more general information). White marble stele, the upper part of which is decorated with anaglyphs representing the head of Apollo, discovered in Milet, at the sanctuary of Apollo Delphian (Milet I.3.140); concluded between Knossos (Milet I.3.140.1-39= *IC* I.viii.6), Gortyn (Milet I. 3.140.39-51 = *IC*. IV.161), and Phaistos (Milet I.3.140.39-51 = *IC*. IV.161). It did, however, begin to gravitate towards Gortyn, due to the latter's expansion around the same time (an opinion espoused by Brulé 1978: 11 – it seems slightly trickier to determine upon re-examination; see also Raaflaub 2004: 144-60 and Tamiolaki 2010: 102 for issues of autonomy in relation to Phaistos and Gortyn). For the tension between Gortyn and Phaistos before the latter's conquering, see Le Rider 1966: 148-9, 153-8 and 160-3; Sheedy 2012: 119-20. As for the contribution of archaeology itself in restoring the very tense relations between Phaistos and Gortyn, as well as the Gortynian domination in the Archaic and Classical Periods, see Lefèvre Novaro 2014: 71-73. Similarly, see Di Vita 2010: 41a/b; Perlman 2004: 1180a/1181b no. 980; Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004: 324a/325a. Phaistos eventually builds city fortifications, which suggest a control over its defence (Bredaki and Longo 2018: 37–39; Longo 2015a: 168-9 ; 2015b: 476-9), which coupled with its military deal with Eleutherna above suggests autonomy (Chaniotis 1996 C: I.1 no. 10 (SEG XLI.741)).

subservient to Gortyn,⁵⁶ and at others (after the Lyttos War in 221/220 and 219 or 218 BC)⁵⁷ it was granted city rights.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, Phaistos was ultimately destroyed around the 2nd century BC by Gortyn.⁵⁹ Alongside this process, at the end of the 2nd century BC, interest in sanctuaries, especially on borders, increases significantly in East and Central Crete,⁶⁰ a result of new borders being drawn up after conquests, and the assertion and consolidation of power that came with it.⁶¹ Broadly, there is evidence of pushback to the expansion of cities with (ultimately) little effect.⁶²

Thus we can glean an impression of the control exerted by these cities over their new territory,⁶³ but this impact also had an effect upon the landscape itself. When a city-state took control of another, the territory of the latter was integrated into the conqueror's; interestingly, the new borders followed the Archaic delineations,⁶⁴ which Pagkalos suggests plays into use of the past to legitimise territorial claims.⁶⁵ This expansion led to population change,⁶⁶ the

⁵⁶ An inscription (Manganaro 1966: 18–22, text B, 1–7 (*SEG*. XXIII.563) = Chaniotis 1996 *IC*. I.1 no. 13, 1–7), dated to 240–222 (Paľuchowski 2023: 28) notes a military alliance between the Adkiens and the Gotynians. Schmitt (1969: no. 510) believes that the formula "the city above and the city below" (ll. 1–4, twice: τᾷ ἄνω πόλει καὶ τᾷ κάτω) refers unambiguously to the union of Gortyne and Phaistos (known via Chaniotis 1996 *C* : III n° 71a (*IC*. IV.165), a contemporary inscription (dated 236–219 B.C) to the one above (see the sources in Paľuchowski 2023: 29). Paľuchowski 2023: 29 argues, from this, that Gortyn controlled Phaistos, citing the 'city above, city below' line to indicate an absorption of Phaistos by Gortyn. Chaniotis 1996: 426 reaches a similar, albeit more measured, conclusion. See also *IC*. IV.230, inserted into the Pythian Apollo at Gortyn, for further evidence of Gortyn's more dominant position over Phaistos.

⁵⁷ Polybius 4.53.4–54.1–55.6; van Effenterre 1948: 159–60 and Walbank 1957: 508–11; Di Vita 2010: 61 and Sekunda 2011: 81.

⁵⁸ *IC*. IV.168, ll. 25–6; it also minted coinage (Talos being a key iconographical figure (Svoronos 1890: pl. XXIII, no. 2, 3). Difficult to date these coins (Carbone 2017: 155).

⁵⁹ Strabo. 10.4.14. [10.476]; dating can be found in Cucuzza 1997: 87–90; Di Vita 2010: 60; Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004: 326; Lippolis 2016: 158. In short, Phaistos is an illustrative example of a victim of expansion in Hellenistic Crete, flip flopping between *sympolitia* under the leadership of Gortyne (mid-5th–mid-4th century), to sovereignty in the mid-4th–3rd centuries, to a dependent community in the mid-3rd century (220/219), to political again under the leadership of Gortyn (220/219 B.C) and then destruction (Paľuchowski 2023: 35).

⁶⁰ Examples being the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios and in the Athena sanctuary of Oleros; the sanctuary of Dera is erected in a new form; the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares of Kato Symi Viannou receives a new cult building and in nearby Myrtos Pyrgos a place of worship is established for the same gods (Sporn 2002: 373).

⁶¹ Sporn 2002: 373.

⁶² Praisos' treaty with Hierapytna could have been an attempt to limit Hierapytna's acquisition rights, through the three votes system which could stop land grants going forward. Saba argues this is both a means to retain land and a way to curb, or stop, Hierapytna's behaviour (*IC*. III iv 1 (ph) = Chaniotis 1996: 185–90; Saba 2020: 200).

⁶³ Which will be discussed more thoroughly in 3.2.2.2–3.

⁶⁴ Drillat 2023: 7.

⁶⁵ Pagkalos 2017. This focus on the past is touched upon in 3.2.1.

⁶⁶ Vogeikoff-Brogan (2012: 82–3); the northern isthmus of Hierapytna (Vogeikoff-Brogan 2012: 81–83) and the Kavousi area (Haggis 1996; 2005: 85–8) both were nearly deserted in the Hellenistic period. Supported, in Gallimore's mind, by the fact that central points of a *polis*' territory experienced population growth, safe as they were from the skirmishes on the outer points of the territory. In the western Mesara, for example, the area directly surrounding the polis of Phaistos experienced a doubling of Hellenistic sites compared to Classical ones (Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004: 326). In western Crete, surveys around Chania (ancient Kydonia) have also documented increased Hellenistic settlement (Raab 2001: 156) – Gallimore 2017: 103.

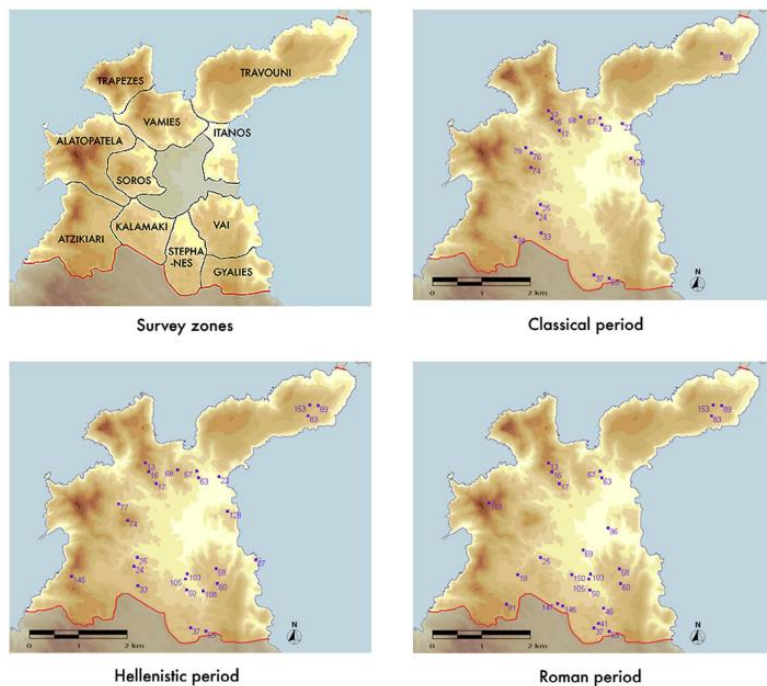


Figure 17. The Itanos survey zones through the various periods (Coutsinas 2023: 85, fig. 7.4).

enforcement of social structure (in some cases),⁶⁷ and agricultural exploitation of this area.⁶⁸ Additionally, Hellenistic sites appear (in the case of Itanos) to form a circle around the urban centre, with a few exceptions (Alatopatela, Kalamaki, and Stephanes).⁶⁹ In short, the aggressive expansion of certain Cretan cities was more complicated than simple destruction;⁷⁰ the political organisation of

the island was radically altered, with a significant reduction in the number of independent civic units.⁷¹ As a result of this reorganisation, the number of rural sites in the region (here connected with Itanos, see fig. 18) nearly doubled in the Hellenistic Period, though they continued to collect around an urban centre, if available.⁷² This certainly explains a focus on pastoral mythology, though whether these sites were results of attempts to obtain autonomy of religious identity⁷³, changes in the climate,⁷⁴ or simply a response to specialised agricultural production becoming more common as Crete's economy developed,⁷⁵ is unclear.

⁶⁷ Aristotle (*Pol.* 2.7, 2.1271b) records the Lyttos people, who regarded themselves as Spartan descendants, as reducing the inhabitants of the region to serfs, which Gallimore agrees with (to an extent), based on his archaeological survey (Gallimore 2017: 104).

⁶⁸ Around Itanos, around the Travouni promontory, north of the city (Apostolakou et al. 2004–2005: 992, fig. 3; Coutsinas 2023: 85).

⁶⁹ Coutsinas 2023: 84; for the reports of the fieldwork at Itanos (excavation and survey): Kalpaxis et al. 1995; Greco et al. 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003; Apostolakou et al. 2003–2004.

⁷⁰ Whitley 2023: 323.

⁷¹ Alcock et al. 2005: 367; Austin cites the Oath of Itanos (*IC.* 3 4 8) as evidence for concern about citizen uprisings around this time (Austin 2008: 207).

⁷² Watrous et al. 1993: 231; Whitley 2023: 324.

⁷³ Discussed in 3.2.2.2–3.

⁷⁴ In the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, the climate 'was cold and relatively dry with substantial interannual variability'; as such, growing seasons were shorter and harvests were unreliable (Moody 2016: 65; Coutsinas 2023: 80; Theophr., *De Ventis* 13, *Historia Plantarum* 4.1.3).

⁷⁵ Specifically, new harbours and trade might have led to merchants and craftsmen emerging as roles (Stefanaki 2023: 38; Harris 1999: 357; Chaniotis 2005b; Gagarin and Perlman 2016: 116–17; Viviers 1999 and Stefanaki 2021: 137–161 for a more detailed discussion on Cretan economy, including the contrasts between the

We will discuss the foremost option, but the other remain equally valid. In short, smaller Cretan communities were destroyed or oppressed⁷⁶ by the expanding cities. The political landscape changed. This must have had an impact upon the identity of these communities.

3.3.2: The Impact of Expansion on Smaller Cretan Communities

Having outlined the expansion, and subsequent impact, of Cretan cities, we will now address what happened to the smaller communities subjugated, or otherwise dependent, on Crete's new controlling cities. This is for the purpose of determining how much autonomy they possessed, specifically in relation to their religious autonomy. To begin, we shall examine how settlements were nucleated around the dominant city, before evidencing the conscious action of the latter to destroy cults (which demonstrates that the cities understood their importance towards identity) and exert control over the religious activities of their subjugated communities.

3.3.2.1: The Nucleation of Cretan Communities

The political organisation of the island was radically altered by the expansion of Cretan cities, with some surviving their loss of independence, whilst others were terminated.⁷⁷ For the former, nucleation was often the result. Raab argues for a reduced occupancy of sites across Crete;⁷⁸ this has been evidenced through the Ziros Project, which tracked the displacement and resettlement of Praisos' population (through archaeological surveys), evidencing the move of communities to port areas (e.g., Matala, a Gortyn port) or around the urban centre itself.⁷⁹ The Gournia Survey further supports this trend, citing an "extreme nucleation of settlement in the northern isthmus in the early Classical and Hellenistic periods",⁸⁰ with only a few farmsites left at the foot of the Thryptis mountains by the latter period. Furthermore, we can cite the Galatas territory (west Crete, near Chania); a size

agricultural and maritime aspects, from a scholarly perspective (the divide, of the myth of one, between the two).

⁷⁶ See 3.3.2.

⁷⁷ Alcock et al. 2009: 367-8; Sanders 1982: 11-2.

⁷⁸ Raab 2001: 157. He links this to an 'event', which could be a war that shifted populations. Coutsinas 2023: 95 explains the nucleation in the Gournia region as (partly) a result of this factor.

⁷⁹ Branigan 1998: 90; Sanders 1976: 136-7; Watrous et al. 1993: 232-3; Alcock 1994: 180

⁸⁰ Watrous et al. 2012: maps 40 [Hellenistic], 42 [early Roman], 47 [late Roman]; Coutsinas 2023: 95.

distribution of Hellenistic sites indicates changes to settlement pattern, justifying Alcock's arguments for nucleation at this time.⁸¹ With this said, not all instances of nucleation happened after the expansion of Cretan cities; some (such as in the Galatas Region) took place in the early Iron Age.⁸² Nonetheless, the nucleation that happened in the Hellenistic Period was significant towards changing the island's geography – in addition to what we have discussed already, the number of rural communities in western Mesara almost doubled in the Classical Period, and continued to grow throughout in the Hellenistic Period.⁸³ In amongst this, we can spy some specific interference from the elite into these nucleated communities. It appears that there was interference into these nucleated settlements from the larger cities; around Praisos, rural communities were commissioned to make pottery for the dominant city, which suggests direct control was exerted upon certain elements (e.g., production) of the dependent communities.⁸⁴ This went further than just the production of items; the expanding cities also worked to control the religious autonomy of the dependent communities.

3.3.2.2: The Destruction of Cults

In addition to the nucleation of communities, there is a pattern of cult destruction when cities were overtaken or destroyed - thus, a community's religious identity was being stripped from them.

Poleis are difficult to destroy,⁸⁵ but despite this, in contrast to the stability of the 3rd century⁸⁶ the 2nd century BC saw an acceleration in the elimination of (largely rival) communities such as Apollonia/Apellonia, Rhaukos, Phaistos, Dreros and Praisos.⁸⁷ Significantly, cult places played a key part in the success of this destruction. For example, it can be of little coincidence that Phaistos' cult at Ayia Triada is (perhaps forcefully)

⁸¹ Alcock 1994: 179; Gallimore 2017: 95, table 10.

⁸² Gallimore 2017: 96.

⁸³ Whitley 2001: 388, Watrous et al. 1993: 230-1; Watrous et al. 2004; Alcock et al. 2009: 369.

⁸⁴ Raab 2001: 158-62; Whitley 2001: 400.

⁸⁵ See Whitley 2023: 331, table 2, for a list of Cretan cities which were destroyed yet survived.

⁸⁶ SIG³ 627 = IC. 4.179 (from Gortyn). The cities (or civic communities) named are: Gortynioi, Knosioi, Phaistioi, Lyttioi, Rhaukioi, Hierapytnioi, Eleuthernaioi, Lappaioi, Aptaraioi, Polyrrhenioi, Sybritioi, Arkades, Axioi, Priansiees, Allariotai, Keraitai, Praisioi, Latioi, Beiannioi, Mallaiaoi, Eronioi, Chersonasioi, Apolloniatai, Elyrioi, Hyrtakinioi, Eltynaieis, Anopolitai, Iradinioi, Istronioi, Tarraioi. This inscription is part of a series or treaties (IC. 4. 179-86) gathered together and displayed on the walls of the refurbished temple of Apollo *Pythios*. The coin evidence is collected by Sanders 1982; see also Whitley 2023: 329.

⁸⁷ Chaniotis 1996: 44-60; see fig. 1. Note here that Chaniotis 1996 *Die Verträge* is a sourcebook with a collection of recorded inscriptions and other sources. As such, their references are traditionally Chaniotis 1996, page number, no. assigned to the evidence.

abandoned when the city is swallowed up by Gortyn.⁸⁸ It is even clearer in the case of Dreros. After continued conflict with Lyttos, the town was destroyed by its rival.⁸⁹ Gaignerot-Driessen notes the oddity in the fact that no-one returned to the site afterwards,⁹⁰ but goes on to explain why. *Kataskaptôirst* ('to dig and undermine a building' and then 'to completely destroy a city'); the political and religious centre of Dreros was destroyed, and return was forbidden to its Late Geometric cemetery. The sanctuary was destroyed, and the *polis* cursed; the Drerians were disconnected from the place that was once a monument to their cult and ancestors.⁹¹ Ritual equipment was abandoned, in addition to the civic and religious inscriptions of the Drerians.⁹² A joint festival between the Olountians and Lyttians commemorated the seizure of Dreros by Lyktos,⁹³ further implying a ritual dimension to the destruction of Dreros.⁹⁴ Whitley developed this by collecting evidence of the destruction and abandonment of cult at Dreros, Praisos, and Phaistos, all cities that were destroyed.⁹⁵ At Praisos, with the exception of the sanctuary of Dictaeon Zeus at Palaikastro, none of the urban or extra-urban cults in the territory post-date 140 BC.⁹⁶ The Altar Hill at Praisos was destroyed purposely, with inscriptions having been broken and thrown down the hill.⁹⁷ He argues, convincingly, that you have to destroy the political and religious elements of a city to truly destroy it.⁹⁸ Thus, there was a contemporary recognition of the importance of cult, and a pattern of destruction relating to them within the context of eliminating, or controlling, a

⁸⁸ Alcock et al 2009: 370; D'Agata 1998: 24; destruction of Phaistos: IC i 269; IC iv 25; Le Rider 1966; Callaghan 1981.

⁸⁹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2013: 288; Dreros is not present in the treaty between the Cretan cities and King Eumenes of Pergamon in 183 BC (IC. IV, 179). Archaeologically, none of the Greek finds from Dreros date to later than the end of the 3rd century BC or the very beginning of the 2nd century BC (Gaignerot-Driessen 2013: 290); the Drerians promise to fight Lyttos: IC. I, 9.1; ll. 36-43; and to plant an olive tree on the recently annexed territory of their neighbours of Milatos (ll. 144-160). Unlike Lyttos, Dreros did not survive. On Lyttos' durability, see Polyb. *Histories*. 53-5; it was alive after 220 BC though (alive after 220 BC (e.g. IC IV, 179 in 183 BC). Lyttos was still able to pursue an ambitious and successful policy of territorial expansion (see Viviers 1994: 252-259). This is in particular illustrated by two fragments of inscriptions recently discovered on Crete, in Chersonisos, which was the harbor of Lyttos during the Hellenistic period and was then called Lyttos ἐπὶ or πρὸς θαλάσσια (IC. I, 19.3 ll. 8-10; IG. XII, 5. 423 l.7; IC. I, 18.9 ll. 3-5).

⁹⁰ Gaignerot-Driessen 2013: 292. This event could be unique (not representative of Crete and expansion) because Lyttos might have known exactly what to do to prevent a comeback from Dreros, as they (Lyttos) did.

⁹¹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2013: 294.

⁹² Gaignerot-Driessen 2013: 294; an inscription found within the cistern mentions its construction at the end of the 3rd century BC (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 29-32). Together with this inscription were found about 15 other inscribed blocks, among them eight carrying archaic civic and religious texts (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937a: 27-32).

⁹³ SEG. LXI 722.

⁹⁴ Whitley 2023: 333.

⁹⁵ Whitley 2023, table 3: Archaeological signatures for the destruction of a political community relating to the household, cults and the city's laws. Shows those three cities above had their cults destroyed as a result of expansion and inter-city wars.

⁹⁶ Whitley 2023: 340.

⁹⁷ Bosanquet 1901-2: 258, pl. X.

⁹⁸ Whitley 2023: 340.

community. These communities had their religious identities stripped from them. They would have needed new ones, which perhaps were pastoral mythologies; these myths, attached broadly to the landscape (i.e, they were unattached to specific landmarks, unlike e.g., Zeus Lykaeos, but instead were interacted with through the general forests, rivers, and hills of Crete) were easier for a community to co-opt, and harder for a city to rip away (they could not destroy the cult site, as, for pastoral myths, the very landscape was the cult site). Thus far, we have determined that smaller communities were nucleated around a controlling power, thus suggesting their lack of independence. When a community was eliminated, we find that oftentimes their cults were destroyed too, signifying the importance of religion towards the community's identity, and the awareness of this from the destroyer.

3.3.2.3: The Control of Religious Autonomy

The dominant cities in Hellenistic Crete exerted their authority upon the communities they had subjugated; they made them dependent.⁹⁹ One of the ways in which the dominant cities controlled their dependent communities was through hindering their religious autonomy. Inscriptions dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC concerning the relations between Praisos and its port cities Stalai;¹⁰⁰ Gortyn and the inhabitants of the island of Kaudos¹⁰¹ and the port of Amyklaion;¹⁰² and Eleutherna and the community of the Artemitai (a community centred around the shrine of Artemis near Eleutherna)¹⁰³ make this clear. These dependent communities were obligated to comply to the legal framework the ruling city had set for the existence,¹⁰⁴ which included an obligation to maintain shrines¹⁰⁵ and to cover the costs of festivals.¹⁰⁶ These communities were forced to upkeep and support the religious practice of their dominant overseers; this is significant because it incorporates them, however tenuously, into the religious sphere of the dominant city through engagement (via maintenance of shrines and supporting religious festivals). In other cases, the exertion of religious control is

⁹⁹ These communities included: Phaistos (annexed by Gortyn), Rhytion (by Gortyn), Praisos (by Hierapytna), Milatos (by Lyttos), Lykastos and Diatonion (by Knossos), Apollonia (by Kydonia, then by Knossos and Gortyn), Rhaukos (from Gortyn and Knossos), Dreros (from Lyttos), Istron (probably from Lato) (Chaniotis 1996: 161 [identified through inscriptional evidence, cited throughout this section]).

¹⁰⁰ *IC. III vi 7 (SEG 46.1236).*

¹⁰¹ *IC. IV 184.*

¹⁰² *IC. IV 172.*

¹⁰³ *IC. II xii 22.*

¹⁰⁴ *IC. III vi 7 A 4 (SEG 46.1236); IC. II xii 22 B 7-13; IC. IV 184 A 6.*

¹⁰⁵ *IC. IV 184 A 13-18, B 2; IC. III vi 7 B 9-25 (SEG 46.1236).*

¹⁰⁶ *IC. IV 172 Z 18-20.*

clearer. The Artemitai, reliant on Eleutherna, could be deprived of their right to worship (a severe punishment), and moved at the city's whim (for political or territorial reasons, it is unclear).¹⁰⁷ Itanos (3rd cen. BC), with oaths of loyalty sworn on Zeus *Dicte*, Hera *Dicte* and Athena *Polias*, extracted promises that dedicants would practice sacred and civil rights according to current religious rules as dictated by the state.¹⁰⁸ In other examples, certain sacrifices could be stipulated, as there was at the cult place to Poseidon at Lyttos,¹⁰⁹ and when Hierapytna was allowed to sacrifice according to their own laws at the sanctuary of Hermes *Kornisaïos*, which was apparently under Latin supervision.¹¹⁰ We can see that Hierapytna appeared to control religious elements in Oleros; accords from Hierapytna were placed in the temple of Athena Oleria around 200 BC,¹¹¹ and a procession¹¹² to the temple was recorded by Xenion.¹¹³ Additionally, it is unknown if the Itanians were allowed to continue participating in the cult attached to the Sanctuary of Zeus *Diktaïos* once the Hierapytnians controlled it after the conquest of Praisos.¹¹⁴ Lastly, powerful Cretan cities could express their power by obliging dependent communities to make dedications in their sanctuaries, such as with the island Kaudos' tithe to the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios at Gortyn.¹¹⁵ This evidence tells us that there was a conscious recognition of the importance of religious practice to a community, and that it was usurped, or otherwise controlled, by the cities that had power over them. The larger cities forced the smaller communities to practice religious activities through their rules and to upkeep their religious institutions (sanctuaries and festivals, as examples). Beyond the obvious examples of direct control over what a community had to do (e.g., giving sacrifice), influencing them to engage with the ruling cities' religion was surely an attempt to incorporate them into the latter's network and thus undermine the former's religious autonomy.

In addition to this, we can spy a more general control of certain rights. Petropoulou claims that subjugated communities' security and existence depended on the payment of certain

¹⁰⁷ Petropoulou 1985: 126-7; *IC*. II. XII. 22B z. 87f.

¹⁰⁸ *IC*. III. 89-91 no. 8 line 29-36 – though we cannot know to what extent this impacted local, rural, religious worship. This is not uncommon, and perhaps does not always suggest a form of control (Cult regulations: e.g. *IC*. I xxiii 3; II v 9; (late 4th-3rd) *SEG*. XXIII 566; XXXV 989).

¹⁰⁹ Sporn 2002: 75-6.

¹¹⁰ *SEG*. 26.1049. 80-2.

¹¹¹ *IC*. III. iii B

¹¹² Used to demonstrate/enforce control over territory.

¹¹³ Xenion. *FGrHist* 460 F10 (this text is thought to date to the 4/3rd century – it is hard to be certain (Guizzi 2001: 311)).

¹¹⁴ Sporn 2002: 41

¹¹⁵ Chaniotis 1996, no. 69 A 18-19.

taxes and a fulfilment of their duties towards the capital.¹¹⁶ And whilst we can see that dependent and/or controlled communities possessed certain autonomies, such as their own magistrates,¹¹⁷ laws and courts,¹¹⁸ and sometimes even federal roles (and the chance to help make joint decisions with their ruler),¹¹⁹ there remained a strong undercurrent of control. In these inscriptions, the controlling city *grants* the smaller community the right to use and inhabit the land they live on.¹²⁰ A more specific example of this is the Artemitai, who were unable even to move the main town without the consent or knowledge of the magistrate.¹²¹ Moreover, when we examine dependent communities it is striking that they appear closely connected to sanctuaries: for example, the name of the port town of Knossos, Herakleion is derived from a sanctuary of Heracles; Pantomatrimon, the port town of Eleutherna, is the location of the cult of the Matépeg; Amyklaion is certainly connected with the cult of Apollo Amyklaios; Latosion with the cult of Leto; Artemitai with the cult of Artemis.¹²² It is evident that the existence of a sanctuary was often important for the identity of a dependent community.¹²³ It is significant then, that sanctuaries were used to demonstrate territory and express control.¹²⁴ Activities commemorated at sanctuaries were often linked to expressions of territorial claim, e.g. the divine epithets in the treaty oath between Gortyn, Priansos and

¹¹⁶ Petropoulou 1985: 126; the regulation of the legal relationships between Praisos and Stalai (*IC*. III. VI. 7.; V. III. 553, 3rd century B.C.), plus the somewhat older contract between Gortyn and Rhizen (*IC*. IV. 80.; V. II. 216, end of the 5th century B.C or later) and perhaps the regulation of the legal relationships between Gortyn and the Amyklaion (*IC*. IV. 172.; V. III. 586, 3/2nd century BC).

¹¹⁷ Stalai: *IC*. III vi 7 B 1-9 (*SEG* 46.1236); Kaudos: *IC*. IV 184 A 3. Note that magistrates were responsible for ensuring dedications to sanctuaries were made (E.g. Chaniotis 1992: 295-296), that festivals were celebrated (Willetts 1962; Sporn 2002: 368-70) and inscriptions were set up, among other activities (repaired statues: *IC*. III. ii. 1; war booty, e.g. *IC*. I. viii. 4, A, 4-11; inscriptions were set up: Chaniotis 1996: 80-1; Whitley 1998). Thus, even with these, they were still tied to the ruling city through the obligations to the shrines and sanctuaries they had to undertake for the ruling cities (as noted earlier).

¹¹⁸ *IC*. IV 184 A 5-8.

¹¹⁹ *IC*. II xii 22; *IC*. IV 184 A 5-8; *IC*. III vi 7 (*SEG* 46.1236); Bonetto et al. 2020: 81; though in many cases these concerned port cities, which might have had different relationships with their dependents on the basis of their trade needs (Papageorgiadou 2020: 411; Petropoulou 1985: 91, 125).

¹²⁰ *IC*. III vi 7 (*SEG* 46.1236); *IC*. IV 184.

¹²¹ Petropoulou 1985: 126; *IC*. II. XII. 22B z. 7ff.

¹²² Some further details: the Amyklaion (i.e. *hieron*) derives its name from Apollo *Amyklaios*. They were a population in some form of subordination from Gortyn, must have been a population living near this extra-urban sanctuary (Chaniotis 1996, 394-399. On the unsolved problem of the location of Amyklaion and the cult of Apollo Amyklaios see Sporn 2002: 183; Cucuzza 1997; Prent 2005, 330 and 474); Latosion, another site in Gortynian territory, probably takes its name from Lato (*IC*. IV. 178; Koerner 1993, no. 153; *SEG*. XLVI. 1217); Artemitai ("those of Artemis") is the name of a dependent community of Eleutherna (Chaniotis 1996: 402-406; Perlman 1996: 252-254; Chaniotis 2009a: 60).

¹²³ Chaniotis 1996: 163.

¹²⁴ Chaniotis 2009a: 61; or used to legitimise territory, in the case of ex-urban ones near the frontier of a *polis* (Nixon 1990: 65; De Polignac 1996: 52-60; Cole 2004: 66-91). For general information, see: *IC*. IV 195b. 259. 260 (Gortyn); *IC*. I. xvii. 2. A5, B4 (Lebena); *IC*. I. v. 5 (Arcades); Pouilloux 1976: 355; Bousquet 1977: 456; Sporn 2002: 364.

Hierapytna¹²⁵ and the mention of sanctuaries that bordered each city's territory (e.g., Zeus Skylios, whose sanctuary on Mt. Koinas is located near the border between Gortyn and Priamos).¹²⁶ Thus, these communities, even with certain freedoms, were tightly linked to the ruling city and their religious identities (as expressed through their sanctuaries). Of course, we cannot know how strongly the control outlined here was enforced without further evidence; we shall assume it was not toothless, however. Notably, we must remember that there existed larger sanctuaries, controlled by the ruling power, and smaller shrines and sites, which, due to their closer location to rural communities, would likely have been more greatly frequented by the latter (though this is hard to determine conclusively).¹²⁷ These smaller sites were likely ones connected to the Kouretes, and Hermes and the Nymphs (due to their remote locations, and the evidence found at them),¹²⁸ and were visited and cultivated by peasants and cattle breeders (because their duties, connected to the pastoral practice (e.g., transhumance) demanded support from gods related to these activities (e.g., Pan and Hermes).¹²⁹ Thus, whilst there is considerable evidence to suggest the religious autonomy of subjugated communities was hindered by the controlling cities on Crete, there remained a medium through which they could express a form of religious autonomy: pastoral cults.

In conclusion, the smaller communities in Crete found their identities disrupted by the expansion of these larger cities. The importance of mythic identities towards communal identity was known, and thus religious activity was hindered. Therefore, the expansion of these cities, and their subsequent control of a smaller community's space was not merely an issue of territory; claims to land were also claims to identity and a sense of belonging.¹³⁰ And, as we shall soon see, this coincides with an increase in pastorally linked mythologies (both through gods such as Pan, and through the transformation of gods such as Apollo). Even if this is linked to the economy, or population growth,¹³¹ and not to disrupted communities

¹²⁵ IC. IV 174 = Chaniotis 1996, no. 27.

¹²⁶ See Chaniotis 2009a: 60 for a more comprehensive list.

¹²⁷ We must note Sporn's own misgivings. It is methodologically difficult to exclude urban dwellers from frequenting these rural sites, unlike the first category (supported by inscriptions and topographical data). Sporn assigns some sites as rural on a conjectural basis (2002: 357). To my knowledge, there has not been convincing evidence since to correct her.

¹²⁸ See 3.4.2.

¹²⁹ Sporn 2002: 367.

¹³⁰ Alcock et al. 2009.

¹³¹ Hierapytna appears in many of the *isopoliteia* agreements with neighbouring cities (IC. 3.3.4, in relation to Praisos, and SEG. 26.1049 for Lato, as examples) which later came under their control. These treaties may have been lifelines to help with their excess population (Saba 2020: 217). Note, however, that Craven 2017: 239 takes issue with this idea citing it is part of a 'master narrative' (Crete was isolated, violent) and the evidence is often inconclusive.

searching for new mythic identities, it was happening. It is this, a turn to pastoral myths, that we will discuss now, in preparation for our following analysis of how material culture played into this process.

3.4: Pastoral Mythologies in the 7th-4th Centuries

The focus on pastoralism in Hellenistic Crete¹³² is not without origin – it appears in our earlier Cretan sources. There was an early preoccupation with pastoralism in Crete, which can be evidenced in a number of ways. From the Neolithic times, animal husbandry and related activities have been a main branch of the Cretan economy.¹³³ Beyond this time, the Cretan oaths swear by their sheep¹³⁴ and Zeus *Diktaios* is called to defend the flocks.¹³⁵ Archaeological finds, specifically Archaic representations of ram-bearers on bronze statuettes and bronze sheets found in various sanctuaries (Cretan mountains), spell out the importance of these animals,¹³⁶ which Forbes ties to animal husbandry (and the wealth derived from it).¹³⁷ Additionally, Chaniotis claims pastoralism left its traces in Cretan place names.¹³⁸

We have evidence of shepherds from the 7th-6th centuries BC¹³⁹ where it is clear that their social position, and very existence even, were highly influenced by the isolated, rough life outside in the mountain forests with the herds. They had positive qualities assigned to them (they fought predators¹⁴⁰ and herded cattle into caves during storms),¹⁴¹ along with negative ones (being tardy).¹⁴² Some shepherds might have been slaves; others may have been freemen, but both had autonomy and a chance to earn some wealth.¹⁴³ Laws concerning pastoral activities were present since the late 6th to late 2nd BC:¹⁴⁴ the grazing of animals could be subject to tenant fees¹⁴⁵ and a fragment of a dressed limestone block (4th century BC)¹⁴⁶ delineates where pasture were allowed and where they were not.¹⁴⁷

We would expect to see this pastoral preoccupation reflected in the mythological sphere,

¹³² As evidenced in 3.4.5.

¹³³ See Chaniotis 1999: 188 for only a partial bibliography. The literature is immense.

¹³⁴ Chaniotis 1996b: 76 n. 412 (referencing a Cretan oath).

¹³⁵ *IC*. III. ii. 1

¹³⁶ Lebessi 1989.

¹³⁷ Forbes 1995: 33.

¹³⁸ According to Stephanos of Byzantion (*Polyrrhenia*) the name of the city Polyrrhenia in west Crete means 'many sheep' (*polla rhenea*). The name of the site Ardanitos, probably in the borderland of Hierapytna and Praisos (*Staatsvertrdge* III no. 554 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 5 B 40-41), is related to *ardania*, a water reservoir used for the watering of sheep and cattle (Hesychius, s.v. *ardaniai*). The relation to animal husbandry is more problematic in the case of Cretan mountains named after animals, since it is not clear if we are dealing with domesticated livestock: e.g., Aigaion oros, 'the mountain of the (wild?) goats' (Hesiod. *Theog.* 484), Hyonoros, 'the mountain of the pigs (or boars?)' {*Staatsvertrage* II no. 148 B 6) – Chaniotis 1999: 193.

¹³⁹ Audring 1985: 15

¹⁴⁰ Hom. *II*. XI. 548., XV. 586

¹⁴¹ Hom. *II*. IV 275

¹⁴² Hom. *II*. XVI 352

¹⁴³ Audring 1985: 19

¹⁴⁴ Cadogan and Chaniotis 2010: 293

¹⁴⁵ Isager 1992: 16

¹⁴⁶ SM/62; SMK SMS 120 - Mopseios inscription from Knossos.

¹⁴⁷ Cadogan and Chaniotis 2010: 294

but we do not. And this is unlikely to be due to a loss of evidence – as this thesis will demonstrate, we have enough sources to track certain gods (here being Aphrodite, Hermes, Apollo, and Pan) through the 7th to 3rd centuries BC and there is a (relatively) clear time when they adopted pastoral elements (e.g., horns).¹⁴⁸ Therefore, through this we will demonstrate that pastoralism increased in the Hellenistic Period and myth was used to support this turn (and with it, support the Cretan communities in adapting their identities).

3.4.1: Aphrodite

Aphrodite in early Crete is a figure of contention; her sphere of influence is unclear, and even her origin on the island is disputed.¹⁴⁹ She does not appear to possess any clear pastoral elements, in contrast to her Hellenistic persona.

Kato Symi is one of the key locations in which Aphrodite is thought to have had a presence in Archaic Crete. The site, located above the village of Kato Symi in the district of Viannos at the site of the eponymous spring Krya Vrissi, high in the mountains (1130 m) of the Lasithi range, had been in use since the Minoan era until the Roman Period.¹⁵⁰ The earliest remains of it have been dated to 1600 BC, but in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods the site underwent changes, which Lebessi has tied to developments in the cult.¹⁵¹ Lebessi has tied Aphrodite, in her early form, to the initiation of youths, both through her association with Hermes (who is more comfortably spied)¹⁵² and through Daedalian terracottas (showing a

¹⁴⁸ For the ideas around the invention of tradition, see 2.6 (esp. 2.6.1) and 1.2.3.2, esp. the ideas of Halbwachs cited there.

¹⁴⁹ It is thought that during the end of the Bronze Age, Cyprus and Crete shared strong cultural exchanges, with Cypriot artistic motifs influencing Crete by the mid-10th century BC. This period also marks the earliest evidence of the cult of Aphrodite on Crete, likely introduced from Cyprus during the Dark Age (Budin 2004: 112). The goddess, with Cretan features, spread to mainland Greece, Athens, Euboea, and reciprocally to Crete during the 11th century BC (Guía 2005: 67; Yon 1971). This is one perspective. Others argue archaeological evidence does not support this and, unlike Cypriot sanctuaries where Aphrodite's iconography remained independent, Cretan sanctuaries saw the adoption of Panhellenic types of Aphrodite. This suggests a local evolution and origin, although evidence remains inconclusive (see Rizza 1967-1968, 260, fig. 23, no. 154; Aversa and Monaco 2006, 50 n. 26; Lebessi 2009: 540).

¹⁵⁰ Demargne 1931: 365, 404-6. For this, and excavation reports on Kato Syme, see the work of Lebessi in *Praktika*, from 1972. The literature is immense; Lebessi 2009, with bibliography, has a current summary in relation to Aphrodite.

¹⁵¹ For example, some of the buildings near the sanctuary's altar were restored or newly erected in the 5th century, and the altar itself was abandoned. The decrease in votive offerings suggests a decrease in interest in the cult (Excavation of the retaining wall: *Prakt* 1974: 222 ff; *Prakt* 1975: 325; *Prakt* 1976: 404 (l. 11.70 m). Exploration of the room: *Prakt* 1974, 222 (not before the 2nd half of the 6th century BC); *Prakt* 1985, 276 (Late Archaic or Early Classical).

¹⁵² A dedication to Hermes *Kedrites* is inscribed on one brick (Lebessi 1972: 202). A fragment of the foundation-restoration inscription of a temple to Hermes *Kedrites* survives from Roman times (2nd/3rd century A.D.): Lebessi 1973: 198 pl. 205; SEG. XXVI.

naked goddess)¹⁵³ and various figures of naked youths (some from the 1st century BC, showing a continuation of this sanctuary focus).¹⁵⁴ The only link to pastoralism in this, is that these youths appeared on Archaic bronze plaques carrying animals,¹⁵⁵ but this is circumstantial evidence.

The difficulty in identifying Aphrodite's sphere of interest is compounded by the problem



Figure 18. The Erotic Goddess (Lebessi 2009: 530, fig. 8, HM 20037).

of even recognising her.¹⁵⁶ The so-called Temple of Aphrodite (dated as early as the Minoan Period) at Axos is illustrative of this issue. Situated in the lower section of Axos (which flowered in the Archaic Period), it is primarily known for its terracotta statuettes primarily depicting female figures.¹⁵⁷ Initially believed to be dedicated to Aphrodite due to the presence of female figures (dated largely to the 6th century BC but appearing more in the 5th-4th centuries BC), later research suggests this attribution may not be accurate. After all, the identifiable figure of Aphrodite is a cloaked terracotta dating to the Hellenistic Period¹⁵⁸ but this alone cannot necessarily indicate a specific deity's sanctuary. Thus, the temple's dedication to

the goddess is rightly doubted.¹⁵⁹ Part of difficulty in identification is the occasional aniconic nature of her identification.¹⁶⁰ It has been argued by Zeman that Aphrodite is portrayed aniconically on Minoan seals,¹⁶¹ but this is entirely speculative based on other thoughts of fertility in relation to seals.¹⁶² Even if these are confirmed to be Aphrodite, they do not possess any pastoral iconography. Similarly, Lebessi has made a concerted case for identifying a female figure (fig. 19) at Syme as Aphrodite, at least from the Archaic Period.

¹⁵³ An early representation is, for example, a terracotta relief depicting a figure with raised robe of the 7th century B.C (Lebessi 1972: 210 pl. 190c; Delivo dedication to the goddess (and perhaps to Hermes) on the rim of a *hydria* (Lebessi 1972: 197).

¹⁵⁴ For more details on the following: Lebessi 1991: 99.

¹⁵⁵ Lebessi 1985, 128-36; Ekroth 2013; Marinatos 2003 figure 7.4.

¹⁵⁶ Prent 2005: 495 attempts to do so at Oaxos in the IEA but admits it is inconclusive. Willets 1964 makes no mention of her cults in his collection, to my knowledge.

¹⁵⁷ Prokopiou, *ADelt*, Vol. 46 (1991): 431 cited by Sporn 2002: 230. See further citations in the latter's work for issues of dating; *IC*. 11. 42.

¹⁵⁸ See Sporn 2002: note. 29, 2.

¹⁵⁹ Sporn 2002: 230.

¹⁶⁰ Which Hermes, from the Bronze Age, shared at times, being represented as a stone at crossroads in Arcadia. He also shared multiple sanctuaries with her such as Argos (Paus. 3.15.10-11) and Samos (Pirenne-Delforge 2001: 174; Zeman 2008: 63).

¹⁶¹ On the betyl seals (Tacitus. *Histories*. 2.3) and Zeman 2008: 61.

¹⁶² Warren 1990: 195-201; Zeman 2008: 62.

Her argument encompasses a wide selection of evidence, drawn from a variety of



Figure 19. Aphrodite tying her sandal (Sporn 2018: 130, fig. 5, MH 31415).

speculation into this topic (both more robust and less so).¹⁶³ Without trying to dismiss speculation (which we are undertaking throughout this thesis too), there is no conclusive evidence of cult around the 7th-6th centuries, and certainly no clear signs of a pastoral link. However, what does emerge is a gradual evolution of the goddess; once unnamed (common practice before the Hellenistic Period), she garnered new capacities (seen through epithets) as time progressed towards the 3rd century BC.¹⁶⁴ This is supportive for my own argument in two senses; it shows no evidence of a pastoral element, and it demonstrates that she changed over time. In line with this change, Aphrodite is soon associated with war by the time of the Battle of Salamis.¹⁶⁵ In Crete, this is reflected in the development of Aphrodite's collaboration with Ares, which becomes more widespread than even her one with Hermes from the fifth century BC.¹⁶⁶ Likewise, her image becomes recognisable in the 3rd century

BC – we find the classic image of Aphrodite tying up her sandals, a portrayal that also appears at Kato Syme around this period (fig. 20).¹⁶⁷ Additionally, the goddess begins to appear within Cretan households and, most importantly, is directly linked to pastoral features (e.g., carrying animals, as seen later).¹⁶⁸ In short, Aphrodite is a figure that is hard to identify

¹⁶³ This includes the belief that a persistence of eroticism attached to the female goddess at Syme indicates she would also have possessed a name (Gladigow 1981: 1203-6; Lebessi 2009: 534); her representation of being bound by ropes (linked to traditional stories Hom. *Od.* 8.266-312; Paus. 3.10-11, 3.15). See also Graf 1985: 81-2, 45-50; Icard-Gianolio 2004: 468. The binding and loosing of various deities has been associated with maturation rites (Merkelbach 1996: 19, 22-3; Lebessi 2009: 535). There are links also to Sappho (For a discussion of Sappho fr. 3, see Page 1959: 34-44. For Sappho fr. 2, see Voigt 1971: 33-5) and the fact that Aphrodite appears clothed (Budin 2003: 23-9, 57-67) which are related to myths about Aphrodite. For further arguments, see Lebessi 2009.

¹⁶⁴ Unnamed does not mean insignificant: Budin 2003, 60; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 457-58; Marinatos 2003: 143; Lebessi 2009: 537. For the evolution of goddesses, see Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 512-13 on Aphrodite. For a comparative example, see how the goddess changed in Athens, where dedicants could, over time, affect the character of the deity (Athenian magistrates stressed their titles and thus, not Aphrodite's connotations as a goddess of love - as some illustrative examples: *Agoranomoi*: *GIBM*. IV 1, n° 901; *ID*. 1832-1833; *IG*. XIV 209; 211; 212; 313; *Stratego*: *SEG*. 15, 383; *SEG*. 18, 580). Collected by Wallensten 2009. Thus, she responds to the needs of her worshippers.

¹⁶⁵ *Ath.* 13.573c-d; Plut. *Mor.* 87la-b; Strabo 8.6,8.21.

¹⁶⁶ For Aphrodite Areia, see Sporn 2002: 331-32, 386-87, tables 11,12 (Crete).

¹⁶⁷ Sporn 2018a: 275, fig. 5. Sandal-releasing Aphrodite from Aptera, held in Chania, Archaeological Museum. On its possible origin (likely an imported image), see Stemmer 2001: 134; Rumscheid 2006: 209; Themelis 2006: 230; Waywell 1977: 98; Sporn 2012, 2018: 279; Karanastassi 2012: 439. For Kato Syme, see Sporn 2018b: 130.

¹⁶⁸ Sporn 2018: 281.

in Crete before the Hellenistic Period. There is little evidence of any links to pastoralism (beyond her connection to Hermes – the latter is discussed below). Oftentimes her attributes are drawn in relation to others (e.g., Hermes, Ares). It will be seen that she does, in part, develop to adopt pastoral elements.

3.4.2: Hermes

Hermes is a god that has, at least from the Archaic Period, both present on Crete and connected to nature.¹⁶⁹ His sanctuaries were mainly rural, and Minoan votive objects found at Kato Syme (our most reliable example) tie him to this period.¹⁷⁰ Significantly however there are few direct instances of his later pastoral elements, e.g., as a patron of shepherds. Nonetheless, his earlier appearances do bestow a connection with nature. These include: his appearance among the branches of a tree on a bronze Middle Daedalic plaque (fig. 21); as a hunter shooting an arrow on another plaque of the late 6th century BC (fig. 22);¹⁷¹ an early epithet (6th century BC)¹⁷² at Kato Syme is *Kedrites*,¹⁷³ which connects him with the cedar tree;¹⁷⁴ Corinthian style vases from various areas, dated c. 600-550 BC, that show his control over wild animals;¹⁷⁵ and a potential ‘Master of Lions’ terracotta votive from 7th century BC Syme.¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁹ Hermes appears in Linear B being related to flocks (Gulizio 2000).

¹⁷⁰ *SEG*. XXVI 1049; *IC*. II.ix.1; Nilsson 1968: 67 and 460; Cameron 2003: 339; Prent 2005: 170; Larson 2007: 116, 148.

¹⁷¹ Lebessi 1985: 92-3, 112-16, pls. 32, 34, no. A58; 146 50, pls. 15, 55, no. A21. Marinatos 2003: 137 interprets the branches in Hermes hair as a wreath in the first plaque.

¹⁷² That reappears on Hellenistic Period graffiti at the site (Lebessi 2009: 524; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 457).

¹⁷³ *SEG*. 26.1046.

¹⁷⁴ Lebessi 2009: 524.

¹⁷⁵ If the identification via the herald staff he holds is correct (Müller 1978: 27-57, nos. 296-306, 208-10).

¹⁷⁶ Lebessi 2010.



Figure 20. Hermes on a bronze plaque (Lebessi 2009: 535, fig. 15, Syme excavation archive).



Figure 21. Hermes on a bronze plaque (Lebessi 2009: 536, fig. 16, Syme excavation archive).

Note, some of these are (well rooted) speculation. His name also appears on three 6th century BC Kato Syme bronze votives fragments, where it is found together with the name of the same tribe and the same *kosmos* magistrate who oversaw the annual maturation rites.¹⁷⁷ During this early period, he is mentioned with Aphrodite, where they mate with each other,¹⁷⁸ offer premarital advice,¹⁷⁹ and, at Kato Syme, appear to preside over initiation rites (which the hunting imagery of Hermes links to).¹⁸⁰ Nonetheless, despite the links to nature and hunting, Hermes is not clearly associated with the protection of shepherds and other pastoral

¹⁷⁷ M 3817, HM 3819, HM 3925, collected in Lebessi 2009.

¹⁷⁸ Hom. *Hymn Aphro.* 256-85

¹⁷⁹ Kahn 1978,180; Pirenne-Delforge 1994,30-1 n. 78,170, 264-65,446,456. The two divinities are located together on plaques from *Epizephyrian Lokroi* (Pruckner 1968: 15-17, figs. 1.1, 1.2; Sourvinou-Inwood 1978: 118-21. For more recent finds, see Bognasco and Carratelli 1990; Lebessi 2009: 534.

¹⁸⁰ Through ex-votos which disappear from the 5th century. On the Kedrites epithet for Hermes, see Daux 1976: 211-3. On hunting and initiation: FGrH, 11A, p. 86-89; Strabo. 10.4.21 (C483); See also, on initiation: "Hermes, the god of effective, sometimes deceptive speech, the god of passages and communication, accompanies Aphrodite who, while her sexual prerogatives are predominant in matrimonial contexts, performs functions of concord and harmony in the broadest sense when she appears on the *agora*" (Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 457). He also has consecrations dedicated to him in the wilderness (Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 457-8).



Figure 22. Terracotta figure of Hermes (Sporn 2018: 127, fig. 1, MH 20874).

aspects he would later would be.¹⁸¹ He could be considered a more ‘down-to-earth god,’¹⁸² evidenced through, among others, a dedication from a cheesemaker to him from Dreros on Crete.¹⁸³ However, in the 378 dedications (dated to various times, and from across Greece) that Wallensten has collected, there are only five connections to the pastoral (the cheesemaker’s dedication, perhaps, and Hermes’ association with Pan).¹⁸⁴ This could be because it was seen as superfluous for such an obviously pastoral god to be specified as such, but this is speculative.¹⁸⁵ Nonetheless, this does demonstrate that obvious links to pastoralism are not entirely present. Sporn notes his image does develop, eventually taking on aspects of the classical Hermes from the 5th century BC, winged shoes and all.¹⁸⁶ He eventually appears in 60 of the 94 figures found at Kato Syme around the Hellenistic Period, dressed in hunting gear and holding a ram by the neck (fig. 23) – obvious pastoral elements.¹⁸⁷

3.4.3: Apollo

Apollo’s link to pastoralism is seen through the epithet Apollo *Karneios* (‘horned sheep’¹⁸⁸ – he was a patron of cattle breeders), however this form of the god in Crete is unconfirmed before the late Classical to Hellenistic Periods, suggesting it is a newer creation. It has been claimed that the main epithets associated with Apollo from the Minoan Period onwards are *Delphinios* (which appears across the centre and east of Crete) and *Pythios* (which is rarer,

¹⁸¹ Willetts tries to tie Hermes to Minoan cave worship, specifically Patso where Hermes appears in the 1st century B.C (IC. 2.102). It is speculation (Willetts 1962: 289) and not accepted here.

¹⁸² Larson 2007: 146; Strauss Clay 1987; Hom. *Il.* 24.334–5; Hom. *Herm.* 576; Wallensten 2019: 247-8.

¹⁸³ Wallensten 2019: 249; *BE* 1948: 199a.

¹⁸⁴ Wallensten 2019: 251; as examples, *IG.* I 986 (Attica, c.400 BC); *ID.* 2400 (Delos, 98/97 BCE [Pan restored]).

¹⁸⁵ Wallensten 2019: 249; Hermes *Nomios* is found in literary sources, e.g. Ar. *Thes.* 977. See also *IG.* II 3977, 2nd CE. Hermes Epimelios at Koroneia. Paus. 9.34.3.

¹⁸⁶ Lebessi 1972: 197 pl. 185; Lebessi 1976a: 6 with fig. 2; LIMC V (1990) 308 no. 209 (Hermes); since the Early Classical period, continental imports have been increasing on Crete (Sporn 2002: 350).

¹⁸⁷ Sporn 2018b: 127-8. These sculptures could be youths, but then again youth figures unrelated to Hermes exist but these are rare (Sporn 2018b: 132; Pemberton 2000, pl. 51: h 331; Burns and Higgins 2001: 278, pl. 150 (from Salamis, Cyprus, 1st century BC)

¹⁸⁸ Willetts 1962: 266.

appearing in Dreros, Knossos, and Eleutherna, as examples).¹⁸⁹ However, there is no evidence for this from the Minoan Period – these ideas have been reached through inference. Even if true, there are no links to the pastoral sphere; *Delphinios* and *Pythios* are related to dolphins¹⁹⁰ and divination,¹⁹¹ respectively.

Willetts and Chaniotis claim that Apollo *Karneios* is a cult that went back to the Archaic Period, but there is nothing in their arguments to verify this was the case on Crete.¹⁹² There is evidence to suggest that the figure *Karneios* (here surnamed as ‘of the house’)¹⁹³ and cult had Dorian origins,¹⁹⁴ but here Apollo and Karnos are separate figures; the latter raises the other.¹⁹⁵ Willetts makes a connection between Sparta and Crete via the *Karneia*,¹⁹⁶ a festival which mirrored similar religious concepts in Crete but this is drawing inferences between the two. Without further evidence, it cannot be concluded upon. In reality, Apollo is only confirmed in Crete from the 5th century BC (as Apollo *Amyklaios*, around Gortyn),¹⁹⁷ Willetts cites evidence of Apollo *Karneios* from the late Classical to Hellenistic Periods,¹⁹⁸ and Prent’s work into Iron Age and Archaic Crete turns up only (potential) evidence on Apollo *Dephenius* and *Pythias*.¹⁹⁹ There is nothing conclusive on Apollo *Karneios*. There is some suggestion of Apollo’s links with caves, no direct connection to the pastoral.²⁰⁰ It is more likely that Apollo *Karneios* was, similar to Aphrodite, a product of development. If we accept this (inconclusive as it is) we can suggest that Apollo *Karneios*, if not a Hellenistic creation, gained more focus in this period.

¹⁸⁹ Scofield 2011: 41; a month *Delphinios* has been confirmed but for further evidence on this, see Farnell 2010: 145; Graf 1979: 22; Swindler 1913: 27. See also Scofield 2011 for a collection of evidence to verify their conclusions (42-4). Plut. *De Soll.An.* 36. (“many of the Greeks have temples to Artemis *Diktynna* and Apollo *Delphinios*”).

¹⁹⁰ The dolphin is a symbol on Delphic coins from C6 B onwards (Richardson, 2010: 146), or with the sea and seafaring (Graf 1979: 3; Richardson 2010: 146, who suggests that other cults of Apollo are connected with the sea, rather than *Delphinios*).

¹⁹¹ Gortyn: *IC.* IV. 173, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 193; Lyttos: *IC.* I. viii. 8; *IC.* III. iii. 3B; Hierapytna: *IC.* III. iii. 3B, 5; Itanos: *IC.* III. iv. 7, 8; Phaistos: *IC.* I. xvii. 1.

¹⁹² Chaniotis relies on Willetts 1962: 265f; Hyperboia: Willetts 1962, 108. The use of caves as places of worship on Crete in prehistorical and historical times is at least partly connected with pastoral economy: Faure 1964: 46, 130-139, 217-220.

¹⁹³ Paus. 3.13.3.

¹⁹⁴ Paus. 3.13.4; Scofield 2011: 59, including links to Dorian celebrations (Dietrich 1975: 137).

¹⁹⁵ Paus. 3.13.3-5.

¹⁹⁶ Call. *Ap.* 71; Theoc. 5.54, 83; Hdt. 7.206; Thuc. 5.75; E. Alc. 449; *SIG.* 735.25; *IG.* 4.620, 1485; Head 1911: 77, 341, 434; Willetts 1962: 266.

¹⁹⁷ Sporn 1996; Cucuzza 1997.

¹⁹⁸ *IC.* 4. 181. 5 (early second century BC) (Knossos) and Gortyn, which mentions the month (*IC.* 172. 21, *Καννεία*[ς] (third-second century BC); 4.197.8, *Καρμίνω* *οι* *Καν*]νήνω? (2nd century BC); 4.235.7f, *Καννήω* (early 2nd century BC)) (Willetts 1962: 266).

¹⁹⁹ Prent 2005: 260, 274.

²⁰⁰ Sporn 2007: 56.

3.4.4: Pan

Pan was a god closely related to pastoralism, but he is unseen in Crete before the late Classical to early Hellenistic Period despite evidence for his presence in Arcadia during the Archaic Period.²⁰¹ It seems he was a later import.

Nonetheless, there is evidence of Cretan interest in the animal/pastoral sphere (which Pan, as a hybrid figure, would represent), even as early Neopalatial Period (1700-1450 BC): various animals, such as sheep and bovine are attested throughout Linear B, and featured in many dedications in peak sanctuaries (70% of the 3000 fragments on Juktas were bovine);²⁰² lions) featured on a variety of Minoan seals with as instances of ruler iconography;²⁰³ Cretan palaces featured a variety of landscape and animal imagery;²⁰⁴ and a cult cave at Lilianno Pediados featured bull idols and animal teeth and bones from the Sub-Minoan Period (c. 1100-1050).²⁰⁵ Thus, we are not denying that interest in pastoralism was present in Archaic (and earlier) Crete. Only that there was a newfound focus upon it in the Hellenistic Period, resulting in the cult of Pan, who otherwise does not appear on the island before the Classical Period. Current research continues to accept this. Older work, such as Faure, in his survey of caves, notes that whilst Pan is attested to often,²⁰⁶ usually in conjunction with another (e.g., nymphs, Hermes – more will be discussed later),²⁰⁷ it is never in the Archaic or earlier

²⁰¹ See 2.4.3.4. See also Borgeaud 1988; Garland 1992: 58–63; Ellinger 2002: 327–30; Parker 1996: 163–8; Larson 2007: 63–4; Aston 2011: 109–20; 272–277; Petridou 2015: 201–5; Voutiras 2018; Sabetai 2018: 141.

²⁰² Zeimbekis 1998: 77, 244–5; Tzachili 2012; Peatfield 1992: 64; Shapland 2022: 74, and this volume generally for Crete and animals.

²⁰³ Shapland 2010: 285.

²⁰⁴ Collected in Haysom 2018: 266–7; Agia Triada Villa: rockwork, foliage, goats, cats, birds (Militello 1998: 99–132, 250–282); Amnisos Villa: various floral tableaux in geometric settings (Cameron 1976, Vol. II, pls. 94c; 118d; Cameron 1976, Vol. III, 87, 103–104); Archanes Tourkogeitonia: plants and a dolphin in miniature; flora/foliage, shells and possibly a bird in relief; a variety of flora/foliage in large scale (Sakellarakis – Sakellarakis 1997, 488–502); Epano Zakros Villa: numerous fragments depicting a wide variety of flora/foliage (Cameron 1976, Vol. I, 766); Galatas Palace, pillar hall: abstract or floral pattern. Building 1: fragments of foliage and a net pattern (Rethemiotakis 2002, 57, pls. XVI, XVIIa); Katsamba: Birds and rockwork in miniature. Knossos town South House: bird, rockwork, and foliage. House of the Frescoes: birds, monkeys, goats, rockwork, foliage (Shaw 1978); Phaistos Palace: fragments with friezes of foliage and rosettes from room 79; a nature scene from room 81 is only known from the excavator's description. Outside the palace: fragment with vegetation and possibly rockwork from the area south of the kouloures, and several fragments with vegetation from beneath rooms AA and CC of the Geometric houses (Militello 2001, 98–123).

²⁰⁵ Faure 1964: 61; 1978: 631; Hazzidakis 1934: 75 note 2; Sanders 1982: 149; Rutkowski 1972: 69.

²⁰⁶ *IC*. I XVI, 7 (mention of the cave on the border of Lato 5, 1. 56); *IC*. II XXIII, 9 (Polyrrhenia) cited by Farnes 1964: 150

²⁰⁷ Faure 1964: 150 – in using Faure, we should be careful in relation to both his views that cave religions could be 'primitive', and that his methodology was often reliant on the accounts of modern locals. To avoid the former, I will avoid engaging heavily with his ideas, and on the latter I discuss additional evidence (or the lack of) in relation to Pan to present a more reliable picture.

periods.²⁰⁸ More recently, Cucuzza has tried to revisit the idea of an Archaic Cretan Pan through analysis of a plaque of grey schist stone²⁰⁹ which features a figure that iconographically resembles Pan (goat horns and legs, bearded),²¹⁰ with limited success. The evidence, whilst convincing,²¹¹ depends on interpretation of the letter forms of the inscription,²¹² and a dismissal that the plaque was a foreign item. Ultimately the previous excavation and the archaeological records of the site (a Minoan palace at Phaistos) are too unreliable to firmly pin a date to the artefact.²¹³ Without conclusive evidence, this thesis is liable to gravitate towards the simplest explanations; it was either an item from Arcadia or a Hellenistic Cretan item (if the original archaeology is correct).



Figure 23. Pan, on an object from Phaistos (Cucuzza 2009: 303, fig. 1).

The first clear sources on Pan (and the nymphs) in Crete come in the form of 5th century BC black-fired wear and graffiti from Lera Cave, near Stavros, which sometimes bore dedications to Pan and the nymphs.²¹⁴ Caves in Akrotiri, such as Arkoudospilia, featured Pan, and across the cave sites the god was often

²⁰⁸ “No caves in Eleutherna show ancient worship” (Faure 1964: 149). Of the nine caves identified to Pan with certainty, none are from periods before the later Classical/Hellenistic Periods (Faure 1964: 148). For example, a cited relief no. 206 from Herakleion Museum, is dated to the Hellenistic period. Another, a bas-relief, likely from the Eleutherna region, is also from the 3rd century AD (Faure 1964: 148).

²⁰⁹ Preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion (inv. L 2174).

²¹⁰ Cucuzza 2009: 302.

²¹¹ Cucuzza makes some good points on the shape of the writing (e.g., paleographic features of the graffiti) but has to concede much of the evidence suggests a Hellenistic date (Cucuzza 2009: 305). He goes on to suggest its stylistic elements align more with Cretan production (whilst not managing to explain the Arcadian elements represented (ritual flagellation) recalled by a shrub). He claims the depiction of Pan and allusions to Arcadian rituals on the plaque suggest a blend of Arcadian cults and Cretan myths. This parallels Epimenides' mention of Pan's alternative genealogy, indicating Pan's early presence in Crete (through links to Zeus' birth in a cave). See Cucuzza 2009: 316-7 for the full argument.

²¹² Cucuzza 2009: 304.

²¹³ Cucuzza 2009: 304 – it could have been imported from another location, or found in the cistern, which was Hellenistic (and where it was reported, without evidence, to have been excavated). Nothing is conclusive. Moreover, attestations to Pan outside of Arcadia are no older than the 5th century, and their spread is related to Athens (Borgeaud 1988 and Boardman 1997; Herod. 6.105; Melfi 2007: 221-7; 2007: 120-22).

²¹⁴ SEG. XXIII 579; Sporn 2002: 275; Sporn 2004: 1103; Faure 1996: 193 is too optimistic to suggest Pan was worshipped in most Cretan caves.

featured with other deities, such as Apollo, Hermes, Dionysus, and Artemis.²¹⁵ Throughout, Pan was expected to support shepherds and their flocks,²¹⁶ alongside nymphs, often found with Pan, who also gave their names to landscape features²¹⁷ and helped to confirm and ground locality.²¹⁸ This could be used to provide kinship tales or give authority to a location.²¹⁹ By the Hellenistic Period we have freestanding sculptures and votives of Pan²²⁰ though significantly, even for cities such as Gortyn and Hierapytna that produced many of these, we find many of our reliefs of Pan originated from smaller, less powerful cities (and perhaps linked to our earlier discussions of autonomy - though these beliefs might also have been by-products of travelling, disenfranchised artists leaving Attica).²²¹

Nonetheless, there was not the same focus on Cretan myths associated with pastoralism as there would be in the Hellenistic Period. Aphrodite and Hermes are linked more closely to initiation, and Apollo and Pan either existed in other forms or not at all. This changed in the Hellenistic Period, a process we will now examine in relation to myth, identity, and material culture.

3.4.5: Pastoralism in Hellenistic Crete

Chaniotis claims there was an increase in pastoralism in Hellenistic Crete,²²² which, when viewed through the gods discussed above, appears to be true. In addition to this, however, we find an upsurge in the depiction of pastoral elements on Hellenistic coinage (discussed shortly);²²³ pastoral practice appears in oaths and treaties,²²⁴ and it seeps into the personal

²¹⁵ Sporn 2002: 281; Sporn 2007: 56.

²¹⁶ Faure 1964: 150

²¹⁷ There were closely associated with the land, including caves: Hom. *Od.* 13.103-8; Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989: 171, 104-12, 217-8; Strabo 9.2.25 and 10.3.17; Amandry 1984: 395-425 and Larson 1995: 341-358, and springs: Hom. *Od.* 17.210-1; Paus. 6.22.7 and 9.24.4; Plut. *Mor.* 772b.

²¹⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood 2005: 112-3

²¹⁹ See 2.5.2; see also Sourvinou-Inwood 2005: 115; Dougherty 1993: 69; Blok 1996: 88-9. Their importance is reflected in their frequent mentions in Homer (Hom. *Od.* 13.103-8, 13.347-50, 13.356-60, 14.435-6, 17.210-1, 17.240-3).

²²⁰ Sporn 2004: 1103; see this work for the freestanding sculptures – as they are Imperial, we will not cover them here.

²²¹ Sporn 2004: 1119; for discussion of Attic influence on Cretan reliefs (especially in relation to the Attic grave luxury law that led to artists traveling away from Attica), see Vorster 1998: 22 and Bulloch et al. 1993.

²²² Chaniotis 1995a: 59; Gallimore 2017: 101.

²²³ Whitley 1962: 71.

²²⁴ The Oath of Dreros (c.220 BC) swears to abide by the city on the flocks and the rivers (*IC.* II.84-8.1). Animal husbandry appears, along with issues of ‘parking’ cattle: a 3rd century B.C treaty between Hierapytna and Praisos (*IC.* III.78-81.1) (see van Effenterre 1985: 183 for discussion); shepherds are not taxed (*IC.* III.3.4) but those imported animal by sea were (Chaniotis 1996: 120-1). Issues of inheritance are also covered (*IC.* IV.72) (discussed in Petropoulou 1985: 47).

sphere; the *Greek Anthology* features many Cretan names which confer bucolic images.²²⁵ A first characteristic group of personal names derive from words related to grazing and ownership of sheep, goats, and cattle,²²⁶ which, incidentally, also supports the idea that Cretan pastoral motifs in Hellenistic poetry are true to life.²²⁷ Lastly, a different example shows sheep being explicitly mentioned in a fragmentary funerary epigram (1st century BC) from Axos.²²⁸ Chaniotis reasons there was clearly a preoccupation with activities related to specialised pastoralism (e.g., breeding livestock),²²⁹ which he links this to Hierapytna's land growth and its need to house its new citizens.²³⁰ With this said, Sporn's analysis of Cretan sanctuaries in the Hellenistic Period caused her to conclude that from the 3rd century BC, the number of cult sites in dependent settlements increased²³¹ (even older ones were revived),²³² all whilst broader cults were being favoured over rural ones by visitors and Hierapytna's

²²⁵ Chaniotis 2001: 217.

²²⁶ 'Boukolos ("the shepherd of cattle", one attestation), Eurybotas/Ourybotas ("great cattle-breeder", four attestations in Knossos, Eltynia and Gortyn), Poimne ("the flock") and Poimalion ("to graze"), both attested to the best of my knowledge only in Crete (in Hierapytna), Eumelos ("the owner of good sheep", in Knossos, Olus, and Polyrrhenia), Melion ("the owner of sheep", in Hierapytna). A second group of Cretan personal names is related to livestock, especially to ovicaprids: Aigedas (Keraia), Aigeidas, Aigylos (Polyrrhenia), and Aigon (Itanos, ("goat"), Krios ("ram", in Gortyn, Lasaia, and Psycheion), Chimaros ("the goat", three attestations, in Priansos and elsewhere), Moschos ("calb") and Moschion (in Phaistos and Rhithymna), and Bous ("ox" , in Olous)' (Chaniotis 1995a: 71-2)

²²⁷ Chaniotis 1995a: 71-2

²²⁸ *IC*. II. V. 52. I.10.

²²⁹ Chaniotis 1999: 199. Evidenced also in *IC*. IH. iii. 4 = Chaniotis 1996, no. 28 11. 27-30, a 2nd century B.C treaty including Priasos and in another between Hierapytna and the neighbouring community of the Arkadians (Chaniotis 1996b, no. 1411. 1-3). There is also evidence for the safety of the roads, as this might impact the moving of cattle (seen between Lato and Olous (*IC*. I. xvi. 5 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 61 Kopie A11. 34-38) and Lyttos and Olous (*IC*. I. xviii. 9 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 60 B 5- 8). See Chaniotis 1999: 201-2 for discussion, including the role of Pan as protector of herds. This last point perhaps ties to a Hellenistic sanctuary at Tsiskiana in West Crete; during a single campaign 436 statuettes of oxen have been found there (Ninniou-Kindeli 1988: 290-1).

²³⁰ More than half of the Cretan isopolity treaties known so far were concluded between Hierapytna and other Cretan cities (Praisos, the Arkadians, Itanos, Priansos, Lato, a community of Hierapytnian settlers, and an anonymous city, perhaps Biannos (*Staatsvertrage* III no. 554 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 5, Hierapytna-Praisos, early 3rd century; *Staatsvertrage* III no. 512 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 14, Hierapytna-Arkadians, late 3rd century; *Staatsvertrage* no. 579 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 20, Hierapytna-Itanos, late 3rd century; *IC*. III. iii. 4 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 28, Hierapytna-Priansos, early 2nd century; *I.Cret.* III.iii 6 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 35, Hierapytna-Biannos?, early 2nd century; *IC*. III. iii. 5 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 74, Hierapytna-Hierapytnian settlers, early 2nd century (uncertain); *SEG*. XXVI 1049 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 59, Hierapytna-Lato, c. 111. The other *isopolity*-treaties between Cretan cities are the following: *Staatsvertrage* III no. 570 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 15, Axos-Tylisos, late 3rd century; Chaniotis 1996b, no. 41, Apollonia-Kydonia, early 2nd century; *IC*. I. xviii. 10 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 42, Lyttos anonymous Cretan city, early 2nd century; *IC*. I. xvi. 17 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 37, Lato-Eleutherna, early 2nd century; *IC*. I. xviii. 9 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 60, Lyttos-Olous, c. 111; *IC*. I. xvi. 5 = Chaniotis 1996b, no. 61, Lato-Olous, c. 109 BC – see Chaniotis 1999b. See Craven 2017 for refutation of the Cretan population issues.

²³¹ See Sporn 2002: Lato, Cave Tripa (p. 68); Gortyn, Prophitis Ilias (p. 175); Moires, Demeter (p. 180); Asklepieia of Aghiakyriaki (p. 194) and perhaps Apesokari (p. 179); possibly Alithini (p. 179).

²³² See Sporn 2002: Lato, Phylakas (p. 64); the cave at Inatos (p. 94); Kamilari, Demeter (p. 211), the rock shelter at Patsos (p. 251), perhaps also the cult places at Karoumes (note 190), a cave at Liliano (p. 102), and the place of worship on Vrysinas (p. 247).

control over its dependent communities tightened.²³³ As this happened, there was an increase of consecrations to divine figures of the land, such as Hermes, Pan, the Nymphs and the Kouretes,²³⁴ especially in the 2nd-1st century BC.²³⁵ Sporn ties this to a renewed focus on agriculture and cattle breeding; this could also be linked to the communities attempting to create their own local cults after their subjugation by ruling cities.²³⁶

To summarise the discussion thus far. The expansion of certain Cretan cities, and the subsequent control of the smaller communities that resulted from it, was surely a factor (among others) in the focus on pastoralism during Crete's Hellenistic Period. Whether this was because the smaller communities were searching for new religious identities, or the controlling cities were looking for myths to support a connection with their dependents, can only be speculated upon. Alongside this, we can evidence how the gods, such as Aphrodite, Apollo, Hermes, and Pan developed pastoral elements within the Hellenistic Period. Pastoralism itself was likely chosen for the reasons already made clear earlier; not only was it deeply entwined with the Cretan way of life (e.g., seasonal transhumance) but its myths existed throughout the landscape, unattached to specific tales or landmarks. As such, it would have been both relevant for purposes of worship (e.g., asking Hermes for help protecting your flock) and easier to co-opt.

Having established this, we shall turn to the focus of this chapter. As with Lykosoura, we shall examine the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture to understand how the gods were developing pastoral elements and the impact this had upon identity within this context. Throughout this, we will provide evidence of Crete's pastoralised versions of Aphrodite, Hermes, Apollo and Pan. It will be argued that pastoral myths, those without a connected landmark (such as Zeus with Mount Lykaion), could be 'pinned down' and given physicality (a physical image) through material culture (e.g., coinage and sculpture). This allowed these myths to be both spatially universal and specific simultaneously; Cretan communities could, as was common with myth, incorporate these into their identities. Thus, allowing them to quickly adapt to contextual issues (e.g., their subjugation via expanding cities). Moreover, as with Lykosoura, material culture could act as a symbol of authority for an adapted myth (e.g., Apollo now having horns) – just as a mountain was attached and

²³³ Sporn 2002: 88; see 2.3.3.

²³⁴ On the cult of patrons of shepherds on Crete, see also the dedications to the Kouretes: *IC*. I.31.7-8 (2nd/1st century); *SEG*. XXVI.10491.78.

²³⁵ Sporn 2002: 373.

²³⁶ See 3.3.2 for the consequences of this.

verified mythic traditions, so too could a material object validate a newly developed mythology (in this case, once unrelated gods being linked to pastoralism). In this sense, the process is identical, broadly, to what happened at Lykosoura. Material culture becomes a source of authority, carrying and confirming identity to viewers.

3.5: Material Culture as Authority: Pastoral Myths

Material culture and myth were important in supporting the adaptation of identity to the environment of Hellenistic Crete.²³⁷ But *how* did this process work? Here we make suggestions, with the stipulation that, like Lykosoura's conclusions, they are interpretative.

3.5.1: A Focus on Pastoral Gods

Iconography supports our attempts to track differences in thought over time;²³⁸ after all, coinage and sculpture are often thought to be direct insights into official civic narratives.²³⁹ There is no reason why votive objects and other dedications cannot be an insight into what a dedicator valued. Thus, we can learn about people through their objects. Moreover, as already seen with Lykosoura, the relationship between the two is contextual and every-changing – this can manifest in a variety of ways.²⁴⁰ If we accept that pastoral myths are, in part, a response from communities to their loss of autonomy, we could label them as a form of 'counter-culture, that challenged existing social and political arrangements.²⁴¹ If not, we can still see that pastoral myths were embraced by regional leaders, i.e., dominant communities (through coinage discussed shortly), demonstrating that myth was being adapted and refocused based on contemporary worries (perhaps a population change necessitated increased pastoral practice); myth and material culture were being used to support the individual and community within their social environment.²⁴² As an example, Hermes becomes more prominent in the Hellenistic Period; the Cave of Hermes *Tallaioi* featured terracottas from the Daedalic to the Hellenistic period, primarily depicting female figures (perhaps Maia, nymphs, or Aphrodite)²⁴³ but by the Imperial Period (there is a lack of evidence in the Hellenistic Period),²⁴⁴ Hermes is the clear occupant of the site.²⁴⁵ It appears the cult developed over time as its visitors, and their priorities, changed.²⁴⁶ This must be tied

²³⁷ Discussed in 3.2.

²³⁸ Morgan 2009: 8.

²³⁹ Unwin 2017: 61.

²⁴⁰ Tilley 2004; Ingold 2007.

²⁴¹ Yiftachel 1995: 220.

²⁴² Kirk 1974: 81.

²⁴³ Godart and Tzedakis 1993: 80.

²⁴⁴ *IC*. II. xxviii. 1-2. On the dedicatory inscriptions see: Versnel 1981: 172.

²⁴⁵ For Cretan examples of this type, see Sporn 2002: 350.

²⁴⁶ Axos' heyday died out with the Archaic period, while Eleutherna regained importance, especially during the Hellenistic period; Sporn 2002: 232.

to the societal focuses (i.e., if communities were engaging in increased pastoral practice, then they needed gods linked to this sphere) of Hellenistic Crete.

Pastoralism was chosen for multiple reasons; it was connected to the landscape, through which the Cretan communities shared a bond²⁴⁷ and the myths associated with it were universal (i.e., city or smaller community – all would require Hermes’ assistance in ensuring their flocks were protected) and flexible. They were not always tied to specific landmarks (in contrast to Zeus and Mt. Lykaion at Lykosoura) which gave them better mobility. They could be applied to any community, at any time, as they (e.g., Hermes, Pan) were figures that existed in every hill and forest. This attachment to every part of the observable landscape ensured they could be used to reaffirm bonds between the Cretan communities and their place.²⁴⁸ This can be seen throughout the evidence. Artemis/Diktynna/Britomartis (they appear both separate and conflated), a nature/hunting goddess/es occupied prominent places in both Cretan and foreign perceptions of the island.²⁴⁹ All were closely associated with their landscape. Diktynna, present since the Hellenistic Period, was often depicted with a bow and hunting dogs on reliefs and coinage across western Crete.²⁵⁰ Additionally, she was often presented (perhaps as a Bacchic nymph) with Pan, the nature god *par excellence*, on column reliefs at the Diktynnaion at Cape Spatha, and on coinage from Kydonia (Pan’s head is depicted, with a dog to represent Diktynna on the reverse).²⁵¹ Pan himself could be found across the landscape; near Lato, on the hill Phylakas (550 m),²⁵² a fragment of a relief *pinake* depicting a cross-legged Pan, in addition to two bull statuettes, was discovered.²⁵³ Based on the quantity of archaeological evidence, the site appears to have had few attendees in the Hellenistic Period, thus suggesting this evidence as local, rural dedications. Pan was rarely attached to specific locations (by which I mean, he was not usually associated with a singular landmark, as Zeus was with Mt Lykaion in Arcadia), potentially possessing caves only at Lera, Agiasmatsi and Patsos. Hermes took this trait further, never being a sole recipient of

²⁴⁷ See 3.2.2. For a universal theoretical discussion of ‘affection’ between individuals and the environment, see Scannell and Gifford 2010.

²⁴⁸ Alexiou 2018: 159; Tuan 1991: 686; Hoffman 2022: 160.

²⁴⁹ See Callimachus poetry: Call. *Hymn in Dianam*, iamb. xii fr. 2020. 786; *Hymn in Dianam*. 189-205. See also Chaniotis 2001: 217; epigrams for Britomartis: *IC*. I vii 4; 1 ix A 29; i xvi 5 Z 75.; I xviii 9 C 7; *SEG*. XXIII 547; for Diktynna: *IC*. II xi i; II xi 4; II xvii 1.

²⁵⁰ Sporn 2001: 228; SNG Copenhagen 416; BMC 22 (320-270 BC staters from Kydonia).

²⁵¹ Sporn 2001: 231; for the coinage, see SNG Copenhagen 411, SNG Lockett 2550 (2nd-1st Century BC tetradrachm from Kydonia).

²⁵² For the location of the mound, see Demargne 1901: 21. For a sketch of the ruins on the mound, see: Reinach 1913: 279.

²⁵³ Reinach 1913: 287, No. 8. 8a. 12. 15. 16 (anthropomorphic terracottas); 289 no. 9. 290 no. 17 0. ill. (*pinakes*).

cave cult,²⁵⁴ and not appearing in the city of Hierapytna itself (or in any of its Hellenistic treaties).²⁵⁵ Nonetheless, he appeared on borders across Hierapytna's territory (e.g., Kato Syme, Myrtos Pyrgos, sanctuary of Hermes *Kornisaios*)²⁵⁶ and throughout Lato's.²⁵⁷ For the former, this suggests a local, rural interest over a central civic one.

These gods appeared across the landscape but were rarely associated with landmarks. The landscape itself was subjective, dependent on the wider context and individual interpretation,²⁵⁸ and therefore it could be suggested that these myths were almost too flexible. Unlike at Lykosoura, they did not have landmarks to confer mythical authority which communities could capitalise upon. For example, Pan is thought to have been present at a sanctuary of Zeus *Skylios* in the ruins of Rhytion, but this argument relies on speculation in relation to the associated mythological tradition (Pan is thought to have been involved in Zeus' birth at the Asterousia mountain).²⁵⁹ Generally, Pan did not appear in cities, but instead in open air, secluded locations.²⁶⁰ Hermes is speculated to be present at a Lebena sanctuary, due to the presence of nymphs beside a confirmed god Achelous.²⁶¹ The links established make sense, but the point is that these gods are often present through association. They do not have fixed, mythologically traditional landmarks to situate their cults around (e.g., as with Mt. Lykaion and Zeus *Lykaios*). This continues with Britomartis-Diktyнна and her relationship with Artemis. There was clearly some distinction in geography; Britomartis and Diktyнна were interchangeable figures in myth who encompassed nymph-like attributes and associations with Dionysian elements (distinguishing them from Artemis at times).²⁶² They

²⁵⁴ He appeared with Pan or other divinities (such as nymphs) if he appeared at all (Farnell 1907: 10; Tausend and Erath 1999: 242; Sporn 2002: 347).

²⁵⁵ Sporn 2002: 347. Gauthier 1993: no. 399.

²⁵⁶ Kadletz 1976: 179, 258, 269, 304.

²⁵⁷ He also appears in Lato's coinage (Svoronos 1980: 20-22; Hill and Cameron 1913: 385, no. 15) and in 2nd century BC treaties (Chaniotis 1996b: 338, No. 59 Z. 73; 358. No. 61 A Z. 55). He also appears beside border sites dedicated to the *Kouretes* (Chaniotis 1996b 358. No. 61 A Z. 60).

²⁵⁸ Bender 2013: 303; Bourdieu 1990: 52; Tilley 1994: 16; Giddens 1981; Ingold 1997: 2000.

²⁵⁹ *IC*. IV. 174; Chaniotis 1996b: 245. No. 27; on the Gortynian claim: Chaniotis 1996b: 70 note 377; inscription about the site (*IC*. 1. Xxix. I (120 A.D); Sporn 2002: 186.

²⁶⁰ Borgeaud 1979: 95.

²⁶¹ Isler 1970: 30; Güntner 1994: 16; the clay figurine MH Inv. 6639 is exhibited in display case 200 (unpublished, probably from the local Demeter sanctuary) (Sporn 2002).

²⁶² In Hellenistic Crete, Britomartis-Diktyнна was distinct from Artemis. Both were worshipped together in some places like Olous and Dreros, while in others like Chersonnesos and Gortyn, their cults were separate but coexisted. Britomartis-Diktyнна, initially a nymph, had ties to the Dionysian circle in Kydonia and was depicted on coins as a nymph or huntress, complicating identification where both goddesses were venerated. In Kydonia, Diktyнна was also regarded as the Kourotrophos of Zeus, possibly suggesting a mother goddess role akin to Aphaia in Aigina. Diktyнна's possible initiation cult for girls aligns her with aspects of Artemis, notably Artemis Brauronia. See Nilsson 1971: 511; Willetts 1962: 180; Diod. 5.76.3 speaks in connection with the birth at the same place of Diktyнна and Britomanis, Paus. 2.30.3 but only of Diktyнна.

were associated with different regions of Crete (east for Britomartis and west for Diktynna), but not for any clear reason.²⁶³ Perhaps it is simply a remnant of tradition. Artemis herself appeared across western Crete in a variety of positions (e.g., in Aptaera she is a patron of the city) but her position across the island is rarely consistent.²⁶⁴ Her consecrations are usually private dedications,²⁶⁵ she is sometimes associated with the nymphs and Pan, and her sanctuaries in the countryside were often located in caves or near rivers or watercourses.²⁶⁶ She supports men and woman alike.²⁶⁷ Thus, as a goddess she was fluid.²⁶⁸ In short, these pastoral gods were very different from Zeus at Mt. Lykaion, a location one could build a community around and expect visitors to attend. This surely made an initial attachment of identity harder for the rural communities, even if it also, significantly, meant that same single location could not be taken over by the new ruling city. Instead, the communities had to find ways to take their local memories, developed through engagement with the landscape, and create new mediums of authority. Here, they engaged in a process similar to Lykosoura. They used iconography and material culture (not monumental, however) to give physicality to these pastoral, transitory myths. Through the former, they can then engage with the latter.



Figure 24. 3rd Century BC Diktynna from Polyrrenhia (BMC 1-2).

Myth was tied to the landscape – through this, myth could be interacted with.²⁶⁹ This thesis argues that material culture could be used similarly. It could act as ‘prosthetic memory’; simply, it could sustain the imagination and memories of a community.²⁷⁰ It could be used to

²⁶³ Sporn 2001: 226

²⁶⁴ Extra-urban sanctuaries of Artemis at Aphrati; at Knosos (Amnisos), on the border between Knosos and Tylisos. at Gortyn (Amyklaion), Phaistos (Kalamaki), Eleutherna, Kydonia (Arkoudospilia and perhaps Lera), cf. table 6a-c. Hierapytna, Lato, Olous, Dreros (see Table 1). Chaniotis 1996b: 69, on the other hand, considers the triad to be an integral part of the Cretan oath.

²⁶⁵ On the consecrations, see Sporn 2002: 36 (Itanos) and 55 (Hierapytna), 323-4.

²⁶⁶ Morizot 1994: 201.

²⁶⁷ For men, see: Sporn 2002 - Itanos (Late Classical/Hellenistic. note 134); Hierapytna (Hellenistic, note 274); Aphrati (Hellenistic note. 637); Chersonnesos (Hellenistic, note 677). For woman, see Gortyn, Britomartis (p. 162); Kydonia, Diktynnaion (p. 278); see Sporn 2002: 323-4. for discussion.

²⁶⁸ This is similar for the Kouretes, who develop into nature deities associated with Artemis, Hermes, and Pan in Hellenistic Crete (Paus. 6.22.9; Burkert 1985: 150; Amandry 1984: 398; Sporn 2002: 60-66).

²⁶⁹ Baragwanath and de Bakker 2012: 38-9; Lyndon 2009; the idea that space can hold memory can be seen in Plato. *Physics*. 4.210b; Boutsikas 2020: 28; Feld and Basso 1996; Jones 2007: 63; Henrichs 1999: 237.

²⁷⁰ Connerton 2013: 318; Hodder 2004: 29.

ground the myths within a community, to give them physicality - and thus allow for interaction and memory to be attached and articulated through this. This is similar to Lykosoura; make the myths material and then deploy them to manipulate memory and associations. We can see this through the material representations of Crete's pastoral gods. Whether Artemis or Britomartis, the goddess was given a bow and quiver on bronze coins, found around the area of Olous.²⁷¹ From the 3rd century BC, the Polyrrenians represented Diktynna on their silver coinage (fig. 25), linking her to the cult in the Diktynnaion practiced by them and, on some types, perhaps trying to establish a link with Zeus.²⁷² Pan has been represented on reliefs and statuettes, all with his distinctive horns and goat legs. This includes a cross legged *pinake* from Phylakas near Lato;²⁷³ bronze statuettes with horns from Idean Cave;²⁷⁴ a relief of dancing nymphs and Pan playing his syrinx of unknown origin;²⁷⁵ a small 2nd century BC marble statuette from Polyrrenia, found near a late Hellenistic dedicatory relief of nymphs;²⁷⁶ and a relief from Cave of Vasiliki (2nd century BC) (fig. 26).²⁷⁷

²⁷¹ Picard 1986: 108. Pl. 12, 2-3; Sporn 2002: 66.

²⁷² This assumption suggests itself when looking at the coin sequences of the city: On the larger nominals a bearded head of Zeus is combined together with the reverse image of the decorated bull's head. This reverse image is combined on smaller nominals with the head of Dictynna or a spearhead, a symbol of Dictynna. It is possible that this is intended to express a cult connection between Zeus and Diktynna, especially since on some reverse images a spearhead is depicted under the bull's full skull (Sporn 2002: 66-7). For general evidence of Diktynna's material culture, Svoronos 1890: cit. 278. No. 15-20 plates 26, 4-8; 277 f. No. 9-10 pl. 25, 33-34; 277 n. 6 pl. 25, 29; Willetts 1962: 271.

²⁷³ Reinach 1913: 289 no. 9. 290 no. 17 (*pinakes*).

²⁷⁴ The festival of Lykaia at Lykaion was originally dedicated to Pan (Paus. 8.38.5). On the Zeus-Pan connection in Arcadia and Crete, see Borgeaud 1988: 44.

²⁷⁵ Inv. coll. Giamalakis 1517; LIMC VIII (1997) 740 s. v. Kouretes, Korybantes no. 41. Many visitors appear to have come to Idean cave, based on the Hellenistic coins found, likely for its association with Zeus rather than Pan (In Roman times, the all-Cretan origin of the pilgrims can also be determined from the lamps (Sapouna 1998: 117).

²⁷⁶ Svoronos 1890: 277, 283 n. 7. 51 Pls. 25, 28; 26, 29. IC. IL. XXiii. 9. Relief: MCh Inv. A 14; L.

²⁷⁷ Sporn 2004: 1107.

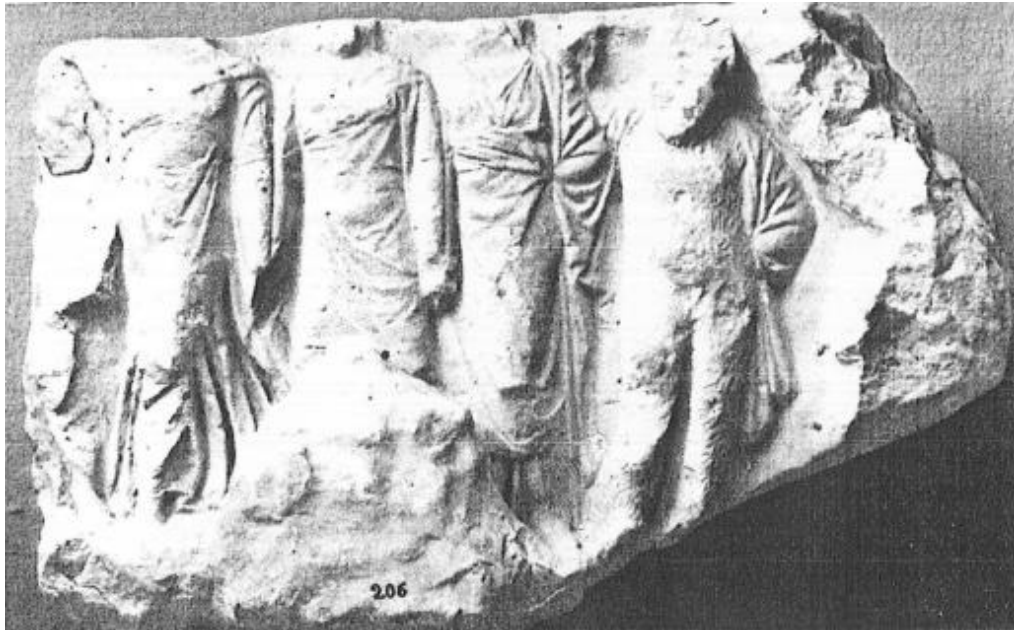


Figure 25. 2nd cen. BC Pan and the nymphs from Vasiliki (Sporn 2004: 1106, fig. 1).

These are in addition to general satyr iconographies; a 4th-2nd century BC image of a goat from Gortyn's Athena sanctuary (fig. 27); various 2nd century BC satyr designs on various Oinochoe or Lekythos from Knossos;²⁷⁸ 2nd-1st century BC satyr brazier jug fragment from Kissamos (fig. 28); and a 3rd century BC satyr from Lyttos (fig. 29). For Hermes there was a 2nd-1st century BC dedicatory inscription and statuette to Hermes *Kypharissites Kyllanios* at Pateraki, that had no official worship attached to it, suggesting the object was an expression of the piety from an individual shepherd;²⁷⁹ additionally, Hermes is featured in coin images of the Latians;²⁸⁰ in 4th-2nd century BC figures from Herakleion;²⁸¹ a mid- 3rd century BC coin from Sybritos (below Eleutherna) with Hermes on the obverse, and the jaw of a wild boar on the reverse (fig. 30); a lamp from Trypa Cave with his head on;²⁸² and a variety of individual consecrations from Chernossos.²⁸³ This collection is not exhaustive but representative.

²⁷⁸ Herakleion Archaeological Museum.

²⁷⁹ Sporn 2002: 74; *IC*. I. xvi. 7 (base of greyish stone broken at the top and bottom, l. 0.17 m; h. 0.26 m; d. 0.13 m); Demargne 1900: 241 ff.; Xanthoudides 1903: 292; Sanders 1982: 141; Voutiras 1984: 142.

²⁸⁰ Sporn 2002: 75.

²⁸¹ Herakleion Archaeological Museum.

²⁸² Agios Nikaloas Museum.

²⁸³ Sporn 2002: 109



Figure 26, 27, and 28 (left to right). Image of a goat from Gortyn, a satyr design on an *oinochoe* from Kissamos and a satyr figurine from Lyttos (Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Kissamos Archaeological Museum, Herakleion Archaeological Museum, all images author's own).

Throughout, the material culture features iconography indicative of each figure. These transitory pastoral myths have been attached and represented through material culture.²⁸⁴ These material pieces could then lend authority to the idea of these pastoral gods, both through their physicality, and in the way they were attached to and/or deposited in the landscape (at cult sites). When we claimed these pastoral gods were not (always) attached to landmarks, we did not mean they were not connected to the broader landscape itself. These material objects, representations of worship and of the identity practiced through them, allied with the landscape to activate the experience and emotion connected to the pastoral myths.²⁸⁵ As such, a few of the myths were certainly connected to local sites: beyond the presence of Pan in caves across Crete,²⁸⁶ it appears a cult of Hermes was drawn from a cult site (Patsos)



Figure 29. Hermes, with a possible boar's jaw on the reverse (Svoronos 1890: 10, pl. XXX, 22).

near Sybrita.²⁸⁷ Notably, Sporn argues that Hermes and his fellow nature gods do not appear in the urban centres; they are strictly rurally located.²⁸⁸ This emphasis on the natural environment (in relation to these gods) can be further evidenced through an epigram from the Anthology of Planude (IV, 258), which tells us that a

²⁸⁴ I will note this process is not unique to pastoral gods, or to Crete. Nonetheless, this does not invalidate the worth of trying to determine how pastoralism developed as an integral mythic identity in Hellenistic Crete.

²⁸⁵ Boutsikas 2020: 30; Miller 2007; Tilley 2007; Knappett 2007; 2012; Maldonado and Russell 2016.

²⁸⁶ See previous citations for reference to a few.

²⁸⁷ Svoronos 1890: 314 f. No. 1-7. 9. pl. 30, 12-19. 21; 315 no. 8 pl. 25, 18; Raingeard 1935: 261; Seltman 1955: 173; LIMC V (1990) 369 no. 959; Tzedakis 1968: 420.

²⁸⁸ Sporn 2002: 254.

Cretan erected a bronze statue of the god Pan in the sanctuary of Diktynna (North-East of Kissamos). In the text, the landscape is stressed: *I have a skin and a double shepherds crook; from the hollow/empty cave I extend a look towards the double mountain.*²⁸⁹

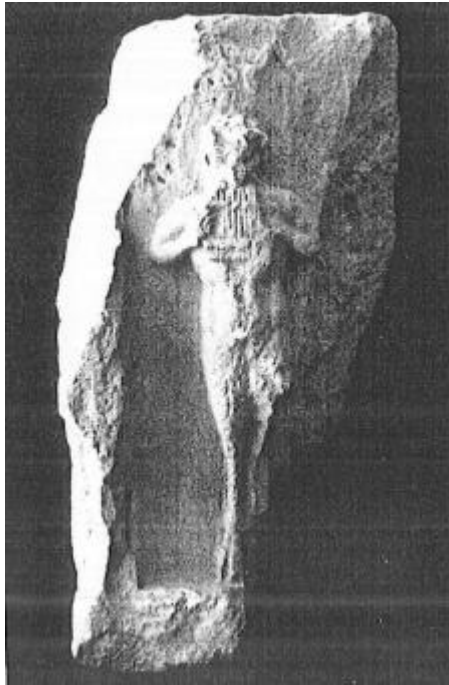


Figure 30. Pan, on a Kommos relief
(Sporn 2004: 1106, fig. 3).

Just as at Lykosoura, the material culture does more than reflect or display local myths (and the identities attached to them). It acts as an active agent in the formation and transformation of identity by impressing the values and interests that led to the creation of the material culture upon the viewer; the tangible physical quality of these items allows for these myths to become interactable,²⁹⁰ which could happen in many ways. A relief (no. 206 of the Herakleion Museum) represents pastoral concerns through the dancing of Pan and his nymphs and implies appropriate cultic behaviour.²⁹¹ It is not clear, but the relief undoubtedly had some significance, perhaps as a tool to link pastoral aspects to this sanctuary, however lightly. Again, material culture was fundamental for grounding these myths and supporting the advancement

of a pastorally geared identity, especially since there are no caves or cliffs nearby to reasonably explain Pan's presence at Kommos.²⁹² Other items of material culture, such as a bronze ram-statuettes dedicated to Hermes, patron of shepherds,²⁹³ and coins representing goats that linked the cities of Elyros, Hyrtakina, Lisos and Tarrha under Oreioi's control²⁹⁴ display attempts to engage with and/or integrate pastoral identities into the community (whether on a local level or far broader). At a small fort on the hilltop at Pyrgos Pinon, Elounda (within Olous' territory), a c. 3rd century BC graffito depicts Artemis chasing a

²⁸⁹ 'The mountain par excellence that the statue looks at is most likely, in Crete, the double-horned Ida, with its two peaks 1 km apart... 300, Timios Stavros to the northwest (2,456m) and Angathias to the southeast (2,242 m).' (Faure 1964: 149)

²⁹⁰ Knapp 2016: 244; Schleimer 2008; Panofsky 2012: 480-2 cited by Lorenz 2016: 20; Hodder 2012 on the inter-dependency of things and people.

²⁹¹ The date of which is underdetermined (late Hellenistic or Roman period) (Shaw 2001: 201-3). Moreover, it is uncertain who controlled the sanctuary, though it was likely Gortyn after the destruction of Phaistos (Shaw 2000: 714-5; Hope Simpson 1995: 397-400); on these items generally: Faure 1964: 148; Shaw 1980: 231, 235; Kommos IV 199 ff. Pls. 3.42-3.43.

²⁹² Shaw 2000: 715; there could have been a grove, now lost, though.

²⁹³ *Anthologia Graeca*. ix. 744

²⁹⁴ Svoronos 1888: 380.

goat.²⁹⁵ Gerontospilios Cave (within Eleutherna's territory) depicts a steady move towards a cult of Hermes (seen through 2nd-1st century BC inscriptions and horns of goats),²⁹⁶ and at Syvritos, Kephalam (within Axos' territory), a 3rd century BC pit holds a clay mould (which implies repeat production) for a Pan-head relief attachment to clayware.²⁹⁷ Not only do these indicate, within their areas at least, the popularity of pastoral gods but they demonstrate the intertwining of subject and object;²⁹⁸ that is, pastoral myths were accepted and informed the creation of these objects, thus showing a change in identity, which was then reinforced through engagement with these created items. This engagement could be remembering proper cultic practice through the objects; discussion on the iconography now represented on a community's coinage; the creation of pastoral images; the unconscious use of items (clayware) with pastoral figures attached; or the linking of cities through common narratives and gods (Hermes, for example, was used in many oaths and treaties).²⁹⁹ This entire process was supported by the context these myths and objects existed within; the rural landscape, which offered authority to these nature myths³⁰⁰ and supported the retrieval of memory in relation to them.³⁰¹

Myth was endlessly adaptable,³⁰² and even the pastoral gods could appear in other form (Hermes at Kydonia was presented a god of laughter and merriment). Nonetheless, there was clearly a turn to pastoral gods, facilitated in part by material culture. It took these broad, transitory myths and grounded them through materiality, allowing them to be represented and placed within the community. It gave them physicality. With these physical vessels in place representing myth, one could then more easily develop attachment and memory around them. This is identical to Lykosoura, where their monumental material culture attached local Arcadian myths to the site and acted as mediums of authority for them, verifying and reinforcing Lykosoura's associations to the viewers. At Crete, the material culture did the same for the pastoral mythologies. It acted as an active agent in imparting identity,³⁰³ shaping

²⁹⁵ Known by the word Ἀρτέμιδ[that appears on it (Burkhalter and Philippa-Touchais 2003: 1073-4).

²⁹⁶ Evely 2011.

²⁹⁷ Evely 2012.

²⁹⁸ Tilley 2004: 29.

²⁹⁹ Oaths: IC I ix 1 (probably Dreros, Sporn 2002 p.387); IC IV 51 (Gortyn); SEG XXIII 547, IC I xvi 5, xviii 9 (Olous). Dedications: IC I vii 2 (Chersonesos); IC II xxiii 10 (Polyrrenia); IC II xxviii 1, 2 (Tallaion Cave, near the north coast, midway between modern Rethymno and Heraklion), and possibly IC III xix 3 (Phalasarna).

³⁰⁰ Though arguably not to the extent a famous, singular landmark like Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia offered.

³⁰¹ Boutsikas 2020: 27.

³⁰² Alexiou 2018: 159

³⁰³ See 1.1.3 for active material culture.

people just as they shaped them, and consolidating the communal (pastoral myth associated) identities within communities.³⁰⁴

3.5.2: The Gods that Became Pastoral

To conclude this discussion on how material culture was effective in influencing identity, the deities, Aphrodite and Apollo, that took on pastoral aspects will now be examined. Their transformations were not comprehensive; they still retained their previous spheres and often appeared in those forms. Nonetheless, it is significant that they did adopt pastoral elements. It shows the importance of this focus in Hellenistic Crete, and it prompts us to ask the question of how these elements were attached to them.

The fact that these gods were associated with pastoralism does not stem from a controversial idea; the relationship between man and god was transactional.³⁰⁵ The gods became what the people needed them to be. For whatever the reason (a loss of autonomy, population growth, etc.) it is clear the new focus on pastoralism was a result of societal change. The wildly different forms of the gods could exist because that was what the people needed.³⁰⁶ And they could always find ways to validate this, by pushing these elements into the past.³⁰⁷ At Elis, Aphrodite was presented as riding a goat, first seen around 370 BC,³⁰⁸ which might connect to Aphrodite *Pandemos*.³⁰⁹ This itself perhaps finds root in Plutarch's tale of Theseus' sacrifice of a goat to Aphrodite to help his travel from Crete.³¹⁰ It is not confirmed that Aphrodite's pastoral representations on Crete (to be seen) stem from this tale,³¹¹ but it does suggest there was validation for her later pastoral link. This could be coupled with her long-standing connection to Hermes (who was clearly connected to nature),

³⁰⁴ See Ingold 2007: 11; Osborne 2018: 248; Creese 2016; Overholtzer and Robin 2015, see also Hodder 2012 and Gosden 2012; Whitley 2017; McDonnell 2023; Gosden 2012; see also Harris 2016; Maran and Stockhammer 2012; Ingold 2011; Bennett 2010 for ideas pertaining to the first half and Halbwachs 1941: 145 for the very last point.

³⁰⁵ Osborne 2015: 17

³⁰⁶ Halbwachs 1992: 52 talks about this in relation to memory; old and new memories can exist at the same time simply because people were interested in both.

³⁰⁷ Halbwachs 1992: 86. See 1.2.3.2.

³⁰⁸ Delivorrias, 1984: art. Cit. (n.32), p. 100, no. 975

³⁰⁹ Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 35

³¹⁰ Plut. Thes. 18.2.

³¹¹ Though we do know the Cretans were aware of it – the Cretans erected a temple to Aphrodite, where Theseus supposedly consecrated a statue of Aphrodite, given by Ariadne, on Delos (referenced in Sappho frg. 1 5/6 (Übersetzung M. Treu) cited by Sporn 2002: 331).

which survived into the Hellenistic Period at a widely attended site (Kato Syme).³¹² Apollo *Karneios*, a guardian of goats, history is simpler - there is no evidence of him on early Crete. Nonetheless, there are instances of him in Archaic to Classical Arcadia, and on sites such as Raukon (which is taken over by Gortyn in 167/6 BC), where a figure thought to be Apollo developed over time, adopting elements such as a hunting bow, goats, and an animal skull.³¹³ This is tenuous, and, especially in relation to Arcadia and Crete, the influences between one and other are complicated, but ultimately there was, as with Aphrodite, some sort of could be suggested that for , as discussed, has a tenuous history to goats, through *Karneios*, of history the Cretans could grasp upon, and thus use to justify the more overt transformations Aphrodite and Apollo undertook. Nonetheless, material culture remained the fundamental factor in altering these myths. Iconography is a powerful tool, and granting Aphrodite and Apollo pastoral elements (horns, goats etc.) worked to transform their image whilst tying them more clearly to the landscape. This process is, again, similar to how Lykosoura used its material culture to establish mythic links (in their case, the sanctuary's links figures like Artemis). In line with scholars such as Hodder and Knappett, we could suggest material culture impacted perception (specifically, that certain un-pastoral gods were now pastoral deities) and sustain this in the mind of its viewers.³¹⁴ We will now develop how this worked.

³¹² Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 6; note a Hierapytnian oath (Il. 59-60 and 75-76) features a succession of the names of Aphrodite and Hermes (Guizzi 2011: 317-8).

³¹³ Sporn 2002: 143-4; see for previous work: Platon and Davaras 1961/62; Alexiou 1963; Faure 1969: 190.

³¹⁴ Hodder 2004: 29; Miller 2007; Tilley 2007; Knappett 2007; 2012; Maldonado and Russell 2016; Connerton 2013: 318.



Figure 31. Aphrodite and Pan, from the Eleutherna Bathhouse, c. 2nd Century BC (Sporn 2018: 275, fig. 4, Eleutherna, Museum Inv. 3776+3777).

Aphrodite was not fundamentally changed during this process; there is a limit to reinvention after all. But material culture supported adaptation. Aphrodite's links to nature were likely drawn from her pre-existing position as a fertility goddess, which soon became connected to the fertility of the land.³¹⁵ To any extent, throughout the 2nd-1st century BC she appeared as Aphrodite *Epitragia* beside a ram statuette group and with Pan in what has been classified as a bathhouse sculpture (one of c.200) (fig. 32). Both items were from Eleutherna.³¹⁶ Additionally, she can be seen in a Hellenistic votive relief from Olous, where she sits on a she-goat.³¹⁷ This is not an amount of evidence that suggests a widespread change in her portrayal, but it does show she was attached to iconographic elements that imparted pastoral links, however sparse. The same is largely true for Apollo, whose primary link to

pastoral culture was through his cult of Apollo *Karneios*, which was present in the Hellenistic Period. There is little about the cult, but Apollo *Karneios* appears in inscriptions³¹⁸ and on a Hellenistic bronze coin series from the period between 308 and 277 BC, where he possessed ram's horns on his head (fig. 33).³¹⁹ In addition to this are examples of Apollo's depiction with goats on coins from Praisos,³²⁰ and goat's horns on bronze coinage from Tylisos.³²¹

³¹⁵ At Axos Aphrodite possessed the *epiklese Antheia* at Knossos, which likely references fertility in connection with nature (Sporn 2002: 332). Moreover, she was connected with the Charities, goddesses associated to fertility of the land, though their presence on Crete is difficult to fully confirm.

³¹⁶ Sporn 2018: 276.

³¹⁷ MCh Inv. 9; Savignoni 1901: 468, fig. 163; Mitropoulou 1975) no. 2; Knigge 1982: 158, pl. 33, 2; LIMC II (1984) 99 no. 956 s. v. Aphrodite (Delivorrias).

³¹⁸ IC. 4.181.5 (early second century BC) (Knossos) and Gortyn, which mentions the month (IC. 172.21, Καννεία[ς] (third-second century BC); 4.197.8, Καριμήνω οι Καν]νήνω? (second century BC); 4.235.7f, Καννήνω (early second century BC) (Willetts 1962: 266).

³¹⁹ Friedens contract between Knossos and Gortyn c. 168 BC (IC. IV 181 Z 5; Chaniotis 1966b: 289); Willetts 1962: 265. Coins: Svoronos, 1890: 79, no. 104 pl. 6, 26. The identification of the beardless head with rams' tusks on the coins has been debated but the interpretation as Apollo *Karneios* is favoured; cf. LIMC II (1984) 226 s. v. Apollo (Lambrinoudakis).

³²⁰ The appearance of gods with pastoral elements is not confined to Aphrodite and Apollo; even Zeus appears alongside goats on some coins: (Svoronos 1890: 287).

³²¹ Jenkins 1949: 51, pl. 7 (c. 300 BC); With that said, the goats on the coins could refer to a myth around Elyros, which claims Apollo was reared by a goat. See Paus. 5.15.5. With that said, the association of Apollo and a goat is widespread and even if related to a birth myth, still surely also associated him with pastoral



Figure 32. Apollo Karneios, from Knossoian coinage (Svoronos 104).

The attachment of pastoral iconography (e.g., horns, goats) to Aphrodite and Apollo was aided by the associated landscape which, as previously discussed (see 2.6.1), supported the authority their new pastoral forms.³²² To this end, Aphrodite, possessing no clear Cretan landmark to my knowledge, was featured with Hermes (and Pan) who was clearly attached to the landscape through his protection of shepherds.³²³ Both were seen as ‘outside’ gods, whose cult sites existed beyond the cities.³²⁴ Comparatively, Apollo, as Amyklaios, possessed rural cults³²⁵ and he often invoked his surroundings through the iconography on his material culture; for example, through a rock he sat on in 1st century BC Gortyn coinage³²⁶ and the tree he stood beside, with goat head in hand, in 4th century BC Tylisian coinage.³²⁷ In short, the combination of iconography and the elements drawn from the landscape allowed the material culture to draw associations between the gods and the pastoral sphere, even if the two were once unrelated. In this sense, it acted as an active agent in the reworking of tradition.³²⁸ The material culture, by giving physicality (lit. a material form) to the pastoral versions of these myths, worked to reinforce them in memory and thus act as mediums of authority for the acceptance of these variations. They tied the gods to the landscape through their iconography and shaped people’s perceptions of their deities. These were then integrated and reiterated either through active engagement (the creation and dedication of a

elements, especially when considered beside the context in which these coins arrive. See Svoronos 1890: 310, no. 2. pl. 30, 2 and Forrer 1924, no. 4462; 2279 for some of these coins.

³²² See Boutsikas 2020: 30 for how perception must be married with memory, specifically memories of myth that were attached to the landscape.

³²³ Crete possessed a list of swearing in goddess; Aphrodite often appears alongside Ares and Hermes. See Cf. Chaniotis 1996b: 69-72. Sporn questions whether Aphrodite and Hermes are swearing-in pairs, appearing in only 6 of the known swearing-in oaths, at Knossos (contract Knossos-Eleutherna), Dera (contract Lato-Olous; Hierapytna-Lato), at Dreros (oath of citizenship Dreros), at Hierapytna. Additionally, Marinatos (2003: 131) and Schofield (2011: 98) would argue that Hermes is invoked below Aphrodite and Ares, thus meaning he is not connected to her. Whilst this makes sense, Aphrodite is already associated with Hermes at Kato Symi. It would not be strange to see her appear alongside him again, even if her main association was Ares (IC IV 171, 174 and 183 (Gortyn with Arkades, Priansos, and Sybrita respectively, the last two restored); IC I ix 1 (the Dreros oath); SEG XLI 743 (Eleutherna with probably Knossos); IC III iii 3b and SEG XXVI 1049 (Hierapytna with Lyttos and Lato); IC I xviii 9 (Lyttos with Olous)).

³²⁴ Sporn 2002: 333.

³²⁵ The month name Amyklaios is only attested in Argos, except in Gortyn; see Trümper, *Monatsnamen* 143.

³²⁶ For coins, see: Svoronos 1890: 177, nos. 157-176 pl. 16, 15-20 (100-85 BC); Price 1966: 136. LIMC II (1984) 192 f. s. v. Apollo (Palagia).

³²⁷ Lambrinoudakis tries to link this to Apollo Karneios, but this is unconvincing. Sporn 2002: 146 tries to assign this figure as Hermes, based on similar iconography. It could be either; here I have decided in Apollo, due to similar imagery (a hunting bow, and goat associations) across Crete.

³²⁸ Bloch 1941: 134-37.

votive statuette) or through passive acceptance (the presence of these pastoral forms in coinage and sculpture within the community's environment). This process of mythical change could be carried out by another medium (e.g., oral stories) but material culture was surely more effective, both because it could reach a wider audience without focused engagement (one only needs to walk past the sculpture of Pan and Aphrodite to then have that association in mind) and because it could attach elements, emblematic of a particular thing (e.g., horns for pastoralism), that are stark and obvious to the viewer. In this way, material culture worked with the fluidity of myth to impress and/or alter iconographic representations, acting as symbols of authority for these variations (in a 'look-you-can-see-it-here' way) and thus fix them within the common consciousness of Cretan communities. Now, whether this use of material culture was one driven by smaller communities trying to develop a new local mythic identity, or from larger communities to aid their control over their disparate more dependents, is not altogether clear – based on the fact we see pastoral elements in civic items (coinage) but we also find an increase in small, rural cult sites, means the answer might be somewhere in-between. Nonetheless, whatever the reasons, we can clearly spy how the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture was working within this context. Material culture supported the fluidity of myth and helped to fix its changes within the culture.

3.6: Conclusions

The island of Crete was a tempestuous place in the Hellenistic Period, with cities expanding left and right, and smaller communities being subsumed by them. Within this, communities used their material culture to help spread pastoral mythic tradition via using the medium, and its iconographic representation, to give physicality to these myths and ground them within the community. Throughout, these material mythologies relied on the collective memory of the groups they were hosted in, and the associations that were attached to the landscape. In examining this, we can see comparative themes between Crete and our previous case study, Lykosoura. In both cases material culture grounded myths, attached them to a community, and acted as a vessel of authority for the traditions they represented; they were then used to alter and influence memory, helping to introduce new myths, or reinforce old ones (or both). In addition, the landscape was fundamental; material culture would embody aspects of it (e.g., stories related to landmarks, or, more obviously, visual elements of place) which was where these items, at least initially, would draw their authority from. In this way, communities combined material culture with myth to play with ideas of landscape and memory, and therefore to influence identity, which was tied to both. Following from this, our last case study will examine the city of Tyre, and the figure of Heracles-Melqart, to examine how the community blended the iconography of Heracles and Melqart to preserve Tyrian identity and foster Mediterranean connections during the turbulent era of Alexander the Great and his successors. The ideas suggested will mirror those of chapter two and three (broadly, material culture impacted perception and memory and acted as a source of authority for adaptations of myth), with the additional point that Tyrian material culture was designed for dual interpretation, allowing for better inter-cultural contact.

Chapter 4: Heracles-Melqart: Institutionalising Identity within Tyre

4.1: Introduction

The city of Tyre was host to, at least within the Hellenistic Period, the figure of Heracles-Melqart. In this chapter we will explore how material culture was used to ‘blur’ the iconography of Heracles and Melqart (figures already connected by at least the 6th century BC) within the city, to help maintain traditional Tyrian identity and support the development of networks between the city and other communities across the Mediterranean. In doing so, we will add the element of intercultural interaction to the elements of perception and physicality previously discussed, further developing the discussion.

All of this happened within a turbulent time for Phoenicia; Alexander and his successors’ actions within the region were significant in determining how cities such as Tyre acted and reacted within this era. To begin, we will discuss Phoenician identity and its (perceived) issues before developing our approach towards art in this chapter. Here we will refer to the Greeks largely as the Greek-speaking peoples and the Phoenicians by their individual cities (e.g., Tyrians), to avoid internally homogenizing each cultural group. However, we are not rejecting the idea of culture – the Greeks and Phoenicians were certainly different, and suggesting either group did not have an awareness of larger cultural group they sat within can do them a disservice.¹ Our approach is simply one of caution, as we do not engage heavily with arguments on culture. Nonetheless, we will directly avoid essentialising the material culture of these peoples as ‘Greek’ art or ‘Phoenician’ art – instead, the objects coming from Phoenicia will be seen as a collection of motifs born of omni-directional influence across a long period of time. Terms such as ‘mixed’ and ‘hybrid’² will be ignored – they confer that art can be ‘pure’, which this discussion does not accept. From this, my approach will instead view material culture from Phoenicia through the concept of ideas, influences, and intentions. From here this chapter will outline the evidence of the relationship between Heracles and Melqart, to better understand the syncretism between the two. It appears most of the process happened in Cyprus, where traders from mainland Greece and Phoenicia met and shared

¹ López-Ruiz 2025; Vella 2014: 41 expresses a similar view, in relation to ‘Phoenician’ bowls.

² See 4.2.1.2.

ideas. From this, we will discuss Phoenicia in the Hellenistic Period – discussing it just before our final analysis allows us to directly contextualise Tyre’s material culture and how it was developed to be read two ways, based on what the viewer wanted to see. Ultimately, material culture helped to institutionalise these versions of Heracles-Melqart, embedding them within the Tyrians’ consciousness.

4.2: Contextualising the Phoenicians



Figure 33. Map of Phoenicia (Nitschke 2011: 88, fig. 3).

The Phoenician coast has been afforded meticulous description in the work of Pseudo-Scylax's *Periplus*.³ Pseudo-Scylax delineated Phoenicia's boundaries, detailing its main cities such as Arados (with its island harbour), Tyre, Sidon, and Tripolis Phoinikōn. Phoenicia's coastal plain stretched along the Mediterranean; promontories like Rās esh-Shaq'a and Rās Nahr el-Kalb interrupted land communication but facilitated coastal trade. The presence of rivers and springs enhanced the plain's fertility, supporting agriculture and sustaining the population despite limited available land. Notably, archaeological evidence indicates the utilization of terraced farming techniques (from at least the 4th century BC) along the land's steep slopes, maximizing agricultural

output despite the rugged terrain. Mountain ridges to the east formed a natural barrier, separating the coastal plain from the hinterland. The Lebanon mountain range stood as a formidable obstacle, save for a few passes, while the Anṣariyah Mountains and 'Akkār Valley created divisions in the north. South of the Litanwe River, the G'abal 'Āmel ridge and the Galilee heights provided crucial communication routes. Despite mountainous geography (which provided trees for shipbuilding), Phoenicia remained well-connected, with mountain

³ Pseudo-Skylax. *Periplus*. 103-113 (trans. Shipley 2011: 77-8).

passes and coastal trade ensuring accessibility to its coastal areas.⁴

Within this land resided the Phoenicians. It is commonly agreed that they existed from the first millennium BC, when large-scale migration took off,⁵ and were specifically identified as the ‘Phoenicians’ around the 11th century BC.⁶ Phoenicia was occupied by a set of powerful trading cities (Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos being examples) that exported wool and dye, and created cities across the Mediterranean (such as Carthage in the 9th century BC), through their effective nautical abilities.⁷ All the while Phoenicia existed underneath large imperial states (Neo-Assyrian (934–610 BC), Neo-Babylonian (625–539 BC), Achaemenid (550–330 BC), and Seleucid Empires (312–63 BCE)).⁸

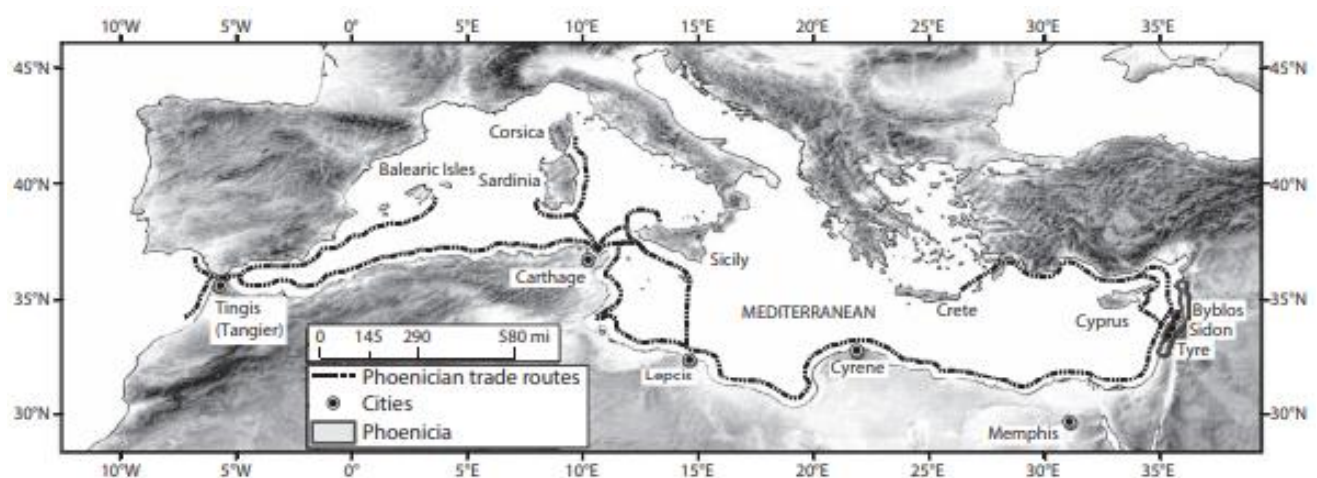


Figure 34. Phoenician trading networks (Manning 2018: 45, map 1).

It is within this contextualizing that we run into our first set of issues; namely, the identification of the Phoenicians themselves. Due to a lack of textual evidence, they can be hard to define, and their material culture, our greatest asset for identification, is often viewed as a means of examining Greek exceptionalism. However, these problems have problems of their own. In fact, we can define the Phoenicians based on location, religion, and social practice, and scholarly trends are now less concerned with examining the Phoenicians through a Greek lens than with issues of essentialization. Oftentimes when studying the people from Phoenicia, critical study circles around upon itself. As such, this thesis will work

⁴ See Sader 2019: 8-11 for a more comprehensive study, including scholarship; for further information, see Dussaud 1927: 409-10; Kuschke 1977; Hachmann 1983: 25; Kitchen 2000: 48 and fig. 6.

⁵ Quinn 2017: 27; Malkin 2011: 63-4, 101-6; Hall 2002: 90-124. Hall himself would put the emergence of a broad ‘Hellenic’ identity later, and on the mainland (2002: 168-71).

⁶ Quinn 2017: 37; Bonnet 1988: 2. Bonnet discusses how Phoenician identity was formulated (outside the scope of this study) (1988: 1-5).

⁷ Manning 2018: 44.

⁸ Manning 2018: 47-8.

to identify the Phoenicians and, more significantly, rationalise its approach to their material culture; specifically, through a focus on Ideas, Influences, and Intentions.

4.2.1: The ‘Problems’ with Phoenician Identity

The first issue we run into is an apparent difficulty in defining the Phoenicians. We cannot clearly identify a collective name they gave to themselves (we can only find political unions between cities such as Arados, Sidon, Tyre),⁹ and certain suggestions, such as ‘Canaanites’, has faced criticism on the fact ‘Canaan’ might have encompassed a coastal strip far beyond our current parameters for Phoenicia.¹⁰ This is a situation exacerbated by the lack of Phoenician textual sources, which obscures their own opinions and self-reflections.¹¹ Instead, their history is often reported by Greek and Roman authors who possessed agendas of their own¹² and therefore might have led to historical misinterpretations on our part. Our sources are the same recurring names: Diodorus of Sicily, Arrian, Quintus Curtius. Inscriptions, the official institutional voices of the communities, are incomplete or confined to limited periods across the region’s history; cuneiform texts often did not survive history and the various transitions of power across the region.¹³ Turning briefly to address the focus of this chapter, Melqart, we can see that whilst we have around 300 epigraphic documents from the East, including 200 from Cyprus, and some 7,000 from the Punic zone, those for the Baal of Tyre¹⁴ hardly exceed a dozen.¹⁵ The ones we do have provide a more or less distorted reflection of Phoenician-Punic religion, which can cause misunderstandings on our part.¹⁶ The situation is

⁹ Bunnens 2019: 60; Sader 2019: 1-2; Katzenstein 1973: 247-8.

¹⁰ Moran 1987; Quinn 2018: 30–31; Sader 2019: 2-3.

¹¹ Sader 2019: 3; Bondi 2009: 388; Brown 1992: 20; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013; there may be some evidence of Phoenician voices, mainly through funerary inscriptions (*KAI* 35 and *KAI* 130 at 4th-3rd BC royal examples from Phoenicia), and a writing tradition is hinted at by Josephus who claims to have consulted Phoenician records in compiling his account (Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 1.9.23-24, 1.10.5, 1.10.36, 1.10.42-43; Joseph. *Ap.* 1.106; *AJ.* 1.107), and by Philo of Byblos (early 2nd century AD), though his source for authentic Phoenicia voices is problematic (Attridge and Oden 2024; for older works see, Baumgarten 1981, Barr 1976, Eissfeldt 1952, and Oden 1978). There are literary figures from Phoenicia in the late Hellenistic, namely Meleager of Gadara (c. 136-60), Antipater of Sidon (c. 170-100), and the philosopher Zeno of Sidon (3rd century BC) but we know little about them (see Avi-Yonah 1978: 184-186 and Nitschke 2007: 160-187, 2011: 86 on these topics).

¹² Greek conquest of Phoenicia is presented as victory over the Barbarians, a boon from the gods who supported the ‘right cause’ (Curt. 4.10-13; Bonnet 2014: 285).

¹³ Inscriptions from Arados, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre changed as various powers (e.g., Persian) exerted their power over the cities (Bonnet 1988: 5; Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet 2015: 9).

¹⁴ A title for Melqart.

¹⁵ Bonnet 1988: 5.

¹⁶ Bonnet 1988: 6. Over this and page 7 there is a more complex discussion on the issues with dealing with evidence on the Phoenicians.

not helped by the state of the archaeology; consistent excavations have been conducted on Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre¹⁷ but, by and large, the Phoenician settlements have not been found and the results were unpublished.¹⁸

As a result of this, the Phoenicians are often defined by others, namely in sources from Ancient Greece. It was the Greek-speaking peoples that provided the Phoenicians their name (φοῖνιξ),¹⁹ a term that likely originated in 8th century BC Greek literature (specifically Homer); this was an inclusion stemming from Greek-Eastern competition in commerce with Phoenicians at the time.²⁰ Otherwise, the Phoenicians were defined through their religious and nautical skill (“sacred sailors” [*hieronautai*]),²¹ and in communal language (“man of the people of (’Š B’M) Cossura”, “citizen of (B’L) Hammon”).²² The few instances we have of self-definition shows us they identified themselves through their cities and kings.²³ Despite the valuable insights Greek sources afford us, we must be aware that their attitudes towards the Phoenicians fluctuated, reflecting political dynamics and respective economic fortunes.²⁴

¹⁷ Discussed in in-depth later.

¹⁸ Work has revealed information from other locations, Tyre al-Bass (Seeden 1991) and Jiyye (Waliszewskwe et al. 2015), for example, but little on larger cities. Perhaps simply because the cities were situated in good locations and thus built over across time; Sader 2019: 28-9.

¹⁹ Quinn 2017: 26

²⁰ Sheratt 2005: 35-6; Hom. *Od.* 15.415-470; they appear to have operated in the East Mediterranean, the Levantine coast, the Nile Delta, Libya and Crete, among other locations (Hom. *Od.* 14.285-300, 13.272-285, *Il.* 23.744-745). At times the Phoenicians are regarded as one (Hom. *Od.* 13.273-286, 15.417-425), at other times separately (the Sidonians are mentioned) (Hom. *Od.* 4.83-84; *Il.* 23.743-744). Attitudes also contradict; they are regarded as unpleasant (Hom. *Od.* 15.415-484) and admirable at various points (*’agauos*’, Hom. *Od.* 13.272, 13.283-284) (see Winter 1995 for discussion).

²¹ *CISem.* I no. 114 = *ID* no. 50.

²² Quinn 2017: 37.

²³ The self-identified Sidonians were described as sons of Tyre by Athenian officials in *CIS.* I no. 119 = *KAI.* No. 59 (see Bäbler 1998: 119-55; Lipiński 2004: 169-73; Seeger 2002; Stager 2005 for discussion). 4th century diplomatic inscriptions define Athens as ‘Athenians’ and the Sidonians as ‘the king of Sidon’ and his descendants (*IG.* II² no. 141 = no. 21); 5th-4th century BC coinage names the king rather than the city, with one exception (Élayi and Élayi 2009: 232, type II. 1.2.d).

²⁴ On this broadly, see Jigoulov 2019: 90; Sader 2019: 313. For Phoenician developments (nautical skills and writing) imparted upon the Greek-speaking peoples, see Babbwe et al. 2015; Morris 2007: 240; Gschnitzer 1988, 1993. For general consideration of Greek/non-Greek interaction, see Vlassopoulos 2013. For the connection between Phoenician and early Greek writing, see Papadopoulos 2016. For how Greek perceptions of the Phoenicians worsened during the Persian war, see Élayi 2013 and Manning 2018: 50-3. Lastly, for how much autonomy the Phoenician cities, such as Tyre, held throughout their existence (and thus how much control they had over the latter instances), see Jigoulov 2019: 90 and van der Brugge and Kleber 2016.



Figure 35. A silver bowl from Palestrina (Vella 2014: 33, fig. 2.3).

We must keep this in mind when determining how we define the Phoenicians (e.g., were they *really* ‘greedy’ as Homer suggests?)²⁵ One abundant source we have for Phoenician self-identification is their material culture, bolstered and spread by their trade and colonial expansion across the Mediterranean.²⁶ However, our perceptions of it are often drenched in previous scholarly views of Greek exceptionalism, where the objects were seen as

vehicles for charting Greek influence, i.e., Hellenization.

Perrot's 19th-century definition of 'Phoenician' art relied on a comparative approach that was essentialist in nature, driven by comparative study to create classifications and the belief that objects could be ethnically diagnostic.²⁷ The continuation of this approach meant that, when metal bowls gained recognition through discoveries like Henry Layard's findings at Nimrud in 1849 (fig. 36), they were defined as ‘mixed’ by Layard, a combination of Egyptian, Phoenician, and Assyrian styles.²⁸ Thus, Henry Layard is credited as having created ‘Phoenician’ as a stylistic category.²⁹ Layard's conclusion that Phoenician art can be defined by this eclecticism alone³⁰ soon developed into the idea that Phoenician art copied and appropriated foreign styles.³¹ This attitude continued into the 20th century, where

²⁵ *Il.* 23.741–44; *Od.* 14.288–89.

²⁶ Aubet 2001: 354; though both Brown 1992: 7 and Boardman 1974: 9–10 bemoan the lack of Phoenician art in Phoenicia itself – most of the surviving vases have been found in Etruscan tombs in northern Italy. This is a valid concern but ultimately does not impede our ability to find a Phoenician identity, as discussed shortly.

²⁷ Perrot and Chipiez 1885; Vella 2014: 30.

²⁸ Layard 1853a: 185–91. See Vella 2014: 30–3 for a more comprehensive summary of these trends.

²⁹ Vella 2010: 22–23; Riva and Vella 2006: 4–10; Layard 1853.

³⁰ An issue Brown notes as being pressed irrespective of findspot (Brown 1992: 7). The problems of the historical, chronological, and geographic parameters of ‘Phoenicia’ and ‘Phoenician’ have been discussed in, as examples, Baurain 1986; Lipiński and Rölling 1992; Salles 1995; Moscatwe 1995; Vella 1996.

³¹ Brown 1992: 11; Niemeyer 2004a: 247; Nitschke 2015: 213.

Phoenician influence upon Greek art was mitigated, and the latter were portrayed as the innovative, transformative style.³² Cultural homogeneity, specifically the idea that items originating from Phoenicia were Phoenician, ignored cultural mutability and reinforced, rather than challenged, cultural homogeneity.³³ This led to Henri Frankfort's declaration that the 'hallmark of Phoenician art is the bungled use of Egyptian themes'.³⁴ Even in more favourable works to the Phoenicians, the influence of artwork from Greek cities upon the former was still impressed.³⁵ Whilst the derogatory tone was dropped, current scholarship continues to fixate on defining 'Phoenician' material culture,³⁶ with the 'eclecticism' of material culture from the Phoenician coast being carried forward where it has been espoused by Brown (who questioned how we decide what to include in a 'Phoenician' category) and more recently, Bonnet, who argues that "eclecticism [characterizes] Phoenician architecture, art and craftsmanship"³⁷ This essentialist attitude of 'Phoenician' art can still be seen in modern research, where 'Greek' elements are often spied on 'Phoenician' material culture and then used to make historical and cultural conclusions. Culican, for example, discussed how influences from the Greek mainland were more easily found on art from Phoenicia (specifically in an alabaster relief from Arados dated to 7th-6th centuries BC),³⁸ an approach which can be further seen in modern readings of Phoenician sarcophagi (6th century BC) from Sidon (already 'mixed' with Egyptian, Anatolian, and Syrian influences),³⁹ which were suggested to have taken on 'Greek' elements (physiologies and hairstyles) from the 6th century BC.⁴⁰ This is not to dismiss essentialist readings of art entirely; they can provide interesting observations (Bondi suggests it shows a school of artists in Sidon trained in the Hellenic way).⁴¹ However, with this approach often comes an emphasis on the domination of 'Greek' style over the 'Phoenician'.⁴² The way in which this thesis confronts this is to avoiding essentialising art, which suggests it can be pure to begin with and thus hinders our

³² Vella 2014: 34.

³³ Jones 1997; Niemeyer 2003: 204 n. 4; Vella 2014: 36.

³⁴ Frankfort 1996: 310.

³⁵ Boardman 1995: 22, 48.

³⁶ Gubel 2019: 349; Nitschke 2015: 210; Niemeyer 2004a: 247; Markoe 2000: 144-146 ; Brown 1992: 7. Martin 2017: 95 has noted that 19th-20th century ideas still hold great impact.

³⁷ Bonnet 2015: 377 and Brown 1992: 7, among others: Nitschke 2015; Harden 1962: 90; Salles 1995; Vella 1996.

³⁸ Culican 1968a: 61.

³⁹ Harden 1962: 112.

⁴⁰ Harden 1962: 113; Bondi 2009: 294.

⁴¹ Bondi 2009: 294.

⁴² Quinn 2017: 79; Bonnet 2015: 377.

ability to study the dynamics of identity.⁴³

Moreover, an essentialist perspective is often wrapped up in the concept of ‘Hellenization’ (the continued influence and assimilation of Greek culture over another), which itself is influenced by the 19th century presupposition that there was an inevitability to the spread of culture and ethnicity.⁴⁴ As such, ‘Hellenization’ emerged with essentializing qualities which over-emphasised the Greek impact in Phoenician and Greek relations;⁴⁵ though there have been attempts to move beyond this they often fail to recognise the underlying issue with this terminology – it is rooted in ideas of cultural superiority.⁴⁶ After all, we do not use terms such as ‘Egyptianized’ when Egyptian elements appear, or ‘Persianized’ when Phoenicians appear dressed as Persians – instead, we assign an active agency to the Greek city states in cultural exchange. The other partner in cultural exchange needs to have their own autonomy within intercultural interaction recognised. We must be aware that it went two ways. Thus, when visitors of Umm el-Amed viewed their own god Milkashtart in a temple adorned with what we might describe as ‘Greek’ style architecture and ‘Egyptian’ motifs,⁴⁷ we must remember that this does not necessarily spell assimilation – these elements might have been welcomed and/or constructed by the locals themselves. As such, this chapter’s analysis intends to examine the material culture of Heracles-Melqart through the concepts of ideas, influences, and intentions – with these, we can more easily frame the process of intercultural contact and exchange, and better understand the people behind the objects.⁴⁸ All of this is not to say the issue of Greek over Phoenician has not been recognised in recent scholarship. The dominance of classicism in Western discourse has sidelined Phoenician history, and the ongoing insistence of the Phoenician’s lack of a unified state reflects ideological bias.⁴⁹ There is continued difficulty in letting go of Greek exceptionalism⁵⁰ - for example, despite pottery at

⁴³ Martin 2017: 74, in particular impresses the need for more nuance in our discussion. We can see how a focus on determining style leads not only to essential readings, but often conclusion that pit Greek-speaking peoples and communities within Phoenicia against one and other (Stucky 1984, 1993; Lembke 2001 and 2004: 137; Élayi and Élayi 2009; Jigoulov 2010 and 2019; Nitschke 2007, 2011, 2015, though less so; Stager 2005).

⁴⁴ Dougherty and Kurke 2011: 3.

⁴⁵ Dougherty and Kurke 2011: 3; Bonnet 2019: 99; Kaizer 2006; this idea is ridiculous to begin with because, as Bonnet (2014: 283-4) notes, not even Alexander and his troops would have been considered ‘pure’, as in Greek. They would have been a mix of various city states, identities, and attitudes.

⁴⁶ Bonnet 2014: 282; Nitschke 2007: 8; Stockhammer 2012. See Droysen 1836 for an early discussion of Hellenism.

⁴⁷ Bonnet 2015: 385.

⁴⁸ One can find similar approaches to this in Makin 2011; Bonnet 2019: 101; Nitschke 2013: 257.

⁴⁹ López-Ruiz 2021: 25-7. I. Morris 1994, 21; van Dommelen 2015, 45; Díaz-Andreu 2018: 7-13; Larsen 1996; Quinn 2017: 3-22; Effros 2018: 201; Doumet-Serhal 2019.

⁵⁰ Boardman 1999: 199–200 is rife with these views. Both Martin 2017: 78 and López-Ruiz 2021: 44 note the difficulty in moving past this, even in theoretically sophisticated works (e.g., Malkin 2011) where an aura of Greek exceptionalism prevails.

Al-Mina having been concluded as a result of many complex interactions, there remains a discussion of the Greeks' ultimate influence within this.⁵¹ López-Ruiz best summarises the juxtaposition: "the 'Phoenicians' can equally be championed as the indispensable 'culture bringers' (usually in areas without Greek colonies) or relegated to the role of mere 'go-betweens' (in areas with or near Greek colonies), when the Hellenic agency is preferred".⁵²

From our discussion here, we are confronted with the idea that we cannot define the Phoenicians and that a study of their material culture is riddled with issues of Greek exceptionalism. However, as will be seen, we can define the Phoenicians and we can establish an approach to studying the material culture from Phoenicia that avoids Greek exceptionalism, and essentializing.⁵³

4.2.2: Unpacking the Problems

There is not a consensus on whether we can identify a collective Phoenician identity; some believe it was imposed from the outside,⁵⁴ whilst others argue, at least from the Early Iron Age, that a unified Phoenician ethnicity can be spied.⁵⁵ This thesis does not intend to reconcile the debate. However, it will argue for the latter perspective. The Phoenicians can be defined through a number of ways, which includes their social structure (broadly conceived), their religion, and through the few instances of self-definition we have (largely in relation to migrant experience). We must remain aware, however, of the pitfalls of trying to define a culture - our understanding of ancient identity is drawn from emerging nationalism of the 19th century and its drive to define,⁵⁶ often through a focus on what sets two groups apart (oppositional identity). This can lead to a magnification of how we view differences in past cultures,⁵⁷ which for the people of the time might have only been, in some cases, simple

⁵¹ See Niemeyer 2004b. For the other work into this site, see Luke 2003; Hodos 2006: 37-40; Lane Fox 2008: 97-107; Kotsonas 2013: 25. Niemeyer 2004, 2005; López-Ruiz 2021: 47-8.

⁵² López-Ruiz 2021: 57.

⁵³ For the most part. At times the terms 'Greek' and 'Phoenician' will find use, to support the clarity of certain arguments.

⁵⁴ The argument is most clearly articulated in Quinn 2017. See also Martin 2017 for an art-historical perspective.

⁵⁵ We can see this in Herodotus account of Cambyses' attempts to launch an expedition against Carthage – the Phoenicians refuse as they will not attack their own kin (3.19). Edrey 2019; López-Ruiz 2017, 2021: 11–19 and 2025.

⁵⁶ See Braudel 1980: 202; 1995: 11, 22; for newer examples, see Huntington's theory of the clash of civilizations (1996) and Jacques' 'civilization-state' (2009). For criticism of the models employed, see Sen 2006: 40-6; Anderson 2010; Mac Sweeney 2010; Quinn 2017: 233.

⁵⁷ Barth 1969; Eriksen 2010: 79-80; E. Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993; Isaac 2004; Quinn 2017: 235. Malkin argues against Barth's emphasis on boundaries (Malkin 2011: 99), focusing instead on a network approach.

idiosyncrasies.⁵⁸ This is an issue further complicated by the fact we have to avoid conflating group identity with a shared perspective of the social meaning of that same identity.⁵⁹ This is an issue this chapter hopes to mitigate through our approach, which focuses on influence and intention over arbitrary cultural lines. As said already, however, this chapter recognises that cultures exist – the cities of Phoenicia would have understood their differences to the Greek speakers. It is art/material culture we work to avoid essentialising here, to avoid the implications of purity and Greek exceptionalism that can come with that (as discussed).

The Phoenicians can be defined through their location; their major cities were all aligned across the Levantine coast, for their trade of glass, silverware, and dyes, and for their writing, which was first found in Byblos.⁶⁰ Whilst each city had their own distinct histories, politics, and dialects, they are appeared to share similar burial, religious, linguistic, and epigraphic practices, indicating a form of shared ethnicity among the diasporic communities.⁶¹ Additionally, whilst the Phoenician cities possessed their own particular gods (Tyre and Melqart being a prime example), they were known to share gods, such as Reshef, found in Byblos, Sidon, and Kition, and Eshmun, present at Tyre, Arados, and Sidon.⁶² Thus, it is fair to suggest that if the ‘Greeks’ can be collected as a cultural group through shared religious figures, so too can the Phoenicians. The gods within each city acted to maintain balance; they supported their worshippers and protected them, but they also offered ruin and destruction in response to crimes.⁶³ Throughout, these urban pantheons of Phoenicia played a significant role in the historical structuring of Phoenician cities,⁶⁴ including movement between them in response to brokered alliances.⁶⁵ In addition to this, we find suggestions of a unified sense of Phoenician identity through migrants from the region. Whilst it is true that much of the labelling of ‘Phoenician’ comes from foreign perspectives, namely within Greece (Zeno,

⁵⁸ Quinn 2017: 72 – she does note this approach can helpful when trying to assess how people see themselves (p.73), though this is difficult with the Phoenicians due to the reasons stated above.

⁵⁹ Mac Sweeney 2009: 104.

⁶⁰ Demetriou 2023: 7.

⁶¹ The notions of ethnic identity and ethnicity are modern: they are rooted in the modern nation-state and first became popular as terms both in the academy and in public media in the middle of the twentieth century (appearing first in 1941 in Warner and Lunt). The categories of identity and ethnicity are seen as so flexible that they lose effectiveness (Brubaker and Cooper 2000), but nonetheless, many scholars agree that self-perceived ethnic groups did exist in the ancient Mediterranean, and thus the term has worth (Smith 2003; Matic 2020; Demetriou 2023: 8).

⁶² Quinn 2017: 78

⁶³ Liverani 1982: 302-307; Bonnet 1988: 41.

⁶⁴ Bonnet 1988: 4.

⁶⁵ See the inclusion of Eshmun alongside Melqart in iconography in the 7th century BC, a result of conflict between Sidon and the Assyrians, the latter of who was razed and ceded to Tyre; Bonnet 1988: 41.

whose teacher called him ‘little Phoenician’ is a good example),⁶⁶ we do have instances of self-definition. Phoenician immigrants living in Greece and Egypt referred to their homeland as Phoenicia, and some in the latter even called themselves ‘Phoenico-Egyptians’.⁶⁷ They continued to define themselves through their language and their place of origin;⁶⁸ of course, this does not presume a similar process was happening in Phoenicia proper. In short, whilst our lack of textual evidence prevents us from confirming the same level of self-reflective identity seen in Greek sources, we can track consistencies between religion, language, and certain social structures.⁶⁹

Lastly, on our choice not to use hybridity. Though Martin claims it has become a study of ‘how’ and ‘why’ of mixing⁷⁰ and Dietler has reframed it to focus on ‘hybridization’, emphasising active interaction, agency, and negotiation among social actors in colonial settings;⁷¹ the theory still presupposes two cultures are separate and can then be combined. There remains a distinct element of ‘purity’ to the concept that, despite attempts from Feldman⁷² to overcome (largely by ignoring terminology), must be acknowledged – Stockhammer argues the concept can become meaningless otherwise.⁷³ Moreover, attempts to impress the agency of the invaded group (as Meyers⁷⁴ does in relation to ‘Scythian-Greco’ artifacts, alongside, more broadly, Ackerman’s work,⁷⁵ still implies, at its core, that there is a dominant group; this in of itself is not problematic but with it, especially in the context of Hellenistic Phoenicia, comes baggage from ideas of western exceptionalism (see X). As seen in 4.2.1.1, this often inevitably leads to cultures being pitted against one and other, and in our

⁶⁶ Diogenes Laertius 7.3: τί φεύγεις, Φοινικίδιον; οὐδὲν δεινὸν πέπονθας (Why are you running away, little Phoenician? Nothing terrible has happened to you); Diogenes Laertius 7.25: οὐ λανθάνεις, ὦ Ζήνων, ταῖς κηπαίαις παρεισρέων θύραις καὶ τὰ δόγματα κλέπτων Φοινικικῶς μεταμφιεinnός (You do not escape my notice, Zeno, slipping through the garden gates, stealing my doctrines and giving them a Phoenician makeover); Hdt. 5.58 credits the mythical hero Kadmos, who is said to have been a Phoenician, with introducing the Phoenician alphabet to the Greeks. Notably, Plutarch finds his attempts to lend Phoenician origins to Greek culture intolerable (Plut. *Mor.* 857e–f), demonstrating the complexity of attitudes to the Phoenicians. The Greeks did indeed borrow their alphabet from the Phoenician one (Demetriou 2023: 3).

⁶⁷ Demetriou 2023: 9. *PSI*. V 531. Other papyri in the Zenon archive suggest that trade with Tyre was common: *P.Cair.Zen.* 1, 59016; 1, 59093; 4, 59558.

⁶⁸ See Demetriou 2023 for a comprehensive study of Phoenicians immigrants.

⁶⁹ See also Doak and López-Ruiz 2019: 5–6. The entire is a good demonstration of a ‘Phoenician identity’. Work on the “Orientalizing” phenomenon (Aubet 2001; Hodos 2006; Riva and Vella 2006; Dietler and López-Ruiz 2009; Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016), the spread of Assyrian and Egyptian models from the art-historical angle (Gunter 2010; Feldman 2014), and the dialogues between Greek and Phoenician art (Martin 2017; Doak and López-Ruiz 2019: 4–6) are all further discussions into a Phoenician identity.

⁷⁰ Martin 2017: 139.

⁷¹ Dietler 2009: 25–30, 2010: 51–2. For relevant literature, see: Van Dommelen 2006: 136–8; Bakhtin 1981: 358–9; Parry 1987; Ahmad 1994, 207–8; Hardt and Negt 2005, 175–6.

⁷² 2006: 60

⁷³ Feldman 2012: 2.

⁷⁴ Stockhammer 2013: 306

⁷⁵ Ackerman 2012: 19, Dietler 2010: 51.

case, the advent of ‘Hellenization’. Bhabha’s original (1994) work (and others, 1990, 2003) employed this theory well – in British Raj there were certainly themes of superiority present and thus there were attempts to produce autonomy and a form of identity within what was effectively a culturally policed state. However, there is no evidence of this attitude in Hellenistic Phoenicia – as such, hybridity as a theory can be misleading. Attempts to distinguish ideas of hybridity (intentional hybridity, organic hybridity)⁷⁶ continue to impress the fundamental problem – cultures (and art) can begin pure and then be ‘mixed up’ to create something new. Now, assuming cultures begin as a mix, and become more ‘mixed’ as hybridity ensures is more valid – using the theory to focus on cultural responses such as acceptance, rejection, segregation, and adaptation are better still.⁷⁷ However, when it comes to material culture especially, the implications of purity remain and are difficult to overcome; there is a constant ask to consider the context behind the hybridity.⁷⁸ As such, it feels simpler to just begin with the context and examine what is happening in material relations between different communities. In this way, a theoretical grounding feels unnecessary, at least within the context of this piece.

4.3: Ideas, Influence, and Intention

In line with current art scholars such as Feldman, this chapter will frame its examination around the points of ideas, influences, and intentions. That is, the material culture from Phoenicia developed over time as new ideas were adopted, influences were exerted, and intentions were fulfilled (i.e., ‘they liked X style’). In this way we hope to avoid issues of essentialisation.

⁷⁶ Werbner et al. 1997: 5.

⁷⁷ Werbner et al. 1997: 5, Maran 2012: 62; Sørensen, Friedrich and Søholm 2019: 48; Dietler 2010: 14, Purcell 2005: 127; Knapp 2008: 59.

⁷⁸ Jung 2009, 82, Meyers 2013: 307.

4.3.1: Contextual Influence: Audience and Trade

The first element to explore are the contextual influences upon the material culture from Phoenicia. Between 1000 and 550 BC, writing a comprehensive history of Phoenicia proves challenging due to our limited knowledge of internal city-state development within the region. Phoenician cities, split into northern (Arados to Byblos) and southern groups (Tyre



Figure 36. A bronze bowl from Nimrud, featuring a pantheon (Gubel 2019: 357, fig. 23.3).

and Sidon) engaged in trade and political maneuvering, notably with the Assyrian and Babylonian empires.⁷⁹ Tyre, a key player, used the Assyrian expansion in the 8th century BC to expand its trade networks towards the Mediterranean; the city thrived under Sargon's reign, whilst Sidon was not as fortunate, and was swallowed by the Assyrian Empire in the 8th century BC.⁸⁰ Tyre's fortunes changed however;

Nebuchadnezzar's Babylonian

Empire sought to control the city, which led to a decline in Tyre's economic prominence and dominance within the Mediterranean network.⁸¹

Between 3900-1180 BC, the material culture from Nimrud reflected influences from Egypt, facilitated by Byblos's trading ports between the two.⁸² This can be seen in the 9th-8th century BC shallow bronze bowls (fig. 31) from the city, where motifs seemingly originating from Aramaean and Egypt (specifically standing deities, armed with a variety of items and

⁷⁹ Bunnens 2019: 56-73; Peckham 2010: 86-7.

⁸⁰ van der Brugge and Kleber 2016; Sader 2019: 313; Peckham 2010: 191-2.

⁸¹ van der Brugge and Kleber 2016.

⁸² Gubel 2019: 349-50. Note, the continued use of 'Hellenization' and 'Egyptianizing' words, which bring essentialist qualities to the examination.



Figure 37. 8th-6th century BC
Horse rider terracotta, perhaps
Amrit (based on headwear).
Providence uncertain (Brussels,
Royal Museums of Art and
History. Inv.no. A 1323).

dressed, seemingly, in Egyptian regalia) appeared on the objects.⁸³ Early inscribed names on bowls from Tekké (Crete) and Kefar Veradim (Israel) suggest they were used by owners of different ethnic origins over time.⁸⁴ The styles on the bowls developed in the 8-7th centuries BC, soon incorporating a wide variety of narrative scenes, including sieges, and boat processions.⁸⁵ The advent of Assyrian control led to a reduction in Egyptian trade, and thus their influence upon material culture from Phoenicia,⁸⁶ though it did not disappear; in the 8-7th centuries BC we continue to see figures on bowls dressed in Egyptian regalia, which could be a result of growing neo-Assyrian territorial expansionism.⁸⁷ However, from the 8th century BC we find evidence of styles from Cyprus (specifically, horse riders, fig. 32), likely as a result of increased trade with that community.⁸⁸ Ultimately, the inclusion of certain styles and motifs from other cultures

within the material culture of Phoenicia's cities was a result of trade and audience – who were they encountering, and what were they trying to sell (in addition to other factors, such as personal taste, which existed but are hard to prove).⁸⁹

⁸³ They were well regarded: Hom. *Il.* 23.740–45, *Od.* 6.615–19, 15.113–19; Barnett 1974, 1975; Onnis 2009; Winter 2010: 335-79.

⁸⁴ Bordreuil 2007.

⁸⁵ Markoe 1985, 2007. Medallions and other objects were likewise affected – they took on the 'smiting Pharaoh' iconography (Gubel 2012). Sun-discs, and lunar crescents seem to be a result of Mesopotamian models (Quillard 1979, 2013; Gubel 2019: 358). See Stampolidis 2004: 277-349; Almagro-Gorbea 2004; Gubel 2019: 358 for additional examples of cultural influence upon objects in Phoenicia.

⁸⁶ Gubel 2019: 349-50.

⁸⁷ Falsone 1988; Jiménez Ávila 2002: 267–301.

⁸⁸ Peckham 2010: 242; Boardman 1995: 52; Gubel 2019: 352-4, 1987a: 85-109 for further information on this process. Jiménez Ávila 2015. See Nunn 2000: 36-81 for a discussion of new figurines during this period such as horsemen. See also Feldman 2014: 78 for Assyrian impact upon Phoenician trade more broadly.

⁸⁹ A later example, but still relevant to the 'supply-and-demand' point being made: in a study of Protohistoric Indigenous Communities along the Iberian Peninsula, Belarte has provided evidence to suggest Phoenician demand for product led to the increase of urban centers to supply it within the region (Belarte 2009: 107).



Figure 38. 8th century BC furniture panel from Nimrud (Gubel 2019: 361, fig. 23.4).

Significantly this process of influence was not just rote replication; artists from Sidon combined motifs from Egypt in original compositions that translated visually to their own local legends and beliefs.⁹⁰ For instance, several ivories from Sidon featured a king, dressed as a Pharaoh, dealing with solar cycles and the restraint of evil forces – these were invariably created in workshops which produced ‘Court Style’ ivories.⁹¹ Throughout, the cities of Phoenicia adapted to the demands of the trading market, and were, in turn, key proponents in the spread of these styles.⁹² Even the adoption of coinage in the 5th century BC in cities such as Tyre was likely a result of facilitating their ability to exist within the economic market, though it must be noted these primarily supported local trade.⁹³ Because of this adaptation, and

their diplomatic approach to ruling powers (such as Assyria), it is tempting to refer to the Phoenician city-states as ‘middlemen’ to the trade happening across the Mediterranean.⁹⁴ This is fine, as long as their agency is recognised; Tyre in the 7th century BC, for example, led a vast network of states as a result of colonial expansion.⁹⁵ Moreover, even when the city-states were subject to the influence of more powerful empires, choice remained at their disposal. For example, consider fig. 34. Minted in Tyre during the 5th century, it bears a striking similarity to the famous Athenian owl (of which the Tyrians were surely aware of).⁹⁶ With this object alone, an overzealous examiner could argue it as an example of ‘Hellenization’.

⁹⁰ Ciafalonwe 1995; Gubel 2012, 2019: 361.

⁹¹ Gubel 2019: 361.

⁹² Gubel 2019: 365–6; an idea which mirrors Malkin’s 2011 study on Mediterranean networks.

⁹³ Jigoulov 2019: 93.

⁹⁴ Gunter 2009: 178.

⁹⁵ For more information on this, see: Bunnens 2019: 56–73; Rupp 2005: 56; Peckham 2010: 249, 263–4, 291 and 368; Keel 1997: 758–77, no. 1–26; Peckham 2010: 305 – certain workshops, such as At Tell Keisan, known as ‘Achshaph or Kaspuna in ancient times, flourished under Tyrian/Assyrian control (Briend and Humbert 1980: 131–56; Humbert 1981: 373–98, pls. 8–10; Salles 1985: 203–4; Peckham 2010: 307).

⁹⁶ Beyond the obvious awareness of an empire as immediate as Athens’, there is potential evidence of Athenian coinage with stamped ‘mem’ implying they passed through Sidon (as an example) – however, the examples belong to private collections and cannot be verified.



Figures 39 and 40 (left to right). 5th century BC coin from Tyre and a 5th/4th century coin from Sidon (British Museum, CM 1919-05-16-16; British Museum, 1918,0204.157).

However, only at nearby Sidon we can find the 5th-4th century BC fig. 35, which, based on the chariot iconography, bears motifs from a style traditionally associated with Persia.⁹⁷ With this in mind, we are reminded that power is expressed in economic, religious, and political terms by appropriating, recombining, and generating iconography.⁹⁸ Tyre and Sidon, far from expressing a desire to be ‘Greek’, or assimilation, were likely playing into the dominant powers present in the region at the time.⁹⁹ We must be wary of basing our understanding of material culture solely on the origins of stylistic motifs, which often lack archaeological evidence; objects gain social significance through symbolic framing, narratives, and human interpretation.¹⁰⁰

In this section we have sought to highlight the contextual issues and influences which informed the variety of motifs present on objects associated with Phoenicia. Indeed, ‘influence’ is the key word. We are not saying Phoenician material culture started off in a default, ‘pure’ state. Instead, various historical influences across time (including audiences and trade) informed how the Phoenician city-states chose to represent their material culture. This will be married with the subsequent elements of this thesis’ approach when discussing Tyre and Heracles-Melqart.

⁹⁷ Martin 2017: 127.

⁹⁸ Martin 2017: 130, in contrast to work from Boardman 1995: 53, 74.

⁹⁹ Martin 2017: 130.

¹⁰⁰ Vella 2014: 41.

4.3.2: Intention, and Adopted Ideas

The next part of our approach, having recognised influence, focuses on intention in creation. The Phoenicians chose to adopt certain aspects for a variety of reasons, from power to simple preference (as far as we can spy). This idea is very much drawn from Oggiano and Nitschke's work, who argue for a curious society that chose to enrich themselves, and their material culture – any adoption of foreign motifs was not mindless mimicry, but a selective process based on choices of power and preference.¹⁰¹

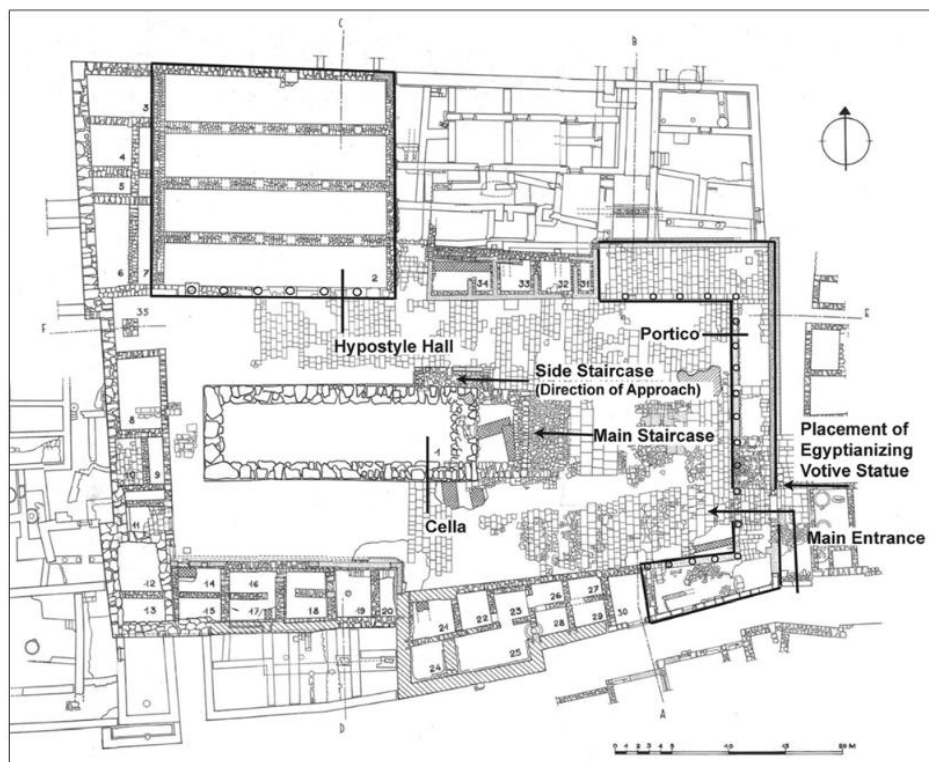


Figure 41. Plan of the temple of Milkashtart (Nitschke 2011: 91, fig. 4).

¹⁰¹ Oggiano 2015: 519; Nitschke 2011: 98, 2015: 213 (“there has been some work done to draw attention to political and economic factors at play in the patterns of cultural appropriation we can observe in the art”). Niemeyer 2004a: 249-50; Bondi 2009: 388; Quinn 2017: 74. Nonetheless, this works often stress the ‘eclecticism’ that defined Phoenician art, e.g., Markoe 2000: 145, Brown 1992: 8, and even Nitschke, who warns us, rather contradictorily, of avoiding essentialist understandings of Phoenician cultural expression (2015: 212).

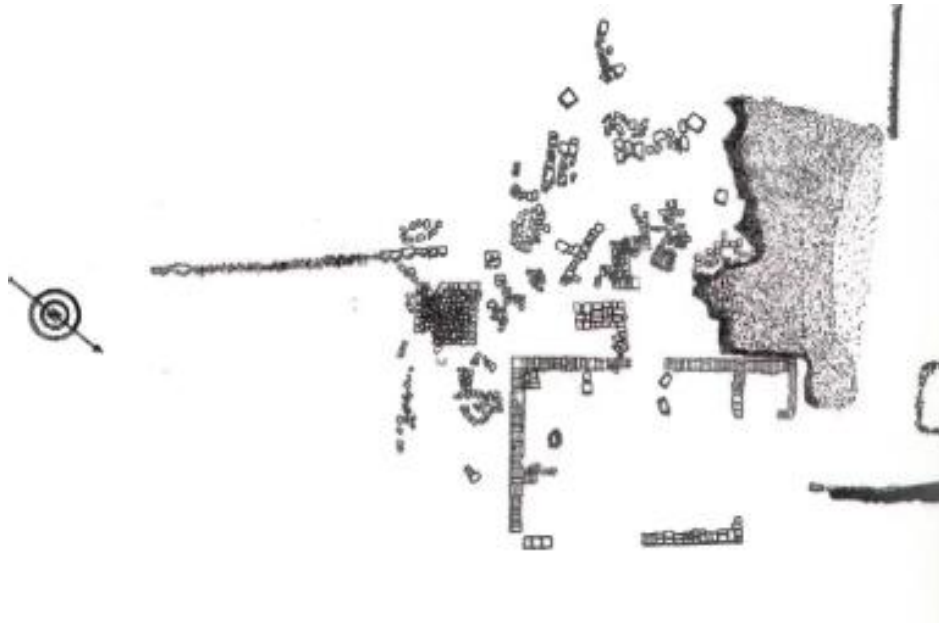


Figure 42. Plan of Kharayeb (Oggiano 2015: 508, fig. 1).



Figure 43. Fragments of 'Greek' style statues (Nitschke 2011: 98, fig. 11).

This can be seen across a variety of Phoenician material culture. Two of the ones the most important are the rural, religious centers Umm el-Amed and Kharayeb, which existed within the realm of Hellenistic Tyre.¹⁰² Umm el-Amed was a coastal market town, 19 km away from, and part of, Tyre's territory.¹⁰³ It was a rural settlement focusing on manufacture and was dominated by two large temple buildings, with one dedicated to Milkashtart, god of Hammon (fig. 42), and another called the 'East Temple'.¹⁰⁴ Both temples featured motifs and styles associated with the Greeks, Persians, and Egyptians in their architecture and material

culture, including at the Milkashtart temple, 'Persian' winged solar disks and 'Greek' looking figures (based on hairstyle and dress) (fig. 44).¹⁰⁵ In the East Temple existed a number of

¹⁰² Bondi et al. 2009: 56.

¹⁰³ Bondi et al. 2009: 56.

¹⁰⁴ Dunand Duru 1962: Fig. 45; Bondi et al. 2009: 57; Nitschke 2011: 88.

¹⁰⁵ Bondi et al. 2009: 58; Nitschke 2011: 91.

stelae, dated between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC, on which are depicted priests and *cippus* with images of simple female figures. It seems that the foreign styles were commissioned by the patrons of the temple.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, Kharayeb (fig. 43), was situated within an agricultural region northeast of Tyre.¹⁰⁷ suggests similar behaviour. Within its site, terracotta figurines featuring designs from Egypt were found in a rectangular building – this is in addition to small statues that apparently repurposed iconographies associated with Heracles, Demeter and Persephone, Dionysus, Aphrodite, and Eros (fig. 45).¹⁰⁸

Significantly, the ‘Greek’ elements (ionic columns, hairstyles, dress, gods, etc.) appearing across these locations are hard to pin down to ‘Hellenization’ – they existed before Hellenistic Period in some cases, and thus cannot be linked to the passage of Alexander the Great.¹⁰⁹ This is because it is the wrong thing to look for. Bonnet argues, in relation to material from Umm el-Amed, that by trying to understand why the male figures are dressed in Persian clothes, and the woman in Greek dress, we run the risk of invoking imprecise or anachronistic notions, and of over-interpreting the data.¹¹⁰ Notably, none of the ‘Greek inspired’ objects at Umm el-Amed are direct copies of their Greek counterparts, and therein lies the distinction.¹¹¹ Instead of some cultural movement that made all the art within Phoenicia ‘Greek’, instead we should focus on a non-essentialist perspective of intention. The communities of Phoenicia encountered foreign styles and chose to adopt the parts they wanted. They married it to their own styles and motifs. It does not have to be framed as a ‘Greek’ vs ‘Phoenician’ art, but the development born of cultural contact and interest in elements belonging to the other groups. Further evidence of intention and choice can be seen through Astarte thrones.



Figure 44. Terracottas of Hermes, Apollo, Dioynsus and Heracles
Fragments of ‘Greek’ style statues
(Oggiano 2015: 511, fig. 4).

¹⁰⁶ Nitschke 2011: 94; Dunand and Duru 1962.

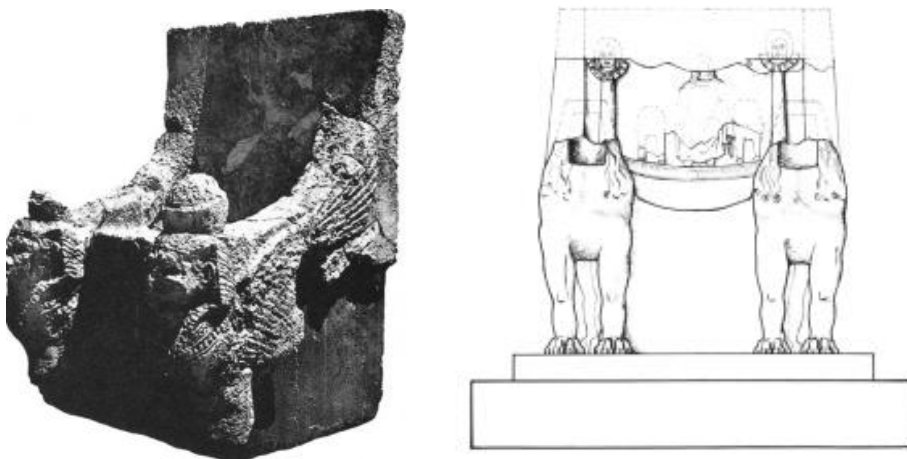
¹⁰⁷ Chéhab 1953-1954; Kaoukabanwe 1973; Bondi et al. 2009: 59.

¹⁰⁸ Bondi et al. 2009: 60, Fig. 50; Oggiano 2015.

¹⁰⁹ Oggiano 2015: 239 (though he does argue for ‘Hellenization’); Nitschke 2011: 86.

¹¹⁰ Bonnet 2015: 384.

¹¹¹ Nitschke 2011: 87.



Figures 45 and 46 (left to right). Aniconic Thrones. Astarte throne from Umm El-Amed and Sidon (Nitschke 2011: 94, fig. 8; Stucky 2015: 198, fig. 9).

The Astarte Thrones are distinguished by their armrests, which are in the form of female winged sphinxes, a type typically found in Phoenician glyptic since the Iron Age;¹¹² they are often empty, leaving a space for the placement of an iconic cult object (e.g. a betyl). There are approximately a dozen of these thrones have been found in Phoenicia, all in the region of Sidon and Tyre,¹¹³ and they are associated with Astarte mainly on the basis of the iconography.¹¹⁴ Unlike sphinx thrones with seated figures carved in from the early first millennium in Phoenicia and the Levant,¹¹⁵ the thrones at Tyre and Sidon were clearly designed to be empty, and so serve as an aniconic¹¹⁶ cult objects, as indicated by their small size, the slope of the seat, or the presence of an object. The emptiness of the throne is an indication of the presence of the divinity.¹¹⁷ As with other objects found in Phoenicia, interpretation of them is often centered around ‘Greek vs. Phoenician’. Stucky’s arguments are illustrative of this: he claims these thrones represent the deep cultural discord between the Phoenicians and the Greeks¹¹⁸ - the ‘picture within a picture’ relief (which depicts a similar throne flanked by sphinxes and occupied by a female figure, thought to be Astarte herself) on the objects suggests a “confrontation between the Phoenician cultural tradition and Greek pictorial innovation”.¹¹⁹ This is misguided – the Greeks were well aware of aniconism and

¹¹² Nitschke 2011: 96.

¹¹³ E.g., Beirut, National Museum, nos. 2118, 2062, 2120, 2116.

¹¹⁴ Delcor 1983: 778; Doumet-Serhal et al. 1998: 26.

¹¹⁵ For thrones in Phoenician art generally see Gubel 1987: 37-84.

¹¹⁶ An object bearing or being a divine representation, in anthropomorphic or theriomorphic form.

¹¹⁷ For these Astarte thrones (or sphinx thrones, as they are sometimes called) as aniconic cult objects, see Mettinger 1995: 100-103; Nitschke 2011: 94.

¹¹⁸ Stucky 2015: 199.

¹¹⁹ Stucky 2015: 197-8.

had empty thrones of their own,¹²⁰ and thus no reason to see this as any sort of conflict. He is focused more on cultural reactions than what the material culture is actually doing in practice. Moreover, ‘Greek’ and ‘Phoenician’ objects often existed beside one and other. At the Temple of Eshmun, Cypriot-type statues of Heracles-Melqart and Greek marble sculpture resided beside the statues of the Temple Boys, which were coupled with a base dedicated to Phoenician god Eshmun.¹²¹ These examples of ‘Greek’ styles within Phoenicia could stem from a variety of origins; perhaps from individuals artists commissioned by patrons, as the *stelae* at Umm el-Amed (depicting women in Greek garb) might have been.¹²² We cannot know, but the point to impress is intention, a choice by the communities such as Umm El-Amed to adopt a variety of different styles and motifs into their material culture.

4.3.3: Ideas and Orientalizing

Having examined influences and intentions, the last part to address is the concept of ideas; specifically, a multi-directional exchange of them, which can best be illustrated through the theory of Orientalizing. During the 8th and 7th centuries BC, the influx of objects from the eastern Mediterranean into Greece, Italy, and other communities in the west coincided with local artistic and cultural developments within them, leading to what is termed the ‘Orientalizing period’. This period, characterized by the introduction of luxury goods and motifs from regions like the Levantine and Egypt impacted cultures in all directions of the Mediterranean. Nonetheless, in earlier discussion of this process, certain issues arose, with one being the attribution of ‘high’ art (e.g., metal bowls) to the city-states of Phoenicia, which, in reality, remains contentious given the scarcity of luxury arts from Phoenician sites compared to their presence elsewhere.¹²³ Thus, despite the Phoenician cities having been depicted in literature as traders of luxury items,¹²⁴ their direct involvement in Orientalizing trends is questioned.¹²⁵ Ultimately, this issue emerged because there was a tendency to create a dichotomy between East and West – therefore, certain styles *had* to come from the East,

¹²⁰ Gaifman 2012 for Greeks and aniconism.

¹²¹ Bondi et al. 2009: 40.

¹²² Nitschke 2011: 96-7. See her own study for a thorough analysis.

¹²³ Riva and Vella 2006: 4-10; Gunter 2014: 83–84; Van Dongen 2010: 474-77; Martin 2017: 30; Pallottino 1965; Feldman 2019: 372.

¹²⁴ In Homer, however, due to the uneven opinions they exhibit on how trustworthy the Phoenicians were (Winter 1995; Martin 2017: 30). Note also, there would not have even been a united ‘Greek view’ on the Phoenicians either (Gunter 2009: 52-6).

¹²⁵ Lancel 1995: 72–76; Niemeyer 2003: 204–205; Aruz et al. 2014: nos. 84, 85; Niemeyer 2003: 205; Vella 2010; Feldman 2019: 379.

because they looked ‘Eastern’, and thus the Phoenicians must have been responsible for them.¹²⁶ Thus, the term ‘Orientalizing’ has been challenged on the basis it promotes a false dichotomy between East and West, simplifies cultural diversity and interactions, and perpetuates an anti-Semitic and Orientalist framework that reinforces hierarchical views of cultural regions.¹²⁷ Nonetheless, it has found use in modern scholarship when adapted (sometimes being renamed ‘Mediterraneanizing’)¹²⁸ to instead indicate an environment of connectivity and networking, with no single point of origin and no single point of geographical orientation - a multi-directional exchange of cultural influences.¹²⁹ Trade and contact invariably led to changes in identity and purpose. The apparent ‘eclecticism’ of ‘Phoenician’ art was (unsurprisingly) not unique to them but was part and parcel of the Mediterranean network.¹³⁰ Therefore, the term, ‘Orientalizing’ has been argued as a means to better understand the flow of ideas and influences that are not always transactional or controlling in nature.¹³¹ Of course, this can confer essentializing tendencies (as ‘Hellenization’ does) upon this process¹³² unless defined specifically – here, we define it as a multi-directional exchange of ideas across the Mediterranean during the Iron Age. However, the core part to take from it, and the purpose for including it to begin with, is to illustrate that ideas were being passed around constantly in the process of active cultural adaptation.¹³³ Undoubtably the Phoenician city-states and Greek-speaking peoples learnt from one and other; they shared and adopted various styles and motifs developed within their cultures. Therefore, in trying to avoid ideas of essentialism, we are not trying to promote a cultural

¹²⁶ Martin 2017: 73 discusses the issues with our separations of Greece/East. See López-Ruiz 2021: 63-5 for discussion of this trend. See also: Burkert 1992, West 1997, and Morris 1992; Gunter 2009, 124–126, 2014; Feldman 2014, 161–170.

¹²⁷ Purcell 2006; Gunter 2014; Martin 2017; Feldman 2019; Van Dongen 2014; Purcell 2006: 26; Dietler and López-Ruiz 2009; Gunter 2009: 178. This also includes the term Phoenician, which is noted to not identify a political grouping and thus muddles the idea of cultural exchange between ‘Greek’ and ‘Phoenician’ (Aubert 2001: 6-9; Prag 2006).

¹²⁸ Pedrazzwe 2016: 18.

¹²⁹ Purcell 2006: 22 describes this well: “thus, alongside “westward-pointing signposts” indicating influences from the east, there are also “eastward-pointing signposts” indicating reciprocal exchanges and impacts”; see also Hodos 2006; Pedrazzwe 2016; Martin 2017; Dietler 2009: 23-34.

¹³⁰ Marín-Aguilera 2016 discusses how Phoenician traders in Iberia caused a change in the social hierarchy, with food being used as a marker of identity. This is indicative of the push-pull dynamic, of which the Phoenicians also pushed upon others. See also Arruda 2009: 126 for a more general perspective on this Phoenician impact on its colonies. For discussion of Phoenicians as part of a wider network of traditions, all communicating and adapting, see Van Dongen 2010: 474; Feldman 2014; Martin 2017: 96.

¹³¹ Osborne 2006: 154-6.

¹³² Martin would argue this reduces “Phoenician culture to mere Orientalism” (2017: 95); Osborne 2006; Gubel 2006, 85; Said 1978; Purcell 2006: 25; Morris 2006: 80, 2007; Riva and Vella 2006: 13-4; López-Ruiz 2021: 63-5.

¹³² López-Ruiz 2021: 77.

¹³³ López-Ruiz 2021: 77.

homogeneity; instead, we are trying to impress with Orientalizing that no art began in a pure state, and it was constantly subjected to barrierless relations.¹³⁴ Ideas were shared and the material culture we encounter in the Hellenistic Period is not a combination of ‘Greek’ and ‘Phoenician’ styles but a (ongoing) result of various ideas being adopted and rejected over time.

Ideas, influence, and intentions is the approach through which we will examine Tyre’s Hellenistic Period material culture. Ideas from cultural exchange, influence from cultural groups both dominant and equal, and intention – the city’s community had a choice in how their material culture was designed.

4.3.4: Finalising the Approach

All that is left is to conclude upon our approach by highlighting two opposed perspectives from scholarship – through these we can best illustrate our choices. Broekema and Feldman have both chosen to approach the ‘Woman in the Window’ ivory in very different ways. Broekema uses an essentialist examination of elements of the object to try and geographically locate it, in contrast to Feldman who insists we should see it as a reflection of elite interests of the time, and thus location does not matter.¹³⁵ Whilst there has been criticism of Feldman’s approach (Fischer and Wicke reject the existence of a pan-Levantine elite and the idea that artifacts contributed to a political atmosphere of inclusion and exclusion),¹³⁶ they are perhaps missing the point. Regardless of whether Feldman is correct (there does not have to be a collective artistic trend), the focus on the purpose of the art’s creation, over some (potentially) arbitrary factor such as location = type of design, is, arguably, a better way of allowing us to grasp what the culture was thinking at the time.

This is not to dismiss Broekema’s work; attaching a piece of material culture to a location does allow us to ask questions about the movement of style, travelling artists, and in-situ iconography (e.g., on the Window ivory, Broekema claims that the images of sphinxes

¹³⁴ To a degree – this does neglect the significance of institutions, states, and empires that shaped Mediterranean history (López-Ruiz 2021: 61). This view, drawing from works like Purcell’s, challenges the idea that Phoenicians are merely a modern construct. Purcell emphasizes their historical complexity and agency, arguing against oversimplifying their role by separating them from their states and networks. Instead, he suggests seeing them as a multifaceted collective, similar to other cultures (Purcell 2006: 25 and Horden and Purcell 2000: 43).

¹³⁵ Feldman in particular 2006; 2009; 2014a; 2014b; 2015; Broekema 2023: 5.

¹³⁶ Fischer and Wicke 2011; 2016; see also Suter 2011; Broekema 2023: 5-6.

trampling Phoenicians could only have interested Egyptian rulers).¹³⁷ However, due to the history of Phoenician studies (see above), we have to take especial care not to essentialize their material culture because, in the past, this approach has often favoured Greek culture as the dominant force (sometimes unconsciously – hybrid art often implies the Greco-Macedonians came and exerted influence over, e.g., Tyre’s material culture).¹³⁸

As such, the approach carried out in this chapter will focus on a snapshot of Tyre in the Hellenistic Period (once it has been grounded within the wider context) which might better allow insight into issues of agency and tradition.¹³⁹ We will, beyond the theories engaged with previously in chapter 2 and 3, follow Feldman in seeing consumption of material culture (i.e, the use of certain motifs, styles, and iconographies) as constitutive of identity.¹⁴⁰ In short, an approach that focuses on ideas, influences, and intentions.

¹³⁷ Ivory relief with two falcon-headed sphinxes trampling Asiatic enemies. Excavated in Nimrud by Max Mallowan. H. 8.2 cm. (© Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 611978. Credit: Rogers Fund, 1961.)

Figure 2.6. Ivory from Samaria. The god Heh with palm branches on which the notches represent millions of years, symbol of eternity. Preserved H. 6.2 cm. (Herrmann 1986b, plate 260, no. 1006. Courtesy of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq.); Broekema 2023: 7.

¹³⁸ Or that ethnic groups can be identified through motifs alone. See Gilboa 2005, Bunimovitz and Faust 2001, Hodder 1991 for the pots=people approach, which identifies ethnic groups based on material design, and Mierse 2012: 48 for a critique of it. Sader 2019: 169 offers a more nuanced re-evaluation of it. See Broekema 2023 for a continued use of hybridity. For issues of modern views of ethnicity impacting how we study Phoenicia, see Anderson 1988; Herr 1997: 166; Miller 2004: 55-6, Sherratt 2005: 26, and Mierse 2012: 49. This motifs = people is complicated further when we consider importation; for example, Greek imports dated to the 9-8th centuries BC in Phoenicia, with *skyphos* examples being found in Tyre, Sarepta, and Sidon (Coldstream 2008: 168–88; Núñez 2004, fig. 234; Koehl 1985, fig. 12, 248–49; Doumet-Serhal, Karageorghis, and Loffet 2008, 16, fig. 19; 2008, 61–62).

¹³⁹ On space see Clarke 2005: 81; on time see Boyd and Richerson 1985: 291. This approach is made possible by the greater amount of material culture found in Hellenistic Phoenicia than from earlier times (Martin 2017: 94; Sader 2019: 179-80).

¹⁴⁰ Feldman 2014: 64; drawn from Bourdieu’s habitus (1990: 56); Connerton says the performative aspects of memory are most effective in when they involve material items, which provide permanence and stability (1989: 13, 37).

4.4: Heracles and Melqart: Conversations Across the Mediterranean

Before beginning the examination of how Heracles-Melqart focused material culture functioned within the area of Tyre (to support Tyrian autonomy and maintain identity), we must first outline who Melqart was and the material relationship he and Heracles shared in the periods proceeding the Hellenistic Period. What can be seen is a gradual syncretism of these similar yet defined cultural figures in relation to contacts between the Greek-speaking peoples and the cities of Phoenicia, a process we will examine through our ideas, influence, and intentions approach. We shall do so by charting the primary evidence and engage with the (numerous) observations scholars have made about Heracles-Melqart – this is to contextualise the final discussion examining material culture's role in supporting Tyrian autonomy and the continuation of their identity through Heracles-Melqart. As with Lykosoura and Crete, the focus is not on disrupting the current historical narratives (e.g., Heracles-Melqart syncretised because they were already similar), but in assessing *how* material culture worked within this process.

4.4.1: Melqart

Melqart, the Baal of Tyre, epitomized Phoenician deity, embodying sacred kingship and divine rule.¹⁴¹ Herodotus dating of his origins (at least within Tyre) in c. 2740 BC can be challenged;¹⁴² around 980-940 BC, a temple dedicated to Baal Hadad in Tyre was replaced with one for Melqart – not only does this suggest the origins of his prominence in the city, but it also reflects his maritime importance and King Hiram I's vision for the city's revival.¹⁴³ A lack of evidence, however, means a conclusive dating on his origins cannot be confirmed. Despite uncertainties in early depictions,¹⁴⁴ Melqart's ties to Tyre remain steady, affirmed by

¹⁴¹ For further detail, see Lipiński 1986: 72-3; Xella 2001, 2014, 2019: 274; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 217; Aubet 2001: 152. Melqart appears to have been drawn from a long line (from the 11th century BC) of sacred kingship. Traces of the cult of deified royal ancestors can already be found in Eblaite documentation, around 2400 BC, and later at Mari, Emar, Ugarit (Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 217); Bonnet 1988: 99 (the second element of his name, *qart*, refers to Tyre).

¹⁴² Hdt. 2.44.

¹⁴³ Josephus. *Ant.* 5.3; *Against Apion.* 1.18; Lipiński 1986: 74 (for nautical links); Isaiah 23:4 (and cf. Josephus for Hiram's desire to refound the city); for the subsequent cult, see Josephus *AJ* 8.146 (where the information is said to come from Tyrian records via Menander); Aubet 2001: 153; Quinn 2017: 113; cf. *Ap.* 1.118-19; Bernardini and Zucca 2005.

¹⁴⁴ He was thought to have been related to Reshef, the thunder god, though this is uncertain (see *ANET* 655 and Albright's (1942) original discussion of this 9th century BC votive stele erected by Ben-Hadad I to Melqart, with subsequent thought from Lipiński 1995: 74, 229).

inscriptions identifying him as the city's founder and protector.¹⁴⁵ By the 7th century BC the Phoenician pantheon of gods was becoming more complex and dieties, such as Tanit and Baal Hammon, became more popular in the western Mediterranean; Melqart was one, linked as he was to Phoenician trade.¹⁴⁶ Functionally, Melqart ensured the community's well-being, akin to other Phoenician gods like Eshmoun of Sidon. His agricultural¹⁴⁷ and maritime roles,¹⁴⁸ alongside his famous 'Awakening' ritual,¹⁴⁹ reinforced his centrality in Tyrian society. Beyond his mythical and cultic sphere, Melqart was a tool wielded by both the king and his priests, the latter being made up of the influential families in the city and thus holding significant political power.¹⁵⁰ Additionally, Melqart's significance extended to foundation myths; Tyre rose from the sea and Melqart fixed it in place, thus he often held the title of 'Great Rock [that Tyre stood upon] and his temple featured elements of the story (twin pillars of gold and emerald, an olive tree and a sacred fire).¹⁵¹

Melqart's influence extended across Phoenician colonies, embodying various roles beyond a singular domain. Tyre's expansion westward saw Melqart's presence in cities like Cyprus,

¹⁴⁵ Founder of the city: Nonnos. *Dionysiaca*. 40.465-500; Eusebius *P.E.* 1.10.10-11; Aubet 2001: 155. Protector of the city: *CIS* I, 122-122; *KAI* 47. In a 4th-2nd century BC inscription (*KAI* 47) Melqart was referred to as 'dn (Lord), B'l Sr (Master of Tyre) and *archgetes* (founder) (Lipiński 1995: 231; Seyrig 1951: 225-8; Fuchs and Schwartz 1980: 68-9). Interestingly, in Athens, *Athena Polias* can be seen as the city's *archegetis* (Parker 2005: 223 and n. 24). The choice of this title was surely done with purpose (Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 218; Lipiński 1986: 74).

¹⁴⁶ Aubet 2001: 152.

¹⁴⁷ His role in fertility was through the god Ba'al Hadad: Nonnos, *Dionys.*, 15.369; Philo. Byblos, frag. II, 22, who names Damarous/Hadad Amourrou as Melqart's father (cited in Dussaud 1946: 206); Bonnet 1988: 15, 42; Pritchard 1969: 533-4; Teixidor 1977: 29-31; Aubet 2001: 152-4 for his links to the seasons.

¹⁴⁸ Perhaps taken from previous sea god Yam (Dussaud 1946: 205-6); this dual nature of fertility and sea might have been represented through the dual pillars of his temple (Hdt. 2.44, *CIS*. I.122). Further evidence to this relationship between Melqart and Yam, might be through the Ambrosian Stones, with evidence recorded by Babelon 1893: XXXVI, 16; XXXVII, 11 and epigraph; XXXVII, 16 [cylindrical shape cylindrical shape; olive tree and epigraph]; XXXVIII, 7 and 8 [related to Heracles-Melqart]; XXXVIII, 23, 24, 25; two *stelae* of wind and fire (Nonnos, *Dionys.*, 15.369); Bonnet 1988: 98.

¹⁴⁹ Our evidence, primarily from Flavius Josephus (Joseph. *AJ.* 8.146; Bonnet 1988: 33-40), comes from a later period. Although there is some discussion about similar events in Sidon for Eshmun, Byblos for Adonis, and Gadir for Melqart, the evidence is limited and not entirely reliable (Mettinger 2001: 113-65; Bonnet 1988: 109-10; Quinn 2017: 79). For the possibility of the *egersis* being celebrated in the west, see Bonnet (1988, 221-2). For details on the festival expelling foreigners from the city, see Aubet 2001: 153-4; Bonnet 1988; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 219.

¹⁵⁰ The sister of Pygmalion, Elissa or Dido, foundress of Carthage, was married to the high priest of the temple of Melqart, and the kings Tabnit and Eshmunazar of Sidon were high priests of Astarte (Aubet 2001: 155); Justin. *Phil.* 18.4.5 for family links between king and priests, and the importance of the latter (Dido's husband Acherbas, who was a priest of Melqart, was second only to Pygmalion the king, but this may have been because of family relations).

¹⁵¹ Nonnos, *Dionys.* 40. I. 422; Hdt. 2.43-44; Arrian 2.15, 7-16; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 37.74. Similar monumental iconography existed in the temple of Gades, in Gadir (Strabo 3:5; Silius Italicus 3:29; Philostratus. *Life of Apollonius of Tiana*. 1.5). These monuments often focus on interactions with and discussions about Melqart, from Ezekiel (26.11) (Bottéro 1986: 109-118) to Herodotus (2.44-8), who in Book II, discusses the similarities between Egyptian and Greek divinities and their antiquity.

Malta, Carthage, and Gadir.¹⁵² Worship of Melqart varied among locations, yet Carthage stood out; it continued to send annual tributes to the Tyrian temple until the Hellenistic Period when relations between Carthage and Tyre appeared to break down.¹⁵³ Nonetheless, the link of Melqart surely helped to foster ties between the mother-city and its colonies.¹⁵⁴

4.4.2: The Continuity of Heracles-Melqart

There is a long history in discussing the relationship between Heracles and Melqart,¹⁵⁵ one supported by their immediate similarities. Both have stories and rites of burning attached to them (Melqart through *exergesis*, Heracles through his death),¹⁵⁶ and tales of labours and heroic travel, a fact which scholars attribute as a reason for their ‘assimilation’,¹⁵⁷ though in reality we know very little about Melqart’s mythical cycle.¹⁵⁸ This syncretism is complicated by the methodological issues present. We must wonder to what extent cultural change was reflected in Heracles-Melqart’s material culture; after all, our evidence is fragmented. Melqart (as soon seen) was represented differently across locations, and symbols and icons can be misinterpreted.¹⁵⁹ This is perhaps best shown in how tentative scholars are to label Heracles ‘Heracles’ when he appears in foreign contexts, such as Palmyra;¹⁶⁰ this is not the case when he is found in areas impacted by Greco-Macedonian influence, such as Tyre.¹⁶¹ This raises questions about the connections made between artistic style, ethnicity, and

¹⁵² Silius Italicus 3.22 - Melqart’s level of worship varied between locations, and he can be hard to spot. In Thasos and Memphis we have confirmed temples of Melqart and Astarte (Hdt. 2.44 and 2.112 respectively) and also, likely Phoenician, temples in Utica (Pliny. *Nat Hist.* 16.140) and in Lixus in Atlantic Morocco (*Nat. Hist.* 19:63). In Paphos and Cythera, only traces of a temple to Aphrodite or Astarte could be found. Lastly, in Memphis the Phoenicians formed a settlement round a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite/Astarte (Hdt. 2:112); Harden 1962: 86; Aubet 2001: 156; Lipiński 1986: 74.

¹⁵³ For information on Tyre and Carthage, see: Diod. 20.14.2; Polyb. 31.12; Arrian. 2.24.5; the Tyrians asked Carthage for help when Alexander attacked (Diod. 17.40.3; 20.14.1-2); Aubet 2001: 157; see Harden 1962: 89-90; Bonnet 2014: 292 for a discussion of the various politics and competing families between cities; Justin. 18.4-5; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 221; the link between them weakened in the Hellenistic Period. Polybius. 31.12.12 is the only evidence we have for a sacred boat going from Carthage to Tyre in the mid-2nd century BC.

¹⁵⁴ Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 201; Aubet 2001: 155.

¹⁵⁵ The scholarship will be seen shortly in the following sections.

¹⁵⁶ Lipiński 1995: 237-41.

¹⁵⁷ In the case of Melqart, largely through inference: Culican 1968a: 97-8 draws it from three leontomachy seals which depicted a cycle of Phoenician myth of hunting deities, slain griffons and lions - a cycle of ‘labours’; Teixidor 1983: 243-55; Ribichini 1985: 19-40, 129-45.

¹⁵⁸ Bonnet 1988: 400 – often Melqart’s ‘life’ is drawn, or built from, Ugaritic myths of Baal, Keret, and Aqhat thought comparable. Moreover, oftentimes these stories have been run through Greek and Roman authors, who would find links to Heracles in Melqart.

¹⁵⁹ Nitschke 2013: 253

¹⁶⁰ Kaizer 2000: 225, note. 39; Nitschke 2013: 256.

¹⁶¹ Nitschke 2013: 256; Erlich 2009: 15, 256.

cultural identity, suggesting that they can be misleading. We will not pretend to be immune to this, but by tracing the iconography of Heracles-Melqart might help us to mitigate this.

4.4.2.1: 9th-7th Centuries BC

Texts discussing Melqart hardly exceed a dozen,¹⁶² with the earliest being attested to the Early Iron Age (9-7th centuries BC).¹⁶³ In one Melqart supplanted Ba'al,¹⁶⁴ and in the other, a

royal dedication of a Bar-Hadad, king of Damascus, found at Breidj, near Aleppo,¹⁶⁵ he is only mentioned. Material culture is slightly better.



One of the first pieces of evidence we can find is an 8th century BC seal (fig. 48). The middle and lower inscribed text reads “belonging to the king of the Tyrians” (lmlk / šrm).¹⁶⁶ The top features a pillar surmounted by a blazing fire, a crescent moon on the left and a sun/star on the right, with altars/tables on either side. The very top of the image might be a winged sun-disk. The image might represent the *exergesis* of Melqart, here represented aniconically as a pillar. It is hard to imagine what

else it could be – we know the burning of Melqart was a well attested, recurring, element of his persona.¹⁶⁷ This aniconic mode of representation was not uncommon for Melqart.¹⁶⁸ A

coin (fig. 43), though beyond our scope of study, is representative of a way Melqart was depicted; as a set of ambrosian stones, which were also equated to the twin pillars at Melqart’s temple, both of which were linked to the foundation

Figure 47. 8th century BC seal (Peckham 2010: 129, fig. 1.8, A.O. 3175).

¹⁶² Bonnet 1988: 5.

¹⁶³ ANET 655 – 9th century BC Ben-Hadad inscription found near Aleppo; it was erected by the son of the king of Aram “for his lord Melqart, which he vowed to him and he heard his voice.”

¹⁶⁴ Reported in Josephus. *Ant.* 5.3; *Against Apion.* 1.18.

¹⁶⁵ Dussaud 1946: 208 referring to ANET 655; KAI 47 (4th-2nd century BC).

¹⁶⁶ Bordreuil 1986: 290-308, figs 1-9.

¹⁶⁷ See 4.3.1.

¹⁶⁸ Guzzo 2005: 52; Albertz 2012: 385 discusses this more generally against West Semitic gods.



Figure 48. A coin from Tyre, Elagabal, 218-222 AD (Cointalks.com). Far beyond our period of focus but used here as a representation of Melqart's status as the 'rock/twin pillars' of Tyre.

story of Tyre where Melqart grounded the floating island.¹⁶⁹ It is these aniconic depictions that perhaps supported Heracles' ability to impress his own iconography (lion skin, club) upon the Tyrian god, but this is speculation and perhaps gives Melqart too little credit. Nonetheless, it is clear, during this period, that the images of Melqart and Heracles were

remarkably different.



Figure 49. 8th century BC silver hook from Cyprus, featuring Heracles and Bes (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 204, fig. 4, diameter 17cm).

This can be illustrated well on an 8th century BC silver hook from Cyprus. Unlike Melqart's aniconic representation, Heracles (speculated) is anthropomorphic and already associated with one of his most popular activities – slaying lions. His stance, with the right arm drawn

¹⁶⁹ He also possessed the titles 'that which is on the rock' (found in the temple of Antasstood) and 'watching over Tyre' (found in Sardinia) (Guzzo 2005: 50); Babelon 1893: archaeological material from Phoenicia XXXVII, 16 (cylindrical shape; olive tree and epigraph); XXXVIII, 7 and 8 (related to Heracles-Melqart). On the worship of stones: Stockton 1968: 58-81; Graesser 1972: 34-63; Bonnet 1988: 102.

back, is perhaps influenced by the Near Eastern ‘Smiting God’ tradition, an Egyptian motif that melded with the ‘Master of Lions’ found (not exclusively) in Cyprus.¹⁷⁰ The influence of Egypt would not be unusual; on this, it is tempting to suggest the figure on the left might be Heracles (as he sports a more traditional ‘Greek-Heracles’ lion skin), but his shorter stature and beard (Heracles is traditionally represented as young for his first labour) steer us away from this. Regardless of whether the central figure is Heracles, we can reliably identify the shorter figure as Bes. Bes, originally an Egyptian protector of births, was depicted as a dwarf with a feathered crown and animal skin. He appeared in Byblos in the 2nd millennium BC and gained prominence in Syro-Phoenicia as the master of lions. By the 8th to 7th centuries BC, as seen in fig. 44 he wore the lion skin cloak that would later be attached to Heracles, surely as a result of the two’s interaction on Cyprus.¹⁷¹ We have already discussed how the Assyrian Empire supported Tyre’s trade with Cyprus;¹⁷² it is through this that Melqart might have reached the island, thus encountering Bes and Heracles,¹⁷³ and beginning the syncretism between the three.¹⁷⁴ Nonetheless, despite Heracles’ association with lions being present on this item, he is not depicted wearing the lion-skin.

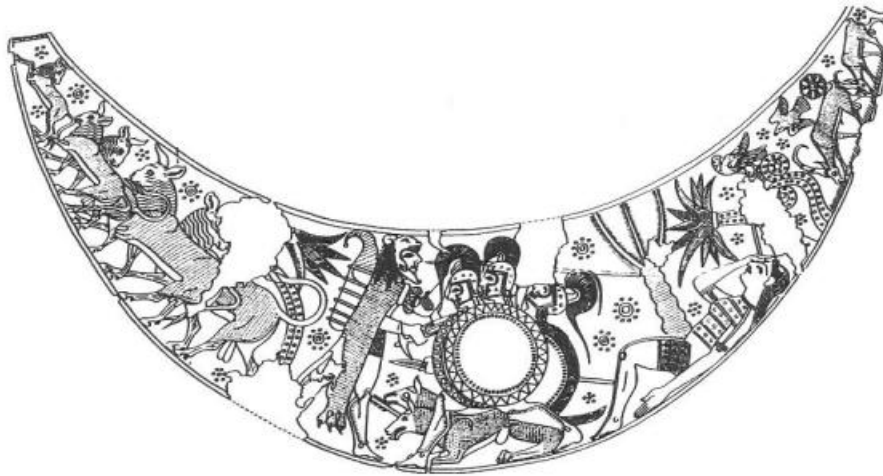


Figure 50. 7th century BC Bronze votive breastplate from the Heraion on Samos, depicting Heracles battle with Geyron (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 207, fig. 6, after Brize 1985).

¹⁷⁰ Bonnet 1988: 413; Culican 1960-61: 41-54; 1968a: 50-103; 1968b: 28-57.

¹⁷¹ Two significant works on Bes include Wilson 1975 and Bisi 1980. See Blakely 2007 for a more recent examination of Bes and Heracles.

¹⁷² See 4.3.1.

¹⁷³ Alternatively, it might have just been Bes and Melqart who met and synoecised, which was then compared to the remarkably similar iconography of Heracles.

¹⁷⁴ Bonnet 1988: 413.



Figure 51. 9th century BC Aleppo stele (Bonnet 1988, fig. 6).

Much later we re-encounter Heracles, clearly identified through his inclusion in the myth of Geyron, but now represented in his traditional form – as a bearded warrior dressed on a lion-skin cloak on a 7th century BC votive bronze breastplate on the island of Samos. It features Heracles, wearing his lion-skin headdress for the first time in Greek art,¹⁷⁵ as an archer with a quiver. Orthros, Eurytion, and one of Geryon's bodies have been struck by Heracles' arrows. Geryon, wielding spears, advances as Heracles stabs another body with a sword. This image, though found at Samos, is significant in impressing the impact of Cyprus in influencing Heracles image – we know that Samos and Cyprus were closely linked via trade. Cypriot votives are the largest group of foreign objects from this period found at the Heraion (on Samos); 1/3 of the 1000 terracotta and limestone fragments

cataloged by Schmidt (1968).¹⁷⁶ Cypriot sculptors, working in terracotta and limestone, likely facilitated the transfer of Geryon iconography (from Samos) and Heracles iconography (from Cyprus) between the two. The continued close ties between Samos and Cyprus, evidenced by Herodotus¹⁷⁷ and archaeological findings noted above, support this cultural exchange. Thus, what we find is the gradual adoption of the lion-skin by Heracles, taken from Bes, and facilitated through the two's interaction in Cyprus. Significantly, we do not see any imagery associated with lions in our first confirmed (and anthropomorphic) image of Melqart (fig. 52).

On the 9th-8th century Aleppo Stele, Melqart (decisively attributed as such)¹⁷⁸ brandishes a fenestrated axe with his left hand and holds an *ankh* in his right hand, and includes motifs originally found in Egypt, North Syria, and Phoenicia.¹⁷⁹ With this, we can see what Melqart

¹⁷⁵ Cohen 1994: 696.

¹⁷⁶ Schmidt 1968; Kyrieleis 1989: 52; samples from 15 Archaic limestone statuettes of Cypriot type discovered at the Heraion and now in the Vathy Museum on Samos were matched to Cypriot limestone sources through Electron Paramagnetic Resonance spectroscopy (Kourou et al. 2002: 46-50, 60-71; Counts 2015 for broader discussion of this).

¹⁷⁷ 5.112.

¹⁷⁸ KAI 201; Bonnet 1988: 410; Lipiński 1995: 229.

¹⁷⁹ Daniels 2021: 469.

looked like before the synoecism between himself and Heracles.¹⁸⁰ As such, we can see that Heracles and Melqart were very different in appearance. We can also see that Melqart possessed no iconography connection to Heracles (e.g., any association with lions) at this time.

4.4.2.2: 8th-5th Centuries BC



Figure 52. 8th-5th century BC Stele of Amrit (Louvre Museum, no. AO 22247).

This period sees more evidence of Heracles, Melqart, and Heracles-Melqart. Melqart appears across Cyprus at Kition and at Larnax, where he has a sanctuary shared with Eshmun.¹⁸¹ He is alluded to in a 6th century BC passage from Ezekiel ('[your] steles [will fall] – likely the pillars at the temple of Melqart)¹⁸² and in western Sicily, the link between Heracles and Melqart is developed. In this case, two Herakleidae ('descendants' of Herakles), one from Knidos and one from Sparta, tried to colonise western Sicily in the 6th century BC. Notably, the Phoenicians had already been settled in this region since the 8th century BC.¹⁸³ Nonetheless, mediation between the two groups cultural was aided by Heracles/Melqart: specifically, the renaming of Minoa to Herakleia. Minoa had once been Makara,¹⁸⁴ therefore, to the Phoenicians, Herakleia might have appeared to be a trend back

towards their own designations.¹⁸⁵ Thus, to the Elymians and Phoenicians 'Herakleia' was a return to the old ways (Makara, and thus Melqart), and for the colonists it was obviously Heracles.¹⁸⁶ A further example of the links between Heracles-Melqart being deployed can be seen in relation to Thasos (an island in the Northern Aegean). Here, the Phoenician cult

¹⁸⁰ Quinn 2017: 124. Issues aside about whether Heracles is just a co-opted version of Melqart to begin with (Brundage 1958: 231).

¹⁸¹ Guzzo 2005: 46

¹⁸² Ezekiel 26.11; mentioned by Hdt. 2.44.47-50.

¹⁸³ Malkin 2005a: 240.

¹⁸⁴ Herakleid. Pont. Fr. 29 = *FHG*. II. 220.

¹⁸⁵ Malkin 2005a: 253.

¹⁸⁶ D'Asaro 1991: 91-5, upon which Malkin 2005a: 253 builds upon.

(Melqart) took root first; then, with Parian colonisation and integration into the Greek world, the Thasians felt they were killing two birds with one stone by worshipping the Greek Heracles. Thus, Melqart and Heracles, in this case, were synoecised.¹⁸⁷ Alongside these broad examples, we find (possible) consistency emerging in the iconography of Melqart, whilst in Cyprus the synoecism of Heracles-Melqart takes clearer shape.



Figure 53. 8th-6th century BC ring finger from Carthage (illustrative of those coming from Sardina and Cyprus) (Culican 1968a: 102, pl. A).

Two objects, one from Amrit (fig. 53, Amrit is located above Tyre) and another from Carthage, potentially illustrate the gradual transformation of Melqart's iconography. On both 'Melqart' stands in a smiting pose and wears a distinctive headdress. A (possible) shell of a creature resides above his head. In the case of the Amrit Stele, there was potentially a temple to Melqart and Esmun nearby in the 4th century,¹⁸⁸ but otherwise there is nothing to confirm the figure as Melqart himself. Scholars such as Peckham argue the figure is Melqart and the lion suggests the god is in the guise of Heracles;¹⁸⁹ this could be considered a stretch. We have discussed Heracles and lions and will do so further in the context of Cyprus, but lions were not exclusive to the Greek hero. They have often held connotations of power and royalty, and thus appear in many cultures. The inclusion of a lion (in both these images) could be indicative of an influence from Cyprus,¹⁹⁰ where Bes and Heracles were interacting with one and other - Jourdain-Annequin's identifies the material as originating from Cyprus, and Culican cites scarabs that also come from the island (similar to fig. 54). However, these points are not conclusive in their evidence, and moreover, there is little evidence to suggest the figure in

these images is even Melqart. This is not to dismiss them; if it is Melqart, it clearly shows Cypriot influences upon the god's iconography. However, we cannot fully verify them.

¹⁸⁷ Herodotus explored the origins of Heracles, suggesting that the Greeks borrowed the god from Egypt and Tyre, where he was known as Melqart (2.44). In Thasos, the Heracles cult was linked to Melqart, presenting a synoecism rather than a dual cult, as discussed in Pausanias (2.10.1). Curtius Rufus. *Hist. Alex. Mag.* 4.2.1 verified the site, discussed the iconography. Archaeological evidence from Thasos/Thasians, including an inscribed statue base from Olympia, dedicated by the Thasian, mentioning Heracles, son of Zeus (*IG. XII/8* 356) supports the awareness of the Thasians of the links between Melqart and Heracles. Despite differing modern interpretations, both Herodotus and Pausanias (2.44 and 2.10.1) indicate a single, fused cult rather than separate ones. See Bonnet 1988 for a critical discussion of the material.

¹⁸⁸ Bryce 2009.

¹⁸⁹ Peckham 2010: 409.

¹⁹⁰ Significantly, Jourdain-Annequin (1993: 69–86, pls. 8–12) has identified the limestone of these stele as Cypriot in origin, suggesting they were imported to Amrit; Peckham 2010: 409.



Figures 54 and 55 (left to right). Diety on a sphinx throne and ‘Melqart’ with an axe beside an incense burner (Ibiza no. 67, Barcelona 9346; Ibiza no. 64, Ibiza 4380).

Thus, it is prudent to acknowledge a very different set of Melqart images – in the signet rings above, we see little trace of elements we would associate with Heracles. Broadly providence to Phoenicia, a deity, possibly Melqart, is represented with a sphinx-armrest throne (or standing), a scepter in his left hand, whilst he receives the incense offering of his people.¹⁹¹ The only elements that carry over from figs. 47-8 are the headwear and the shell above the figure’s head. We know that Melqart was deeply intertwined in the religious elements of Tyre and there were connotations of priesthood about him.¹⁹² As such, the figures above could be Melqart acting as priest (or receiving tribute in some way). However, as before it is only certain elements of the iconography and the location where the objects were found (Phoenicia) which suggest this. This is not to dismiss these objects; one could speculate that the items borne from Cyprus reflected leonine elements, as Melqart had interacted with Heracles there. In contrast, the items from Phoenicia itself lacked any evidence of these influences, as Melqart had not ‘met’ Heracles in these contexts. This could be indicative of Malkin’s arguments – the blending of Heracles and Melqart usually happened, at this time, in the context of smaller communities (i.e., such as Cyprus).¹⁹³ However, at this point (8th-6th centuries BC) we cannot be sure; even assuming the figures above are Melqart, we can see his iconography is not entirely fixed. The inclusion of lions could be due to Heracles via

¹⁹¹ Gubel 1997: 53–64.

¹⁹² See 4.3.1.

¹⁹³ Malkin 2005a and 2011.

Cyprus (if the items did originate from there) but it could also be due to any of the other reasons cultures have depicted lions in their material culture (power and royalty). To summarise, even if lions were becoming attached to Melqart (through Heracles in Cyprus), the two remained distinct in their iconographic portrayals.

Nonetheless, despite our difficulties in confirming Melqart (and thus how he and Heracles interacted), Cyprus was certainly important in the syncretism of Heracles-Melqart.¹⁹⁴ The Assyrian Empire's taxation in metal caused Tyre to try and secure further access to raw materials, with Cyprus being the closest source of copper.¹⁹⁵ The result, of course, was interaction and the sharing of religious elements between Cypriots, Greeks, and Phoenicians. The results of this were shown not only in the 'Master of Lions' figure but in the temples that sprung up across the island, thought to be associated with some form of Heracles and Melqart.¹⁹⁶



Figures 56 and 57. The 6th-5th century BC Master of Lions from Cyprus (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 200, fig. 2).

¹⁹⁴ Bonnet 2005: 23

¹⁹⁵ Zeman-Wiśniewska 2023: 9.

¹⁹⁶ Which is thought to have existed from the 7th century BC to the 3rd century BC (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2023: 11). See Demetriou 2001: 136 for identification of the temple.



Figure 58. 4th century BC Master of Lion from Golgoi-Ayios Photios, Cyprus (Daniels 2021: 471, Metropolitan Museum of Art Cesnola Collection 74.51.2660).

The 6th century BC limestone statues above, found in Cypriot sanctuaries, depict a male figure, sometimes bearded, wearing a lion-skin knotted at his chest, brandishing a club, and gripping another lion in his left hand. This image has also been found on metallic symposium bowls, scarabs, and seals.¹⁹⁷ Common consensus designates these figures as Heracles-Melqart,¹⁹⁸ and the appearance a combination of the Egyptian smiting pose,¹⁹⁹ Bes, with his leonine attributes,²⁰⁰ Cypriot royal power,²⁰¹ and Heracles' Attic depiction on pottery,²⁰² where lions might have acted as symbolic reflections of epic society's values.²⁰³ All of these elements indicate the influence of broader ideological exchanges that happened between the Greeks, Cypriots, and Phoenicians during this period and beyond.²⁰⁴ Something we must remember, at least in earlier instances of this iconographic example, is that it may not represent Heracles or Melqart – the link is speculative, there are no stories concerning lions in our limited information for Melqart,²⁰⁵ and we lack

inscriptional evidence for Heracles on Cyprus.²⁰⁶ It is more likely, at least in earlier examples, that the 'Master of Lions' speaks to a broad mastery over the animal.²⁰⁷

Nonetheless, this does not mean this image was not later recognised and applied to Heracles-Melqart when that link began to solidify.²⁰⁸ Compare also the images (figs. 54 and 55) from

¹⁹⁷ Daniels 2021: 471; Bonnet 1988, 413–414; Culican 1968a, 83–87, pl. iii.

¹⁹⁸ Based on ideas as a divinised royal ancestor and spreading of colonization (Quinn 2017: 122; Daniels 2021: 471–3).

¹⁹⁹ Bonnet 1988: 412.

²⁰⁰ See fig. 50.

²⁰¹ Through the conquering of lions, a common motif (Ulanowskwe 2015; Iacovou 2008, 274–5).

²⁰² Yon 199: 154 examines how this depiction of Heracles (with a lion-skin) spread because of vase painting in the 6th century BC, and how this continued through Cyprus to influence the Levantine coast.

²⁰³ Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 38–48; Carter 1972: 25–58; Bonnet 1988: 412.

²⁰⁴ Counts 2008: 10–12.

²⁰⁵ Bonnet 1988: 414–5.

²⁰⁶ Counts 2008: 10–12.

²⁰⁷ In a similar way that the 'Master of Rams' images do; Counts 2008: 10–12; Quinn 2017: 123.

²⁰⁸ Additional images of Heracles, with lion-skin by accompanied with an *ankh* can be found in Boardman 1995: 52, fig. 3.2. However, the items are well preserved and belong to private collections. Without further evidence to verify their providence, they have been dismissed.

the Sanctuary of Hera at Capua. Here Heracles' depiction (on the right) matches what has been speculated to be Astarte (or a representation close to her common portrayal on horseback).²⁰⁹



Figures 59 and 60 (left to right). Heracles wrestling lion and Astarte on horse, both from Capua (Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 218, figs. 9 and 8).

With these examples, this thesis is not subscribing entirely to the view that they represent evidence of the syncretism of Heracles-Melqart, as Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet do.²¹⁰ Oftentimes, their conclusions are drawn from the what they see as Greek-Phoenician interactions across locations in Italy, and Thasos, Tartessos, Sardinia, and Malta.²¹¹ But this relies on tentative evidence at times²¹² The safer thing to take away from these examples is that Heracles showed instances of contextual adaptation. He was a popular figure, and thus would have been co-opted within a variety of settings, for a variety of purposes. This is not evidence for the syncretism of the Melqart and Heracles, but it does further explain how such a process took place.

In short, we see Melqart and Heracles still being depicted separately, but, especially in Cyprus, contextual adoption and adaptation (ideas, influences, and intentions), at least in their initial form, can be spied.

²⁰⁹ Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 217.

²¹⁰ Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 196.

²¹¹ The latter possessed an inscription (2nd cen. BC) that speaks of Melqart of Tyre and Heracles 'Chief' (mentioned only) (*CIS. I. 122 = IG. XIV 600*); Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet 2001: 208.

²¹² On Samos, in association with a sanctuary of Hera, the only evidence of Phoenician contact is in Herodotus talking about interactions with people from Tartessos, which was a colony possessed of Phoenicians, though not exclusively (*Hdt. 4.152*).

4.4.2.3: 5th-4th Centuries BC

This period is when we find our first clear instances of Heracles-Melqart. In textual evidence, Melqart appears in the 5th century BC Asarhaddon Treaty as a guarantor for Assyrian king Asarhaddon and the king of Tyre, Baal.²¹³ There is also the, previously mentioned, source from Herodotus on Melqart's temple,²¹⁴ which also includes our first definitive example of Melqart being linked to Heracles.²¹⁵ We also see examples of Melqart being referred to as the 'Tyrian Heracles' (though many date to/after the Hellenistic Period).²¹⁶ Our best location to examine Heracles-Melqart continues to be Cyprus, where the direct lines of influence between the figures of Heracles, Melqart, and even Bes can be seen, even if they remain separate.



Figures 61, 62, and 63 (left to right). All c. 5th century BC Cyprus. Face of Bes, face of Melqart (possibly), and Bes fighting a lion (Scarab: 22/11 Paris, BN, Pauvert no. 39 (Castagnini Coll.); The Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Cesnola Collection), 1874–76. 74.51.1439; 22/18; Ibiza no. 90 (Ibiza 3854).

Here, in fig. 62 and 64, we find a clear individual depiction of Bes – squat and ugly, there is seemingly no 'assimilation' with Heracles.²¹⁷ As discussed before, the presence of a lion likely has more to do with a conquering of nature than some allusion to the Greek hero. This is the case for fig. 63, a 5th century BC Cypriot (possible) depiction of Melqart. The headwear and the beard are all reminiscent of figs. 55-56 from the Levantine coast, suggesting motifs

²¹³ Bonnet 1988: 40.

²¹⁴ Hdt. 2.44, an account confirmed by Eusebus, *P.E.* 1.10.27. A greater description will be offered when we examine the city of Tyre itself in 4.5.1.5.

²¹⁵ KAI 201; Hill 1910: 229, no 11-43, pl. XXVIII, 16-17, XIX, 2-3, 13-17, suppl. XLIV, 2-3. C. See these sources for a more in-depth discussion of Herodotus' account on Heracles-Melqart and the god's origin: Bonnet 2015: 401; Nitschke 2007: 58; Garbati 2010: 157-182; Lichtenberger 2022: 2.

²¹⁶ Tyrian Herakles: Diod. Sic. 17.40.2; Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.4. For his precedence in relation to Greek Herakles, Hdt. 2.44; Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.1–2; Lucian Syr. D. 3. For Egyptian Herakles, who is also said to predate the Greek Herakles: Hdt. 2.43-44; Diod. Sic. 1.24.1–6; 5.76.1–2; Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.2; Garbati 2010: 172.

²¹⁷ Bonnet 1988: 413.

drawn from Phoenicia. However, it would be a stretch to see any Herakeion/Bes elements in it.



Figure 64. 475-450 BC, silver siglos of King Baalmilk I, Kition, Cyprus (Fourrier 2021: 129, fig. 2).

Additionally, although there is evidence for the worship of Phoenician deities across Cyprus,²¹⁸ the link we might expect to see between Heracles and Melqart is complicated. Bilingual Phoenician/Greek (in syllabic script) inscriptions reveal local peculiarities in the rendering of divine names; for example, Melqart is recorded as *Lapethos*, otherwise known as Poseidon in Greek.²¹⁹ This does not match up with how Melqart/Poseidon is depicted (fig. 65), namely as a smiting Heracles-esque figure with bow and club.²²⁰ Fourrier marks this down to a shared ‘Cypro-Phoenician’ identity, that differed in cultural aspects like script, cults, and names from the “Levantine-Phoenician” identity.²²¹

Once again we are reminded to approach the relationship between Heracles-Melqart in the view of ideas, influences, and intentions. Identity, and material culture, is fluid, and here it has clearly adapted to the context and the needs of both parties. With that in mind, some links between Heracles and Melqart are easier to spot. In Cypriot coinage (fig. 66), dated to 479 BC, after King Baalmelek took control of the island, we have iconography that suggests a direct link of influence upon the material culture coming from Phoenicia. In the issue above, Heracles runs forward with bow held in front of him. Significantly, Demetriou claims it was made in Kition (a Cypriot city) and was inspired by Greek tradition, which in turn influenced the following coin of Melqart riding the hippocampus (fig. 68).²²² Whilst this is speculation, the similarities are notable when examining the latter coin in question.

²¹⁸ See Fourrier 2021, but also the information above about a temple to Melqart on Cyprus.

²¹⁹ In Phoenician: Van den Branden 1964 (inscription LLII).

²²⁰ Fourrier 2021: 129.

²²¹ Fourrier 2021: 130.

²²² Demetriou 2001: 141.



Figures 65, 66, and 67 (left to right). From 479 BC, Cypriot coinage after King Baalmelek took control and a silver daric issued from Tyre in c. 425-333/2 BC (Demetriou 2001: Plate XXIIb and c; British Museum, CM 1919-05-16-16).

The silver coin (fig. 68) was issued from Tyre from about 425 to 333/2 BC, and on it features a bearded god holding out a bow and quiver and riding a winged sea horse or hippocampus. Considering its origin from Tyre, the city of Melqart, it is hard to think who else it could be.²²³ The obverse references other contemporary symbolisms, namely the Persian “running archer” motif and numismatic imagery of *oikists* riding dolphins in Magna Graecia, possibly emphasizing Melqart’s role as founder god.²²⁴ The former point suggests that the coin from Kition might also have been influenced by the ‘running archer’ motif – to any extent, knowing what we do of Greek-Cypriot-Phoenician interactions on Cyprus, it would make perfect sense that this Tyrian coin of Melqart had adopted iconography from King Baalmelek’s coinage (along with, certainly, other sources).²²⁵ If we accept this, we have a direct line of Heracles’ material culture impacting Tyre’s.²²⁶ As with other examples, however, this is speculation, but similarities are surely more than coincidence. As usual we should avoid trying to sketch a clear line from Heracles and Melqart to Heracles-Melqart – at times we see what we might call a more ‘syncretised’ image, and at others Heracles and Melqart remain distinctive in their differences. Thus, whilst Peckham, for example, claims Melqart’s traditional imagery (e.g., apotheosis imagery) disappears by the 5th century BC, he would be mistaken.²²⁷

²²³ Some dispute this identification, such as Nitschke 2013: 261 and Élayi and Élayi 2009: 269-71, but others, such as Bonnet 1988: 85; 2007 and Hill 1910: 229 suggest otherwise - the letters on the back - *mem* and *beth* could spell Melqart.

²²⁴ Daniels 2021: 470, in line with views of previous scholarship.

²²⁵ Dussaud 1946: 206 suggests the image of Melqart is inspired by the sea god Yam.

²²⁶ Moran 2019: 324 for work on Carthage, where lines of influence between Greek and Carthaginian are easier to spot.

²²⁷ Peckham 2010: 229.

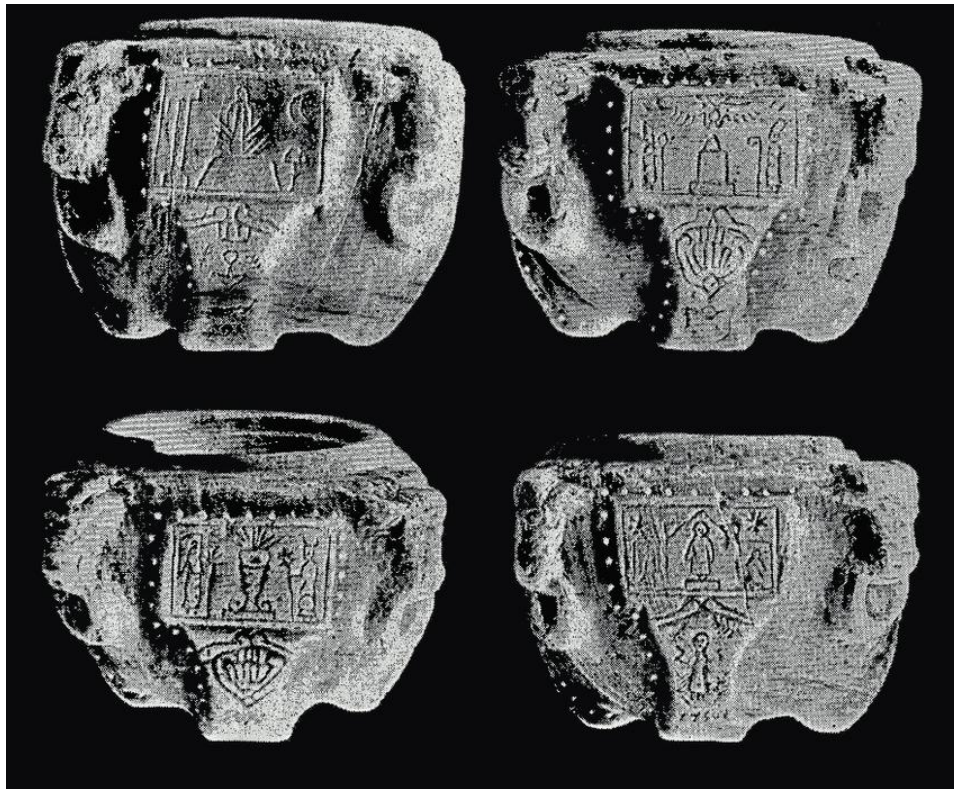


Figure 68. The Vase of Sidon (Lima 2019: 191).

The Vase of Sidon, discovered near Sidon, and dated to the 4th century BC, is highly suggestive of traditional iconography associated with Melqart. The cremation in the top left, and the snake coiled around the pillar, are perhaps Melqart and the Tyrian sanctuary of Melqart, respectively.²²⁸ The bottom left scene reveals the rest of the ritual, where a horned figure stands over Melqart's pyre; this is likely Astarte.²²⁹ Opposite Astarte is a figure identified as the King of Tyre based on his headdress. The last scene probably represents the resurrection,²³⁰ and perhaps a communal festival in Tyre.²³¹ Of particular interest in relation to Heracles-Melqart is the bottom right scene, where a figure holds two birds. This may be related to the myth in which Heracles of Tyre, killed in Libya by Typhon and was brought back to life by smelling the aroma of roasted quails by Iolaos.²³² If so, this would further evidence the connection between the Greek hero and Melqart – both could be represented

²²⁸ Bonnet 1988: 78. This is an idea drawn from Lipinski's earlier readings.

²²⁹ Her clothing is similar to that of the mourners in Ahiiram's sarcophagus (Süling 1984: 327-340).

²³⁰ Bonnet 1988: 79.

²³¹ Bonnet 1988: 105.

²³² Athenaeus. 392d.

simultaneously in an interesting demonstration of intention – the Sidonians chose to (subtly) reference Heracles, but this is speculative reading.



Figure 69. Late 4th century BC coin from Rosh Melqart (British Museum, 1874, 0714.99).

In the mint of the settlement Rosh Melqart (‘Cape of Melqart’) in Sicily, we find a coin (fig. 70) identified as Melqart (through the name of the settlement it was minted at). The community, by its very location, interacted with a wide variety of travellers, including Greeks.²³³ Perhaps, as a result Melqart took on an iconography closer to that of Heracles (to help develop links between the people of Rosh Melqart and their neighbours, who might better recognise Heracles). It would match with other cases seen in Sicily, where each side sought to find their own gods in the names and images of

the community.²³⁴ Nonetheless, we should note that whilst the representation above is not traditional for what we have seen of Melqart, it also does not necessarily spell ‘Heracles’. As a small note, the process of syncretism between Heracles and Melqart might have been helped by the religious customs of Tyre, Sidon, and other cities in Phoenicia and Carthage. Their gods were often referenced with dual names (e.g., Tinnit-Ashtart in Sarepta, Eshmun-Melqart in Cyprus).²³⁵ In Phoenicia, each city had its pantheon, usually headed by a divine couple.²³⁶ Therefore, Heracles-Melqart, by the time they had syncretised, would perhaps not have been revolutionary for the Phoenicians.

In summary, Heracles adopted the lion skin from Bes on Cyprus (at least within the eastern Mediterranean – charting the origin of Heracles is beyond the scope of this thesis), whilst Melqart originally appeared in aniconic images or, if anthropomorphised, in a form distinct from Heracles. He had no link to lion-slaying. The two remain separate in their iconography throughout the 8th-5th centuries – only in the context of Cyprus do we begin to see any evidence of syncretism and even then, it was a slow process, within which Heracles and Melqart still appear in different forms across a variety of locations. Any combination the

²³³ Moron 2019; Nitschke 2013: 265.

²³⁴ See the previously cited example from Malkin 2011a; see also Ustinova et al. 2022: 196.

²³⁵ Xella 1990, 2019: 279.

²³⁶ Sader 2019: 185.

two underwent happened within contexts where contextual circumstances impressed the favourability of doing so (in trade, and in instances where royal power tried to co-opt successful images). Thus, the material evidence outlined here indicates that the combination of Heracles and Melqart was the result of a continued adaptation, not a one-off process,²³⁷ one that had not fully produced ‘Heracles-Melqart’ by the time Alexander the Great approached Tyre. While ancient sources like the bilingual *cippi* from Malta equate Melqart with Heracles,²³⁸ they also differentiate between the Tyrian god and the Greek hero.²³⁹ This nuanced understanding is supported by depictions found in temples like the one at Gades in southern Spain, which honour both Heracles and Melqart.²⁴⁰ Melqart’s shifting image, as seen, allowed for flexibility in representation, with attributes being shaped by the context.²⁴¹ As such, Heracles and Melqart were influenced less by each other, and more by the political situations they existed within (e.g., a new empire causing a shift in trading partners, leading to the Tyrians interacting more with the Cypriots). The initial syncretism between Heracles and Melqart was, and continued to be, a result of ideas and influences moving between communities.²⁴²

²³⁷ Daniels 2021: 465; Bonnet 2005: 28.

²³⁸ CIS. I.122; see also a 153/2 BC marble stele at Delos, but set up by merchants from Tyre, who thank Heracles as the ‘the founder of our original homeland’ (*archēgos tēs patrídos*: ID. 1519 = AGRW 223).

²³⁹ Daniels 2021: 466; This dual Heracles dates back to the Homeric epics: compare Hom. *Il.* 18.177–119 and *Od.* 11.601–604, although the latter passage may be a late interpolation (Staord 2012, 241, n. 35).

²⁴⁰ In *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Philostratus describes the temple at Gades, in southern Spain, and its altars, “to the Egyptian Heracles two of bronze and perfectly plain, to the Theban, one of stone; on the latter they say are engraved in relief hydras and the mares of Diomedes and the twelve labours of Heracles” (5.5). The two plain altars to the Egyptian Heracles may hint at Melqart’s aniconic worship, an aspect by which ancient authors differentiate him from the Greek Heracles, as noted by numerous sources (Strab. C169–171; Porp. *Abstinence.* 1.25; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 2.242; Isidore of Seville. *Etym.* 14.6.7).

²⁴¹ Oggiano 2021: 85-6.

²⁴² Daniels 2021.

4.5: The Hellenistic Period in Phoenicia

Before we study the material culture of Heracles-Melqart within the city of Tyre, we must contextualise the city (and its neighbours) within some of the events happening during the Hellenistic Period. This is to frame the environment and the influences exerted upon the Tyrians as they used their material culture to play with identity. Scholarship remains preoccupied with problematising ‘Hellenization’ and largely overlooks that cultural changes to religious, social, and artistic mediums were results of centuries of contact between Phoenicia and communities and travelers from Greece.²⁴³ Therefore, the point of this section is not to discuss ‘Hellenization’ in relation to Tyre, but to outline the influences exerted upon the city in the Hellenistic Period instead.

4.5.1: The Advent of the Hellenistic Period

Influences and ideas were constantly bouncing between communities in the Mediterranean. Whilst we will not subscribe to Millar’s ideas that Phoenicia was ‘Hellenized’ long before Alexander the Great,²⁴⁴ the thrust of the point is correct – both cultures adapted and adopted influences from one and other long before the Hellenistic Period.²⁴⁵ Within this, the cities of Phoenicia certainly played to the dominant power of the time; they referenced the language and myths²⁴⁶ of the Greeks as the latter gained greater authority over the Mediterranean.²⁴⁷

Upon the advent of the Hellenistic Period however, Phoenician culture was wiped out, progressively destroyed,²⁴⁸ mutilated,²⁴⁹ and assimilated with the Greeks until only a few flickers of their culture remained,²⁵⁰ but this is untrue. Alexander and his successors certainly strengthened the influence of cultural elements from the Greco-Macedonians upon the

²⁴³ Notable exceptions are Millar 1983; Bonnet 2015; Aliquot and Bonnet 2015; López-Ruiz 2017; and Bonnet 2019.

²⁴⁴ Millar 1983: 68. This idea is echoed in contemporary scholarship (Élayi 1980: 28; Markoe 2000: 63; Bonnet 2014).

²⁴⁵ This can be seen at Amrit (opposite Arados), which offered objects to Melqart and Eshmun that contained motifs from Greece and Cypriot (Jourdain-Annequin 1992; Bonnet 1997). See also the elements from Greece in the Bostan esh-Sheikh (Stucky 2005). For pottery with Greek motifs before the Hellenistic, see Élayi 1988; Élayi 1992; Salles 1991. None of this suggests a turn to be ‘Greek’, or a disinterest in other styles of material culture (Nitschke 2011: 98).

²⁴⁶ Such as Kadmos (Millar 1983: 68). Though unlike Millar, we will not argue it was because they wanted to be seen as ‘Greek’.

²⁴⁷ Bonnet 2014: 289.

²⁴⁸ Élayi 1980: 28.

²⁴⁹ Grainger 1991: 51.

²⁵⁰ Jidejian 1988: 128.

Phoenician cities; after all, the former often controlled the latter, including their coinage. But the cities reacted and adapted, as they had under empires before,²⁵¹ though their thoughts are lost due to a lack of written evidence.²⁵² Bonnet is correct in saying attempts to see Phoenicia as ‘Hellenized’ are the results of trying to reduce a complex process of cultural interaction to a simple binary (e.g., primitive/civilized) – it also implies a passivity on the Phoenicians part that was not there.²⁵³

Nonetheless, Alexander’s conquests did impact Phoenicia. In 332 BC, Alexander arrived at Tyre, and in doing so furthered the links between Heracles and Melqart.²⁵⁴ The story is well known;²⁵⁵ Alexander expressed a desire to sacrifice to the ‘Tyrian Heracles’ and was rebuffed, after which he invaded. Of greater interest is the speculation on the Macedonian’s motives. It has been argued that Alexander was aware of the dual nature of Heracles-Melqart, and he attempted to ingratiate the god into the Greek pantheon, therefore weakening Tyrian collective identity and usurping the role of the king of Tyre.²⁵⁶ These claims are hard to prove, but the god clearly factored into the conflict; both sides claimed him as their own through dreams and oracles.²⁵⁷ Alexander was ultimately successful in taking Tyre, though the extent to which this impacted Tyrian identity is not clear; many have discussed how Alexander implemented Greek athletic festivals within the city, favoured Heracles (in his form as wrestler and patron of gymnasiums) as his dedicant, and otherwise tried to impress Greek culture upon the Tyrians.²⁵⁸ However, the evidence of this comes from the usual

²⁵¹ It is hard to confirm the presence of bilingual inscriptions (Green 1990: 313, claims so, but gives no examples). In fact, Greek and bilingual Greek-Phoenician inscriptions that can be dated to before the Roman period are extremely rare in central Phoenicia (Nitschke 2011: 85). Other sources do demonstrate a distinct Phoenician identity (Diod. Sic. 33.5, Strabo 16.2.25, Heliod. *Aeth.* 10.41.3, Arr. *Anab.* 2.16, Lucian Syr. D.; Pomp. Mela. *Chor.* 1.12, Paus. 7.23); see Nitschke 2011: 86 and Bonnet 2014: 288 for comment.

²⁵² Mostly in the form of brief votive and funerary inscriptions, Phoenician historical tradition is suggested by Josephus, who claims to have consulted Phoenician records (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 1.9.23-24, 1.10.5, 1.10.36, 1.10.42-43; Joseph. *Ap.* 1.106; *AJ.* 1.107). Philo of Byblos (early 2nd century AD) also references early Phoenician writers, though scholars believe he drew on Hellenistic sources, which is controversial (Baumgarten 1981, Barr 1976, Eissfeldt 1952, and Oden 1978). Literary figures from later Hellenistic Phoenicia include Meleager of Gadara (c. 136-60 BC), Antipater of Sidon (c. 170–100 BC), and Zeno of Sidon (3rd century BC). Little is known about their lives in Phoenicia. See, Nitschke 2007, 160-187; Nitschke 2011: 86.

²⁵³ Bonnet 2014: 288.

²⁵⁴ They still remained distinct from one and other. Arrian’s text makes this clear: “at Tyre there is the most ancient temple of Herakles ... not the Argive Herakles ... for a Herakles was honoured at Tyre many generations before Kadmos sailed from Phoenicia, occupied Thebes, and had a daughter Semele, mother of Dionysos son of Zeus ... It was to this Tyrian Herakles that Alexander said he wished to sacrifice” (Arr. *Anab.* 2.15.7).

²⁵⁵ Five historical accounts of the siege of Tyre, spanning from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD provide similar narratives (perhaps due in part to common influences): Diod. 17.40.2-46; Curt. *Hist. Alex.* 4.2.2-4. Arr. *Anab.* 11.16-24; Plut. *Alex.* 24-25; Justin. *Phil.* 11. 10-14; see for further discussion, Rutz 1965: 370; Atkinson 1980: 315-19; Bosworth 1980: 235-56.

²⁵⁶ For discussion, see Lane Fox 1973: 178; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 220; Goukowski 1978-81; Bosworth 1988, 1996; Bonnet 2014: 287, 1988: 51-6; Aubet 2001: 155.

²⁵⁷ Bonnet 1988: 52-6.

²⁵⁸ Bonnet 2014: 287.

Greek/Roman authors and offhand allusions to life in Tyre, and thus it does not feel conclusive. However, surely this event, and the material culture that followed it,²⁵⁹ popularised the already existing link between Heracles and Melqart, and thus contributed to their syncretism.

4.5.2: Phoenicia in the Hellenistic Period

Around c. 350 BC, Tyre²⁶⁰ and Sidon²⁶¹ controlled a string of cities and harbours across the Phoenician coast, largely towards the south.²⁶² Alexander's conquests changed things drastically. Tyre, after its defeat, had a Macedonian garrison installed, leading to a mixed population within the city, made up of Tyrian survivors, Macedonians, and Greek settlers looking for a new home.²⁶³ Authority in the city was divided between the king (Tyrian) and the garrison commander (Macedonian), a conflict that was present within the mixed population too.²⁶⁴ After Alexander's death, the Phoenicians were caught in the Diadochi Wars, facing such hardship that Grainger was prompted to allude, tongue-in-cheek, to the idea that there was a concerted effort by the Macedonians to destroy them.²⁶⁵ Among the attacks on Tyre during this period were that of Ptolemaic forces,²⁶⁶ one of which produced a siege brutal enough to nearly starve Antigonos'²⁶⁷ troops; there is no word about the native Tyrians during this siege.²⁶⁸ It is interesting to note that both Ptolemy and Antigonos claimed to desire the freedom of Greek cities²⁶⁹ but Tyre, among the other Phoenician cities, was not considered Greek.²⁷⁰ Ptolemy was victorious at Gaza in 312 BC and so advanced north, taking Sidon via persuasion; the commander Andronikos (who eventually joined Ptolemy) at Tyre

²⁵⁸ Hill 1911: 271, with associated coins of Heracles; *IGRR*. III 1012 = *IGLS*. IV 1265: the dedicator boasts of having won a host of victories here and there and mentions a pugilistic match for children in Tyre; *Maccabees*. 4.18-20; Lemaire 1976; Merker 1974; Bonnet 1988: 57; Goldstein 1985: 232-233; Daubner 2015; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 221 ("in Alexander's mind, there was no desire to wipe out Phoenician customs, but rather to remove, in his own way, the traces of the Phoenicians").

²⁵⁹ See 3.5.2.

²⁶⁰ Tyre had Palaityros, Ekdippa, and Ake.

²⁶¹ Sidon had villages around Mount Carmel named Skykaminos and Adaros by Skylax.

²⁶² Grainger 1991: 12-13.

²⁶³ Diod. 19.61.5; Grainger 1991: 38-9.

²⁶⁴ Grainger 1991: 38-9.

²⁶⁵ Grainger 1991: 42.

²⁶⁶ Diod. 19.61.2-5.

²⁶⁷ Ptolemy's rival and the city's holder.

²⁶⁸ Diod. 19.61.5.

²⁶⁹ Diod. 19.61.3-4; 62.1.

²⁷⁰ Grainger 1991: 44.

defied him, however, and so the city was subjected to another siege.²⁷¹ However, Ptolemy was later chased away by Antigonos,²⁷² who managed to establish peace for ten years, working with local kings as he did so.²⁷³ In 302 BC, war broke out again and eventually Tyre, Sidon, and Cyprus appeared to fall into the control of Ptolemy around 284-286 BC.²⁷⁴ This entire process is significant, prompting Grainger to argue the Phoenicians cultural heritage was mutilated beyond repair,²⁷⁵ though we can dispute this.²⁷⁶ Seleucid control from 198 BC of the region meant the hinterland was now no longer ‘no man’s land’; the cities could expand and reduce their garrisons in safety.²⁷⁷ Enforced peace by the Seleucids led to reinvestments in industrial and commercial ventures.²⁷⁸ Throughout all of this, Tyre and Sidon appeared to retain much of their original territory; what they did lose, they gained in the hinterland.²⁷⁹

Note that the evidence does not indicate a radical change for the Phoenician cities during these events. We do not find them refounded by Alexander or the Diadochi; they did not lose their names;²⁸⁰ there is insufficient evidence to claim they adopted the Greek language²⁸¹ and education;²⁸² and their various systems and institutions survived.²⁸³ As for the Phoenician material culture, we see a continuation of what we have discussed previously - influences and ideas passed between the Greek-speakers and the Phoenician cities, a result of continuities

²⁷¹ Diod. 19.85.4-5; 93.1-2.

²⁷² Diod. 19.93.4-7.

²⁷³ Grainger 1991: 46.

²⁷⁴ Plut. *Dem.* 33.1 (he refused to give them to Seleukos in 294 BC).

²⁷⁵ Note, three centuries later Josephus says Tyrian archives go back a long way (Jos. *AJ.* 8. 55) but Grainger doubts this as the violence was so severe he thinks any survival of records would have been unlikely (Grainger 1991: 50).

²⁷⁶ See 3.5

²⁷⁷ Grainger 1991: 103.

²⁷⁸ Grainger 1991: 112.

²⁷⁹ Sader 2015: 119.

²⁸⁰ Though they were reorganised (Eddy 1961: 131).

²⁸¹ There are only a few Phoenician inscriptions (e.g., Cooke 1903: no. 33, 35, 34; *KAI* no. 60; Gibson no. 41.) and these used equivalents for both the names of deities and their own names in Phoenician too. They did not deploy both languages, suggesting they did not know Greek (entirely, at least) (Millar 1983: 61).

²⁸² Figures like Zeno of Kition and Zeno of Sidon adopted Greek culture but had tenuous links to Phoenicia (Zeno of Sidon, for example, moved to Athens in his 20s). Establishing Greek schools required significant investment, which was unlikely before the peace in the 280s BC. Phoenician involvement in Greek events, like the victories of Timokrates of Byblos and Sillis of Sidon at Delos in 269 BC (*IG*, II² 203 1 68), does not contradict this, as boxing does not require extensive Greek cultural knowledge. The origin of Timokrates, possibly Greco-Macedonian, is debated based on his name (Masson 1963: 679-87), and there are ongoing questions about Sillis's receptiveness to Greek culture (*CIG*, I 126, no. 87; Grainger 1991: 79-80).

²⁸³ Phoenician kings survived (Millar 1983: 1-66); Inscriptions from Umm El-Amed across 222 BC to 132 BC show the Tyrian dating system was retained (*KAI* no. 19; Dunand and Duru 1962: 185, no. 4; *CIS*. I 7; Cooke 1903: 44, no. 9; *KAI* no. 18; Dunand and Duru 1962: 181, no. 35, no. 1); Phoenician ranks survive (*shofet*, judge) (Cooke 1903: 42, no. 7, and 43, no. 8; Dunand and Duru 1962: 188, no. 35, no. 6).

and nuances.²⁸⁴ Beyond this, we can spy the intention of cities such as Sidon to foster better relations with the Greek foreigners, notably in the former's participation in the Nemean Games in 200 BC.²⁸⁵ It must be remembered that Sidon had faced particular interference from Alexander;²⁸⁶ additionally, whilst it is likely true Alexander and his successors promoted these games in the region to support cultural mediation,²⁸⁷ this does not mean the Sidonians who engaged did so to 'become Greek' – as with other instances of cultural contact, their actions were likely for their own political gain.²⁸⁸ In short, whilst Alexander's conquest influenced Phoenicia, it did not eliminate the identities and intentions of its cities. Instead, they adapted to the new context (as we shall see).²⁸⁹

4.5.3: The History of Phoenician Coinage

The monetary history of Phoenicia can be divided into five distinct periods: Persian rule (c. 450–333/2); the time of Alexander (333/2–323); the period of the Diadochi (323–294); the Ptolemaic occupation (294–200); and the Seleucids (200–120s).²⁹⁰

The coins of the Persian rule are difficult to identify at times; the ones from Sidon bear no ethnic, royal inscription, or symbol, for example.²⁹¹ This situation is better on coins from Tyre, where the name of the city can be seen, and at Arados, which presented distinctive iconography (e.g., the obverse features a half-fish sea-god holding a dolphin in each hand).²⁹² One set of numismatic iconography from Byblos displayed an Egyptian influence: a sphinx on the obverse is accompanied on the reverse by a winged hippocamp, a falcon wearing the

²⁸⁴ This is discussed well in Amselle, where it is argued cultures are built from fragments of one and other – none are pure, and changes within them are simply results of continuities and nuances, not rendering and breaks (Amselle 2010: 14). For research on Greek-Phoenician material culture, specifically examples from Bostan esh-Sheikh, Tribune of Eshmoun, and the empty throne of Astarte, see: Oggiano 2015: 248-51; Xella 1999, 2009; Bonnet 1988, 2015: 378.

²⁸⁵ Diotimos of Sidon was the victor; Bonnet 2014: 294.

²⁸⁶ Grainger 1991: 110-11; Sartre 2006: 264; Fartre 2006: 264-5; oftentimes Sidon's engagement with Greek culture is framed through the festivals they competed at (Diotimos being the most famous example). Beyond Delos and Nemea, Sidon also produced victories in the Seleucid period at the Panathenaia (180s BC) and at Theseia (c.142 BC) (*IG*. II/2, 2314, l. 21 (dated to 191/82 BC) and *ibid.* 960, l. 16), which is more than Tyre (*IG*. II² 2315, II, 27-8; *IG*. vii, 417, ll. 39-40) and Berytos (*IG*. II/2, 2316, II. 50-2.) produced, marking it as exceptional.

²⁸⁷ Le Guen 2005; Lindsay Adams 2006.

²⁸⁸ Diotimos, the victor, did impress his Argead roots in his victory inscription, but through this he also advertised Kadmos, and thus the (mythical) Phoenician origins of Greece (Bonnet 2008; 2019: 108; Chaniotis 1995b: 147-69; Bremen 2007: 345-75; Grainger 1991: 118).

²⁸⁹ Nitschke 2011: 97; Bonnet 2015: 378.

²⁹⁰ Iossif 2014: 62.

²⁹¹ Iossif 2014: 63.

²⁹² Élayi and Élayi 2009: 13-4; Brandis 1866: 376-7; Élayi and Élayi 2009: 13; Iossif 2014: 63.

double crown of Egypt with a crook and flail in the background.²⁹³ Here Iossif summarises the main types from the period: “Sidon used only eight types, four principal (galley, chariot, archer, and ‘hero’ fighting a lion) and four rare (bearded head, head of Bes, eye, and architectural element). The Tyrian repertoire had only eight motifs: the owl (the most frequent and accompanied by crook and flail), the dolphin, the hippocamp, the deity, the ‘shell’, the lion’s head, the ram’s head, and the rosette. These coins of this period introduced the system of dating by regnal years expressed in Phoenician letters”.²⁹⁴

During Alexander’s time, the main four types were: gold staters with a helmeted head of Athena on the obverse and a Nike on the reverse; tetradrachms depicting the head of young Heracles wearing the lion skin headdress on the obverse and Zeus *Aetophoros* on the reverse. Moreover, Alexander’s reign introduced new deities from the Greco-Macedonian pantheon to the region.²⁹⁵ Nevertheless, cities of Phoenicia managed to identify themselves via a series of letters and/or mint marks on the coinage.²⁹⁶



Figures 70, 71, and 72 (left to right, illustrative examples). Alexander III, minted at Tyre; Ptolemy II (266-265 BC) eagle holding lightning-bolt; prow of a ship, Antiochus III (198-197 BC) (National Numismatic Museum, Athens, no. 63, image author’s own; ANS 1997.45; ANS 1944.100.77354).

The period of the Diadochi Wars included the Antigonids’ closure of the last mints that produced Alexander coinages in Phoenicia: Sidon in 306/5 BC and Tyre in 305/4 BC; the latter introduced the club of Heracles-Melqart on Tyrian coinage²⁹⁷ at an unconfirmed date (fig. 71). Throughout this period the Antigonids and Ptolemies fought for control. Ptolemy I’s conquest of Hellenistic Phoenicia led to an abandonment of Alexander types, and

²⁹³ Twenty-fourth shekel: Lemaire and Élayi 1992, series A.III.3–7.

²⁹⁴ Iossif 2014: 64.

²⁹⁵ Iossif 2014: 64.

²⁹⁶ Price 1991 3303A, 3482f, 3482–3491; Duyrat 2005, no. 1-29, no. 38, no. 58, no. 1158. See also the gold stater with ¥ and Ⓞ, no. 57; Newell 1916: no. 25-6; see Iossif 2014: 65 and Millar 1983 for summaries.

²⁹⁷ Price 1991 3555–3562; Iossif 2014: 65.

subsequently an introduction of new mint types (e.g., Greek letters to indicate the regnal date) (fig. 72).²⁹⁸ In 242/1 BC, Ptolemy III ended all silver production in Phoenicia and replaced it by the large bronze issues thereby marking the end of regular precious metal production²⁹⁹ in the Phoenician mints.³⁰⁰ Soon after, Antiochus III conquered Phoenicia and Coele-Syria between 200-198 BC;³⁰¹ however, he followed Ptolemy III's policies, and did not intervene drastically in local monetary practices. With that said, some new types emerged: the portrait of the king on the obverse associated with a ship's stern³⁰² or prow (fig. 73)³⁰³ on the larger denominations and a palm tree³⁰⁴ or club³⁰⁵ on the smaller denominations accompanied by the royal title on the reverse.³⁰⁶

This has been a short overview of Phoenician coinage, for the purpose of situating ourselves within the general changes that happened during this time. We will now develop this, to examine how much autonomy the Phoenicians had in what their coinage displayed. Only by understanding this can we hope to offer robust conclusions on what Tyrian numismatic iconography tells us about their expression of myth and identity.

4.5.3.1: Did the Phoenician Cities Have Control of their Numismatic Identity?

First, we will examine the evidence for the autonomy of Phoenician cities in relation to their coinage. In discussing the 'Hellenization' of Phoenician coinage, Lorber argues the coinage of Arados in the second half of the 3rd century represented an early example of voluntary 'Hellenization', as the tetradrachms were chosen to present Alexander types, even when the Seleucids permitted expressions of "local patriotism harking back to the glory days of Phoenician history".³⁰⁷ On this, we must immediately confront 'voluntary Hellenization'; if Lorber is correct, surely this is just continued adaptation to influence, as discussed throughout this thesis? Nonetheless, Lorber interprets the continuance of Seleucid-era iconography (e.g.,

²⁹⁸ Svoronos 1904-8, 626 (tetradrachm). The club also appeared on a gold pentadrachm: SNG Berry 1479; Iossif 2014: 66.

²⁹⁹ Iossif 2014: 66.

³⁰⁰ Iossif 2014: 67.

³⁰¹ Polyb. 16.39.3-5.

³⁰² SC 1078.

³⁰³ SC 1079-1080.

³⁰⁴ SC 1081.

³⁰⁵ SC 1082-1083.

³⁰⁶ SC 1323-1325. Contrary to the production under Antiochus III, bronzes of the smaller denomination (D; SC 1325) are also dated; Iossif 2014: 67.

³⁰⁷ An action that was likely a response to the closed currency zone created during Ptolemaic rule, a tactic that helped the latter to maintain influence; Lorber 2015: 75.

eagles), even after the Phoenician cities gained their autonomy at the Hellenistic Period, as further evidence of this inter-cultural adaptation and acceptance by the Phoenicians.³⁰⁸ There is evidence to support this. During the reign of Antiochos IV (175-164 BC), Byblos proclaimed itself as 'Gebal the Holy', thus proclaiming its antiquity and religious nature,³⁰⁹ and Berytos' claimed itself as the 'Metropolis of Canaan'.³¹⁰ Both examples serve to illustrate Phoenician autonomous proclamation through their coinage.³¹¹ Tyre and Sidon carried out similar actions whilst in competition with one and other, claiming to be Metropolies (even of each other, as Tyre did) and mother cities through their coinage.³¹²

It was Phoenicians kings who controlled the coinage of their respective cities; even if their power was reduced they could still assert some influence over how their cities presented themselves through material culture. As such, their initials appeared on coinage, until, at least, 309/308 BC.³¹³ Their power was balanced by the existence of an assembly, however³¹⁴, an institution which became more common throughout the Hellenistic Period and was represented on coinage and inscriptions through the word 'M' (people).³¹⁵ Oftentimes this symbol implied a deliberate body capable of committing funds,³¹⁶ and appeared in cities without kings (though not exclusively).³¹⁷ Mention should also be made of the of the Sidonians of Piraeus, dated to the year 14 of the people of Sidon according to an era beginning with Alexander's conquest.³¹⁸ With that said, we can only speculate on the presence of an official body in cities such as Byblos, Sidon, or Tyre, even if history suggests there was a group of officials in each city.³¹⁹ As such, the nature of how 'constitutional' a Phoenicians king's role was remains murky.³²⁰ Moreover, presupposing we can apply Punic city structures (a council of people) to Levantine Phoenician cities is also fraught with error; their structures may very well have evolved differently to their mother cities, where the kings

³⁰⁸ Lorber 2015: 76.

³⁰⁹ As displayed on their coinage; Rouvier 665; Grainger 1991: 111.

³¹⁰ *BMC Phoenicia* 1ff. 51-2.

³¹¹ Grainger 1991: 111.

³¹² *BMC Phoenicia*, p. cxxxiii; Hill 1910: cvi-cvii and Sidon, no. 87-91.

³¹³ See the cited sources for a new thorough examination of this topic; Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet 2015: 10-2; Duyrat 2005: 10 and 212; Lemaire 1976: 20-1; Le Rider 1995-1996.

³¹⁴ Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet 2015: 12.

³¹⁵ A good example from Punic territory: *CIS* I.132; *KAI* 62: ("made and renewed the people of Gaulos the three") (Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet 2015: 16).

³¹⁶ Sznycer 1975.

³¹⁷ One example comes from the hinterland of Tyre, which commemorates the construction of a *portico* in the year 53 of the people of Tyre (Gubel, Caubet and Fontan 2002: 137-8, no. 144 (*AO* 4831)).

³¹⁸ *TSSI*. III 41; Teixidor 1980; Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet 2015: 15.

³¹⁹ See the delegates who visited Alexander when he reached Tyre: Arrian, *Anab.* 2.15.6-7. Curt. 4.2.2-4.

³²⁰ Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet 2015: 16-7; *ID* 1519 et 1777.

resided.³²¹ This line of discussion may seem useless then, but the point of addressing these issues are simply to suggest that there was some kind of controller in Phoenician cities and they had influence over their city's presentation of its identity.

The other side of the argument would state that the Phoenicians had little control over their coinage (if not other types of material culture also), and the images produced on them were dictated by a ruling authority, usually Greco-Macedonian. Phoenician culture, as discussed, was already mixed in its collected iconography; Alexander did not introduce the Phoenicians to their neighbor's material culture.³²² He and his successors did have an impact on the Phoenician autonomy over their material culture. The question is to what extent? After the Macedonian conquest, the mints of major Phoenician cities (Arados, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre) were made to produce Alexander types, which proclaimed Macedonian authority, though remnants of Phoenician kings could still be seen on their coinage.³²³ Despite this, it is argued the full signature of Alexander, in comparison to the abbreviated Phoenician kings' names, signaled who was in charge.³²⁴ The images on this coins, such as the deified Alexander, depicted as the son of Zeus-Ammon, evoked new messages, a kind of political, cultural and religious synthesis, which the Lagids endeavored to import into Phoenicia too.³²⁵ Nonetheless, due to the variation seen across Phoenician coinage, it appeared that iconographic details were negotiated separately between each city;³²⁶ Tyre's minting, for example, changed based on who controlled it; Melqart's disappeared from coins until 126/125 BC, when Tyre regained its independence.³²⁷ This negotiation between conqueror and controlled appears to wax and wane. Ptolemy I appears to be a decisive factor in stricter, more uniform coinage, having introduced numismatic types after his 294 BC. conquest of the region which better portrayed the authority and imperial ideology of Macedonian kingship.³²⁸ The Ptolemaic influence on Phoenician coinage was marked; in 261/60 BC, Ptolemy II introduced a new monetary regime in Syria and Phoenicia, one that impressed Greek

³²¹ For examples of specific institutions that existed within cities, see: an assembly (?), *agoranomes* (SEG. 52.1567; 55.1697; 56.1594; SEG. 2.842 = 7.321 (Sidon); SEG. 40.1425-1428; 52.1618 (Tyre); *agonothetes* (examples for Sidon: Waddington 1870, n° 1866c); monetary magistrates (Sawaya 2009: 162 Beyrouth; Duyrat 2005 (Arados); Babelon 1893, nos. 1373 (Byblos), 1618 (Sidon), 2023 (Tyre); Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet 2015: 26.

³²² Stucky 2015: 199.

³²³ Gold and silver denominations struck at Tyre bear the letter *ayin*, quickly expanded to *ayin koph*, both abbreviating the name of the Tyrian king Ozmilk (Azemilkos) (Lorber 2015: 55-6, fig 1).

³²⁴ Lorber 2015: 57.

³²⁵ Bonnet 2015: 407; Lorber 2012: 33-44; Grainger 2010.

³²⁶ Lorber 2015: 58.

³²⁷ Nitschke 2013: 269.

³²⁸ Lorber 2012; 2015: 58-9; this focus on a 'royal' nature was also a fixation of Alexander and Antigonid regimes (Iossif 2014: 76).

numerals, letters, and monograms over the Phoenician ones.³²⁹ Moreover, Tyre's civic symbol, that of the club of Heracles-Melqart was introduced; this might suggest autonomy on the Tyrian's part but the symbol was significant for royal ideology: the Ptolemies claimed Heracles as an ancestor.³³⁰ Ptolemy III further disrupted the numismatic landscape of Phoenicia in 242/1 BC, when he transitioned silver coins to bronze ones,³³¹ which, significantly, were majority issues from Tyre, which perhaps coincided with some degree of autonomy the city enjoyed.³³²



Figure 73. 90/89 BC, silver tetradrachm of autonomous Tyre (Lorber 2015: 88, fig. 43).

This complicated push-and-pull is continuous throughout the Hellenistic Period. At Sidon, the use of the Phoenician alphabet to record the reigns of the local ruler (Abdalonymos) disappeared upon Alexander's death to be replaced by Greek letters. Due to the spread of these coins, the impact may

have been great, the transition from Phoenician to Greek part of a 'language of power'.³³³ Despite this, Bonnet argues the Phoenician cities probably negotiated some leeway in presenting their identity;³³⁴ in fact, the Heracles-Melqart club on Tyrian coinage (fig. 64) might have been an example of a win-win situation. After all, the image presented both Macedonian heritage and linked to Melqart, Baal of Tyre.³³⁵ This imagery was not an isolated example; it reappeared, and Bonnet's analysis of one example helps to further our understanding of Phoenician autonomy over their material culture. From 221 BC Tyre's autonomy continued to grow, and its coins (c.198) soon represented the club of Heracles-Melqart enshrined in a royal diadem (fig. 74), a reference to Alexandrian coinage where the diadem was associated with the cornucopia.³³⁶ Bonnet argues the coin was intended to "symbolize the alliance of Lagid power with local power, in this case that of the Baal of Tyre, and perhaps refers to Ptolemy V's concession of a special status or right."³³⁷ Furthermore, on

³²⁹ Theoc. *Id.* 17, 20-27; *OGIS* 54, ll. 4-5; Lorber 2015: 61-2; 126; 2008: 11-27.

³³⁰ Theoc. *Id.* 17, 20-27; *OGIS* 54, ll. 4-5.

³³¹ Lorber 2015: 63.

³³² *KAI* 19; see Lorber 2015: 63 for a more detailed discussion of Tyre's autonomy, based on its 274 BC inauguration of an 'Age of Tyre'.

³³³ Lorber 2015.

³³⁴ Bonnet 2015: 406.

³³⁵ Bonnet 2015: 406; Lemaire 1976: 11-24; Lorber 2015; Merker 1964: 13-20; Wheatley 2003: 183-216.

³³⁶ Hoover 2004: 485-507.

³³⁷ Bonnet 2015: 408; Hoover 2004: 497; Lorber 2015: 66.

another coin of the same series, an inscription proclaims the divinisation of Ptolemy V (in 198 BC); the dialogue between deified Lagid king and the royal god of Tyre, Melqart-Heracles, is immediately apparent.³³⁸

Thus, there is a picture of every evolving negotiation between the rulers and the ruled in Phoenicia. Iossif would disagree, however. He argues that these rulers primarily used imagery associated with royal authority on their coins rather than emphasizing Phoenician identity. This included royal portraits and eagles; images like the club of Heracles-Melqart are too discreet to be effective and could anyway be co-opted by the rulers (e.g., the Ptolemies) to highlight their own ancestry to Heracles.³³⁹ The civic aspect, in his mind, is clearly dominated by the royal element.³⁴⁰ Additionally, Iossif argues any representations of the palm tree (*phoenix*) on Tyrian coins were new additions, and might only have hinted at Tyrian civic identities. Instead, he argues these types were closely associated with the Seleucid rulers due to the inclusion of royal portraits, inscriptions, and Seleucid era dating, making them more ‘Seleucid’ than ‘Phoenician’,³⁴¹ though Hoover would argue the scales of recognition tipped towards the latter over time.³⁴² Additionally, Iossif argues that there were no Phoenician inscriptions on Ptolemaic Phoenician coins, with semitic languages only appearing from Antiochus IV's reign in 169/8.³⁴³ He argues the diminishment (during Ptolemaic rule) and reappearance (during Seleucid rule) of the Phoenician language, often accompanied by Greek inscriptions, highlighted the dominance of the Greek culture and language, particularly in royal administration and among local elites.³⁴⁴ Therefore, this suggests that decisions regarding coin inscriptions and language use were top-down, with cities conforming to royal policy.³⁴⁵ Iossif even goes so far as to say, after a discussion of taxation and mint marks, that no trace of civic identity and/or pride can be observed.³⁴⁶ However, the fact that Tyre was the only one to use the club as a symbolic mint mark (fig. 64),³⁴⁷ is indicative of choice from the Phoenician side. Therefore, whilst Iossif is

³³⁸ Bonnet 2015: 408; Lorber 2006: 15-20; Houghton and Lorber 2002; Lorber 2015: 66.

³³⁹ OGIS 54.4, where Ptolemy III is described as “descendent on the paternal side of Heracles son of Zeus, on the maternal of Dionysus son of Zeus.”

³⁴⁰ Iossif 2014: 77.

³⁴¹ Iossif 2014: 78; a point seen in Lorber 2015: 66-7, who argues the ‘*phoinix*’ was a pun on the Greek understanding of Phoenicians, and so could be seen as a form of ‘Hellenization’. Moreover, the dual nature of the coins (Seleucid imagery on one side, local themes on the other) are suggested as signs of compromise between the two sides (Houghton and Lorber 2002: 410; Lorber 2006: 16-7, no .5; Lorber 2015: 68).

³⁴² Iossif 2014: 78.

³⁴³ Iossif 2014: 73.

³⁴⁴ Iossif 2014: 73; Hoover 2004: 489–490.

³⁴⁵ Iossif 2014: 73 – see also his discussion on how royal grants were given (cf. 80-1); Hoover 2004: 489–490.

³⁴⁶ Iossif 2014: 72.

³⁴⁷ Iossif 2014: 70.

undoubtedly correct about the controlling presence of the Macedonian rulers, he often downplays the subtle signs of civic identity, arguing they are ineffective instead of seeing them as clear, negotiated, signs to their contemporary viewers of a continuing sense of local civic identity.

This is not an opinion we hold alone; Bonnet addresses Iossif and suggests negotiation was present, evidence from the many local symbols attested on Phoenician mints,³⁴⁸ and despite Greco-Macedonian dominance over the images they continued to include the name of the local kings under whom the coin issues were placed.³⁴⁹ Moreover, despite Seleucid control, one can identify a crucial turning point that was negotiated in 169/8 BC, when nineteen western cities of the Seleucid Empire, including six Phoenician cities (Tripolis, Byblos, Berytos renamed Laodicea of Phoenicia, Sidon, Tyre and Ptolemais) engaged in quasi-municipal coinage.³⁵⁰ In short, they gained a degree of autonomy. Iossif is not wrong in his criticisms, but we would side with Bonnet in concluding the negotiation between the Phoenicians and their Macedonian rulers was complex, and certainly did not signify a straightforward ‘Hellenization’ but rather a dynamic blend of influences. Coins served to present royal power, but within these local identities were presented, more-so as various Phoenician cities gained greater autonomy.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Bonnet 2015: 405; Lorber 2015, Duyrat 2002: 21-69.

³⁴⁹ Bonnet 2015: 405; Lorber 2015; Iossif 2014; Duyrat 2002.

³⁵⁰ Bonnet 2015: 409.

³⁵¹ Bonnet 2015: 411.

4.6: Heracles-Melqart in Tyre: Material Culture in the City

The section of this chapter will address how material culture functioned in relation to Heracles-Melqart, the purpose of which is to examine how objects that depicted the god(s), fostered networks from Tyre outwards, and, mainly, how material culture within the city ensured a continuation of a Tyrian sense of identity in the face of *Diadochi* wars and other contextual issues, as discussed above.

In relation to networks, material offers a ‘blurring’ of subject; that is, the viewer could read the image of Heracles-Melqart as they liked (as Heracles, or as Melqart etc). This, in a similar way to Malkin’s example from Sicily, supported the existence of dual identities within communities and aided in syncretism. This idea of the material culture reflecting the viewer’s perception, and mobilising it for their own ends, is similar to how Lykosoura used its monumental architecture to collate the local myths from across Arcadian communities, and thus spatially impact its borders. Within Tyre itself, the image of Heracles-Melqart was adapted – the Greek hero appeared youthful, which played upon themes typical of Melqart. Material culture was allied with space (specifically temples, such as Melqart’s) which anchored the traditions of Melqart and institutionalised Tyre’s perception of Heracles-Melqart to ensure the continuation of elements of their identity long into the Roman Period. Throughout the examination of this, many ideas addressed in the case studies of Lykosoura and Crete will reappear. The final recurring elements will be presented in chapter 5. In short, however, Lykosoura’s material culture worked to spread and change, Crete’s to change and maintain, and Tyre to maintain and foster relations.

4.6.1: The City of Tyre

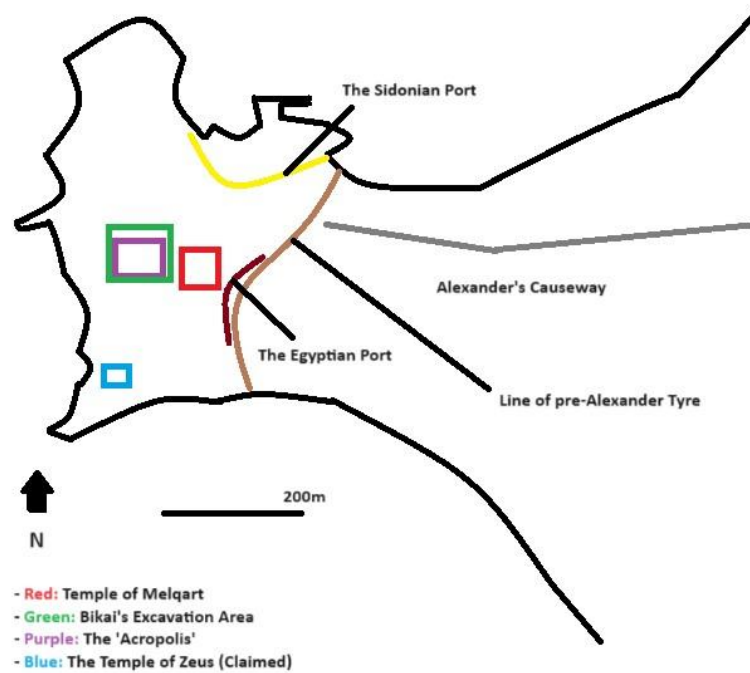


Figure 74. The City of Tyre. This map's scale may be inaccurate in places. It is intended as a visual guide for the sites discussed in this chapter. (Author's own, drawn from Aubet, Núñez and Trellisó 2016: 4, 11; Aubet 2020: 14; Marriner et al. 2008: 1285).

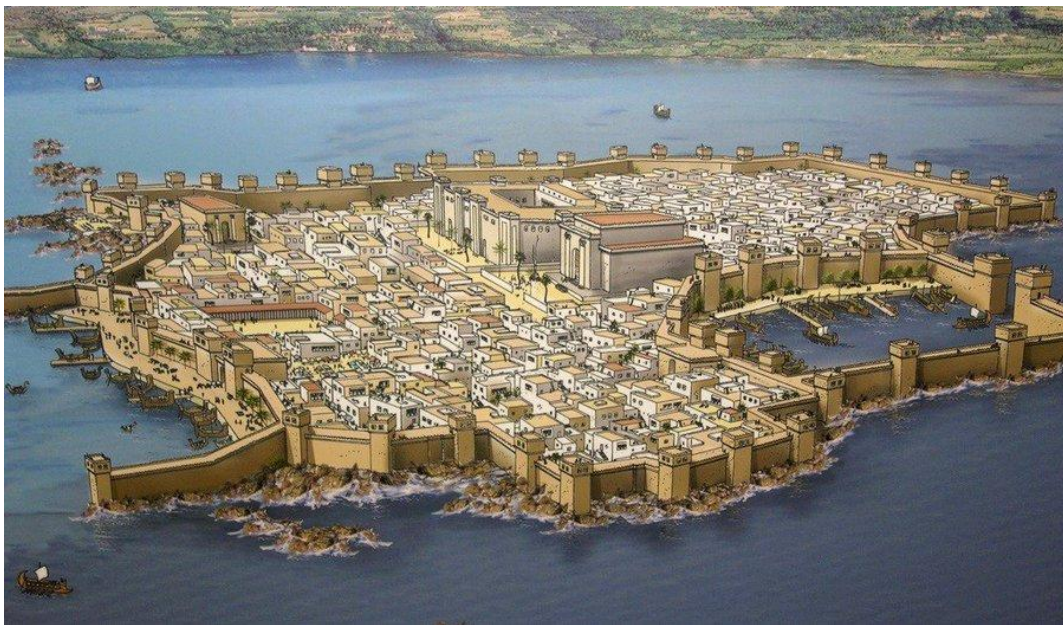


Figure 75. A modern recreation of Tyre (to be viewed as a visual support, not a definitive point on what the city looked like) (Comes Orientis 2023).

4.6.1.1: An Overview

Cities in Phoenicia were relatively small and densely populated, with major city-states like Arados and Sidon estimated to have measured between forty and sixty hectares at their largest extent. The distances between cities were relatively short compared to their counterparts in Greece, with Tyre and Arados separated by about two hundred kilometres, and Tyre and Sidon by fifty kilometres, indicating a compact urban landscape.³⁵² Some building techniques appeared prevalent across Phoenicia (at least in the 6th century BC), such as ashlar,³⁵³ but otherwise there was no single Phoenician house plan; instead, there was a diverse range of layouts across sites like Beirut and Tell Keisan. The variability in house plans may be attributed to the diverse functions of the buildings, including commercial, storage, residential, and industrial purposes.³⁵⁴ The point of this, is that we do not have extensive knowledge of Phoenician cities, which becomes a detriment when we try to map out Tyre.

The city of Tyre was one of the most prominent Phoenician cities. Built on a series of islets and rocks around 2 km from the mainland provided its ancient name ‘Sor’, meaning ‘rock’. It expanded over time, whilst remaining connected to the mainland by a sand tombolo,³⁵⁵ which was expanded by Alexander the Great. We can glean information about the city’s layout from literary, iconographic, and archaeological sources, such as writings by Herodotus and Flavius Josephus, Assyrian palace reliefs, and excavations conducted by Bikai³⁵⁶ and Aubet, but nothing has been comprehensive. Excavations reveal innovations in masonry and ceramics, as well as fortified structures with crenellated walls and arched gates depicted in Assyrian reliefs.³⁵⁷ These fortifications endured until the Hellenistic era, reaching a height of 45 meters according to Arrian. Due to constant rebuilding on the city, many phases of the city have been destroyed – there is no trace of the 10th century BC period of the city and, as will be seen, few examples from the Hellenistic Period.³⁵⁸

The city had two foundation myths attached to it, which were presented through the accounts of Philo of Byblos, transmitted by Eusebius of Caesarea,³⁵⁹ and Nonnos of Panopolis,³⁶⁰ both of which were passed through with Greek literature.³⁶¹ Philo's narrative portrays Hypsouranios and Ousoos, brothers in conflict, with Ousoos credited for sailing and consecrating the island's first holy place.³⁶² Nonnos' version attributes Tyre's foundation to Heracles-Melqart, emphasising navigation and a bloody ritual to stabilize the island's hills.³⁶³ Key elements of Melqart’s sanctuary appear: the olive

³⁵² Martin 2017: 131; A pre- Roman estimate derived from the analysis of its bedrock: Markoe 2000: 68.

³⁵³ Sader 2019: 160.

³⁵⁴ Sader 2019: 168 for a review of the sources.

³⁵⁵ Bondi et al. 2009: 51.

³⁵⁶ 1978, which provided a stratigraphic sequence ranging from 2700 BC. to 700 BC.

³⁵⁷ Bondi et al. 2009: 52-3.

³⁵⁸ Bondi et al. 2009: 53.

³⁵⁹ Eusebius, *P.E.* 1.10.10-11.

³⁶⁰ Nonnos, *Dion.* 15.311-580.

³⁶¹ Ebach 1979; Baumgarten 1981; Ribichini 1985: 19-40.

³⁶² Troiani 1974: 24-39; Brizzi 1980: 117-31; Bonnet 1988: 27-31.

³⁶³ Nonnos *Dion.* XL. 311-580; Bonnet 1988: 32.

tree, the eagle, the fire, the serpent.³⁶⁴ Both versions of the myth converge on elements like trees and fire, stela-rocks, and navigation.³⁶⁵ Throughout these variations, Melqart remains present; Herodotus and Lucian of Samosate highlight the antiquity of his sanctuary, emphasising its inseparable connection with the city's destiny.³⁶⁶

4.6.1.2: Difficulties of the Archaeology

It is difficult to understand the space of Tyre, especially when compared to Lykosoura which is reliably mapped. Tyre was damaged by an earthquake in the Roman Period, and then destroyed during the Crusades in 1291.³⁶⁷ Its remains were used to construct buildings in Sidon, and by the 19th century AD it was only a modest town.³⁶⁸

Archaeological excavations of the modern city of Tyre have uncovered remains dating back to the 3rd millennium BC; otherwise archaeological efforts have focused on the al-Bass quarter with the necropolis and the hippodrome in the east, and the original island with the Crusader cathedral and Roman baths in the west.³⁶⁹ In relation to our study here, there has been little material from the Hellenistic Period – only the discovery of a Phoenician temple dated back to the Persian Period, discussed later, is of interest.³⁷⁰ Despite claims from Chéhab that the Greeks added shades of their own culture to the city from the 6th century BC, this, in Tyre's present state, cannot be fully verified.³⁷¹ Many previous excavations (such as one in 1975) have been lost in modern events (such as the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990), further complicating research into the space of the city.³⁷² Oft-cited studies, such as Bikai who excavated an area just north of the Crusader Church (c. 150m in total), primarily uncover evidence related to the periods both before and after the Hellenistic Period.³⁷³ Current research, soon to be discussed, has focused trying to identify the Bronze Age remains of the city (currently covered by remains from the Archaic-Roman Periods).³⁷⁴ Work into the 'Acropolis' has presented little from the Hellenistic Period; only an ashlar building dated to

³⁶⁴ Nonnos *Dion.* XL. 311-580; Bonnet 1988: 32.

³⁶⁵ Bonnet 1988: 32.

³⁶⁶ Hdt. 2.44; Lucien of Samosate. *Syria.* 3.

³⁶⁷ Chéhab 1980.

³⁶⁸ Bonnet 1988: 91.

³⁶⁹ Boschloos 2016: 1-4.

³⁷⁰ Badre 2015; Boschloos 2016: 1-4.

³⁷¹ Chéhab 1960: 15.

³⁷² Boschloos 2016: 3.

³⁷³ Bikai (1978: 68) found only a few faience beads associated with the Hellenistic Period.

³⁷⁴ Aubet 2020.

the 6th-4th centuries (with little other detail attached – it may be the same Persian sanctuary previously mentioned), with the other findings dating to the Roman and Ottoman Periods.³⁷⁵ The other main avenues of investigation are into Tyre's harbours.³⁷⁶ Only comparative examination into other Phoenician cities can provide us with an idea of Tyre's urban space.³⁷⁷ Even Phoenician *stelae* found at Tyre can offer nothing on the historical aspects of the city (damaged or incomplete script) - only the onomastics and script of the Phoenician language.³⁷⁸ In short, excavations of Tyre have been patchy, and the evidence that has been uncovered rarely offers a reliable window into the city during the Hellenistic Period. As such, when we refer to the space of Tyre in my forthcoming discussion, it will necessarily be limited.³⁷⁹

4.6.1.3: The Layout of the City

Chehab conducted the widest archaeological survey of Tyre, publishing the results in the 60s. However, the archaeological data (including the stratigraphy) was unpublished, throwing

³⁷⁵ Aubet, Núñez and Trellisó 2016: 12.

³⁷⁶ Though discussed later, see Sader 2019: 177-20 for a thorough overview.

³⁷⁷ Sader 2019: 142.

³⁷⁸ Sader 1992.

³⁷⁹ In a personal correspondence with Adriano Orsingher (19/09/2023), a few points on Tyre's excavations came to light. Whilst some have been examined here, others have been ignored due to a lack of relevance. Notably, Orsingher stated that there were few excavations carried out at Tyre and its territory, which is why publications have been relatively scanty. Notably, some surveys not examined here included the necropolis of Tyre al-Bass and more recent excavations by the Spanish team near the site of Bikai's sounding. See the works by Maria Eugenia Aubet, such as:

- Aubet, M.E. 2015. *La necrópolis fenicia de al-Bass (Tiro) Informe preliminar de la campaña de excavaciones de 2008/2009*.
- *Cuadernos de arqueología mediterránea* 22. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2015.
- Aubet, M.E. - F.J. Núñez & L. Trellisó (eds.) 2015. *The Phoenician Cemetery of Tyre-Al Bass II. Archaeological Seasons 2002–2005. Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises Hors-Série IX*. Beirut: Ministère de la Culture, 2015.
- Aubet, M.E. (ed.) 2004. *The Phoenician Cemetery of Tyre-Al Bass. Excavations 1997–1999. Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises Hors-Série I*. Beirut: Direction Générale des Antiquités, 2004.

And the sanctuary of Kharayeb, which is not far from Tyre. This has been excavated by B. Kaoukabanwe and, more recently, a Lebanese-Italian team led by Ida Oggiano and Wissam Khalil has resumed work on this area and its findings (also from previous excavations).

- Chéhab, Maurice H. 1951-1954. *Les terres cuites de Kharayeb: texte et planches. Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 10-11. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1951-1954.

There are also preliminary reports by Kaoukabani, which are published in the *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*. See the reports by Oggiano/Khalil and the works by their team, particularly Marianna Castiglione, who has been focusing on the Hellenistic terracotta. More recently a survey project has also started in the hinterland of Tyre by a Lebanese-Italian team (May Haider and Marta D'Andrea), but their findings are mostly related to the Bronze Age.

another wrench into subsequent surveys and maps of Tyre. Additionally, in our case, much of what he found, dated to the Roman and Byzantine Periods, is beyond of the scope of our focus on the Hellenistic Period. Nonetheless, we include a brief summary to be used in conjunction with the map above. Chehab claimed the city was adorned with temples dedicated to various deities like Astarte and Astrochiton.³⁸⁰ Hiram's expansion of the city towards the coast and the creation of the marketplace, known as *Eurychoros* or the 'Big Field', marked significant urban development.³⁸¹ The double-wall enclosure and expansive open spaces served practical and defensive purposes, while maritime workshops likely thrived along the eastern coast.³⁸² On the southern harbour there are the remains of fluted Doric columns, supported by a thick wall that dates to the Hellenistic Period.³⁸³ A thoroughfare crossed the southern part of the city, passing by the temple of Heracles (likely the temple of Melqart); this was built by the Romans. Villas were supposed to have existed nearby.³⁸⁴ Over time, Tyre underwent extensive construction, with Roman-era monuments and public amenities such as *thermae* and *palestrae*, built along the southern harbour (the Egyptian Harbour), emerging as focal points of urban life.³⁸⁵ There was also a monumental Hippodrome.³⁸⁶ The Byzantine period witnessed further development and refurbishment, with the city adapting to changing needs and tastes. The latter is what much of Chehab's archaeological publication focused upon, and thus it is of limited worth to our study.³⁸⁷

4.6.1.4: The Harbours and the Necropolis

Much of the current research into Tyre has focused on mapping the Sidionian and Egyptian Harbours (see figure X), including investigating the existence of previous ports and the historical extent of them.³⁸⁸ Beyond the geographical placement of them, namely the fact that

³⁸⁰ Chehab 1960: 26.

³⁸¹ Chehab 1960: 27.

³⁸² Chehab 1960: 27.

³⁸³ Chehab 1960: 27.

³⁸⁴ Chehab 1960: 28.

³⁸⁵ Chehab 1960: 28.

³⁸⁶ Chehab 1960: 28.

³⁸⁷ Chehab 1960: 29-56.

³⁸⁸ Chehab 1960: 25; Bondi et al. 2009: 54; Marriner et al. 2008: 1307; Aliquot 2020: 61-7.

³⁸⁸ Aliquot 2020: 61.

³⁸⁸ Aliquot 2020: 61.

³⁸⁸ Aliquot 2020: 62.

³⁸⁸ Aliquot 2020: 66.

³⁸⁸ Aliquot 2020: 67.

³⁸⁸ Marriner et al. 2008: 1307.

they were close to the Temple of Melqart/Heracles, these studies are of limited use in this analysis. This is similar for the excavations (between 1997-2015) centered on the cemetery at al-Bass (just outside of Tyre). Details about the health of the Phoenician people and their burial practice (a form of cremation) do not see obvious relevance here. Moreover, the findings date, largely, to the Roman and Byzantine Periods, which are outside our focus.³⁸⁹

4.6.1.5: The Temple of Melqart

The evidence regarding the Temple of Melqart in Tyre is fraught with challenges. Despite its significance in antiquity, including Alexander the Great's sacrifices there, the temple's physical remains are elusive. We lack statues of Melqart,³⁹⁰ and the sanctuary itself has been lost due to natural disasters and human activities.³⁹¹ With this said, we can get an idea of its appearance; we have (as reported) a dedication to Heracles, several pink granite monolithic pillars (perhaps linked to Herodotus account and the foundation story of Tyre), and a large marble drum decorated with Dionysian cymbals and canthars, the Apollonian tripod, and the Heracleian club.³⁹² Additionally, if we accept the Sidonian Vase as 'realistic', we can suggest the temple was surrounded by an enclosure, buildings to other gods associated with Melqart, and an ever-burning fire.³⁹³ Moreover, the testimony of Eusebius of Caesarea, which reproduces a speech upon the consecration of a church at Tyre (likely located on the same spot as Melqart's temple), suggests there was a fountain on its site, supporting both the Tyrian coins and a bas-relief slab that portrayed this.³⁹⁴ There are speculations about its location,³⁹⁵ with some suggesting it may lie beneath the modern cemetery, and others that it is close/beneath the Crusader Church.³⁹⁶ The texts associated with the site are of little help, often expressing symbolic geography (e.g., on the 'sacred mountain') than real territory.³⁹⁷ It does seem, however, to be confirmed that it stood on the island of Tyre. Ultimately, it seems

³⁸⁹ For a summary of the research into the Necropolis, see Aubet, Núñez and Trellisó 2016: 5-8; see also Bondi et al. 2009: 54.

³⁹⁰ Nitschke 2013: 259; Bonnet 2015: 401.

³⁹¹ Ironic, considering Ezekiel's 6th century BC prophecy of such a fate (Ezekiel 26:4-5 and 21).

³⁹² Bikai 1976; Chéhab 1983: 165-172; 1975: 16; Bonnet 1988: 92.

³⁹³ Bonnet 1988: 99.

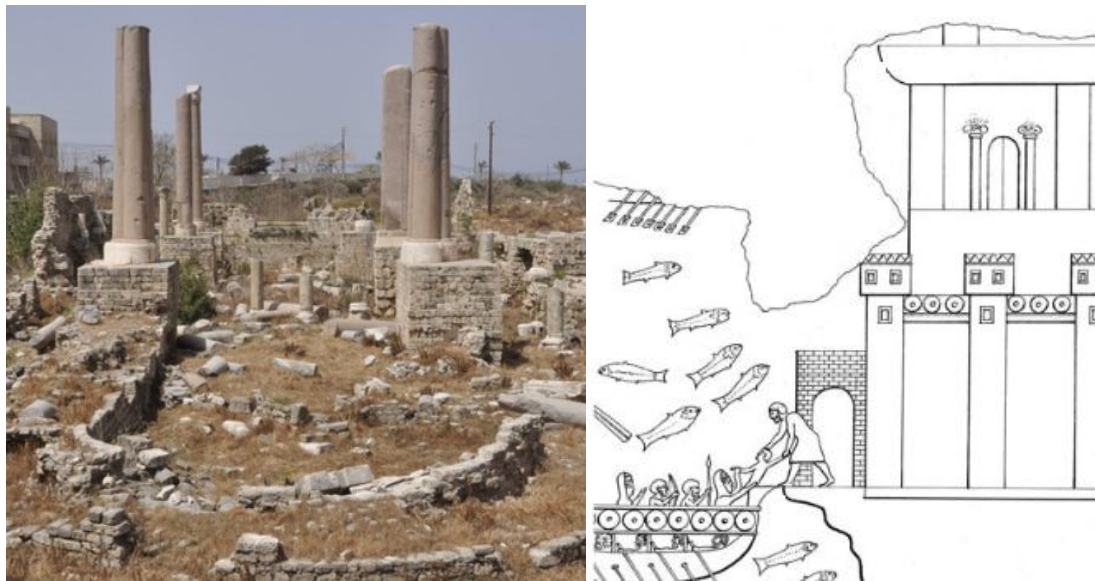
³⁹⁴ Eliade 1953: 203-4; Du Mesnil du Buisson 1965: 161-4; Bonnet 1988: 93, 99.

³⁹⁵ Joseph. *AP.* 1 113; In building Trench, Renan realised that it was a largely artificial mound, and that the rock must originally have been only slightly protruding. Trench E, on the south-western tip of the island, also enabled him to rule out his earlier hypothesis of the location of Melqart's temple here (Bonnet 1988: 91).

³⁹⁶ Bondi et al. 2009: 53.

³⁹⁷ Nonnos. *Dion.* 40.500, Ezekiel 28.14; Eliade 1953: 203-4.

the Temple of Melqart was in the center of the island and possessed monumental dimensions.³⁹⁸ Little else can be confirmed.



Figures 76 and 77 (left to right). The remains of the 12th century AD Crusader Church and a recreation of a Bas-relief found at the early 7th century Assyrian palace of Sennacherib at Ninevah and recorded by Layard – Melqart's temple is on the top right (livius.org; Jensen 2003: 106).

Similarly, the Sanctuary at Paletyr, the site Alexander was told to sacrifice to Melqart at instead of the Tyrian one, has also been lost, perhaps because all the accounts of it come after Alexander had demolished it to build the causeway to Tyre.³⁹⁹ There remains also the other temple (see fig. 79), excavated by Badre (and roughly within Bikai's excavation area, fig. 75) which is unnamed and not conclusively dated (due to lost excavation reports). In the earliest phase, remnants of two wall sections (w304 and w306) and a stone pavement (under-water sounding) were unearthed. Pottery shards discovered in this context hint at dates ranging from the Iron Age II to the Persian period.⁴⁰⁰ Moving to the second phase, Badre uncovered a rectangular structure measuring 21 meters in length and 6.5 meters in width.

³⁹⁸ Bonnet 1988: 94.

³⁹⁹ Renan suggested locating it on a hill overlooking the Tyrian plain, 2.5 km east of Tyre; Strabo 16.2.24. See Bonnet 1988: 96 for a longer discussion.

⁴⁰⁰ Badre 2015: 62-4.



Figure 78. The temple site (Badre 2015: 63, fig. 3).

This structure was oriented along a North-West – South-East axis and featured well-preserved walls constructed of fine sandstone blocks (w206-w203, w209-w200). The entrance (w231), located in the middle of the north-western wall, created a 'long-room' layout. Notably, the façade of this wall boasted an Egyptian-style 'cavitos' decoration (w204). Surrounding the structure were parallel *temenos* walls (C2, located NE angle of temple), along with water-related installations such as basins and canals (located under southern extension of SW wall [w204]). These findings align with similar temple complexes at sites like Amrit and Eshmoun, suggesting the importance of water in ritual functions.⁴⁰¹ In the north-western half of the *cella*, a large rectangular platform was uncovered, possibly serving as an altar. Constructed of finely hewn ashlar sandstone blocks, this platform featured a large monolithic limestone slab atop it, potentially used for sacrificial rituals.⁴⁰² Towards the

⁴⁰¹ Badre 2015: 68-74.

⁴⁰² Badre 2015: 64-7.

southeastern part of the structure, a rectangular stone foundation (w214, and surrounded by w206, w217, w209, with an additional wall from w212) was discovered, surrounded by additional walls. While the purpose of this foundation remains unclear, it may have supported a large structure such as a tower. The presence of a small square cavity within the foundation raises questions about its function, hinting at potential alterations or robbing activities over time. This structure was tentatively dated to the Persian period with use into the Hellenistic as indicated by pottery sherds.⁴⁰³ Lastly, w207 may have been an observation area to view



Figure 79. View of the southern part of Unit 15 (linked to fig. 79), underneath the remains of the Hellenistic outer wall of sanctuary (Boschloos 2016: 5, fig. 4).

activities within the open-air temple.
– the wall in front of it had been taken down by then (w206).⁴⁰⁴ The precinct of the temple of the Persian Period was extended in the Hellenistic Period, showing continued use.⁴⁰⁵ Lastly, we have already discussed to the two rural sanctuaries within Tyre’s territory⁴⁰⁶ – Umm el-Amed and Kharayeb. The latter will be referred to contextually, but otherwise these sites are not our focus. With this overview of Tyre

completed, we turn now to our analysis of the material culture within it. Reference will be made back to the details here, but as previously stated, our evidence is inconclusive, thus unlike Lykosoura, we cannot make strong connections between material and space.

4.6.2: Images and Identity

In conclusion to our earlier study of Heracles-Melqart over time, by the Hellenistic Period the two are clearly associated with one and other; a 3rd-2nd century BC Phoenician bilingual inscription from Malta includes: “To our lord, Melqart, Baal of Tyre” in Phoenician, and in

⁴⁰³ Badre 2015: 67-8.

⁴⁰⁴ Badre 2015: 75-6.

⁴⁰⁵ Boschloos 2016: 4.

⁴⁰⁶ See 4.3.2.

Greek “To Herakles *Archegetes*”.⁴⁰⁷ By the Augustan period, in Arados we get further proof of their connection on a bilingual inscription where Melqart is known as Heracles to the Greeks.⁴⁰⁸ It is clear, both from the evidence cited in 4.3 and from that which we will discuss, that Melqart was not ‘destroyed’ by Heracles’, or ‘killed’.⁴⁰⁹ Instead there is an awareness of the difference between the two gods, not only in inscriptions,⁴¹⁰ but in Herodotus,⁴¹¹ Lucian,⁴¹² and Arrian.⁴¹³ In fact, despite our insistence to name the hero-god Heracles-Melqart, this is a modern convention; the two are never directly juxtaposed (excepting, perhaps, the Augustan inscription, based on how you interpret it).⁴¹⁴ Thus, what we find and will be explored, is a fluid god. Not a diametrically opposed relationship in which one subsumed the other.

Nonetheless, we cannot approach Heracles-Melqart in a vacuum. Alexander’s conquest of Phoenicia did have a profound impact upon the region; some argue that Melqart became a facet of Heracles,⁴¹⁵ and that the establishment of Greek games was intended to promote cultural mediation between the locals of Phoenicia and foreigners from mainland Greece.⁴¹⁶ Undoubtedly, Alexander and his successors’ actions within Phoenicia had a significant influence; however, it was complicated and we must remain aware of inadvertently promoting ideas of ‘Hellenization’.⁴¹⁷ It is better to consider Heracles-Melqart as two sides of the same coin, and indeed the peoples of Greece and Phoenicia as living side-by-side,⁴¹⁸ with material outputs a result of omni-directional ideas, influences, and intentions. Examining through acculturation is simplistic – it relies on the idea that art holds objective truth, through

⁴⁰⁷ CIS. I no. 22 and 22 = KAI 5 no. 47 = ICO Malta no. 1. 1 = IG XIV no. 600. Note though, this is within the area of Sicily, which we already know from Malkin 2011 to have accepted Heracles-Melqart in some communities.

⁴⁰⁸ IGLS. VII. 4001.

⁴⁰⁹ Hdt. 2.44; Nitschke 2007: 57; in Tyrian anthroponomy references to Melqart persist, especially among the local elite (Louvre Inscription. AO. 1441).

⁴¹⁰ ID. no. 1519 from 153/2 BC.

⁴¹¹ Hdt. 2.44 (the Tyrian priests disagreed with Herodotus about the origins of Melqart/Heracles, showing a distinction between two - Nitschke 2007: 58); the hero was sometimes referred to as the Tyrian Heracles to distinguish him from other forms of Heracles. For his precedence in relation to Greek Heracles (Hdt. 2.44; Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.1-2; Lucian. *Syr. D.* 3). For Egyptian Heracles: Hdt. 2.43-44; Diod. Sic. 1.24.1-6; 5.76.1-2; Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.2). For Herakles the dacytl: Bonnet 1988, 380-8; Garbati 2010: 172.

⁴¹² Lucian. *Syr. D.* 3 (“not the same Herakles as the one celebrated by the Greeks; the one we mean is much older and a Tyrian hero”).

⁴¹³ Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.

⁴¹⁴ Yon 1992: 145.

⁴¹⁵ Quinn 2017: 125

⁴¹⁶ Millar 1983: 65; Chaniotis 1995b: 147-69; van Bremen 2007: 345-75; Le Guen 2005. Lindsay Adams 2006; Bonnet 2005: 19; Bonnet 2014: 295.

⁴¹⁷ As discussed earlier in 4.2.

⁴¹⁸ Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 202.

which we can determine motive.⁴¹⁹ Of course, this can lead to us attributing belief to the Phoenicians which may not have existed. There is no definitive way past this, but framing our study through ideas, influences, and intentions allows us to focus on the idea of perception. This too does not provide answers, but it does force us to consider: what response an object was intended to provoke; the direct interaction it afforded (that is, what a person did with a e.g., coin, non-verbally, i.e., spend it, perhaps display it);⁴²⁰ and what people valued.⁴²¹ Through these questions, examined in relation to material created by the Phoenicians (specifically Tyrians), we might better understand the people of Phoenicia. Moreover, through ideas, intentions, and influences, we might be able to glean how their material culture worked. These approaches are similar to those employed for Lykosoura and Crete, though here, because of the entrenched ‘Greek vs. X’ values, we have to exercise more care. Any conclusions remain, as with the previous two, speculative.

4.6.2.1: Fostering Networks

The material culture of Heracles-Melqart was significant in fostering networks between Tyre and its neighbours, both close and far. Within this, material culture was vital; following Holmes and Miller’s ideas, we can understand the medium to have fostered objectification⁴²² – the audience of Tyre’s Heracles-Melqart objects could view, react, and thus build their own narratives in relation to the material culture. Similar to how Lykosoura used visitors’ perceptions to situate itself in their memories, so too does Heracles-Melqart’s material culture. They may be reacted to fluidly, but the objects will continue to mediate between Tyre and the receiver,⁴²³ drawing attention to the Phoenician city, and supporting the development of links (and thus the widening of Tyre’s network).⁴²⁴ We can already see this process of

⁴¹⁹ Martin 2017b: 159-60.

⁴²⁰ Richardson 2009; Hahn 2012: 9-10; Desrosiers 1991; Dobres 2010.

⁴²¹ Strang 2022: 346.

⁴²² Miller 2005: 10; Holmes 2024: 8.

⁴²³ For how objects and actions can mediate, see Knoblauch and Steets 2022: 26.

⁴²⁴ On networks and power, see Strang 2022: 341; Knoblauch and Steets 2022: 26.



Figure 80. Head of (assumed) Heracles-Melqart from Kition on Cyprus (Zeman-Wisniewska 2023: 12, fig. 4).

interpretation happening in the material sphere during the Hellenistic Period. The longevity of Heracles-Melqart's cult in Cyprus is evident in the variety of styles on the sculpture (fig. 81) – clearly there is influence and ideas adopted from artists of both Greece and Phoenicia.⁴²⁵ It could be

argued this material medium supported also the ability for dual names – for example, Athena was worshipped as Anat in Idalion.⁴²⁶ The ability to read the material culture both ways, to practice objectification, as with Heracles-Melqart, surely supported the integration of multiple ways in which to name and view a deity.



Figures 81 and 82 (left to right). 316/315 BC coin from Tyre, with Alexander III and Zeus on the reverse and 3rd century BC coin from Tyre, with eagle, palm-tree/club and nautical symbols (Price 1991, no. 3281; Hill 1911: 233, no. 111).

This be further seen in the coinage from Tyre in c.322-307 BC (fig. 82);⁴²⁷ on it, an image of Alexander wears the famous lion-skin of Heracles. On the reverse, Zeus sits enthroned, holding a scepter and an eagle. To some the Heraclian imagery might be reminiscent of Alexander the Great,⁴²⁸ specifically through the connotations of royal Macedonian tradition

⁴²⁵ Zeman-Wisniewska 2023: 13.

⁴²⁶ Zeman-Wisniewska 2023: 12.

⁴²⁷ This coin here continues from at least 333-307 BC with very little change (De Callatay 2021: 425-30 for a series of illustrated coins of this type. They were collected to examine overstrikes, of which it was concluded the latter meant very little (p. 424)).

⁴²⁸ Duyrat 2016: 331; Price 1991: 31, 33. The idea of recognising a portrait of Alexander in the image of Heracles cannot be confirmed.

they espoused⁴²⁹ (which, notably, disappeared upon the advent of Ptolemaic rule).⁴³⁰ However, we must remember that it is not only the ‘Greco-Macedonian’ elements that are carefully chosen, but ‘Eastern’ ones too, i.e., do not discount the intention behind the Tyrian use of ‘Greco-Macedonian’ motifs.⁴³¹ The Tyrians ensured the links to their own culture were clear in subsequent issues (fig. 83), both through Heracles’ club, but in more specific elements, such as a palm tree and nautical symbols.⁴³² Moreover, the very legend on the coins stated ‘Tyre, holy city and *asyle*’. This series was characteristic of Tyre and continued until the 1st century AD.⁴³³ This iconographical interplay between Tyre and the dominant power of the time (whether that be Seleucid or Ptolemaic) was supported by the material culture’s ability to play to both perceptions, ‘Greek’ and ‘Phoenician’, simultaneously. The Phoenician cities were no strangers to doing this – the Aradians mimicked the head of Athena on their coins, likely to play into the power of Athens at the time, not to ‘become Greek’.⁴³⁴ Nitschke suggests this approach, the selection of inter-cultural symbols might have been an attempt to develop a “visual *koine* of the Hellenistic East for the purposes of universal communication.”⁴³⁵ It is hard to verify this, but Heracles-Melqart’s material culture certainly fostered networks and created a sense of integration between different communities.⁴³⁶ In 300 BC, when Carthage defeated Syracuse, mints in Sicily produced coins with the head of Heracles-Melqart, likely drawing upon symbols of power and connection in the Mediterranean.⁴³⁷ Even if this was in reference to Alexander, Tyre’s manufactured links to him through Melqart, and thus Heracles, ensured the continued presence of their local

⁴²⁹ “The type of both the bearded and beardless Heracles is also attested in earlier Macedonian kings. Cf. Gaebler 1935, 155 no. 12 (bearded) (Perdikkas II); 156 no. 8 (bearded). 9-10 (beardless) (Archelaos I); 159 no. 1 (bearded). 2-3 (beardless) (Amyntas III); 161-162 no. 1-5 (beardless) (Perdikkas III); 163-164 no. 9-16 (beardless); 166 no. 26; 168 no. 37-41 (Philipp II)” (Lichtenberger 2022: 13).

⁴³⁰ Duyrat 2016: 349-366.

⁴³¹ Martin 2017b: 156; Heckel 2006.

⁴³² Hill 1910, no. 111, nos. 44-245, pl. XXIX, 18-19; pl. XXX, 1-9; pl. XXXI, 1-3; Lichtenberger 2022: 3; Rouvier 1903: 296-313 no. 1946-2121; BMC Phoenicia CXXXVII; Iossif 2011: 213 interprets the palm branch, which also appears on the coins of Sidon, as a symbol of Phoenicia; See: “an altar in Tyros (Cumont 1927, 163-167) and reliefs in Kedesh (Fischer, Ovadia, Roll 1984, 167-168)” (Lichtenberger 2022: 4).

⁴³³ A Tyrian coin from Roman times, shows a chariot with either the bust of Astarte or her symbol, the urn of life, borrowed from Sidonian imagery. Numismatist D.C. Baramki claims to see Heracles on the coin, but this is not visible. Imperial coins show a draped male figure with a plant, which B. Servais-Soyez identified as the Ambrosian rocks with the olive tree, linked to the myth of Heracles’ healing by a plant growing by the river Belos, in Ptolemais-Akko. Tyre adopted this motif, adding steles and an olive tree. From Vespasian onwards, provincial imperial coins often feature an eagle on a club, replaced by Trajan with a bust of Heracles Melqart (Bonnet 1988: 89; Lichtenberger 2022: 3).

⁴³⁴ So much that when Athena’s eye on the Athenian issue changed from frontal representation to a profile view at the end of the fifth century, so too did the eye of the male bearded divinity in the Aradian issues (Élayi 1992: 23-4); Nitschke 2013: 262 – see this paper for more examples.

⁴³⁵ Nitschke 2013: 271.

⁴³⁶ See Scott 2017: 215 for mythical networks applied to the context of Athens.

⁴³⁷ Nitschke 2013; Daniels 2021: 475.



Figure 83. 3rd century BC razor from Carthage featuring Heracles with his lion-skin and club (Dussaud 1946: 214, fig. 2).

mythology within this process. In this way, the material culture integrated people into the network, offering a ‘simple’ face to it (the god Heracles or Melqart, which many would know) which played upon common knowledge and thus offered a hook to allow engagement with said network (through establishing kinship, or mediating relations, as in Sicily).⁴³⁸

These faces, i.e., the iconography of material objects, can act as a series of triggers through visceral reaction, fostering engagement with the image and its position within a network (i.e., if you are from Greece, you would recognise Heracles in Melqart).⁴³⁹ This is similar to how Lykosoura triggered their visitor’s memories of their own local myths, which they then associated with the sanctuary. This trigger of recognition was coupled with material culture’s fluidity, its ability to represent an image that played differently to each individual and/or cultural group.⁴⁴⁰ This is how the material culture of Heracles-Melqart supported diplomacy. On Delos, a decree dating from

the archonship of Phaidrias in 154/3 BC mentions Heracleists of Tyre.⁴⁴¹ The subject concerns a meeting of the assembly in the temple of Apollo, the members of which are seeking approval from Athens to construct a new *temenos* to Heracles. Events conspire and the Tyrians get a chance to choose a patron to be thanked during these events; they choose Heracles-Melqart.⁴⁴² He is presented both as *archaegete*, perpetuating the Tyrian model, and as an *evergete* god, a Greek formula used to designate beneficent gods. In this way, the Tyrians presented their god favorably to the Athenians, and, significantly, played into the process of kinship that had gained greater significance within the Hellenistic Period.⁴⁴³ The dual nature of Heracles-Melqart was beneficial to play to both sides. This idea is further seen in Tyre’s colonies, such as Carthage, where Heracles-Melqart acted as a link to the mother-city⁴⁴⁴ whilst continuing to impress his Greek aspects (through Heracles) for non-Phoenician

⁴³⁸ Malkin 2011 for Sicily; Morgan 2020: 260 for the idea of ‘simplified’ objects, which he calls ‘enchantment’.

⁴³⁹ Morgan 2020: 272.

⁴⁴⁰ Knappett 2005: 49.

⁴⁴¹ *ID.* 1519.

⁴⁴² *ID.* 1774, 1776, 1781, 1783, 1785, 2323, 2326, 2327; Bruneau 1970: 409-10.

⁴⁴³ For this, and its importance, see 1.2.1.

⁴⁴⁴ These cities included Carthage, Gadir, Utica, Lixus, for example. See Quinn 2017: 116 for a breakdown of the evidence from Carthage. It includes coinage focused on Melqart, 1500 Carthaginian names derived from ‘Melqart’, and other examples to verify the Carthaginian drive to link themselves to Tyre through the god. Note

audiences.⁴⁴⁵ The cult of Heracles-Melqart bolstered a network of connections between Phoenician cities and the colonial populations and traditions belonging to the cities of Greece.⁴⁴⁶ As in Crete, with pastoral elements being attached to non-pastoral gods, the physicality of the objects cemented the perception of myths. The very nature of the object was significant in garnering engagement.⁴⁴⁷ We could take this so far as to claim, in the 3rd century BC razors depicting Heracles-Melqart from Carthage, that the intimate element of shaving oneself was connotated with the close relationship the object implied the user to have with the god.⁴⁴⁸ This may be a little speculative. However, the razors do show multicultural aspects of Melqart's image; he is depicted with a long skirt and fenestrated axe,⁴⁴⁹ and in the more traditional garb of Heracles. The imagery, like the literary sources, suggests not a one-to-one translation between Heracles and Melqart, but a complex web of associations with other deities who fulfilled similar social, political, and religious roles.⁴⁵⁰ The material culture provided a physicality which supported the stability of these images and the reiteration, and thus acceptance, of a fluid iconography to Heracles-Melqart. As Knappett argues, it was not only the form of the objects (as coins, or razors) that determined the perception of them, but their place within the social network, which, of course, was also supported by the links communities attached to the widely subscribed figure of Heracles-Melqart. For example, Knappett argues certain Minoan cups, without a drinking context, could confer high status.⁴⁵¹ We see something different, but conceptually similar, in Heracles-Melqart. The links between the two, and their presence throughout the Mediterranean, benefited from the context they were found within. Their fluid iconography, as discussed, ensured they could be read how the viewer chose to (as Heracles, or Melqart, or likely anything in-between). This in turn impacted how each god was seen in their original contexts. The two gods built up one and other.⁴⁵² Two 2nd-century BC. Phoenician-Greek inscriptions from Malta commemorate

also, that at Sardinia, evidence suggests the cult of Melqart/Makeris helped to ensure the union of Sardinian and Punic components; the Greeks were also present in this process through Iolaus, the nephew of Heracles, and they tried to assert influence upon the cultic syncretism because of this (Bonnet 2005: 25-7).

⁴⁴⁵ Aubet 2001: 196-7 (*KAI* 5, no. 47); surely the use of both their names (Heracles and Melqart) is significant; perhaps an attempt to maintain both sides of his character (and so aid in intercultural contact across the Mediterranean. See, Yarrow 2013: 357-8 and Bonnet 2015: 289-90; Quinn 2017: 225.

⁴⁴⁶ Quinn 2017: 120

⁴⁴⁷ Robb 2020: 124; Ingold 2007. This is similar to how their ideas on stone – it confers ideas of strength because it is hard. We will not go this far when discussing razors and coins, but certainly in the case of the latter, the qualities of the object itself provided it with a transitory element.

⁴⁴⁸ Robb 2020: 124; Ingold 2007.

⁴⁴⁹ *LIMC* Melqart 7; Miles 2011, 265; Nitschke 2013, 269

⁴⁵⁰ Daniels 2021: 474; Brown 1992: 16-7.

⁴⁵¹ Knappett 2005: 164-5.

⁴⁵² Nitschke 2013: 279.

offerings made to Melqart, who is given the Phoenician title of Baal of Tyre and the Greek name of Herakles *archaetetus*; the same epithet of Herakles can be found in a decree of 154/153 drawn up by Tyre merchants staying in Delos: Herakles is invoked as the founder of the Tyrian homeland⁴⁵³ and became more of a cultural hero. In turn, as he was associated with the Greek hero, Melqart obtained Heracles' mythological stories, which were particularly important when one considers that the Tyrian god had only a few of them.⁴⁵⁴ Moreover, as the protector of Tyrians living abroad, Melqart's seafaring character was enhanced by his integration into such an environment. Heracles, in turn, found his connection to the marine sphere strengthened through his connection to Melqart;⁴⁵⁵ a story about Heracles of Eritrea indicates his origin from Tyre, where he travelled on a raft from Tyre.⁴⁵⁶ The context the material culture existed within led to new connotations being affixed to their subject. Melqart gained the iconography and stories of his Greek counterpart, facilitating wider cultural presence, and Heracles gained the status of an *archete*, a role usually reserved for a god like Apollo.⁴⁵⁷ Thus, theoretically, the objects, in association with the context, acted to build the figures of Heracles-Melqart⁴⁵⁸ through the way in which they played upon knowledge of each figure and cultural perceptions.

We can see the transfer of ideas between Heracles and Melqart, through which they adopt one and other's attributes. Tyrian representations of the god(s) are necessarily influenced by Alexander and his successors, but we can spy the city's intentions through how they presented themselves and their god. Throughout, material culture facilitated the fluidity of this god's iconography, which allowed for the multitude of perceptions and readings that could be applied to him. This, in turn, supported the development of a network around Heracles-Melqart.

⁴⁵³ See Guzzo Amadasi 1967: 15-6; Durrbach 1921-1922: 140-2; Bruneau 1970: 409-10, 479 and 622.

⁴⁵⁴ Bonnet 2005: 21-3 - perhaps this has less to do with the lack of evidence, and was instead a result of Phoenician practice, which favoured ritual action over mythical stories.

⁴⁵⁵ Bonnet 1988: 375.

⁴⁵⁶ Paus. 7.5.5-8.

⁴⁵⁷ Farnell 1921: 110, 116; Teixidor 1983: 251.

⁴⁵⁸ Morgan 2020: 257.

4.6.2.2: Maintaining Identity



Figures 84 and 85 (left to right). An inscribed sling bullet, Side A (νίκη) and Side B (‘Ηρακλέους καὶ Αὐρώνα) (Ustinova et al. 2022: 192, fig. 4 and 5).

Despite the evidence for Heracles-Melqart across the Mediterranean, if we examine the region around Tyre (admittedly in locations relatively far from the city, but still along the Levantine coast), we are presented with Heracles, not Melqart. A 2nd century BC sling bullet, found at Iamnia, now Yavneh-East, around 100 miles from Tyre, expresses hope for victory and calls to Heracles and Hauronas, a Canaanite god.⁴⁵⁹ Considering the place beside a local god, perhaps one would expect to see Melqart named, as another local of the general region, rather than Heracles.



Figures 86 and 87 (left to right). Weary Heracles (2nd-1st century BC) found at Ḥorbat Ṭarbenet and a 1st century BC Palmyre Relief (Mazor and Atrash 2021: 168; National Museum of Damascus, museum no. Damascus 4242/10050).

At Horbat Tarbent, around 60 miles from Tyre, Mazor and Atrash have identified a sculpture of weary Heracles (c. 2nd-1st century BC).⁴⁶⁰ Lastly, at Palmyre, outside of Tyre, we find an

⁴⁵⁹ Ustinova et al. 2022: 198.

⁴⁶⁰ Mazor and Atrash 2021: 175.

iconographic image of Heracles (or perhaps ‘Heracles figure’ as he is never specifically named),⁴⁶¹ with club and lion skin, where he also accompanies traditionally Phoenician gods such as Astarte, and two Palmyrene deities: the lunar god Aglibol and the solar god Iarhibol.⁴⁶² If we examine this superficially, it seems Heracles has overtaken Melqart – we know this is not true, as we have just seen evidence earlier discussing both. Likely these representations are in line with my previous argument – one could interpret them in multiple ways, i.e., the viewer could see Heracles, or Melqart. Nonetheless, there is something more happening with the material culture in Tyre; their mythic identity, their attachment to Melqart is situated within a context where, as discussed, Ptolemaic and Seleucid influence is being exerted over the city. Even when Tyre regains its independence, there is still evidence of foreign cultural events taking place within its walls.

Nonetheless, Melqart continued to be worshipped. Despite Heracles’ mention in a 54/55 AD inscription (found near the Crusader Church), which suggests he was not just a theological expression but a very real deity to be interacted with,⁴⁶³ we know that Melqart survived beyond Greco-Macedonian dominance within the region. In the Roman Period, coinage continues to display Tyrian elements, such as rocks attached to the city’s foundation story,⁴⁶⁴ Heracles-Melqart was head of the list of divinities in the 1st century AD,⁴⁶⁵ and Tyrian material culture promoted their own local myths like never before.⁴⁶⁶ Thus, Traditional Tyrian identity ‘survived’.⁴⁶⁷ This might prompt us to consider Nitschke, when she asks whether the dominance of Heracles’ iconography (i.e., the club and lion-skin) was not just a veneer, something represented on material culture but “of little substantive meaning for the nature of the cultic practices”.⁴⁶⁸ This is hard to determine. We do have an inscription, dated to 188/187 BC, apparently linked to a gymnasium in Tyre which thanks Heracles (and Hermes) for victory.⁴⁶⁹ With that said, it is written in Greek, and implies an author of that cultural group. A quick note on the significance of gymnasiums here. Dauber has offered the best work; firstly, to have a gymnasium does not mean one has to have a ‘Greek’ gymnasium⁴⁷⁰ – there does not have to be a monumental marker to this form of identity.

⁴⁶¹ Kaizer 2000: 219.

⁴⁶² Dussaud 1946: 226; Kaizer 2000; Teixidor 1979. See these for dating.

⁴⁶³ Yon and Aliquot 2016, 151-152 no. 306; Lichtenberger 2022: 2.

⁴⁶⁴ Nitschke 2013: 272-3.

⁴⁶⁵ Bonnet 1988: 62.

⁴⁶⁶ Hirt 2015 for a thorough analysis.

⁴⁶⁷ For want of a better word.

⁴⁶⁸ Nitschke 2013: 277.

⁴⁶⁹ SEG 56.1877-1; Rey-Coquais 2006: 17-18 no. 1; 18 no. 2); Bonnet 2015: 128-131.

⁴⁷⁰ Dauber 2015: 37.

Moreover, this institution likely says more about the Greeks than the Phoenicians; they demanded it both for issues of ruler worship, and for personal needs. It was not for reasons of ‘Hellenization’.⁴⁷¹ It is hard to determine to what extent the Tyrians engaged, or even cared, about such a thing.⁴⁷² Whilst it may be of great significance within the city, this is hard to verify and thus this thesis has chosen not to engage with it.

The presence of Heracles surely goes beyond a veneer; we know the Phoenicians saw the gods as one and the same, or at least combined them, from their actions. However, the fluidity of the material culture not only allowed for elements of Melqart to remain present, in addition to the physicality the medium provided for the created form of Heracles-Melqart in Tyre, but indeed Melqart’s very absence was significant (with space also playing into this). In line with Holmes, the loss of something (be that object, or representation) results in a void, which is quickly filled with memories and associations, prompting us to remember, memorialise, and imagine what once was.⁴⁷³ The loss of the ‘obvious’ Melqart resulted in material culture that possessed a symbolic value to its Tyrian viewers. As always, there were deep contextual intentions behind demonstrations of ethnicity (in this case, represented through Heracles-Melqart), driven by subjective expressions of commonality.⁴⁷⁴ That is to say, the material culture reflected and confirmed the perspective of the viewer. In Tyre, this was partnered with space, specifically the Temple of Melqart, which aided the relationality and subjectivity of the interactions with the material culture (i.e., it supported the covert Melqart-ian associations behind the overt image of Heracles);⁴⁷⁵ both forms of material culture, coinage and monumental architecture supported Tyre’s response to the political influence exerted upon the city.⁴⁷⁶

The overt presence of Melqart in, specifically, Tyrian coinage⁴⁷⁷ and the subjectivity of interpretation these objects facilitated, was supported by a number of factors. Melqart and Heracles maintained links for a while before the Hellenistic Period,⁴⁷⁸ a point that might have

⁴⁷¹ Dauber 2015: 36.

⁴⁷² The evidence does not give us a real window into the Tyrians’ thoughts. we have included the inscriptions here: 188/7 BC (I.Tyr, 1) - Dedication of an ephebe to Antiochus III, his son Seleucus, Hermes and Heracles (Melqart). The fact he is named Melqart may be significant, but it is not enough to claim the dedicator was a Tyrian; 43/4 AD (I.Tyr, 54) - Statue base for Diodoros, son of Idas, gymnasiarch of the 4 eparchies. The other two inscriptions are undated: I.Tyr, 55, I.Tyr, 56 - Fragment mentioning a gymnasiarch of the 4 eparchies? and Fragment mentioning a gymnasiarch, respectively.

⁴⁷³ Holmes 2024: 37.

⁴⁷⁴ Martin 2017b: 144-151.

⁴⁷⁵ Discussed soon.

⁴⁷⁶ See 3.4.3 for political pressure; see Christmann 2022: 90, 96; Keller 2022: 53-4 for discussion of these theories.

⁴⁷⁷ As one of the few pieces of material culture we have from the city of Tyre itself.

⁴⁷⁸ See 4.3.2 and dependent partially on location.



Figure 88. c. 3rd century BC Kharayeb figurines of children (Oggiano 2015: 513, fig. 6).

been aided by Phoenicia's custom to accept dual names for their gods.⁴⁷⁹ Therefore, if we turn to Scott's work on network theory, the 'critical threshold' (that, when broken, allowed new ideas to become embedded within a community) was already low.⁴⁸⁰ It was not controversial to associate Heraclian iconography with Melqart, or vice versa. Moreover, it seems unlikely the influence of the Greek

Heracles could have supplanted the Tyrian Melqart. The latter was deeply embedded within the city, affording deep links of kinship between the Tyrians.⁴⁸¹ This can be seen through a variety of evidence: the Baalyaton Seal (c. 150 BC) demonstrates the personal connection the Phoenician people shared with the god; a word on the seal, *rasufa*, means "to be closely linked".⁴⁸² On 3rd century BC bronze weights from Tyre, which also featured Heracleian clubs⁴⁸³ and Greek caduceus', an inscription reads 'belonging to Melqart'.⁴⁸⁴ The persistence of Melqart's cult and importance as a tutelary god are also attested by the bronze coin-shaped tesserae mentioning the consecration of Tyre in 141 BC under his patronage.⁴⁸⁵ Produced in Tyre, up to 60 BC they say (combining Greek and Phoenician): To/for Melqart in Tyr/*hiera* (holy) and *asylos* (inviolable).⁴⁸⁶ Strabo understood this worship in his own way, saying the Tyrians worship Herakles 'most highly'.⁴⁸⁷ Additionally, a weight in the Louvre with legend 'belonging to Melqart, year 10, in Tyre', dated to the 3rd century, confirms the central role of the god in the economic life of the city.⁴⁸⁸ As Bonnet says: "[These objects, and] the presence of a vertical club on another weight, associated with palm tree (phoenix), invoking the Greek name of Phoenicia (*Phoinike*) invite us to see a middle ground between Greek and Phoenician

⁴⁷⁹ Xella 1990, 2019: 279.

⁴⁸⁰ Scott 2017: 216-7.

⁴⁸¹ See Holmes 2024: 2 and Mason, 2018: 1 for how objects and memory can afford kinship.

⁴⁸² Bordreuil 1986: 77.

⁴⁸³ Bonnet 2015; 1988; Garbati 2010: 157-182.

⁴⁸⁴ Bonnet 2015: 404; Bordreuil and Gubel 1990: 508-9, no. IV4, fig. 26; Élayi and Élayi 1997: 75, no. 126, 190, 273, pl. VII.

⁴⁸⁵ Abou Diwan and Sawaya 2011 cited by Bonnet 2019: 106

⁴⁸⁶ Bonnet 2019: 106.

⁴⁸⁷ Strab. *Geogr.* 16.2.22-3

⁴⁸⁸ Bonnet 2019: 107.

identities”.⁴⁸⁹ Moreover, as regards intention, Bonnet argues these objects were likely a result of elite action, who, with their king gone, tried to show kinship with the Greeks.⁴⁹⁰ It feels prudent to again impress that in examining Tyre’s material culture, we must remember their intentions. This process of Heracleian iconography becoming the dominant mode of representing Heracles-Melqart was not a one-way (Greek directed) process of influence; the fallout of Alexander’s conquests were significant influences, but they did not strip Tyre of its intention and agency. As Oggiano argues at Kharayeb (fig. 89), there is a development of styles associated with the Greeks being produced at the workshop – however, this does not spell ‘hybridisation’ but changes in artistic taste.⁴⁹¹ Therefore, Melqart continued to foster kinship within the Tyrian community, whilst the low level of ‘critical threshold’, aided by the fluidity with which one could see either or both Heracles/Melqart within the material culture, allowed his image to be associated with non-traditional Tyrian elements without (apparent) consequence.

Our insight into Tyrian coinage is hindered by a large gap in their numismatic evidence – fig. 90 depicts Ptolemy I but otherwise little evidence emerges from Tyre. As such, we cannot track differences and the intentions that accompanied them, but luckily this soon changes. From 126/125 BC Tyrian intention, and material culture’s ability to help facilitate this, can be seen again through the coinage of Heracles-Melqart; the god had been absent in Tyrian numismatics for around a century, but upon the city regaining its independence in 126/125 BC,⁴⁹² he reappeared in force (fig. 91). Within Tyre at this time, we still have evidence of Greek games to Heracles-Melqart (in c. 173 BC) being undertaken,⁴⁹³ which might have provoked some anti-Greco-Macedonian rhetoric.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁸⁹ Bonnet 2019: 107.

⁴⁹⁰ Bonnet 2019: 107.

⁴⁹¹ Specifically, the new ‘Greek’ way of representing children might have been because that particular style was better applicable for showing the softness of face, the playful youth (Oggiano 2015: 518). See Oggiano 2015 more generally, including the associated theories of non-elite perspectives and previous ideas on the site from Said 1978; Morton 2007: 96-7; Barrett 2011; Xella 2009.

⁴⁹² Nitschke 2013: 269; Lichtenberger 2022: 5; on the coinage of Tyre cf. Rouvier 1903; Rouvier 1904; BMC Phoenicia. Notably, the Heracleian club remained on the coinage through this gap, implicitly indicating Heracles, and thus Melqart to Tyrian minds (Ehling 1996: 88-89; 1998: 144-145).

⁴⁹³ Grainger 1991: 118.

⁴⁹⁴ 2 *Macc.* 4: 49; see 2 *Macc.* 4: 19-21 and 4.44 for further details about the games.



Figures 89 and 90 (left to right). 305-283 BC posthumous tetradrachm of Ptolemy I with an eagle clutching a thunderbolt on the reverse and an 80/79 BC silver half shekel featuring the laureate head of Melqart with a lion skin tied around his neck and an eagle standing on a ship's prow (and letters, ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ). Both minted in Tyre (Hirsch Auction 348, 474; Rouvier 2031).



Figure 91: 4th-2nd century BC limestone head of a bearded male (Lichtenberger 2022: 5, fig. 4).

Therefore, the coins created were likely made in an environment that might have seen contention between ethnic groups (it is hard to confirm however). Nonetheless, it speaks to a need for the Tyrians to continue, even in their independence, a fluid depiction of Heracles-Melqart that appealed to all parties. As discussed in our study of Crete, material culture could impact perspective,⁴⁹⁵ and it is hard to fully deny that a thought akin to this was present in Tyrian minds upon minting their numismatics. After all, following Demetrios II Nikator's death in 125 BC, Tyre immediately removed Demetrios's portrait from its coinage and minted coins that featured the local hero Heracles-Melqart. The king's name and titles were removed and replaced with legends that named the city as holy and inviolate.⁴⁹⁶ That

same frame of mind was surely present in creating the coin(s) – this type remains consistent

⁴⁹⁵ Miller 2007; Tilley 2007; Knappett 2007; 2012; Maldonado and Russell 2016; Connerton 2013: 318.

⁴⁹⁶ Hoover 2004: 495; Mahoney 2024.

for over a century - depicted above.⁴⁹⁷ On it is depicted the face of Heracles-Melqart, assumed to be so based on the letters on the reverse that read ‘of Tyre, the holy and inviolable’ – alluding to Melqart’s deep connection with the religious identity of the city (see 4.3.1) - the city’s independence at the time, the club of Heracles-Melqart, and the hint we find of a knotted lionskin at the very bottom of the coin, Melqart seems a reasonable, though unconfirmed, identification. This thesis is inclined to agree with Lichtenberger, in that the laurel wreath that replaced the side curl at the temple on previous Alexander types, was intentional; Tyre’s 126 BC coinage onwards were not continuations of previous issues, and thus new elements must be regarded as local innovations.⁴⁹⁸ This is most significant for us how Heracles-Melqart has been presented. Specifically, as a beardless figure. The youthfulness of Heracles⁴⁹⁹ may have been chosen to match Melqart, the youthful god who faced constant death and resurrection; in this way the iconography is theologically justified.⁵⁰⁰ This portrayal of Heracles-Melqart was allowed, similarly to our discussion in 4.5.2.1, by material culture’s ability to hold covert meanings behind the primary ‘face’. The Tyrians could see Melqart in Heracles’ youth, and the Greco-Macedonians Heracles⁵⁰¹ (this does not discount the idea that both sides saw the figure as two aspects of the same god, only that the material played into what the viewer wanted to see). Active and passive aspects supported the syncretism of the god(s) beneath the surface.⁵⁰² On a further note of Tyrian intention – the figure above might be Heracles from the nearby site of Umm el-Amed. It is unconfirmed, but if we accept it as the case, this shows the Tyrians were aware of a bearded Heracles in the Hellenistic Period – thus, their choice to present him otherwise on their own coinage is more telling. What we are seeing here is, as in 4.5.2.1, constructivism where material culture is not a one-sided, static process of interpretation, but one informed by the viewer, their social relationships, and their environment.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁷ This coin type remains consistent across the 2nd-1st centuries during Tyre’s autonomy and beyond: *BMC* 45cf (c. 125 BC); *BMC* 63 (119-118 BC); *BMC* 118 (96-95 BC); *BMC* 130cf (88-87 BC); *BMC* 230 (76-75 BC); Rouvier 2017 (22-23 BC). These coin types continue into the ADs (e.g., Rouvier 2233, 98-99 AD). All coins are dated based on Tyre’s calendar system (e.g, issued in Year 109 of Tyre).

⁴⁹⁸ Lichtenberger 2022: 8; a laurel wreath is depicted on the Melqart-tesserae from Tyros on a dated piece of the year 75/74 BC (Abou Diwan, Sawaya 2011, 267 no. 9). However, other wreaths are also found on the tesserae, so that no exclusive affiliation may be assumed here (Lichtenberger 2022: 8).

⁴⁹⁹ For which there is a long history – this appearance is usually used to indicate earlier stages in the hero’s life (Boardman et al. 1988; Boardman et al. 1990. On the youthful Heracles cf. Özen-Kleine 2008: 152-160; Kansteiner 2000) but in this context we would argue the lack of beard is more significant.

⁵⁰⁰ Bonnet 1988: 33-40; Lichtenberger 2022: 8.

⁵⁰¹ Malafouris and Gosden 2020: 112.

⁵⁰² As with Pan in Athens (Scott 2017: 216-7).

⁵⁰³ Knoblauch and Steets 2022: 24.



Figure 92. 30-31 BC, silver shekel, Head of Melqart, laureate, right, with eagle standing on the prow of a ship; palm branch over right shoulder with a club. Minted in Tyre (BMC. 1923.1160).

In the silver shekel (fig. 93) (a continuation of the series which included fig. 91 and began from 126 BC) multiple elements of its design are seemingly made to appeal to different audiences. In the image of Heracles-Melqart, viewers from mainland Greece, specifically those with Macedonian heritage, might associate figure (Heracles) with connotations of royal power; indeed he was a popular figure within the Hellenistic Period with rulers due the legitimising effect, his links to Alexander and his line, that he signified.⁵⁰⁴ Furthermore, the eagle on the reverse follows the tradition of this animal, clutching a palm leaf, appearing on Ptolemaic coinage.⁵⁰⁵ However, from an alternative perspective we can see the clear Phoenician elements present; the palm leaf can be associated with the region, the prow of the ship beneath the eagle likely links to Tyre's nautical sphere, the eagle is repeatedly attested in the sacred iconography in the urban area and in the hinterland of Tyre, and Heracles himself can represent a youthful Melqart, as discussed.⁵⁰⁶ In saying this, not only do we demonstrate artistic elements are not essentialist – they do not 'belong' to one culture – but also constructivism, and material culture's ability to allow multiple interpretations to exist simultaneously. This was significant in allowing Tyre not only to foster networks between themselves and others but to maintain their own traditional identity with Hellenistic Phoenicia.

⁵⁰⁴ Gatzke 2014. Note however, this does not explain its use in Sparta, where Alexander is cared about little. Heracles' image can be viewed in its own right, but we will not touch upon that here. See Gubel 1986: 239. no. 277; Lipiński 1995: 232 for further discussion on this coin type, including issues of dating.

⁵⁰⁵ Rouvier 1903: 296-313 no. 1946-2121; *BMC Phoenicia* CXXXVII; Iossif 2011: 213.

⁵⁰⁶ Iossif 2011: 213; Lichtenberger 2022: 4. On the eagles in Tyre, see 'an altar in Tyros (Cumont 1927, 163-167) and reliefs in Kedesh (Fischer, Ovadia, Roll 1984, 167-168)' (Lichtenberger 2022: 4). Additionally, in other instances of material culture, we can notice environments behind the Heraclean imagery (clubs etc.) typical of the Tyrian cult of Melqart (the twin rocks, the olive tree, the burning altar, and the sacred spring, as in the Sidonian Vase) (Nitschke 2013: 272-3; Bonnet 1988: 90).

These ‘blurred images’, these fluid iconographies, were intentional on the Tyrians’ part, both to foster good relations with the dominant Greco-Macedonian groups they traded and interacted with, but also to maintain their own traditional identity (through Melqart). The Tyrian shone, covertly, through the outwards face of Heracles. This design was, as with Lykosoura and Crete’s material culture, heavily supported by the space they existed within. Monumental architecture, with its two pillars (linked to Tyre’s foundation story) acted as a cognitive anchor for the remembrance of Melqart.⁵⁰⁷ The material culture created an everyday environment, where these items of Heracles-Melqart were used regularly, and thus became embedded in common thought.⁵⁰⁸ This, in turn, supported the Tyrians to move and think across scales of time – put simply, it supported their adaptation to the context of Hellenistic Phoenicia.⁵⁰⁹

Space worked to support this – though we know little about Tyre’s spatial environment in the Hellenistic Period, we are aware of three things – the Temple of Melqart, with its cited twin pillars, the presence of Badre’s smaller building, with its eclectic variety of motifs, and the city’s harbours. Unsurprisingly, it is the first which is the most significant. As discussed in relation to Lykosoura, location could infer authority,⁵¹⁰ acting as a built space through which human experience can be shaped⁵¹¹ – we would argue that the allusions, both overt and covert in Tyre’s material culture were very much geared to take advantage of their spatial environment (the harbour, and Melqart’s Temple). These locations acted as active instruments in reinforcing Melqart’s presence in objects, and in the community.

The use of places is a political process, and we think this holds true in Tyre. The covert place of Melqart on Tyrian numismatics could never be forgotten in Tyre – indeed, we would speculate that it could not be forgotten due to his temple’s presence. The dual pillars were very literally the foundations of the city in their mythic traditions – the island of Tyre was not particularly large and so it would be impossible to ignore or forget Melqart’s temple. It stood as an evocative element, not only authorizing Melqart’s narrative but constantly triggering

⁵⁰⁷ Barsalou et al. 2005: 14.

⁵⁰⁸ Knoblauch and Steets 2022: 23; Löw 2016: 135; Löw 2001; Giddens 1984. Robb 2020: 135 discusses the power of the object’s physicality – just as Tyre’s material culture reinforced the stability of Melqart (literally through foundational pillars), so too did Lykosoura’s monumental sanctuary impress longevity and connection.

⁵⁰⁹ See Malafouris and Gosden 2020: 114 for the theory on this.

⁵¹⁰ Pirenne-Delforge 2009: 52.

⁵¹¹ Paga 2017: 207-8, who uses this theory in relation to Athens’ Old Bouleuterion; Knappett 2005: 62-3 discusses how material items gain meaning through the space they inhabit (they refer to elements of significance present in their environment); Keller 2022: 38-9 discusses social constructivism, which is a little broader. However, the ideas the symbolic construction of space stressing interaction and the conferring of messages appear similar between the two.

the more covert presence of the god on Tyre's artefacts and reinforcing local Tyrian identity.⁵¹² And within the temple itself (see illustrative figs. 71 and 72), certain elements conferred the authority of Melqart. Strabo notes that states that Heracles(-Melqart) is excessively honoured by the Tyrians.⁵¹³ Pliny the Elder, for his part, reports that in the Temple of Melqart in Tyre there is a seat carved from a stone called '*eusebes*', i.e. the "sacred stone", from which only pious men can rise unhindered.⁵¹⁴ This seat might have been an element of divine kingship exercised by Melqart; in Ezekiel, a prince of Tyre claims to sit on a 'a divine throne'.⁵¹⁵ The temple's position in activating the associations between the face of Heracles and Melqart, and impressing Melqart's authority, was likely helped by Tyre's harbours. Again, these are referenced on Tyrian numismatics through the prow of the boat that appears on them. we believe there is a link there; what with Tyre's size during the Hellenistic, and the surrounding of the Sidonians Port in the north and the Egyptian port in the east around the temple of Melqart, it feels it would have been difficult not to see the temple when one embarked. This is speculation, but it does further illustrate the environment of Tyre. Their material culture referenced key elements of their identity which were physically present within the world, and in doing so, emphasised the presence of Melqart, both in their objects and the world.⁵¹⁶ This surely reinforced and reiterated those elements that made Tyre, Tyre. This allowed traditional Tyrian identity to continue far past the dominance of mainland Greece, and see the city produce coinage in the Roman Period that worked to separate Tyre from any notions of Greco-Roman identity.⁵¹⁷ Throughout this, the blurring of iconography, the ability to reads it two ways, the objectivation worked to mediate – Tyrian traditional identity continued, whilst fostering mythical connections with outsiders.⁵¹⁸ The example pictured (fig. 94) is outside our scope of study if the dating is

⁵¹² Kaul 2010: 255 on the theory of built space and activating thought.

⁵¹³ Strabo. 16.2,22-23.

⁵¹⁴ Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* 38.161; Paus. 10.29.9, for a throne where the skin can remain glued. It is possible that the homonymy ἐπὶ θρόνῳ, "throne", and ὀφθαλμία, "poison-remedy", has something to do with the role attributed to the magic seat (Bonnet 1988: 61).

⁵¹⁵ Ezekiel 28,2.

⁵¹⁶ The medium itself, durable coinage, might have contributed to this also on an unconscious level (Robb 2020: 135).

⁵¹⁷ Hirt 2015.

⁵¹⁸ Knoblauch and Steets 2022: 28.



Figure 93. 2nd century AD, Tyrian theatre token featuring Heracles in a lion skin (diameter 3.15cm; thickness: 0.45cm) (Gubel 1986: 239, fig. 277).

accurate. However, it suggests my last point. The process we have discussed in this section worked to ‘institutionalise’ interpretation and perception within the city; they created a common reality construction.⁵¹⁹ What does this mean?

Though Heracles-Melqart faced little dispute over his nature (in fact, the god was often seen as one and the same),

we know the links between the two developed over time.⁵²⁰ They were not always Heracles-Melqart as they were in the Hellenistic Period. The material culture of Tyre, and its space, helped to reaffirm the relationship, the ‘two aspects of the same god’, whilst ensuring Melqart’s specific aspects remained present. It embedded this viewpoint, this acceptance into the city. It institutionalised this perspective. The object above is indicative of this, in my mind; this has been suggested as a theatre token.⁵²¹ It was innocuous, used in everyday activity. On it, we can see an image we might refer to as Heracles (based on iconography, and the letters on the back (perhaps, ‘HRAKAK’, *Herak*) – however, it likely that the Tyrians, despite its classical Heraclean iconography, would have recognised it as Heracles-Melqart. They carried this perception with them, engaged with it continuously, unconsciously. And thus, material culture helped to shape and maintain their identity.

⁵¹⁹ Christmann 2022: 100-1.

⁵²⁰ See 3.3.

⁵²¹ Gubel 1986: 239.

4.7: Conclusion

During the Hellenistic Period in Phoenicia, material culture was not mixed, or changed by the Greco-Macedonians. Instead, as earlier, the material culture of the region developed from a continued process of ideas, influences, and intentions being shared and practiced in every direction. The Hellenistic Period furthered these influences; Alexander and his successors, with their wars and infighting and exertion of their own royal identities were certainly important in determining Phoenician response. In Tyre we find this; upon gaining their independence, their material culture furthers the development of Heracles-Melqart (already undertaking ‘conversations’ since at least the Archaic Period) and blurs the iconography between the two gods. Their material culture can be read in two ways, which allows them to maintain their own traditional identity, whilst fostering networks with outsiders. In a sense, they had the best of both worlds. The way they did this was similar to Lykosoura and Crete; in the former, space and iconography was used to trigger connections in the minds of their visitors, thus fostering links between the sanctuary and its surrounding communities. In the latter, myths were given physicality, allowing them to be adapted and changed to meet contextual demands. Simultaneously, covert messages could be presented, allowing for identity to be maintained in the face of foreign interference. All of this we can see in Tyre’s use of material culture, which helped to imbed the links between the two gods deeply into the minds of the people within the city. With all of this in mind, we now turn to a final summary of the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture.

Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks

The Hellenistic Period in the Mediterranean was a time of turbulence. Alexander's conquests led to societal changes, whether those were differences in the balance of power between cities, an increase in mercenary activity, or increased migration. It is because of this that the Period stands out as one well suited to examine the relationship between identity, myth, and material culture from which numerous observations can be made.

This thesis suggests a greater significance possessed by the relationship and interplay between myth, identity, and material culture than is alluded to in current scholarship. Together, they appear as a fundamental element in how communities defined themselves and adapted to their surrounding context - in short, how communities and groups functioned within the Hellenistic Period. Throughout our case studies, we have seen how myth and material culture allow for the (relatively) rapid adjustment of identities to contextual factors, whilst still allowing both to retain their traditional aspects – indeed, these are often reiterated and impressed amongst the changes. Within this relationship, material culture stands out with an especial significance; it appears vital (within these contexts) in assisting the fluidity of mythology, and subsequently, the associated identity. This is not to say it is the only factor (the lack of doctrine is another) but the way it supports changes in iconography and facilitates two-way readings of mythical images should be marked with interest. The concept of physicality stands out – it gives weight and authority to instances of adapted mythology (as relates to both design and location).

5.1: Fluid Material Myths, Fluid Material Contexts

The case studies in this thesis have been chosen to examine the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture within a variety of different contexts. This was to support generality, so the conclusions can then be applied more widely, and to test whether the processes spied, and conclusions made, were consistent across contexts.¹ Throughout, memory and space have been the framing tools that linked these disparate case studies. As previously stated, the format of this research (i.e., theoretical) means the conclusions made

¹ See 1.2.2.

here are speculative.

Our examination of the collation of Arcadian myth at Lykosoura demonstrated how material culture could be used to collect local myths within a wide regional area and ensure they became attached, through association, to the sanctuary. Within this process, the material culture, supported by somatic markers, acted as a cognitive anchor. Therefore, visitors to the sanctuary, upon leaving, would carry the association between their own local myths and Lykosoura in their memories, thus expanding the reach of the sanctuary, on an abstract level.²

Our analysis of pastoral mythologies on Crete showcased two things. The expansion of city-states caused a disruption of local mythic identities as the former exerted their control. This, in addition to other contextual factors, prompted a ‘retreat into the landscape’; the pastoral myths (e.g., Pan), not easily co-opted by others due to their unattached, transitory qualities, became the new medium through which smaller Cretan communities practiced an autonomous identity. Material culture grounded these moveable myths, gave them a physicality to which Cretans could attach their identities.³

Our focus upon Heracles-Melqart at Tyre exhibited how material culture could be read two ways, in a bid to support cultural interaction and kinship.⁴ Additionally, it suggested further evidence for how the physicality of material culture could help ground changes to mythical stories and iconography – it gave these adaptations authority. This was especially important within Hellenistic Phoenicia, where the link between Melqart and Heracles supported the position of the Tyrians within the wider Mediterranean. Within this, the ability to read the material culture two ways (supported, also by the location as the examples in Lykosoura and Crete were) allowed for traditional Tyrian mythic identities (e.g., Melqart and his links to Tyre) to be maintained within all the constant change and adaptation.

5.2: The Relationship Between Myth, Identity, and Material Culture

Throughout these case studies, numerous recurring elements related to how the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture worked can be seen.

² A concept largely drawn Appadurai’s 1996 work on locality and buttressed with Soja’s 1996 evaluation of Lefèbvre 1991 work.

³ Physicality is not a new concept, per se, but the specific way in which it has been employed here is not directly attributable to previous work (though inspired heavily by Connerton 2013: 318; Hodder 2004: 29, specifically the former’s idea of ‘prosthetic memory’).

⁴ An idea drawn from Kellar 2022’s use of it but relies also upon the broad ideas of material culture discussed in 1.1.3.

Mythology is fluid, with many of its elements and details remaining adaptive, yet its fundamental concepts (e.g., key elements of its narrative, be this a figure or location) remain deeply entrenched within the consciousnesses of the community to which it is attached. Lykosoura chose to co-opt the local myths of Arcadia to appeal, yes, but also because the memories it played upon, and the landscape it existed within, could not be fundamentally changed – the sanctuary could not create entirely new myths. This is similar at Crete and Tyre; on the former, pastoral elements, whilst certainly gaining new popularity, were grafted into existing iconographies and religious elements, whilst at Tyre, connections, such as similarities in character and/or narrative, were found between Heracles and Melqart to support their synoecism. Neither one was reimagined entirely to fit the other. Thus, whilst myth is capable of adaptation, there does appear to be a limit to reinvention.

Accepting this allows us to move forward in understanding how material culture played into these mythic identities. The iconography of the objects examined throughout this thesis, from the Despoina cult group to coinage with Heracles-Melqart emblazoned on it, suggests that material culture worked upon the assumption of prior, shared knowledge – simply, that viewers would both recognise the figure and/or myth and shared some sort of attachment to it. It was from this that the material culture, created by a source, be this a smaller community or a sanctuary, drew its effectiveness. Playing upon these prior associations, the material culture of Lykosoura, Tyre, and Crete could foster connections and associations, whether this was to bolster the importance of itself (Lykosoura, in collecting local myths), or to link once unrelated elements together (Crete, where pastoral elements were conferred upon non-pastoral gods). Significantly, not only did the material culture of these locations create connections, but by their very nature they facilitated it. Material culture could be read and interpreted in multiple ways. At Lykosoura a visitor probably did not view their local myths as having been stolen, or otherwise adapted to fit the sanctuary's narrative – instead, they saw their local myth amidst monumental material culture environment and would likely have had pride in this representation of their identity. On Crete, Apollo with horns was probably not seen as controversial; perhaps, for the dominant city this god could be emblematic of their identity, whilst a viewer from a smaller community would read the horns as a pastoral link, one that linked back to the landscape myths adopted by their (now subsumed) community. At Tyre, a viewer from mainland Greece might see Heracles, and perhaps any royal links he connoted, whilst one from Tyre would see Melqart and the continuation of the city's traditional identity. Thus, the interpretive versatility that material culture permitted allowed individuals and/or communities to perceive and construct their own personal narratives

through it – through material culture their own histories and personal elements of significance were read back to them. In addition to this, via the very medium of material culture (in some cases, small objects like coins), these represented images could be easily passed around, and with them, the associated identity.⁵ Of course, all this had a limit – images played upon prior understanding. Without that, one would have had a harder time adapting the markers of their identity (as seen through Aphrodite’s pastoral adaptation – or rather the limits of it - on Crete).

Therefore, material culture fostered links through its ability to be read in multiple ways by its audience, an attribute perhaps not unique to the medium (literary analysis exists for a reason), but certainly one with an accessible form of nebulousness. Everyone connected to the myth in some way could approach its representation through their own local, contextually informed perspectives and values.

Another significant aspect in the relationship between identity, myth, and material culture highlighted throughout this study is the concept of physicality. Amidst the changes and adaptations of myth over time, the physical manifestation was vital; it transformed an abstract concept (in Crete, Apollo is now linked to pastoral elements) into a tangible one (Apollo has been crowned with horns, indicative of his links to the wild). In this sense, as with location (e.g., Mt. Lykaion and Lykosoura), these material objects conferred authority upon the specific mythic variant/representation. These representations became the new reality, and, through their medium, were continually reinforced in the viewer’s minds. These changes to mythology both influenced, and were influenced by, the developing identity with which they were associated. Material culture, imbued with the agency to both convey and manipulate mythological narratives, served as a conduit for the expression and reinterpretation of communal beliefs. This concept of physicality supported not only the fluidity of myth (and thus the attached identities) but also worked to ground it. This is seen most clearly in Crete, where the pastoral tales spread across the landscape, were ‘attached’ to communities via their material culture. The latter worked almost as a tether, or a cognitive anchor. This worked, whilst simultaneously not ripping these myths from their ‘original’ locations. Not only can this be seen in Crete, but in Lykosoura’s co-option, not theft, of Arcadia’s local mythology. One of the reasons why this works is the dual reading of material culture (even with change one could still recognise ‘their’ myths within the new iconography – see Tyre, and Heracles-

⁵ Within a limit – one would have to recognise the significance of the iconography, in addition to other contextual understandings needed, to engage with the identity presented.

Melqart). None of these conclusions dispute the idea that material culture had agency – in this particular study it appears heavily reliant on myth in influencing identity, but it still works to foster connection and investment. Lykosoura, whilst undoubtedly supported by ritual and priests, still had its monumental sculpture (the Despoina group) to impress, represent, and otherwise ‘tell’ the viewer what the sanctuary was trying to say. This entire process is reflexive – it is unlikely material culture could find such success in doing this if myth were not so fluid, and in turn the reinvention of myth was greatly supported by the physicality material culture provided. In short, the physicality of material culture acted as a source of authority for the adaptations of mythic identity seen in our case studies.

Space, and the concept of built environments, have proven decisive in how the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture functioned. However, one must consider to what extent this is a product of our approach and the context of Ancient Greece. Whilst space is important in modern instances of material identities, Greece possessed mythic traditions that were largely oral in dissemination (even with the Library of Alexandria bolstering the amount of written mythological collections),⁶ and thus these traditions needed grounding. This was done through location – Melqart’s pillars in Tyre, and Mt. Lykaion near Lykosoura all worked to provide ‘evidence’ and authority to their associated myths. The position of space within this relationship between myth, identity, and material culture might, therefore, be of particular importance only in the context of Ancient Greece.⁷ With all this said, it can be suggested that space, within the case studies examined, acted as a crutch, a ‘safety net’, an anchor of ‘abstract’ stability, to further support the authenticity of the myths even when they have been changed, whether this be in narrative or image. This did not always need to be the case. Pastoral myths, for example, were not locationally fix; they were transitory, and evident across the landscape in the forests and the hills – this allowed them a great deal of flexibility when it came to incorporating them within a variety of communities. With that said, and as discussed in chapter 3, we have seen how the issue of location still reappeared – these pastoral gods were worshipped within pastoral settings. It is difficult to determine if mythical material culture and location would have retained their effectiveness in cementing and adapting identity. The position of material culture as its own source of mythical authority was supported by physical location, however abstract (see the transitory, unfixed pastoral myths

⁶ Higbie 2012.

⁷ This cannot be concluded here, To do so one would have to try and examine material culture in separation to space, if possible, but that is not within the scope of this thesis. Here space has been used to frame and support the discussion.

of Crete). It is not discussed here whether the two might have retained effectiveness without the other.

Above, we have discussed the points and ideas evident across all our case studies. Some more specific points remain. Within Lykosoura and Tyre we can find suggestions of myth being ‘absorbed’; by this we mean myth has been incorporated into their own local traditions (Heracles lion skin soon becomes associated with Melqart also, at least within Phoenicia). Within Lykosoura specifically, mythically represented material culture appears to aid in the implanting and reinforcement of motivations and ideologies – namely, the sanctuary used mythical traditions possessed by other local communities to associate itself with the region’s traditions and thus bolster its importance. It is not clear how this could have been achieved without the malleable medium of myth, which also held a great deal of importance to identity within Arcadia (and indeed, wider Greece).

As an aside, and a point to be developed in subsequent work, it is suggested here that these points discussed on the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture contributed to the malleability of Greece’s belief systems – the fluidity of myth that material culture supported enabled the former to evolve and adapt within, and perhaps because of, their changing cultural contexts. As the physicality of material culture afforded authority to myth’s adaptation so too did it surely support the continuation of belief in these, now changed, traditions. Ultimately, material culture serves as a facilitator of mythological transformation, offering avenues for interpretation and reinterpretation while grounding narratives within communal consciousness.

5.3: Informing Understandings

Through these conclusions, we can inform our current understandings of myth, identity, and material culture. As stated in chapter 1, mythology rapidly developed in the Hellenistic Period, a statement verified through our study here. This process was consistent across a variety of contexts, from local ones (a region within Arcadia) to broader island environments (Crete), to and the wider Mediterranean (specifically, between Cyprus and the Phoenician coast, if not further). Moreover, whilst we studied snapshots, these studies were also situated within longer timeframes. Thus, we managed to spy how mythology (and identity) developed across extended periods, and how material culture supported this. Many of these statements

play into current understandings of how Greek mythology functions; we have further demonstrated the importance of myth to identities with Ancient Greece (and beyond), in line with both current and historical scholarship. Additionally, we have provided evidence to the current consensus on the importance of material culture to mythological identities within the Mediterranean. However, where our points, discussed above, develop scholarly consensus is in the emphasis of how interlinked mythical identity and material culture were. It is known myth can be manipulated (in part because it is not attached to a specific dogma or document), but this research endeavored to further prove *how* it could be so.

In turning to this, we also look to how this study has informed material culture as, within this research, myth and material culture have emerged as intrinsically (though by no means exclusively) linked. Currently scholarly thought on material culture sees it as possessed of an agency, which works in a reflexive dynamic with its creators, both being informed by their intentions, and influencing them in turn. This is agreed upon here. However, this thesis puts forward the argument that we must reexamine just how interlinked myth and material culture were, at least within the Hellenistic Mediterranean. Material culture acted as a source of authority for mythical adaptation, and its physicality appeared instrumental in altering myth in line with contextual needs and ensuring it retained its ‘authenticity’, the belief of its holders.⁸ Additionally, the instances studied here remind us to consider material culture and identity within their specific cultural context – we should not assign essentialist readings to our evidence, but instead approach them as products of omni-directional, every changing influences. In this sense, whilst we can provide some broad conclusions to how the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture works, we should not be restrained by it. It can be seen as a set of guidelines and markers for future approaches, but not a strict model.

Lastly, myth, being so closely linked to identity within the Greek (and Phoenician) communities, has often been seen as one and the same throughout this thesis.⁹ However, it is worth considering identity alone for a moment. Our approach to identity has followed the current trends in scholarship – it is a concept that is fluid and works in relation with material objects to be demonstrative.¹⁰ It works on the basis of in- and exclusivity and can be viewed on a sliding scale – that is, at times it may work to reject, but at others it may work to

⁸ Holders in that a community possessed a myth to which they tied their identity.

⁹ For recent points on mythic identity, see Fowler 2017, Johnston 2018 and Unwin 2017 (among others).

¹⁰ See Skinner 2012; Guast 2023; Shear 2021; and Gooch and Ruddick 2025 (among many others).

integrate.¹¹ This can depend on the time, and the viewer being presented with it. However, what this thesis has developed upon is the idea that identity, even when physically recorded, is interpretative. The audience that views the materially represented identity also determines the reception to it, and this is not just an additional aspect within the process, but an integral element – this ability to receive and respond to material identity in a personal, cultural contextually informed way, was acknowledged and played into. Not only does this inform us about the creators and the receivers within this dynamic (whether this be kinship, or network relations), but it again impresses the significance of material culture. As stated previously, this nebulous interpretation built around certain pieces of iconography are not impossible but certainly difficult to replicate in non-material mediums.

Throughout this thesis, the line of process between myth, identity, and material culture has been blurred. Needs related to identity (e.g., Lykosoura wanted to bolster their influence within Arcadia) oftentimes informed how mythology was used, which itself was a core attribute of a community's sense of self-definition. Material culture could influence myth, but itself was built from myth. This 'blur' has not been avoided. This entire process is reflexive – there is not always a clear starting point. Instead, it is an interlinked relationship, with each concept spilling in and out of the other.

In short, the relationship between myth, identity, and material culture emerges as a fundamental building block in how societies were functioning within the Hellenistic Mediterranean. It allowed for both the adaptation of self-definition to contextual factors, and the reiteration and reassertions of traditional modes of expression. Throughout, material culture was evidenced as an integral part in supporting the fluidity of mythology, and therefore within the context of the Greeks' (and beyond, i.e, the Phoenicians), identity. This was carried out through its physicality, its ability to act as a cognitive anchor and a symbol of authority – one, it should be noted, that retained an ability to be interpreted in a variety of ways between different groups,¹² aiding in its cross-cultural application.

¹¹ A fascinating (modern example) of this is examined in Maldonado and Russell 2016.

¹² In some circumstances. As we have suggested in 3.3, it could also be used to maintain identities, and rebuff foreign ones.

5.4: Stepping Forwards

This research has focused on the aspects of inclusion and adaptation, with only a little attention paid to exclusion (in Crete) – a step forward would be to find examples of exclusion and inclusion and determine if similar dynamics, fundamentally, were at play. For the processes outlined above, we must also consider how influential practices such as ritual or pastoralism were towards what we have seen; we do not see these concepts present in our study of Tyre, which is not to say they were not impactful, but it does suggest they were not always needed. This, the importance of practice in the myth-identity-material culture dynamic, is certainly something that could benefit from further examination. In line with this general thought, we must ask ourselves the role of monumental material culture within adaptations of identity – not whether it was significant (this thesis should have suggested this quite clearly) but whether it was *more* effective compared to something such as Crete's smaller, more inconspicuous material culture (e.g., statuettes of Pan). Thus, it is the extent of significance that could be determined.

As usual within studies of Ancient Greece, the individual is often lost; there appears no obvious way to counteract this, at least within the case studies examined here. We have touched upon it (for example, in how memories could be impacted in visitors to Lykosoura's sanctuary) but this has been speculative and without any focus of analysis. And whilst this thesis has examined myth, identity, and material culture over a long timeframe (beyond our excursions into the Classical Period, we have moved throughout the Hellenistic Period), allowing us to study the development of these concepts, our evidence forces our glimpses to be episodic; we are merely peeping through the window to catch snatches of what happened, and using a broad understanding of the context to try and tie it all together. Unless our quantity of evidence changes however, this is unavoidable.

We perhaps need to adjust the way in which we examine myth – ritual and tales are important, but oftentimes these supersede the material culture which this thesis has sought to prove was vital to the application of mythology, at least in *how* it was reshaped and integrated into communities. Thus, examining the actions of the communities is key; this is especially important in debates where concepts such as ethnicity (e.g., within research on Phoenicia) can take precedence – as discussed in recent scholarship, we would do better to study groups through behaviour (as far as this can) rather than arbitrary criteria. Examining the *how* of cultural activity, as done here, is a step towards doing so.

Future study should work to integrate direct theoretical frameworks into discussions of the

primary evidence; whilst this approach does not always yield conclusive answers, it does opens avenues for new directions in scholarly inquiry. Beyond just our approach, we can take the process of myth, identity, and material culture beyond the Mediterranean basin – in doing so not only do we move beyond modern preoccupations with the Greeks (an issue this thesis certainly falls foul of – though the inclusion of the Phoenicians was intended to help mitigate this)¹³ but we can determine whether the *how* seen here is present in other cultures. If so, we might have more answers towards the overall functions of ancient societies.

¹³ Though, much light has been shone upon other ancient cultures in recent scholarship. One good example of this is LaBuff's 2023 *Beyond Greeks*.

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